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Y O R K S H I R E F A I R S

A N D

M A R K E T S

to the End of the Eighteenth Century.

By

K. L. McCutcheon, M.A. (Dunelm).

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

The importance of the Northern Fair; the nature of the fair; the general development of fairs in Yorkshire; the preponderance of Yorkshire fairs in the Northern Counties; the evidence for Yorkshire fairs before the Conquest, Roman, Saxon, Danish; some reasons for Yorkshire origins; the position of the Church; the main characteristics of fairs, legal, financial, judicial, commercial, political, social; the difficulties attendant on the fair.

There are, it would seem, two questions to be faced at the outset in a paper dealing with fairs in the Northern England of the Middle Ages. In the past there have been two books written on the subject of fairs: Walford, "Fairs, Past and Present", and Morley, "Bartholomew Fair". Each of these deals with the fairs of Southern England and excellent as each book is there is the implication - borne still further by certain general economic history works - that the history of England is the history of Southern England alone and that Northern England is of little or no account in the development of the nation. It is true that the "Four fairs" of England are all to be found in the South: Sturbridge, near Cambridge; St. Bartholomew, Smithfield; St. Ives; and St. Giles, Winchester, and that there is an innumerable host of lesser fairs South of the Humber. This is a readily admitted fact, but it is equally true that North of the Humber there have existed, and in many cases do still exist, fairs of great antiquity and importance, attended not only by Northerners, but by the Merchants of Southern England and of the countries beyond the seas. It is possible that no single one of these Northern fairs could compete in importance with one of the four great fairs but most of them do compete both in antiquity and importance with the general type of Southern fair.

The second problem is that of the nature of the fair. Hampsthwaite (near Harrogate) Feast was held in 1934 for five days, July 21st - 25th. This is a survival of one of the Yorkshire fairs, one, as it

happens, of little more than local interest. The fair-ground was in a distinctly limited area away from the main street of the village. There were shooting-galleries, coconut-shies, roundabouts, fortune-booths. The feast ended, whilst these extraneous amusements were being refurbished for their next temporary fair-ground, with a cricket match between the Hampsthwaite men and ladies. There seemed to be little talk of trade or politics. In the "News Chronicle" of August 6th 1934, appeared the following paragraph: "Fairs, Fetes and Circuses, never change. True, the gipsies will tell you that the business is not what it was. But if you're on London's Hampstead Heath today, look at the people on the Fair ground. All ages, all classes, both sexes. The appeal is age-old, universal and fool-proof. Here and there a raucous loud-speaker seems to have displaced a steam organ or two, but that's incidental. The important things like the Fat Lady, the Roundabout and the Houpla are still going as strong as ever." There is a statement here which calls for criticism. "Fairs never change." The history of the fair shows it as a constantly changing institution. To the modern mind it is the epitome of the open-air foregathering of pleasure-loving crowds. It is only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that this has become the case. With the reaping of the fruits of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions the fair did change and become the never-changing institution which is known today where the roundabout and the coconut-shy are the all-important things. In this there remains only one part,

and that the least important part, of the fair as it was known from the early middle ages to the end of the eighteenth century. In all times crowds have loved pleasure and there were in the medieval fair entertainments of many varied types (as can be seen e.g. in Morley's account of Bartholomew Fair especially at the time of the execution of Wallace⁽¹⁾). These entertainments then did deserve their name of side-shows. Far more important than any entertainment was the business which brought men together to a fair. It is inconceivable that the kings of medieval England, or for that matter of any medieval country, since England is in her fairs only maintaining the commercial system of all Western Europe, should have granted their royal charter for a merely pleasurable gathering, or that there should have developed a special court, the piepowder court, for the settlement of disputes arising on a roundabout, together with a complicated system of laws and legal machinery designed for the protection of those who resorted to fairs. It will be found that as the pleasure-side of the fair increases in importance, the fair, quâ fair, decays and ceases to be worthy of chronicle. This decay is to be found primarily in the nineteenth century. It is for this reason that the twentieth century holds so erroneous a view as to the functions of the fair. From early times until late in the eighteenth century the fair is one of the main points in the system of trade, local, national and international. There have been many local histories written of which there is little or no mention of the local fair; economic historians have passed it by in

favour of other developments. Such pictures remain incomplete. Records of life in these centuries show that to the people of all classes the annual or semi-annual fair was an event of immense importance, a means whereby both necessities and luxuries might be purchased, commercial interests safeguarded, municipal authorities developed, feudal dues and the profits of justice collected. There is, throughout the history of the fair as an economic institution, a constant succession of requests for, and grants of a fair, together with an equally constant succession of recriminatory appeals from local owners for the suppression of a neighbouring fair because of its detrimental effect upon the fair of the petitioner. Fairs were valuable possessions, too valuable for any infringement of their rights to be lightly regarded. Royal and local authority were equally interested in maintaining the peace of the fair. The Church before the Reformation and local parsons after the sixteenth century gave their blessing upon an institution which in its origin in one direction was primarily religious and at all times brought crowds within close contact of the church-door, the saint's tomb and the open-air pulpit. The fair, especially at the height of its fame in the later middle ages, must be the object of considerable attention. It was a matter of vast political, religious, legal, judicial, and, above all, commercial importance.

It was realised that in the case of Yorkshire - as, indeed, in that of all the Northern Counties - to effect a break in the history of the fair at the end of the Middle Ages was impossible since the natural development is pursued through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the end of the eighteenth. However momentous were the developments of the sixteenth century in the religious sphere and of the seventeenth century in the constitutional sphere, and however important were the changes in economic life in many respects - in overseas trade, in the growth of the great companies, in the consolidation of town-life, the fair remained outwardly a centre of commercial activity. As more modern times appeared the fair was still an essential feature of economic life; only, whilst its importance locally was undiminished, it was ceasing to play so important a part in national and international economy. This is a development of the eighteenth century, not of any earlier period, and it was therefore realised that to make a break in the record of the development of the Yorkshire fairs would be to give an unreal effect of a sudden and cataclysmic change such as has never actually taken place. With the end of the eighteenth century the natural development of the fair has proceeded still further. Faced by the rivalry of the new methods of production and distribution the fair gradually ceases to be a centre of commercial intercourse and becomes

the meeting-point of country festivity which is known today. This paper, then, deals with the fair in Yorkshire from its earliest days to the end of the eighteenth century, since it is in that period that there is the history of its development and importance. At the same time, it was impossible to exclude the development which progresses side by side with the development of the fair. A fair is simply a greater market and wherever, therefore, market-development is found to be in connection with fair-development, reference has been made to matters concerned, apparently, with markets rather than with fairs. Especially will this seem the case in the Scarborough-Seamer dispute. It was, however, deemed inadvisable that market-developments should be omitted in view of the fact that the market and the fair hold an identical position in the eyes of the law and market developments in almost all cases throw light on problems of the fair.

One further point is here worthy of consideration. The evidence of the Charter Rolls⁽²⁾ suggests that of the five Northern Counties (excluding the special franchise of Durham) the County of York was the most thickly covered with a network of fairs; of the remainder, the County of Lancaster is probably the most important. For the preponderance of fairs in Yorkshire there are several suggestions which must be borne in mind.

It is a generally accepted fact that though Domesday Book gives no evidence in favour of their existence whilst other evidence also is scanty, fairs did exist in England before the Norman Conquest.

Wherever the Roman military system was pursued by the trader, fairs and markets appeared. Thus near the Roman Wall of Hadrian at Corstopitum, now Corbridge, there was an important fair which despite many vicissitudes existed throughout the Middle Ages as a trading centre of Northumberland and exists today as the Stagshaw Bank Fair. There were many Roman military stations in Yorkshire. South of Yorkshire the Roman peace was to be found secure, but beyond the Humber the needs of the troops had to be supplied and, on the analogy of Corbridge, it would appear at least probably that the most convenient method of supplying the diverse needs of the varied races grouped amongst the Roman forces was to be found in great marts held wherever a military station made safe the sojourn of the trader and where Roman roads, primarily built for strategic purposes, enabled him to transport his goods. The lack of definite evidence, however, makes it unsafe to presuppose that the fairs of Yorkshire can claim a Roman origin. There is in Yorkshire, it must be remembered, in Roman times a town-tradition in regard to trade. The strongly defended forts were the only safe places for merchants. To this in later years was added the town-tradition of Danish trade.

As for the Roman period, so for the period of early Anglo-Saxon conquest and of Northumbrian greatness there is an absence of definite information in regard to the meetings of merchants. The connection between the foundation of an Abbey or Cathedral Church with the beginning of a fair was still undeveloped. Whitby was later the home of a fair but in the days of Hild and Caedmon, the Abbey of Streonaeshalch apparently had no conception of the

profits of trade. It would seem probably that if the tombs of English saints were already attracting vast concourses of people which made necessary special arrangements for the provision of their wants, thus speedily causing the development of a centre of trade, then Bede and other writers - as, e.g., in Eddius' "Life of Wilfrid" - would not have remained silent on the subject. On the subject of fairs in Northumbria in the days of Northern hegemony conjecture is useless and it can only be suggested that as yet fairs were undeveloped, if not unknown, and that for the most part those that did exist were swept away in the Danish attacks which destroyed the political and cultural power of Northumbria.

A purely Christian origin has been assigned to fairs yet in Yorkshire at least it is certain that this was not wholly the case. It was supposed that the burial-places of saints became very quickly the objects of pilgrimages. Pilgrims, frequently coming from a great distance, would not hasten away from the shrine but would remain in order that they might see the fruit of their devotions or simply to pay the full homage which their piety required. Their sojourn in the neighbourhood of the shrine meant a new demand on the resources of the neighbourhood, a demand which those resources were frequently unable to supply. Since there was at the shrine the greatest concourse on the days on which was especially commemorated some outstanding feature of the life of the saint - usually the supposed day of his death - it became customary for the people of the neighbourhood to make provision against those days by setting up stalls and by procuring as great supplies of food and other necessities as the neighbourhood could

provide. Where the shrine proved so popular that the number of people gathering to it proved too great for the resources of the neighbourhood, there arose the opportunity of "foreign" traders, i.e. of traders from beyond the neighbourhood. In this way it became customary for traders to come together at the shrine of the saint, there to exchange their wares, and thus in course of time appeared a great annual mart or fair. The same process is apparently at work in the development of a fair held on the dedication or patronal festival of a church. It will be seen that of the medieval grants of fairs only a very small minority are to be held on a day other than that of the saint to whom the church was dedicated, the royal charter thus expressing formally a practice which was already natural and customary. Yet to assign so purely a Christian origin to fairs is to leave out of account a cause of their appearance which was prevalent in the North of England and especially in Yorkshire. The pagan, Danish, origin must also be taken into account. In the same manner as Christians gathered at the shrine of a saint, the Danes gathered at the funeral of a hero and on days commemorative of his prowess. There is much that is Danish in character in the early history of Yorkshire. When the Danes of Yorkshire were at last converted to Christianity the feasts which they had held in honour of ancestral heroes were not discontinued. The feasts had grown to have a significance wider than their original intention. They had, in fact, become centres of trade and of pleasure and were rapidly acquiring the main characteristics of the fair. It is very possible that more than one Yorkshire fair goes back to such an origin. It has, however, been

the fashion until quite recent times to ascribe to Athelstan such origins as are not known. The question of the origin of Beverley Fair will be dealt with later; this is a typical example of what is probably a mythical ascription to Athelstan. It must be confessed that, whilst there have been many interesting theories as to the existence of fairs in Yorkshire before the Norman Conquest, there is little actual proof. Whilst the balance remains on the side of the probability of their existence it must be remembered that the Conqueror's Harrying of the North in 1071 had its worst effects in Yorkshire and that whilst for over fifty years the lands remained waste there could have been little opportunities for trade and little incentive for merchants to visit the impoverished county. There is one theory, possibly hardly serious, which assigns to one of the York fairs an origin before the Conquest, and which is at least worthy of mention. It will be shown later how unfortunate it is that the York records are destroyed. There was a fair in York in the Middle Ages belonging to the Abbey of Saint Mary, outside the walls of the City. Today there is a suburb of York called Bootham, a name which appears in Domesday Book. It has been suggested that the district gained its name from the booths set up in fair-time. If the theory were true, then the Bootham fair must have existed before the Conquest in order that the name should have been acquired by the time of the Domesday Inquiry. It must however be remembered that the Abbey of Saint Mary is a post-Conquest foundation, of the time of William II and Stephen. There was a previous Abbey in the same place, and the theory therefore must be presupposed that the second Abbey merely took over

all the rights of its predecessor. The theory can only remain an interesting speculation.

There remain other and more certain general factors to account for the important development of the fair in Yorkshire. In the matter of strategy, Yorkshire of the six Northern Counties was the most favourably situated after the Norman Conquest. Once the Vikings had ceased to invade England by the Humber mouth Yorkshire had little to fear from external enemies. It is true that from the reign of Edward II there were Scottish attacks to be feared but in comparison with the records of Northumberland and Durham these attacks were infrequent and insignificant. The merchants at the Yorkshire fairs had not to look anxiously Northwards to watch for the first signs of Scottish marauders as had the cattle dealers of the Border fairs. Except for the reign of Edward II Yorkshire was undisturbed by warfare until the civil wars of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. York, Scarborough, Beverley suffered in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 but the West of Yorkshire appears to have been little disturbed. The peace prevalent in Yorkshire is indirectly connected with another of the factors which contributed to the growth, development and importance of fairs in Yorkshire. The County is a County of Abbeys, Benedictine and Cistercian. The Yorkshire dales are famous for Byland, Rievaulx, Jervaulx, Bolton, Fountains. Outside the dales there are St. Mary's, (York), Whitby, Meaux and many another of not so great importance - Kirkham Abbey, Bridlington Priory, Kirkstall. With few exceptions the great Abbeys were centres of sheep-farming and even in the Middle Ages Yorkshire was,

through them, playing an important part in the wool-trade, a part which has steadily grown in importance towards its predominance in the present day. Yorkshire's important share in the wool-trade had many effects. The most immediate effect was the natural one - the possibility of exchanging the raw wool for the commodities of the rest of England and of Europe. Merchants inevitably were attracted to the County to find there not only wool. Thus the markets and fairs of Yorkshire came to have more than a local significance. In response to the export of wool, the Yorkshire ports extended their capacities and were able to receive the goods and ships of aliens. Hull and Scarborough rapidly became important ports and are constantly mentioned as requiring special provision in schemes for the defence of the realm and for the furtherance of the country's trade. The development of the Yorkshire ports led in turn to, and was increased by, a further growth of fairs. It will be found that each important port was also the home of a fair, and also that despite enactments at law and the legal theory of Bracton there was a tendency for fairs to spring up - almost in a cluster - within reach of those ports, despite the supposed requirement of the observance of a distance of seven miles (a third of a day's journey) between fair and fair. It will be found that this tendency was at the root of many quarrels in the Middle Ages over fair-rights. The importance of the Yorkshire Abbeys has a still further significance. It is exceptional in the Middle Ages to find an Abbey which has not some direct relationship with a fair. Where an abbey does not

itself possess a fair it will usually be found to be in close proximity to one, or to have very great privileges in some fair or fairs. How great these privileges were will be seen in the case of Byland. It is extremely unfortunate that the records of St. Mary's fair in Bootham have been destroyed. More is known of the connection of Whitby and Selby Abbeys with the fairs in their neighbourhood. There are, indeed, many reasons why the great Abbey and the great fair should be connected. It has already been mentioned that the Yorkshire Abbeys were the homes of sheep-farming. They were also great landowners and in all times the possession of land has meant wealth. This was especially true in the Middle Ages. The wealth which was given to them by their land was used by the Abbeys to foster trade. An abbey with its great number of residents - not only the monks but all their dependents and servants - represented a demand for food and clothes which was not always to be supplied from the immediate neighbourhood. It was natural that "foreign" traders would be drawn towards a place where the demand was certain. When in that place they met with other traders, local (the abbot and his brethren among them) and "foreign", it was natural that there should begin wider trading than the mere supplying of the immediate needs of the Abbey. There were then present those elements which lead to the growth of a fair. In an earlier paragraph mention was made of the peace which Yorkshire for the most part enjoyed in the Middle Ages. Men were not however prepared to take that peace for granted but instead took measures to ensure perpetual safety from war. The old town at Whitby clusters near the Abbey. At Beverley the town grew

up with the Minster as a nucleus. In an age of uneasy peace there was at least settled peace in the Abbey precincts. Trade has always tended to make for peaceful routes and to avoid those routes where there is danger of brigandage. Merchants preferred to make their temporary home in a place where they could feel secure. Security was to be found within, or in the immediate neighbourhood of, the walls of an abbey. There were many men prepared in the Middle Ages to risk the penalties of robbery with violence but there were not so many prepared to combine with crime the sin of sacrilege. The Abbey gave her peace to the traders who came to her each year and made the business of merchandise secure. This fact also is partly responsible for the holding of markets and fairs in churchyards and cemeteries, a practice so natural to Englishmen of Plantagenet times that the statutes of Edward I against it were repeated almost two hundred years later by Henry VI, apparently with as little effect. But there were still other reasons for the holding of a fair in abbey-ground or church-yard. The heathen Dane*s came together to celebrate with games the exploits of a dead hero and thus gave rise to opportunities for trade. Christians, similarly, came together on the festival of their patronal saint, to worship in his church. The fair at York was held on the day of St. Peter, to whom the Minster-Church is dedicated. On that day there were pilgrims from many parts of Yorkshire to the Minster, the mother-church, of Yorkshire. Men came to the shrine of the saint and foregathering there became a temporary community whose wants could be supplied not merely by local producers but indeed by the merchants of many countries. Individuals whose normal

lives were spent in isolation were for a time to be found together; the merchant's task was far easier if he could bring his wares to them then than if he were forced to journey each of the muddy tracks that led to the isolated homesteads. In this same way the weekly market was held in the churchyard where the local salesmen and purchasers met inevitably (since in the Middle Ages devotion was a customary matter) on their normal visits to the parish-church. It was in the Middle Ages, or, at any rate, in the earlier part of them, impossible to separate religion and trade. The Minster, the Abbey, the Parish-Church, each had an unbreakable link with the commercial events of its neighbourhood.

It was, indeed, well that this was the case. Certain nineteenth century historians have poured scorn on the Church of the Middle Ages for her association with commerce, accusing her of soiling her hands by such a connection. This was in itself a short-sighted accusation inasmuch as it revealed that these historians had grave suspicions in regard to the character of nineteenth century trade. Their attitude cannot, in fact, be justified. There are in the present times many men in church and business who regret that it is now difficult to pursue a religious attitude in business or to make business and economic life a proper sphere for the active interest of the Church. Such a difficulty did not exist in the early Middle Ages though it was already appearing by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To medieval men and women it was natural that their business should be the concern of the Church. The Church cared for them from birth to burial; the most important feature of their

life - the means whereby they obtained the necessities of life - came therefore under the aegis of the Church. If they brought their domestic concerns to the church-porch they were prepared also to bring their commercial concerns. At the same time, if they were to bring their commercial concerns to the church-porch they were naturally unwilling that there should be anything in those concerns which might savour of unjust dealing. In this way trade benefited enormously from its association with the Church. In an age when there was little coercive power to bind men to perform their contracts, when the authority of the State was insufficient to ensure the absence of fraud in commercial dealings, it was well that the Church required a high standard of morality in trade. By herself taking a place in the trading community she dignified that community and set it a standard of right dealing which, if it increased her own wealth through her commercial undertakings, yet showed to men the means by which lawful wealth might be obtained.

As the Middle Ages passed the Church, it is true, gave to her opponents ground for suspicion as to the origins of her wealth, but it must not be forgotten that it was the Church which first taught business morality and enabled men to practise it. In Yorkshire not only abbots but parish priests saw to it that trading was done equitably in the grounds attached to their Church and gave their blessing to business contracts lawfully undertaken. The attitude of the Church to trade underwent many transformations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and from that time it is the State, rather than the Church which is the regulator of commercial morality in

markets and fairs - the State represented at times by the central authority of the Privy Council and at times by the local influence of the Justices of the Peace.

Before considering the particular histories of Yorkshire fairs and markets it is as well to understand the main characteristics of fairs in general in order that any peculiarities or divergencies from the normal English type may be recognised. There are certain well-marked distinctions which must be obeyed if a fair is to be held and certain features which are normally to be expected. Since these are to be found in most general economic histories (e.g., Lipson "Economic History") it is unnecessary to go into them in detail but is equally necessary to point out the important and main points which characterise the fair in its origin and development. Of these the most important at the outset is the legal position of the fair. The Quo Warranto Inquiry of Edward I affords sufficient indication of the manner in which the fair was regarded by the law. Except in the palatine jurisdiction of County Durham there was only one authority sufficient for the granting of fairs - that of the king. If the reason for the existence of a fair were called in question only two replies might be given and be considered as an adequate defence of the privilege. In many cases the claim would be made that the fair was held from time beyond memory. This claim gave rise to the right by prescription and if all evidence tended to show that the lord of the fair and his ancestors had held that fair for a time

beyond the memory of living men the claim might be, and usually was, allowed. It was a much safer method of defence that a copy of a royal charter should be produced as evidence before the inquisitors. Such a charter could only be given by the king, and fairs, therefore, were held as gifts from the king. It is questionable whether the king having once made the grant could of his own will revoke it - Bracton⁽³⁾ suggests that he could not - but there were ways in which the right to a fair might be forfeited. Of these the failure to hold the fair - "non-user" of the grant - was probably the least common. In the eyes of the law if a fair were not held when a charter had been granted for its holding, then the right of holding it lapsed altogether and the fair could only be revived when an entirely new charter had been obtained for it. From the loss of the right to hold a fair through non-user it is only a short step to the loss of the right if the fair were not held on the days specified in the original charter or in later confirmation of that charter. It was possible - and there are many cases of it - for the date of a fair to be altered when there was reasonable supposition that the new date would mean improved trade in the fair and increased profits for the owner. But since the lord of the fair was to make increased profits by the change, the law required him to obtain a new grant for his fair, specifying the new dates. By this means the executive authority in the country - the Crown - was enabled to have some share in those profits. The lord might not only seek to alter the date of the fair; he might seek to increase or decrease the length

of the fair. Amercements were frequent for the holding of the fair before and after its proper termini or for causing it to end too soon. In many instances a fair was increased in length - that at Kingston-upon-Hull is an obvious example - but in each case a new charter was obtained for the alteration; otherwise amercement or forfeiture was certain to be the fortune of the lord. In order that the correct time for the opening and closing of the fair might be observed the lord or his representative was required to read out a proclamation of the fair on both occasions. Several examples of these in connection with Yorkshire fairs have survived and in some few cases are in use today. The fair, then, had a definite position in the eyes of the law.

Occasionally a lord is found willing to give up his right to a fair. Wherever this was the case, the reason was obvious; the fair had ceased to be a profitable undertaking, due either to the increasing use of the neighbouring fairs or to the competition of new economic factors, to be seen, e.g. in the restrictions placed by the merchant guilds upon trade in fairs or the growth of the new shop-economy in towns. The fair was meant to be a profit-making institution. In the eyes of the owner all other factors governing the development of the fair were subordinated to the end of profits. This is the reason behind the levying of tolls upon merchants and their goods both entering into, and passing out from, the fair. In the early Middle Ages it was considered natural that a merchant should pay tolls whenever he entered or departed from a town or crossed a bridge or ferry.

The levying of tolls on visitors to fairs did not, therefore, prevent the frequenting of those fairs. There were, however, frequent struggles over the right to demand and the right to refuse tolls. Certain towns, with charters modelled largely on that of London, were exempt from paying tolls in fairs - their merchants were free to travel by land and by sea quit of any tollage. The difficulty appeared when such merchants visited a fair where the lord was expressly possessed of the right to levy toll on all comers. The normal procedure was for the older grant to take effect. As the Middle Ages passed there grew up a protest against this levying of tolls. It was definitely having a deleterious effect upon the trade of the fair and lords were to be found willing to give up part or all of their tolls to avoid the danger of ruin to their district. As the fairs themselves decayed the tolls were felt to be more and more burdensome. It must be remembered that the lord of the fair had, at any rate in the Middle Ages, much justification for the levying of such tolls. When the merchants came to his fair they looked to him for protection. To provide protection was an expensive and by no means easy matter. The lord did, therefore, raise tolls to recoup himself for the expense to which he was put in the matter of defence. The incidence of the tolls and their part in the general economy of the manor in itself makes a fascinating study - there were some lords who found the chief source of their wealth in these tolls on merchandise. In this paper it will be necessary to confine the question of tolls on merchandise to their

effects on the movement of trade from fair to fair and to their share in the value which was attached to the fair both by grantor and grantee.

Not only was the lord responsible for the protection of those who came to his fair, and for the observance of peace in the fair, he was responsible also for the performance of justice within the fair. It is a maxim of law that the grant of a fair implied the grant of a fair-court also even where there was no explicit reference to such a court. Though this was undoubtedly the case records of the courts held in fairs are unfortunately very scarce in regard to Yorkshire. There are occasional glimpses indeed of a court of an external authority dealing with cases which should properly have belonged to the court of the fair. This is true, for instance, of the Court Leet at Wakefield. There is, it would seem, room for the inference that practice did not always keep pace with strict legal theory and that the lord did not always hold a court in his fair. Since, however, there are certain cases in Yorkshire where such a court was definitely held, it is necessary to give some explanation of the nature of such courts. First, there is the problem of its name. There is some doubt as to the origin of the term "pie-powder" court. The most possible theory appears to be that which would connect the French "pieds pouldreux" with the Scottish "dustifute". Both these terms suggest the man who wanders on matters of trade from place to place. Today the pedlar has a rather unpleasant significance - the suggestion of a tramp whose pack contains a great variety of articles for which there is little or no demand. There are some few

examples of the true pedlar left - the man whose task it is to supply the necessaries of life to those who cannot themselves reach the great stores of modern towns and cannot be reached even by the most advanced system of motor traffic. It must not be forgotten that throughout the Middle Ages and as late as the close of the eighteenth century this was the normal method of trade. A fair simply was a meeting-place of such merchants coming together for a space in the midst of their travels. Since as soon as the fair was ended each departed to travel along the roads in his own way it was essential that there should be some means of settling any disputes which might arise between them. It was requisite that contracts might be secure and that there should be means by which a defaulter could be brought to account and forced, at least, to make compensation. This security was given by the piepowder court which, though it had only jurisdiction over offences committed actually within fair-time, had the power to refer cases to future courts of the same fair. The jury was chosen from merchants actually present in the fair; it was a much-desired privilege of groups of traders that they might obtain the right to have members of their group upon the jury. The court was not always capable of dealing with matters beyond some fixed amount; beneath that amount its competence extended over all matters. Outside the jurisdiction of the piepowder court there were other methods of maintaining peace and just dealing. The need for the proclamation of the beginning of the fair has already been mentioned; there was strict investigation into the beginning and end of

fairs, whether business was done before or after the due time of the fair. For such offences the merchant found guilty was responsible to the lord of the fair who himself was, in turn, responsible to the officer of the king. This was only one of the matters which concerned the royal officers. One of the main difficulties in the way of extensive trade in the Middle Ages, and, indeed until well into the eighteenth century, was the uncertainty as to the standard of weights and measures. In different fairs the standards were different; common commodities were frequently sold under different weights. At the same time, in the early Middle Ages there was great uncertainty as to the real value of money. The multiplicity of coinages and the frequent lapses of medieval kings themselves from the publication of a standard coinage of worth equal to its profession were a constant source of confusion. The maintenance of a standard of coinage, of weights and measures throughout the country was a matter for the royal authority, whose officers then saw that the standard was observed in all markets and fairs. Only in this way could trade be stabilised and merchants, great and humble, be confident that their purchases and sales were made at no loss to themselves, no loss, that is, occasioned by transactions in a later market in a different locality. The royal clerk of the market had the oversight of all such matters; it will, however, be observed that in certain cases he was by royal charter expressly excluded from a fair. This was a privilege only rarely given and might easily be forfeited if through the carelessness of the local clerk appointed in his stead even the slightest

lapse from the official standard were made. The noteworthy point is this: even where there was a local clerk of the market to attend to the regulations and assizes of sales, such regulations and assizes could not be made by the local fair-authority but only by the central government whose standard was binding throughout the country. Not only was the quantity considered in these assizes; the quality was deemed to be equally important. Regulations as to quality play a very important part in the control of the Yorkshire woollen fairs and cloth markets both by local and State authorities.

The State was not only concerned with the goods appearing for sale. Measures had to be taken for the protection of the trader coming to the market and fair. It will be seen how frequently a royal charter of a fair grants the "firm peace" of the king to those coming to, delaying in, and going from the fair. It has frequently been said that the repetition of royal commands and grants in the Middle Ages testifies to the failure of the kings to ensure their observance. It is true that in Yorkshire the royal peace was infringed. Piracy was a natural habit at sea; on land the merchant had frequently to meet the peril of armed robbers both on the roads and in the fairs. The royal grant of protection, was, nevertheless, a valuable possession. There were few merchants from overseas who dared to travel in England without letters patent authorising their journey and granting them a safe-conduct (vide the Calendar of Letters Patent, Rolls Series⁽⁴⁾). It was not only the foreign merchant who was in need of this royal protection. The Englishman who had goods to sell

or who wished to buy for his cottage or his farm or his manor was also in danger from violence. Whilst the Court of Piepowder existed to redress injuries committed in the fair, crimes on the highway could only be redressed by the sheriff. The measures taken were punitive rather than preventive, but they were essential if trade was to be encouraged and the merchant invited to travel from place to place.

Two other functions remained for the State to perform. The temptation to form a "corner" is not a specially modern characteristic; the "regrator" and "forestaller" were familiar figures before the eighteenth century. Since their operations took place outside the limits (both of boundary and time) of the fair the lord of the fair and his court had no jurisdiction over them. The prevention of, or the punishment for, their practices lay within the province of the State to whom both the lord of the fair and the frequenters of the fair looked for drastic action. If their practices were permitted and proved successful the lord of the fair would lose the tolls that they, and the purchasers of their merchandise, should have paid to him on that merchandise both going into and coming out of the fair. The frequenters of the fair would be cheated of their equality with all salesmen and purchasers; if they had come to sell they would find fewer buyers of their wares and those not amongst the greater buyers; if they had come to buy they would be only able to purchase inferior goods, the better goods being already sold out of the market, or would be faced by a monopoly able to insist on its own price. For these reasons the regrator and forestaller are unpopular figures and their suppression

becomes one of the primary duties of the State in regard to the maintenance of the markets of the country. There was, however, one type of purchaser who was unpopular with lord and frequenter alike but whom the State until the sixteenth century made no attempt to repress except in individual cases as a privilege accorded in return for some service. The representative of the king, the buyer for the royal household had in all markets and fairs the right to the first purchase of any type of merchandise, for which purchase he was entitled to state his own price which the owner of the merchandise had to accept. Even though purchases were made on these terms the seller was fortunate if he lost nothing further. Henry III is the outstanding example of the king who could not pay his debts and there are complaints made that whereas the best of the produce in the market was purveyed to the royal use, little or no attempt was in fact made to pay for it. It is with the Tudor monarchs that these practices come to an end.

These are the external features of the trade of the fair. It must be remembered that until the growth of towns and shop-economy the fair was an all-important event in the trading world, local, national and international. All classes of the community had to attend their local fair in order to supply their daily wants. The diaries and farming books, letters and other domestic records from the Middle Ages to the end of the eighteenth century all bear witness of the important part played by the fair in the year's life and economy. The lady of the house had to consider the needs of the year when she visited the fair, for it was

only during it that she could obtain those greater commodities which the local market could not supply. The bailiff of the lord's estate was in the same position. Every rank and every class required to trade in the fair. The bishop and the abbot, the lord, the yeoman, the peasant, either himself visited or sent his representative to each yearly fair where he could buy not only foodstuffs and clothing but also luxuries and foreign wares, his horses, his armour, his robes, the lady's finery, or the implements of the farm, the best produce of other parts of the countryside - sheep, cheeses, corn - or - by the sea-coast - fish, in some cases the rare commodity - books. Almost everything was to be bought in the fair, and it was only in the fair that almost everything was to be bought. No household, if it were to live in prosperity and contentment, could afford to neglect to sell its surplus products at the fair or to buy there those things of which it stood in need.

As diverse as the goods offered for sale so diverse were the people to be found at the fair. It was always an opportunity of renewing old acquaintanceships besides being a naturally regular meeting-place of friends. The same figures are to be seen year after year as the fair came round until the news is brought that their successors, merchants will take their place. The great men of the district were to be found there, mingling with the crowds, all intent on the business in hand whether commercial, political, or merely the matter of amusement. In Yorkshire there could be heard the mixture of the dialects as the men of the towns and

ridings came together. Beyond the crowd of native Yorkshiremen there were the men of the other counties of England, for there were few places in England which had no trade with Yorkshire. Then there was also the foreigner, the men of the "Empire" in Angevin times, from Anjou, Aquitaine, and in later times the representatives of the American colonies; in all times there were merchants of Flanders, France, Germany and the Baltic Lands. Unlike the South of England, however, there is a tendency in Yorkshire to remain parochial; the foreigner is accepted, even tolerated because it is necessary to trade with him, but he is not the readily-welcomed figure of the great fairs of St. Bartholomew, St. Giles, and St. Botolph.

The commercial side of the fair is its most important feature. It was intended to be a place where buying and selling take place and these were the chief functions of the fair and the crowds who thronged it. There remain two other features to be noticed. The Yorkshire fair is a mirror of political change, as were all English fairs. Friendship for a friend of the king is a sure way to a royal charter for a fair and market; enmity for such a friend could and did lead to investigations into the lawfulness of a fair. With changing political fortunes the ownership of a fair would alter, so that it remained a source of profit to a member of the dominating party in the political world. Influence as much as commercial necessity, in some cases, appears to be at the root of the grant of the fair. Successful political service in peace at home, or in war in Scotland and beyond the seas, could and did lead to royal acknowledgment in the form of a fair-grant. Royal

favourites were always possessed of fairs and markets. The movements of the king are to be traced in his grants; Edward I in his busy campaigning in Scotland could pause to grant one or another Yorkshire fair. The fairs had a further political importance. They were the recognised place of assembly for large crowds. They were the natural means of the passage of news. It is a real possibility that medieval and later revolts may have had at least part of their origin in the converse of a fair. Matters of great political importance could be discussed, secretly or openly where all local men of importance were to be found, whilst in the crowd itself rumours freely took shape, and grumbling arose at the passing of the good old times and the hardness of the new.

One side of the fair has remained until modern times. The previous quotation from the "News Chronicle" is an illustration of this modern inheritance. The fair to the modern mind is simply a place of amusement. This, the least important aspect, is as old as the fair and has survived when the important matters of the trade done in the fair have ceased. It is said that at St. Bartholomew's Fair, Smithfield, the Prior of St. Bartholomew, Rahere, could be seen performing the tricks of his former occupation as a King's Jester.⁽⁵⁾ Apart from such mere side-shows as this, there were in the fair the important medieval methods of amusement. The crowds at fairs provided a natural audience for the presentation of plays; it was at the Yorkshire fairs that the York miracle and the Woodkirk (Towneley) mystery plays were performed. This was not solely for the purpose of entertaining the crowd for the Church seized the obvious opportunity of teaching

the lessons of Scripture in a way calculated to have some effect. The crowd at fairs was by no means solely occupied with the business of salesmanship; the meeting with old acquaintances called for a measure of gaiety and feasting. In view of the modern idea of what a fair is, it is well to remember that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were not the first to find pleasure in crowded gatherings.

These main characteristics are to be seen in all stages of the fair's development. Until the end of the eighteenth century the fair is the most important thing in the economy of England, for in it are to be found the purchases both large and small of both large and small men. Its importance is attested by the readiness not only of Englishmen, but also of foreign merchants to undergo the hardships, to risk the dangers, to overcome the difficulties which beset the journey to and from the fair and encumbered them even during the time of the fair. What these difficulties were may be briefly indicated. Until a late period in the Middle Ages piracy at sea was an everyday occurrence. The Yorkshire ports suffered from the piracies of the Scots committed against Yorkshire shipping. In the sixteenth century the danger of Barbary pirates was quite real even off the English coasts. The eighteenth century saw the appearance of American privateers in the North Sea. Travel at sea was dangerous, and on land until the Tudor period the merchants were in only a slightly less dangerous position. The more modern period saw the depredations of the highwaymen, of whom Nevinson, early in the eighteenth century, is the outstanding figure, in Yorkshire.

In the Middle Ages there was the danger of attack by outlaws - possibly in the forest of Galtres - whilst the forest of Knaresborough witnessed their crimes, or by men who had taken a short leave of sanctuary - as from Beverley. Apart from the evils of men there were other difficulties to be considered. The "Yorkshire Herald" of September 10th, 1934, contained an excerpt from the "York Herald" of September 1834, headed "Accident in York", as follows: "Last Thursday evening, as a waggon heavily laden with wool was leaving our wool market, in passing along St. Saviour-gate the wheels on one side sunk in the ground, upon a spot which had recently been excavated for the drain, which has not yet acquired firmness to sustain so great a weight. The waggon was overturned and one of the horses thrown down, but happily no other inconvenience was sustained than a short delay on the journey". This accident occurred at a period when roads were being improved but it is a slight indication of the difficulties with which merchants of earlier centuries had to contend. Throughout the Middle Ages and until the beginning of the nineteenth century, English roads were in a deplorable condition. The earthen tracks of the West Riding of Yorkshire were unfit for wheeled traffic and goods had to be carried on horse- or mule-back. This was of particular inconvenience to the wool-merchants and farmers of the West Riding, but the roads of the other parts of the County were in little better state and travelling, especially if in the company of a herd of cattle or a flock of sheep, was an irksome duty. Yet with the improvement of the means of transport the fair declined; the difficulties which

hindered those who came to it were one of the causes of its existence. It is only in very modern times that the reverse of this has become true when the latest developments of twentieth century trade and industry and means of communication have revived on a scale comparable to that of the great marts of the Middle Ages the local, yet world-wide, gathering of traders in the British Industries Fair. The re-emergence of the fair in modern times is a proof of the vitality of the organisation evolved by medieval men and women to meet the problem of the constant supply of the necessities and luxuries of life in every district, an organisation of trade which involved in its own nature a legal and judicial development, a political meeting and a social foregathering.

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CHAPTER I.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL NATURE OF THE FAIR.

Religious Sanctions and Trade; the parish-church and the patronal festival, connection of grants of fairs with; fairs on saints' days and Sunday markets; ecclesiastical, national and local regulations against the practice; ecclesiastical ownership of Yorkshire fairs and markets, archiepiscopal, monastic, external; ecclesiastical exemptions from tolls; the profits from tolls and collections; priests in fairs; mystery-plays.

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It has been said above that an important cause of the appearance of the fair was the thronging of pious men and women to the mother-church of their district on the occasion of some great religious festival. Throughout the Middle Ages the Church maintained a keen interest in the conduct of business relationships, particularly as they were manifested in the market and fair. Business was not separated from religion; great ecclesiastics and humble parish-priests were concerned in the sales and purchases of the markets; some of them were themselves possessed of fairs. Abbeys sought privileges for the conduct of the trade which was making Yorkshire wealthy. In this chapter the development of the Yorkshire fairs and markets will be studied in relation to the attitude of the Church towards them - the Church, that is, in its corporate capacity framing regulations applicable to all its members, and also as it is composed of individual men and institutions, each with a personal interest in trade and, on account of that interest, sometimes regarding and sometimes disregarding ecclesiastical canons. There is also to be remembered the distinction between lay and cleric within the Church, for, as more modern times were reached, the lay interest becomes the more predominant in the development of the fair.

Religious considerations were from the first an important factor in trade relationships. Bonds which had been entered upon in the presence of a representative of the rites of the faith or which had been supported by some symbol of religion as the oath, or which had been made in some sacred place were from pagan times of the most binding nature. There is in Yorkshire one interesting illustration of the survival of this spirit into the Middle Ages.

At Scarborough bargains were frequently ratified in early times over a large stone situate at the North end of High Toller gate, on the road to St. Mary's Church, the money brought in payment for the goods being placed on the stone in the presence of witnesses. It seems a matter of probability that in pagan times this stone represented a centre of sacred feelings and superstitions and as such was considered an adequate witness to bargains or oaths made upon it.⁽¹⁾ This survival of paganism was given a sounder and more acceptable meaning in the hands of Church teaching. Contracts made not only for the benefit of man were in undisciplined times the most certain to be observed; the outward religious sanction involved in the ratification of a contract by means of an oath or through the presence of an ecclesiastical official, or, less materially, made more memorable by association with a feast or tomb of a saint, meant that a significance was attached to that contract which in the Middle Ages could not lightly be set aside. Through this teaching the Church in time brought men to understand the binding nature of a contract in itself, but in the early Middle Ages it was necessary to use external persuasion. This is the reason for the significant fact that in the majority of cases of grants of fairs - and this is true of all England, not solely of Yorkshire - the date selected was the festival of the saint to whom the parish church was dedicated. There were other reasons also. On that day there was expected at the Church a greater than usual attendance, and wherever there is an assembly of people, there is the opportunity of the trader who prefers to sell many goods on few occasions rather than by tramping the countryside to sell few goods on many occasions. Supplies had naturally to be obtained for the

feeding and accommodation of the crowds foregathered around the Church - foregathering originally for the sake of devotion, but in later years coming primarily for the purpose of trade. Thus in Yorkshire the early grants of fairs are designed so that the patronal festival is the chief day of the fair. At York it was inevitable that the fair - particularly as it was in the hands of the Archbishop - should be held on and around the feast of St. Peter, the patronal festival of the Cathedral Church. At Hull the fair centred round the feast of Holy Trinity, beginning in 1279 as a three-day fair on the vigil day and morrow of that festival and growing to a thirty-day fair in the time of Edward I (1299), to begin on the feast of St. Augustine after Easter (April 26th)⁽²⁾ - an alteration very noteworthy since it involves the change from the important local day to a day popular in Yorkshire which, in this case, involves a sufficient duration to cause the fair to include the parish-festival towards its close. At Hedon - in medieval times an important Yorkshire centre of trade - the principal church of the town has St. Augustine as its patron saint - here again the fair was associated with the patronal festival. An early grant by an Archbishop of York to the prior and monks of Pontefract was embodied in a Charter which enabled them to hold "a weekly market on Wednesdays in the village of Barnsley, and one yearly fair, to last four days - that is to say on the eve and day of St. Michael (September 29th) and the two days following, with all the liberties and usages to such a fair appertaining." Here the choice of Michaelmas was made because the monks of the St. John's Priory of Pontefract held the wardenship over the Hospital of St. Nicholas to which was attached St. Michael's Church in Barnsley. At Pontefract itself the fair was held

on St. Giles's day (September 1st), the patronal festival of the church there.⁽³⁾ In the case of those towns which rejoiced in being the home of a saint, it was more than ever natural that the fair should be held on the days on which he was especially commemorated. In Yorkshire two cases immediately may be remarked. Ripon held its fair when collections from worshippers and merchants could be conveniently made there by the monks on the various anniversaries connected with St. Wilfrid of Ripon;⁽⁴⁾ the fairs at Beverley were from the time of Edward the Confessor connected with the feasts held to the memory of St. John of Beverley.⁽⁵⁾ Bridlington, in the fifteenth century, gained fairs to be held on the vigil, day and morrow of the deposition of St. John, late Prior of Bridlington, and on the vigil, day and morrow of the translation of the same St. John, both fairs being granted to the Prior of St. Mary's Convent.⁽⁶⁾ There are two other particularly noteworthy instances of such a connection. Howley is a small place within the parish, first of Morley, then of Batley. Here there was apparently a small chapel, designed to serve the needs of a small community, known from its situation as a field-kirk. Beside it was a holy well of sufficient note to draw pilgrims to it. These two places of worship proved sufficient to give rise to a wake in the village which in time developed into the field-kirk fair, known to more modern times as Field-Cock Fair.⁽⁷⁾ The fair at Masham was granted to be held on the festival of the patron saint of the Church - the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Charter granting it being in the nature of a confirmation of an already existing privilege indicating a prescriptive right to a fair held possibly from times before the Norman Conquest. There is quite a possible element in the theory that the connection between the day of the fair and the patronal

festival originated with the Saxons, even if it is untrue to say that King Alfred introduced fairs to England in 886. It is a tradition at Masham that the September fairs (i.e. those originally granted in connection with the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin) shall be rung in on the Church-bells, the sound being intended to guide persons journeying across the moors on their way to the fairs.⁽⁸⁾ Again there is some ground for supposing that this was not the original reason for the ringing of the bells, the real cause being the summons of the people of the neighbourhood to their worship on the patronal festival. The Charter of Henry II to the Abbey of Whitby is a still further example of this adherence in medieval England to the saint of the church of the grantee, since it runs: "I grant and confirm to the aforesaid church (i.e. the Abbey at Whitby) in the said vill of Whitby burgage and a fair on the feast of St. Hilda, with soc and sac, with tol and team, and infangenetheof; and let all the comers to the said fair have my firm peace with all their goods coming and going."⁽⁹⁾ St. Hilda is, of course, the great Anglian Abbess of Whitby so that Whitby takes its place with Ripon, Beverley, and Bridlington in celebrating with a fair the patronal festival of a saint whose career had belonged to the early days of the town. The grant made by Henry II to Whitby Abbey was confirmed by Richard I.

In connection with the fair held on St. Mary Magdalen's day at Hedon there is an interesting grant from the brethren of a hospital to William, Chaplain of Ederwic, of the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen of Hedon. This grant includes "the whole close pertaining to the same place (i.e. the chapel), and with the whole fair, **contin**uing for eight days, within and without the town." This chapel, not to be confused

with the Chapel at Magdalen Hill, was connected with the hospital and occupied part of its site at Newton Garth. When this grant to William, the Chaplain of Etherwick, is studied in connection with the Charter of Henry II, it becomes obvious that the brethren of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at Newton built their Chapel at Newton after they had obtained the right to hold a fair there, and then gave to the Chapel the same dedication as that of the hospital itself, and thus also made the patronal festival of the new Chapel fall on the day of the fair. Here, then, there is the reverse of the usual process in the connection between saint's-day and fair, proving that the commemoration of the one was an almost indispensable adjunct of the growth of the other, at least in its early days as a trading centre. The reason for the transference of the Chapel with all its revenues and emoluments to this Etherwick Chaplain is not stated in the Hospital records, but the transference included the land on which the fair was held, and the fair itself, so that the tolls of the fair passed into his hands. The grant did not deprive the hospital of all interest in the fair, since it was only for the term of William's life, and at his death the Chapel, lands and fair reverted to the hospital. (10)

In Yorkshire certain saint's-days stand out as being more popular than others for the holding of fairs. Of these the festivals of the Virgin are immediately conspicuous. Eighteen Yorkshire fairs were held on the feast of the
(Sept. 8)
Nativity of the Virgin, - those at Sedbergh, Raveneserod, Gisburn, Brignall, Pickering, Easingwold, Osgodby, Kirkby Malasart, Pickhill, Boroughbridge, Bootham (York), Pateley-Bridge, Withernsea, Studley, Stainforth, Masham and Bridlington, and the Woodkirk fair. On the feast of the
(Aug. 15)
Assumption, there were thirteen - at Masham, Hovingham, Tadcaster, Tollerton, Almondbury, Hemingborough, Coxwold,

East Witton, Withernsea, Ripley, Bridlington and Guisborough, together with a further Woodkirk fair. It is, however, a striking contrast that there should be only one fair - that at Pocklington - in Yorkshire on the feast of the Annunciation (March 25), St. Mary Magdalene is a very popular saint; on her commemoration (July 22) Yorkshire witnessed ten fairs - those of Otley, Whitgift, Campsall, Sledmere, Wandsforth, Market Weighton, Thornhill, Burton Constable, Hedon and Selby. Whilst there were ten fairs on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross (Sept. 14), there were only two on the day of the Invention (May 3); these were, at the Exaltation, Sherburn, Adlingfleet, Whorlton, Richmond, Pickering, Faxfleet, Swinefleet, Tollerton, Sheriff Hutton, Leckonfield; at the Invention, Emley and Brandsburton. There is a similar contrast in the number of fairs held on the two feasts of St. John the Baptist; there were nine on the anniversary of the Nativity (June 24) - Walshford, Newton-upon-Ouse, Carnaby, Leaming, Rotherham, Bedale, Tollerton, Beverley and Exelby (Burneston) - but only two on the anniversary of the Decollation (August 29) - Carnaby and Holm. There were nine fairs on the feasts of St. James (July 25) and of all Saints (November 1). Kildale, Thwing, Kilvington, Wakefield, Carperby, Burton-in-Lonsdale, Boroughbridge, Cottingham and Warton represent a wide area of Yorkshire; these are the St. James' fairs. The All Saints' fairs tend to be found in Eastern Yorkshire. A Wakefield fair and one at Boroughbridge are exceptions to a group made up of Heslerton, Lunt-on-the-Wolds, Pocklington, Thornton-by-Pickering, Newton-upon-Ouse, Kilham, Skipsea. There were few English saints of the Middle Ages so popular as St. Thomas of Canterbury. On the day known as the "Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr" (July 7), there were eight fairs in Yorkshire - at Thwing, Thornton-by-Skipton, Patrington, Thorer, Topcliff, Skipsea, Kirkburn-on-the-Wolds,

Rothwell. There were eight also on the feast of Holy Trinity Tanshelf, Stonegrave, Hull, Thornton-by-Pickering, South Cave, Sheffield, Wandesley and Wensley. Seven fairs, Sigglesthorne, Kilham, Barton-le-Street, Settle, Duffield, Cotum and North Newbald, took place on St. Laurence's Day (Aug. 10); there were seven at Michaelmas (Sept. 29) - Barnsley, Hanburg, Pannal Grassington, Aldborough, Kirkby-Malasart, Bedale; seven also at Martinmas (Nov. 11) - Bowes, Burton-Agnes, Lowthorpe, Sinnington East Witton, Cottingham and Womersley, with one on St. Martin's day in Summer^(July 4) at Seamer. St. Margaret's day (July 20) and the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (Aug. 1) each witnessed six fairs on the former there were fairs at Selby, Pocklington, Scameston, Braythwell, Knaresborough, Riccall; on the latter fairs were held at York (the home of St. Peter's Minster), Slaughteburne, Croft, Elland, Hornsea and Kirkburn-on-the-Wolds. The fairs of Burgh-on-Humber, Wath, Rothwell, and, in modern times, Northallerton, were granted for St. Matthew's Day (Sept. 21); those of Penningsale, Cranswick, Elland and Masham for St. Barnabas' day (June 11). Leven, Keighley and Middleham held fairs on the feast of Saints Simon and Jude (Oct. 28). There were fairs at Ayton and Carperby on St. Andrew's day, (Nov. 30), at Cliff and Rotherham on St. Edmund's day (Nov. 20), at Hedon and Hull on St. Augustine's Day, (Aug. 28), at Wakefield and Nostell on St. Oswald's Day (Aug. 5) and at Ilkley and Appletreewick on St. Luke's Day (Oct. 18). It is not only to modern minds that St. George is popular; yet only one Yorkshire fair - that at Northallerton, a sixteenth century grant - appears to have been held on his anniversary, (April 23). There were several days on which only one fair was held throughout the whole County - St. Denis's Day (Oct. 9), when there was a fair at Abberford; St. Edmund the Archbishop's, (Nov. 16), at Rotherham; St. Swithin's (July 15) at Bowes; St. Botolph's (June 17) at Buttercrambe, where there was also one on St. Leonard's Day (Nov. 6); one at Barnsley on the day of

the Conversion of St. Paul (Jan. 25); at Middleham on the feast of St. Alkeld the Virgin (Oct. 27); at Bolton-in-Craven on the day of Saints Peter and Paul (June 29); at Whitby on the Abbey's patronal festival of St. Hilda (Nov. 17); at Pontefract on St. Giles's Day (Sept. 1); at Northallerton at Candlemas (Feb. 2), and the feast of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24); and at York at Lammas-tide (Aug. 1). It was probably only natural that Ripon alone should have a fair on the feast of the translation of St. Wilfrid of Ripon, just as it was natural that Bridlington alone should hold fairs on the feasts of the deposition and translation of St. John, a prior of Bridlington. It is remarkable, however, that few Yorkshire fairs were connected with the greater Church festivals; there were five at Whitsuntide - Burton-in-Lonsdale, Wortley, Skelton-in-Cleveland, Middleham and York; one at Easter - at Duffield; there were two - at Bedale and Beverley - at Ascensiontide. There was one at Pontefract in Lent - on Palm Sunday. The legal and commercial significance of the days thus chosen in the varied parts of Yorkshire for the holding of fairs will be emphasised in later chapters; here it is sufficient to note the direction of the piety which at first requiring religious observance became a principal cause of the establishment, growth and development of the annual marts of Yorkshire. Here it must also not be forgotten that more than one weekly market in Yorkshire, as in other parts of the country, was held on Sunday.⁽¹¹⁾

It is, of course, not only true that people came to Church and stayed to trade, it is also true that some people came to trade and stayed to Church. Whilst fairs and markets were held on saints' days and on the festivals of the Church only a part of the religious intention would have been successful if they had been held at some distance away from the Church. To medieval minds it was natural that

trading should be carried out in close proximity to the church; there was nothing incongruous in holding a fair or a market in a churchyard. Before people dispersed down the tracks leading to isolated homesteads there were groups amongst whom business could easily be done. If the merchant waited until all had gone home his became the unenviable task of trading his wares from village to village or from house to house, thus wasting time without gaining the increased opportunity of sale which the eagerness and competitive nature of a crowd affords. At the same time, from the point of view of the consumer it was not possible to forecast what travelling packman would bring his goods to the village or what his goods would be. There was from both points of view advantage in effecting sales and purchases whilst people were gathered together in the churchyard or church grounds. That this was in early days a recognised custom is borne out by a Charter of confirmation by Archbishop William in Stephen's reign of grants made to Beverley by Archbishop Thurstan, which runs:

"Be it known that I have granted and given and by the testimony of this present charter have confirmed to the burgesses dwelling in the town of Beverley toll for ever for eight marks every year except on three feasts which said toll then belongs to us and to the canons, that is on the feast of St. John the Confessor in May namely from the third hour on the eve of the said feast until the evening of the same festival and if the fair-day shall happen on the eve or on the following day after the feast the fair shall be in the churchyard. In like manner it shall be observed at the feast of the Translation of St. John but on the great feast that is to say on the nativity of

St. John the Baptist from the day of St. Botolph until the third day from the feast let it be observed according to the custom of St. John and if the fair-day shall happen on any of the three days before the feast or on the day after the feast it shall be holden in the church yard and on these three feasts in this manner to be observed I have freed and also acquitted the same burgesses from all toll." (12)

This charter is ~~insistent~~ ^{clear} sufficiently_A in its evidence, There is also a charter in the Coucher Book of Selby which shows that where the fair and market were not held actually within the churchyard they were held in as close proximity to it as possible. This charter, granted in 1304 by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester who at that time held the Manor of Selby, to the Abbey of St. Germanus at Selby, includes:

"Be it known that we, for the welfare of our soul, and our ancestors', have granted to the Abbot and Convent of Selby that they and their successors shall have and hold in the town of Whitgift the cemetery once dedicated there, just as it is bounded by the dykes as far as a certain place where our fair is held each year on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, beside the aforesaid cemetery, in the aforesaid town towards the north, for constructing a church or chapel in that same cemetery." (13)

Yet whilst this was a customary practice, there were certain exceptions. At Hedon the fair was held upon land which did belong to the hospital but which was not in its immediate neighbourhood. The custom probably never obtained at Barnsley, but in this case again the open space still known as the Church Field provided so ample a facility for the purpose of fair and market in close contiguity to the church

that it was unnecessary actually to encroach upon consecrated ground. When later an Easter fair was instituted at Barnsley the prohibition by Edward I was held in mind and its site was arranged further from the church on what came to be known as May-day Green.⁽¹⁴⁾ This problem has given rise to some controversy at Whitby. Between the parish-church and the Abbey there is today an open space usually inhabited by palmists and the caterers of roundabout amusements. This does not provide sufficient evidence for the popular and long-lived belief that before the dissolution of the Abbey that open space immediately to the east of the churchyard was the only market space and that the ancient cross which stands there was the market cross of the town, the witness of a continuous record of Whitby markets and fairs. It is more probable that that cross was not a market cross but stood within the cemetery of the Abbey so that the two cemeteries had one common boundary, there being, therefore, no open space between church and Abbey before the sixteenth century. There would still, of course, remain the possibility that the fair was held within the churchyard. But it must be noticed that in most cases where a fair or market was held within a churchyard, it was the churchyard of a parish church and not that of an abbey. Thus it becomes impossible to hold the view that the ancient cross could have been the market cross whilst it was unlikely that the Whitby monks would demean themselves to the extent of permitting a market within the boundaries of their Abbey. Their attitude to the laity - whom by fixed policy they kept so far as possible at a distance - is shown quite clearly by the building of a parish church when the Abbey began to prosper, so that the laity might not come into the Abbey church. There is, then, some negative

influence against the popular view-point, but there is much affirmative evidence for the view that the Whitby markets and fair were held lower in the town. In all the early notices of fairs and markets at Whitby - as in the charters of Henry II and Richard I - they are always stated to have been held in the town and to be connected with the right of burgage. There was no part of the town of Whitby, nor were there any burgage tenements near the market cross since all the buildings of the east cliff were attached to, and in the tenure of, the Abbey. From a dispute between a Whitby Abbot and Sir Alexander Percy of the neighbouring village of Sneaton it is evident that corn was bought and sold, that the standard bushels for measuring corn^{were kept} and that the market clerk had his station, within the "port" of Whitby, i.e. the modern "lower town".(15)

Yet Whitby and Barnsley must be considered exceptions. Whilst this is admitted it must also be admitted that from early times the official policy of Church and State was directed against the practice. It was not customary - in all probability because of its impossibility - for the Church to maintain the attitude which is expressed in a letter of Archbishop Thomas of York to the Chapter of Beverley, bearing the date of February 28th, 1303-4, and written in the time of Ember Days. This letter includes the following passage:

"And by the sacred canons, tournaments, duels and fairs, in which murders and dangers of animals can easily happen, are forbidden and completely reprov'd.

On account of which, we, bound to the observance of the sacred canons, wishing to keep souls from danger, warn you all and each under pain of the greater excommunication not to attend such spectacles, nor to allow your servants and members of your household to attend them, least of all in these days of fasting.

"If any such have been proclaimed, they shall be
revoked without delay." (16)

The Church might indeed insist on abstinence from attendance at fairs and tournaments - both an ingrained habit amongst men in the Middle Ages - on her fast-days but it was impossible to insist on complete non-attendance. A similar inability to secure acceptance in observance appears to have attended State Legislation.

The legislations of Church and State pursue in this matter a completely concurrent course. The former naturally is concerned with the danger to faith and piety which is represented by their mingling with matters of business both at the time and place of religious worship. Throughout the laws of the latter runs the echo to this feeling; the State's prohibitions are inspired by the endeavour to promote the religious well-being of its subjects, whilst those who enact the laws also consider the effect of such regulation on the welfare of their own souls and on their political relationship with the Church. The earliest legislation on this subject is quite definitely pre-Conquest but apparently begins with Cnut. There is in a charter of Cnut, taken from the York Gospels, a passage inciting men to Sunday observance, which runs thus: "and further still we admonish that men keep Sunday's festival with all their might and observe it from Saturday's noon to Monday's dawning; and no man be so bold that he either go to market or seek any moot on that holy day".

This, it will be observed, makes, in theory at least, impossible a market not only on Sunday but - since observance is to begin at Saturday's noon - also on Saturday. Cnut's legislation had no lasting effect. The convenience of a market on such a day was too great and in the early Middle

Ages there even appeared the practice of granting indulgences to those who came to the fairs on great festivals. From the time of Cnut with one other eleventh century exception there is a long period of silence on the part of both Church and State on this subject; a period of silence during which the double practice - that of holding the fair on a saint's day or Sunday and in or near the churchyard - became more and more an ingrained habit amongst English people. Whilst, however, the official voice of legislation was silent there were attempts to meet the growing neglect of Sunday observance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The response to this growth in the twelfth century comes immediately at the beginning of the thirteenth with the career in England of Eustace, Abbot of Flay (the modern St. Germer de Flay). Sent by Pope Innocent III, this Norman Abbot conducted a special mission in England, preaching and denouncing the wrath of Heaven on all who worked between three o'clock on Saturday afternoon and sunrise on Monday morning. In 1200 his eloquence in London and many other places turned people away from the holding of fairs for secular business on Sunday. In the following year he journeyed northwards into Yorkshire where his preaching had at York and some few other places an effect similar to that in London⁽¹⁷⁾ - that is to say it was immediately but only momentarily successful. At Wakefield, however, he appears to have met the traditional business ability of the Yorkshireman. There, as elsewhere, he exhorted the people to hold no markets or fairs on Sunday, and, according to the chronicler Roger of Hoveden, produced a letter which he declared to have been written by Christ himself, and to have been found on the altar of St. Simon at Golgotha. This letter contained a series of severe censures against

those Christians who neglected to observe the Lord's Day and the feasts of the Church, profaning them by buying and selling in church porches or even in the church itself. As a subsidiary part of his mission Eustace of Flay exhorted the people to give a farthing out of every five shillings of their personal estate to buy lights for the church and for burying the poor. The men of Wakefield treated his letter with somewhat contemptuous unbelief whilst the civic authorities replied to his threats of penalties for those who conducted their business on Sundays by calling to account those who ceased work on Saturday afternoon. At least, his imposture had been bungled. There is, however, one interesting account of the fate which befell those who refused to listen. The Miller of Wakefield continued to grind his corn beyond the hour on Saturday permitted by Eustace with the result that his corn was turned into blood. Being still obdurate he was punished still further by the immovability of his mill-wheel despite all the waters of the Calder. A woman who followed his example placed her paste into the heated oven only to find that when she expected it to be baked it was paste still. Though not responsible for the fact that Sunday markets were soon afterwards abolished and transferred to weekdays whilst those markets which had been held in churchyards were now removed into the streets or open spaces near the church,⁽¹⁸⁾ these stories showed the tremendous growth of feeling against the practice.

The Church continued to oppose the practice by more official and authoritative methods. Archbishop Melton in 1324 conducted a visitation of Selby Abbey in the course of which he forbade the holding of markets and sales in the cemetery of the Church.⁽¹⁹⁾ A similar visitation was held at York almost a century later - in 1409. Here the chief position of anxiety was the vacant space in front of the Minster.

Until as late as 1800 a range of tenements extended from the West end of St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church to the corner of Petergate. The burial ground of that same church, adjacent to the Minster, was frequently used for markets and fairs and for other festivities. It appears from the records of the York Fabric Rolls that sometimes the Chapmen congregated there in such numbers that the gathering assumed the size of an irregular weekly market. The report of the visitation of 1409 was repeated in a presentation of 1416.

The fuller version of 1409 runs: "The parishioners (of

St. Michael-le-Belfrey) say that a common market for venal things is held on Sundays and feast days in the cemetery of the Church and that different things and goods and rushes are exposed for sale there: the horses also stand over the tombs and bodies of the dead: and that the worship of God is greatly impeded by the noise of those who stand around." (20)

The old complaint made by St. Basil in the fourth century that on the great church festivals men kept markets in churchyards under colour of making better provision for the feasts could thus still be made in fifteenth century England. It might be thought that the nuisance so definitely stated in the St. Michael-le-Belfrey visitation would call for immediate measures of redress which would for all time end the practice. Yet a century later a presentation, or complaint was made to the Archbishop of York by the Churchwardens of the Parish of Riccall. In 1519 they represented that pedlars ("calatharii") were accustomed to come on feast-days to the porch of their church, there to sell their wares. (21) The Churchwardens did not appear to be opposed to method of the merchandise but to the fact of its being conducted within the precincts of their Church;

thus, the place of sale comes to be transferred from Church-porch to market-cross, still, it must be remembered, a constant reminder of the Church's interest in just dealing. This Riccall presentation would appear to be the last complaint against the practice of holding fairs and markets in churchyards but it must not be supposed that the practice came to an end. With the sixteenth century the practice became less common and only isolated examples from local regulations show that measures of precaution against its recurrence had still to be taken. With the dying out of this practice there also came, although gradually, the end of the practice of holding markets on Sunday; the growth of Puritanism was a strong factor working against the continuance of either practice.

In the meantime, whilst the Church was attempting through missioner and visitant to check these practices the State had not been idle. Yet, as the Church found her canons disregarded, the State found that only the repetition of its statutes secured even slight obedience for them, and that in general they were completely disregarded. The first definite step in the policy of preventing these practices belongs to the reign of Edward I. The Statute of Merchants of 1283 forbade the holding of fairs in sanctuaries; two years later, the Statute of Winchester (13 Edward I) made it illegal to hold fairs in churchyards. Such restrictions were little in harmony with the habits and customs of the Middle Ages and it is therefore not surprising to find that in 1382 the Council issued an order to the sheriffs throughout England, an order decided upon "by the counsel and assent of the prelates, nobles and lords sitting in the last parliament at Westminster", requiring them to make further proclamation of the

the

Statute of Winchester "concerning the holding of fairs and markets in churchyards".⁽²²⁾ A significant note is added, in that they were "to cause the same to be kept". Yet even so the Statute appears to have remained to a considerable extent a dead letter - witness the St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York, and Riccall presentations already quoted. The next step of the State concerns the days of holding fairs, not their whereabouts. In 1448 by the Statute 27 Henry VI cap. 5, all showing of goods and merchandise, except necessary goods and victuals, was to cease on the great festivals of the Church and on all Sundays except the four Sundays of harvest. (It was not until 1677 that the holding of a fair or market on any Sunday was prohibited). In this Statute of Henry VI special stress is laid on the prohibition of fairs on the High Feast of the Assumption. This act, designed against what is termed "the scandal" remained on the Statute book until it was repealed by the Statute 13 and 14 Victoria c. 23., when, apparently, all traces of the scandal had disappeared.⁽²³⁾ It still is true that as in the case of the Statutes directed against the holding of fairs in churchyards, this statute was directed against a practice which was too general to be abolished by the mere statement of its illegality by a king who was unable to retain his throne. The practice only in reality ceased when the important days of the fair were over. It is, however, possibly significant of the attitude of the State that whereas in 1446 one of the Bridlington fairs was granted for the vigil, day and morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary, the fair granted in 1449 to the mayor and citizens of York was granted for the six days after the feast of Whitsuntide. In 1514, however, Richard the Prior of St. John's Monastery, Pontefract, received a grant of a fair at Barnsley to be

held on the day of the Conversion of St. Paul and the two days following. It should be remembered that when the spiritual value of holding a fair on a patronal festival in the neighbourhood of a church, had decreased there still remained for the church of the vicinity a certain material value in such a connection as will be shown later in reference to Ripon Cathedral.

There remains a third type of legislation dealing with this problem. Local regulations were from the sixteenth century onwards more able to cope with the disregard of Sunday observance and by immediate penalties cause to cease an offence against which Church and State had striven with such ill-success. Of these, the earliest comes from Hedon, still in the sixteenth century a flourishing town, and is found in "the Othe for the Sessions and Also for the Sheryftorne" (tempore Henry VIII):-

"You good men that be sworne according to our duties, as we be stratlie bounden by our othes hertofore maide, wherin we stonde charged in conscyans aswell to shoue as to enfourme you of all such articles as shalbe moste needfull to be resytted unto you at this tyme, aswell as ar bounden to enquer of the same by your othes, and to present by verdicte all offendores ... Also ye shall inquer if anye kepe faire or market at anye church or churcheyerde, or at anye other plaice, upon thassencyon daie of our Lorde, Corpus Christi Daie, Whitsondaie, Trenytie Sondaie, the Assompacion of our Ladie, the ffeaste of All Saintes, All Sondaies except foure in Harveste, and Good ffrydaie, no man sholde shoue anye goodes or mercha~~n~~tryse except necessarie victualles upon paine to forfet the same goodes so showid to the lorde of suche libertie, wher suche shall happen."(24)

Even the sheriffs of Yorkshire could not completely stamp out the practice. In the early seventeenth century the All Saints' fair at Wakefield was still the cause of much merriment and feasting even apart from the serious work of an important cattle fair. The West Riding Justices gave orders in 1611 that for the future there should be no more wakes, feasts, garries, helpales or assemblies of such nature (all of them types of the lighter side of fair-life) held on the Sabbath, and even appeared to attempt to bring them completely to an end - an attempt from the outset doomed to failure. They required that if any such assemblies were held on the Sabbath or other Saints' days, the constable of the town should suppress them. Where he could not do that, he was to resist them with his full power. In order that ignorance might not be pleaded of this policy of suppression, public notice of the order was to be given in all churches and chapels where such feasts had formerly been held. The Justices of Wakefield were determined to end the practice of Sunday marketing. By the beginning of the eighteenth century they had succeeded in depriving the town and parish of its normal place of meeting and sales by the removal of the Market Cross. It was upon this Market Cross in 1684 that Ann Smith was ordered to stand for selling ale on Sunday in the time of Divine Service.⁽²⁵⁾

The real business of the market was, then, no longer conducted on Sundays after the seventeenth century, and in that century it was already ceasing to be customary. The growth of the new outlook in religion and the development of new ideas as to the connection of faith and business led to a severance of a relation not incongruous to medieval consciences. The fair disappeared from the churchyard and the market was no longer held on Sunday. Where the fair

was still dated by the old name of the saint's day, the name was meaningless in that there was no longer the medieval observance of the feast. In many cases - in most - the fair persisted on the old day but it now came to be considered as a day of a month. Here and there a gathering of which the purpose was almost solely pleasure persisted on a Sunday through the eighteenth century as the sole relic of a practice which medieval law-givers of Church and State had sought in vain to destroy. The diary of John Hobson of Dodworth Green has some interesting entries:

1726	May 22 (Sunday)	At Holmfirth feast.
	June 12 (Sunday)	Dodworth feast. At church.
	July 17 (Sunday)	At Birchouse feast.
1727	July 30 (Sunday)	At church. Silkston feast.
1728	August 4 (Sunday)	At church. Silkston feast.
1732	July 16 (Sunday)	At Ardsly feast at Mr. Micklethwait's, in company with cozen Betty Prince, and cozen Nancy Briggs. (26)

The village feast is in many instances the direct descendant of a fair, but it has changed completely in character. The feast is primarily a social function, not a commercial one. In the eighteenth century, therefore, it was admissible to hold feasts on Sunday so that there was little or no impropriety in the idea and practice of beginning the Sunday with attendance at church and of completing the day with the enjoyment of a feast. John Hobson's entries in his diary close the picture of the struggle made by state, ecclesiastical and local authorities to remove the fair and market from the churchyard and to prevent its being held on Sunday or on great feast-day.

In stressing this determination of the Church to end what had developed into a scandal it must not be thought that the Church in any way frowned on the fair or market as such. Rather, the Church was deeply interest in these commercial gatherings, finding in them a means by which

her ministers could reach the people, whilst at the same time benefits in many ways accrued to herself from this contact. The religious orders of the Church - priests, monks, nuns - had to obtain their means of life from the only places where food and clothing were obtainable in quantity. The real interest of the Church in fair and market is to be seen in the list of ecclesiastics who were owners of them. In Yorkshire, as in every county in England, a very great proportion of fair-grants are made to the officials of the Church. Of the South of England it is true to say that with the exception of the fair of St. Botolph no great fair existed which was not in the hands of some ecclesiastic. Such a generalisation is hardly true of Yorkshire, but in a qualified state it is, since of the more important Yorkshire fairs the more part were in the hands of the Church. There were some which were in the hands of both lay and ecclesiastical owners; in other places at different times fairs were held by clerics and by laymen. Lay patronage was quite a reality in the Middle Ages, and therefore the grant of a fair to be held on the patronal festival of the Church of the district must not be held to presuppose a grant to the Church itself; there is always the probability that the grant is a grant to the lord of the manor. The Yorkshire grants to lay owners will be dealt with in a later chapter; here it will be sufficient to indicate those Yorkshire clergy who received fair-grants. It must not of course be forgotten that ecclesiastics outside Yorkshire were interested - even some ecclesiastics outside England - in the trade of Yorkshire and found it to their advantage to hold markets and fairs on their manors in this county,

whilst, in the contrary manner, some of the Yorkshire churchmen went beyond Humber for their holdings.

In the record of Yorkshire ecclesiastical owners it will be seen that all types and ranks of spiritual ministers are represented.

There are many reasons for this appearance in Yorkshire of ecclesiastically-owned fairs and markets. Certain general causes were at work which affected the development in Yorkshire in a manner identical with the growth of fairs in all England. It will be noticed that a great many grants date from the reigns of John and Henry III; the latter is particularly famed for his piety. His devotion to the Church had a considerable effect upon the direction of English internal trade. A later medieval king equally renowned for his piety - Henry VI - had a similar effect in directing the means of wealth into Church hands. A renewal of a grant made by him to Bridlington Priory in 1452 of two fairs was due to the fact that the king "was not willing that grants made for the good of his soul" should become void.⁽²⁷⁾ Medieval donors of fairs were willing to grant them not only for the good of their own soul, but - as in the case of a grant to Selby Abbey of quittance from tolls in fairs and markets, made by Gilbert Tison at the instance of Queen Matilda - for the repose of the souls of others - in this case for the souls of the King, St. Edward, and William the Bastard.⁽²⁸⁾ Medieval piety, then, must be regarded as an important general cause of the appearance of so many ecclesiastical holdings of markets. There are, in Yorkshire, two particular causes. The enormous influence of successive Archbishops of York undoubtedly brought grants of fairs not only to themselves but to those who secured their favour. The fact that Yorkshire

is so completely a county of abbeys and monasteries is another cause to be held of great importance in this development. On the one hand, therefore, the chief individual ecclesiastical owner of fairs and markets in Yorkshire, was the Archbishop of York, whilst the majority of ecclesiastically owned fairs in Yorkshire were in the hands of the abbeys and priories of the county. It is a difficult matter to say which is the oldest fair held by the Archbishops of York. In view of the lack of definite evidence in regard to the origin of the York fair, it must be supposed that the fair at Ripon, based on the charter of Henry I in 1108, may justifiably claim that position. It must be noticed that the grant is not solely to the Archbishop:

"Henry, King of England, to sheriffs and ministers and all barons, Frenchmen and Englishment of Yorkshire and Northumberland, greeting. Be it known that I have granted to St. Wilfrid of Ripon and to Thomas, Archbishop of York, to have a fair for four days, on the feast of St. Wilfrid in April, for four days before the feast (the Translation), and on the day of the feast, and on the following day. And I ordain that all going thither, and thence returning, with all their merchandise, shall have my firm peace, nor shall any injury or insult be done to them, nor shall they be disturbed, upon £40 forfeiture. Witnesses: Nigel of Albin, Geoffrey FitzPagan, Geoffrey de Clinton. At Woodstock."

This grant was confirmed by Stephen, at some date between the years 1135 and 1147. After the usual introduction the charter runs:

"I grant with my firm peace also their fairs, for five

days, for those coming thither and returning thence, and delaying there, both selling and buying with all their things."(29)

This fair at Ripon was the source of much dispute between the York Archbishops and the Canons of Ripon, and also between the Archbishops and their tenants and other dwellers in the neighbourhood of Ripon. In 1228 the former dispute had become so keen that it had to be heard before the king's justices in the Chapter House at Ripon, the Canons claiming, and being successful in obtaining, various franchises, among them a Wednesday market. These various franchises of the Liberty of Ripon are most fully described in a Quo Warranto proceeding in which John Romaine (Archbishop of York 1285-1298) claimed and was allowed a Thursday market and the fairs in Ripon granted by Henry I and Stephen.⁽³⁰⁾ According to a roll in the Duchy of Lancaster Records (A.23) the fair held on the October feast of St. Wilfrid (the Deposition) was in the hands of Ripon Minster. A previous Archbishop, Wichwane, in the Quo Warranto proceedings of 1279-1280 also claimed a fair at Ripon on the vigil, day and morrow of the Invention of the Cross (May 2-4).⁽³¹⁾ The other contest, that between the Archbishop and the tenants of the manors in the neighbourhood of Ripon, only reached its climax in the fifteenth century when the king's tenants in the forest of Knaresborough obstinately refused to pay tolls to the Archbishop of York during the fairs. Determined to fight for his privileges the Archbishop in 1441 engaged two hundred men-at-arms from Scotland and the Marches at sixpence or a shilling a day. Sir John Plumpton, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, gathered in reply seven hundred men. Each side blamed the other for the affray which then ensued, between the people and the soldiers who kept "Ripon at fair

tymes by night, like a towne of warr" - an affray in which more than a thousand arrows were discharged. The full story of the contest as told in the "Plumpton Correspondence" has a very direct bearing on the question of the position of market or fair in the social life of the Middle Ages. (32)

The Quo Warranto inquiries give further evidence on the subject of the Archbishop's fairs. Archbishop Wichwane claimed the fair at Beverley four times a year. The following is the account of the plea of Quo Warranto held before Hugh de Cressyngham and his companions, justices of the lord the king itinerant, at York on the day of Holy Trinity, 1293 -

"John, Archbishop of York, was summoned to answer the lord the king of a plea by what warrant he claims also of old time a fair every year that is to say once on the eve and on the day of St. John the Baptist and for three days following and at another time on the day of St. John of Beverley in winter and thirdly on the day of St. John of Beverley in May and fourthly on the eve and on the day of the ascension of the Lord and for seven days following He says that all his predecessors Archbishops of York continually have used all the liberties he claims by the aforesaid charters etc. and he and his predecessors, Archbishops of York etc. from the time of the date of the aforesaid charters continually have used these liberties which by the aforesaid charters he claims etc. and this he is ready to verify as the court shall consider."

The appeal of the Archbishop was then allowed by the Justices. (33)
As in the case of Ripon, the fair at Beverley led to disputes between its owner and the townspeople; the citizens of York

were also brought into the dispute so that at times there was almost reached the stage when there were no dealings between the two places. It was inevitable that there should be bitterness in this dispute for the claim of the Archbishop was allowed by Edward I; yet Beverley Minster was in possession of a charter of King Stephen of 1135 which states:

"I confirm to the Church of St. John of Beverley all the privileges and gifts which were given by the kings Edward and my ancestor William, both all liberties and customs and dignities and rights both by land and by water and in all their possessions with soc and sac and tol and team and those things which pertain to them there, their fair also on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24) for five days, with my firm peace for all coming thither and departing thence and there delaying, both sellers and buyers with all their goods."⁽³⁴⁾

The first of the four fairs claimed by Wichwane was that on June 24; it is difficult to resist the idea that a previous archbishop had made a successful interloping action.

The earliest evidence for the fair held by successive archbishops at York is a charter of Archbishop Thurstan - of date between 1114 and 1140 - granting to the canons of St. Peter's two marks yearly from his fair there on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (v. W. Farrer "Early Yorkshire Charters" Vol. I. Edinburgh 1914 p. 126). Further evidence comes from the Quo Warranto Rolls. In the roll dealing with the City of York it is stated that the Archbishop claims, on the ground of possession from time immemorial, a fair at York beginning on the vigil of St. Peter ad Vincula (the saint's-day being August 1) at the hour of vespers in the neighbourhood of St. Michael's

(now St. Michael's, Spurriergate) and lasting until the same hour on the day following St. Peter's day.⁽³⁵⁾ This fair in later times came to be known as Lammas Fair. From its earliest holding this fair gave to the archbishop the right to take full control over the city and its jurisdiction. The full statement of the powers of the archbishop in these three days belongs properly to the chapter on the judicial and juridical questions of fair-ownership. It is important to remember, here, that both at York and Ripon local government passed from the hands of the town to the hands of the archbishop in the course of the fair.

The fairs at York, Ripon and Beverley were the greatest of those belonging to the Archbishops of York. Besides them there were several in the different parts of the County, on the Archbishops' manors. Walter, Archbishop of York was in 1239 the recipient of a grant made to himself and his successors of a yearly fair at Otley on July 21 and 22 (the vigil and feast of St. Mary Magdalen) and at Sherburn on September 13 and 14 (the vigil and feast of the Exaltation of the Cross). To these in 1252 was added a three-day fair in August (at the feast of St. Bartholomew) in the manor of **Chirchedon** - a grant of Henry III which was confirmed to Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York, in 1388 by Richard II. The grant of 1310 to William, Archbishop of York, and his successors, of a weekly market on Monday at the manor of Patrington-in-Holderness, together with a yearly fair there at the beginning of July, was made by Edward II on the advice of his treasurer - a fact which indicates that whilst the royal treasury was not likely to suffer injury from the grant, its officials were concerned to attend to the financial and commercial needs even of remote manors. This Archbishop, William de Melton, in 1334, and his heirs received a grant of a weekly market on Saturday at their manor of Kilham,

together with two yearly fairs there, the first at the feast of St. Laurence (August 9-11) and the second for six days at the feast of All Saints (October 29 - November 3). This same Archbishop, William de Melton, was directly concerned in the royal charter of 1319 to Pateley Bridge, the principal village of Bishopside, which constituted it a market town. The charter granted to him the right to hold one market every Tuesday on his manor of "Patheley Brigge in Nedredale", and one fair every year lasting five days, on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, three days before and the day following (September 5-9). The market has been in later days transferred to Saturday. The charter also granted a fair to the Archbishop at his manor of Otley, to be held at the feast of St. Mary Magdalene (July 18-23) - this being an extension of the two-day fair granted to his predecessor in 1239. There is one last point to be mentioned in regard to these grants. The confirmation by Queen Elizabeth of the archiepiscopal rights to a fair in York has misled historians in the past to imagine that this was the original grant. Neither the archbishop's fair nor the city fair began in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; both were medieval (the city fair is a fifteenth century grant) and both continued to modern times. (36)

Others who were interested in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter found that their connection with it was a reason for a fair-tenure. Of these the earliest is the Wednesday market and the annual fair at Tollerton on the Assumption (August 14-16) granted by Henry III in 1291 to Bevis de Clare, Treasurer of St. Peter's, York, and his successors in that office. There was in 1348 a grant made, of special grace, to J John de Wynwyk, prebendary of the prebend of North Newbald in the Church of St. Peter, York, and to his successors, of a weekly market on Thursday and a three-day fair at the feast

of St. Laurence (August 9-11) at North Newbald (in the East Riding). The same John de Wynwyk shortly after this grant became treasurer of the Minster, and it is therefore to be presumed that he inherited the grant of the market and fair at Tollerton. Yet it appears that he had some difficulty in justifying this claim, since it is not very obvious whether this fair was continued, had ever been held, or was superseded by a grant made to him in 1358 of a weekly market on Wednesday and two fairs yearly at Tollerton, the former at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 23-25) and the latter at the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 13-15). To these fairs at North Newbald and Tollerton, John de Wynwyk added two further, but out of Yorkshire, receiving in 1351 for himself and his successors a weekly market on Wednesday and a yearly fair from April 30 to May 2, and from September 30 to November 2, on "their ground" at Motesfount in Hampshire. A king's clerk, William de Excestre, holding the prebend of Riccall in York Minster received in 1350 for himself and his successors a Wednesday market and a three-day fair (July 19-21) at the manor of Riccall. (37)

It is a well-known fact that Yorkshire was in the Middle Ages a county of abbeys. In some sense there remains in the dales today a feeling of regret for the destruction of their fame. It cannot be doubted that those abbeys brought trade and wealth to parts of Yorkshire which would otherwise have remained completely in the background. Even apart from the important share which the Cistercian abbeys took in the development of northern sheep-farming and the consequent growth in the wool-trade, their general attitude to industry, agriculture and commerce proved beneficent. The peace which surrounded them was a protection to the merchant; the blessing

of the Church was given to those who came to trade within the Abbeys' manors. In every part of Yorkshire, then, there was to be found an Abbey, monastery, priory, holding annually, or even more frequently a fair, and in each week a weekly market.

There are no existing records which give any description of the fair held in Bootham by St. Mary's Abbey at York. Apart from one reference even the Abbey Chronicle is silent. That reference simply states that in 1308 the Abbey's charter of liberties was inspected and confirmed by Edward II, who thus renewed the Abbey's right to hold a fair and market in Bootham, which was not to be proclaimed throughout the whole county of York. ⁽³⁸⁾ A fair held at so convenient ^a place - being just outside the city walls traders escaped the city tolls but were near enough to the city if the need of protection should arise - and being under the control of so important an abbey, must have attracted a considerable gathering of people, together with a large volume of trade. It is rash to suggest - as one historian has been bold to do - that the fair rivalled the fourteen-day Cambridge fair in size, but St. Mary's fair in Bootham must have been in the Middle Ages no mean matter. The fair, apparently, originated with the various privileges granted to the foundation by William II and afterwards confirmed by Henry I, Henry II and Henry III, when the "town" of Bootham, with its fair, market and liberties was granted to the Abbey (there is, here, a possible explanation of the earlier-mentioned theory that the Bootham fair is pre-Conquest - there may have been a fair at Bootham before Bootham became a possession of the Abbey - but the theory has little basic probability). The fair rapidly grew in size and soon came to threaten the trade of the city, with whom the Abbey had constant disputes. In 1318 a grant was made to the Abbot

and convent of St. Mary's of a Wednesday market and a fair from September 6 to September 8 at their borough of Bootham, but they were required to restore this charter for cancellation by order of the king because it was found to have been granted to the injury of the city of York.⁽³⁹⁾

This did not end the dispute; in 1353 a settlement was reached between the contending parties on the intervention of Archbishop Thoresby who effected an agreement between the City and Abbey respecting the bounds of the jurisdiction of each.⁽⁴⁰⁾ That the Abbey maintained its right to hold a fair is shown from the grant made to the Abbot in 1448, by which he was given permission to "make and appoint for himself

clerks of the market in the Abbey, cells, lordships and so forth; and these clerks shall have full power to execute all belonging to the office of the clerk of the market of the King's household, to the exclusion of his jurisdiction, and the Abbot shall have all the fines and profits of the said office and levy the same without impediment all the foregoing to be held in frank almoign without account, rent, service, exaction charge or demands, to be rendered, done, borne or paid to the king; notwithstanding any statute, proclamation, judgment, ordinance, allowance, or act to the contrary, or that there is here no express mention of the true value of the foregoing."⁽⁴¹⁾

This was an important privilege sought for by most lords of fairs and markets, and would be applied by the Abbey not only to its fair at Bootham but also the yearly fair held by the Abbot and convent at Hornsea before 1358 and to the further fair granted them in 1358 for the three days, July 31 - August 2.

One other York monastic foundation gained its necessary wealth partly from fairs. The hospital of St. Leonard was - especially in the later Middle Ages - an important centre of medical skill as well as of monastic life. It was no easy matter to give constant medical aid in the centre of a medieval city and some endowments were essential. This need lies behind the grants of fairs to the hospital. The first grant was in 1282, the master and brethren being empowered to hold two fairs, one at the end of June and the other at the beginning of November, at Newton-upon-Ouse, a village little more than ten miles further up the river, at a convenient fording-place. The hospital gained at the end of the thirteenth century from the fact that Walter de Langeton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was in the office of master, since he secured for the hospital a grant of a market and fair at the manor of Leaming by Exelby (Burneston).⁽⁴²⁾

It is surprising to find that of the group of abbeys of the North and Western dales - Jervaulx, Rievaulx, Bolton, Byland, and Fountains - only two, Jervaulx and Bolton held fairs. It is no solution to say that Fountains was too near Ripon, or Byland too near Coxwold and Rievaulx too near Helmsley, for St. Mary's was still nearer to York. Bolton may easily be considered as away from the normal lines of trade or other activity (hence the captivity of Mary Stuart in its neighbourhood), but had a fair further up the dale at Appletreewick. Jervaulx is however in a busy area of the dales, in touch with Ripon, Masham, Richmond and the roads to Lancashire. In 1307 the Abbot and Convent were granted a weekly market and two yearly fairs, one from August 14 to August 21, and one on the 10 and 11 November, to be held at their Manor of East Witton, scarcely a mile from the Abbey. Henry IV renewed this grant in 1400 but though

the fairs remained centred round the same saints' days (the Assumption, and St. Martin in the Winter) their duration was altered, the former now being held for two days, August 14, 15, and the latter for eight, November 4-11. The Monday market was continued.⁽⁴³⁾

It has already been mentioned that the Cathedral church at Ripon held a fair at Ripon during October, quite distinct from the Archbishop's fair in August. Summoned in 1228 to explain the origin of this grant, the clergy took oath that the church and chapter had held their fair from the time of King Athelstan, with all things which pertain to a fair. Athelstan's grant of privileges was the same as his grant to Beverley - and, therefore, as in the case of Beverley - may be taken as a mere attempt to give a definite founder to a liberty which had existed from before the Conquest but without definite grant. Athelstan's rime charter makes no mention of a fair or market. The monks of Ripon, as will shortly be shown, did in the Middle Ages find considerable value in a fair, and at the time of the reconstitution of the chapter, consequent upon the Reformation, the new foundation, consisting of a deanery, sub-deanery, and six prebends was endowed with the old monastic rights, including grants of fairs, markets, courts and offices of clerks of the market.⁽⁴⁴⁾

In North-east Yorkshire the monks of Whitby obtained from Henry II and Richard I the right of burgage in the town, and the privilege of holding an annual fair there on the feast of St. Hilda, with an assurance of the king's peace to such as resorted thither, and to all their effects both going and returning. The charter of Henry II to the Abbey is as follows:-

"I grant and confirm to the aforesaid church in the

said vill of Whitby burgage and a fair at the feast of St. Hilda, with soc and sac, with tol and team and infangenetheof; and let all the comers to the said fair have my firm peace with all their goods, coming and going."⁽⁴⁵⁾

Whitby fair was a popular one amongst merchants but it was granted exclusively to the Abbot and convent, not to the town. Whitby was a free borough; it must be remembered, therefore, that a free borough has not necessarily a right to hold markets and fairs.

Some few miles across the moors from Whitby, to the North-West, is Guisborough, where the Abbey had similar privileges to those of Whitby. It was not, however, until the thirteenth century that a fair and market were obtained. The charter granting the fair (1263) is very typical of the grants of that period (it is to be found in the abbey chartulary):

"Henry etc. Be it known that we have granted and by this our charter have confirmed, for us and our heirs, to our beloved in Christ, the Prior and Canons of Guisborough, that they and their successors may have for ever a fair there each year to last for three days, viz: the watch, the feast and the morrow of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (August 15) provided that that fair is not to the harm of neighbouring fairs. Wherefore we wish and firmly ordain, for us and our heirs that the aforesaid Prior and Canons and their successors shall have for ever the aforesaid fair at Guisborough in the County of York with all liberties and free customs pertaining to a fair of this kind unless that fair shall be to the injury of neighbouring fairs as is aforesaid. With these witnesses: Roger le Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England;

Guy of Lusignan, our Brother; Philip Bassett, our Jugliciar of England; Hugh Bigot; John Mansell, Treasurer of York; William of Wilton; Geoffrey de Langley; John de la Lynde; Ralph de Bakepuz; William de Aette and others."⁽⁴⁶⁾

The Priory continued to hold this fair throughout the Middle Ages but it was rapidly declining in value. Immediately after the Priory and its possessions came into the hands of Henry VIII in 1539 a survey was made which showed that the annual value of the fair and markets had fallen to 23s. 4d. (i.e. about £15 today) whereas the common bakehouse was valued at £4 6 8d. and two watermills and one windmill were together worth £13 12 2d.⁽⁴⁷⁾

At Bridlington John was responsible for the first grant of fair and market to the Priory. This is shown from a confirmation of previous charters by Henry VI in 1437. This confirmation reads:-

"We (i.e. Henry VI) have seen also another prayer which lord John King of England made, to the said Prior and Canonicks in these words - John etc. Know that we have given and granted by these presents to God and the Church of St. Mary's in Bridlington and the Canonicks there serving God one Fair at Bridlington during two days to wit the same (an error for "eve") of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary (August 15) and upon the Holy Day itself and one Markett every week upon the Sabbath day so that that Fair and that Markett be no hindrance to the neighbouring Marketts and Fairs.

"Wherefore we will and command that they have and hold the aforesaid Fair and Markett and their successors for ever peaceably and quietly with all privileges

belonging to such Fairs and Marketts, so that they be no hindrance to their neighbouring Fairs and Market^tss. And we forbid by our Viceroy (? Sheriff) at York that injury or molestation be done to men either by going from or coming to the said Markett or Fair. Dated by the hand of Simon the Archdeacon of Wellin the 6th day of December in the second year of our reign."⁽⁴⁸⁾

Henry VI, having confirmed his predecessors' charters, increased by further grants the privileges of Bridlington Priory. In 1446 grant was made by him "out of devotion to the confessor John, late prior of Bridlington" to the prior and convent of St. Mary's that they should have the power to appoint from time to time clerks of the market in their various lordships, manors, and lands, who should have full power to exercise in them everything pertaining to the office of the clerk of the market of the king's household, excluding the latter's jurisdiction. By the same grant the priory was now to hold three fairs yearly, the first on the vigil, day and morrow of the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8) and the other two on the feasts connected with the deposition and translation of the late prior, St. John the Confessor, these fairs to be held "notwithstanding that there is here (i.e. in this charter) no express mention of the true value of the foregoing, or of other grants made to the said prior and convent." Thus by the order of King and parliament, St. Mary's Priory now came to hold four fairs in the year. These grants were, however, apparently resumed immediately into the king's hands, though the prior and convent still claimed the right. Hence in 1452 there was a complete repetition of the grants by the king, "of special grace, sure science and mere motion", because he was "not willing that grants made for the good of

his soul, especially those made to his special advocate the holy confessor John, sometime prior of Bridlington, should become void".⁽⁴⁹⁾ Yet the reign of Henry VI was not far from the period of the Reformation, and grants made in this way were of little avail when the priory was dissolved. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the fairs at Bridlington had passed into the hands of a group of gentlemen who had undertaken to use the profits from them for the upkeep of the town and the repair of the pier.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The East Riding of Yorkshire had many monastic foundations, of which most followed the example of Bridlington in offering a temporary meeting-ground for merchants. The fairs held by the Archbishop of York caused some friction in Beverley, but the Minster there also claimed that its privileges included such marts. It is at times difficult to distinguish between the three authorities holding fairs in Beverley - the Archbishop, the Provost of the Minster, the town - but there is no doubt that there was a fair belonging to the Minster from the time of King Stephen whose charter of 1135 runs:-

"..... I confirm to the Church of St. John of Beverley all the privileges and gifts which were given by the kings, Edward, and my ancestor William, both all liberties and customs and dignities and rights both by land and by water and in all their possessions with soc and sac and tol and team and those things which pertain to them there, their fair also on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24) for five days, with my firm peace for all coming thither and departing thence and there delaying both sellers and buyers with all their goods."⁽⁵¹⁾

This charter was inspected in 1310 and was confirmed in

favour of William de Melton the provost and the canons and clerks of the said church, with the further grant that their enjoyment of these liberties should not be prejudiced by any grant of non-user in the past. There is an undated charter of Edward II, which may belong to this year or to 1311 or to 1315, of a grant to the Minster to hold a fair at the manor of Sigglesthorne, then belonging to the provostry of Beverley, a grant designed partly for the benefit of the provostry tenants and partly as affording a source of profit to the church from the tolls and stallage. After the usual preamble the charter follows the customary form:-

"Know ye that we have granted and by this our charter confirmed to our beloved clerk William de Melton provost of the church of St. John of Beverley that he and his successors shall for ever have one fair every year at his Manor of Sigglesthorne in the county of York to continue for three days, viz: on the eve, day and morrow of St. Laurence (August 9-11), unless that fair be to the nuisance of other neighbouring fairs."(52)

Previously in 1270 Master John de Chishull, then provost, had been granted for himself and his successors a yearly fair from October 27 to 29 at his manor of Leven, in the East Riding, County York. This grant was twice the subject of an investigation. In 1413 the charter was inspected, and confirmed with the clause "licet" in favour of the provost, Robert Manfeld, and the canons and clerks of St. John of Beverley and their successors. This confirmation was not however of the grant of 1270 but of letters patent dated 28 August 4 Richard II (1380) exemplifying a certificate of the treasurer and chamberlains sent into the chancery to the following effect:

"The claim of the provost and chapter of St. John of Beverley touching certain liberties in the time of Henry son of King John at York; (i.e. these letters patent are themselves a confirmation of the original grant of 1270) to wit, Peter de Cestria, provost of Beverley and the chapter of St. John of Beverley claim that no minister of the King's household shall enter the liberty to do any office there they claim to have amends of the assize of bread and ale. They claim to have toll through all their liberty within the town of Beverley of all merchandise the provost by himself claims to have in the town of Leven a weekly market on Tuesday and a yearly fair on the vigil, day and morrow of St. Faith "

From this it will be observed that the market and fair at Leven were not in the hands of the Chapter of Beverley but in the hands of the provost alone to administer. This is further proved by the "inspeximus" and confirmation of 1428, made "by advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and of the commonalty of England in the Parliament held at Westminster". This document is simply a confirmation of Henry V's confirmation to Robert Manfeld, being now addressed to the new provost, Robert Rolleston and the canons and clerks of the church of Beverley. Here once again are granted the market and fair at Leven, together with "those things which pertain to a fair."⁽⁵³⁾

Not far from Beverley is Hedon which in the Middle Ages was a thriving township. Here the fair was in the hands of the brethren of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, the hospital having acquired the right from Henry II soon after its foundation, somewhere in the years 1155-1162. The first early document in the Hedon Court Book is this grant of a fair. The statement in the Victoria County

History that this grant was made after 1179 (even though there is the confession that the date is uncertain) appears to be without foundation. The charter is known as "the charter of Henry, formerly king of England, made to the infirm delaying in Hedon at the house of St. Mary Magdalen". It reads:-

"Henry etc. Be it known that I have given and granted to the infirm of Hedon, whom William Earl of Albemarle placed there, for the souls of King Henry my grandfather, and of other my predecessors, that they may hold a fair each year on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen (July 22) lasting for eight days from the feast-day. And I wish and firmly ordain that they shall have and hold it well and in peace, wholly and quietly, peacefully and honourably, with all the liberties and customs pertaining to it which other fairs have. And let all those who come thither and all their chattels have my firm peace in going and returning and there delaying. Witnesses: Thomas of Canterbury and Robert of Dunstanville and Baldwin Biveloc. At Leeds Castle."(54)

This was the origin of the famous Magdalen Fair at Hedon, held continuously until the nineteenth century, and rivalling in size, whilst it surpassed in age, what has come to be more well-known - the other fair granted to a hospital, that at Sturbridge. The fair was held upon land belonging to the hospital but - like the site of the hospital itself - within the township of Hedon as is shown by memoranda drawn up by a town-clerk of Richard II's reign which expressly state that "the fairs of the Blessed Mary Magdalen are held within Hedon, as appears by the charter of Newton."

In this same district of the East Riding the Abbot of Meaux was also interested in the holding of fairs. Before it became the royal town of Kingston-upon-Hull in 1299 the township or manor of Wyk-super-le-Hull belonged to Meaux Abbey. The Abbot and Convent in 1278 petitioned for the right to hold a fair and market at this manor; their petition was granted in 1279 when they were empowered to hold a market on Thursday in each week and a fair for fifteen days beginning on the vigil of Holy Trinity.⁽⁵⁵⁾ It is probable that for the few years during which the fair was in the hands of the Abbey, the authority of the local officers of the township was superseded by the Appointees of the Abbot as lord of the fair. The Abbot's interest in Hull fair, however, soon came to an end and the Abbey seems to have had a record of misfortune in connection with its fair-rights. Edward I issued a commission of oyer and terminer in 1300 to Gilbert de Roubury and William Haward touching Roger de Pokelynton, (Pocklington) clerk, William de Crepynges and Robert his son, Godfrey de Steynton, Adam le Palefreyur, Henry le Palefreyur, Walter de Hul of Kelyngwyk and Henry le Messer who carried away the toll and goods of the Abbot and Convent of Meaux from the market and fair at Pocklington, thus preventing them from taking the toll as they had been accustomed to do since their feoffment of the manor which was of the ancient demesne of the Crown.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The inability of the Abbot to protect his rights need not be the final reason but obviously the king had no wish for constant affrays and disputes on his manors. In 1303 Henry de Percy was granted a market and two fairs on his manor of Pocklington.

The connection of Warter Priory with fairs is also a record of disputes. The Priory held a fair in Warter concerning which the prior was summoned in 1253-4 to show why he raised a market and fair in Warter to the injury of the free market and free fair of the Earl of Albemarle in Pocklington. Unable to defend his holding the prior relinquished his fair and in return the Earl granted to him and to his successors that they should hold a fair each year on the feast of St. James (July 25) in the vill of Warter.⁽⁵⁷⁾ This grant was confirmed by Henry III. The second dispute occurred twenty years later. The Beverley Town Records contain an account of a bitter contention in 1273 between the priory and the burgesses of Beverley over the question of the right to tolls which runs:-

"In the name of God. Amen. A contention having arisen between the prior and convent of Warter of the order of St. Augustine of the one part and the burgesses or commonalty of Beverley of the other part concerning the toll and stallage in the fairs of St. James of Warter which the said prior and convent claimed from the said burgesses the same burgesses denying such claim inasmuch as they have alleged that they are by the charter of the lord the king (John) free from toll and stallage throughout all fairs of the realm at length through the mediation of friends the contention hath been settled between them in this manner that is to say that the said prior and convent do grant that the said burgesses and commonalty shall hereafter be free from all toll and stallage in the fairs before mentioned and they will in no wise distrain them on that account nevertheless so that the said burgesses or commonalty of Beverley coming yearly to the said fairs

for the purpose of merchandise shall peaceably demean themselves and molest no one nor disturb the tranquillity of the fairs but they may take possession of the standings as shall be reasonably assigned to them on the part of the said prior and convent and the said prior and convent according to the nature of the business and the rank of the persons shall honourably assign suitable places for pitching their stalls. In witness whereof to this present writing made in form of a cyrograph the aforesaid prior and convent and the aforesaid commonalty have interchangeably affixed their seals so that one part sealed with the seal of the prior and convent may remain with the commonalty and the other part sealed with the seal of the commonalty of Beverley may remain with the prior and convent. Given and executed on Sunday next before the nativity of St. John the Baptist in the year of grace 1273. "(58)

The question of the toll-dispute is matter for a later chapter; the importance of this document here is to show the constant disputes which arose in fair-ownership and to give an example of a compromise in which an ecclesiastical owner was interested. The compromise rested on the condition that the men of Beverley, when they came to the fair, should demean themselves peaceably. It is soon apparent that the prior and convent were unable to maintain the peace within their own fair. The scenes which occurred in it led them to abandon their attempts to gain profits from its tolls. The story of the end of the priory fair at Warter is to be found in an order to the sheriff of York, of 1318, (not 1328 as in the

Victoria County History; Yorkshire III p. 236). This order required the sheriff to cause proclamation to be made in the town of Warter and other neighbouring market towns that no person was to come with merchandise or other goods for sale to the manor of Warter on the eve, day and morrow of St. James the Apostle, or to buy goods there or exercise any merchandise there, under pain of forfeiture of the goods for sale brought thither. This was to be done because the prior and convent of Warter had now renounced before the king and his council in the parliament then being held at York, their fair held at that manor on those days, a fair granted to them by Henry III "as appears by their letters patent sealed with their common seal remaining in chancery". The letters enrolled were from the sub-prior and convent of Warter confirming the petition shown to the king and his council by brother William de Wellewyk the prior, with the consent of the Chapter, praying that they might renounce their right in that fair and that the king would remove and abolish the fair on account of the homicides and other enormities perpetrated in it.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The petition proved successful.

In the South-Western part of the county there are not so many great or famous abbeys as in the North and East. Despite this, the monasteries and priories of the West Riding were as interested in the holding of fairs as were their more famous counterparts in the other ridings, so that certain of the West Riding monastically owned fairs are quite as old whilst some few are quite as important as those of North and East Yorkshire. At the outset it must be realised that the great concentration of trade and industry in the South-West is not a matter of

the Middle Ages. The difference between the importance of these fairs in the West Riding and the importance of those in the North and East Ridings in the Middle Ages is the exact and inverse proportion of the difference which today exists between those same areas in a different type of industry and trade. Two of the smaller grants may be mentioned first. In 1260 at the instance of Ingram de Percy the Abbot and monks of Sallay were granted a fair for three days (September 7-9) to be held at their manor of Gisburn. The Abbot and convent of Rufforth and their successors were granted in 1316 a market on Monday at their manor of Rotherham, together with a fair there for eight days (November 18-25).⁽⁶⁰⁾ Possibly one of the earliest fairs granted to regular clergy in the West Riding was that granted by Henry I to the canons of St. Oswald, Nostell to be held at Nostell, beginning on August 3 and continuing for five days. This grant was confirmed by Henry II but later the fair was suppressed by order of John de l'Isle on account of the disorders and riots for which it became famous. More important to the canons of Nostell were the fairs which they held at Woodkirk. These like their fair at Nostell, were granted to them by Henry I, the first to be held at the feast of the Assumption (August 15) and the second at the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (September 8). The grant of these two fairs was confirmed by Stephen and they continued, as centres of social and commercial life in a rural neighbourhood, to attract a concourse of people to the time of the Reformation. When in the reign of Henry VIII the priory was subjected to inspection the profit of the tolls and stallage in the fairs was

returned in the "Valor" as £13 6 8d., at that time more than one fourth of the yearly revenue of the house.⁽⁶²⁾ That the former fair at Nostell was not of great value at the time of its suppression is shown by the willingness of the canons in 1330 to accept in its stead a grant of a fair at the priory of Bredon in county Leicester from September 29 to November 3 - one of the few examples of fairs owned by Yorkshiremen outside their own county.⁽⁶³⁾

There is one other monastic grant to be mentioned. It is important by reason of the excuse given for the grant. The prior and convent of Bolton-in-Craven in 1310 obtained a fair at their manor of Appletreewick in Yorkshire for four days at the feast of St. Luke (October 18; the fair being held on October 16-19) through the support of Peter de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, the royal favourite. Despite the importance of their friend in power the prior and convent failed to make use of the grant. This is shown from a grant of 1328 by Edward III who gave permission to the prior and convent to hold a fair on the days previously specified, "which fair the said prior and convent have not hitherto used".⁽⁶⁴⁾

The original granter of the fair held at Barnsley by the prior and monks of Pontefract appears to have been an Archbishop of York. The date of the grant is uncertain but it was apparently made somewhere between the year 1181 when the lord of the castle and honour of Pontefract, Henry de Lacy, obtained a charter for a fair at Pontefract, and the year 1249, when Henry III granted to the prior and convent that they should hold a yearly fair in their town of Barnsley for four days - the vigil and feast of St. Michael and the two following days (September 28 - November 1). The Archbishop's grant was for the same days, but included a weekly market on Wednesdays. Both

grants included the phrase "with all the liberties and usages to such market and fair appertaining".⁽⁶⁵⁾ The day chosen for the fair - the feast of St. Michael - was the patronal festival of a church attached to the hospital of St. Nicholas which was under the Wardenship of the monks of St. John's Priory at Pontefract. There is a reference to this fair in the Rotuli Hundredorum for Yorkshire where, in an entry under the Wapentake of Staincross it is stated that the prior of Pontefract has had fairs, a market and the assize of bread and wine at Barnsley for twenty-six years but it is not known by what warrant.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The Charter of Henry III has proved, however, to be of sufficient warrant. The possession of this fair did not prove to be of very great value. In the fifteenth century the priory was in sad condition. A grant, of special grace, was made in 1466 by Edward IV for the relief and support of the house of St. John the Apostle and evangelist of Pontefract, permitting the monks to have the assize and assay of bread, wine, ale and other victuals in the lordship and town of Bransley, with the punishment, corrections and forfeitures thereof by themselves and their ministers - the reasons for the grant being that the priory was in those days so poorly endowed that it could scarcely keep up its daily works of piety and that the King wished to show special devotion to St. John.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The priory at the beginning of the sixteenth century was still in need of further means of increasing wealth. Henry VIII out "of special grace, sure science, and mere motion, granted in 1514 to Richard, prior of the monastery, and the convent th there, a yearly fair to be held in the town of Barnsley on the day of the conversion of St. Paul (January 25) and the two days following⁽⁶⁸⁾ - a fair which was not to remain long in the hands of the priory.

It is an interesting final note on the subject of ecclesiastical owners of fairs in Yorkshire to find that in 1551 a grant was made to Leonard Beckwith, Knight, of the lordships and manors of Selby, Brayton, Thorpe, Fryston and Hillome, the rectories of Selby and Brayton, lately belonging to Selby monastery, together with the market on Mondays in Selby and the yearly fair there on Michaelmas Day. (69)

To describe the ownership of Yorkshire fairs by Yorkshire ecclesiastics and monasteries does not, however, complete the story of the holdings by orders of the Church. Some ecclesiastical lords of Yorkshire fairs are themselves external to Yorkshire. Of these the most important were the successive Prince-bishops of Durham.

King John in 1200 granted two fairs at Northallerton to Philip de Poitou, Bishop of Durham, one at Candlemas and one on St. Bartholomew's day. During the later Middle Ages the men of Northallerton held the town of the Bishop and by payment of forty silver marks had secured the profits of the local fair and the right to hold the assizes of bread and ale. The Candlemas fair was noted for its horses and cattle and was frequented by horse dealers not only from all parts of England but also from the Continent; at its longest period it continued for a month. The latter, on September 5, was held for horned cattle and leather, and on September 6, for sheep. The cattle fair was finally destroyed in 1841 by the competition of Bedale fair. More modern fairs were also granted in Northallerton to bishops of Durham. Thus Queen Mary was responsible for a grant to Bishop Tunstall of what came to be called "St. George's Fair", held on May 5-6, intended, as in the earlier fairs, for the sale of horses, cattle and sheep. The last grant was made by

James I to William James, Bishop of Durham. This was the St. Matthew's fair on October 3-4, held for cattle and sheep.(70)

Philip de Poitou had also been granted in 1200 a fair to be held at Howden. This fair continued in the hands of the bishops of Durham until the sixteenth century. The Hutton correspondence contains a confirmation by the dean and chapter of Durham of certain particulars of the bishop's possessions contained in an indenture of July 13, 26 Elizabeth (1583) and confirmed on October 17, 1584. The indenture gives "A breefe note of the particulers demised by Richard, late lord Bishop of Duresme to the Queen's Majestie", which includes:

"all that his mannor house at Howden, in the countie of Yorke; all that the towle and stallage, shoppes and pickage of the fairs and marketts at Howden; and one howse called the Mootehalle or Towlebothe in Howden, with the shoppes and easements under the Towlebothe."(71)

One other Durham authority found an interest in Yorkshire fairs. In 1294 a grant was made to the prior and convent of St. Cuthbert, Durham, of a weekly market on Thursday at their manor of Hemingborough, county York, together with a yearly fair there on the vigil and feast of the Assumption (August 15) and the six days following. There seems to be no other information connected with this fair beyond the fact of its being granted.

The yearly fair at Kilham on the vigil and feast of St. Laurence (August 10) originated in a grant of 1227 to the Church of St. Mary, Rouen, and its dean and chapter - the sole instance apparently of ownership of a Yorkshire fair by an ecclesiastical lord of a Yorkshire manor where

that ecclesiastical lord was not only non-Yorkshire, but came from beyond the seas. The brethren of the order of the Temple in England were concerned in two grants. They, in 1227, gained the right to hold a weekly market on Tuesday at their town of Walesford in the parish of Ribston, together with a yearly fair there on the vigil and feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24) and the two following days. To this a later master added in 1291 a weekly market on Monday at the Order's manor of South Cave and a yearly fair for four days - the vigil and feast of Holy Trinity and the two days following.

There remains one monastic grant to be noticed. In 1301 the abbot and convent of Thornton-on-Humber - on the Lincolnshire shore of the Humber opposite Hull - were granted a weekly market on Wednesday at their manor of Faxfleet, county York, and a yearly fair there on the vigil and feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 15) and the two days following.⁽⁷²⁾

The fair at Beverley had in its support not only the royal grant but - completely alone in this respect - the declared favour of the Pope. There is a bull of Pope Adrian IV which reads:-

"And we ordain that those coming to St. John's Church, returning therefrom, or delaying there, shall keep firm peace, according to ancient custom, especially on Ascension Day, and in the feast of the death of St. John, and in the feast of his translation, and on the day of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, so long as its fair shall last, and we ordain that that same carncate of St. John shall be free and quit from all exaction according to ancient custom, so that no one in it shall exact any custom except the Archbishop or the canons of that same place."⁽⁷³⁾

This is, apparently, the sole instance in Yorkshire of any grant of rights connected with fairs granted by an authority external to England. Whilst it is true to say that only a royal grant could authorise the holding of a fair, there can be no doubt that a papal declaration would in the Middle Ages be regarded with respect.

There are, however, in Yorkshire certain cases where an ecclesiastic proved more concerned in using his influence to secure fairs for others than himself. It has already been mentioned that the original grant of fair and market to the prior and monks of Pontefract those held by them in Barnsley, was due to an Archbishop of York. An earlier Archbishop of York, Alfric Puttoc, acted the part of a friend to Beverley, for he induced King Edward the Confessor to grant that town the privilege of holding three annual fairs⁽⁷⁴⁾ which had so marked an effect upon the prosperity of the town that Beverley rapidly came to be recognised as one of the five old-time fairs which had the right to be designated "marts", the others being Hedon, Boston, Lyan and Gainsborough. Alfric Puttoc's influence in securing this privilege for Beverley was all the more valuable when it is remembered that in Saxon times no trade of any consequence could be carried on without a chartered fair, except in the burhs since Saxon laws forbade the transaction of any business above the amount of fourpence except in privileged places and in the presence, and under the sanction, of the chief local official. This grant was later confirmed by Archbishop Thurstan of York in 1100 - a confirmation again confirmed by Stephen under pressure from Archbishop William of York. The grant made by Archbishop Thurstan has already been quoted in its relation to the holding of fairs on Saints' days and in churchyards. The same Archbishop however, also in 1100

made further grants to Beverley, showing the archiepiscopal interest in the wealth the citizens might obtain from trade. This further charter is as follows:-

"Thurstan, by the grace of God, Archbishop of York, to all the faithful people of Christ, as well present as to come, health and the benediction of God and his own. Be it known unto you that I have given and granted and by the advice of the chapter of York and Beverley, and by the council of my barons, by my charter have confirmed, to the men of Beverley, all the liberties, with the same laws, which they of York have in their City. Moreover I would not have you ignorant that the lord Henry, our King, hath granted to us the power of doing these things of his good will and by his charter hath confirmed our statutes and our laws according to the form of the laws of the burgesses of York, saving the dignity and honour of God and of St. John, and of us and the Canons, that so he might exalt and promote the honour of the charitable donations of his predecessors, with all these free customs I will that my burgesses of Beverley shall have their hanshus which I give and grant to them that they may there dispense laws to the honour of God and of St. John and of the canons and to the amendment of the whole town by the same of law, liberty, as those of York have in their hanshus"(75)

The liberties of York served as a model for the charters of many northern towns - Hedon is one example. The liberties involved in this charter of which the men of Beverley could now avail themselves were the freedom of buying and selling without disturbance, the freedom of taking tolls at the markets and fairs held in the borough,

in consideration of payment of eight marks yearly to the Archbishop. It must be remembered in connection with this grant that the Archbishop reserved to himself the right of taking these tolls as usual on certain specified days - the days of the three principal Beverley fairs (St. John the Confessor in May, the Translation of St. John, and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist) but at these fairs the gild was from this time exempt from paying tolls.

Yorkshire clergy were as equally interested in escaping from the payment of tolls as they were in obtaining the right to exact them from other traders. The earliest charter of exemption is immediately post-Conquest, being the charter made by Gilbert Tison, chief Standard-bearer of the king, between the years 1066 and 1069, in favour of Selby Abbey.

"..... be it known to you that at the instance of the noble Queen of England, Matilda by name, for the soul of the King Saint Edward, and of William the Bastard we have granted and given and by this present charter have confirmed to our God and to the Church of Selby, and to the monks serving there that they shall be quit in cities, boroughs, markets and fairs throughout all England of whatever theolonnage, tallage, passage, pedage, lastage, haydage, wardage, and all Taxes (gelds), fengeld', horngeld', forgeld', penigeld', tendpening', hunderpeniges, miskemelig, and of all earthly service and secular exaction"(76)

There are few grants quite so comprehensive as this; as the Saxon period is left further and further behind the grants of freedom from Saxon tolls naturally grow less

frequent. Henry II took the Abbey of Byland under his protection and granted the monks and their men the privilege of being free in all cities, boroughs, markets, fairs, bridges and ports throughout England and Normandy.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The greatest frequency of these grants belongs to the fourteenth century. In 1310, at the instance of Peter de Gaveston, the brethren of the Holy Trinity and of the Captives, Knaresborough, were given a charter confirming one by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, of 1291 by which it was granted to the minister and brethren of the Order of the Holy Trinity and St. Robert of Knaresborough that their men of Pannal and Hampsthwaite should be quit of toll, stallage and all customs in the town of Knaresborough and in all other places belonging to the grantor.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The local nature of this grant is in striking contrast to the grant confirmed in 1327 by Edward III in favour of the abbot and convent of Kirkstall. This was a grant made by Richard I giving to them quittance of thelonage, passage, pontage, stallage, and pedage and all customs for themselves wherever they might go, and for all things which they might buy or sell or cause to be carried away in fairs or markets throughout the realm.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Ten years later Edward III confirmed a grant made by Queen Philippa to the abbot and monks of St. Mary, York, out of devotion to St. Mary and affection for the abbot and monks of the house. In return for a fine of £100 the abbot and convent and their successors were granted the manor of Whitgift and also they were to be free, as any church is free, and all the lands belonging to the Abbey, its manors, cells and possessions were to be quit of toll, passage, pontage and lastage, whilst the monks and all their men were to be quit in cities and boroughs, in markets and fairs, in passages of

bridges and ports, of toll, tallage, passage, pedage and stallage. The king's confirmation is worded:

"the king out of special devotion to St. Mary and affection to the abbot and monks and at the request of his wife, has granted that the abbot and monks shall have in the said manor and its members all the aforesaid liberties and quittances, both those granted to them by the charters of the King and his progenitors and those which they have so hitherto used and enjoyed, and that they shall there (i.e. at Whitgift) enjoy them as freely as in their other lands without impediment."(80)

St. Mary's privileges were further enlarged in 1393. Richard II then confirmed the several charters of his progenitors to the Abbey. As the reason for the confirmation it was stated that the king had been informed that certain persons were affirming that the liberties (the right of the abbot and convent and their men to be quit in city and borough, in markets and fairs of toll, tallage, pedage and stallage) had been granted to the abbot and monks and their bondmen only and not to their tenants. The king, therefore, on the petition of the abbot and convent, and for the removal of all ambiguity, granted, with the consent of his council, and declared that the aforesaid liberties were to be interpreted as applying to any tenants of the abbot and convent, and that the abbot and convent should enjoy those liberties in this form without impediment. (81)

At York, too, the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Leonard obtained such quittance for their members in trading. In 1338 previous charters in their favour were confirmed, enabling them and their successors to be quit in every place throughout England, Ireland and Wales and

in all lands and waters belonging to the king, of all toll, tallage, passage, pedage, lastage and stallage. For these and other liberties the hospital made fine of twenty sacks of wool and forty marks before the Council.⁽⁸²⁾

The last of these fourteenth century grants of quit-tance concerns Mountgrace Priory, a house of the Carthusian order. The prior and convent were in 1399 granted for themselves and their successors those customs which the house of Chartreuse has in England, including freedom from paying toll. Richard II now took this priory, its monks and their household under his special protection, ordering that no sheriff or other person should presume to thresh any of their corn or take and carry away any victuals, goods, horses, oxen, wains, under colour of purchase in any market town, or elsewhere, against the will of the prior and convent or keepers of the same. He granted that the prior and convent should be quit throughout the realm of stallage and all other such customs.⁽⁸³⁾

It is interesting to notice that in some cases Yorkshire ecclesiastics found the fairs and markets of their county insufficient for their needs. Archbishop Wichwane found it necessary to send his buyer to the fairs of St. Ives and Boston to purchase wines, jewels and robes. The bailiffs of York were in 1237 required to receive fifteen tuns of wine which William de Haverhulle, the king's buyer of wine at Boston fair, would deliver to them in Boston fair and to carry them to York to be placed in the cellar of the Archbishop of York for the king's use.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Here an ecclesiastic was only indirectly concerned but the central figure of a licence of 1433 was the Abbot of St. Mary's, York who was permitted in that year to purchase at fairs and markets in the counties

of Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Nottingham and Cambridge three hundred quarters of wheat and five hundred quarters of barley and malt for his abbey and to have them sent thither by land or water. Before the licence for this was granted to him, the abbot had to give surety in £200 that the corn and malt so bought by him would be taken to York and not to any other place.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The direct interest of ecclesiastics in the trade of fairs and markets was severely limited by an act of the Parliament beginning at Westminster 3 November 21 Henry VIII, whereby no spiritual person might for the future buy merchandise in order to sell again for profit in fairs or markets. Exceptions might be made, as in the case of Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, in 1550,⁽⁸⁶⁾ but for the most part the Anglican clergy could now find in fairs and markets only an opportunity for the purchase of their personal wants, whilst the monastic authority over trade was, with the Reformation, at an end.

Ecclesiastical interest in the profits of tolls derivable from fairs may be given one illustration from the eighteenth century. The clergy of the parishes of Silkston, Cawthorn and Barnsley were directly concerned in the fairs of Barnsley. On April 20, in 1726 John Hobson of Dodworth Green was at Barnsley, in company with Mr. Wood of Barnsley "who (in the words of Hobson's diary) shewed me a copy of a decree out of Chancery, made in the time of Queen Elizabeth, for the payment of certain sums of money to the Vicar of Silkston, curate of Cawthorn, and curate of Barnsley, issuing out of one moiety of the tithe corn of Dodworth and the toll of fairs in Barnsley called St. Paul and St. farmed by Burdet, - with power given to the Archbishop of York to appoint what

proportions every one was to pay to the said persons, as allso towards the reparation of the great quire at Silkston."

This decree was still in force. Thus there is a letter, dated January 6, 1723 from Francis Wood (the "Mr. Wood of Barnsley") to Thomas Edmunds of Worsbrough;

"Sir, - Mr. Cutler and his predecessors have been used, till of late, to pay five pounds yearly to ye curate of Barnsley, ye same being appointed as his share for ye small tithes of Stainbrough or Dodworth, as we suppose, by ye lord Archbishop of York, pursuant to a decree of ye 35th of Queen Elizabeth, herein inclosed, and of late refusing to pay ye same till it could be made appear that he should be obliged. My brother has got ye two enclosed coppys of decrees which he desires you to peruse, and intimate to Mr. Cutler wee shall leave them in your custody to peruse, and after perusall, if you please to do us ye favour, we shall give Mr. Cutler coppys of them, or you may take out such minitts or make such observations thereon as you shall think proper, and wee hope those decrees, with your opinion about them will be satisfactory to Mr. Cutler, and be a means for Mrs. Peighus (the Editor of the "Diary" says: Peigham, Thomas Peigham, vicar of Silkston died 1699) getting ye arrears, and Mr. Cutler's future payment."

The decrees enclosed are as follows:

"1st Decree, Trinity Term, 34 Eliz., 14 Jan. 1592.

John Wilkinson, John Hobson, Thomas Cutler, and Henry Burdet, defendants - 20 marks pr annum for composition and usage of the priors of Pontefract,

proprietors of the parsonage of Silkstone, paid for the maintenance of the vicars there for ye time being, paid by the farmers of the tythes of the said rectory and other pensions out of the tithe hay, wool, and lamb, and other small tithes of Silkstone, Barnsley and Cawthorne, the tithe corn, hay and other small tithes of Dodworth, wth the tithe wool and lamb and other small tithes of Stainburgh, pcell of the s^d rectory, and the toll of two fairs yearly at Barnsley, being demised by her majesty's letters patent to one Rob. Thwaites anno 17th reign for paying yearly £12 12s. wth a covenant to pay yearly to the vicars of Silkstone £13 6s. 8d.; to the curate of Barnsley £5, to the curate of Cawthorne £4 13s. 4d., for proxies and synodalls 18s. 6d., and to bear the reparation of the Church of Silkston afores^d Wilkinson for his proportion of the s^d to pay 20 marks, Tho. Cutler six pounds, Hobson 40s., Henry Burdet 57s. 4d. and according to the like rate proportionable to repair the chancel of the church of Silkston."

"2nd Decree, 35th Eliz., - Archbishop of York and his successors to call lessees before him and compel them to pay all such arrearages of such pensions (and proportion the paym^t etc.), & shall & may appoint what portion of the s^d sums so limited by the s^d decree shall be by every lessee thereof severally p^d, and to whom, and in what sort, as well to the vicar & his successors as to the curates aforesd., & the repair of the chancell, & other matters in the decree set down, and that this order shall be a sufficient warrant to the archbishop to fix payments accordingly."(87)

Thus had clerical interest in the tolls derivable from fairs sunk to a case of legal pressure to ensure the payment

of £5. There is a striking contrast between these documents and the original grants by which the priory of Pontefract first gained its right to the tolls of the fairs in Barnsley. There had indeed been a great change since the days when the Beverley Chapter Act Book laid it down as the office of the Bedern cooks (the Bedern being the house of the secular clergy of Beverley Minster) that "one of these cooks shall go with the steward of Bedern to fairs, if the steward shall wish, to witness what the steward has done for the buying of beasts for the need of Bedern upon the advice of the Provost."⁽⁸⁸⁾ or that the cooks should accompany the steward when he went to market to buy provisions of flesh and fish.

It must not be thought, however, that Yorkshire ecclesiastics were concerned solely with questions of trade and tolls in markets and fairs. The fact that in the eighteenth century certain tolls from Barnsley fair were devoted to the repair of the choir of Silkston parish church is an echo from the Middle Ages when the upkeep of great minsters might be partially met by collections taken in fairs. At Hedon, the set of relics belonging to the Church of St. Augustine were regularly carried round the town and collections made amongst those to whom they were exhibited. The greatest gathering of strangers in the town took place on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, at the time of the fair and collections were made, therefore, not only in the town but also in the fair on Magdalen Hill. This is clearly shown by the following entries from the account rolls of the Church:-

48 - 49 Edward III. Item, there is returned an account for 6s.8d. collected with the relics on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen.

- 20 - 21 Richard II. Compotus of John Talbot and Robert de Wyntryngam, wardens of the fabric of the Chapel of St. Augustine of Hedon, from Michaelmas, 20, Richard II, to Michaelmas, 21 Richard II:-

Collections: 9s.6d. received from the collections in fairs, that is to say, on the feasts of St. Mary Magdalen and St. James, in that same year.

(This was out of a total of 56s.6d. for collections).

- 9 - 10 Henry IV. Compotus of Robert of Wyntringham and Thomas de Laireholme, wardens of the fabric of the Chapel of St. James there, from the morrow of St. Michael's day 9 Henry IV until the morrow of St. Michael's day 10 Henry IV, for one whole year:-

.... "And 3s. from collections in the fairs of St. Mary Magdalen (the roll refers to her as "Beate Marie Marie Magdalene) and on the feast of St. James in that year."

(This was out of a total of 26s.4d. for collections).

- 21 - 22 Henry VI. Compotus of Thomas Mone and Thomas Granne etc.

.... "And 5s. received from the collections both in the town and in the fair of St. Mary Magdalen, on the feast of St. James the Apostle in that year."

(This was out of a total of 10s.2d. for collection).

- 32 - 33 Henry VI. Compotus of William Bilton and John Sturmy, wardens of the fabric of the Chapel of St. Augustine there, from Michaelmas 32 Henry VI to Michaelmas 33 Henry VI, for one whole year:-

Collections: And 6s.4d. received with the aforesaid relics on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen both in the town and in the fairs of that year.

(This was out of a total of 66s.1½d. for collections). (89)

At Ripon the upkeep of the fabric was largely dependent on the offerings of the devout. Amongst these the offerings made at various points during processions or in the cathedral were not unimportant as may be shown from the Fabric Rolls:-

1354 - 5. Diverse Oblations: 21s.3d. from oblations at the entrance of the choir at the winter fair at Ripon. 19s.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. from offerings at the entrance of the choir at the summer fair at Ripon.

(In this year the total of all offerings - six types are quoted - was £4 11s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Only the Ascension Day offering was greater than the offerings during the fairs).

1379 - 80. Diverse Oblations: 12s.10d. from the oblations at the entrance of the choir at the winter fair at Ripon, and no more on account of the rain. 48s.5d. from the offerings at the summer fair at Ripon and in the feast of the Ascension, and no more on account of the rain, and also for the feast of the Invention.

(Here the total was 118s.8d.; it is interesting to note the effect of a wet year on the attendance at fairs).

1391 - 2. Diverse Oblations: 22s.11d. from offerings at the entrance of the choir for three days at the winter fair at Ripon. 12s.7d. from the offerings there for three days at the summer fair.

(The total this year was £7 10s.2d. The Ascension Day offering had grown to 48s.5d. and the fair offerings, especially those at the summer fair, were small compared with other offerings).

1392 - 3. Diverse Oblations: 21s.10d. received from offerings at the entrance of the choir at the winter fair at Ripon in this year. 13s.5d. from offerings there at the summer fair at Ripon in this year.

(Again the fair-offerings were small, the Ascension Day offering being 49s.4d. out of a total of £7 7s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.).

1393 - 4. Diverse Oblations: 21s.1d. from offerings at the entrance of the choir at the winter fair at Ripon. 13s.2d. from the offerings there at the summer fair.

(In this year the winter offering compares favourably with other offerings; the Ascension day collection yielded 51s.1d. in a total of £6.1s.6d.).

1399 - 1400. Diverse Oblations: 16s.8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. from the offerings at the entrance of the choir at the winter fair for three days. At the entrance of the choir at the summer fair 16s.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

(The fair offerings were now the smallest, the largest being those on St. Wilfrid's Day, 35s.3½d. The Ascension Day collection dropped to 23s.2½d. The total was £6.14s.1½d.).

1408 - 1409. Diverse Oblations: 12s.8d. from the offerings at the entrance of the choir for three days at the winter fair. 13s.3½d. from the offerings there for three days at the summer fair.

(The Christmas Day collection was only 10s.3½d.; Ascension Day produced 33s.4d.; St. Wilfrid's Day 31s.3d. in a total of £6.11s.2d.).

1416 - 1417. Diverse Oblations: 12s.6d. from the offerings at the entrance of the choir in the winter fair during three days. 7s.4d. from the offerings there in the summer fair for three days.

(there is a general decrease in the collections this year, only Christmas Day increasing, rising to 14s. Out of the smaller total of £5.9s.3d. the collections on Ascension Day and St. Wilfrid's Day were again the chief, the former being 29s.1d., the latter 22s.2d.).

1418 - 1419. Diverse Oblations: 17s.6d. from the offerings at the entrance of the choir at the winter fair; 6s.7d. at the summer fair.

(Here the decrease in the collections taken during the summer fair is the most striking point. St. Wilfrid's Day collection increased by 2½d. on the previous year, that on Ascension Day had dwindled to 20s.6½d. Christmas Day yielded 12s.1d. The total was now only £5.1s.0½d.).

1419 - 1420. Diverse Oblations: 13s.2½d. from the offerings at the entrance of the choir in the winter fair; 7s.5d. in the summer fair.

(Out of a total of 100s.0½d. Christmas Day yielded 13s.3½d., Ascension Day 27s.5½d., St. Wilfrid's Day 20s.1d.)

1424 - 1425) Neither of these two Fabric Rolls has
1425 - 1426) any mention of offerings at fair-time.

1453 - 1455. Diverse Oblations: Nothing from the offerings at the winter fairs. 13s.4d. from the summer fairs.

(In this last roll there was nothing received on Ascension Day; the whole total of collections was only £1.8s.4d.).

1453 - 1457. This roll does not mention any offerings.

1503 - 1504. "Offerings at the feet of St. Wilfrid".
At the summer fair 28s., on Ascension Day 16s.,
on St. Wilfrid's Day 20s.8d. Full Total £4.11s.8d.

1509 - 1510) Neither roll has any mention of offerings
1512 - 1513) at fair-time.

1520 - 1521. The entry reads:- £6.4s.8d. received
from John Seile and Richard Cundall, Chaplains,
appointed to collect monies offered from the
devotion of the faithful in the time of the
procession and sermon on the Rogation Days and
at the summer fair, and on Ascension Day, and
on the feast of St. Wilfrid in August and the
feast of the Deposition of St. Wilfrid and on
Sundays.

The rolls of 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525 - 1526 contain no
mention of any offerings. The roll of 1527 - 1528 gives
the total of oblations on Rogation Days - in the time of
the procession and at other times - as 55s.6d., but does
not specify the individual sums. The entry of the
roll 1531 - 1532 reads:-

"Oblations on the Rogation Days, from Master John
Seyll, and his associate, chaplains appointed to
collect the monies offered from the devotion of the
faithful in the time and days of processions and at
both summer and winter fairs, and on other feasts
and Sundays 45s.11d."

In regard to oblations the roll of 1541 - 1542 is
sufficiently brief - "nothing of any profit came from the
devotions of the faithful. No Total."

Also from Ripon, in further illustration, come the
Chamberlains' Rolls.

1447 - 1448. Principal Offerings. At St. Wilfrid's
head at the summer fair 26s.2d. At the altar
of St. William then, 4d. At the tomb then, 3d.
in Les Cruddes then 19d.

(It is interesting to compare with this entry the
collections on Ascension Day which were: At St. Wilfrid's
head 53s.8d.; at the altar of St. William 19d.; at les
Cruddes 18d.; at the tomb 8d.)

At St. Wilfrid's head at winter fair 15s.7d.
At altar of St. William then 4d. At the tomb
then 3¹/₂d. In les Cruddes then 12¹/₂d.

- 1472 - 1473. Principal summer offerings: 46s.8d.
received from the monies offered during three days
in the time of the summer fair within the time of
the account roll, that is, at St. Wilfrid's head
9s.6d., at the altar of St. William, nothing.

Principal Winter offerings: 6s.5d. coming from
the monies offered at the head of St. Wilfrid in
the feast of the Deposition in the time of the
winter fair, at the altar of St. William, nothing,
and at the tomb of St. William, nothing.

- 1478 - 1479. In the time of the summer fair, 5s.5¹/₂d.
at the head of St. Wilfrid, at the altar of St.
William, nil, at the tomb, nil.

Principal Winter offerings: 7s. from the monies
offered at the head of St. Wilfrid in the feast
of his Deposition, at the time of the winter fair,
through three days; at the altar of St. William
nil, and at the tomb of St. Wilfrid, nil.

- 1502 - 1503. Principal Summer offerings: At the
head of St. Wilfrid 12d. in the fair-time.

Principal Winter offerings: At the head of
St. Wilfrid 2s.1d. in the winter fair.

- 1511 - 1512. Principal Summer offerings: 36s.1d.
from monies offered by different persons out of
their devotion in the time of the summer fair for
three days within the time of this account roll.

Principal Winter offerings: 40s.8d. (No details
are given as to the origins of this sum).

In the rolls of 1513 - 1514 and 1520 - 1521, no details
are given.

- 1525 - 1526 Offerings: 10s.2d. in the time of the
summer fair at the head of St. Wilfrid 29s.11d.
(an error for 30s.11d.) in the written offerings
of which 12d. was given at the head of St. Wilfrid
on the feast of his Deposition.

- 1540 - 1541. Offerings: "Nothing of any profit comes
from the offerings in the time of the summer fair".

(No mention at all is made of the winter fair).

There is nothing in this connection in any of the account
rolls 1551 - 1552, 1552 - 1553, 1553 - 1554, 1554 - 1555,
1556,-1557, 1557 - 1558. From this fact, it would appear
that with the coming of the Reformation the collections

which churches were able to make within the bounds of the fair came to an end. It must not be forgotten that the fabric of some of the great Yorkshire churches is in being partly owing to the connection between those churches and the fairs in their neighbourhood.⁽⁹⁰⁾

The churches had not only to make pecuniary gains; they had a definite task to perform in fairs. The chapel of St. Mary Magdalen at Hedon was especially built by the hospital near Maudlin Hill for the people who attended the fair. From the Ripon Chamberlains' Rolls it is seen that clergy were definitely deputed to be present in the fair. In the roll of 1439 - 1440, amongst the statement of the wages of ministers appears the record of a payment of 40s. to three deacons at the summer and winter fairs, each receiving 6s.8d. for each fair, whilst three subdeacons were each paid 3s.4d. for each fair and the services entailed by the celebration of the services on the saint's-day around which the fair centred. The same payments are recorded in the rolls of 1447 - 1448, 1478 - 1479, 1502 - 1503, 1511 - 1512, 1525 - 1526, but no mention is made of the payments to subdeacons in the roll of 1540 - 1541. The same payments were in all probability made in 1513 - 1514, and 1520 - 1521, but these rolls are imperfect.⁽⁹¹⁾ It is a clear possibility that during fair-times there may have been a number of additional masses for the country-folk to attend, as in more recent times in Brittany. In the earlier years of Lee Fair, in the West Riding, a priest and a clerk stood ready all day so as to marry in the neighbouring church any who decided to take that step as the result of a love match on the fair-grounds.⁽⁹²⁾

The Church had much to give as well as to receive in the days of the fair. It was not only with a desire to increase the revenues of their house that monks of many an

abbey performed miracle-plays in the neighbouring fair. There was in these performances a real desire to educate the people by using direct and simple methods of teaching. The plays at St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, have long been famous. There was in Yorkshire a cycle of plays equally famous - the Wakefield mysteries, more usually called the Towneley or Woodkirk mysteries. At the semi-annual Woodkirk fairs the canons of the cell of the Austin friars acted in accordance with the spirit of their age by introducing and developing the performance of a cycle of religious plays dealing with scriptural subjects, such as the creation, Noah, Abraham, the Prophets, Pharaoh, and scenes in the life of Christ. There was probably a very close connection between the canons of Woodkirk and the burgesses of Wakefield. The exhibition of these plays may well have given rise to the expression "Merry Wakefield" (93)

In the Middle Ages the Church played its part well in giving time and place to the great concourses necessary for medieval trade. When the time of the sixteenth century came with the appearance of the modern state, that work of the Church was no longer necessary. Before the Reformation the Church had already shown by her decrees that she no longer wished to play that part and when the questioning of her authority in spiritual matters became intense it was natural that there should also be criticism of her part in commerce. That criticism was in part unfair in so far as it left out of account the need there had been for ecclesiastical sanctions in the early days of bargaining but it is difficult to prove that such criticism was unjustified when it pointed to the wealth which had accrued to individual churchmen as a result of their participation in such bargaining. The constant decline in the receipts from the offerings of the faithful in fair-

time at Ripon and Hedon during the fifteenth century is witness that already men had ceased to consider a religious duty as involved in matters of trade. By the sixteenth century Yorkshiremen were prepared to consider that an ecclesiastic's duty did not include the functions of a trader, nor the enterprise of merchandise as requiring religious devotion. Through the Middle Ages a new authority had been growing. The State was now ready to assume control of all matters, including those of religion and trade. The supremacy of the State involves almost the complete severance of the church and the fair. Before that time, however, the growing State had already evolved a legal and judicial system in regulation of the fairs and markets within its boundaries, and of its native traders and merchants from beyond the seas.

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- p. 87 (74) Oliver "History of Beverley" p. 62.
- p. 88 (75) G. Poulson op. cit. p. 51.
- p. 89 (76) Coucher Book of Selby II. Durham 1893 p. 19.
- p. 90 (77) Victoria County History. Yorkshire III. London 1913 p. 133.

- p. 90 (78) Calendar of Charter Rolls III. London 1908
p. 139.
- p. 90 (79) Calendar of Charter Rolls IV. London 1912
p. 46.
- p. 91 (80) Ibid. p. 435.
- p. 91 (81) Calendar of Charter Rolls V. London 1916
p. 339.
- p. 92 (82) Calendar of Charter Rolls IV. London 1912
P. 452.
- p. 92 (83) Calendar of Charter Rolls V. London 1916
p. 381.
- p. 92 (84) Calendar of Liberate Rolls 1226-1240. London
1916, p. 275.
- p. 93 (85) Calendar of Patent Rolls 1429-1436 London 1907
p. 326.
- p. 93 (86) Calendar of Patent Rolls 1549-1551 London 1925
p. 316.
- p. 95 (87) Yorkshire Diaries. Durham 1877 p. 452.
- p. 96 (88) Beverley Chapter Act Book I. Durham 1898 p. 25.
- p. 97 (89) J. R. Boyle op. cit. p. cvi et seq.
- p.102 (90) Memorials of Ripon III. Durham 1888 p. 88 et seq.
- p.102 (91) Ibid. p. 180 et seq.
- p.102 (92) W. Smith "Old Yorkshire". London 1881 p. 150.
- p. 103 (93) Towneley Mysteries. London 1836 p. XVI.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

p. 79. Cyrograph

An obsolete form of "chirograph" which is

- (a) Any formally written and signed document.
- (b) Any obligation or bond in the handwriting
of the signatories.

- p. 51. St. Basil Basil "Regulae Fusius Tractatae" No. XL
deals with the abuse of holy places and solemn
assemblies. Anything like a worldly festival or
a common market at such times is sacrilege, like
that of the money changers in the Temple.

CHAPTER II

LEGAL REQUIREMENTS IN FAIRS

AND MARKETS.

Legal reasons of existence; the evidence of some Yorkshire charters; the Calendars of Charter and Patent Rolls; the Quo Warranto inquiries; Inquisitions post-mortem; local records; Causes of loss of the liberty; alterations of date; non-user; proclamations of fairs, external and internal; bell-ringing; Disputes over "injury".

It would be a trite observation to say that fairs and markets had a legal existence; that is, that their tenure was in every way circumscribed by some requirement of the law. The law required to know every detail of their existence; when and how each had found origin; by whom the original grant was made; under what conditions of time, duration and appointed dates; what conditions of ownership, whether ecclesiastic or lay, for a lifetime or for a man, his heirs and successors, or in perpetuity; whether any possibility of alienation existed with the tenure; whether the grant had been subsequently confirmed; whether any alteration had been sanctioned; or whether the grant stated or implied the grant of any further liberties beyond the simple liberty of holding the fair or market. It was possible that a fair might be continued to be held without the fulfilment of the conditions of the original grant; the law required that a reason for such a tenure should be capable of being produced on request. The law laid down the conditions of tenure and was watchful to maintain those conditions. In granting privilege and liberty it was the law's concern to grant them only where there was justification for them whilst erecting safeguards to prevent their abuse.

It is necessary, therefore, to consider what type of evidence the law required for the justification of the fairs and markets held in Yorkshire, and in what sources that evidence is to be found. It will be realised at the same time that where there is legal evidence of a fair there is definite proof of its being granted; there may be proof of its continued, or of an

interrupted existence, but there is no proof of anything further - as, for instance, of the part played by a fair or market in the trade of its own locality - which is, after all, the most important reason for the fair itself. There are several types of evidence.

The most important type is the Charter under which the fair was held. Many of these Charters in regard to Yorkshire fairs exist in full. It has already been suggested that some were forged, especially those which purported to have been granted in pre-Conquest days. Others - of the like period - have been taken to represent more than they originally meant. In the majority of cases, however, the possession of a written Charter specifying the grant of a fair is sufficient legal warrant for that fair. In some cases it will be found that the fair was not granted by charter but under letters patent - the two types of evidence are the same. Evidence for the continued existence of fairs rather than for the mere statement that they had been granted is to be found whenever there was a survey of the country. Such evidence as this is to be found in the Domesday Book, (which, it is to be observed, is completely silent on the subject of fairs in Yorkshire) the Hundred Rolls, (particularly unsatisfactory so far as Yorkshire is concerned), various Inquisitions, but especially the Inquisitiones post mortem (which are, however, very much concerned with a certain group, and which, naturally do not on any occasion refer to an ecclesiastically owned fair) but above all the royal inquiries as to the rightful origin of liberties, the most important as well as the most famous being the Quo Warranto inquiry of Edward I. A further type of evidence is to be found in

the court records of the constant disputes which arose between fair owners out of the accusation that the tenure of one fair was to the detriment of its neighbour. It must be remembered that the law laid down certain conditions in each original grant; if those conditions were not observed, the owner was forced to appear to explain the reason for their breach.

Such, then, are the main types of legal evidence. In the majority of cases it will be found that the Yorkshire fairs and markets do conform to the normal type, the sole exceptions being in some way connected with the authority of the successive Archbishops of York.

One of these exceptions has already been quoted. It is a definite statement of law that there can be only one grantor of a fair - the king. At Barnsley the monks of Pontefract held two fairs which had been granted to them by an Archbishop of York. In this case his authority seems, for a time at least, to have been sufficient, though there were later royal confirmations. The Archbishop of York would appear to have been emulating the palatine bishops of Durham who within that county were capable of making such grants - the fair held by the burgesses of Elvet is an example. No other person was responsible for grants in Yorkshire and it is essential therefore to consider first of all those charters and letters patent which kings of England, medieval and modern issued to their faithful and beloved subjects of Yorkshire. For the period of the thirteenth to the sixteenth century an excellent summary of the grants made is to be found in the Calendar of Charter Rolls, a summary given in Appendix I. This period is the greatest in regard to the number of grants - the

thirteenth century being especially prolific throughout England - but there are several charters from before the thirteenth century and from after the sixteenth. The general extent of the period in which fairs were granted should be considered as from the reign of William II (William the Conqueror was too busy in other matters, and Yorkshire was not a thriving commercial area after the rebellion of 1070-2 and the harrying of the North) to the reign of James II. It is dangerous to extend the known period of Charter grants to a pre-Conquest period, whilst after the Revolution of 1688-9 there is a considerable change in the nature of markets, so that the great marts springing up with the earlier stages of the Industrial Revolution do not in legal theories of origins altogether correspond to the fair of the earlier period. Since the Calendar of Charter Rolls does only provide a summary it affords nothing more than evidence of the original grant together with the grantee and the date and duration of each Yorkshire market and fair, but it also provides information as to re-issues, to changes of dates and changes of ownership which are not unimportant. The Calendar of Charter Rolls is, then, to be regarded as sufficient evidence for the legal origins of a considerable number of Yorkshire fairs and markets granted in the years mentioned to the owners named and has therefore been quoted in full in Appendix I. It will be noticed that many places occur more than once in the record; their fairs have changed hands; new fairs are added to the old; new lords have gained new fairs. Many important points arise even from this bare summary; before discussing them it is convenient to give the

much shorter but in proportion equally important summary of grants to be found in the Calendar of Patent Rolls. Here the first evidence is that of an exemplification of a charter in 1331. At the request of John, son and heir of John de Mowbray, the charter dated 20 March 35 Edward I was confirmed. This was the grant to John de Mowbray of a market every Monday at his manor of Burton-in-Lonsdale, with fairs there on Whitsunday and the two following days, and on the eve, day and morrow of St. James the Apostle (July 25), and a market every Monday at his manor of Kirby Malasart, with fairs there yearly on the eve, the day and the morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary (September 8), and on the eve, day and morrow of St. Michael (September 29).⁽¹⁾ In 1343 the King required that a market and two fairs yearly should be proclaimed to be held on his manor of Skipsea in Holderness, and a market and two fairs at Withernsea in Holderness.⁽²⁾ Thomas Oughtrede, Knight, was in 1347 granted for himself and his heirs a market every Wednesday and fair on Easter Monday at his manor of Kexby.⁽³⁾ After the fall of the house of Neville the fairs at Middleham changed hands. Thus a grant was made to the king's brother, Richard of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III) in 1479 that he and his heirs should have two fairs at Middleham, one on Thursday in Whitsun week and the three days following and the other on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude (October 28) and the three days following.⁽⁴⁾ Finally, from the State Papers (Domestic) comes evidence for two grants. Queen Elizabeth in 1590 gave to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of York authority to hold two additional fairs there annually.⁽⁵⁾

Five years later, in 1595, a grant was made to Isabel, Countess of Rutland, and William Lord Roos, and the heirs of the latter, of a weekly market on Thursday and a yearly fair on Thursday, Friday and Saturday in Whitsun week, in Warter manor, on the surrender of a former grant of a Wednesday market and a fair on the even, day and morrow of St. James the Apostle (July 25) with a proviso added that the grant should be void if the fair and market were continued to be held on the former day.⁽⁶⁾

From these sources alone, therefore, there is evidence for the legal origin of a considerable number of fairs and markets in Yorkshire. This evidence throws considerable light on the type of person who sought the rights of fair-ownership. It is a noteworthy fact that women as well as men might own fairs. Thus Sedbergh fair belonged to Alice de Staveley. It is also to be observed that there was a certain system of part ownership. Market Weighton fair belonged to Payn Tybotot and his wife Agnes, Buttercrambe to Thomas de Holand and Joan his wife. Very few Yorkshire fairs were grouped into the hands of one man but some few families had interests in several fairs e.g., the Peray and Mowbray families. Where there was a change of name in the grant of a fair in a later year, it must not be presumed that the fair had changed hands; different fairs at the same place could be in different hands; thus more than one owner was interest^{ed} in fairs at Hedon, Beverley, York. To understand, however, the full legal significance of the charters granting fairs and markets it is necessary to go back beyond the summary provided in the Calendars of Patent or Charter Rolls to those examples of charters which are still in existence providing for Yorkshire

ownership. The grant made by John in 1200 to William Stuteville of licence to hold yearly fairs at Buttercrambe and Cottingham⁽⁷⁾ is but the early sign of the amazing growth in the number, popularity and prestige of fairs not only in Yorkshire but in all England in the thirteenth century, a growth testified to by the great number of charters dating from that period. Some of the Yorkshire charters - those relating to ecclesiastical ownership - have already been quoted. The following all refer to lay lords of manors, baronial and civic. It will be noticed that there is a constant normal phraseology in the grant, and a general tendency to include the same other liberties with grants of fairs. It is not to be thought that charters exist only for the Middle Ages; it is possible to watch the history of fairs through the frequent charter records at Hull and Doncaster until the late seventeenth century.

There was a charter granted by Henry III to John de Wapton, dated June 35 Henry III (1250), giving rights of free-warren, a market and a fair, in Masham (Charter Rolls 35 Hen. III m. 6). It is as follows:

"For John de Wapton. The King to Archbishops etc. greeting. Know ye that we have granted, and by this our charter confirmed to John de Wapton and his heirs for ever, that he may have free-warren in all his demesne lands of Masseham in the County of York, provided, nevertheless, that the same lands be not within the metes of our forest; so that no one enter the same lands to hunt in the same, or to take anything which to warren appertains, without the licence and will of the same John, or his heirs, upon forfeiture to us of Ten Pounds. And We have given to the same John,

that he and his heirs for ever, have one market every week on Friday at his manor of Masseham, and that he have in the same one fair every year of three days' duration - that is to say on the eve, the day, and the morrow of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary. Unless the same market and fair be to the damage of the neighbouring markets and fairs. Wherefore we are willing etc. Witnesses etc. Given by our hand at Merewell, the first day of June."⁽⁸⁾

This charter gives very much the "bare bones" of a grant of a fair. It is necessary to see how it is widened by a charter granting to Geoffrey le Scrop free-warren in his lands and a market and fairs at his manor of Masham, dated 28 October 2 Edward III (1327). The portion of the charter dealing with the grant of free-warren is omitted. The remainder runs: (Charter Rolls a 2 E 3. n. 27)

"For Geoffrey le Scrop - the King in these words:

Know ye that we of our special favour have granted and by this our Charter have confirmed to our beloved and faithful Geoffrey le Scrop, that he and his heirs may have one market every week on Wednesday, at his manor of Masham in the said County of York, and two fairs there every year, which shall continue for four days, one to wit on the eve and on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the other on the vigil and feast of St. Barnabas, unless that market and those fairs shall be to the injury of the neighbouring markets and neighbouring fairs And that they have the aforesaid market and fairs at his manor aforesaid, with all liberties and free customs pertaining to a market and to fairs of this kind, unless that market

and those fairs shall be to the injury of the neighbouring markets as aforesaid. As witness these venerable fathers:- Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England, Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, our Chancellor, the Bishop of Hereford, our Treasurer, Roger, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Edmund Earl of Kent, our uncle, John de Waren, Earl of Surrey, Henry de Percy, John de Wysham, Steward of our household, and others. Given under our hand at New Sarum, on the 28th day of October."⁽⁹⁾

This is a grant of the same fair as was granted to John de Wauton in 1250. It is, therefore, substantially a mere confirmation of a former grant and whilst it enlarges the former by the grant of "all liberties and free customs pertaining to a market and to fairs", it makes no express mention of any right to levy tolls. What the liberties and free customs were must be considered later. It is a minor point of interest that the list of witnesses connected with this grant of 1327 is amongst the most imposing of any Yorkshire charter. The Assumption-tide fair is now to be held for only two days, instead of three. The third charter in connection with the fairs and market at Masham returns to the shorter form of the first. This was a charter of 1392 granting to Stephen le Scrope free-warren in his lands and a market and two fairs at his manor of Masham (7 May 16 Ric. II). It runs:

"Richard by the grace of God King of England and France and lord of Ireland: to Archbishops etc. greeting. Know ye that of our special grace we have granted and given licence for us and our heirs, as much as in us lies to our beloved and faithful Stephen le Scrop, knight, that he and his heirs for ever, have one market every week on Wednesday, at

their manor of Masseham in the County of York and two fairs there to be holden for six days, that is to say one fair to be holden for two days before the Feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, and on St. Barnabas' day, and the other fair to be holden for two days before the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, and on the day of the same Nativity, unless the same market and fairs be to the prejudice or damage of other neighbouring markets and fairs there (Here follows the grant of free-warren, and then there is a complete repetition of the whole charter, and finally the names of the witnesses) Given under our hand at Westminster the Seventh Day of May in the Sixteenth year of our reign. By Writ of Privy Seal". (10)

Some few points of importance arise from this third charter. In one case there is a simply a repetition of a previous grant. The St. Barnabas fair is again to be held - but for a longer period. On the other hand the date of the second fair has now been altered. This charter is an example of the legal^{demand} that if the date of a fair were to be changed then a new charter had to be obtained, granting the fair on the new day in lieu of the old. Since the fairs are in all three charters the same two fairs - i.e. no charter adds fairs to be held also in Masham other than those previously granted - there is here an example of change of ownership. The first grant is to the Wanton family; the second and third are to the Scropes. Every change of ownership had to be ratified by a new charter, but even when a fair remained in the same family or inheritance, it was at times considered needful and wise to re-establish the legality of the fair by means of a new charter.

There is only one charter in connection with the establishment of the fair at Hooton Pagnell, near Doncaster. This charter remains in good preservation whilst the market and fair it granted have lapsed. The grant for the market was obtained from Henry III on behalf of Sir Geoffrey Luterel, at the instigation of his father-in-law, William de Grey whilst the latter was serving in 1253 with the king in the attempt to regain the French provinces. The charter is of the usual type and reads:

"The King to the Archbishops etc. greeting.
Know ye that we, at the instance of William de Grey, have granted and by this our charter confirmed to Geoffrey Luterel that he and his heirs have for ever a market each week on Thursday at his manor at Hooton Painell in the County of York, and that they have there a fair each year to last for three days, namely, on the eve, on the day, and on the morrow of St. Lawrence (10 August) unless that market (and that fair) be to the injury of the neighbouring markets and neighbouring fairs. Wherefore we will etc., etc.
These witnesses Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, Peter, Bishop of Hereford, John de Plessets, earl of Warwick, etc. Given by our hand at Bordeaux, 24th day of August."(11)

Of not much later date and yet of very different form is the charter granted by John de Brittonia formerly Earl of Richmond to the burgesses of Richmond in 1268. The grant appears to have two possible causes of origin. It may have been a token of gratitude when John de Brittonia succeeded in gaining his duchy of Brittany. It is possibly more probable that the grant made is the price paid to the burgesses of Richmond for their service in helping their lord to gain his throne. The relevant part of the

charter is that in which the Earl states that he has
"by the name of John, eldest son of John, Duke of
Brittany, granted and confirmed to his then
burgesses at Richmond and their heirs the
borough aforesaid by the name of his borough of
Richmond with the markets, fairs and tolls, and with
all the rents of assize, attachments, and pleas of
the said borough yielding therefore yearly to
the said John, and his heirs £40 sterling for all things
above mentioned and obeying nevertheless the said
John and his heirs as chief lord."(12)

Even in a grant of borough-status by the lord of a manor,
it was not lawful for the borough to hold the liberties
within it which that lord had been accustomed to hold
there unless express mention were made that he had devolved
his rights to those burgesses in the charter. That step,
however, did not prevent later grants from the Crown to new
tenants in chief of the estate which might, and did, conflict
with those granted in the borough charter.

Also from the reign of Henry III come charters for
markets and fairs to be held at Wakefield and Hedon. In
the case of the former there is a charter from the reign
of King John which is of the brief type common to the early
period. Shortly after William, sixth Earl Warenne and
Surrey had come of age in 1202 the people of his manor
of Wakefield approached him with the plea that he should
use his influence with the king to secure for them the
right to hold a fair at Wakefield. The charter from the
king (the earl's influence being sufficient) granting the
petition and instituting the fair is as follows:-

"John etc. Know ye that we have granted and by this
our charter have confirmed to our beloved and faithful

William, Earl of Warenne and his heirs, that they may have a certain fair every year at Wakefield, lasting for three days, namely, on the eve, the feast, and the morrow of All Saints, but that it shall not be to the damage of neighbouring fairs. Dated at Bridgnorth March 15th, 5 John (1204) Witnesses, W(illiam of Blois) Bishop of Lincoln, G(iles de Braose), Bishop of Hereford, G(eoffrey FitzPiers) Earl of Essex, R(obert Fitz-Pernell) Earl of Leicester, R(anulf de Blandeville) Earl of Chester, W(illiam the)Marshall of Pembroke, W(illiam Lungespee) Earl of Salisbury, W(aleran) Earl of Warwick, H(enry de Bohun) Earl of Hereford."(13)

From the list of signatories it can readily be understood why the influence of the youthful Earl of Warenne was sufficient to obtain the grant. He was one of the group of great nobles who stand predominant in the reigns of John and Henry III. The grant is naturally made to the Earl himself, not to the burgesses of Wakefield. In the eyes of the law the grant could only be made to the owner of the estate, i.e. to the tenant-in-chief of the Crown, who benefitted from the grant through the increased prosperity of his manor and the tolls he as lord of the manor was entitled to levy, whilst his tenants in the manor benefitted from the increased trade brought to them in the fair, the ability to purchase outside commodities and to effect greater sales of their own domestic manufactures and stock. The words of this charter of 1202 are repeated, with a similarly imposing group of witnesses, in the charter obtained from Henry III in 1258 by John, the seventh Earl Warenne, granting a second fair to be held at Wakefield, thus:

"Henry etc., know that we have granted and by this our charter confirmed to our beloved and faithful John de Warenne that he and his heirs for ever may have a

fair at Wakefield in the County of York, every year, lasting for three days, namely, on the eve, the day, and the morrow of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, unless it shall be to the damage of neighbouring fairs. Dated at Oxford, June 19th, 42 Henry III. Witnesses: Fulk Basset, Bishop of London, Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester."(14)

In his last year Henry III made a grant of a market and two fairs to his younger son Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, who was in 1272 lord of the seignior of Holderness. It will be noticed that the grant was also to the wife of the Earl - Aveline, the daughter and heiress of William de Fortilus, Earl of Aumale, the previous lord of the seignior to which, therefore, Edmund of Lancaster succeeded through right of his wife. The charter reads:

"The King to the Archbishops etc. greeting. Know that we have granted, and by this our charter have confirmed, to Edmund our dearly beloved son and to Avyline his wife, that they and their heirs for ever shall have one market in each week on Wednesday, at their manor of Skipsea in the County of York, and one fair at their manor of Hedon, in that same county, each year, to last for eight days, that is to say, on the eve, the day and the morrow of St. Augustine the bishop in Autumn, and for the five days following; and one fair at their manor of Pocklington in the aforesaid county, each year, to last for eight days that is to say, on the eve, the day and the morrow of All Saints, and the five days following, unless that market and those fairs be to the injury of neighbouring markets and neighbouring fairs. Wherefore we wish and firmly

ordain, for us and our heirs, that the aforesaid Edmund and Avelyna his wife, and their heirs, for ever shall have the aforesaid market etc., as above, with all things etc., unless etc. With these witnesses: the venerable fathers Nicholas Bishop of Winchester, and Godfrey Bishop of Worcester, Robert Aguillun, Thedis 'de Camill', Peter de Chaumpuent, Elya de Rabeyn', William de Wintreshull', Stephen de Eddeworth', William Belet, Roger de Wauton', and others. Dated by the hand of the king at Winchester the sixth day of January."(15)

As has already been seen there were several owners of fairs in Hedon whilst the ownership of Pocklington fair frequently changed hands. South-eastern Yorkshire is prolific in its fairs and the charters granting them. Of more importance than Pocklington but for some centuries less important than Hedon was Hull fair, today considered as one of the greatest of all English fairs (Philip Allingham: "Cheapjack" London 1934 Chap. XIII). The importance of Wyke, or Hull, both as a town and place is already evident in 1278 when the first fair in the town was granted at the petition of the Abbot and Convent of Meaux - a fair lasting for fifteen days. Soon after this grant the town came into the hands of the king and as members of a royal borough the burgesses were from time to time granted charters authorising them to hold fairs or confirming those they already held. In 1299 two markets - on Tuesday and Friday - were granted by Edward I who permitted also the extension of the duration of the fair from fifteen to thirty days. This charter of Edward I established Hull as a free-borough, and as in so many other cases, unites the grant of freedom with the liberty to hold markets and fairs. The charter is as follows:

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of all England, lord

of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine; To the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Provosts, Ministers, and to all his Bailiffs and faithful subjects, greeting. Know ye that for the improvement of our town of Kyngeston-upon-Hull, and for the utility and profit of our men of the same town, we will and grant for us and our heirs, that our town aforesaid shall from henceforth be a free borough, and the men of the same town free burgesses, and that they may have for ever all the liberties and free customs belonging to a free borough

Moreover we will and grant, for us and our heirs that the aforesaid Burgesses and their heirs may be for ever quit throughout all our realm and dominion from toll, pontage, passage, pavage, and from all other customs payable for their own goods and merchandise

Moreover we do grant for us and our heirs, to the aforesaid burgesses, that they and their heirs may have for ever two markets in every week within the borough aforesaid, to be kept in a place by us for that purpose to be appointed, that is to say, one on Tuesday, and the other on Friday, and one fair there every year, to continue for thirty days, that is to say on the day of St. Austin after Easter, and for twenty nine days next following; unless those markets and that fair should be to the prejudice of the neighbouring markets and fairs. Wherefore we firmly will and command for us and our heirs that the aforesaid burgesses and their heirs may be for ever quit throughout all our realm and dominion from toll, pontage, passage, pavage, and from all other customs payable for their own goods and merchandises And that the same burgesses and

their heirs may for ever have the aforesaid markets and fair within the borough aforesaid, with all the liberties and free customs to markets and fairs of that description belonging; unless those markets and that fair should be to the prejudice of the neighbouring markets and fairs as aforesaid. Witnesses"(16)

In obtaining such liberties Hull was fortunate in the price the town had to pay. The Burgesses of [^]Rave[^]ser ("Raveneserod" in the Charter Rolls) obtained like privileges after paying £300 to the royal treasury whereas the inhabitants of Hull were only asked to pay one hundred marks i.e. £66-13-4d. Despite the cheapness of the grant and the length of the fair - amongst the longest of all fairs granted in the Middle Ages - the citizens of Hull had grave difficulties in keeping their fair alive. Its career in the Middle Ages was very chequered, being overshadowed by that of two nearly rivals Hedon in Yorkshire and Boston across the Humber. That it did survive is due to the advertising genius of the Hull people - which will be described when dealing with Hull trade - and the willingness of later kings to continue to confirm the grant in return for a further fee. The survival of the fair and the royal willingness are evidenced in the later charters connected with its growth. The two other charters coming from the Middle Ages are witness that as the fair grew the citizens of Hull were anxious for further rights implementing the profits of the fair. The first is a charter of 1382 (4 June 5 Richard II) - a year when one of Hull's greatest citizens, Michael de la Pole, was gaining a prominent place among the advisers of the boy-king. This charter includes a grant of the right to control the important various assizes of victuals and measures, thus:-

"And that the same Mayor and bailiffs shall have, make, and exercise for ever the assise of bread, wine and ale,

and of other victuals whatsoever, as well as the custody and assay of measures, weights and other things whatsoever pertaining to the said assise, custody and assay, in the town and port aforesaid, and shall in due manner punish transgressors of the said assise of bread, wine and ale, and other victuals whatsoever, and shall correct and amend defects of measures, weights and other things pertaining to the said assise, custody and assay; So that the Clerk of the Market, or other minister of us and our heirs, shall not enter the said town or port to do or exercise any of the things which pertain therein to the said assise, custom, and assay; And Also that all the profits thence arising shall always be (the profits) of the same Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses, and of their heirs and successors aforesaid, in aid of the farm of the town aforesaid."(17)

The Clerk of the Market seems to have been a generally unwanted official but this Charter of Richard II was apparently insufficient to keep him out of Hull. In 1440 by a charter dated 10 May 18 Henry VI the burgesses were again permitted to exclude him from their town. The relevant portion of the charter reads:-

"And moreover we have granted and by this our charter have confirmed for us and our heirs aforesaid, to the aforesaid burgesses and their heirs and successors aforesaid, for ever, that the Clerk of the Market of our Household, and of that of our heirs, hereafter neither in our presence nor in the absence of us or of our heirs, shall either enter or sit within the town aforesaid, or the liberty and precinct of the same town, or do or exercise their offices therein, or under any pretence inquire, or cause to be inquired, or intermeddle themselves in any wise, concerning

any matters done, or to be done, or happening or arising within the Town aforesaid, or the liberty and precinct thereof, or draw into plea outside the said Town any Burgesses of our Town aforesaid, or any persons residing within the same town, or the liberty and precinct of the same town, for any manner of things happening or arising in future in any manner within the same town, or the liberty and precinct of the same town."(18)

Here, then, is legal basis for much more valuable privileges than any Hull had previously enjoyed. The exemption from the office of the Clerk of the Market is now extended to the precincts and the full extent of the liberty of Hull and is not for the city alone. The right to plead within their own walls becomes the property of all the residents of the town. In view of these extensions Hull trade was certain to improve. That that trade did improve and that the improvement was connected with Hull fair is shown by the limitations placed upon foreign merchants by a charter of Henry VIII ensuring both a profitable monopoly to Hull traders in the course of the year and a considerable opportunity of external trade in the time of the fair. The charter is an indication of an early mercantilism, as yet anxious to buttress local development even at the expense of other parts of the country whilst permitting the fair to be the means of a very essential wide exchange of goods.

Dated 21 June, 24 Henry VIII (1532) it includes:

"We have granted, and do give licence for us, and our heirs and successors to the mayor, burgesses and commonalty of our town and borough of Kyngston-upon-Hull aforesaid and their successors for ever, that no stranger or foreigner to the liberty of the borough aforesaid,

hereafter shall buy from any stranger or foreigner to the liberty of the borough aforesaid, or shall sell to any such stranger or foreigner to the liberty of that borough, within that borough, any merchandise or any other things whatsoever, except only in the time of the mart or of the fairs hereafter to be held within the borough aforesaid, under penalty of the forfeiture of the merchandise and things aforesaid, bought or sold, or to be bought or sold contrary to the form aforesaid, to be converted to the use of the Mayor and Burgesses of the borough aforesaid and their successors."(19)

The effect of such a requirement was inevitably to force external trade into the fair and market, causing them considerable gain. This is one indication of the impossibility of ascribing the period of the decline of the fair to the sixteenth century; nascent mercantilism meant an increase in the value of the fair, provided for by the State in its laws to protect national and local industry and trade.

Both Crown and Borough realised the value of these local marts; the struggle between those two authorities for possession and its profits is summed up in Queen Elizabeth's charter to Hull which, closing sixteenth century developments there, reveals the prosperous condition of Hull fair.

This charter, dated 21 August 40 Elizabeth (1598) includes:

"AND WHEREAS the lord Edward I, formerly King of England, our progenitor, by his letters patent, made under his great seal of England, bearing date at Westminster the first day of April in the twenty seventh year of his reign, amongst other things, granted to the burgesses of Kingston-upon-Hull, that they and their heirs for ever should have two markets in every week, within the borough aforesaid, to be held in a place appointed thereto by the aforesaid King, one, namely

on Tuesday and the other on Friday, and a fair there in every year, to continue for thirty days, namely on the day of Saint Augustine after Easter and the twenty nine days next following, unless those markets and that fair should be to the injury of neighbouring markets and fairs, as by the same letters patent, amongst other things more fully appears; WHICH said markets and fair the same Mayor and burgesses of the town or borough aforesaid have surrendered and granted to us, our heirs and successors in our Chancery, by their deed thereof duly enrolled therein; NEVERTHELESS with the intention that we should deign to make and grant anew other our letters patent, and another our grant, to the Mayor and Burgesses of the town or borough aforesaid and their successors, which said surrender we do accept and approve by these presents; KNOW YE that we, of our superior special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, have given and granted, and for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, do give and grant, to the aforesaid Mayor and Burgesses and their successors, that they and their successors, henceforth for ever, shall and may have and hold, within the same town or borough of Kingston upon Hull, two markets in every week, in some convenient place within the same town or borough to be appointed by the Mayor and the greater part of the aldermen of the town or borough aforesaid for the time being, NAMELY one market to be held and kept in every week on Tuesday and the other market on Friday in every week. AND ALSO we do will and, by these presents, of our superior special grace, do grant to the same Mayor and Burgesses and their successors, that they and their successors, shall and may have, hold, and keep yearly,

for ever, within the same town or borough, in some convenient place to be appointed from time to time by the same Mayor and Burgesses and their successors, one mart or fair, yearly and every year, beginning and commencing on the sixteenth day of September, and to continue for fifteen days then next following the same sixteenth day of September, together with a court of pie-powder; and all and all manner of tolls and dues of all and all manner of merchandise, victuals and other things whatsoever, from time to time sold and bought within the aforesaid markets and fair, or either of them, with the customs, usages, profits, commodities and emoluments whatsoever, belonging, appertaining, occurring, happening, or arising at such markets, marts, fairs and courts of piepowder So NEVERTHELESS, that the aforesaid markets, marts or fairs or any of them, shall not be to the injury of other neighbouring markets, marts or fairs: WHEREFORE WE DO WILL, and, by these presents, do firmly order and command, that the same Mayor and Burgesses and their successors shall freely, peacefully, and quietly, have, hold, enjoy, and keep the aforesaid two markets, to be held in every week on the Tuesday and Friday, as is aforesaid, and the aforesaid mart or fair, to be held yearly on the sixteenth day of September, and to continue for fifteen days then next following, as is aforesaid, together with the aforesaid court of piepowder, and all the aforesaid dues, tolls, customs, usages, profits and emoluments whatsoever, pertaining, belonging, occurring, or happening to such markets, marts or fairs and courts of piepowder, and this without molestation, contradiction, or impediment of us or our heirs or successors, or of the Sheriffs, Escheators, or other officers or ministers of us, our heirs and successors, whomsoever, So

NEVERTHELESS that the aforesaid markets marts or fairs shall not be to the injury of other neighbouring markets, marts, or fairs as is aforesaid

AND MOREOVER, of our more ample grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant and confirm to the aforesaid Mayor and Burgesses of the town of borough of Kingston-upon-Hull aforesaid, and their successors for ever all fairs, markets, marts, sales of all chattels whatsoever which the Burgesses of the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull, or which the Burgesses and Commonalty of the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull, or which the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull, or which the Mayor and Burgesses of the Borough or Town of Kingston-upon-Hull, and their predecessors whatsoever, by whatsoever names they have been recognised or called, or by whatsoever name, or by whatsoever incorporation, or pretext of any incorporation, they were heretofore incorporated, lawfully had held, used or enjoyed, or ought to have, hold, use or enjoy, or ought to have had, held, used, or enjoyed, to themselves and their successors for ever, or hereditary estate, by reason or pretext of any charters or letters patent heretofore made, confirmed, or granted by us, or by any of our progenitors, or any other person, or any other whomsoever, in whatsoever manner, or by any other lawful mode, right, custom, use, prescription or title, heretofore lawfully used, had and accustomed the statute enacted in the Parliament of the Lord Henry the Sixth, late King of England, in the twenty eighth year of his reign (28 Hen. VI c. 5 "Penalty of the Officers of Custom") or another statute enacted in

the twenty ninth year of the said Henry the Sixth, late King of England (29 Hen. VI C. 3. "Voiding of Letters Patent to Citizens of York") or the statute enacted in the parliament of the said Lord Henry the Sixth, late King of England, in the thirty third year of his reign (33 Hen. VI C. 3. "Remedy for Extortions committed by Officers of the Exchequer"), or any other statute, act, ordinance or provision heretofore enacted, ordained or provided in any manner notwithstanding and notwithstanding any non-use or abuse thereof, heretofore, made or committed; YET EXCEPT NEVERTHELESS always, and beyond this our present grant, to us, our heirs and successors entirely reserved, one market in every week on Tuesday, and one other market in every week on Friday, heretofore held in the same town or borough; and one mart or fair yearly, beginning on the day of St. Augustine, and continuing for twenty nine days then next following, heretofore held and kept in the same town or borough, and, before the making of these our letters patent, granted by the said late King Edward the First, and all tolls, profits and commodities whatsoever, howsoever pertaining, coming, or occurring to the said mart or fair; TO HAVE HOLD AND ENJOY the aforesaid town or borough, the lands fairs, markets and other the premisses, by these presents above granted, except the pre-exception, to the aforesaid Mayor and Burgesses and their successors in fee-farm for ever." (20)

Thus in one sense the people of Hull were disappointed. They had surrendered their St. Austin fair to the Queen in the expectation of an immediate re-issue of their charter for its tenure. The Queen had, however, seen the value of this fair and in lieu of a re-grant, granted to the Mayor

and Burgesses a fair in September, instead of in May and June. Since however she continued herself to hold the original fair, there were now in Hull two fairs, the royal fair, being from May 26 to June 24, whilst the town's fair was from September 16 to October 1, by the terms of this last charter. This charter is important in many ways. It is witness to the means by which owners sought to conserve their rights; here, the burgesses seek to gratify the Queen by the surrender of their rights in the hopes of a speedy renewal. It gives evidence, in most comprehensive manner, of the difficulties inherent in corporations in their attempts to prove that they are the body to whom an original grant was made. There is in the charter the definite annulment in this particular instance of three statutes which, if remaining in force, would have rendered valueless the grants now made, thus showing that a mere charter might unless care were taken be instantly void, a danger which had to be prevented by the deliberate wordings of the charter. The charter makes a definite grant of a court of pie-powder; this has been believed by some historians not to be necessary, the grant of a court of pie-powder being supposedly understood in every grant of a fair but there must remain some doubt on this; at any rate the stated grant in a charter alone made ability to hold the court a certainty not to be infringed by any authority. The constant repetition in the charter insists that the fair and markets can only be granted subject to the proviso that they are not to the damage of neighbouring fairs and markets. The use of the work mart not simply as an alternative to fair is remarkable, originally there were only five marts in all England, Yorkshire providing two - at Hedon and Beverley. The charter leaves in obscurity the ownership of the two markets, for having granted them

to the Mayor and Burgesses the Queen includes them in the rights which she reserves to herself. In contrast to the full, impressive charter of Queen Elizabeth, the charter of James I relates only to the office of the Clerk of the Market which the Mayor and Burgesses had obtained for themselves by the charters of 1382 and 1440. This charter of 1610-11 (18 March 8 James I) reads:

"AND WHERE (- whereas) the Mayor and Burgesses of the saide towne or borough, by lawfull wayes and meanes, as wee are by them informed, have used, tyme out of mynde, and doe yet use and exercise, the office of Clerke of the Markett within the said town or borough And the liberties and precinctes of the same, and have had and yet have the assize and assail of bread and beere, and the amendment and correccion of waightes and measures within the same, WEE, of our more ample grace, certayne knowledge and meere mocion, HAVE GRAUNTED AND CONFYRMED, and by these presentes, for us, our heires and successors, doe give, graunte and confyrme, unto the said Maior and Burgesses, and to their successors, that the Mayor of the said towne or borough, for the tyme beinge, shall for ever hereafter bee Clarke of the Markett within the said town or boroughe, and the liberties or precinctes of the same, and shall and maye doe, performe and execute all and whatsoever to the office of the Clarke of the Markett doth or shall belonge

"(21)

It must, of course, be remembered that the clerk of the market was not solely concerned with buying and selling in fairs and markets; his authority extended over all matters of purchases just as the assay of weights and measures was not confined in its action to fairs and markets but to all shops and stalls. The clerk of the market was originally

an officer of the king's household, charged with this assay of weights and measures in all parts of the kingdom and, in order to discharge his duties, making circuits in the same manner as did the Judges-on-eyre. Yet, since his advent was always held to mean an invasion of municipal authority, townships strove to exclude his office, or rather to exercise it for themselves, with particular reference to their fairs and markets since it was in them that weights and measures were most intensively used and might most easily be falsified. It is a point of interest that in this charter the burgesses are held to have exercised the office from "time out of mind". The last charter in connection with Hull fair was granted by Charles II in 1661 (3 December 13 Charles II). The relevant portion is as follows:-

"AND WHEREAS the Lord Edward the First, formerly King of England, our progenitor, by his letters patent, made under his great seal of England, bearing date at Westminster the first day of April, in the twenty seventh year of his reign, amongst other things, granted to the then Burgesses of Kingston upon Hull, that they and their heirs for ever should have two markets in every week, within the borough aforesaid, to be held in a place to be appointed thereto by the aforesaid Kind, one namely on Tuesday and the other on Friday, and a fair there in every year, to continue for thirty days, namely on the day of St. Augustine after Easter, and for twenty nine days next following, unless those markets and that fair should be to the injury of neighbouring markets and fairs as by the same letters patent amongst other things more fully appears; WHICH said markets and fair the same Mayor and Burgesses of the town or borough aforesaid did surrender and grant to the Lady Elizabeth, late Queen

of England, her heirs and successors, in her Chancery, by their deed thereof duly enrolled therein, NEVERTHELESS with the intention that the said late Queen should deign to make and grant anew other her letters patent, and another her grant, to the Mayor and Burgesses of the town or borough aforesaid and their successors, which said surrender the late Queen did accept and approve, and thereupon the said late Queen, by her letters patent, under her great seal of England, bearing date the nineteenth day of August in the fortieth year of her reign, of her special grace and of her certain knowledge, and mere motion, for herself, her heirs and successors, did give and grant, to the aforesaid Mayor and Burgesses and their successors, that they and their successors, thenceforth for ever, should and might have and hold, within the same town or borough of Kingston upon Hull, two markets in every week, in some convenient place within the same town or borough, to be appointed by the Mayor and the greater part of the Aldermen of the town or borough aforesaid for the time being, namely one market to be held and kept in every week on Tuesday, and the other market on Friday in every week. AND also the same late Queen, of her superior special grace, by the same her letters patent did grant to the same Mayor and Burgesses and their successors that they and their successors, should and might have, hold and keep yearly, for ever, within the same town or borough, in some convenient place to be appointed from time to time by the same Mayor and Burgesses and their successors, one mart or fair yearly and every year, beginning and commencing on the sixteenth day of September and to continue for fifteen days then next following the same sixteenth day

of September, together with a court of piepowder, and all and all manner of tolls and dues of all and all manner of merchandise, victuals and other things whatsoever, from time to time sold and bought within the aforesaid markets and fair, or either of them, with the customs, usages, profits, commodities, and emoluments whatsoever, belonging, appertaining, occurring, happening, or arising at such markets, marts, fairs and courts of piepowder. SO NEVERTHELESS, that the aforesaid markets, marts or fairs or any of them, should not be to the injury of other neighbouring marts or fairs: as by the same letters patent remaining of record, amongst other things, is more fully manifest and appears; which said letters patent and all and singular the things given and granted or mentioned to be given or granted therein before, in the form aforesaid, we, for us, our heirs and successors, do ratify and confirm, by these presents, to the aforesaid Mayor and Burgesses of the town or borough aforesaid. AND MOREOVER WE DO WILL, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do firmly order and command, that the same Mayor and Burgesses and their successors shall freely, peacefully, and quietly, have, hold, enjoy, and keep the aforesaid two markets, to be held in every week on the Tuesday and Friday, as is aforesaid, and the aforesaid mart or fair, to be held yearly on the sixteenth day of September and to continue for fifteen days then next following, as is aforesaid, together with the aforesaid court of piepowder, and all the aforesaid dues, tolls, customs, usages, profits and emoluments whatsoever, pertaining, belonging, occurring, or happening to such markets, mart or fair and court of piepowder, and this without molestation, contradiction, or

impediment of us or our heirs or successors, or of the Sheriffs, Escheators, or other officers or ministers of us, our heirs and successors, whomsoever, SO, NEVERTHELESS, that the aforesaid markets, marts or fairs shall not be to the injury of other neighbouring markets, marts, or fairs as is aforesaid
..... "(22)

This grant of Charles II is identical with the grant made in Queen Elizabeth's charter. With it the legal bases of Hull's fair are brought to an end. From this list of Hull's charters can be seen the necessity for the constant repetition of the charter originally granting the fair, the completeness of the power of the Crown over claimants of privileges if no charter could be produced.

There is a very similar line of development in the charters relative to the fair at Doncaster. Of these charters the first is the grant of a fair made by Edward IV in 1467 to the burgesses. It includes:

"And moreover, of our abundant grace, we have granted and by these presents we do grant, for us and our heirs aforesaid, to the aforesaid Mayor and community of the borough aforesaid, and to their successors, that they, and their successors, may have and hold for ever, **one fair**, at the said borough of Doncaster **every year**, upon the vigil, and upon the feast, and upon the morrow of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; to be held, and for the same three days to continue, with all liberties and free customs, to this sort of fair appertaining, unless that fair be to the detriment of the neighbouring fairs. Wherefore we will, and firmly command, for us and our heirs aforesaid, that the aforesaid Mayor and community and their successors aforesaid, may have, and hold the aforesaid fair at the borough aforesaid, in form

aforesaid, with all liberties and free customs to this kind of fair appertaining, unless that fair be to the detriment of the neighbouring fairs, as is above said." (23

This is, then, purely a grant of a fair, with no mention of a market. Inevitably, since the grant was made by a Yorkist king, the burgesses of Doncaster hastily sought confirmation of their rights from Henry VII whose charter of confirmation was itself confirmed by Henry VIII. The latter's charter reads:

"And further, of our abundant grace, and of our certain knowledge, and mere motion, we have granted, and by this our present charter have confirmed, for us, our heirs and successors aforesaid, to the aforesaid mayor and community and to their successors, that they themselves and their successors, may have and hold two markets, and whatsoever which to a market appertains, or ought, or shall appertain, within the aforesaid manor, lordship and town of Doncastre, or any parcel of the same, every week yearly for ever; in manner and form following: that is to say, that they and their successors may have and hold one market of the said two markets every Saturday, and another market of the same two markets every Tuesday, there to be held for ever. And moreover, that the same mayor and community, and their successors, may have and hold yearly for ever, two fairs, or markets, within the aforesaid manor, lordship, and town of Doncastre, and precinct of the same, or of any of them, and whatsoever which to a fair or markets appertains, or ought, or shall appertain; that is to say, one fair, or market, of the aforesaid two fairs or markets to be held at the said town of Doncastre, yearly, for three days, to wit upon the vigil, and upon the day of St. James the Apostle, and

upon the morrow of the day following immediately to continue; and the other fair or market, of the aforesaid two fairs, or markets, to be held at the aforesaid town of Doncastre annually, for ever, upon the vigil and upon the day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and upon the morrow of the day immediately following also to continue, with the liberties and free customs, profits, revenues, advantages, commodities and emoluments to these kind of market, fair or markets, in any manner appertaining or belonging: So that, nevertheless, those fairs, or markets, and market, are not to the detriment of other neighbouring markets, or of other neighbouring fairs or markets. Wherefore we do will, and do grant, and firmly command, for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, that the aforesaid mayor and community and their successors may have and hold the markets and fairs, or markets aforesaid, at the said town of Doncastre, as is aforesaid every year, for ever, with all liberties and free customs, and with all and singular profits, revenues, advantages, commodities, and emoluments of this kind of market, fairs or markets, or any of them in any manner howsoever appertaining or belonging. So that only the markets, fairs, or those markets be not to the detriment of the neighbouring markets, fairs or markets."(24)

Queen Elizabeth ratified this charter in 1559. It is remarkable for its insistence on the interchangeability of the terms "fair" and "Market", for which there is no other justification. Although a fair is in practice simply a larger and more infrequent trade-gathering than a market, ~~but~~ in the eyes of the law there is a quite definite distinction. This may be seen, for example, in the fact

that the grant of a fair implied the grant of a court of piepowder; the grant of a market implied no such thing. This confirmation of Henry VIII states that Doncaster already is in possession of two markets every week. It has been shown that the charter of Edward IV made no mention of markets. However obtained, these markets had gained sufficient authenticity from the fact of their regular holding, to be confirmed by charter, whereupon there is no longer any question of their legality. The appearance of any new dynasty on the throne of England was the cause of anxiety in Doncaster as to the legality of its privileges. Thus as in the case of the Tudors, the accession of the Stuarts led to a surrender of all its privileges by the town, including its fairs and markets. These privileges were received back from James I in 1622. The fairs and markets were then held undisturbed until a new charter, granting new fairs was obtained from Charles II in 1664:-

"And further of our more extensive grace and of our certain knowledge, and mere motion, we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant and confirm to the aforesaid mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the borough aforesaid, and to their successors that they and their successors for ever, may have, hold and keep, and may be capacitated and enabled to have, hold and keep in the borough aforesaid yearly for ever, one fair or market, and whatsoever which to a fair or market appertains, or ought or shall appertain, on Saturday next before the feast of Easter, and from thenceforth on every Saturday, in every second week, until the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, in every year for ever, to be held for the buying and selling of all, and all manner of oxen, cows, horses, hogs, sheep, and all and singular, and of all manner of other cattle saleable whatsoever; together with a

court of pie-powder, there to be held at the times of the same fairs, or markets and with all liberties and free customs, tolls, stallage, pontage, picage, fines, amerciaments and other profits, commodities, revenues, advantages and emoluments whatsoever, to these kind of fairs or markets and courts of pie-powder, in any wise belonging, appertaining, incident, arising, or happening, and with all other free customs and liberties whatsoever to these kind of fairs, markets and courts of pie-powder appertaining or belonging; So nevertheless, that the fairs or markets, aforesaid, be not to the detriment of other neighbouring fairs or markets near adjoining:- Wherefore, we will, do grant and firmly command for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, that the aforesaid mayor, aldermen and burgesses, and their successors, may have and hold the fairs, or markets aforesaid, at the said borough of Doncaster, as is aforesaid in every year for ever: with all liberties and free customs and with all and singular profits, revenues, advantages, commodities and emoluments to these kind of fairs or markets, or to any of them, in any manner appertaining or belonging, without any thing therefore to be rendered to us, our heirs or successors: So that, nevertheless, those fairs or markets, be not to the detriment of the neighbouring fairs or markets laying near.

..... "And further, of our more extensive grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have granted and by these presents, for us, and our heirs and successors, we do grant and confirm to the aforesaid mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the borough aforesaid, and to their successors, that the mayor of the borough aforesaid for the time being, for the future, for ever,

may be, and shall be, the clerk of the market, within the borough aforesaid, liberty and precinct of the same, and may do and execute, and may be enabled and capacitated to do, and execute for ever, all and whatsoever, which to the office of the clerk of the market there appertains to be done, and all and singular other acts and things, to transact, which to that office within the borough aforesaid, liberty and precinct of the same appertains to be done and transacted. - And the aforesaid mayor of the borough aforesaid, and his successors, may have, and shall have, all and singular fees, fines and amerciaments of, and in the aforesaid office of the clerk of the market there, either by reason, or pretext of the same office arising incidental, or happening, without any thing therefore to us, our heirs or successors to be rendered, paid or done."(25)

It is remarkable that in neither of the late lists of Yorkshire fairs - one published for W. Owen in 1770 and the other compiled in 1813 - is there any mention of the Doncaster fortnight fairs. In both lists, York and Pontefract fortnight fairs are mentioned (v. Appendices IV, V.), yet the charter of Doncaster survives as proof that these fortnightly gatherings were regarded as fairs rather than as markets. This is shown by the inclusion of the grant of the court of piepowder. The burgesses of Doncaster were singularly fortunate in not having to pay for these privileges, but even fortnight-fairs did not content them. This charter is one of the few which makes definite mention of the kind of article to be sold in the fair thus newly granted. The grant of the office of clerk of the market to the mayor and aldermen is of late appearance to be of much value; it may be regarded rather

in the **light** of an echo from the past. The people of the town were not, however, satisfied by these grants from Charles II. In 1685 they obtained still further market-rights from James II by the following charter:

"Know ye further that we, graciously affecting the public advantage and profits of the aforesaid mayor, burgesses, and inhabitants of the town aforesaid, and their successors, of our more extensive grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, have granted and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant to the aforesaid mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the town aforesaid, and to their successors that they and their successors, for the time to come, for ever, yearly and every year, may have, and hold two several fairs or markets within the manour, lordship or soke of Doncaster aforesaid, and whatsoever which to the fairs or markets appertain, or ought or shall appertain; to wit, one of the fairs, or markets, of the aforesaid two fairs, or markets, to begin upon the fifteenth day of November yearly, unless it shall happen to be Sunday, and then in, and upon Monday next following, and for three days to continue. And the other of the same fairs or markets, to begin on Monday next before the day of the purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, yearly, and for three days to continue together with a court of pie-powder there at the time of the said fairs, or markets, to be holden, and with all liberties and free customs, tolls, stallage, picage, fines, amerciaments, and all profits, advantages whatsoever to these kind of fairs, or markets, and courts of pie-powder belonging, appertaining, incident, appendant, falling out and happening or arising. And

we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do order and command that the aforesaid mayor aldermen and burgesses of the town aforesaid, and their successors, may have, hold and keep yearly and every year for the time to come, for ever, the aforesaid fairs or markets in manner and form aforesaid together with the court aforesaid of pie-powder there, during the time of the said several fairs, to be holden and all liberties and free customs, tolls, stallage, picage, fines, amerciements, and all profits and advantages whatsoever to these kind of fairs or markets and courts aforesaid of pie-powder belonging, appertaining, incident, arising or happening: And this without any writ of adque dampnum, or other warrant in that behalf, to be procured or obtained: So, nevertheless, that the said several fairs or markets be not, and either of them be not, to the detriment of other neighbouring fairs or markets there near laying, any use, custom, thing, cause or matter whatsoever to the contrary thereof notwithstanding: Also we have granted and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant to the mayor aldermen and burgesses of the borough aforesaid, and to their successors, that they and their successors for the future, for ever, may have take and receive and may be capacitated and enabled to have, hold and receive, upon every day of the markets, or day of the fairs at Doncaster aforesaid a certain toll of all, and all manner of grain whatsoever there brought to be sold, to wit, a pint out of every sack of grain, to the use of the mayor, aldermen and capital burgesses of the borough aforesaid, for the time being."(26)

The charter of Charles II in 1664 had suggested that the chief commodities at the fortnight fairs were horses, cattle and sheep. In this charter of James II the tolls are specifically mentioned in regard to grain.~~that~~ In these two fairs grain was the more common commodity but this suggestion is not confirmed either by Daniel Defoe or William Owen who both, in their lists of Yorkshire fairs give cattle and pedlars' goods as the common articles of sale. There is apparent in the charter the growing confusion in the eyes of the law over the distinction between a fair and a market; as this distinction grows less clear, the indication that the fair is declining becomes more certain. It is interesting to notice that no inquiry through the writ of "Ad quod damnum" was to be made as to objections to the establishment of the fairs but since the proviso was added that the fairs were only to be established if not to the harm of neighbouring markets or fairs, little would have been gained by Doncaster from this exception, had not the fairs been without such harm to their neighbours. Doncaster's right to its fairs and markets was finally established by a second charter (general in nature) of James II in 1688:

"And further, of our more extensive, special grace, and of our certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do give, grant, restore, ratify, and confirm, to the aforesaid mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the borough aforesaid, and to their successors, all and singular, so many, so great, such like, the same, and the same kind of lands fairs, markets, marts, tolls, customs, fines, amerciements courts profits whatsoever, of whatsoever kind, nature, or

quality they be, as many, as great, such as, and which the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough aforesaid, or every, or any of them; or the mayor and community of Doncaster aforesaid, or every, or any of them; or the mayor and burgesses of Doncaster aforesaid, or every, or any of them; or the mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the borough of Doncaster aforesaid, or every, or any of them; or the mayor, aldermen, burgesses and community of Doncaster, or every, or any of them, by whatsoever names, or whatsoever name, or by whatsoever incorporation; or by pretext of whatsoever incorporation, incorporated, at any time, or at any times, before the deed of the above recited deed of surrender; he or they have had, held, used or enjoyed, or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy, to them and to their successors, for ever, of hereditary estate, or by any other manner whatsoever, by reason or pretext of any charters, letters patent, or grants, of any of our progenitors, or ancestors, made, confirmed or granted, or by pretext of any prescription, use or custom, or other lawful manner whatsoever; right or title, before the date of the said deed of surrender. To have, exercise, hold and enjoy all and singular the lands and the rest of the premises above-mentioned, to the aforesaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Doncaster aforesaid, and to their successors, for ever, in as ample manner and form, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as if the aforesaid deed of surrender had never been: And although the premises aforesaid, or any, or every of them, heretofore shall not have been used, or have, or hath been abused, or misused or discontinued, or although the same, or every, or

any of them are, or have been utterly lost.

And yielding, and paying therefore to us, our heirs and successors, yearly so many, so great, the like, the same and the same kind of rents, services, sums of money and demands whatsoever, as many, as great, such as, and which they have accustomed themselves, of or right, ought to render, or pay for the same. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness myself at Westminster, the tenth day of November, in the fourth year of our reign. By immediate warrant."(27)

This charter raises many points of law of importance in the development of fairs and markets. From the point-of-view of the incorporation of Doncaster it challenges comparison with the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth. It raises the possibility of the origin of the possession of the liberty to hold a fair apart from a grant by a royal charter, in permitting Doncaster to hold those liberties which are claimed by prescription. It points to the means by which liberties might be forfeited - their abuse, misuse, or discontinuance. The surrender of the charters of Doncaster referred to in this grant was that enforced by James II in his attempt to control the towns in his interest; the new grant of 1688 is part of his attempt to win favour and support in the country at the time of his growing fear of rebellion.

There is one charter of importance in the later development of Beverley fairs. James II grants:

"And also one market or fair in every year, yearly, for ever, to begin and continue for one day to be continued, to wit Thursday next before the 14th day of February for all manner of cattle and chattels there from time to time to be bought and sold,

together with a piepowder court there in the time of the said mart or fair and market, to be held, together w
with all liberties and free customs appertaining to
such a court together with the tolls and stallage, picage,
fines, amercements, and all and other profits, commodit-
ies and emoluments whatsoever from such a market and
mart or fair and piepowder court appertaining or
belonging so nevertheless that such market, marts or
fair be not to the hurt of other neighbouring markets,
marts or fair, and that in the time of the market, mart
or fair, or either of them, the mayor of the Town
aforesaid for the time being may have, receive and
collect by himself or deputy, reasonable customs and
tolls of all manner of merchandize, wares, cattle and
chattels whatsoever which shall be sold or bought
within the precincts of the same town without the
interruption or impediment of us, our heirs and
successors or of any other whatsoever

And further of our more ample and special grace and of
our sure knowledge and mere motion we will and by these
presents do for us and our heirs and successors
constitute and ordain that all and singular marts or
fairs and markets within the town aforesaid heretofore
accustomed to be held and kept or by virtue of these
presents hereafter to be held and kept may and shall
for ever be held and kept in such place and places
within the town aforesaid and liberties and precincts
of the same as the mayor and aldermen of the said town
for the time being or the major part of them shall
direct or appoint (This also goes on to recite
a grant of James I, 1617, for ninety nine years of the
perquisites of Beverley fairs to certain gentlemen of

the royal household and their heirs and confirms that grant for the remainder of the ninety-nine years the gentlemen being John Walter, Kt., Chief Baron of the Exchequer, James Fullerton, and Thomas Trevor)(28)

From this charter may be realised the manner in which the Abbey and archiepiscopal fairs in Beverley had now passed into lay hands. On the one hand certain private gentlemen replace abbot and archbishop; on the other, the mayor becomes the recipient of the tolls, whilst Beverley fair remained one of the greatest of Yorkshire fairs.

As a great contrast to these lengthy Stuart charters there is a brief charter of the late thirteenth century relating to Bradford fair. This was granted in 1294 by Edward I to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, the then owner of the manor of Bradford, and reads:

"Know ye that we have granted, and by this charter confirmed to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, that he and his heirs shall have one market every week on Thursday at his manor of Bradford, in ~~the~~ County of York, and one fair there every year, to continue for five days, to wit, on the eve and on the day of Saint Peter ad Vincula (August 1) and for three days following. Witnessed by Edmund the King's brother, the Bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, and others." (Dated at Westminster 6 June 22 Edward I) (29)

This fair was afterwards discontinued on the grounds that the time of year when it was held had proved inconvenient. New charters had therefore to be obtained for fairs at more convenient times. The most important of these is that granted by Edward IV to the feoffees of the duchy for two fairs at Bradford, both of which were held constantly until the nineteenth century. The full charter represents a great

advance on the charter granted by Edward I, indicating the provision made to limit the difficulties attendant on the holding of a fair:-

"The King to the Archbishops etc. greeting. Know ye that we of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge, and mere motion, have granted, and by these, do grant, for us and for our heirs, as much as in us lieth, to our most reverend fathers, Thomas Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Archbishop of York; the venerable fathers Richard of Salisbury, Robert of Bath, William of Durham, and John of Lincoln, bishops; our most dear cousins Henry of Essex and Anthony Rivers, earls; our sincerely beloved William lord of Hastings and John Lord Dynham; to our dear and faithful Thomas Burgh, William Paire, and Thomas Montgomery, knights; John Grinthorp, clerk, and William Huse, our Serjeant-at-Law, feoffees of our lordship of Bradford, in the county of York, parcel of our duchy of Lancaster, that they and their heirs and assigns shall have one market every week on Thursday, at the town of Bradford, in the county aforesaid and two fairs there every year, both of them to last for three days; to wit, one of them on the day of the feast of the deposition of St. William of York, and on the two days preceding, and the other of them on the day of St. Peter which is called in Cathedra, and the two days preceding; with all liberties and customs to such markets and fairs appertaining. And further of our abundant grace, we will, and by these presents grant, for us and for our heirs, to our feoffees aforesaid, that all liege and faithful persons whomsoever, coming to the market aforesaid, and there abiding and to their homes returning, to pay any stallages, or tributes, to

us to our heirs, for any grain, flesh, fish or any victuals whatsoever, by them, or any or either of them bought or sold in the market.aforesaid, by us or our heirs, bailiffs, constables, officers, or ministers, of us or of our heirs whomsoever, or by our feoffees aforesaid, their heirs or assigns, their bailiffs, officers or ministers whomsoever, in any wise, shall not be compelled, forced, arrested, molested distrained, or in any thing disturbed, but that they and every of them coming to the market aforesaid, and there abiding, and to their homes returning, shall be exempt and quit for ever of the payment of such tolls, stallage, and tributes, for such victuals by them, or any of them, in the market aforesaid, bought or sold as aforesaid, any statute, act, or ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding."

(Witnessed by several of the feoffees, and by Richard, Duke of York, Marshal of England, and by Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Dated at Westminster, May 4. By Writ of Privy Seal)⁽³⁰⁾

The trade of the fairs would undoubtedly be increased by the exemption of its traders from tolls on their merchandise but the grant of such an exemption deprived the owners of the fair of its most valuable privilege.

These charters and many others of similar nature, then, give the legal basis for the holding of Yorkshire fairs and markets. There is other evidence which also shows the validity of the title of possession in the eyes of the law. It must not be forgotten that there were fairs in Yorkshire before the times of which the Calendar of Charter Rolls bears witness. Thus John gave licence to William de Stuteville in 1200 to hold a yearly fair at Buttercrambe and another at Cottingham.⁽³¹⁾ Henry de Lacy held the Castle and Honor

of Pontefract for a period of over forty years. In 1181 Henry II visited Pontefract; it is probable that it was during this visit that Henry de Lacy gained from the king his right to hold an annual fair at Pontefract, beginning on St. Giles' Day (September 1).⁽³²⁾

Still earlier, the burgesses of Richmond had in 1145 paid a yearly rent of 229 to the lord of the manor, Count Alan III, for the right of fixing their own tolls, holding markets, electing their own officers, and making by-laws. To make this manorial grant secure from external invasion, the burgesses of Richmond secured a royal market charter towards the end of the twelfth century.⁽³³⁾

Many of the very early fairs in Yorkshire were in ecclesiastical hands, so that their charters were amongst the monastic records. Where such charters could not be produced, whether by church or lay owners, - as in the case of Scarborough when the charters were destroyed by one of the corporate officers⁽³⁴⁾- new ones had to be obtained. A legal market could only exist by virtue of a charter from the Crown, or by immemorial user. It was the purpose of the Quo Warranto Inquiries of Edward I to discover how far all liberties could claim either of these origins.

In this way ^{evidence} is obtained for the existence of certain of the Yorkshire fairs and markets. The effect of these inquiries on the fairs of the Archbishop of York and the clergy of Ripon and Beverley has already been seen. Of the lay-owned fairs the most interesting is the case in which the Earl of Warrenne was summoned to defend his rights to Wakefield fair. Summoned to appear at Westminster Hall, the Earl was there required by the royal commissioners to answer by what warrant he claimed to hold the manor of Wakefield, with its markets, fairs, and fee chase, his right of gallows, and the assise of bread, beer and measures.

He declared that he claimed gallows at Wakefield because his ancestors had used the same from time immemorial; he claimed a market and one fair at Wakefield because they had been held there from time immemorial and a further fair which had been granted to him in 1258 by King Henry III, whose charter he produced in evidence. Further, he claimed that he had the right to punish transgressors against these because his ancestors had had the right from time immemorial, and in regard to the settling of weights and measures, he claimed to have the standard of all measures of Wakefield from the king's marshals and bailiffs, by that standard regulating all the measures in his lands, as his ancestors had from time immemorial been accustomed to do. His bold defence of his rights - by the drawing of his sword - proved a sufficient inducement to the king to accept in lieu of charters a proof of continuous possession from the first year of the reign of Richard I (1189) as a satisfactory support for any claim.⁽³⁵⁾ In point of fact, there was a previous charter for the earlier fair at Wakefield, for William, son of Hamelin, lord of the manor at the beginning of the thirteenth century, had in 1204 obtained a charter from King John granting the holding of a three-day fair by the townsmen under the lord and his steward, on the eve, day and morrow of the patronal festival of the church - All Saints (November 1).⁽³⁶⁾ There are in Yorkshire some few fairs of which the origin is uncertain. There is no certain knowledge of the manner of rise of St. Andrew's fair at Bradford. All charter-records have been lost, if any ever existed; it is most probable that the fair-right was based on prescription, thus assigning the beginning of the fair to a very early date. The charter of 1294 is for a different fair and market.⁽³⁷⁾ Two fairs have been held

at Whitby; one, the regular fair held by proclamation begins on August 25 and is the old abbey fair held by charter from Henry I; the other at Martinmas, apparently came in by custom.⁽³⁸⁾ There are fairs and markets at Great Driffield, but Great Driffield has neither market nor fair by charter, despite the statement in Cooke's "Yorkshire" (cir. 1806) that "A market and fairs are held in the town, by virtue of a charter granted by King Alfred in his last sickness" - unfortunately a completely false statement; otherwise Great Driffield could claim the earliest-known fair in existence in England. There is also in the district a tradition that John granted to the Earl of Richmond a charter for holding a weekly market on Friday and a three day fair at Easter, to be held at Little Driffield. It is said that this charter is still in existence, but it is not known where it is deposited. All that can be stated certainly is that Little Driffield fairs have been held from times very early after the Norman Conquest, probably through some charter or patent but their origin and its date are completely obscure.

During the Quo Warranto proceedings Roger de Hegham was declared to hold his market and Whitsun fair at Bawtrey because his predecessor had died seised of those rights⁽³⁹⁾ The fact of tenure by the immediate predecessor was some justification for tenure by the present owner. Thus inquisitions post mortem are of value in indicating the continuation of Yorkshire fairs. The assignment of dower in 1366 to Isabel, wife of Walter de Faucomberge, the tenant-in-chief of the manor of Skelton-in-Cleveland, made before William de Raygate, escheator in Yorkshire, included the third part of the profit of the toll of the market and fair there.⁽⁴⁰⁾ A very similar case occurred more than a century later. This is dated June 11 1479 and

reads:-

"Whereas John Pilkyngton, knight, deceased, tenant-in-chief, was seised in his demesne as of fee and in fee tail of the manor of Turnehamhalle (= Turnham Hall, Co. York) with its members and the manor of Thurneton-in-Craven, Co. York, and other manors and lands in the counties of York, Lancaster, Lincoln, Derby, and the City of London, in the King's hands by his death and by reason of the minority of Edward his son and heir and extended at £213. 6s. yearly, and Joan his wife is entitled to dower, the king hereby assigns to her the said manors of Turnehamhalle with its members and Thurneton-in-Craven, exceeding the value of the third part of the manors, lands and other premises out of which she is entitled to dower by 78s.8d., to hold with courts, leets, views of frank-pledge, warrens, liberties, franchises, fairs, markets, and other commodities in full allowance of dower, reserving to the king the said 78s.6d. yearly during the minority of the said heir, provided that if the said manors be extended at greater values she shall answer yearly to the king for the residue beyond the said third part."

(June 12) "Grant to the said Joan of the custody of the other manors and lands aforesaid and the said 78s.6d. with courts, leets, views of frank-pledge, warrens, liberties, fairs, markets, and other commodities during the minority of the said heir, and so long as they remain in the king's hands, rendering to the king yearly the extent."⁽⁴¹⁾

One,

/Amongst the earliest of these inquisitions, relates to Pontefract. This inquisition was made a few weeks after the death of Edmund de Lacy (28 July 1258) and records:

"A 'forum' (fair) worth £4 a year.
The 'nundine' (markets) are worth £12."(42)

A local record, the half-yearly rental of the bailiwick of Pontefract, dating probably from about the year 1238 since the witnesses to it were Robert de Stapylton and Adam de Neireford, the latter being steward of Pontefract in that year, gave "the farme, tols and perquisites of markets and faires" as 40s.⁽⁴³⁾ There is similar evidence of the existence of fairs at Bradford. An inquisition of the lands and possessions of the Earl of Lincoln on March 3, 1311, ~~after Domesday Book, this inquisition~~ provides the most reliable data in regard to Bradford. Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln had no sons and only one surviving daughter - Alice, wife of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. In default of heirs to this marriage, the lands were to go to the heirs of Edmund, brother of Edward I. Hence the inquisition was made with great exactness and is a most reliable source for information as to the condition of Bradford at the time. The main items are as follows:

"And there are 156 acres of land, approved from
the waste, demised to divers tenants at will, and
valued by the year at (4d. an acre) £2. 12s. 0d.
And there is one Water-Mill, valued by the
year at £10. 0s. 0d.
And there is there a certain market, every
seventh day, upon the Lord's Day, the toll
of which, et p' feria £3. 0s. 0d.
And there is there a certain fair, which is
held annually upon the feast of St. Andrew
the Apostle, the toll of which is worth
yearly £3. 0s. 0d.
And the same Earl hath a certain Free

Court, from three weeks to three weeks,
and other pleas, or perquisites of court,
yearly £0. 14s. 4d.

(There follow other items) The Whole

Sum £39. 9s. 6d." (44)

Here is further evidence of the prevalent habit of holding
a market on Sunday. The next inquisition in regard to
Bradford is that of 1342 - an extent almost as full in
detail as that of 1311:-

"Also there is a Water-Mill sufficient for all
the houses, which, exclusive of the wheels and
all other utensils repairing, is valued
yearly, beyond repairs, at £6. 6s. 8d.
And there are 40 acres of land in demesne,
lying in the Hall field, in one culture by
itself, for the whole year £2. 0s. 0d.
And there is a certain wood, not enclosed,
containing 16 acres by estimation, within
which wood there is certain land, the
herbage of which is valued at £0. 2s. 0d.
Also there is the toll of the fair, on the
day of St. Andrew the Apostle, for three
days duration, which is valued per annum,
one toll for Town and country at £5. 13s. 4d.
Also there are perquisites of the Free Court
from three weeks to three weeks, valued
per annum at £0. 13s. 4d.

Which toll of fair and market, and
perquisites of court, are held by
the whole for £14. 0s. 4d. paid at
the term of St. Martin for the whole
year.

Also perquisites of two Turns, viz:

yearly £1. 13s. 4d.

(There follow other Items).

Sum Total £18. 6s. 8d." (45)

The last of these Bradford inquisitions was made on the death, from the pestilence in 1361, of Henry, Duke of Lancaster. This however, is of far less value than those of 1311 and 1342, the sole relevant portion being:

"And there is there one water-mill and one fulling-mill, with the toll of market and fair there, in the hands of tenants-at-will, and they yield by the year £12., at the terms of Easter and St. Michael equally." (46)

Thus from these inquisitions is given definite knowledge that the fair and market of Bradford had steady existence in the fourteenth century, even whilst the manor itself frequently changed hands.

From Wakefield comes a late medieval inquisition, taken after the death of the Duchess of York, widow of Edmund Langley Duke of York (who died 1402) and of three further husbands. It was then found that she held as dower the castle and manors of Sandal and Wakefield. In the town of Wakefield were free rents, paid by the free tenants and burgesses, worth £4 yearly; a common bakehouse, worth yearly after deductions 10s.; ten oxgangs of land at 3s. an oxgang; nine cottages worth 12d.; twenty acres of pasture worth 20s.; two advowsons of two chantries of no yearly value; two water mills, together valued at £4 and a fulling-mill at 13s.4d.; a fair held at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and another fair on All Saints' Day, of which the tolls and profits were worth 10s., and a Friday market of which the toll was worth 6s.8d.; a court of view of frankpledge held yearly in the months after Easter and after Michaelmas, whereof the perquisites were worth yearly 13s.4d., beyond the steward's fee; a burgess court held every year for four days, perquisites worth 3s.4d.; a pie-powderers court held each day during the

fairs and markets from hour to hour, the perquisites worth 6s.8d., beyond deductions.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Here again, then, an inquisition shows a fair and a market reckoned as playing a normal part in each year's life of the manor which with the death of the Duchess was inherited by her stepgrandson Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, father of the Yorkist Kings, ~~inherited~~

The Calendar of Inquisitions in this respect provides an authority similar to that of the Calendar of Charter Rolls in regard to the Charters of fairs. Concerning Hunmanby there are the following entries:-

26 Edward I. "A market toll worth £6. 13s. 4d. yearly."⁽⁴⁸⁾

31 Edward I. "A market with toll."⁽⁴⁹⁾

10 Edward II. "Part of the manor, including a market, is held of the king in chief by service of doing suit at all the County courts of York."⁽⁵⁰⁾

10 Edward III. (Holdings of Joan, late the wife of Robert de Tatessale) "A third part of the toll and all other profits from the market of Hundmanby from the fair and town of Fyveley" (= Filey)

(Holdings of James de Ros, and Maud his wife) "A third part of the toll and all profits arising from the market of Hundmanby."

(Holdings of Adam de Clyfton) "A third part of the tolls and all other profits arising from the market of Hundmanby, the fair and town of Fyveley."⁽⁵¹⁾

28 Edward III. (Holdings of John de Orreby) The extent includes a third part of the toll of a weekly market on Wednesday.

The holdings of John de Mowbray included (1 Edward III):-

Thresk (= Thirsk) "The manor which in part lies waste by the devastation of the Scots, including fairs at the feasts of St. James and St. Luke"

Burton-in-Lonesdale. "The manor including a market, a fair at the feast of St. James."⁽⁵²⁾

Apart from those already mentioned at Bradford, Thomas Earl

of Lancaster had held, according to the York inquisition of 1 Edward III:-

Pykering, with its castle and forest, two water-mills, a market and a fair.

Wakefield, its lands and rents, two water-mills, two fairs at All Saints', and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and tolls of the market.

Pontefract, its castle and the tolls of the market and fair. (53)

Thomas de Furnyvall (12 May 6 Edward III) held:-

Sheffield, its castle and manor and a yearly fair on the feast of the Holy Trinity, with a market every week, on Tuesday, held of the king in chief, service unknown because the ancestors of the said Thomas held the said castle and manor of the King of Scotland by homage and service of rendering two white greyhounds yearly at Midsummer, which service has come to the King's hands by the forfeiture of the said king of Scotland; and by what service the said king of Scotland held the said Castle and manor of the king of England, in his time, is unknown to the Jury. (54)

William de Twenge held of Sir Henry de Percy, by knight service the manors of Lund and North Cave; these included a capital messuage, lands rents and a market at Lund and rents at North Cave (14 Edward III) (55)

Kirby Moorside is mentioned three times; when held by Thomas Wake of Lidell (23 Edward III) the manor included a market every Wednesday and a yearly fair; (56) in the hands of Margaret, late the wife of Edmund, Earl of Kent, (the inquisition is dated in the same year - 23 Edward III) the extent included the toll of the market and a fair on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary; (57) in the hands of John Earl of Kent (27 Edward III) there were the same

market and fair.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The manor of Harewood, in the possession of John de **Insula** of Rougemont, had a market every Saturday and a fair on St. Swithin's Day (30 Edward III)⁽⁵⁹⁾ William Roos had the tolls of a market and fair at Helmsley (26 Edward III)⁽⁶⁰⁾

As a single record the documents of Kirkby's Inquest in Yorkshire (12 - 14 Edward I) throw only small light on the holdings of fairs. In the wapentake of Langbargh in the North Riding, the heir of Baldwin Wake, in wardship of the king, claimed to have a market in Magna Ayton through a charter of King Henry (? III), "but how and from what time it cannot be asked". This same comment is made in regard to the fair claimed by Nicholaus de Mennell at Whorlton, through a charter of Edward I. (There was a charter of Henry III in 1269 to John de Menyll, ancestor of Nicholas - v. Appendix I) It was again made in regard to the claim of Hugo de Eury to a fair and market town in Stokesley through a charter of Henry III, and of William de Percy to a market and fair in Kildale, also through a grant by Henry III. The inquest records the regular holding of the three-day fair and weekly market at "Gisburn" (obviously here confused with "Guisborough" Gisburn being in the West Riding) by the prior of Gisburn (again meaning Guisborough), through a charter of King Henry - probably rather 17 Henry III than the original charter of Henry I. In the West Riding, in the wapentake of Skyrack, Hugh Despenser had in 1306 a charter for a weekly market and fair at Aberford (Rot. Parl. I. 203).⁽⁶¹⁾

An old record in the Castle evidences at Skipton shows that from very early times there were chartered fairs and markets there: "The Earls of Albemarle (early lords of Skipton) had in Skipton a markett everye Saturday throughout the yeare to be held; and ffaires there twoe in the yeare to be held, to witt at the ffeast of St. Martyn for eight dayes,

and at the ffeast of St. James for eight dayes, and toll of the ffayres, and the amendment of the assize of bread and ale." Later evidence of the existence of these markets and fairs (originally granted by John in 1204 to Baldwin de Betun, who obtained the earldom of Aumale through his marriage with Harvise, daughter and heiress of Cicely and William le Gross, Earl of Aumale) is found in a valuation of 1609, giving comparative values for that year and 1311:- "the P'fitte of the weekely M'kett and two faiers ther in the yere, then (- 1311) valued at £46 13s. 4d. and the same m'kett with fower faiers and ev'y fortnight a faier ther from Easter till XXmas is but now worth p. ann. £24." The grant for these fortnight fairs was made by Elizabeth in 1597 to the Earl of Cumberland, the principal clauses of the charter reading: '

"Since our well-beloved subjects dwelling in the town of Skipton in Craven have besought us humbly that we should deign to grant them a fair in the town of Skipton on Tuesday every second week between Easter and Christmas and since **we are** informed by the statement of the Right Reverend Father in God, Matthew Archbishop of York, that the said fairs are in no wise hurtful to the other neighbouring fairs, but are very useful to those living within forty miles near the aforesaid town, for the buying, selling and exhibition of horses, cows, bullocks and sheep etc., Know ye, therefore, that we have given leave to our well-beloved and trusty cousin, George, Earl of Cumberland, for them to have and to hold the said fair, Given on the 24th day of May in the year 38 of our reign."

Although the cattle fair at Skipton had already become famous it does not appear that these fortnightly fairs were immediately of much value in view of the fall in the returns

from the fairs between 1311 and 1609.

There is one other local record evidencing the continuance of a fair. The Deed of Conveyance of the manor of Wakefield in 1700 states that the perquisites of the lord included:

"All the lands, hereditaments of the manor and of the town of Wakefield, common turne and backhouse, fishings, profits of two fairs of St. John the Baptist and All Saints', tolls of cloth, all tolnes called Kirkgate tolls collected every week at two market days, viz: for every horse load with mault $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and Northgate and Westgate tolls, and all tolnes of tallage and pontage, all fines and profits of courts leet and baron,"(62)

Having secured the right to hold a market or fair it was at times necessary that the owner should make his holding more secure by later confirmations. The charters were surrendered to the king who inspected them and if satisfied with the reasons given for their continuance reissued them. From the opening word of this re-issue the process comes to be known as the "inspeximus". Some examples of this are to be found in Yorkshire. In 1292 a charter dated at Westminster 23 Feb. 49 Henry III granting to William Charles a weekly market on Thursday at his manor of Brigenhall (Brignall) and a yearly fair there on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Matthew and a weekly market on Tuesday at his manor of Cliff and a fair there on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Edmund the King was inspected and confirmed in his favour.⁽⁶³⁾ There is in 1385 an inspeximus and confirmation in favour of Thomas de Nevill and Joan his wife, daughter and heir of William de Furnyvall, cousin and heir of Thomas de Furnyvall, hereinafter named, of a charter dated at

St. Edmunds 12 November 24 Edward III, being a grant to Thomas de Furnyvall and his heirs of a weekly market and fair at his manor of Sheffield. For this confirmation (and of a fair and market at Worksop and free warren) one mark was paid by Thomas de Nevill into the hanaper.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Three years later, the claim of Thomas, Archbishop of York, to a fair in his manor of Chirchedon was inspected and confirmed. This was for half a mark paid in the hanaper.⁽⁶⁵⁾ For one mark paid in the hanaper Stephen Lescrope **Knight**, Son of Richard Lescrope, knight, and Millicent his wife, and Thomas Brounflete, esquire of the king, and Margaret his wife, tenants of the manor, gained the inspeximus and confirmation in 1390 of a charter of Henry III dated at Sherburn 7 Jan. 36 Henry III, being a grant in fee simple to Reginald, son of Peter, of a weekly market on Wednesday at his manor of Market Weighton.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Edward I had granted from Dunfermline (7 Jan. 32 Edward I) a weekly market and yearly fair to be held at Coxwold; this was inspected and confirmed in favour of Thomas de Colvill, tenant of the manor in 1392. The fine for this and four other confirmations paid in the hanaper was 26s.8d. (i.e. two marks).⁽⁶⁷⁾ The grant by Richard II (7 May 16 Richard II) to Stephen Lescrope of a weekly market and two yearly fairs at Masham was confirmed to Marmaduke Wyvell and Lancelot Asshe in 1551.⁽⁶⁸⁾

The Itinerary of John Leland contains one interesting comment on the question of the claim to possess these tenures. "And I red in a booke at my Lord Scrops the claymes of rights of privilegis that Joannes de Brittaniam Earle of Richemont required both for his shire and towne of Richemonte as in makynge of writts at his courts, and liberties and of his burge with 2 faires in the yere at it."⁽⁶⁹⁾ This is a record of the fairs of Richmond in the thirteenth century which had survived to the sixteenth; John of Brittany was also

responsible in 1268 for a confirmation to the burgesses of Richmond of the grant of the borough of Fontenay (within the demesne of Richmond) for ever with the market-place, markets and fairs.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Even if all charters and confirmations could be produced, the owner of a fair might if unwary forfeit his right to it. There were several temptations with every fair; the knowledge that the day originally selected had become unsuitable; the desire to prolong a fair when there was a big crowd present; the wish to avoid making use of a grant during temporary depression; such temptations, if surrender was made to them, involved the loss for the future of the right to hold the fair.

Bracton, expressly states that the itinerant justices were to include within their province the inquiry "of markets removed from one day to another without the licence of the king."⁽⁷¹⁾ Only the authority of the king was sufficient to license a change in the day of tenure. Hence in Yorkshire records there are charters granting such alteration. Alan, son of Brian, had obtained the grant of a fair at Bedale in 1251 to be held on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Ascension (i.e. in early summer); this fair was in 1328 transferred to the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Michael, September 28 - 30) and a new one obtained for the vigil, feast and morrow of St. John the Baptist (June 23 - 25).⁽⁷²⁾ A fair granted to John de Walton at Masham for the vigil, feast and morrow of the Assumption (August 14 - 16) came to an end in 1328, when a new fair was obtained for the vigil and feast of St. Barnabas (June 10 - 11). The date of this fair was again altered in 1393, it now beginning on June 9, whilst a new fair was to be obtained to be held at the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin and the two previous days (September 6 - 8).⁽⁷³⁾ King John had granted a weekly market on Wednesday

to Robert de Veteri Ponte and his heirs at his manor of Bawtrey; this was in 1293 transferred to Friday in a grant made to Idonia de Leyburne, one of the heirs of Robert, tenant of the manor and to her heirs.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Order was made by the King to the sheriff of York in 1300 to proclaim that the fair of Hedon in Holderness was to be held on the eve, day and morrow of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 13 - 15) instead of on the even and day of St. Augustine in August and the five days following August 27 - September 2)⁽⁷⁵⁾ From Dunfermline in 1304 Edward III granted that John de Heslerton should alter the day of the holding of the weekly Friday market at Heslerton which had been granted to his father, Thomas de Heslerton by Henry III.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Whereas Edward I had granted to Gerard Salveyn and his heirs a fair at their manor of Duffield on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Laurence (August 9 - 11), Edward II at the prayer of Gerard Salveyn in 1313 granted a fair there on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. James (July 24 - 26) in lieu of the former fair.⁽⁷⁷⁾ In similar manner a fair granted by Edward I to Henry de Percy and his heirs at their manor of Pocklington for the vigil and feast of St. Margaret (July 19 - 20) was in 1325 transferred by Edward II, "at the request of his cousin, Henry de Percy, son of the said Henry" to the vigil, day and morrow of St. James (July 24 - 26).⁽⁷⁸⁾ Isabel, Countess of Rutland, and William lord Roos, surrendered their right to a market on Wednesday and a fair on the eve, day, and morrow of St. James (July 24 - 26) at Warter and were in 1595 granted a weekly market on Thursday and a yearly fair on Thursday, Friday and Saturday in Whitweek, with the proviso that the grant was void if the fair and market were held on the former day.⁽⁷⁹⁾ At some period between 1631 and 1645 the date of the beginning of Hull fair was changed from September 16 to

September 29. (v. Bench Books V. ff. 134. 335^b). An entry in the Bench books of September 11, 1645, orders that "no fair be kept in this town next Michaelmas (i.e. September 29) in respect of the danger of the plague".⁽⁸⁰⁾ Yet in the charter granted by Charles II in 1661, the fair is again granted from September 16. By the statute 24 Geo. II c. 23 (1752: "An Act for regulating the commencement of the year and for correcting the Calendar now in use") it was enacted that from September 2, 1752,

"the holding and keeping of all markets, fairs, and marts, whether for the sale of goods and cattle, or for the hiring of servants, or for any other purpose, which are either fixed to certain nominal days of the month, or depending upon the beginning, or any certain day of any month, and all courts incident or belonging to, or usually holden or kept with any such fairs or marts, fixed to such certain times as aforesaid shall not be continued upon, or according to the nominal days of the month, or the time of the beginning of any month but all such markets, fairs, and marts as aforesaid, and all courts incident or belonging thereto, shall be holden and kept upon, or according to the same natural days, upon or according to which the same should have been so kept or holden, in case this Act had not been made; that is to say, eleven days later than the same would have happened, according to the nominal days of the said new supputation of time, by which the commencement of each month, and the nominal days thereof, are anticipated or brought forward, by the space of eleven days."

Thus at the Hull Court of Quarter Sessions, August 27, 1752, it was "ordered that no horned cattle whatsoever or

hides be driven or brought to this town to the fair to be held on the 10th day of October next, the said fair being, according to the late Act of Parliament, to be held on that day, and not on the 29th day of September as heretofore". Thus in spite of the terms of the charter of Charles II the fair appears to have been held on September 29.(81)

Non-user was an equally potent cause of the loss of a right. Thus the citizens of York in 1316 were granted that for the future they should have the assize of bread and ale, the assay of weights and measures, and other things belonging to the office of the clerk of the market in the king's presence, and that they should punish trespassers against that assize and amend and correct defects of weights and measures so that the king's clerk of the market or other minister should not enter the city or suburbs to do anything belonging to his office. All the profits arising from these offices should go to the citizens and their heirs in aid of city-farm, with the exception that if in the king's presence anyone should complain that the mayor, bailiff or keeper of the city had been negligent in discharging these duties, then the king's chancellor, or another of the chancery appointed by him should survey the matter and if he found the mayor, bailiff and keeper negligent, should punish them, the fines going to the king. These grants were not to be abrogated by any non-user in the past; this was in return for a fine of £200 paid by the citizens.(82) The prior and convent of Bolton-in-Craven had failed to use their yearly fair at their manor of Appeltrewyk, granted to them by Edward II. Edward III made a new grant of this fair to them in 1328.(83) Edward I granted by charter to Gerard Salvayn, son of Sibyl Salvayn, and his heirs a weekly market and a

yearly fair at their manor of Duffield; in 1363 Edward III granted "out of special grace to Gerard Salvayn, (kinsman and heir of his earlier namesake) that although he and his ancestors have not used the said market and fair, yet he and his heirs may have and enjoy the said market and fair at the said manor of Duffield."⁽⁸⁴⁾

A minor reason for the loss of a fair would appear to be suggested by the wording of the charter of 1449 granting to the mayor and citizens of York, and their successors, a yearly fair at York for six days after Whitsuntide, "notwithstanding that there is here no express mention of the value of the foregoing", without payment of fine or fee to the king.⁽⁸⁵⁾ A similar phrase appears in a charter of 1446 to the prior and coⁿvent of Bridlington in the grant to them of three fairs yearly at Bridlington.⁽⁸⁶⁾

To ensure the legality of a fair it was customary to make proclamation of it. This had a two-fold purpose - both to make the fair known throughout the county and to enforce its holding on the date specified. The sheriff of York was ordered in 1293 to cause proclamation to be made in his county court and in all cities, boroughs and market towns of his county, that two weekly markets were to be held on Tuesdays and Fridays at the king's town of Kingston-upon-Hull, and a fair there for six weeks beginning on the eve of St. Augustine the Archbishop (May 26 - July 9)⁽⁸⁷⁾ This is in some ways strange, since Edward I's charter of a fair to Hull was only granted in 1299 and limited the fair to thirty days. In 1308 the charter of Edward II to St. Mary's Abbey, York, of a fair and market in Bootham, was proclaimed through the whole county of York, and then enrolled in the great rolls of the king by the chancellor J. de Langton.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Previously in 1304, as the king willed that a market should be held weekly on Tuesday at his hamlet of Pannal, a member of the manor of Knaresborough, and a

fair there for four days (September 27 - 30), together with a market on Friday and a four-day fair (July 7 - 10) at his hamlet of Hampsthwaite the king ordered the sheriff to cause these markets and fairs to be proclaimed in his county court.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Because Edward III in 1343 willed that there should be a market every Wednesday and two fairs yearly, one on the vigil and day of All Saints (October 31 - November 1) and the other on Whitmonday and the three following days, at his manor of Skipsea-in-Holderness, and a market every Thursday and two fairs yearly one on August 14 - 15, and the other on September 7 - 8 at his manor of Withernsea-in-Holderness, unless they were to the damage of neighbouring markets and fairs, he charged the sheriff of York to cause such markets and fairs to be publicly proclaimed in his bailiwick as should be expedient, commanding all persons to be attendant upon William le Englissh, the royal bailiff of the manor of Burstwick and the liberty of Holderness in all that should concern the markets and fairs.⁽⁹⁰⁾

'Having made the fair known throughout the county the owner had to secure it from danger of abuse through too early merchanting by means of a proclamation announcing its beginning. In the "Ordinances for the Government of the Town of Hedon" (tempore Henry VIII) there is the following:

"Also yt ys ordennyde (and accustomed) that the maiore and his XII shall of Hollyruddaie {Holy Rood Day - Holy Cross Day) when messe ys doone go into the Merket Plaice with ther best apparell, and make proclaymaicion to keape the Kinge's peax, and to occupie trewe weightes, and not to sell no deceytfull stouf. And further the maior shall make proclaymaycione that no tolle shalbe taken for no wairres boughte nor sold that ys under (XXd. erased; IIIs.IIIId. interlined) of value. And the maiore and aldermen with the XII shall have that

daie evrie one of theym a man to waite on hyme."(91)

The nature of the proclamation made is shown by one which has survived from the time of Mary Tudor at Hedon, known as "The Maiore and Bailife's Crye on Holy Ruddaie":

"Mr. Maiore and Bailifes stratlie chargethe and commandethe in the names of our Soverein Lorde and Ladie, the Kinge and Quen's majestes, that evrie person and persons resorting and comynge unto this faire keape our said sovereign's leig peax, and that no person or persons presume within this said ffaire to brall, chyde, nor make quarrell, wherbie the said peax might be dysturbyd, on paine of imprysonment, and to make ffyne accordinge to ther deservynge; and further that no person or persons resortinge and comyng to this said ffayre sell no maner of cattaul, or other waires, unto they come within the said ffaire, and that they sell them openlie, and not in corners nor yet in secret plaices, on paine of fforfatinge of the same, or elles the value thereof; and also that no persone or persons carrie awaie anye sheape, horse, or other catalles by them bought within this faire, or anye kynd of other stuf or waires, before that they have annsweryd thofficer or his deputie or deputies for the toll and Kinge's dutie therfor, and ffurther if anye persone or persons sell breade, aile or other victualles corrupte, whiche should be unlauffull, or hurtefulle to men's bodie, or the same sell at anye unreasonable price, or that no persone or persons sell anye waire within this ffaire that ys deceitfull, or fflokid clothe (- cloth covered with powder to deceive buyers as to quality), wooll buttes, or shoos of evill lethar or unlauffull pootes dooblers (= dishes), or other braisen or pewther vessell, or any thinge mesurable, or to sell by anye unreasonable

mesurs or weightes, to the deceit of the leig people
all suche offendores to be punyshed accordinge to the
dewe ordre of the lawe; and if anye maner persone or
persons do wronge or have wronge done within this faire
or marquete, they shall remedie according to equitie
and justice; and all mysdoers that in anye wise troubles
the people in this said ffaire shalbe punyshed according
to ther deservinge; and further that no persone or
persons shall paie anye tole for anye thinge boughte or
sold within this said ffaire, if the price of the said
thinge so bought and sold within this said ffaire, do
not extende above the some of iiis.iiiid. God Save,
etc."(92)

At York after the early years of the Reformation the
Whitmonday and St. Peter's fairs came under the jurisdiction
of the City sheriffs who, in their scarlet gowns and with
their retinue, rode into each fair to make proclamation
of it, requiring

"that all and every person or persons whatsoever, that
do buy or exchange any horses, geldings, mares, colts,
or fillies in this fair, shall enter the same in a book
kept for that purpose at a booth at the east end of the
fair by one appointed by the said sheriffs noting down
the name, surname, and dwelling places of the buyers
and sellers, and the prices of the goods bought and
sold, and such other things as are appointed by the
statute in that case made and provided, upon pain and
peril that fall therein."(93)

A Sheffield proclamation in 1634 was as follows:-

"Thomas, earle of Arundell and Surrey, earle marshall
and prime earle of England, lord Howard, lord Fitz Alan,
lord Maltravers, lord Mowbray, lord Segrave, lord Bruce
and Clun, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter,

and one of his Matye's. most honorable privie counsell straightly chargeth and commaundeth in the name of our most high and mighty prince and our dread soveraigne lord Charles by the grace of God of England, Scotland France and Ireland, Kinge, defender of the faith, etc. That no person or persons do break his Matye's. peace, or weare any harnesse or other unlawfull weapons within the precincts of this fayre and market already begunne, or duringe the continuance thereof (wch we now proclayme to hold till to morrow atte nighte), other then such persons as are appointed by the steward of this fayre for the gardinge thereof and for the maintenance of his Matie's. peace, upon paine of such punishmt. as to such offence shall appertayne. And that no person do buy or sell any cattell or merchandize forth of the accustomed lymitts of this fayre or markt, or withdraw any toll or duty for the same, as they will answere the same att theire perills. And if any person or persons be affraide of any bodily harme, or bee wronged in buyinge or sellinge, or have any cause of action for any contract or other matter happeninge within the precincts of this fayre, let them repaire to his honors. officers here present (who have the government thereof) and they shall have such remedy by action or otherwise as to justice shall appertaine."(94)

The Earl of Arundel was at that time lord of the manor of Sheffield. His proclamation is significant in the dangers which it seeks to prevent; it was not only a medieval practice to disturb by armed intervention peaceful gatherings of merchants. The proclamation, it must be noticed, was made after the beginning of the fair but lays particular stress on the requirement that no buying or selling should be

done outside the bounds of the fair and market - a requirement which was met at York by the enforcing of the record of all purchases at a fixed booth by the sheriff's officer. At Skipton the proclamation was originally made by the steward of the estate, but in later years he found a substitute. Thus the following entry appears in the accounts of the Earls of Thanet:

"1694. March 28. Charges in proclaiming Skipton
ffairs: 4s. 6d."(95)

At Scarborough the ceremony of heralding in the fair was observed with great solemnity. A procession was formed by the town's officers on horseback, their hats and horses' heads being decorated with flowers. Preceded by a band they passed through the crowded streets, halting at particular stations at each of which the common crier made proclamation of the fair, welcoming to the town strangers who would pay tolls and customs. The rhyming proclamation reads:-

"Lords, gentlemen and loons
You're welcome to our toons
Until St. Michael's Day,
But tolls and customs pay,
From latter Lammas Day.
To burgesses we say
Pay your gablage, pay.
Taken notiche evericke one,
This fair be kept till set of sun.
No sort of food I rede ye sell,
But what will fit the body well.
No sort of goods I rede ye vend,
Unless their worth ye first commend.
And also, all be found to ples,
On pain of stocks and little ease.
And buyers all that comen here,
The wonted dues and tolls shall
clear.
Now may ye sport and play I wis,
And all things do, but nowt amiss;
So quick your booths and tents
prepare,
And welcome strangers to the Fair.

God save the King and the worshipful Mr. Bayliffes."

Having passed through the whole town and returned to the point from where the cavalcade had started, the officers dismounted and joined in the sports of the fair.(96)

The only important point arising from the proclamation is its statement of the ending of each day of the fair with sunset; this was a generally recognised practice. The proclamation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne fair affords an interesting example of comparable practices outside Yorkshire. It was read before the mayor and aldermen on the Sandhill, in the Flesh Market, and at the White Cross thus:-

"The right worshipful the mayor of this town and the aldermen and his brethren, do give you to understand that the fair of this town doth begin at 12 of the clock of this present day, and will continue from that time for eight days next after, when it shall be lawful for all manner of persons to come to this town with their wares to sell, and it is strictly charged and commanded that no person of what degree or quality soever be so hardy during the time of this fair as to wear or carry any manner of weapon about him except he be a knight or an esquire of honour, and then to have a sword borne after him. And you are further to understand that a court of pie-powder will be holden during the time of this fair, that is to say, one in the forenoon and another in the afternoon, where all persons, both poor and rich, may have justice duly administered unto them, according to the laws of the land and customs of this town. God save the King."(97)

In connection with the proclamation of Newcastle fair there was a paragraph in an issue of the "News-Chronicle" in 1934 headed "There's No Fair Now"; "But They Open It Every Year". The paragraph reads:

"Before a small and wondering crowd in the square of St. Nicholas Cathedral, Newcastle, today, the Lord

Mayor, according to ancient custom, declared open St. Luke's Fair.

"The fair which dates back to 1490 is no longer held but the ceremony of declaring it open is still maintained.

"The town clerk walked across from the town hall with the civic party and then reads the old proclamation:-

"'Oyez, oyez, oyez. The Fair at this Town begins this day at ET of the clock, and shall endure until this eight days unto the same hour.'

"The small civic party then marked solemnly back to the town hall - with the crowd amid the bustle of the city wondering what the ceremony was all about."

The proclamation at Newcastle is not the only survival.

There was at Yarm a recent example of a revival of medieval custom. The Manor of Yarm was held until 1800 by the Fauconberg family but was then bought by the Meynells.

On the death of the late Lord of the Manor, Mr. Edgar Meynell, Miss Louiza Mary Meynell, his sister, became Lady of the Manor. On October 19, 1923, her steward, Mr. W. C. Fawcett attended the fair and after the bailiff had blown his horn to secure attention, announced publicly that Miss Meynell had succeeded to the Manor, and read the following proclamation:

"Louiza Mary Meynell gives notice that her fair in and for the said manor will be held by her this day and tomorrow for the sale of cattle, goods and merchandise, and will continue till tomorrow evening until six o'clock when all persons selling will close their booths and stalls."(98)

A photograph appeared in both the "Yorkshire Post" and the "Yorkshire Herald" of July 17, 1934, showing the reading of the proclamation of Seamer fair. In the latter newspaper there was also the following:

SEAMER FAIR.

Opened with Old-Time Ceremonial.

"St. Swithin's Day falling on a Sunday this year, Seamer Fair, which has been held for hundreds of years under Royal Charter, was this year held yesterday.

"At one time one of the big events of the year amongst cattle dealers, the Fair is now dwindling annually, and yesterday there were only 50 horses offered by the dealers. Another much missed feature yesterday was the sports which have been discontinued this year.

"The normal ceremonious opening was observed, however, The proclamation was read from horseback by the village Postmaster, Mr. Harrison, who was accompanied by Mr. J. Atkinson, Mr. Atkinson, Jun., and Mr. V. Thornton, who carried staffs of office.

"The Lord of the Manor, Mr. A. L. Rhodes, was in a motor-car, and threw money for which the children scrambled.

"The horses comprised some 25 1st and 2nd class carthorses, seven cab horses, three hackneys, 10 ponies and six mules for which bidding was slow."

A much simpler and less dignified or impressive means of declaring the market begun was by the ringing of a bell. The earliest evidence of this comes from the Records of the Burgery of Sheffield. In the Sembly Quest (Great Court Leet) of 1609 Francis Stanyforth and George Gleytonne were appointed "to see and search that corne be brought into the markett and none to be sold until the markett bell ryng."(99)

At Wakefield the constables and bailiffs with their "socii" had to patrol the markets and fairs to see that no goods were sold by outside traders before the bell rang (Court Leet

Records, October 1655).(100) The corn market at Doncaster was in the eighteenth century announced by the ringing of a bell to begin at eleven o'clock, and to end at one o'clock.(101) Bradford market began at ten o'clock each Thursday morning with the ringing of a ball. Anyone who sold goods before that hour or after 11.30, when the market closed was fined 5s.(102) A story famous in Sheffield annals is told of the market-bell of Sheffield. Tended in the "Roundabout House" by Joesy, or "Fussy" Eyre, market keeper and constable, it afforded the source of practical jokes to the assistants in the grocery shop of Mr. Thomas Porter (mentioned in the Directories of 1774, 1787 and 1797) who tied a string to it and rang it vigorously in the quiet of the night. The angry market-keeper and his dog "Turk" never succeeded in finding the offenders and the ridicule poured on their efforts by a local ballad led to the adoption of "Hey, Turk" as a most popular bye-word.(103)

The eighteenth century witnessed the appearance of the great Cloth Halls of the West Riding. The beginning of the market in the Tammy Hall (erected 1777, closed 1820) at Wakefield, was announced on Friday morning at 11 o'clock by the ringing by the Hall-keeper of the great bell suspended in the cupola on the top of the hall.(104) The procedure of sale in the Leeds halls was very similar to that of the open-air market. Each market-day morning the Clothiers brought their pieces to the halls but were not allowed to leave their horses (goods normally being carried on horseback) standing in the Cloth hall yard. After the market had begun anyone who left his horse standing in the yard for half an hour was fined 1s. The horses had to be taken away by hostlers, but not by boys "as mischiefs frequently happen from their wantonly galloping the horses in the street" (Mixed Cloth Hall Orders 1797). The opening hours of the

Coloured Hall were 8.30 in the Summer, 9.0. in Spring and Autumn and 9.30 in Winter, at which hour, the bell in the Cupola was rung. After an hour it was again rung to warn all merchants that only a quarter of an hour remained for purchases. When at the end of that quarter the bell was again run (for five minutes) all purchases had to be settled or abandoned. The fine imposed on merchants or buyers of cloth found inside the gates of the hall yard when the bell ceased was 5s., with an additional fine of 5s. for every further five minutes of loitering. The transactions at the White Cloth Hall - which opened when the Mixed Cloth Hall had closed - had to be carried through in an equally short space of time. (105)

Thus, whether by proclamation or by sound of a bell the beginning and ending of a market and fair were made known to all who resorted to them, for if such times were neglected those who bought or sold beyond them were liable to loss of merchandise or to fine whilst the owner of the market or fair stood in danger of losing his right. By one other means the owner of fair and market might be made to forfeit his ownership. The charters of markets and fairs all insist that they are only granted provided that they are not to the injury or damage of other neighbouring markets or fairs. To prove such injury it was not only necessary to show falling trade in a fair; the complainant had also to show that similarity of date was the cause of the complaint in the case of too great proximity between the fairs - in the theory of law a distance of at least seven miles being required between fairs or markets held on the same day. This point of argument led to many bitter disputes between rival fair-lords, probably the most bitter being that between Scarborough and Seamer. Scarborough's first quarrel was with Filey, Sherburn and Brompton in 1256 when the burgesses of Scarborough were

permitted to plead in the king's court in the king's name for the abolition of those markets on the grounds that they were to the nuisance of their borough and market. It was promised to them that if they should obtain a verdict, the king would remove these markets and would not allow them to be erected without the assent of the burgesses. (106) The burgesses were successful and the markets discontinued. The market at Scarborough was given to the burgesses by Henry II in 1161. That at Seamer was first granted by Richard II to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, in 1383, "provided it should not be found injurious to the neighbouring markets and fairs." In 1384 Richard II confirmed the previous grant to Scarborough and the market at Seamer fell into desuetude until 1573 when Sir Henry Gate, owner of the manor of Seamer, obtained an exemplification of Richard II's charter. Scarborough through its bailiffs and burgesses then began a suit at law in the Court of Queen's Bench for the suppression of Seamer market on account of the injury done by it to Scarborough market. In their petition to Sir Robert Cecil in 1573 the bailiffs declared:

"We, the bayliffes etc., of Scarbrowe, humblie beseche your Ho., your poore supplicants the balyffs, burgesses, and comunalitie of her Matie's. towne of Scarbrowe. That wheras her Mate's. saide towne being greatlie annoy'd, impoverished, and decaid by reason of a market latelie erected by Sir Henry Gate, knight, deceased, and now contynued by Edward Gate, Esq. sonne and heire of the saide Sir Henry, at Seamer, being within three miles of Scarbrowe aforesaid in yt respect, for suppressing the said market, your supplicants did exhibit their bill of complainte into the Chequer chamber, whereunto the said Henry answered. And afterwards the cause was by the Rt. Honourable the Lorde

Highe Threasurer of England, referred to the determination of the right Ho. the Earle of Huntingdon, Lo. President of the Northe Partes, and his L., taking paines therein cold not determyne the same by reason of the death of the said Sir Henry who dyed the said suite dependynge. In consideration whereofe and forasmuch as the artificers of her Matie's. said towne ar utterlie decayed by the contynuanche of the said market as dothe appeare in particularities by certen articles exemplified under the seale of her Matie's. said towne redye to be showed.

Item: The navigation, pere, and whole force of her Majtie's. said towne dothe utterlie decaye by reason of the said markett, notwithstanding yt the same is the best harbour for passingers upon the sea, as also a greate helpe unto the cuntrie thereabouts, if the said markett were suppressed.

Item: The said towne dothe yerelie paie unto her Matye. for fee ferme the annuell rent of four schore eleven pounds 15s.8d. over and beside taxes, and other benefits accruyng unto her Matie. of great value, wch to satisfie they are no longer able, except the said markett be suppressed.

Item: Heretofore were erected three severall marketts, near to Scarborowe aforesaid, viz:- one at Filey, another at Shirburn, and the third at Brompton, every of them being muche further distant frome her Matie's. said towne than Seamer ys, as also of lesse nuisance to the same; and yet in regarde of the maintenance of her Matie's said towne all the said three severall marketts were suppressed anno quadragesimo nuper Regis Hen. III.

Item: All manner of victuals ar continuallie carried from her Matie's. said towne to Seamer aforesaide.

For which causes and diverse others, your humble supplicants do humbly beseech your Ho. to be an honorable means yt the said markett may immediatly be suppressed, or at the least-wise that your poor suppliants. may have your Ho. lettres and commission to be directed to the said Ho. Earle, to procede to the finall determination of the said cause between your suppts. and the said Mr. Gate, or else to certifye what his L. doth fynde to th' end your Ho. and others her Maties. most Ho. privie Counsell may insure the same and your humble suppts. shall daily praye etc."

This was an undoubtedly able statement of Scarborough's position which Seamer could not neglect. To refute it, the promoters of Seamer market made the following detailed reply:-

"Reasons to show that the markett of Seamer is not hurtfull to the Towne of Scarbrowe.

"Imprimis: Yt is to be proved that the towne of Scarb. was aboute 60 years agoe inhabited wth. 700 householders, and so appeareth by their records, whereof within 30 years followg. there were decrease 400, and by the same record yt is manifeste that there were in tymes past as many more buildings within the Towne.

"Item: There hath been in Scarb. at once fyftie small shippes for fishyng, and those 20 and 30 tunns apiece, wherein were 16 or 20 men that traded fishynge, and 30 yeres and more before Seamer markett was renewed; when the survey of the Towne and Castle was taken, there were but 6, wch. was in the 7th yere of Her Ma'ties. raigne (i.e. 1565).

"Item: There was in the Towne, belonging to ytt as ys and hath bene reported by th' ancient men and by the custom yt then ye prince had, may appeare,

20 crayers for marchantdize, and at the said Survey taken (as aforesaid) ther wer but foure, so as bothe ther trafficke and fishynge was then decaied.

"Item: The custom the Towne yielded to the Prince in those dayes for wines and other merchantdize as hathe bene sene by their bookes amounted sumetyme to 80 lb., and sumtyme to 100 lb. by the yere and now and 20 yeres before the renewynge of Seamer markett it is lyttle or nothyng, for ther speciall trade for these 30 yeres and more hathe been for salt and coale, and for corne, wch. they cary out in verie abundant and to intolerable measure. The inhabitants of the towne of Scarb., when the merchants traded fyshynge and other merchantdize, were mayntayned - some by travaile and employmt. at sea, some by dryinge and makynge of salt fyshe, some by nettyng, some by spynynge, some by makynge of ropes, and divers others by other mysteries, all which since they left the sea and applied themselves to maultynge and engrossynge of corne are mightylie decaid, and the Towne impoverishede almost without hope of recoverye.

Item: Th' inhabitants of Scarb. havynge the towne in fee farm at £92 per an., did in those times pay the same or the most therof by the fyshinge, and made greate proffits of their grounds and pastures, most than £100 yerelie above the fee ferme; besyde that the fermer of the parsonadge ther, being of the yerelie rent of £40, raysed the most part therof of his tyth fyshe, all wch. is now and was 40 yeres before the renewyng of Seamer markett utterlie decaied, and raysed hardly upon the grounds, and offerings in and about the Towne.

The towne being thus brought into decaie by their own insedulity longe before the renuyinge of Seamer

markett, manie of the best sorte of Scarbrowe gave ther consent under ther hands to Sir Henry Gate to renue the Marketts in Seamer, wch. was done to th' ende they might receave some comfort and reliefe by that Markett, as indeed thei do.

Item: Ther ar at this daye mo'e ritch men in Scarb., than was 30 years agoe, whereby it maie appeare that the market in Seamer is more beneficiall than hurtfull to them.

Item: The poore of Scarb. have secretlie complained to ther frendes for the restrainte in cominge to Seamer Markett, for that they have gayned, some 12d., some 8d. a daie; some more and some lesse, accordynge to the quantitis and qualitie of the commodities thei brought to Seamer markett by retaylinge salt fyshe, herynge, onyons, salt etc. whch. durynge the suspendynge of Seamer markett thei lacked to their greate impoveryslinge.

Item: The better sort yt came thither to sell other grocery or mercery wares have confessed that they have made greate gaine by that markett.

Item: Manie that dwell farre of do come to Seamer markett, wch. never did nor ever will come to Scarb. by whose repair their inhabitants of Scarb. recived much benefitt by contractynge ther with them.

Item: Th' inhabitants as well of the more (= moor), as of the woulds, do repaire in as populous sort to Scarb. as when Seamer markett was not renued.

Item: The commodities wch. bothe the woulds and the mores afford are so plentifulle brought to Scarb. notwystandyng Seamer Markett, that ofttyme the cuntrymen ar forced to sell up ther corne, and sometime dryven to carrye it home, or to the nexte towne, to their greate losse, for that the mrs. of

Scarbrowe have laide paynes upon the inhabitants of Scarb. not to give them house room for yt, and have imprisoned some of ther neighbors, and taken grievous fines of others for intertaynyng the countryemen's commodyties in their howses, wch. they could not sell."

Despite the apparent force of this appeal the Seamer petitioners were dissatisfied; they therefore put forward a second series of causes for the decay of Scarborough - a series like the first somewhat deficient in fact. This was entitled

"Reasons shewynge the present decaie of the towne of Scarbrowe" and reads:

"Imprimis: Thei have made a practise to buy houses and pull them down to sell the slate and tymbre to foreine townes.

Item: Ther exactions are so greate yt. they sett upon suche merchants and fyshermen as come in with any commoditie that thei have made all seamen wary, wch. is done that a fewe of them may have the whole trade among themselves, to sell at what price thei will, by wch. meanes bothe Flemings, Frenchmen, Devonshire men, Cornish men, Dorsetshire men and Sussex men yt in tymes past and of late years have by 100 sale at once repayred to them, have now utterlie forsaken them but in tyme of distresse of wether.

Item: Whereas they have graunted unto them the fee ferme of the towne, the fines, the amercements, and the fees due for anchorage and peerage, speciallye for the mayntenance of the pere, wch. is and hathe bene the lyfe of the towne; the Baylives have divyded the same yeerlie amongst themselves and ther consorts, consultynge together to procure some meanes from tyme to tyme yt. her Matie. (as her Highness of late yeares hathe done) and ye countrie should repaire the same.

The pere and towne of Scarb. was so decaid Ao. 37 Henr. VIII (i.e. 1546) that yt was provided by an act of parliament Ao. pred., and an order ther sett downe for the contynuaunce therof, wch. thei notwythstandyng contynue not.

Item: Ther was petytion made to ye Archbishop of York for reliefe to be had of the countye for repaere of ther peere before Seamer markett.

Item: By petytion moved by Sir Henry Gate to her Maytie. thei ever releved from her Highnes to the value of £200, wch. decaie grew before Seamer market."

In reply to this Scarborough put forward a statement under the common seal of the borough showing the serious affect of Seamer market declaring that as a result of its establishment the number of bakers at Scarborough had dropped from eight to four and the quantity of wheat brought to Scarborough market from twelve or twenty quarters weekly to three, or even one. The cordwainers had decreased from fourteen to five, having settled at Seamer or its neighbourhood. The sale of hides from Malton, Pickering, and Whitby had come wholly to an end. All four drapers had closed their shops; the glovers were reduced from six to three, the butchers from eight to four, who had less trade in a week than they had previously had in the single market day. From fourteen the weavers had become four; out of twenty tailors, only nine, and they very poor, remained. Only half of the forty victuallers remained. Of the smiths the principal one had removed to Seamer whilst the remainder were very poor. Whereas the fee farm of £91 had been raised by the gablage, and rent of mills, the former was now lessened from £30 to £20 owing to the decay of the houses and the latter, formerly yielding £20, were now fallen into ruin, but the town was still liable to a subsidy of one hundred marks besides other public charges. Grass now grew in the

streets of Scarborough; shipping and houses alike had fallen into decay. The completeness of the poverty pleaded in this statement induced the Privy Council to take action, the following letter being sent to the Lord President of the Council of the North:

"After our hartie commendation to your good L. and the rest, we finde by yr. letter of the 3rd. of September that you have not been hable to do any thing for the compounding of the difference between those of the towne of Scarburghe and Mr. Edward Gate, concerning the prejudice and hindrance wch. those of the said towne do pretend to receve by the markett established at Seymer in respect of the absence of Mr. Gate out of the country; and for that wee have alsoe cause to think in regarde of his like sudden departure alsoe from London, that he doth purposely absente himself to the end to avoyde that the matter may not receyve examination; and hathe alsoe, lately, as we understand, for further caution conveyde the estate and right of the saide towne of Seymer to a very young sonne of his, to have the more cullor to excuse himselfe not to satisfye any order that should be taken therein, wee have thought good upon the complaintes which have been rendered in that behalfe unto us by the inhabitants of the said towne of Scarbroughe, to praie and reqt. yr. L. to take presente order that the said markitt be againe suspended until Mr. Gate shall attend us wh. sufficiente reasons against the same. And soe wee wishe yr. L. and the rest heartilie well to fare." (From the Court at Richmond, 5 October).

Obeying his instructions the Lord President sent an order to "our trusty and well beloved Christopher Thompson and John Farrar, bailiffes of Scarbroughe, William Conyers, Thomas Butler, Robert Lawson, Paul Peacock, John Lacy, and Richard Wolfe, or any two of them", the order stating:

"Trusty and well beloved, wee greet you well, and whereas the President and Counsell in the North parts hathe from the Lords of the Privy Counsell for signeifying the markett at Seymer in the County of Yorke, did the 23rd day of October last, order that the markett there should be suspended for a year, and for that purpose did award xls. vid. for commission to the sheriffes of the said county of Yorke, to publishe by himself or his deputies in the churche at Seymer, and in divers other places next adjoyning, upon one or more publique dayes to

all persons there presente that the saide markett at Seymer should be suspended, and not to be holden or kept for one whole year next ensuinge; and to forbid all persons to come or make assembly, or resort together, or to bring any goods, wares, merchandise, or victuals to be sold privatlie or openlie at the said markett there during that tyme And whereas wee then awarded to Edward Gate Esqre. and John Gate, his sonne, and other officers, commanding them not to permit any markett or meeting to be kept for the like tyme, which severall orders have been published and forbid accordynglie, as we are informed, and that nevertheless the said markett is still continued contrarie to the said order. Wee therefore will and command and authorise you or any of you to repaire to Seymer aforesaide, upon one or more markett dayes next ensuing, and then and there in the fulness of the assemblie virtuallie and publickly to admonishe all persons resorting to the marketts therewyth wythe any kindes of commoditie to be bartered, that they and everie of them from thenceforth **forbeare** the saide markett for the space of one whole yeare next after, as they or any of them will answer the contrarie at their peril. And if any ~~man~~ member of them, after such a publique notice given, doe make their repaire to the markett their duringe the tyme aforesaide, to buy, sell or exchange any goods or wares, or merchandise, or victuals, then we further authorise you or any two of you to apprehende and bring before the saide President and Counsell, three or four of the principall men that shall offend therein contrarie to saide order, to abyde and receive such punyshment and order by the saide President and Counsell as shall be thought meet. Faile ye not, therefore, as ye answer the contrarie att your

perill. Given under the signet of the city of Yorke, the 10th Day of Decembre, in the 32nd yeare of the raigne (1599) by the Committee."(107)

In this way at a cost of £2000 Scarborough gained the victory over Seamer, judgment being finally given in 1602. This victory was short-lived for in 1610 James I granted to Thomas Mompesson the right to hold a market at Seamer. Again Scarborough fought the grant and Seamer market was again suppressed in 1612 by a Charter specially granted for that purpose to the bailiffs and burgesses of Scarborough by James I. Late in the eighteenth century Seamer market was again revived and owing to its successful competition the proclaiming of Scarborough fair was discontinued in 1788, Seamer then being a considerable and much frequented place.(108)

It has already been said that a charter of 1318 granting a weekly market on Wednesday and a yearly fair (September 7-9) at Bootham to St. Mary's, York, was restored to the king and cancelled because it was to the injury of the city of York. The injury can easily be imagined since Bootham lies beside the city walls. It is more difficult to accept a complaint of the reign of James I made by John Ramsden of Hull in a pamphlet analysing the causes of the decay of the trade of Hull: "And that which is a further great and considerable damage to the merchants of this towne (Hull) is a set of young adventurers that are lately sprung up at Leeds and at other places amongst the clothiers, who at little or no charges buy and engross as they please, to the great hurt of the inhabitants and merchants of this towne."(109)

The sixteenth century witnessed the beginning of the rise to fame of the West Yorkshire clothing towns. Leeds and Bradford grew rapidly outstripping the older town of Wakefield. Bradford, previously a comfortable village with

a market charter now became a busy place for making woollen cloths, and Leeds rivalled it. Disputes between these and other neighbouring towns were from that time onwards frequent. Wakefield manufacturers early in the sixteenth century established a weekly cloth market which soon gave offence to other clothing towns. In 1640 Barnsley petitioned Parliament for the suppression of this market but was met by a steady refusal to interfere with legitimate enterprise.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

As it grew in importance Wakefield market absorbed the trade from neighbouring fairs. Thus the inhabitants of West Ardsley in 1656 petitioned the West Riding justices against it in the following manner:

"There is a certaine ffaire comonly called Lee ffaire yearly kept at Baghill in ye Parish of West Ardsley, uppon two severall daies within less than a month of each, in ye time off Harvests Wch. ffairre formerly stood in Woollen cloth. But since a Cloth market hath beene settled in Wakefeild, there hath not for these many yeares beene any Cloth brought to the said ffairre. Soe that it is now utterly decayed and become a tumultuous meeting off the idle and loose persons of ye Country, where there is much Revelling and Drunkennesse, and hathe been noted these many yeares to be a meetinge where there is usually more Bloodshed and some lives lost, and also most labourers and servants hereabouts take occasion thereby to neglect ye Harvest. And as for the Comodities brought thither, they are (except some few poore horses) only a few Pedling triffles, off wch. ye Countrey may much Better, and with as much Conveniency be supplied every market day at Leedes or Wakefeild."⁽¹¹¹⁾

This petition, like that of Barnsley, was unsuccessful and whilst Wakefield market grew, the fair at West Ardsley

remained until modern times in decayed condition. A cattle market was established at Wakefield in 1765, the first market being held on March 7. This threatened the existence of the Thursday fortnight-fair held during the summer months at Adwalton. The authorities at Adwalton, accused by traders of using their fairs for extortionate charges threatened legal proceedings against the Wakefield cattle market. Nothing, however, came of the dispute, beyond mutual threatenings, and from the first the cattle market proved successful. (112)

Leeds, also, had to face rivals to its prosperity. The inconveniences of its open-air market made the rise of competitors almost inevitable. Hightown, a small hamlet in the centre of the clothing district was the first place to give trouble to the Leeds market owners. Being in the immediate neighbourhood of the white cloth area Hightown was an admirable site for a white cloth market. The lords of the Manor, Messrs. Green and Brooke, in 1709 petitioned Queen Anne for powers to hold a market every Monday (Leeds market being on Tuesday). The Queen ordered the Sheriff of the County in the usual manner to hold his court of inquiry as to the need of such a market and its effect upon those already existing. The jury in view of the evidence decided "that the erecting a market at High Town for white woollen cloth would be to the damage and prejudice of the sev'all markets of Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax and Huddersfield." Despite this decision the petition of Hightown was renewed with strong arguments in its favour. Roused to strenuous opposition, the Leeds corporation, clothiers and merchange made objection on the grounds that whilst "a competent number of Markets are for the benefit of trade and commerce, So the unnecessary creation of new markets will divide, weaken, and destroy trade, and render small towns a

nuisance to the public as well as to one another." (113)

Wakefield proved a more formidable rival than Hightown. By the late seventeenth century the Wakefield cloth market was securely established, having fought its way successfully against its nearest rivals. New facilities of communication were given by the opening of the Aire and Calder ~~Canal~~ Navigation, enabling the town to become an important commercial centre. Leeds, therefore, soon found its monopoly of the broad white cloth trade seriously impaired by Wakefield. The earliest disputes arose over the questions of tolls, Leeds Corporation supporting its citizens in their refusal to pay tolls at Wakefield, thus in 1687 granting to one man £50 "for defending the right of the Parish from payment of toll to Hull and Wakefield" (Leeds Corporation Minutes I 240-243). Wakefield to the great annoyance of Leeds in 1710 erected a Cloth Hall, thus enabling the pieces of cloth to be sold without exposure to the weather. This was a natural attraction to the white cloth manufacturers from Batley, Ossett, Dewsbury and the Calder valley who previously had traded at Leeds. Leeds was therefore forced in reply to erect a similar hall. On August 14, 1710 Thoresby "rode with the Mayor and others to my lord Irwin's at Temple Newsam about the erection of a hall for white cloths in Kirkgate, to prevent the damage to this town of one lately erected at Wakefield, with design to engross the woollen trade". Lord Irwin proved an enthusiastic supporter of the project. Whilst he provided the site, merchants and tradesmen contributed £1000 as capital. The result of these efforts, "a stately hall for white cloths", erected in Kirkgate was opened in April 1711. (114) By 1774 a new hall of more ample proportions was made essential by the rivalry of Gomersal, which attempted to take advantage of the inadequacy of the accommodation at Leeds. The leading clothiers of the district

supported the scheme with great enthusiasm, persuading or coercing their fellows to sign "a bond obliging themselves not to expose their cloth in any other place but Gomersall". The market was established at Gomersal Hill Top, seven miles from Leeds. Leeds clothiers now realised that to secure supplies from the Gomersal district they would be forced to make this seven miles' journey, and the Cloth Hall trustees, understanding the loss of trade the new establishment would mean to Leeds, attempted to frighten the Gomersal principals by threatening actions at law and by offering pecuniary and legal assistance to the clothiers who should break this bond. The Gomersal clothiers, however, received open support from the local gentry, typified by a letter published in the "Leeds Mercury", December 26, 1776:-

"Gentlemen: We being fully desirous of promoting the Woollen Trade in the West Riding of Yorkshire, think it expedient to signify to you our entire approbation of your erection of a Hall at Gomersall, in order to establish your market there, and we recommend you to go on and complete your design with all possible expedition, being clearly of opinion that it will be of the greatest advantage to the industrious manufacturers and also to the white cloth trade in general. Therefore we are determined to give all possible encouragement to so laudable an undertaking.

Signed: Sir George Armitage.
Sir Thomas Wentworth.
R. H. Beaumont.
E. E. Savile.
Sir James Ibbetson. "

These names are those of landed and manufacturing leaders of the West Riding. Supported by this encouragement the Gomersal project was completed and the hall established in spite of the threats of Leeds. In 1793 the "British

Directory" (III 325) remarks "At Gomershall the clothiers have erected a large brick building for a Cloth market, in hopes of bringing the merchants nearer home, and saving expense thereby. It was of course encouraged by the landowners but it is doubtful whether it will answer." In the upshot, the hall failed to secure a grip on the trade, partly because improved communications made the Leeds market more accessible. The fright of 1774 was, however, largely responsible for the building at Leeds of new and better accommodation in the third White Cloth Hall. (115)

Having, then, secured the legality of the fair or market by means of royal charter and confirmation or by reason of immemorial tenure, having defended it against all rivals, threats of supersession, or withdrawals of trade, and having guarded against its loss through breaches of the law, the owner could then gain from it financial returns through tolls, hold in it judicial powers, exacting penalties for offences against his holding, and make of it a centre for the trade of the district, of Yorkshire, of England and overseas and an important event in the social life of his estate.

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EXPLANATORY NOTES.

p. 123 Wyke

The original name of Hull was that given to it by the Danes - "Wyk-super-le-Hul", from the Danish "wyk", bay. This name of Wyke remained in use until the end of the tenure of the manor by the Abbot of Meaux. When Edward I took possession, he renamed the borough "King's town-upon-Hull."

p. 178 Burgery.

The term "burgery" is an older form of "burgage" and is used in connection with burgage or "burgery" rents.

CHAPTER III.

FINANCE AND JUSTICE IN FAIR

AND MARKET.

Profits from Tolls; Grants of Tolls;
Value of Tolls; Tolls on Goods; Evasions
and Exemptions from Payment; Other Imposts;
Stallage; Struggles over Right of Levying;
The Clerk of the Market, Office and
Opposition to; Grants of Local Use of this
Office; Other Officials; Piepowder Courts,
Grants of; Other Courts; Cases in; Market-
Searchers; Forestalling; Authority during
the Fair.

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The proclamation of Scarborough fair begins with the words:

"Lords, gentlemen and loons,
You're welcome to our toons
Until St. Michael's Day,
But tolls and customs pay,
From latter Lammas Day."

One of the chief reasons for which ownership of a fair or market was sought was the profit to be derived from the tolls levied on the goods brought to it. From the earliest times of trading it was customary for the owner of the land to exact a price as the condition under which he permitted the transaction. It was not always easy to ensure security of dealings in markets; they were, therefore, required to take place in the presence of an officer appointed, for the purpose of securing the observance of the contract, by the lord of the market. In return for this task, the lord was paid market toll. Thus in Scarborough museum is a large blue stone, said to have been for a long period at the end of old Tollergate (the modern Rutland Terrace), which was probably used for the ratification of bargains in early times at Scarborough. When every person of one town was regarded as a "foreigner" by every person of every other town it was natural that each town should seek - in the manner of modern nations - to build up its prosperity at the expense of those merchants who sought to import their wares into it. For two main reasons, therefore, tolls were levied at markets and fairs - as a payment for a recognised service in that trade is carried on under the protection and peace of the lord of the locality, without whose beneficent interest no dealing would have been possible, and as a forfeit made by outsiders for the privilege of

bringing goods for consumption by the natives of the town, manor or district. It will be seen that in the early Middle Ages both types of payment were considered to be valid. As more modern times approached the latter was regarded with less and less kindness; disputes as to toll arising from such a cause, grew more and more frequent and frequent interruption was made to its collection until enlightened lords found it to be a hindrance rather than an advantage to their profit of their manor. The toll which accrued to the lord as a payment for his protection remained as an accepted due until the modern age in which the State itself was prepared to enforce its law in all trading.

There is one exception to the rule in Yorkshire that the possession of fair and market meant profit from tolls levied at them. From the charter of Henry III in 1250 no charter of the markets and fairs at Masham, except the last of them granting the fortnight fairs, gives the lord (in Richard II's time, when a new charter was obtained, Stephen le Scrop) any right to receive tolls. The lord of the manor of Mashamshire is not justified in taking, or even in demanding, any tolls except at the fortnight fairs. Tomlyne's Law Dictionary quotes the law on this question of the right to take toll, thus: "If the King grants to a man a fair or market, and grants no toll, the patentee shall have no toll; for toll being a matter of private right for the benefit of the lord, is not incident to a fair or market, as a court of piepowder is, which is for the benefit of the public, and the advancement of justice. Such a fair or market is free from toll, and after the grant made, the King cannot grant a toll to such free fair or market without some proportionable benefit to the subject; and if the toll granted with the fair or market be outrageous, the grant of the toll is void, and

the same is a free market"(1) It must be considered that the clause of a charter: "cum omnibus liberis consuetudinibus ad feriam pertinentibus" (With all free customs pertaining to a fair) does not in itself legally entitle the lord to receive tolls, though in some cases it is probable that originally there was no greater justification for the tolls than this. In the case of Masham it was realised in 1632 that the charter for the fair did not empower the lord to take tolls at it. Thomas Danby in that year obtained a charter for the fortnight fairs, and with it a grant of tolls for the other fairs. This grant was, of course, of no value, since the king is unable after the grant made of the former fairs to grant any tolls to be levied at them. The insertion of this grant in the new charter was a mere attempt to bolster up the lord's title to the tolls he had been taking without legal right in those fairs.(2)

There is considerable evidence of a very varied nature for the levying of tolls in the markets and fairs of Yorkshire. The Earl of Richmond had market toll in Bowes in 1280,(3) already in 1295, the first mention of Malton fair, complaint was made of the manorial privilege of taking toll at fair-time on all merchandise entering into, or going out from, Malton. There it became the custom to demand toll only on the Saturday before and on fair-days and in the Tuesday cattle market.(4) The Inquisitions of Edward I's reign give some evidence. The Inquisition 26 Edward I shows Hunmanby manor as including a market-toll worth £6 13s. 4d. yearly;(5) five years later it merely records that the manor includes a market with toll.(6)

In later years the Inquisition made at York on March 3, 1327 (1 Edward III) describes Wakefield as having two fairs at All Saints and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and

the tolls of the market,⁽⁷⁾ and Pontefract (the inquisition made on March 7) as including the tolls of the market and fair,⁽⁸⁾ Hunmanby is again mentioned (10 Edward III) as having its toll divided into three parts in the hands of Joan, wife of Robert de Tatessall^e, James de Ros and Maud his wife, and Adam de Clyfton,⁽⁹⁾ and then once more (28 Edward III) when a third part of the toll from the Wednesday market is recorded as amongst the possessions of John de Orreby.⁽¹⁰⁾ The extent of Kirby Moorside (23 Edward III) included the toll of the market,⁽¹¹⁾ as did that of Helmsley (26 Edward III)⁽¹²⁾ The assignment of dower in 1366 to Isabel, wife of Walter de Fauconberg, made at Skelton on Friday in Easter Week (40 Edward III) before the escheator in Yorkshire, William de Raygate, included the third part of the profit of the toll of the market and fair in Skelton (-in-Cleveland).⁽¹³⁾ The bishops of Durham held the manor of Howden, which - according to certain particulars shown to Queen Elizabeth by the Dean and Chapter of Durham in 1584 - included "the towle and stallage, shoppes and pickage of the faire and marketts at Howden, and one howse called the Mootehalle or Towlebothe in Howden."⁽¹⁴⁾ The burgesses of Beverley were granted, shortly after the marriage of Mary Tudor to Philip of Spain, a charter empowering them to receive the tolls of the town these tolls having devolved to the Crown. The Charter reads:-

"Know ye that we of our special grace and of our certain knowledge and mere motion have given and granted and for us and our heirs and successors do by these presents give and grant to the twelve governors and burgesses in our town of Beverley in our county of York all our tholl and toll and stallage as well by land as by water

and all fairs and markets yearly and from time to time holden within our town and borough of Beverley aforesaid, and all issues, profits, commodities and emoluments whatsoever out of and in the toll and stallage aforesaid from time to time happening, befalling, accruing, arising or increasing to be taken and received in the time of the fairs and markets aforesaid, to have, hold and enjoy the toll and stallage and the profits and commodities thereof and all and singular other the premises with every of their appurtenances to the aforesaid governors and burgesses of the town aforesaid and to the successors governors and burgesses of the same town for ever as fully freely and entirely and in as ample a manner and form as the said governors and burgesses or any other or others the aforesaid tolls and stallage and the profits and commodities thereof have heretofore had, occupied or enjoyed, rendering therefore yearly to us our heirs, and successors £5 6s. 8d. of lawful money of England to be paid at the feast of St. Martin in Winter and Pentecost at the receipt of our exchequer by equal portions although express mention of the true annual value or of any other value or certainty of the premises or of any of them or of the gifts or grants by us or our progenitors to the aforesaid governors heretofore made in these presents be not made or any statute, act, ordinance, provision or restriction to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourselves at Westminster the 22nd day of January in the 1st year of our reign. By writ of privy seal and of the date aforesaid by authority of Parliament."(15)

This charter was examined by one, T. Cotton, in 1628 (27 May 4 Charles I). In it, the fee-farm of Beverley was not increased, remaining at the original figure of eight marks as in the grant of Archbishop Thurstan. Yet in that first grant, the burgesses were only empowered to take tolls at certain fairs; now there was no such reservation, the profits of the burgesses being thus greatly increased. At the same time a statute (1: 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 7) prohibited linen drapers, haberdashers, grocers and mercers, not free of any city, borough, corporation or town, and living in the open country, out of such cities and towns, to sell their wares in cities and towns by retail except in open fairs, and by wholesale. The preamble of the statute stated that the act was made to enable cities and corporate towns to employ their own people in order to pay their fee farms and taxes.⁽¹⁶⁾ As a result of this statute, in conjunction with the above charter, the tolls and stallage at Beverley fairs were greatly increased. The charters of fairs and markets granted to Doncaster, already quoted, all grant the right to the borough to receive tolls: in the charter of Charles II of 1664 the grant is made "of all liberties and free customs, tolls, stallage, pontage, picage, fines, amerciaments, and other profits, commodities, revenues, advantages and emoluments whatsoever, to these kind of fairs or markets, in any wise belonging, appertaining, arising or happening." This is repeated in the first charter of James II in 1685, whilst his charter of 1688 includes the restoration of all the "fairs, markets, marts, tolls, customs, fines, amerciaments whatsoever", which the borough had previously enjoyed. Amongst the Bridlington charters exists a grant made by James I and renewed by Charles I of the town's market-tolls to certain gentlemen. This document is as follows:-

"The Manor of Bridlington with all the Rights and Appurtenances thereto belonging were heretofore parcel of the Monastery of Bridlington aforesaid and held and enjoyed by the Prior there until the Dissolution of the said Monastery in the 29th of Henry VIII when it was seized into the hands of the Crown and held by lessees under the Crown from time to time till 21st James I when the said manor of Bridlington (inter alia) with all and singular its Rights, Members and Appurtenances with all Fairs, Markets from time to time kept and all Tolls and profits of the same And also the Ganage of Ships at the port there was by Letters patent granted to John Ramsey, then Earl of Holderness and heirs in ffee under the yearly Fee Farm Rent of £152 17s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. which is still paid to the Grantees of the Crown or their heirs of the said Manor.

"The said Manor upon the decease of the said Earl of Holderness become the Estate of Sir George Ramsey (his brother and Heir at Law) who about the 25th of June 6th Charles I By Deed Inrolled Fine and Recovery conveyed the said Manor, Tolls and premises to William Corbett and twelve others and their heirs in Fee SUBJECT to the said Yearly Fee Farm Rent and subject to the repairs and maintenance of the Piers at the Port there which purchase so made by the said William Corbett and twelve others as aforesaid was intended to be not only for and on behalf of themselves but also of all other the Tenants or Freeholders within the said Manor and accordingly By Indenture Dated 6th May 1636, made between the said William Corbett and others the grantees under Sir George Ramsey of the one part and William Dale Francis Edmond and others the then

Tenants or Freeholders within the said Manor of the other part they the said William Corbett and others the said Grantees Declare and are well contented that the said purchase so made by them as aforesaid of the said Manor Tolls and premises shall be not only for the use Benefit and Behoof of themselves but also of all the other the tenants or freeholders within the said Manor and partys thereto IN WHICH Deed (commonly called the Great Deed) is Inserted and contained several Rules Orders and Agreements for the better Government of the said Town and amongst the rest it is thereby agreed in order to keep up a sufficient Number of Feofees or Trustees and for a perpetual Succession that so often as the same shall be reduced by Death to six such surviving six shall in manner therein directed choose seven more and convey the said Manor Tolls and premises to them To the use of themselves and such new elected Trustees

"PURSUANT to which said Deed of 1636 the said Manor Tolls and premises has by Lease and Release or other sufficient conveyances and assurances in the Law from time to time as the Trustees have been reduced by Death to six or fewer been granted and conveyed by the surviving Trustees To the use of themselves and such new elected Trustees for the purposes aforesaid but although the Freehold of the said Manor Tolls and premises have been from time to time **granted** and conveyed and applied as aforesaid YET there are some Instances where the Exact **method** prescribed by the above Deed called the Great Deed with respect to **time** and Method of choosing and electing Feofees and their Assistants has not been complied with and particularly with respect to the present

feofees to whom the said Manor Tolls and premise were granted about the year 1742 by Robert Lyvock alone he being the only surviving Trustee in whom the said Manor was then solely vested AND ALTHO the Feofees have usually met upon Candlemas Day and chose a Chief or acting Lord or Feofee for the ensueing year yet a Lease of the said Manor in Order to Vest the same in such elected Chief Lord has of late been omitted to be made and executed occasioned by some one or more of the Trustees refusing to Act And there are now living seven Feofees or Trustees.

"The Feofees and Trustees so elected and vested with the said Manor and premises have all along since the making the said Deed of 1636 By their Bailiff or Lessee taken and received All the Tolls of the Fairs and Markets and have kept Courts and done other things incident to the said Manor"(17)

The document continues with an account of a struggle over the question of the right to erect stalls in the town; this will be noticed later. It is sufficient evidence to show that market tolls were raised in Bridlington from the time of the monastically owned fairs and markets to the eighteenth century. Here, it may be remarked, their levy was an important item in the upkeep of the piers of the town.

In addition to the ordinary weekly market there were at Wakefield from the thirteenth centure (1204 and 1258) two annual fairs, mainly concerned with cattle. The Customs Book refers to them only once in a statement that the bailiff had the farm of the tolls on all "quick goods" (live-stock) brought and driven down Kirkgate on the two fair-days at Midsummer and All Saints'. Before being allowed to set up stalls or exhibit wares those who came to Wakefield

"with shows or any quack professions" had to produce their licences or patents, the bailiff collecting "some small gratuity" from them.⁽¹⁸⁾

In contrast to the charters and other evidences of tolls in connection with Yorkshire markets, there is a charter granted by Edward IV to Bradford which has exactly the opposite tenor. The charter includes the following passage

"And further of our abundant grace, we will and by these presents grant for us and our heirs to our feoffees aforesaid, that all liege and faithful persons whomsoever coming to the market aforesaid and there abiding and to their homes returning, to pay any stallages or tributes to us or our heirs, for any grain, flesh, fish or any victuals whatsoever, by them, or any or either of them, bought or sold in the market aforesaid, by us or our heirs whomsoever, or by our feoffees aforesaid, their heirs or assigns, their bailiffs, officers, or ministers whomsoever, in any wise, shall not be compelled, forced, arrested, molested, distrained, or in anything disturbed, but that they and every of them coming to the market aforesaid, and there abiding and to their homes returning, shall be exonerated and quit for ever of the payment of such tolls, stallage, and tributes for such victuals by them, or any of them, in the market aforesaid, bought or sold as aforesaid, any statute, act or ordinance to the contrary."⁽¹⁹⁾

This exemption from the payment of tolls proved an attraction to traders, thus increasing the prosperity of Bradford which had in this manner gained an advantage over the neighbouring markets at Halifax, Bingley and Otley. The manor gained from the increased exchange of commodities even more than was lost by the non-existence of the profits

to be derived from tolls, but so soon after as the reign of Henry VII tolls were being demanded from the merchants coming to the market.

Having secured the right to levy tolls the lord was in a position to secure a measure of wealth very important to manorial economy. This is shown by values of tolls mentioned in surveys and other manorial records. The half-yearly rental of the bailiwick of Pontefract of 1238 shows that the "farme, tols and perquisites of markets and fairs" amounted to 40s.⁽²⁰⁾ Here they were not, at any rate in that year of great value; by contrast, the bakehouse had brought in £41 6s. 8d. The fair at Tanshelf was in 1257 worth £4 a year, and the markets £12 - no mean sum in the middle of the thirteenth century.⁽²¹⁾ An extract from a document relative to Pontefract of the late fourteenth century (tempore John of Gaunt) states: "At the anniversarie institution of the wapontak of Osgodcrosse held at Grey-stones yn Novembre 1368, John Clark of Pontfract, took to farme the bailiwick of Pontfract with the rent of the farme called burgess farme, the tol of the markets and faires, the issue of the court at Scabelbrigg, one bakehouse, the keeping of the prison, and all other profits for six yeares, paieing yearlie £48; the milne at Castilforth and piscarie paieing £6; the milne at Knottynglie and piscorie paieing £23 yerely."⁽²²⁾ Here then the tolls of the markets and fairs were an important item in the profits to be gained by the lord of the bailiwick of Pontefract. This is also shown by a similar extract of 1403: "Thomas Stonor de Pontfract, John Queldrick, John Pighorn, and John Catelyne, took of Robert Waterton, seneschall, to farme the bailiwick, and the privilege of carryinge the rod together with the rents and farme, the common bakehouse, keepinge of the prison and faldage within

the manour of Tanshel; in time of the faires all tols, stals of the fyshe, with the perquisites of the courte for 3 yeares, paieing £68; for carryinge the rod £2, and for the common bakehouse 46s. 8d." (23) The inquisition taken at Bradford in 1310 shows the tolls from the fair to be worth £3 yearly, the Sunday market being valued at the same figure. (24) In 1342 the toll of the fairs had increased to almost double the figure of 1310; it was no small crowd which could at that time raise £5 13s. 4d. in tolls. (25) The tolls of the fair and market and the perquisites of courts were held at a fee of £14 0s. 4d. yearly. (26) The Bradford Inquisition of 1361 stated: "there is there one water-mill, and one fulling-mill, with the toll of market and fair there, in the hands of tenants-at-will, and they yield by the year £12, at the Easter and St. Michael equally." (27) The increase in the toll of the fair after 1310 was one of the few signs of improvement in the condition of Bradford whereas the value of the corn mill was reduced from £10 to £6 6s. 8d. (28) It is interesting to notice the similarity of the toll at Clitheroe - an important town in the fourteenth century under the Lacies - amounted in 1311 to £4 13s. 4d., (29) the value of the corn-mill there being £6 13s. 4d. It was found by an enquiry held on March 26, 1276 at Tickhill that the toll of the tenants of the Archbishop of Canterbury who came to the fairs and markets at Wakefield amounted to five marks (£3 6s. 8d.) every year - yet such men only provided one source of toll. (30) The tolls of ~~the~~ Wakefield do not appear however to have risen to great heights. An inquisition of 1474 shows the following values of the manorial possessions:

"Free rents paid by free tenants and	
burgesses worth	£4 yearly.
Common bakehouse	worth 10s. "
10 oxgangs of land (per oxgang) "	3s. "

9 cottages	worth	12d. yearly.	
20 acres of pasture	"	20s.	"
2 advowsons of two chantries	"	nothing.	
2 Water-mills		£4 yearly.	
1 Fulling-mill		13s.4d.	"
Fair on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.)		
Fair on All Saints' Day)		
of which the tolls and profits	"	10s.	"
A market held every Friday of which the toll	"	6s.8d.	"
A court of view of frankpledge held yearly in the months after Easter and after Michaelmas whereof the perquisites	"	10s.	"
A court baron held every three weeks, whereof the perquisites	"	13s.4d.	"
A burges court held every year for four days, perquisites	"	3s.4d.	"
A pie-powderers court held daily during fairs and markets from hour to hour, perquisites	"	6s.8d.	" (31)

Here the tolls do not appear very important, but there is little of great value amongst the Wakefield possession, - possibly a result of the Wars of the Roses. The Hunmanby market-tolls compare closely with those of Bradford and Clitheroe - being valued at £6 13s. 4d. yearly in 1298.⁽³²⁾

One of the most valuable levy of tolls in the Middle Ages was made at Ripon. In an extant of the manor of 1341 the tolls of the markets and fairs were then worth £40 yearly.⁽³³⁾

It is disappointing to find that whilst the rents of the manor of Bridlington in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign include "tolls of fairs and markets" they give no figure for them.⁽³⁴⁾ At Skipton, as in most other places, it was customary for the tolls to be farmed. In 1702 Thomas, Earl of Thanet granted to Thomas Chamberlain of Skipton "the great tolls of cattle, corne, graine, wooll, and goods sold, issueing out of the ffares and marketts within the towne of Skipton, and within the townes of Gargrave and Appletreewick which have beene customariely payd unto the Lords of the Honour of Skipton", this grant being for a term of eleven years, in return for an annual rent of "eighteene

pounds of good and lawfull money of England". These tolls had in the sixteenth century realised £9 13s. 4d., but by 1651 had risen to £10 16s.⁽³⁵⁾ It must be remembered that these figures represent much greater sums in present years. Yet such tolls could not be raised on all goods or on goods of all prices; the statutes of the fair or market granting the right to toll specified in what manner those tolls were to be raised. There is an important limitation in the "Ordinances for the Government of the Town of Hedon" (tempore Henry VIII). The mayor having made proclamation of the fair was there required also to "make proclaymaycione that no tolle shalbe taken for no wairres boughte nor sold that ys under (XXd. pence erased; iiis. iiiid. interlined) of value."⁽³⁶⁾ In the Proclamation of Hedon fair, in the reign of Mary Tudor there is a repetition of this ordinance: "Mr. Maior and Bailifes stratlie chargethe and commandethe in the names of our Soverein Lorde and Ladie, the Kinge and the Quen's majestes that no persone or persons shall paie anye tole for anye thinge boughte or sold within this said ffaire, if the price of the said thinge so bought and sold within this said ffaire, do not extende above the sume of iiis. iiiid." Thus all smaller articles escaped toll - no mean proportion of the wares brought to the fair.⁽³⁷⁾ The tolls at different fairs were made up in different ways according to the special trade of the fair. The most complete list of tolls is that of Beverley. Edward IV, at the instance of his Chancellor, Thomas, Archbishop of York, granted to the burgesses of Beverley and their successors that they might take from all things for sale going to their town, except wools, hides and wool-fells, the following customs:-

"From every horse-load of corn	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " horse, mare, ox and cow	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " hide of horse, mare, ox or cow,	
fresh, salt, or tanned	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.

From six sheep	1d.
" two bacons	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" every pig	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " hundred of lambskins	4d.
" " load of cloth	1d.
" " whole cloth	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " hundred of linen cloth and kendale	1d.
" " tun of wine	2d.
" " pipe of wine	1d.
" " ship coming to the said town by the water of Hull laden with goods for sale	4d.
" " boat, "hodelcog", and "cache" with turf, lime or spar or other goods	2d.
" " horse-load of cloth or other goods	1d.
" " cart-load of iron or corn	2d.
" " cart bound with iron for sale	1d.
" " horse-load of iron	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " cart-load of tan	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " hundred of grease and suet	1d.
" " thousand of herring, fresh, salted, red and white	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " barrel of herring of Scone	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " horse-load of fish	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " hundred of borde	1d.
" " pair of millstones	1d.
" " hundred of faggots	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " thousand of astilwood	1d.
" " " " turf	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " quarter of salt	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " wey of cheese and butter	1d.
" " chaldron of sea-coals	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " thousand of nails	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " hundred of horseshoes, clouts and other things of iron	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " quarter of tan	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " hundred of "stok fissue"	1d.
" ten stones of canvas	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" all goods for sale to the value of 5s., not named here, coming to the said town	$\frac{1}{4}$ d. "(38)

This comprehensive list gives a clear picture of the trade of Beverley. The last point in it compares with the limitation of the toll at Hedon. The tolls do not appear unduly heavy, and may be compared with certain wages of a slightly later time. In Henry VIII's reign a herdsman received 8d. a year for every head of cattle entrusted to his care, and a swineherd 4d. for every head of swine. At this time the statutory price of corn was 6s. 8d. a quarter. From early in the Middle Ages the burgesses of Scarborough had the right of levying half a peck on every quarter of corn or

grain brought to market for consumption in the town, whilst the petty tolls there included 2d. per cartload of vegetables, the same price being paid for every stall in the market. At Richmond market in the Middle Ages the tolls were, again, not very burdensome as payments on stock and goods. For every five fat hogs, one half-penny was to be paid, and the same toll was demanded from every hundred of skins of sheep shorn, of goats, lambs (contrast the 4d. toll at Beverley), rabbits and foxes, for a horse-load of cloth or a horse load of honey. A penny was paid as toll on every thousand faggots (a farthing was paid at Beverley for a hundred faggots), and a cartload of honey. A cartload of lead had to pay 2d.⁽³⁹⁾ "Aliens" at Whitby paid dues of threepence in the pound on imported goods, except wines, cloth and wax, for which there were special rates.⁽⁴⁰⁾ At Doncaster from "time immemorial" the corporation employed four persons to weigh wool. To meet this expense a levy of one halfpenny for every stone of wool sold in the markets and fairs was made on the seller.⁽⁴¹⁾ At the Lammass fairs at York the Archbishop levied a toll at each entrance to the city on all cattle coming to the fair and on such cattle as were sold in the fair, on their departure from the city, and on all articles of the value of one shilling brought through any gate of the city. In the sixteenth century the Archbishop's tolls were as follows:-

"Every beast to be sold	1 penny.
" led horse, mare to be sold	2 pence.
" twenty sheep " " "	4 "
" horse pack of wares to be sold	4 "
" load of hay " " "	4 "
" other thing to be sold, in any wallet, basket, cloth, bag, or port-mantua, to the value of 12 pence	1 penny." ⁽⁴²⁾

These tolls at York were heavy in comparison with the tolls taken at Beverley - especially in the last item - or at

Richmond. The value of these tolls to the lord of the manor may be illustrated still further by the market charter granted by Charles I in 1632 to Thomas Danby empowering him to levy the following tolls in his fairs at Masham:-

"For every bull, cow, ox, steer, or heifer	
sold in the fair	one penny.
" " horse, mare, gelding or colt	" "
" " five sheep	" "
" " hog, pig, sow or other pig	two pence.
" " bushel of corn there sold	half a penny.
" " horse-load of corn there sold	
and carried out of the market ...	" " " "

(43)

These tolls were to be payable equally between the seller and the buyer. In addition, Thomas Danby was granted "all liberties, free customs, tolls, stallage, picage, fines, americiaments, and all other profits, commodities, advantages, and emoluments whatsoever to the aforesaid markets, fairs, or feasts and courts of piepoudre appertaining, belonging, arising, happening or contingent." These tolls were the same as those levied at Middleham, Bedale and Northallerton, but not in every year, as those at Richmond as has been claimed.⁽⁴⁴⁾

At Wakefield alien merchants have long been hemmed in by onerous restrictions, of which the most irksome was the payment of toll on every article they bought or sold - thus they had to pay a toll of a halfpenny (a duty not heavy in itself) on every load of corn or grain but the people of the town or parish were exempt from all payments. Outside merchants, hucksters, pedlars might only sell in open market, after the market-bell had rung, and were forced to expose their wares for sale - their goods in this way being the more easily examined and their transactions more readily supervised. The townspeople were free from all such restrictions. The tolls imposed by Wakefield upon "foreigners" i.e. all except dwellers within the town and parish, in the Monday and Friday markets were:

"For every pack of Yorkshire broadcloth	8 pence.
" " " " Narrow cloth	4 "
" " " " Kendal cloth	1 penny
" " " " Lancaster cloth	(1 "
	(2 pence."

These tolls were levied in the seventeenth century - at a time when a weaver obtained threepence a day, together with his meat, a spinner one penny and meat, or fourpence without the meat. When in 1633 Thomas Somester of Wakefield was examined by Francis Nevile and Edward Hanson (Duchy of Lancaster depositions) he said that during the forty-one years he had known Wakefield such tolls had always been paid in the markets for such cloth by the buyer to the bailiff.⁽⁴⁵⁾ At the close of the century the principal tolls were those levied on cloth, wool, corn and cattle. In 1700 sixpence was paid on a pack of cloth and fourpence on a pack of wool, whilst a halfpenny was paid by four bushels of malt, barley or oats, or by three bushels of any other kind of grain - a toll (since these measures represent a "load" at Wakefield) to be compared with the 1632 toll at Masham. The fee for cattle was 2d. but swine had only to pay the half-penny. So valuable were these tolls that they were considered worth the payment of £50 in 1700 as the price of their farm. They were resented by the rest of Yorkshire, particularly by the clothing districts and stringent measures had to be taken to prevent their evasion: thus there was the proviso in the market regulations that "a pack of cloth that is brought into the town and driven out any back way to defraud the toll" should pay two pounds and a pack of wool or load of corn caught in like circumstances should pay 13s.4d.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The bailiffs at Wakefield also had the right to take one halfpenny on every sack of apples sold. The lord's perquisites at the end of the seventeenth century are summarised in a deed of conveyance of the manor which shows to have been conveyed:

"All the land hereditaments of the manor and of the town of Wakefield, common turne and backhouse, fishings, profits of 2 fairs of St. John the Baptist and All Saints', tolls of cloth, all tolnes called Kirkgate tolls collected every week at 2 market days, viz: for every horse-load with mault $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and Northgate and Westgate tolls and all tolnes of tallage and pontage all fines and profits of Courts Leet and Baron, all goods of felons, felons of themselves, fugitives, clerks convicted or condemned, waifs and strays, treasure trove"(47)

There is always some justification for the lord's right in the levying of tolls. As the representative of the King he was required to enforce the law, maintain peace, do justice within his lands; to recoup himself for this expense he raised fines from the goods and chattels of wrongdoers. He promoted opportunities for trade, gave to merchants a temporary home, protected their contracts, guarded them from lawless interruptions; for these services he raised tolls from the goods of those merchants who came from other districts and countries to avail themselves of the advantages which he offered. In no case in Yorkshire can the tolls levied be considered unreasonably heavy but with the growth of the State's authority - represented in the State's claim to levy customs, rates and taxes - the local tolls became unnecessary and - as similarly in the history of the tolls on roads - tolls in fairs became unnecessary and were disused. Where they remained they constituted a nuisance and a barrier to trade, tending to drive merchandise to other markets.

From earliest times the unpopularity of such tolls was shown by attempts at evasion and frustration. The enforcing of their levy was not so simple as the settlement

made in the seventeenth century at Wakefield might suggest. There, the lord of the manor disputed with the townspeople over the right to raise tolls and, being unwilling to give up his rights to them, the lord granted to them that though he would not permit them to raise tolls they should be exempt from payment of them but should assist him in forcing the strangers who visited the town to pay them. A similar dispute between the lord of the manor and the townspeople arose at Scarborough where the burgesses grew independent of any lord of the manor and also succeeded in maintaining the freedom of the town against the authority of the sheriff. Much more serious disputes - except possibly less serious than the struggle between the Archbishops of York and their tenants in the liberty of Ripon - arose between the lords of the manor and the strangers who came to trade and were required to pay the tolls. The struggle between the Priory of Warter and the Beverley merchants in 1273 over the tolls at Pocklington fair has already been related; a much more violent struggle took place at Pocklington in 1300. The abbot and convent of **Meaux** were prevented from taking their tolls there by the action of Roger de Pokelynton (clerk), William de Crepynges and his son Robert, Godfrey de Steynton, Adam and Henry le Palefreyur, Walter de Hul of Kelyngwyk (48) and Henry le Messer who had themselves carried away the toll. John Darcy of Knayth in 1356 complained that John Lely of Carleton, William Gower of Cold Ingelby, John Gower of Seggeshowe, Henry de Wortelay, John his son, Stephen del Kychyn of Selby, John Gower of Cold Ingelby and others had assaulted his men and servants deputed to collect toll and other profits in his fair at Yarm and had prevented them from collecting the tolls. (49) A further case occurred at Doncaster in 1365. Margaret, widow of Peter de Malo Lacu

"le quynt", complained that "whereas she, in right of her lordship, at divers times would have held her court at Doncaster, by her steward and had deputed her servants to collect the toll and other profits pertaining to her of her market and fair, John FitzWilliam (knight), Richard Harsted (draper), John Long ('sclatter'), William de Bedeford, and others, armed, prevented her steward from holding the court, her men and tenants and others from prosecuting their business therein, or her servants from collecting the tolls so threatened her men and tenants there that they have withdrawn from her lordship and dare not dwell there, and assaulted her men and servants whereby she has lost their service, the rents and services of her tenants, and the profit of the market, fair and court."⁽⁵⁰⁾ A very similar complaint was made by John, Archbishop of York in 1365. The Archbishop declared that he and his predecessors had since time out of mind a market every Thursday and two fairs yearly lasting for six days at their manor of Ripon yet now three men - William Brennand, his son William, and Adam Brennand - were hindering him from taking the profit of these markets and fairs. They had at divers times and in divers places round the town - having armed themselves and gathered to themselves many other like evil-doers - met merchants and others coming with their merchandise and goods and had by their power and threats chased them away from the town, and had even wounded them. Being seized by the Archbishop's bailiffs they were committed to prison until the full truth should be known touching the convalescence of those whom they had beaten and wounded, They had, however, broken out of prison, and escaping had continued their depredations.⁽⁵¹⁾ Then in the fifteenth century the Archbishops had their struggle with the Pastons and other gentlemen living in the forest of Knaresborough. Yet not all such cases come from

the Middle Ages. A cause was tried at Doncaster in 1650 in which the corporation of Doncaster were plaintiffs. Robert Bartholomew, the defendant, refused to pay the accustomed toll for weighing wool. It was proved before the court that that toll had been taken by the bailiffs on behalf of the corporation from time immemorial. A verdict was therefore given for the plaintiffs whose right to the toll was acknowledged by a decree of the court.⁽⁵²⁾ During the reign of Charles II a dispute occurred at Beverley over the corporation's right to take toll at Cross fair. In order to defend their right the corporation found it expedient to procure an exemplification of the pleadings and record of a verdict upon a recovery of 41 Elizabeth. This case had arisen over the refusal of a certain William Metham who had refused to pay four-pence per horse-load for four horse-loads of merchandise which he had bought at Beverley fair and was carrying away from the town. The servants of the corporation, Ralph Thompson and Christopher Thompson, had thereupon distrained him of a brass pot, called a possnet, for the toll. William Metham, denying the corporation's right to levy the toll, had sought to recover his brass pot and had brought an action against the two Thompsons, laying his damages at £40. In order to prove their right to the toll the corporation had had to produce their charters in court, including the charter granting the right to distrain on the goods of those who refused to pay the toll. On producing these charters the corporation had secured a verdict of £16 with costs.⁽⁵³⁾

One of the most bitter of these struggles was that which took place at Bradford in the reign of Henry VII. The royal finance-minister Empson being chancellor of the duchy, he farmed out the duchy lands and possessions at

double their value. Those who farmed them from him imitated his example in making use with impunity of all means of extorting money. The bailiff of Bradford, Raynbron Bolling soon provoked **opposition** from certain Yorkshire gentlemen of whom Sir Richard Tempest, John Rawson, John Bowett, and Christopher Rawson were the chief. They filed a bill in the Duchy Court, containing a minute account of his acts of **injustice** and extortion. Amongst other things they made the accusation that:-

"there were three fairs at Bradford, of great resort of merchants, pedlars, chapmen and of the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and that such fairs, by reason of the excessive and unlawful toll demanded by the bailiff, are much less attended, and the town thereby greatly hurt - that one William Gordon, a Scotch chapman, who was coming from Halifax with three packs of wool, was waylaid by the said bailiff upon Manningham Moor, because the said chapman ought to have come through Bradford and paid toll, and cast him down and beat him, and caused him to pay 6s. 8d. and above in money."

The reply by the bailiff proving to be very lame, a commission was issued to the Abbot of Kirkstall and Sir William Calverley to take examination of witnesses on both sides. This examination was done at the Court House at a time when the town was thronged by persons coming to hear mass on the feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist (August 29) and to take the part of Sir Richard Tempest and the other plaintiffs. Bolling, therefore, presented a bill to the Duchy Court, headed "To the right discreet wisdoms of the worthy masters", complaining that he dare not appear either at the Court House or in the town on account of the riotous persons assembled there, whilst he could not hope for

a fair hearing since Sir William Calverley was cousin-german to Sir Richard Tempest. He also stated that:-

"there were two very great fairs every year at Bradford, on the day of the Feast of St. Andrew, and the day of St. Peter in Cathedra, three days every fair - that he had to attend upon the King's daughter, the Queen of Scots, into Scotland, and in his absence, Sir Richard Tempest went into the toll-booth of Bradford and threatened his servants if they took toll - that the inhabitants of Clayton, at the instigation of Sir Richard Tempest, waylaid John Aldworth, whom the said bailiff had sent to gather toll, and beat him unmercifully, so that he had been little able to do any work since - that the said Tempest had ordered all his servants and retainers, and had encouraged all others, to beat down the bailiff's servants when they gathered toll, and declared that no man should bear rule in Bradford but himself (i.e. Tempest)".⁽⁵⁴⁾

The Duchy office papers are silent as to the issue of this case: Tempest knew his cause was before a partial court whilst even Empson was probably unwilling to condone the offences committed by the bailiff. It is probable, therefore, that a settlement was reached outside the Court by which Bolling withdrew his most extreme claims in regard to the tolls.

So anxious were the lords of fairs to maintain their rights to tolls that it is exceptional to find such enlightenment as was shown by Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury in 1608, lord of the manor of Sheffield, in issuing the following edict:-

"Whereas the town of Sheffield consisteth of handicraftsmen in greate numbers who have no means to make their provision but only in the markett, and

that the cuntrie there-aboutes affoordeth not sufficient stoare of white meates, chiefly butter and cheese to serve that towne, and that there is one Elizabeth Heywood, of Sheffield, widowe, an honest substanciall woman, who resoarteth to the toune of Ashbourne, and diverse other markettes where there is extraordinary quantities of those kind of victualles by reason of the fertilitie and goodness of the soile adjoyninge; and there buyinge such stoare of butter and cheese as shee is able, bringeth the same to Sheffield, where she uttereth them, whereby she benefitteth both the places where she buyeth them, and likewise the saide Toune of Sheffield, where she uttereth them. And yet nevertheles is troubled by certeyne promoters who rather seeke their owne benefitt than any good to the cuntrie. I have thought good att the said widowe's request, hereby to signifie to the better sort that my opinion is shee doethe no harme, but much good in this her soe doinge, and doe wish that shee might not bee anie more causlessly troubled as heretofore shee hath beene.

Given at Sheffield Lodge this fourteenth daie of February 1608."(55)

Whilst it is exceptional to find owners willingly foregoing their tolls they were faced by constant claims of exemption, which it was impossible to refuse.

Edward III granted to John of Gaunt and his Wife, Blanche of Lancaster, that they and their heirs and all their men of those lands which had belonged to Henry of Lancaster (father of Blanche) should be for ever quit from all pannage, passage, lastage, stallage, tallage, carvage, passage, pesage, pinage, and terrage throughout the kingdom. This grant was confirmed

by Richard II in 1378 and to the men of the duchy by Henry IV, Edward IV, and Henry VII (themselves dukes of Lancaster - Edward IV after the confiscation of the lands of his opponents). In spite of these grants, disputes arose as to whether the exemption extended to goods bought and sold by inhabitants of one town in the duchy at markets and fairs held by other towns within it. Thus there was a suit by Oliver Breers and Henry Hodgkinson in 1552 against James Thwaites and the other farmers of the tolls at Bradford. They, as inhabitants of Preston, claimed exemption for themselves and protested against the forcing of Preston people to pay these tolls. This case was never finally settled and a similar point arose in 1564 between Wakefield and Bradford. It was then claimed in a dispute with Bradford that as tenants of the King's ancient demesne the inhabitants of the lordship of Wakefield should be exempt from all toll but it was definitely proved that their exemption only extended to goods bought for their own use and not to those goods which they had bought in order to sell again at other towns within the duchy. The third dispute arose in 1690. In that year the inhabitants of Bradford sought to secure their own freedom from toll, gaining royal letters patent which recited the grants to John of Gaunt together with the later confirmations and declared:

"that our men and tenants, inhabitants of and residents of and within our manor of Bradford, in the county of York parcel of our said duchy, shall have, use and exercise all the liberties in the above grants contained, according to the effect of the above mentioned grants and statutes; and that they be not molested, provided that all and singular, the aforesaid men and tenants, do pay toll, pannage and lastage etc., in all fairs, markets and places within the said duchy, wherein the

same hath heretofore been paid, as is just."

This declaration not only confirmed the exemption of Bradford from toll but also gave the answer to the dispute of 1552 between Preston and Bradford since it now stated that inhabitants of one town in the duchy were to pay tolls at other towns within it.(56)

The privilege of exemption from all tolls and stallage was granted to Beverley by the supposed charter of Athelstan. The townsmen were able to maintain their privilege despite its doubtful origin. The charter of Edward I to Hull had in 1299 declared "Moreover, we will and grant, for us and our heirs, that the aforesaid burgesses and their heirs may be for ever quit throughout all our realm and dominion from toll, pontage, passage, pavage, and from all other customs payable for their own goods and merchandise."(57) A similar privilege was granted to Peter de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, and Margaret his wife (niece of Edward II) in 1310 in a charter which included "that they and their men of the said liberty and honour (of Knaresborough) shall be **quit** of all toll, murage, pontage, passage, pavage, terrage, stallage, quayage, coinage, and tronage in the city of York and elsewhere throughout the realm."(58) The conclusion of a confirmation of charters of Henry III to the citizens of York by Edward II in 1312 includes: "Wherefore the king, wishing to show grace to the citizens, and in consideration of a fine made with him, has granted to them, that they, their heirs and successors shall be quit of murage, pavage, skewying, stallage, wharfage, terrage, putage and heyage through all his realm and power provided that all this shall be without prejudice to any other **person**."(59) The qualification added here might, as it did, lead to disputes; the townspeople of meaner places than York found it more difficult

than the citizens to maintain their rights. Thus in 1348 the burgesses of Hedon declared that whereas by charters of previous kings of England, charters confirmed by the king (Edward III), it was granted to them that they and their successors should have all the liberties, customs and quittances, which the citizens of York and Lincoln have, and whereas they, the said burgesses of Hedon have petitioned the king setting forth that they and their ancestors burgesses of that town have always used and enjoyed the liberties, customs and quittances fully expressed in the charters of former kings made in favour of the citizens of York and Lincoln, from the time of the grant of such charters to the burgesses of Hedon as aforesaid by virtue of the said general words, yet that they have been impeded in such use and enjoyment by the king's ministers and others, and fear that they may be still further impeded in the future under pretext of the generality of the said words, and praying the king to specify the said liberties as contained in the charters of the said citizens. The king, therefore, now, considering this petition and that the burgesses of Hedon would in future pay a further sum beyond the farm for which they were to answer, and for the betterment of the town, was willing to declare more plainly these liberties, customs and quittances. His grant to the burgesses included "that they shall be quit of toll, pontage, pavage, stallage, wharfage, terrage, picage, carriage, seiage, lastage, quayage, passage, through all the king's realm of England and elsewhere in his power." (60) In 1484 out of affection for the town and borough of Pontefract, and in consideration of the good service done by the burgesses and the great costs thereby incurred, the king granted to the mayor and burgesses certain liberties which

included the privilege that the burgesses and their successors should be quit of toll through all the king's realm and power.⁽⁶¹⁾ York, Knaresborough, Beverley, at least, were able to maintain their right to exemption from the payment of toll; thus the Manor Customs Book at Wakefield records their citizens, as well as those of the towns within the manor, as resisting successfully Wakefield's demands for toll.⁽⁶²⁾ The burgesses of Wakefield had themselves obtained many privileges, among them that of freedom from toll throughout the kingdom. Henry VIII in 1509 gave them exemption from toll, and by letters patent in 1515 specified that they were to be free from toll, stallage, and pavage. When Edward VI confirmed this privilege in 1548, commanding all officers to permit the inhabitants of Wakefield to go with their goods and merchandise to any fair or market in England and to be free from toll, he laid the unusually heavy fine of £100 upon those who should hinder them.⁽⁶³⁾

Yet it was not only the value of the tolls which contributed to the value of fair or market. It was equally important to merchants that they should endeavour to become free of the other imposts which might be levied upon them, and lords of fairs were very concerned that they should be able to levy those imposts. When grants of fairs were made and grant of toll was made with them there was usually also the grant of stallage, i.e. the right to enforce a payment from those who set up or used stalls in the fair. Thus in the Stanhope Lease of 1591 Queen Elizabeth granted to John Stanhope the fairs at Bridlington with "stallage, piccage and toll", a phrase repeated in her grant of 1595 of those fairs to a group of gentlemen who had borne the expense of the repair of Bridlington.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The exemptions from toll already quoted almost all include exemption from stallage. Certain instances in Yorkshire show the value attached to

the right to collect fees from stall-holders. At Scarborough in the Middle Ages the petty tolls included twopence for every stall set up in the market. The Pontefract townsfolk were in their charter of 1484 granted the government and appointment of all the stalls and places in their fairs and markets, this government to be exercised by the mayor and two or three of the better and more discreet ~~com~~burgesses of the town, to be chosen or appointed by the mayor yearly to help him in the task. Further, they were not to be impeded in this privilege-duty by the king or his ministers.⁽⁶⁵⁾

The Ordinances for the Government of the Town of Hedon of the time of Henry VIII include one entitled "For to paie for vij foot standing on Holy Ruddaie", which reads:-

"Also yt ys ordennyd ("accustomed" is interlined)
and agreed that evrie man that hath a standing of
vij foote on Holyruddaie (= Holy Cross Day), except
they be free, shall paye ijd."

Those who were free were those who could claim a charter of exemption from the payment of stallage, and who could, if need arose, produce that charter.⁽⁶⁶⁾ There are frequent references to the question of ownership of stalls at Wakefield. Thirteenth century Wakefield was highly prosperous - so much so that traders around the market-place found themselves constantly obliged to enlarge their booths, shops, and stalls, to meet the increasing volume of trade. Robert Kaye paid sixpence in 1285 to enlarge his booth over against the market by three feet and agreed to pay a further sixpence for the concession and a halfpenny increase in his annual rent. John Cussyng was anxious to lengthen his booths towards the north in 1297; for this privilege he had to pay twelve-pence together with an extra rent of threepence annually. He paid the same price for

an extension towards the South. Thomas Litster of Wakefield, a stallager (i.e. a person with the right to erect a stall in the market-place) in 1313 presumed on his right and transferred his stall to what he considered a more favourable position. For this offence he was fined 40d.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The lord's prescriptive right to all profits arising from the market might easily be challenged, however zealously guarded by his officers. The bailiff of the lord of the manor took all the fees paid, for the right of erecting stalls in the street but in 1652 Edward Smith of Northgate "affirmed to himself which is proper to the lord and bailiff, viz. he hath letten stalls to the butchers upon the Boothe Hill contrary to custom." He again attempted to sell permits to would-be stallholders in 1653. At times also, the stallholders in the market quarrelled amongst themselves. In October 1656 "Roger Mathews, Wm. Jackson, & Wm. Smith disturbed the market-people, threw down their stalls, and threatened to kill and slay all before them." Their violent conduct was in answer to opposition which had arisen against the butchers (to whose trade the three belonged) who were themselves originally responsible in that they had left their chopping-blocks and stalls lying all the week in the road, to the annoyance of people coming to the market.⁽⁶⁸⁾ A similar quarrel between would-be owners of stalls occurred in Bridlington. The description of the tolls and markets there made in the eighteenth century includes the following account (the manor with all its appurtenances having been leased to a group of twelve feofees):-

"The Feofees and Trustees so elected and vested with the said Manor and premises have all along since the making of the said deed of 1636 By their Bailiff or Lessee taken and received All the Tolls of the Fairs and Markets and

have kept Courts and done other Things incident to the said Manor and their Bailiff has all along provided stalls for Butchers who kept the said Market who have always paid so much by the year for the use thereof and for standing in the Market and the Money is duly applied according to the intention of the said Deed Which stalls have immemoriall been set out Weekly on the Market days in the public street of the said Town as part of the Waste of the said Manor there being no other proper place for that purpose having one passage in the middle of the Street sufficient for Carriages and another between the Stalls and the Dwelling-houses on each side for a footway open for passing and repassing through the Market and this Method has been always used without interruption till of late some of the Inhabitants (whose dwellinghouses are situate in the place where the Flesh Market is kept) claim a right and have actually set out several stalls in the said Common Street opposite to and the length of their respective Fronts and have let the same to Butchers living in the Country That keep the said Market and received a yearly rent for the same And such Butchers have refused to take Stalls of or pay anything to the Bailiff or Lessee of the said Tolls WHEREBY the revenue of the said Town is greatly impaired and the profits of the said Market likely to be totally lost if some Restraint be not laid upon such Inhabitants for so doing And such Inhabitants or some of them also pretend that the said Feofees of the said Town or their Bailiff have not any right to set out Stalls in manner aforesaid sometimes pretending that their houses and shops are thereby forestalled and at other times that the ground whereon the Stalls are usually set belongs to the Houses opposite thereto by reason the Occupiers thereof have usually paved and kept the same clean

which is presumed to be nothing more than for their own convenience AND the Middle part of the Street and no more has always been repaired by and at the Public Expence of the Town as the other Common Highways are AND it is presumed that all the Houses in the said Street are built to the utmost extent of each Owners Freehold and that no part of the Common Street belongs thereto:

NOTE THERE are some Butchers Inhabitants of the said Town whose shops are situate in the place where the Flesh Market is kept who the Trustees have usually permitted to set out a Stall opposite to such Shop for such Butchers own use but not to be let to others.

WHETHER or no have the said Inhabitants right to set out Stalls in the public Street opposite to their own Dwelling houses and let the same in manner above set forth and how far will their pretence of paving and keeping in repair that part of the Street where the Stalls are set or of being forestalled thereby avail them or preclude the Lords of the Manor or their Lessee from placing stalls there as heretofore.

I am of Opinion that no persons but the Owners of the Market have a right to set out stalls in the Market even tho it were upon their own land for this is a prejudice to the Proprietor And I think if any persons set out stalls in that manner a Special Action upon the case will be against them. How far the private freehold of the Inhabitants extends into the Street or whether the Fronts of their houses are not upon the extreme parts of their freehold is a question of fact but

prima facie the whole street is parcel of the Waste of the Manor and the paving and keeping in repair that part of the Street where the Stalls are set will not prove the Freehold to be in them nor preclude the Lords of the Manor or their Lessees from placing Stalls as heretofore."(69)

Thus the Bridlington lords of the manor obtained a legal opinion in their behalf, establishing their right to set up the stalls in the market and to charge a rent for their use. The value of this rent can be seen from two entries in the Beverley records:

1649	Received for Londoners standings	£3.	
1650	" " " "	£4	6s. 8d. (70)

the Londoners forming only a small proportion of those who rented stalls in the fair. That the erection of the stalls might be a source of nuisance is suggested in the Bridlington report; markets were not always commodious and might easily and, in fact, did, interfere with the normal traffic of the town. An act^{was} passed through Parliament in 1784 for the improving of the markets at Sheffield, the improvements to be carried out under the inspection, and subject to the regulation, of the principal inhabitants nominated in the act as commissioners for the purpose. In relation to this act there is an entry in the Accounts of John Shore (Town Collector 1784 - 1787):

"1786 Aug. 8. To cash paid Henry Moorhouse for an account of the number of stalls in the market by desire of a great number of gentlemen: £1 10s." (71)

An act passed at the end of the eighteenth century in regard to improvements in the borough of Doncaster, for preventing nuisances there laid down a list of penalties for certain offences which included:

"The stalls and standings in the market and on fair days, and the wagons, carts and carriages to be regulated

by the magistrates; offenders under penalty of 20s." These penalties were declared by the Town Clerk (George Broadrick) on September 1, 1803.⁽⁷²⁾ Thus through the centuries the right to set up stalls and to levy charges for them has belonged to the "magistracy", the lord of the manor.

In order that the fines and tolls might all be collected a great number of official positions grew up, of which the chief was the clerk of the market appointed by the central government to have authority in all markets. There is an example of this in a writ de Intendendo of December 7, 1274, addressed by Edward I to the sheriffs of Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Rutlandshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland and Lancashire, and to all bailiffs, both in the cities and boroughs and the market-towns of those counties, requiring them to assist Master Robert de Belvero and John deSwyneford, king's clerks, appointed "to hold pleas of the market and to view and examine measures, to wit, assises of bread, wine and ale, bushels, gallons, ells and weights, and to correct all variations therein from the uniformity established by a provision of Henry III and other kings of England his predecessors."⁽⁷³⁾ This office was at all times open to grave abuse, the most instructive records being those of 1637 - 39. In 1637 certain objections were made against the deputy-clerk of the market, articles being drawn up to set forth a variety of abuses to which the office was liable. Amongst these it was declared that the deputies yearly sent out their warrants commanding the attendance of all persons using any kind of measures, met-yards or weights. Some few had their measures and weights marked, but the most

part paid 2d. or 4d. and were dismissed. The same weights and measures had to be paid for again next year yet there was no uniformity of measures, the bushels, hoops and pecks differing in each market. If any of these fellows were indicted they would then come there no more, but "we shall have a new fellow, who will tyrannise on the country, and do as bad or worse than his predecessor."⁽⁷⁴⁾ To meet this situation, Sir John Bramiston, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir John Finch, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Humphrey Davenport, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir William Jones, Sir Thomas Trevor, Sir Robert Berkeley and Sir Richard Weston were empowered to hold an inquiry. Their report to the Council is as follows:

"According to your order we have, together with the Attorney-General, considered of the abuses of the Clerk of the Market and water-bailiff, and of the remedies fit to repress the same, and have several times heard the said offices. We conceive the offices are very ancient, yet that many inconveniences have arisen to his Majesty's subjects by the mis-execution of the same, and for the prevention of the like hereafter we advise that concerning the clerk of the market -

1. That he keep his session but once a year and not in more places than shall be needful, and which will be most convenient for the ease of the country.
2. That he summon none but tradesmen, millers and others who buy or sell by weight or measure.
3. That no fees be paid for appearance only, nor by any constable, or other officer giving his attendance only for his majesty's service.
4. That no fees be taken for trial, examination or allowance of any weights or measures which have been formerly sealed.
5. That he shall cause all weights and measures which shall be

presented by jury to be defective to be broken or burnt, and the parties offending to be punished according to law. 6. That he appoint able and honest deputies and such as use no trade in buying or selling, nor are subject to his correction. 7. That neither he nor any of his deputies, clerks or agents be farmers of the fines, nor receive any profit out of them otherwise than as allowed by statute to the clerk of the market. 8. That he proceed against offenders in weights and measures according to the rules of the common law, and not upon any penal statute, unless he be specially enabled by the said statute. 9. That he punish no offenders as for the breach of assize in weights and measures but upon view and presentment by jury. 10. And where the parties do not produce their weights and measures to be viewed by the clerk of the market, having reasonable summons, they shall be punished as for non-appearance. 11. That his estreats be certain, containing the particular offences with the names of the offenders."

(75)

That such a list of remedies should be proposed argues grave cause for the indictment of those who held the office of clerk or deputy-clerk of the market. The office was indeed a lucrative one. In the records of the burgery of Sheffield two references are made to the clerk of the market. The Burgery accounts of 1570 include:

Item. payd to the clarke of the markytt XXs.

and those of 1576 include:

Item. payd to the clarke of the market XIIIs. (76)

The lucrative nature of the post and the unpopularity of the national official is shown by the anxiety of towns to exclude his jurisdiction by securing the right of exercising it themselves. Certain of the charters conferring this right have already been quoted in connection with the

development of the attitude of the law to fairs and markets (v. Chapter II). Of further evidence are the following portions of charters relating to York, and Pontefract. One in relation to York is dated May 18, 1396 and reads:

"Out of affection for the city of York and in consideration of the good service done by the citizens, grant, of special grace, and with the deliberation and assent of the council, to the citizens and their heirs and successors of the following liberties

The mayor, sheriffs and aldermen and commonalty of the city shall have the forfeitures of all victuals forfeited under any law, to wit of bread, wine, and ale, and other matters not of merchandise The stewards and marshals of the king's household and the clerk of the market of the household shall not enter or sit within the liberty of the city, nor do their offices there, nor hold any enquiry therein, nor intermeddle in any way saving always that if any complain in the king's presence that the mayor, and sheriffs or keepers of the city are negligent in these matters during the king's presence in the city, the chancellor or another of the chancery to be by him appointed at the suit of the complainant shall overlook the matter complained of, and if he find that there has been negligence he shall amend it and punish the mayor, sheriffs and keepers by fines and amercements, saving to the king the said fines and amercements and the punishments of that which is amended No purveyor or taker of victuals or any office of the king, or any other person, shall make any prise, or take any victuals of the goods of the citizens save at their free will, unless payment be promptly made for necessary victuals taken for the king's use at

a reasonable price"(77)

Formerly the right to exercise the office of the clerk of the market had been gained by York by a charter of September 25, 1316, but even this charter would appear to be partly a confirmation of a previously used right. The relevant portion of the charter is:

"grant, that whereas the said citizens and their ancestors have had in the absence of the king the assize of bread and ale, the assay of weights and measures and all other things belonging to the office of the market in the said city and suburbs, in future they shall have the said assize, assay and other things belonging to the office of the market in the king's presence and shall punish trespassers of the said assize and amend and correct defects of weights and measures and of all other things pertaining to the office of the market, so that the king's clerk of the market or other minister shall not enter the said city or suburbs to do aught belonging to the said office, and all the profits thence arising shall go to the citizens and their heirs in aid of their farm, saving that, if in the king's presence, any one shall complain that the mayor, bailiff, or keeper of the said city have been negligent in discharging the aforesaid duties in the presence of the king or his heirs, Then the king's chancellor for the time being or another of the chancery in his stead at the suit of the plaintiff shall survey the matter complained of, and if he find That the said mayor, bailiffs, or keeper have been negligent therein, he shall amend the same and punish the said mayor, bailiffs and keeper in manor due, and all the fines, amercements, and penalty thence arising shall go to the king."

For these privileges the citizens were willing to pay £200.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The mayor and burgesses of Hull obtained the same privilege in 1440 in regard to the exclusion of the stewards and marshalls of the king's household and the clerk of the market, "out of special affection to the town of Kingston-upon-Hull and the mayor and burgesses thereof and in consideration of their charges and expenses in the service of the king and his ancestors, and for the relief and increase of the town."⁽⁷⁹⁾ This was a confirmation and extension of Richard II's charter of 1382, and was itself confirmed by James I in 1610-11. Pontefract gained similar rights by a charter of Richard III, dated August 9, 1484, and reading:

"out of affection for the town and borough of Pontefract and in consideration of the good service done by the burgesses and the great costs thereby incurred, and of sure science and mere motion, and of special grace, the king has granted to the burgesses the following liberties the mayor shall have the survey, correction and punishment of the assise of bread and ale and all victuals sold in the said town or borough, from time to time as he may think it needful, and the mayor and burgesses shall have a common seal for sealing weights and measures in the said town; to the exclusion of the clerk of the market of the household from intermeddling touching the sealing or examination of measures and weights within the said borough upon heavy penalty "⁽⁸⁰⁾

Having excluded external officials it was necessary for the borough to appoint its own officials to collect fines and tolls and to present offenders against the assises. The numerous cases which occurred forced the holding of courts specially empowered to deal with such offences and others

committed in the fair. These courts were held under the lord of the manor, or more usually under his bailiff or stewards. The officials required in the fair were appointed in the courts to which they brought their cases. It is convenient, therefore, to deal with these parallel developments together. The proclamation of Hedon fair already quoted gives a clear picture of the problems which these officials had to solve. There was a great diversity; not only matters of trade but matters of social contact in the form of brawls and thefts and other breaches of the peace, besides questions of evasion of tolls or of illegality of measures came under their jurisdiction to be settled in the courts of the fair. Of these courts the most important was that known as the court of pie-powder. According to a statement of law (Rotuli Parl: 17 Edward IV) a court of piepowder is of right pertaining to every fair. If this were so in theory, in practice it is doubtful whether it really held true in all cases. There is, however, some evidence of the establishment of such courts in Yorkshire, but it will be noticed that this evidence does not go beyond the late fifteenth century with any definiteness. In the inquisition taken at Wakefield in 1474 the lords of the manor were stated to possess "a pie powderers court held daily during fairs and markets from hour to hour, the perquisites being worth 6s. 8d. beyond deductions."⁽⁸¹⁾ At the same period there was already in the market the tolbooth where the market-tolls were collected and where those who refused to pay were detained. Here the court of piepowder sat so long as the fair lasted. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was in 1479 granted by his brother Edward IV a court of piepowder at his two fairs at Middleham, and all issues, profits, amercements, commodities and emoluments.⁽⁸²⁾ There is a probability that the piepowder court in Hull fair

was established by Edward I's charter of 1293 but it was not specifically mentioned in any charter until those granted by Elizabeth in 1598 and by Charles II in 1661, in the former thus:

"..... one mart or fair yearly and every year together with a court of piepowder, and all and all manner of tolls and dues of all and all manner of merchandise, victuals, and other things whatsoever, from time to time sold and bought within the aforesaid markets and fair, or either of them, with the customs, usages, profits, commodities and emoluments whatsoever, belonging, appertaining, occurring, happening, or arising at such markets, marts, fairs and courts of piepowder."

The same phraseology is used in the confirmation made by Charles II.⁽⁸³⁾ During the Lammis fairs at York the archbishops of York were accustomed to hold a court of piepowder, the jury being empanelled from Wistow (near Selby), a village within the archbishops' liberty, to determine all disputes that should occur in the fair.⁽⁸⁴⁾ This right may not have originated much before the reign of Elizabeth but its origins are entirely obscure. At Masham the grant of a court of piepowder was first specifically made in Charles I's charter of 1632 to Thomas Danby. Again at Beverley the first direct mention of a court of piepowder is made by Queen Elizabeth who granted to the mayor, governors, and burgesses and their successors for ever a weekly market "together with a court of piepoudie there to be holden in the time of the same market together with all the liberties and free customs to such court pertaining, together with toll, stallage, picage, fines, americiaments, and all other profits commodities and emoluments whatsoever from such market and court of piepoudie coming, happening, arising, or accruing,

and with all liberties and free customs to such market and court of piepoudie pertaining or belonging."⁽⁸⁵⁾ Here the connection between the court and a market must be noticed. In regard to the fairs at Beverley, the corporation possess a charter of Charles II granting a court of piepowder. The usual type of grant - in the words of Elizabeth's grant to Hull - was made by James II to Beverley.⁽⁸⁶⁾ As at Wakefield, so at Whitby the toll-booth (both the new one of 1654 and its predecessor) served to accommodate the officers who collected toll or custom at markets or fairs and for holding a court of piepowder. The earlier toll-booth was used for both these purposes, as well as for the purpose of a Correction House, from before the dissolution of the Abbey.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Queen Elizabeth's grant to certain gentlemen who had undertaken to **repair** the town of Bridlington included "profits of Fairs and Market Court of Piepowder stallage picage and tolls."⁽⁸⁸⁾

It must not be thought that the piepowder court was the only interested court so far as fairs and markets were concerned. As will be seen from the records of the towns of Wakefield and Bridlington other local courts were directly involved in the care of the goods and persons of all merchants.

At Wakefield in the seventeenth century the maintenance of the markets was provided for by fines levied in the borough court which had taken over the duties of the manorial court for burgesses, ceasing to function towards the end of the sixteenth century. Both these courts were presided over by the steward - usually an able lawyer - acting as deputy for the chief steward who had as little to do with the actual administration of the manor as had the lord himself. The Savile family were almost hereditary chief stewards at Wakefield.⁽⁸⁹⁾ To enforce the decisions made in

the courts the tollbooth was used - according to a description of 1383 - as the manor-prison but came later to be known as the Kidcote, or common gaol. There was in it a chamber 24 feet by 16 feet over a vaulted cellar, reached by means of a winding stone stair. Here the court met to adjust differences between merchants without delay, to administer rough and ready justice to all who had business at the fair whether vagabonds and pedlars, or townspeople and merchants, compelling them to fulfil the terms of their contracts. Under the presidency of the steward or his bailiff, the jurors awarded the punishment or fixed the fine. There were gallows kept at the Kidcote but more usually the worse malefactors were taken to Agbrigg - where the wapentake court had formerly met - and were executed on the gallows there. Lesser offences met with punishment at the stocks and pillory, the upright post of the latter serving as a whipping-pillar, near the tollbooth. The earliest case of which there is record at Wakefield concerns a false accusation of theft. Adam le Corker had on Michaelmas Day (September 29) 1297 brought an ox for sale at the market. Adam de Gildeste having charged him with stealing it, he was arrested and thrown into the prison on Biche Hill (within the market-place) There he remained for two months awaiting trial at which he was acquitted and Adam de Gildeste fined 3s. 4d. for making the false claim. In 1602 a woman was ordered to be set at the market-cross for one hour with a paper fastened to her head stating her crime.(90) The constables of the town in the latter half of the seventeenth century frequently presented persons before the Court Leet in their attempts to maintain order. The misdemeanours of dogs caused expensive trouble; in 1650 "William Roades did keep an unlawfull dogge to hinder George Alline and his family to go their right footway

to church and market."⁽⁹¹⁾ The year 1656 is prolific in its number of cases. Several traders were fined 12d. each for keeping up their stalls in the market place all night long instead of removing them when the market was over.⁽⁹²⁾

The officers of the lord of the manor had to test all weights and measures used by traders and were accustomed to confiscate those that did not conform to the standard and to prosecute the offenders. Thus Richard Greathead - a previous constable - was fined 30s. for keeping false weights. At the same court, Catherine Aram had to pay 6s. 8d. for the offence of "abusing the constable and sworne men and breaking their weigh-scales and executing of their office." It was in this year that the disturbance arose in which Roger Mathews, William Jackson and William Smith threw down the market stalls and threatened to kill all before them as a result of the indignation expressed by the other market-people at the butchers leaving their stalls and chopping-blocks lying all the week. At one court in this year a butcher of Pontefract, Thomas Shillito, was fined 1s. for "killing a cove great with calf contrary to the statute," and 10s. for "selling unwholesome beef contrary to the statute." A similar offence was committed in 1657 by Thomas Winkles and Thomas Bleasbie who were each fined 6d. for selling "rotten and unwholesome herrings in the open market." Failure to observe the assise of measures led to the punishment of John Sugden of Beverley in 1657 - "John Sugden of Beverley hath measured by a false yard" - and of Skelton of Lincoln who committed the same offence. In October 1660, Richard Stables of Gainsborough and T. Goode of "Bridge" (= Brigg in Lincolnshire) were fined for using false weights, and Alice Brown of Malton for "bringing butter to market wanting weight." In 1657 John Leigh was punished because he had "deceived the market by putting good corn in the mouth of his sack and worse

underneath".⁽⁹³⁾ A century later, 1764 (Friday, August 17) Lydia Longbottom of Bingley was publicly whipped through the market at Wakefield for reeling false and short yarn, the town bailiff carrying a reel in front of her.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The legal punishment for the breach of such assises was the pillory or tumbrel and hence the grant of a market involved the right to have a pillory or whipping-post. In this manner the constables and bailiffs patrolled the markets and fairs to see that no goods were sold by outside traders before the bell rang, that rival stall-holders did not usurp one another's pitches or block the passage-ways between the rows of stalls, and that stalls were cleared away at the close of the market, that at the fish and meat stalls the pitches were washed down and made inoffensive, and that none cheated in regard to the quantity or quality of his material for sale. The officers did their work thoroughly; this is one reason for the increased number of cases of conviction for cheating in the second half of the seventeenth century - an increase due to strict oversight and, on the other hand, to a reactionary attempt on the part of tradespeople to dodge irksome and stringent regulation.

From the Middle Ages comes one other indication of the problems which confronted the Court Leet in its dealings with fairs. The court rolls of the manor of Wakefield contain the following account of an episode at Lee Fair - the property of the Woodkirk canons:

"Alice de Scardeby (Scarborough) opposed herself to John de Heton and complained: that on Monday, in the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the ninth year of the present king Edward (II), that same John made assault upon her, Alice, and took her by the hairs of her head in the fair at Woodkirk and dragged her by means of the aforesaid hairs from the northern part to

the southern part. And because he could not tear out the aforesaid hairs by the roots in this way he struck with his foot in the face of the same Alice in order to tear out the aforesaid hairs by the root, but none the less he took a certain small rod and beat her again and again between the shoulders, loins and body, and caused other grievous things to her, to her damage of 100 shillings."

This John de Heton was the head of a great family living at Howley Hall, near Woodkirk. This complain against him was also directed against his wife, Amabil, who with a certain John Graffard, was also concerned in the outrage. In the same court John of Newcastle also laid a complaint against John de Heton, alleging assault and battery by him and claiming damages of 100 shillings. A third charge against him was made by William the Carter who declared that John de Heton had come into his stall at the fair-time, overturning it, so that he had lost twenty gallons of beer worth 2s. 4d., a cask value 12d., and a sack worth 8d., whilst the covering of his stall had been torn, this damage being estimated at 12d. With other minor injuries he claimed that his total loss was 40s. (95)

Some few cases of the importance of the market-pillory and its place in local justice are to be found in the Bridlington records - particularly the "Order Book of the East Riding". On April 26, 1715 it was "ordered that Jane Key of Bridlington Widdow be comitted to the Care of Mr. Thomas Hill Constable of Bridlington aforesaid who is to take care to see her ~~whipt~~ from the Baile End to the pillory on Satturday next between the houres of Tenn and Twelve in the forenoone." This sentence did not take place owing to an accident to the prisoner from which, however, she appears to have made an astonishingly rapid recovery. Thus, at the

Hunmanby sessions of May 5, 1715, it was "ordered that Jane Key formerly ordered to be whipt on Saturday last, She not being in a condicon to receive ye sd punishment, as of that day occaconed by a misfortune of breaking her Neck on friday last, as has appeared upon Oath It is therefore now Ordered She be whipt according to her former Sentence upon Saturday ye 5th of this Instant May." In 1720 (April 6) it was "ordered that Edward Wilson be delivered to Tho. Hall of Bridlington and by him to be conveyed to Bridlington and there detained until next Markett Day and then to be whipt publicly from the bayle end to the Cross for stealing of Iron Towls for which he was in convicted of in open court." Similarly, on January 14, 1723/4 it was "ordered that William Tangate be conveyed from hence to Bridlington by the Constable of the same Towne and that on Saturday next about one of the Clock the sd Tangate be whipped from the Baile to the Saturday Markett Cross until his Body be Bloody."⁽⁹⁶⁾ The most common offence at Bridlington, however, appears to have been the attempt to sell shoes and boots of inferior quality. Market Searchers were especially appointed for the examination of such work and apparently, from the following records of one year did their work thoroughly. "1666. Boots and Shooes take in Bridlington markit and prises this tenth of ffebruary 1666. Ite. two paire of shooes taken from Henry **Dickinson** of Scarbrough the six and twentie of June last past a paire of a twos and other fower p'sted.

Shooes taken the secned of ffebruary in the said Bridlington markitt.

taken from John Balm of Scarborg two paire of shooes one paire eights and one paire of a ten.

taken from Joseph Weatherill of Scarbrough the same

day one paire of a twelfes
 an other pair of a fowers
 a paire of a fives
 and one paire of Boots ele

taken from John Alleson of Scarbrough four pair
of shws 2 paire of eights
 1 pare of a fouers
 1 pare of a seavens."

"Bridlington 7th of July 1666.

A p'ticular of cartaine Shooes seased the 27 of June last past in the said Bridlington market by the Searchers and according to the Statute tryed prysed and ralieved by these tryers whose names are here Subscrib'd.

(The names of persons selling shoes are:-

Rich. Browne, of Kelk.
James Ellis (wife and man), of Bridlington.
Henry Dickinson, of Scarbrough.
Wm. Holmes, of Scarbrough.
Wm. Beverley, of Brigham.
Jo. Harkney, of ffisholm.)

Triers: John Hulton
John Beale
Francis Mowthrop
John Stevenson
Timothy Thriscross.

Boots and Shooes prised at Bridelington taken at severall
days this elenth of August 1666 prised.

Shooes taken in Bridlington markett and seased by the
markett searchers as unlawfull now 28th of July last.

Imp. A pair of marked of a twelfhes taken from Robt. Chester
of Muston and two paire of eights prised 1. 10.
being not well tanned leather being mixt with calfe leather
and neats horse leather mixt 2. 8.

Shooes taken in the said Markett the fowerth day of
August after and seased on as being unlawfull ware.

Itm. a paire of shooes taken from Wm. Holme of Scarbrough
marked of a seavens, being not well tanned and mixt
leather

Item. Boots and shooes seased in the said markitt this eleaventh day of August.

Itm. One paire of boots marked of Eleavens taken from John

Balm son of Scarbrough not well tanned leather	2. 6.
Itm. a paire of shoos of a childe eights	0. 4.
and a pair marke of a seavens taken from the said John Balm	
prised	1. 2.
Itm. one paire of shooes marked of ones	0. 6.
taken from the said Will. Holmes prised	1. 6.

John Stevenson (mark)
Toms. Thriscross (mark)
John Beale
Ffrancis Mowthrop
George Parkins
John Hulton.

Itm. a pair of shooes of the children eights taken from	
Jo. Balm son the 4 of August sould to Tho. Caipe.	0. 4.
Another pair marked of a one	CO. 6.
Itm. a paire taken from Wm. Holme of 8th ffra Cave	1. 6.
Item a pare of a seavens taken from the said	
Balm. Geo. Parkin.	1. 2."

Similar offences occurred in later years. Before the Court Leet of Bridlington held on April 20, 1647, was presented "Allexander Cliffe of Hornesey Cordwayner or Shoemaker for bringing unlawful wares to be solde in Bridlington Markett". He was fined 3s. 4d. In 1700 (October 15) Thomas Owston and Thomas Milner were fined 4s. each for obstinately refusing to take their oaths of Market Searchers for leather - the other side of the appointment of market-officials, men not always being willing to incur the unpopularity likely to arise from the office. A different type of offence had come before the court five years previously. On April 6, 1695 Matthew Dunsdayle was fined 5s. "for encroaching upon the Kings Street and for picking up stones with a digg in the Markett Place."⁽⁹⁷⁾ The need for officials to search the goods in the market is further evidenced by Doncaster practice where the corporation beadle goes twice in the year at each fair to examine the cloth and ale measures and

two persons are appointed to inspect the price of corn and to give the mayor or town-clerk a return of the price every market-day.

At Doncaster also the corporation appointed a "trusty person" as a public inspector of all commodities sold in the market, prosecuting and punishing "to the utmost vigour of the law" those who were found guilty of forestalling and regrating.⁽⁹⁸⁾ These two latter practices belong properly to the question of the trade carried on in fair and market but the following records from Sheffield and Wakefield show the attitude of the local court to those who were guilty of them. In the Sembly Quest (Great Court Leet) of 1609 at Sheffield officers were appointed by the jury to the following offices:

"James Claytoun, William Walker, to see and search that flesh, fish, bread and ale, be lawfull and sufficient according to the statute.

"William Allin, John Creswick, to see that whitmeate as butter and egges be broughte into the markett and none to be sould in the feildes.

"Francis Stanyforth, George Cleytoun, to see and search that corne be brought into the markett and none to be sould until the markett bell rynges."

Amongst the "Mercyments set down by the Sembly Quest for the towne of Sheffeld sworne at the Sembly Court holden there the 18th day of Aprill 1609" are the two following items:

"Item, we do amercy Heugh Roberts for forstallinge or buying of whitmeate in the feildes before it come into the towne or markett iijs. iiijd.

"Item, we doe amercy William Sponer and John Harrison for buying butter in the feilds, either of them iiijd." ⁽⁹⁹⁾

The following regulations were drawn up at Wakefield under the inquisitions of 1533, 1554, 1556, and 1579:

"Itm: a payne is sett that the baylye do see the fyshe shamells furnished with fyshe or they do sett oute anye bords in the markett in payne of everye tyme of the baylye not so doynge iiis. iiijd.

Itm: a payne is sett that no man nor woman do goo in to the feelds to bye anye vytalls or annye kinde of other stufs commynge to the markett in payne of every tyme so doynge ijs.

Itm: a payne is layd yt no man shall suffer anne Corn to be set uppe In yar housses in ye merket tyme or vekeday but to brengē yt to ye merket In ^upayn of everye ^uon so doynge 6s. 8d.

Itm: a payne is layd yt no man shall suffer anny fesshers to set uppe anne fyshe In yar housses In ye merket tyme but to brengē yt to ye merket In ^upayn of everye ^uon 6s. 8d.

A payne layd that John Morehowse nor eny other huckester shall not bye eny salt in theire howses but in open market in payne of vis. viijd.

Itm: that no man sell there corne Brought to the market to be sold before the bell be ronge except to the Inhabitants in payn for every lode xijd.

Itm: we lay in payne that no huckester whiche use to bye and sell againe shall not bye eny kind of victuall or fruite untill the market bell be ronge in payne of every offence xijd.

Itm: yt ys further agreed that there be nominated and appointed two honest men of every strete to be searchers of the market for corne victuall and to be Ailetaisters and yf they find eny forstallers, Regrators and Ingrossers to corne or victuall that they take a merciment of ijs. iiijd. of the offenders eyther more or lesse as shall seme by theire discressons.

And the offenders to be further punished as the law will for the same offence."(100)

Presentments for forestalling cabbage were not of a serious nature but where forestalling did occur in the corn

and wool trading of Yorkshire serious complications could and did result. Realising that the local courts in market and fair are determined to bring such practices to an end, it is possible to leave the consideration of the effects of the practices to the question of the immense volume of trade of which they were one issue. The central government was equally against the practice for John Chamberlain wrote to Dud Carleton at Witham on June 13, 1600:

"I was yesterday at the Star Chamber; the Lord Keeper made a very grave speech, charging the judges to look to forestallers and regrators of markets."(101)

One other jurisdiction in the fair remains to be noticed. The great St. Giles' Fair at Winchester was under the complete control of the bishop. During its continuance, he alone could exercise any judicial authority. The same is true of the Lammas Fairs at York, held under the authority of the archbishops. The bell of St. Michael's (Spurriergate) was rung at three o'clock in the afternoon of July 31, the sheriffs of the city then meeting the archbishop in the sheriff's court on Ouse Bridge, to surrender their white rods of authority in the city to him. During this fair the sheriffs' authority of arresting any person was suspended within the city and suburbs, and the archbishop's bailiff alone had the right of executing any judicial process. As lord of the fair the archbishop received tolls at the city gates and took all profits as well by water as by land which in ordinary times the sheriffs received. At the end of the fair, at three o'clock in the afternoon of August 2, the bell of St. Michael's was again rung. Then the archbishop's bailiff returned to the sheriffs their wands of office and, with these signs of authority, the right to exercise their normal jurisdiction in the city. A dinner was provided by both parties at taverns in the city both at the giving up of the authority of the city and at the resumption of it.(102)

By way of contrast the Whitmonday and St. Peter's Fairs (the latter only after the Reformation) were under the direct authority of the city-sheriffs who were accustomed to ride into each fair, arrayed in the official robes and attended by their proper officers to make the formal proclamation of the fair.⁽¹⁰³⁾ A similar authority in respect of the archbishops' rights at Ripon is suggested by an order in "the town-book of Ripon corrected and amended", of June 10, 1598, obliging the magistracy of the town to accompany the archbishop's high steward in riding the fairs.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ It is possible that in the time of his ownership of the fair at Kingston-upon-Hull (1272 - 1299) the Abbot of Meaux in similar manner took over all judicial authority in the town from the usual town-officers.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Justice had an important part to play in the life of fair and market. Controlled by regulations of law, justice and finance trade was no mere haphazard affair. It must not be considered that the goods and persons of merchants were entirely under a protective system but such a system was from the Middle Ages very evident. There was in each fair and between every fair competition amongst merchants of all types but in each fair there was security of contract and the possibility of redress where grievance did arise. Under this protective system a very considerable trade flourished in Yorkshire not only in the hands of Yorkshiremen but also in those of "aliens" from other counties and foreigners from beyond the seas.

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CHAPTER IV.

TRADE IN YORKSHIRE FAIRS
AND MARKETS.

Early Trade in Some Yorkshire Fairs and Markets; Types of Traders in the Middle Ages - Yorkshiremen, Englishmen, Foreigners; Connection with the Wool Staple; External Trade: Sixteenth Century Developments; Leland's Description: Cattle and Corn Trade; Henry Best's Farming Book; Other Contemporary Evidence: The Wool and Cloth Trade in the West Riding during the Seventeenth Century: New Features in the Eighteenth Century; Defoe's Description; Other Contemporary Evidence; Fairs of Local Importance: Statute Fairs: W. Owen's "Book of Fairs": The Importance of the Trade in Necessities rather than in Luxuries: Craft Regulations: Forestalling.

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However important were the legal, financial and judicial details, they do not represent the real importance of Yorkshire fairs and markets. Within the imposing frame-work presented by them there was carried on a wealth of trade not only local nor even only English but from all parts of Europe. No picture of Sturbridge fair is complete without reference to the booths and streets of the merchants from the countries of Europe. John Bunyan in his description of "Vanity Fair" has a similar picture to draw of the spaces allotted to the stalls of various "nations". In considering the fairs and markets of Yorkshire, it must be remembered that whatever commodities were brought for sale, some amongst them were offered by foreign merchants whilst, entering into competition with native, local tradesmen there was to be found at least at all the great fairs the alien purchaser of English products. They may have been present also at the local markets. It must be remembered that only one distinction between the fair and the market is valid in regard to their trade. The latter was more local than the former; it dealt in the more perishable commodities, was more largely attended by the buyer of small means and the seller of small articles and only infrequently by the rich merchant. But even the immediate wants of the household of the rich merchant had to be supplied from the local market as well as from the more infrequent fair. Hence the same classes met in fair as in market but the proportion of their demands was greater in the fair since the commodities there were larger in bulk whilst the fair itself was more rare in occurrence than the market and therefore of more immediate importance in each incidence. The fair, from the point-of-view of trade, is simply a larger and less frequent market.

For the later period there are frequent lists - from the time of Defoe - of the commodities to be obtained in the various fairs and markets of Yorkshire. There are also important descriptions of the customary movements and methods of trade during the later period. In the earlier period, however, it is necessary to consider each fair separately. There were, of course, some merchants who were present at many, if not most, of the Yorkshire fairs but in the early Middle Ages the fair served in many cases almost as limited an area as the market in more modern times. The great fairs were national, even international, meeting-grounds of commerce; the smaller fairs were the means of the supplying of the greater needs of the district.

Yorkshire trade has always tended to follow certain distinct lines. In the twentieth century the West Riding is famous for its woollen manufactures; wool has been an important commodity in Yorkshire trade at all times; those fairs which dealt chiefly in wool, raw and manufactured, require separate treatment as do those in which the chief commodity was cattle. At times almost as equally important as the woollen trade, the cattle and sheep trade of Yorkshire has often appeared - particularly in the East Riding - as the most important concern in the farmer's life. The development of the trade of the fairs through the centuries shows that at first the farmer was the most important figure in the fair. Only later does the merchant - one who does his buying and selling as his natural vocation - become important. His appearance should scarcely be dated earlier than the fifteenth century. The two figures of merchant and farmer then lend their character side by side to the fair. It is not until the late seventeenth century that the great industrialist appears and with him the middleman, bringing a still further feature in the life

of the fair. Possibly it is significant that when they appear the heyday of the fair in Yorkshire is reached; apart from certain new developments which will be dealt with in a later chapter, the importance of the fair in commercial movements is already becoming less and the way is being prepared for the decline of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

It is necessary first of all to consider the early trade of certain markets and fairs in Yorkshire. In the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, and even in an earlier period, the greater part of the trade of the country was disposed of at fairs. Of the Yorkshire fairs the most famed in these early years was that established at Howden by a grant made by John in 1200. The horse fair there was probably in the later Middle Ages the largest in the world; even kings and princes of foreign countries sent their agents to make selections for their stables. As soon as it was found that one district could produce articles of better value than another it became necessary to devise means for their exchange in order that what - owing possibly to sparseness of population there - was in one district a surplus might supply the need of other parts of the county. No single town of England of the Middle Ages would provide adequate inducement to any producer to confine the sale of his production to it - each producer felt the need of larger markets. These were found, as at Howden, in the annual and semi-annual fair. Since certain products - e.g. wool or cattle - are at their best for sale only at certain seasons of the year, the time of the fair was thus to a certain extent determined by the products most likely to be offered for sale in them. To make a living from his wares, the dealer had to carry them from one market to

another; it was thus not an entirely unforeseen accident that many fairs granted in the Middle Ages within one district took place within a short time of one another, thus enabling both purchasers and merchants to take advantage of more than one opportunity of meeting. The medieval household of the lord of the manor was, at the same time, such that no single district could supply its varied wants in sufficient quantity; the representative of the lord had to attend more than one fair to secure the necessities of manorial life. The commercial horizon of the country districts may indeed have been bounded by the neighbouring town, but this was by reason of the fact that it was through the fair of that town that the country district's wants were supplied; beyond the horizon of that country district the fair was linked up with many another, that link alone enabling a complete supply to meet the wants of the country district. That necessary link was established by methods of communication which changed little in five hundred years. From the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries the pedlar, the merchant with his mule or horse-train or heavy wagon, the farmer, the shepherd, the cowherd driving their beasts along the tracks, these maintained commercial intercourse between districts otherwise entirely isolated and beyond the purchases made at the fairs entirely self-supporting. But this qualification is immensely important. No household may claim to be self-supporting when its household book contains the requirement that: "He that stands charged with my Lordes House for the houll yeir, if he maye possible, shall be at all fairs, when the groice emptions shall be boughte for the House for the houll yeir, as Wine, Wax, Beiffes, Muttons, Wheite and Malt" - an entry in the Northumberland Household Book, a record of the establishment and expenses of Henry Percy, the fifth Earl

of Northumberland, at his lordship's house at Wressle., It is an important point that Wressle castle is only two miles from Howden market. The mention of "beiffes" and "multons" - that is to say, salted oxen and sheep - at this late period in the Middle Ages indicates the persistence of great ignorance in regard to the breeding of cattle.

There are some indications of earlier Yorkshire trade. The first mention of Malton fair - that of 1295 - indicates that it was early known as a cattle fair.⁽¹⁾ The market at Wakefield was the centre for the exchange of the produce of the neighbourhood, but the fair was the centre for "Foreign" wares - those brought from outside the borough. In 1297 a feather-bed was sold there in exchange for linen worth 7d. and 5d. in cash. During this fair, as at most others, all buying and selling was prohibited in the town except within the fair-ground. Goods exposed for sale elsewhere might be seized by the lord's bailiff. Men came to the fair from all quarters of the county, and from beyond its boundaries, with long strings of pack-horses laden with goods of all descriptions. Whilst the trader replenished his store of goods and the housewife laid in everything she could not make at home, the most important dealings were in connection with the horses, cattle, sheep and pigs that were brought to the fair. In order that the earl's mark might be placed upon all cattle, stock or hides, no dealers might sell them in any part of the manor except at Wakefield. The branding-irons were always kept at the earl's castle at Sandal.⁽²⁾ Adam le Corker is recorded as having brought an ox for sale in the market in 1297.⁽³⁾ The market for wool at Wakefield was started in 1308 by German Philcock; in 1322, Richard of Lupset withdrew a store of wool, which he had sold in this market to John Attebarre, the value of the store being

four shillings. On the West side of the "market stede" was the corn market. Facing the west end of the church stood the "mercir" booths; the poulterers had their stalls clustered round about the market-cross, whilst those who sold pots and hardware displayed their goods on the ground nearby. Thus William and Rose Turnour are recorded in 1328 as exposing for sale small wooden vessels made out of the lord's timber which they "turned" (thus enabling them to acquire their surname) into various articles for domestic use. The stalls or shops of the provision dealers and lesser craftsmen were to be found round the cross, but they were also to be found using a room of a dwellinghouse opening directly upon the market-place, its unglazed window filled by a shutter which, when open, projected into the street, and served as a counter for the display of goods, and, when raised, closed and protected the window for the night.(4)

There were probably very few shops at all in Bradford. Since the fair was the only means there of obtaining great quantities of goods the large sum raised by the toll of the fair is easily accounted for by the number of persons resorting to the fair. The grant of two fairs at Bradford by Edward IV with the exemption from tolls, show that grain, flesh, fish and other victuals were the chief commodities bought and sold there.(5)

Markets were held at different places in the city of York for different articles, the craftsmen chiefly selling their goods in these markets. In the archbishops' fair the most important items were the sheep, horses and other beasts; hay was an important commodity, and tolls were also raised on many and varied small articles. A common

market was held as late as 1416 in the churchyard of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York, on Sundays - the wares apparently being chiefly goods and rushes.⁽⁶⁾

The congregation of the same church were also disturbed by the neighing of horses standing for sale in the churchyard.

There is but one hint of the early trade at Pontefract fair. In 1403 Thomas Stonor of Pontefract, John Queldrick, John Pighorn and John Catelyne, took of the steward Robert Waterton to farm the bailiwick. This enabled them to receive, amongst other things, "in time of the faires all tols, stals of the fyshe" - indicating that the fishmongers on Pontefract were considered the most important of the stallholders in the fair.⁽⁷⁾ As a contrast, the list of tolls taken at Beverley shows the tremendous variety of the trade there, tolls being raised on corn, horses, oxen, cattle; fresh, salt or tanned hides (horse or cow); pigs; mutton and bacon; lambskins, cloth, "linen cloth" and "kendal cloth"; wine; turf; lime; spar; iron; tan; grease and suet; fresh or salted, red or white, herring, "herring of Scone", and other fish; millstones; faggots; salt; cheese and butter; sea-coals; nails; horse-shoes; canvas; "and all goods for sale to the value of 5s., not mentioned here."⁽⁸⁾ These tolls were to be raised whenever such goods were brought to the town - but it was chiefly at fair-time that they were brought. At Whitby markets and fairs, beside the harbour, corn was bought and sold.⁽⁹⁾ At Scarborough the burgesses took tolls on corn and grain and on cartloads of vegetables, whilst cattle, salt and fish were also brought to the market for sale.⁽¹⁰⁾ The tolls at Richmond show that the chief commodities brought there were hogs; the skins of sheep, goats, lambs, rabbits, foxes; cloth; faggots and honey.⁽¹¹⁾

The few notices that there are of the commodities sold in the medieval fairs in Yorkshire would not be complete unless mention were made of the people who congregated in them. There is little need to mention further the Yorkshireman of every rank and calling whom necessity, pleasure and duty called to fair and market. There is a special rubric in the monastic rules "de euntibus ad nundinas". An example of this is seen in the Beverley Chapter Act Book, describing the office of the Bedern cooks. There it is laid down that whenever the steward should go to fairs, if the steward so wished, then one of the cooks should go with him to witness what he did for the purchase of beasts for the need and use of the Bedern (the house of the secular clergy at Beverley Minster). In order that flesh and fish might be bought in the market, the cooks had to accompany the steward thither. (12) It was not only the Yorkshireman who was present at the Yorkshire fairs. The rich districts of East Anglia were cut off from Northern England by the fens but East Anglian merchants found their way to Yorkshire. More important still the Londoners were willing to undertake the difficult journey North. The fair at Hull did not in its early years attract the attention which the Townspeople considered that it deserved. They therefore sent up a petition to Parliament praying for letters under the privy signet, to invite the London merchants to the fair and to inform them at the same time that they would be quit of all manner of tolls, duties and contributions. In response to this petition writs were issued from the King's Chancery to the mayor and sheriffs of London and to the bailiffs of the fair at Boston, requiring them to proclaim the fair granted to Hull, the former in the City of London and the latter during Boston fair. (13) The Londoners from this time were amongst the most important of the merchants who came to Beverley. By

the reign of Henry VII the connection between Beverley and London was so strong as to destroy the attempt made by the London magistrates to force people to resort solely to London for all their purchases. In pursuance of this object they made an ordinance commanding the citizens to carry no goods for sale to any fair or market out of the City. People outside London showed to Parliament the great hardship they would suffer in travelling to London to purchase "chalices, books, vestments, and other church ornaments, victuals for the time of Lent, linen cloth, woollen cloth, brass, pewter, bedding, osmond-iron, flax and wax." An act of Parliament in response to this appeal annulled the London ordinance - in any case impossible of fulfilment - enabling London citizens to go, as formerly, where they would with their goods in fairs and market. Beverley therefore continued to benefit from its London connection which was partly responsible for its development into the principal mart of the East Riding. Whilst the fair could not have survived had not the population of the surrounding districts flocked to it, in many cases the local purchasers came to gain a supply of those commodities which the Londoners brought to the market-street known from their coming as "Londoners Street".⁽¹⁴⁾ They are frequently mentioned in the records of the dealings in the fair: thus in the compotus of 1584 of John Truslove, mayor of Beverley, of the rents, revenues, issues, profits and commodities of the town of Beverley and of the church of St. John there are the following entries:

"Item. Received of Mr. Freman and Thomas Simpson
for leadinge Londoners waires xls.

Item. Received for Londoners standings this
year £4 13s. 4d. ⁽¹⁵⁾

In 1649, £3 was received for Londoners' standings and
£8 6s. 8d. for leading Londoners' wares. In the following

year the price paid for the standings had risen to £4 6s. 8d. and the charge for leading the wares to £16.⁽¹⁶⁾ The compotus of 1584 also mentions the presence of York merchants - a merchant of York paid 5s. for his standing, whilst a coverlet weaver paid 10s.

But it was not only the Londoners who came to Beverley and whom Hull desired to attract. By the same petition in which they had asked for their fair to be made known in London the townspeople of Hull had also asked for it to be advertised abroad by letters addressed to the Earl of Flanders and the Duke of Brabant. This request was refused as being contrary to the laws and customs of the realm. Yet foreigners did come to the Yorkshire fairs. The fair held at Scarborough from August 12 to September 29 attracted a great gathering of traders from most parts of Western Europe, accommodation for them being provided by means of booths and tents pitched in Merchants Row between Palace Hill and the South-East boundary wall of the town. Woollen cloth manufactured in Flanders and Germany and other foreign wares in great variety and great quantity were brought for sale.⁽¹⁷⁾ The Scarborough-Seamer quarrel of the late sixteenth century (v. pp. 181-190) also bears reference to this foreign trade. In their somewhat inaccurate statements as to the cause of the decay of Scarborough market, the Seamer promoters declared that the Scarborough exactions were so great that all seamen were wary of visiting the town - so that "bothe Flemings, Frenchmen, Devonshire men, Cornish men, Dorsetshire men and Sussex men yt in times past and of late years have by 100 sale at once repayred to them, have now utterlie forsaken them but in tyme of distresse of weather." Thus the medieval trade of Scarborough had meant the visit to the town not only of Englishment of the furthest counties of the South, but also of Flemings, Germans, Frenchmen. In the

West Riding Lee Fair in its greatest days - the late Middle Ages - was visited by merchants from France, Spain, Florence, the Low Countries and Germany.⁽¹⁸⁾ It is possible to consider that in the Middle Ages York itself had the largest overseas trade of any Yorkshire town. An extensive trade was carried on especially in wool and manufactured-cloths. Many York merchants owned property abroad - e.g. the Howme family at Calais; others went abroad to encounter perils from foreigners on the Continent. In the Low Countries, Veere and Dordrecht were ports entered by ships anxious to discharge cargoes loaded on the York quays, whilst the trade between York and the Baltic ports was much greater than any trade done with them by any other English port.⁽¹⁹⁾ But this foreign trade at York was not due solely to the importance of York fair. From the middle of the reign of Edward III the staple system had undergone new developments. The Flemish alliance had by that time proved valueless and therefore the staple at Bruges had lost not only its value but also even any reason for its existence. After the conquest of Calais the main objections against the foreign staple were met by its establishment there in 1348, but there were still many who considered that however many advantages a staple at Calais might have they were more than offset by the advantage of having the staple town in England. Thus in 1353 a reversion to home staples was effected, ten towns in England and others in Ireland and Wales being designated as staple towns by the ordinance of the staple. These towns were: in England - Newcastle, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Winchester, Chichester, Exeter and Bristol; in Wales - Carmarthen; in Ireland - Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda. Where such a staple town was not itself a sea-port a town on the sea-coast was designated as its port; thus Hull was the port for York, and London for Westminster. These

staple towns were substantially the same as those towns which earlier had possessed cocket seals and therefore authority to receive the customs levied on exports. The ordinance of the staple had for its main object the securing of a sufficient supply of specie in the realm from those foreigners who resorted to the staple towns to buy wool. Here then is the reason for the importance of York as a centre of foreign trade, rather than as owning an attractive fair. A measure which excluded English merchants from foreign trade in the interests of foreigners was not however likely to survive long, whatever immediate advantages might arise from it in time of war. After peace with France had come the home staples were generally supplemented by a "foreign staple", for which Calais, the one town beyond seas permanently under the jurisdiction of the kings of England, became ultimately the normal seat. The ordinance of 1353 did, however, have some permanent results so far as England was concerned. The towns - especially those of otherwise minor importance - chosen as staple towns varied to some extent but there did after 1353 normally remain a definite number of English commercial centres as the English homes of the staple.⁽²⁰⁾ So far as York was concerned, the foreign trade of the city had received a decided impetus towards expansion, for York was closely in touch with the production of the raw wool in the dales of Yorkshire. The wool trade is always one of the most important factors in the development of the Yorkshire fairs and markets.

Yorkshiremen did not only stop at home to receive foreign merchants. They went beyond the borders of their county to meet them. It is no exception to find that in a charter of 1312 confirming charters of Henry II and Henry III to Scarborough the burgesses were granted the liberties of the city of York - liberties which included

quittance of all toll, lastage, pontage, passage, and all customs throughout all England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, and Poitou and throughout all the ports and coasts of the sea of England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, and Poitou.⁽²¹⁾

Armed by such grants of liberties the Yorkshire merchants traded in all parts of Western Europe and in the Baltic. Nearer at home they were not loath to visit the fairs of other countries. The connection between Yorkshire wool-merchants and St. Bartholomew fair at Smithfield is seen more clearly in more modern times. Indications of Yorkshire trade in non-Yorkshire fairs only grow frequent after the Middle Ages but there are three instances which indicate the nature and extent of that trade in the Middle Ages. Before the market and fair were established at Hull, the Abbots of Meaux (whose successors were the first owners of a fair at "Wyk super Hul") were frequently present at Boston fair, the most important after Sturbridge of the fairs in East Anglia. Thus in the time of Edward I an Abbot of Meaux was charged with having sold 129 sacks of wool at Boston fair to foreign merchants during the time of the discords with Flanders. The canons of Bolton Abbey - coming from almost the most westerly district of Yorkshire - made yearly purchases in considerable extent of wine, cloth and other articles necessary in the abbey economy.⁽²²⁾

The Calendar of Liberate Rolls is singularly silent in regard to trade in fairs; the only references are to the fairs of Boston, Bury St. Edmunds, King's Lynn, St. Giles, St. Ives, Stamford, Winchester, Yarmouth, but amongst these is one which indicates the close connection between Boston and Yorkshire. On June 16, 1237 the bailiffs of York were commanded to receive fifteen tunns of wine that William de Haverhulle, the king's buyer of wine at Boston fair, would deliver to them in Boston fair. Returning from the fair to

their city the bailiffs were to cause the wine to be carried to York and placed in the archbishop's cellar, for the king's use.⁽²³⁾ The register of Archbishop Wichwane (Archbishop of York 1279-85) shows further the fact that many goods had to be sought elsewhere than in Yorkshire. On April 24, 1283 he ordered that payment should be made to Master John Clarelle of £100 "for our robes bought in the fair of St. Ives." In the same year, on July 22, when the Archbishop was at his palace of Cawood, Colin, his butler, was paid 180 marks for provisions bought by him at Boston fair. In 1284, on June 4, Colin, now chamberlain, received £20 which he had explained he had spent over the archbishop's business in St. Ives' fair, beyond the hundred marks which he had received. The archbishop also found the proceeds of fairs useful for the payment of his servants. Thus a grant was made on March 15, 1281-2, to Master William de Bolintone, clerk, in return for his labours at the Roman court, of an annual pension of £10 payable at Boston fair, until he should be provided to a prebend.⁽²⁴⁾ Whilst these external fairs were being visited by Yorkshiremen there must also be borne in mind the picture of the disturbance at Lee Fair in the reign of Edward II. It was not only Alice of Scarborough who was assaulted by John de Heton but also John of Newcastle suffered at his hands. In the reign of Henry VII amongst those who complained against the exactions of the bailiff of Bradford fair, was William Gordon, a Scottish chapman, who had been way-laid and injured on a journey with his goods from Halifax, because he had refused to pay the tolls demanded at Bradford. In the Middle Ages there was much more readiness to journey from place to place than is generally supposed; the people of Yorkshire were no exception to the urge of trade which forced them to go not only from town to town, from fair to fair in their own county but to

seek with their goods the fairs of other counties and countrie - particularly Bordeaux - and to welcome to their own fairs the merchants from beyond their borders. As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century native and foreign merchants flocked to the wool fairs or went direct to the native producer. In this period there was real mobility of population throughout the county. The ranks of the York freemen of the first half of the fourteenth century contain the names of William the Cordwainer, Richard the Webster, William the Mercer and John the Carpenter, all of Leeds, John of Holbeck, weaver, and John and Ralph of Pudsey, tailors. Leeds men traded and brewed at Ripon; throughout the West Riding merchants from Wakefield were familiar figures.⁽²⁵⁾ By the fifteenth century Halifax wares had become known throughout the country, being sold at the cloth fairs of St. Bartholomew and the market in Blackwell Hall, London. So important were the former in Halifax selling that booths in Bartholomew fair are frequently mentioned in Halifax wills. Whilst by 1470 the northern counties, with the exception of Yorkshire and Northumberland (i.e. Newcastle) were of no importance in the cloth market or in the eyes of the exchequer, Leeds and Wakefield were then becoming famous as markets and the homes of merchants. Though it was not until the seventeenth century that Wakefield became the principal wool mart of the district and that Leeds became the chief emporium for cloth yet Wakefield chapmen were frequently mentioned in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁽²⁶⁾ Direct purchase was the normal method of the clothiers of Leeds riding on horseback to the country fairs at Ripon, Doncaster and Pontefract, or to the moorland farms, there to make ^{their} ~~his~~ purchases. When the Act of 1552 decreed that none should buy wool except the merchants of the Staple at Calais, the Merchant Adventurers

of Newcastle and those merchants who bought wool in order to manufacture it into cloth, the Halifax men rose in protest to seek exemption from the Act. Their plea was successful and the preamble of the Halifax Act of 1555 is particularly noteworthy for the picture it gives of the clothiers trudging to market, "ther to bye upon the Woollldryver, some a stone, some twoo, and some three or foure, accordinge to theyre habilitee and to carrye the same;" either on head or back several miles to their home. To prevent this unpleasant method, middlemen were in the case of Halifax allowed to buy wool and to bring it to Halifax parish for sale to the meaner clothiers, the richer still being required to make the journey to the wool areas.⁽²⁷⁾ Elsewhere - as will be seen later - the middleman or wooldriver was an unpopular figure. The coarse cloths made in Yorkshire during the sixteenth century met the needs of the poorer classes elsewhere than in Yorkshire but it is not until the time of Defoe that much is known of the local cloth fairs and markets in which on certain fixed days clothiers and merchants met in the wool-trade, the latter to purchase pieces many of which were sold locally but the bulk of which passed either to London (whence it was distributed to other parts of England) or went through the ports of London, York, Hull, Newcastle or Chester to serve the poor of Europe.⁽²⁸⁾

It was in this early period that Hull as the Northern market for fish was the centre of the Greenland whale-fishing industry.

In considering the medieval trade of Yorkshire it is possible to overestimate the importance of the part played by English traders (many of them Yorkshiremen) in foreign trade but the reverse has usually been the case. In realising that these men did have an important work to do, it must be

remembered that the supplies of wool bought up from the monasteries and exported to the textile centres of Italy, Flanders and Germany were bought up and exported chiefly by Italian and Hansa merchants whilst the bulk of the import trade in spices, silks and other luxuries was also in the hands of foreigners.⁽²⁹⁾ But from the Middle Ages the trade in Yorkshire fairs and markets was not solely nor even in major proportion a luxury-trade but was a trade in important economic necessities - cattle, cloth and wool.

The importance of the cattle-trade in these Yorkshire fairs is evidenced in one instance by Leland whose general account of Yorkshire fairs during his tours of 1535 to 1543 is of a distinctly summary nature. His description of Ripon in 1538 contains the statement that the fair held there about the feast of St. Wilfrid was much celebrated for the buying of cattle and horses.⁽³⁰⁾ Leland does give some slight information as to the condition of certain Yorkshire fairs. He refers twice to Wakefield: it "hath a faire area for a market place", and "it ys a very quik market toune, and meately large; wel servid of flesch and fische both from the se and by ryvers, wherof dyvers be ther-about at hande. So that al vitaille is very good chepe there." In comparison, Bradford is "a praty quik market toune, dimidio, aut eo amplius, minus Wachefelds." (Wakefield). Leeds, "two miles lower then Christal Abbay on Aire Ryver, is a praty market, and as large as Bradeford but not so quik as it."⁽³¹⁾ He remarks also that "the toune of Beverle is large. But the fairest part of it is by north, and ther is the market kept. Ther was good cloth making at Beverle, but that is nowe much decayid." Another sign of decay in a great Yorkshire fair is seen in his description of Howden: "the toun of Howden the only market of Howdenshire is of no great reputation." Journeying to the North of the County, through

Malton which "hath a good market" he came to Thirsk where he says "I saw the smaull market toun of Tresk on the right hand about a mile from Brakenbyre" (Brackenborough). It is significant that today Thirsk thrives whereas Brackenborough has become almost unknown. In the North-West "Middleham is a praty market toun", Wensley "a little poore market", Masham "a praty quik market toun". Among the smaller fairs of the South-West he mentions Knaresborough where "the town is no great thing and meanelly buildid, but market ther is quik", Wetherby "a smaull market toun on a hille", Bawtry as "very bare and poore, a poore market toun", and Tickhill "a very bare market toun".⁽³²⁾ The gloom of this picture of the condition of Yorkshire fairs and markets is unnecessarily dark; of those mentioned many were more prosperous than Leland imagined and those he did not visit or did not note were many of them in a thriving position in the sixteenth century. Queen Elizabeth's grant of fairs at Skipton to George, Earl of Cumberland, in 1597 bore witness to the tremendous trade in horses, cows, bullocks and sheep already carried on there. This prosperity is also witnessed by entries in the Household and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall: e.g.

"November 1583 - Payed for an oxe in Skypton 47s.6d."

"May 1613 - ~~Two~~ yolke of feedinge oxen, bought in Skipton faire £46 17s. 8d.; for a feedinge cowe bought there 1s.; three metts of oats 6s."⁽³³⁾

That in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Yorkshire fairs were of great importance and that that importance was in large measure due to the great sales of animals is further shown by the proclamation used in Mary Tudor's time at Hedon fair in which horses and sheep are specifically mentioned as the most important of the "cattalles" (chattels) which might be bought in the fair.⁽³⁴⁾ The most important of seventeenth century descriptions of fair-trade, at least so

far as the East Riding was concerned, is to be found in Best's Farming Book and - as a record of a seventeenth century farmer's observations of the cattle- and corn-trade in these Yorkshire fairs is worth quoting in the farmer's own words. It gives a clear picture of all the difficulties attendant on carrying goods to market, all the measures necessary to ensure that the right type of goods, and a right supply of them, was ready for each market, and that the best time for both sales and purchases should be known. Farmer Best proves a shrewd observer of his county's trade; his shrewdness is no shame to himself and to other Yorkshire farmers. The picture is beyond doubt one of the finest portrayals of seventeenth century Yorkshire life:

"After that wee are begun to markette, which is aboute Martynmasse or soone after, wee send constantly twice a weeke, viz: allwayes our oates to Beverley on the Wensday; and oftentimes on the Satterday allsoe; wee sende our dodd read wheate and massledine usually to Malton markette; our barley to Beverley and Pocklington in winter-time, and to Malton in summer. Wee seldome sende fewer then eight horse-loades to the markette att a time, and with them two men, for one man cannot guide the poakes of above fower horses. When we sende oates to the markette, wee secke them up in three-bushell poakes, and lay six bushells on an horse; when wee sende wheate, rye, or massledine to markette, and allsoe when wee send barley, wee putte it into mette-poakes; wee are forced to putte part of our corne into halfe quarter-seckes, and these wee lay on horses that are short coupled and well-backed. Our servants are (in winter time) to bee stirringe soe long afore day that they may bee att markette before eleaven of the clocke, or howsoever by eleaven at the furthest. On Wensday, when they goe with oates to Beverley, they putte theire horses into

stables that are hard by the ~~markett~~-place, wheare there is hey ready for them against they goe in; and there doe they pay hal-pennies a peece for theire horses, for theire hey and stable-room: but in the Satterday markt, they have hoast howses wheare they dine, and therefore stable-roome for nothings; unless they call for hey for theire horses, and then doe they pay for that they call for. Those that buy theire corn will sometimes force them to spende a pennie or twopence for beinge beneficiall to the howse wherin they lodge, and that wee willingly allowe them againe; wee allowe them allsoe fower pence a peece for theire dinners. In winter time, when our folkes goe to Beverley, they are neaver stirringe above two houres before day, because they are soone enough it they get but thither by eleaven of the clocke; oates goe allwayes well of on Wensdayes and Satterdayes in this place, if soe bee that the Tewsdays and Frydays bee calme-days, for then doe the Lincoln-shire men come over to Hull; and to these doe Beverley oatemeale men vente and sell a greate parte of theire oatemeale, which they carry and sell againe in Brigge markette, and other marketts thereabouts. When our folkes goe to Malton, they are usually stirringe fower hours before day, which is aboute three of the clocke, and then will they be aboute Grimston by the springe of the day, and att Malton by nine of the clock att the furthest; for in winter time that markt is the quickest about nine of the clocke; or betwixt nine and tenne; because the badgers come farre, many of them; whearefore theire desire is to buy soone, that they may be goinge betimes, for fear of beinge nighted. Wee oftentimes buy our seede pease att Great Dryffield, for change for the Middle and West fields; they are usually deare at Kilham aboute Candlemasse (February 2) and a weeke afore, or a fortnight. Att

St. Hellenmasse, (May 3), and soe all summer longe, when our folkes are to go to Beverley-markett, they goe out of owne^r yard about halfe an hour after fower of the clocke; in summer time allsoe they goe (most commonly) with each of them sixe horses, soe that when they carry oates, two of them goinge with twelve horses, they carry nine quarters att a time, for they lay sixe bushells on an horse, soe that fower horse load of oates is three quarters: on markt-days our folkes doe as on other dayes, for soe soone as they rise they make and give to every two horses a bottle of hey, and that serveth them till their pannells bee sette on, and what is left, is there ready for them against the time they come hoame; then, soe soone as their pannells are on, and everything fitted, they leade them forth, and looke howe many each man goeth with, and soe many are tyed togeather, each in others tayle, then doe they carry one company after another to the garner doore, and turninge them aboute with their heade towards the gates, all the fellowes that are able to carry poakes fall to loadinge, and in loadinge they give every horse halfe his loade before that any one bee wholly loaden. Then one of the boyes setteth open the broad gates, and soe soone as they are gotten out, shutteth them againe; the other folkes goe usually with them to the Brickewall nooke or lane ende, till their poakes beginne to saddle and lye well; then when they come backe, they fall to muckinge of the stables, and after that to fillinge of the standheckes, servinge and wateringe of the young calves, if there bee any unputte forth, servinge and wateringe of their plough-horses, and other goods aboute the yard: the first time that waines were seen (this yeare) to goe to Malton with corne was Saterdag the 30th of Aprill. On Saterdag the 21st of May, there

weare sixe that came from Agnes Burton (= Burton Agnes), Lowthorpe and Harpham; they wente all night, sette downe theire corne, and tooke in such thinges as weare bought the Saterdag before and left for them, and weare mette out of Malton before seaven of the clocke. On Saterdag the 14th of May, and on Saterdag the 21st of May, cleane rye was as deare as good dodd-read-wheate, and dearer then massledine; for cleane wheate and cleane rye weare sold for fower nobles a quarter, and massledine somewhat abatinge of 26s. a quarter: barley was (att the same time) soe down at Malton that it would not seel for above 20s. a quarter, and wente off the same time att Pocklington att 21s. a quarter; and wee had barley (this yeare) which would not of att Malton at 19s. a quarter, and wee carryed a sample to Beverley, and solde a score to three Beverley-men for twenty powndes; the reason was because barley to goe soe well of att Malton that there was seldome any carryed to Beverley markett from this side of the countrey. On Wensday the 1st of June wee solde twenty quarters of wheate to a baker in Yorke, and twenty quarters of massledine to other two; for the kinge beinge there, the marketts weare very quicke. In winter allsoe wee solde twenty quarters of barley to a Yorke maltster which was delivered, att Cout landing, att a day appointed."⁽³⁵⁾

So much for the task of bringing corn to market in the East Riding; Farmer Best is also very shrewd in his directions "for Buyinge and Sellinge of Butter":-

"Butter is bought and solde eyther by the pownde or the cake, and in every cake there is two pownde: in the beginninge of Lente wee pay usually 10d. a cake, i.e., 5d. a pownde; abowte the middle of Lente wee pay 9d. a cake; aboute the beginninge of Aprill 8d. a cake, i.e. 4d. a pownde; about the 20th of Aprill 3d. a pownde; and

then aboute the middle of May it will be two pence and two quarters a pownde; and then it is att the cheapest; and beinge att the dearest, it is lld. a cake; wee neaver sold none of our owne under 4d. a pownde: and nowe of late wee sell it altogeather for 5d. a pownde: if wee chance to wante in Lent-time, wee furnish ourselves eyther at Beverley, or Malton markett, which country-folkes bringe thither to sell, but the best buyinge is att Beverley; one may bee well furnished allsoe at Frodingham; when wee intende that our foreman shall buy butter att the markett, wee leave him out a maunde and a cloath the night afore: I have knowne us buy and spende, constantly, tenne and twelve pownde of butter in the weeke". (36)

The third great concern was the selling of sheep. Not only had the best markets to be ascertained for their sale but the sheep had also to be carefully prepared beforehand. Thus

"For Sellinge of Sheepe":

"The best way to make sheepe goe of in a markett is to endeavour, by all meanes possible, to make then shewe well: to effeekt which, three helpes to bee used.

1. To cutt of all the shaggie hairy woll which standeth stricklinge up; by which meanes they make then seeme more snodde, and of a better stapple; this the shepheardes call forcinge of them, and cuttinge of kemp-haires.

2. To have a care that they bee not too neare-stoned or eare-marked, which is a meanes to make them shewe better in a markett. Others allsoe will deferre the geldinge of their weather (= wether) lambes very longe, on purpose that their hornes may growe the bigger, thinkinge it a goode helpe to make their weathers shew well in a markett or faire.

3. To take the sheepe (which hee intendeth to sell) aboute a moneth or five weekes before the day come, and putt them

into a goode pasture, if hee bee soe provided; and then, when the day cometh, to take them out, and carry them both faire and full to the markett, that they may appeare to the buyer good and well-likinge sheepe.

"The best time of yeare for puttinge of ewes and lambes is Easter Munday, or some other faires and marketts aboute this time; ewes and lambes goe indifferently well of aboute Whitsuntide alsoe, but as for the marketts for ewes and lambes they prove quicker and dearer accordingly as Holdernesse men come in, or as other men havinge had much losse by the rotte, are forced to renewe: as for their prises, they vary, and are thereafter as the sheepe are in goodnesse: some perhapps for 7s., 8s., or 9s. a couple; others againe about 26, or twenty nobles a score. A good gimmer shearinge goinge geld, will (about Whitsuntide) give as much as an ordinary ewe with a lambe att her heeles. The onely time for puttinge of fatte weathers is aboute Easter and Crosse Days, i.e. against Beverley faire, att which time fatte sheepe are very rare and hard to come by, and aboute Whitsuntide alsoe they goe well of; but betwixt Midsummer and Lammas every one will have a fatte sheepe to sell. Whearefore the best way for feedinge of such weathers is to take them aboute Marttemasse, or soone after, when they come first hoame to be fothered, and putt them into some lowe and springy close, and there to keepe them, with good and constant fotheringe, duringe the time of frost and snowe; and then as soone as fotheringe time is past, (which if the weather breake, will bee aboute the 10th of March) yow are to remoove them to some fresh pasture wheare there is a goode timely springe appearinge on the grownd, and neaver to keepe them on a place that is too much fullled; and by this meanes, may yow have them in very goode plight against Easter: yow are not to offer to feede a weather

till hee bee three or fower sheare, for a younge sheepe will neaver feede kindely; and besides, to sell them before they bee att their full growth, yow shall finde losse on all sides, but noe way profitt by soe doinge. Ordinary weathers (with this kinde of feedinge) have often-times beene solde att this time of the yeare for twentie markes a score; and likewise lambes which have runne with the ewes in the closes have beene solde towards clippinge time for twentie nobles a score. The best way for feedinge of olde and broken mouth'd ewes, is to take them soe soone as they lambe, and to putt them and their lambes together into some moist and nourishinge grownd wheare the grasse is not too shorte for them, and soe to lett them runne together till Whitsuntide or betwixt Whitsuntide and Midsummer, aboute which time yow are to take away the lambes and sell them; and such fatte lambes will (if they bee large and well quartered) give nobles and 7s. a peece; this done, yow are to take the ewe's fleeces and to feede them still till towards Michaelmasse, and then to sell or kill them, as yow see occasion; this must bee your methode, because lambes will not feede, beinge weaned, nor the ewes, till such time as the lambes bee taken from them; these kinde of ewes may perhapps sell att this time of the yeare for 7s. or 8s. a peece, if they bee large and well-quartered. But as for puttinge of sheepe which in the fore ende of the yeare wante wolfe, are thinn-skinn'd, wormy-skinn'd, shorte-skinn'd, or kempe-hair'd: the best way is to take of the whole fleece, and aboute Michaelmasse to putte them up and keepe them in good plight against All Hallowe faire, which being the last faire heareabouts, such kinde of goodes goe then well of.

"Tuppes (= rams) beinge fedde are to bee kept noe longer then Latter-Lady in harvest; because, ridinge time approchinge they will beginne to linger after ewes and decline, theyre flesh waxe reade and ranke, and they themselves scarce to bee guided or kept within bowndes."⁽³⁷⁾

By careful attention to these directions the East Riding farmer could hope to have stock, corn, butter for sale at the great fairs and markets of his part of the shire. But Best's Farming Book was not only of value for the sound common-sense of its methods of farming; its author proceeded also to enumerate "the Cheife Fayres Hereabouts and Theirre Severall Customes, as allsoe What Goods and Commodityes have the Best Vent or May Bee the Cheapest Bought Att Each of These Ensuinge Fayres":

"The ffirst ffayre of note hereabouts is Little Drifffield ffaire on Easter Munday; on St. Hellen Day the 3d. of May there is a ffayre at Weeton. On St. Hellen Day the 3d. of May there is allsoe a faire at Brands-Burton in Holdernesse; att these three fayres handsome leane beasts, leane weathers, old-ewes, and the most timely sorte of lambes have very goode vente, because that Holdernesse-men come in and buy up such for stockinge of theirre feedinge-grownds; fatte horses, and especially geldinges, goe allsoe well of.

"On Wednesday in Easter weeke theirre is a little ffaire at Beverley. Beverley greate ffayre called the Cross ffayre, is sayd to beginne aboute the 7th of May; but look in your Kalendar for John Beverley, and it beginneth allwayes on that day; thither the Londoners sende their wares by water, and thither come the Yorke grocers and others, aboute the day of John Beverley, or day afore, to furnish themselves with such commodities as they wante; the weeke before Holy Thursday weeke is called whole-sale weeke, and Ascension-Day, or Holy

Thursday, is the great fayre-day, on which day the Londoners goe most of them away; yett will not this fayre bee fully ended till the Satterday night after. The first horse-faire is the Wensday-fortnighte before Ascension-Day; there is allwayes a little shewe and horses bought on Tuesday night aboute wateringe-time; there is another horse-fayre the Wensday senight afore Holy Thursday, but that is of little or noe accounte; then there is a greate horse-fayre againe on Holy-Thursday-eve, and they that bought horses att the first faire will have carryed them up, and bee downe againe to buy more att this fayre; there are many horses solde allsoe on Holy Thursday, but mares are in noe request att these faires, and geldinges goe the best of when they are very fatte.

"On Munday in Whitsun-weeke there is a fayre att Little Driffild, to which Nafferton and Lowthrope men come with clubbs to keepe goode order and rule the faire; they have a piper to play before them, and the like doinges is att the latter Lady Day in harvest.

"On Trinity Munday there is a faire att South Cave, att which are many sheepe bought and solde; horses allsoe goe well of there, and especially mares, because it is neare to Wallingfenne, the great common, and if a mare chance to fall lame, they can putte her to the common and breede of her.

"On St. John Baptist, or Midsummer Day, there is a greate fayre att Beverley; att this fayre horses and fatte beasts goe of indifferent well; this day is allsoe a rule for all this country-side concerninge the price of woll.

"On St. Peter's Day (June 29) there is a faire att Frodingham, att which fatte beasts goe of indifferent well, and allsoe fatte younge calves and horses.

"On St. Mary Magdalens day the 22nd of July, there is a faire at Whitgift, and another on Maudlen hill in Holdernessee.

"On St. James day (July 25) there is a fayre att Doncaster, and another att Pocklington; most of this side doe use to drape out the worst of theire lambes and send to Pocklington faire; I have knowne fower lambes bought for 1ld., and the seller gave the buyer one pennie againe; I have heard of lambes bought there for 2d. a peece, and fewe lambes are brought hither which exceed the rate of two shillings.

"Little Driffeld two latter faires, called Lady day faires are the one upon Assump(tio) Mar(iae), aboute the 15th of August, and the other super Nativ(itatem) Mar(iae) aboute the 8th of September; where one may bee furnished with dishes, earthen vessells, sythes, and hardware, harvest gloves, and all sortes of pedler wares: horses doe sometimes goe indifferent well of here, and fatte kyne, and calves, with other fatte goodes. There are but just three weekes and three dayes betwixt these two fayres.

"Malton horse faire beginnes nowe of late three dayes before St. Mathewe day; the cheife shewes are the day before St. Mathewes eve, and on St. Mathewes eve; the shewes beginne aboute nine of the clocke in the morninges, and aboute three of the clocke in the afternoone; they ride the horses upon the landes on the North-West side of the towne; on St. Mathewe day, which is the 21st of September, most of the horses goe away after three of the clocke; the beast fayre is not till Michael Arch(angel) day, the 29th of September.

"On St. Mathewe day, the 21st of September, there is allsoe a fayre att Fordingham in Holdernessee. On St. Lawrence, the 10th of August, there is a faire at

Bridlington. On St. Luke day there is a faire att Hunmanby. On St. John day, the 25th of October, beinge the same day senight after St. Luke, there is a fayre att Beverley, att which fatte beasts used to goe well of.

On All Saints Day, the first of November, there is a faire att Killam, to which greate store of suckinge foales and other younge foales are brought to bee solde; here allsoe doe wee sell all our olde horses, after that they are past doinge us service; all sortes of sheepe goe well of here, and especially olde ewes and hogges; soe that it is a rule for the country till the next springe."(38)

This description affords abundant proof of the importance of these yearly fairs in the life of the farmers of the East Riding. There are several particular points worthy of remark. These fairs are still in the seventeenth century continuing at the period of year for which they had been originally granted. Their importance still remained the same; the annual needs of the ^{farmer}farmer - to buy and to sell young or old stock - still were appearing at seasons of regular incidence as they had in the Middle Ages. The farmers were not greatly concerned in the luxury trade except in so far as it provided them with the necessary means of salting their winter supplies of meat; they were at all times very greatly concerned in the value of their own stock and the stock of neighbouring farms. It is significant that outsiders are mentioned only in connection with one fair - at Beverley, where the Londoners were frequent visitors. The East Riding trade in cattle and horses was most important to the inhabitants of the riding, unlike the fairs of Western Yorkshire. The account is proof that the chief commodities in these fairs were horses and cattle; it is perhaps rather surprising to find that Farmer Best has no advice to offer on the rearing of

either. It is interesting to notice that it was at Kilham that he took those of his horses "past doinge us service" for sale. Presumably they were not sold to gullible buyers but to purchasers to whom they would be valuable when killed.

That the trade in horses and cattle was not only important in the East Riding is evident from other seventeenth century evidence. The "Life of Marmaduke Rawdon of York" has occasional references to this trade. On July 21, 1664, they (Mr. Rawdon and his friends) "went to Rippon, a faire towne. Itt haith a very large market-place, where thir is twice a yeare a greate horse faire." On the night of August 25, 1664, they "lodged att a faire market towne called North Allerton, 24 miles from Yorke. This hapned to be a faire day for oxen, kine, and sheepe, the greatest in England." This description of Northallerton fair is of very great importance in considering English trade; it is one of the few fairs in Yorkshire of which a contemporary opinion has given the verdict that it was the greatest for its type of trade in the whole country. In the same year, "Sept. 29, being Michaelmasse day, att which time they went to a towne called Malton, 14 miles from Yorke, where thir is kept the greatest horse-fair in England; also it is a greate faire for cattle and other comodities which booth English and Scotch sell thir." Here then is another of these "greatest fairs"; Matthew Rawdon is more enthusiastic about the fair than Henry Best; unlike the latter, the former points out the presence of Scottish cattle-dealers at Malton; they were, apparently, constant frequenters of the Yorkshire cattle fairs. It may be noticed that Marmaduke Rawdon underestimates his distances; both Northallerton and Malton are further from York than he suggests. Again in contrast with Best, Marmaduke Rawdon is not enthusiastic about Beverley fair; he and his companions went on Tuesday, October 4, 1664,

"from Hulle, in the eveninge, to a towne called Beverley, six miles of; this is a faire markett town."(39) He had chosen a time to visit Beverley when its great fairs were over for the year. There are three Latin jingles of a like period (1648-50) which also illustrate the trade in the three fairs of Ripon, Northallerton and Malton. They run as follows:-

"Ad forensem Rippon tendo,
Equi si sint cari, vendo,
Si minore pretio dempti,
Equi a me erunt empti."

"Veni Allerton, ubi oves,
Tauri, vaccae, vituli, boves,
Aliaque campi pecora
Oppidana erant decora:
Forum fuit jumentorum."

"Veni Malton, artem laudo,
Vendens equum sine cauda,
Morbidum, mancum, claudum, coecum,
Forte si maneret mecum,
Probo, vendo, pretium datur;
Quid si statim moriatur."

(Barnabel. Itiner:) (40)

Despite the importance of the cattle fairs of North and East Yorkshire the gentlemen of the West Riding had frequently to go outside the county for their stock. Instances of this are to be seen in Captain Adam Eyre's Diary. Captain Eyre was a native of the Sheffield district. He writes:

"1648 Oct. 17. I went to see some sheepe which Tho.

Eyre was driving towards Tidswall fayre, (i.e. Tideswell in Derbyshire), and offered him 7s. a piece for 100 ewes but he would not take it.

Oct. 18. To Tideswall with Robt. Eyre, where I spend 10d.; bought 101 ewes for 7s. a peeice, and 5 tuppes at 11s. a piece, of Thos. Eyre of Alport, and gave him 1s. in earnest, and promised to pay the residue within a month. Wee also had some talke.

Nov. 8. I think of going to Ashton fayre, because Wm. Wordsworth sayd there would be many draught beasts thither."(41)

The prices here mentioned may be compared with those quoted by Best; in this instance at least those at Tideswell were much dearer than those to be bought in the East Riding. The amount of earnest-money may be noted; the growth of ready capital in the eighteenth century is a factor in the decline of the periodic fair.

It is not only from letters, farm-records and diaries that indications of the trade carried on in the markets and fairs of Yorkshire may be obtained. The legal documents connected with the development of these fairs occasionally refer to the type of commodities which it was generally expected would be attracted to them. At the very beginning of the century - in 1604 - the grant made to the Earl of Derby and his heirs of a fair to be held at Thirsk stipulated that the fair was for the sole purpose of the sale and purchase of beasts.⁽⁴²⁾ The charter of 1632 in favour of Thomas Danby, enabling him to hold fortnight-fairs every alternate Wednesday from May 8 to Michaelmas at Masham, stated that the fairs were to be held for corn and cattle.⁽⁴³⁾ Nine years previously, in 1623, the lord mayor and citizens of York had presented a petition to the Council, seeking for relief against the grievances done to them by the mayor and burgesses of Kingston-upon-Hull, the latter causing York much loss by forestalling the city markets in the purchase of corn, lead, herrings and coal.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The tolls taken in these fairs also indicated the nature of seventeenth century trade. The charter previously mentioned to Thomas Danby in 1632 also enabled him to take tolls on all bulls, cows, oxen, steers, heifers, horses, mares, geldings, colts, sheep, hogs, pigs, and sows sold in the fairs at Masham. Different commodities from these paid tolls at Wakefield: tolls were levied on malt, barley, oats, cloth and wool as well as on cattle and swine.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In the West Riding the wool and

cloth trades were the most important. The importance of Wakefield had increased enormously during the seventeenth century, so that it had become the principal wool market of the clothing area - using the term "market" not in the limited sense of a weekly occasion of trade. From all parts of England wool was forwarded by wool growers and dealers to be sold at Wakefield by agents and staplers to the clothiers of the surrounding districts. In this way Wakefield became an important market for raw materials as well as a growing market for finished cloths. Through this growth at Wakefield the Yorkshire cloth trade became more than ever closely linked with Southern England. At Wakefield chapmen and middlemen bought from each small manufacturer the one or two pieces he had made and brought to the cloth market, and sent on the bulk they thus acquired to the great fair at Sturbridge where one part, the "Duddery", was set apart for this special trade, or to Blackwell Hall in London where London merchants bought great quantities of kerseys and broadcloths - in the manufacture of which latter Wakefield played a leading part.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Ralph Thoresby frequently mentions Wakefield cloth market in his diary, though from his references it would seem that he had little share in the busy trade which went on there. Thus he says:

"1678 March 29. At Wakefield, but sold nothing.

1680 May 6. Went to Wakefield, had nothing of business, under some discouragement from want of trade.

Went to Wakefield, had some little business, but was rather too compliant in the company." ⁽⁴⁷⁾

The opening of the Aire and Calder ^{Navigation} ~~canal~~ from the Humber to Wakefield in 1699 had an immediate effect upon the prosperity of the town. Wool could now be brought by boat from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire instead of on horseback, to be sold in the market at Wakefield which became increasingly

a great mart for the disposal of wool and for the manufacture of broad white cloths. A native trading class in the West Riding, centring round Wakefield and Leeds - then the chief market for cloth - had arisen very early in the century, as is shown by the complaint of John Ramsden of Hull during the reign of James I that Hull trade was being seriously damaged by a "set of young adventurers that are lately sprung up at Leeds and other places, amongst the clothiers." Of the other local markets and fairs of the West Riding, in which there were small sales amongst the poorer classes, very little is known until the time of Defoe beyond the fact of their actual existence. The merchants or factors who bought the pieces there sold some part of them locally but the great proportion of the cloth passed from these small fairs to London and so to other parts of Southern England or was carried overseas to serve the poor of Europe, leaving England through London, York, Hull, Newcastle or Chester.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Halifax wares had become known throughout the country in the fifteenth century, being sold in the cloth fairs at St. Bartholomew (booths there being frequently mentioned in Halifax wills) and the market at Blackwell Hall. So long as the Yorkshire trade in cloth was small, weekly markets for the sale of pieces were also small and the cloth fairs held periodically were the chief centres of the trade. Of the fifteen towns in the Riding holding charters for these fairs, Barnsley, Pontefract, Ripon and Lee were the most important; at their fairs the manufacturers of cloth bought their pieces on the appointed days, meeting the merchants and factors there. With industrial growth, the towns at the heart of the cloth district developed important weekly markets. Much of the trade of these smaller fairs was absorbed by the weekly cloth markets established in the early seventeenth century at Wakefield. In 1640

Barnsley petitioned unsuccessfully for Parliament to suppress these markets. The petition from the inhabitants of West Ardsley to the West Riding Justices in 1656 describes in what manner the woollen cloth trade at Lee Fair had decayed since the settlement of Wakefield market, the fair becoming a mere meeting ground for idle and tumultuous persons, where the only wares were a few poor horses and some cheap peddling goods. This weekly cloth market had already by 1628 been described as "the principal place of resorte of all sorts of clothiers, Drapers, and traffickers for cloath in these parts." (State Papers. Domestic (P.R.O.) C.I. XC. No. 54), having, indeed, successfully competed with Ripon, Leeds, and Halifax - apart from the less important of the fifteen West Riding towns with charters for holding cloth fairs - for the business of marketing cloth. The 1628 description of Wakefield market followed the attempt made by the town to evade the Privy Council's demand that in view of its apparent prosperity, its inhabitants, together with those of Leeds, Halifax and the port of Hull, should contribute towards the provision of three ships for the king's service, since the three towns shipped most of their cloth from Hull. The Wakefield inhabitants had pleaded in reply that they sold no cloth nor anything else at Hull and that the town was "greatlie decayed, especiallie in the trade of clothing, and that that small quantitie of cloth there made is noe sea ware, but sould to drapers onlie." On these grounds they pleaded to be excused from any contribution. (State Papers Domestic (P.R.O.) C.I. Vol. LXI. No. 84, April 1627). The inaccuracy of this statement was shown when the justices of the peace in their January session petitioned the Council concerning the use of hot press boards for cloth, giving to Wakefield the description quoted above. Thus despite the statements made by the inhabitants in their attempts to escape taxation,

there can be no doubt that throughout the seventeenth century Wakefield cloth market was in a condition of great material prosperity. In addition, the market at Wakefield was supplied, though not wholly, with the corn, butter and cattle of the local producers.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The centre of the market was occupied by the butchers whose stalls were known as the Flesh bothes, one shop being named Dabliterhouse. The Fish Shambles were in the Bull Ring. The leather merchants had their stalls in Silver Street, then called the Leather booths; close by them in the same street were the purveyors of fancy goods and ornaments. The inhabitants of the town presented a petition to the justices in 1675 stating that "time out of mind there has been kept a market for leather in the Leather Booths, where they have erected their stalls and shops but are now hindered by Mr. Flayle, officer of excise, who threatens to prosecute the tanners if they sold any leather there." The court decided against the official, who had no justification whatsoever for his action, and the leather market continued as before.⁽⁵⁰⁾

This market played a very important part in the life of the town, all northern districts being represented at it. Traders found it worth their while to bring their goods from places as far distant as Lincoln (Court Leet Rolls April 1657: "Skelton on Lincoln hath measured by a false yard") Gainsborough and Brigg in Lincolnshire (C.L.R. October 1660 "Richard Stables of Gainsborough and T. Goode of "Bridge" were fined for using false weights"). Malton (C.L.R. May 1660: "Alice Brown of Malton was fined for "bringing butter to market wanting weight"). Beverley (C.L.R. April 1657: "John Sugden of Beverley hath measured by a false yard"). whilst wool was brought regularly from Kendal and Rochdale.⁽⁵¹⁾ These outsiders came to the weekly markets; there were in addition the two annual fairs - one at Midsummer dating from 1204 and one at the beginning of November, dating from 1258.

The dealings in cloth were in the seventeenth century carried on in two ways. The one method - in open markets and fairs - has been described. The other method involved the giving of orders by traders to clothiers. In most cases the Leeds Clothiers saddled their horses and rode out to the country fairs at Ripon, Doncaster, Pontefract, or even to the farms themselves in the moorland and made ^{their} ~~his~~ purchases directly. At the same time, a great many of the more wealthy Yorkshire clothiers took or sent their own cloths to London, in preference to placing reliance on the sales in the Yorkshire markets. Many thousands of pieces travelled south in the course of each year as part of the important trade between Yorkshire and London and were sold either in St. Bartholomew Fair or at Blackwell Hall. Thus the clothiers either brought their goods to the cloth markets of Leeds, Halifax and Wakefield once or twice a week, or less frequently sent cargoes of greater bulk to these two great marts of the South where they were sold either directly to merchants, cloth dressers and dyers, or - as was often the case - to a middleman. In the mercantile world of the seventeenth century the middleman, factor or chapman had an important position to fill, his chief business being the purchase of cloth on commission for absentee merchants. In the sixteenth century the "brogger" had had a very black reputation, being popularly associated with every evil in the trading life of the day. Whilst they were not responsible for every rise in price in wool - the sixteenth century saw an increase in the price to about treble its height at the beginning of the century - there are some grounds for considering the monopoly for which they strove very dangerous to the interests of all classes connected with the wool trade. Every class was alienated by their actions;

countless complaints were made against them; they were accused of engrossing every fleece of wool in the kingdom, so that none could be obtained even in the open fairs and markets, except through their hands; the clothier found himself at their mercy; the farmer declared he could not sell his wool as he pleased.⁽⁵²⁾ The middleman had therefore received harsh treatment at the hands of the State, but in the seventeenth century his position was established. Thus a certain Whapman, John Dickson of Shipley, giving evidence (14 Charles I), declared that he bought Keighley kerseys, half-fixed, mingle-coloured, and ordinary kerseys from clothiers in Wakefield market. These he took to York where he sold them to merchants for exportation.⁽⁵³⁾ Cloths might also be made to the order of the merchant. Where only the standard types of cloth were required by the merchant he could satisfy his needs through the ordinary open markets but where he desired to obtain some special quality or a measure of cloth beyond the ordinary length, he had to order it from the clothier. It is important to notice that the middleman is already growing important in the seventeenth century wool and cloth trades. In the eighteenth century he is to be found amongst the factors responsible for the decline in the trade in all commodities in open fairs and markets.

In the seventeenth century Wakefield was itself raising up barriers which designed for its own protection had the inevitable result of causing it to fall behind the other cloth markets of the West Riding in prosperity. The failure of Wakefield in the second half of the seventeenth century to maintain its rivalry with Leeds - so far as the trade in wool was concerned, Wakefield had once been by far the foremost - must be assigned largely to the action of the manorial authorities in imposing irritating restrictions and regulations on the markets of Wakefield, levying tolls on all "foreigners", who sold goods in the town. In the

description of the struggles over the right to levy tolls it has already been seen that in 1687 Leeds Corporation granted £50 to one man "for defending the right of the parish from payment of toll to Hull and Wakefield." (Leeds Corporation Minutes I. 240, 243). The trade of Wakefield was gravely hampered by these irritating restrictions set up to protect the vested interests of the lords of the manor in their market tolls. Whilst it is possible that the ordinary people may often have been protected from exploitation as a result of these restrictive measures, progressive and enterprising industrialists and merchants chafed under them and were forced by them to look elsewhere for openings. Wakefield had many natural advantages but it did not advance nearly so far as these should have enabled it to do. The contrast is to be seen in the development of Leeds. There the charter of 1661 gave the burgesses control of all markets and the whole ecclesiastical parish was brought within the borough. Leeds Corporation accepted strangers who settled in Leeds to trade, provided they became freemen and paid their entry fees.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Wakefield might impose tolls on outside merchants, but it was Wakefield which was injured in the result. Newcomers to the industry and trade, together with Wakefield men out of their apprenticeship, went to places which did not impose unequal burdens by their regulations. The rapid growth of Leeds and Bradford enabled them to outstrip the older town. The "comfortable village" of Bradford which for two centuries had enjoyed the privileges of a market town, now became a busy place for the manufacture of woollen cloth.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Leeds rivalled Bradford, and in the eighteenth century attracts most notice as the chief market for the sale of cloth and wool.

Even in the seventeenth century the Leeds market grew in size and importance. Few tourists failed to pay a visit

to what had become one of the seven wonders of the North, for Leeds was developing into the commercial centre of the woollen area, the home of broad cloths and narrow cloths, white cloths and coloured cloths, all the produce of a wide, busy locality and its market, in Thoresby's words was "the life, not merely of the town alone, but of these parts of England." (Thoresby "Ducatus" p. 17)⁽⁵⁶⁾ This market for cloth was held during the seventeenth century on the narrow bridge spanning the Aire at the bottom of Briggate. Few more unsuitable sites could have been chosen - like the majority of other seventeenth century markets it was open to all the vagaries of weather, but it had peculiar disadvantages in being exposed also to the early morning mists and cold, damp, atmosphere of the Aire. Wherever today there is an open market as, e.g. in York or Otley, a normally wide thoroughfare becomes impractical for all vehicular traffic, so in seventeenth century Leeds this market was a great obstacle to passers-by and vehicles coming into Leeds from the South were almost unable to continue their way. In 1684 the mayor and aldermen decided that the nuisance of these disadvantages far outweighed any consideration of custom and by their order of June of that year the market was removed "from off the bridge to the broad street above, to prevent the inconveniency from the cold air of the water in winter, and the trouble of the carts and carriages in Summer." (Thoresby "Diary" June 14 1684). In this way, Briggate became the cloth market, sales taking place there every Tuesday and Saturday until the erection of the Leeds Cloth Halls.⁽⁵⁷⁾

There remain some few minor points to be noticed in regard to the seventeenth century trade of the more important fairs and markets in Yorkshire. Skipton has always thriven as a connecting-link between the two

populous counties of York and Lancaster. The tolls levied in the Skipton market and at Gargrave and Appletreewick were raised on cattle, corn, grain and wool; with the approach to more modern times the trade in cattle increased whilst the wool-trade declined in importance; even the cattle-trade is in the twentieth century declining so far as the fair is concerned - that at Appletreewick in Wharfedale has ceased to be held. At Scarborough in this period the cloth market was usually attended by people from the manufacturing districts who, having cloth to sell, called themselves clothiers. The market was held at the South end of Queen Street, the goods being displayed openly on stalls, one row of which was set up at each side of the street. This practice continued through the eighteenth century but came to an end early in the nineteenth. The corn market has, however, survived as an open market - the only **survival** at Scarborough. The blanket sales which formerly were held in similar manner to the cloth sales, on the South side of Newborough Street, and the pig-market held weekly at the South end of St. Thomas Street have both disappeared.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The great attention paid to the searching of boots and shoes in Bridlington market during the latter part of the seventeenth century can only lead to one conclusion - that there was in that market a very considerable trade in boots and shoes. This was, however, only one part of the trade carried on there; there was a large export trade to the Continent in agricultural produce and horses, largely through the fair held on the North Pier.⁽⁵⁹⁾

To effect a division between trade of the seventeenth and trade of the eighteenth century is an arbitrary procedure which has one measure of justification. There is, of course, no break in the trade itself. There are the same general tendencies of development; there are the same two main features of trade in cattle and grain in the East of the

county and in wool and cloth in the West, with a minority of the opposite trade carried on both in East and West. Here again the division is arbitrary but the line of the Ouse does give a means of demarcation. The further the fair or market to West and South-West, the greater is its share in the cloth trade, the further to the East the greater the share in the grain and cattle trade. In the early half of the seventeenth, as in the sixteenth century and the Middle Ages, the trade in grain and cattle is of more importance than the trade in wool and cloth. In the later seventeenth century the balance has already shifted; in the eighteenth the West Riding trade has gained the almost complete face of the picture of Yorkshire trade. Trade in corn, in stock, continued but the traveller and the observer is no longer attracted to those fairs in which they are the chief commodities in so irresistible a manner as he had been in earlier years. Those fairs and markets persist but already the age of their prosperity is over; here and there is a last lingering flourish but such a flourish is isolated, seldom repeated, and appears out of connection with the general development. The factors in decay are at work; towards the close of the century their operation is only slightly restricted. Whilst it is true to say that the wool and cloth trade in Western Yorkshire is increasing at an enormous rate in the eighteenth century it is not true to say that there is any growth in the importance of the West Riding fairs and markets in proportion to it. For some time the cloth fairs and markets did grow in size and prosperity so as to attract the attention of shrewd observers from many parts of Europe but the conditions of the growth in the trade themselves forced the development of conditions which implied the decay of the fairs and markets in which the trade had first grown. New forms appear, among them that of the last great type of fair - the Cloth Hall. With

the passing of the eighteenth century the greatness of the open fair and market belongs to the past. Thus it is possible to regard the development of trade from the first appearance of fair and market through the Middle Ages until towards the later part of the seventeenth century as single and continuous; there are the same general features throughout and little diversity in real detail. Growth is continuous; here and there a single fair emerges into importance whilst others disappear; some are always busy; others never attract more than fleeting notice, but always the scope of the whole is widening, Men come from always a further area; commodities are brought in ever-increasing bulk; but always the simple needs of the housewife are served equally with the complex demands of the merchant or bailiff. Of this growth and development there are still traces in the eighteenth century, so that there can be no real break. In that century there is a development, which, like the Industrial Revolution, has no clearly determined beginning, but like it, was already visible in the late seventeenth century but now reaches its culmination. Of this development, the most striking feature at the outset is the increased importance of the cloth fair. It must, however, be borne in mind that in the early years of the century - at the least during the reign of Queen Anne - each different part of England had little more than a narrow local existence. The country, from an economic point of view, was divided into a certain number of regional markets, with little connection between them even though England was not like Germany and France cut up by multitudinous customs barriers. Few towns apart from London had anything like permanent business connections with the whole country; in point of fact, most towns had no permanent connection with any other town other than those of their own vicinity and with London - as in the case of Wakefield, Leeds, Halifax, Beverley. In

regard to the country districts themselves the neighbouring town was alone included within the commercial horizon. Little, indeed, had changed since the Middle Ages. Apart from the connection established by the greater fairs the only centres of commerce which were at all extensive were those special markets where the produce of some local industry was sold. It is to this class of market that the markets of the West Riding really belong: they were patronised by merchant clothiers from the towns and by small producers who, working on the domestic system, lived in the villages round about. Of these markets that at Leeds was in point of quantity of business the largest; the others, close to one another were Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax and Wakefield. The weaver attending these to sell his small piece of stuff could not travel far from his native village. In all these markets, therefore, there was a high number of small transactions and of buyers and sellers. The clearest picture to be seen of them at the beginning of the century is that provided by the descriptions given by Defoe in his "Sketch of Yorkshire." Of Leeds he says:

"Leeds has been long famous for the woollen manufacture, which its merchants, and those of York and Hull, ship off for Holland, Hamburgh, and the north. Its cloth-market is admired as a prodigy of its kind, perhaps not to be equalled in the world, and is kept every Tuesday and Saturday. Early in the morning tressels are placed in two rows in the street, and sometimes two rows on a side, across which boards are laid that form a temporary counter on each side, from one end of the street to the other. At about six o'clock in the summer, and about seven in the winter, the clothiers being all come, the market-bell rings, upon which a stranger would be surprised to see, in a few

minutes, without the least hurry, noise, or disorder, the whole market filled, and the boards upon the tressels covered with cloth, each proprietor standing behind his own piece, few bringing more than one. The bell has no sooner ceased ringing, that the factors and buyers of all sorts enter the market, and walk up and down between the rows, some with foreign letters of orders, with patterns sealed on them in their hands, the colours of which they match, and when they have fixed upon what they want, they lean over to the clothier and by a whisper in the fewest words imaginable, the price is stated; one asks, and the other bids, and they agree or disagree in a moment. The buyers generally walk up and down twice, on each side of the rows, and in little more than an hour all the business is done: in less than half an hour you perceive the cloth to move off, the clothier taking it upon his shoulder to carry it to the merchant's house. At about half an hour after eight, the market-bell rings again, upon which the buyers immediately disappear, the cloth is all sold; or, if any remains, it is carried back to the inn. By nine o'clock, the boards and tressels are removed, and the street left at liberty to make room for the linen-drapers, hardware-men and the like. Thus ten or twenty thousand pounds worth of cloth, and sometimes much more, is bought and sold in about an hour's time, the laws of the market being more strictly observed here than in other markets. After this, the shambles are well provided with flesh and fish; and such quantities of fruit, in particular are sold, that 500 horse loads of apples have been bought up here in a day. Leeds has two fairs, held on the 10th of July for horses and hardware; and on the 8th of November, for horned cattle, horses and hardware."(60)

Defoe hardly notices Bradford and Wakefield, but has much to say about **Halifax**, thus:

"The extraordinary industry and spirit of the inhabitants, in the manufacture of cloth, particularly kerseys and shalloons, is so remarkable, that it has been computed that 100,000 pieces of shalloon are made in a year, in this town alone, and a single dealer has traded by commission for 60,000 l. per annum, to Holland and Hamburgh, in the article of kerseys alone. The inhabitants of the whole parish are so employed in the woollen manufacture, that they scarce sow more corn than will keep the poultry, and feed few oxen and sheep. Provisions are therefore brought to this market, from a considerable distance; and the market, which is on Saturdays, is thronged with a prodigious number of people, multitudes coming to sell provisions, and an amazing number, from all the parts of this extensive parish, to purchase provisions and sell their manufactures. It has but one fair, which is held on the 24th of June for horses."(61)

Defoe's list of fairs and markets in Yorkshire, the dates of their holding and the commodities to be obtained at each is to be found included as an appendix. From this list it can be realised that whilst the great cloth markets attracted the most important business there were in eighteenth century Yorkshire a great number of other fairs - Defoe gives seventy places as having fairs, the majority of them having more than one and some e.g. Pontefract, having as many as nine, (Skipton-in-Craven had ten), or eight or seven (e.g. York). From the list of commodities at each fair it will be seen that in all parts of the county horses, horned cattle and sheep occur most frequently. Here and there, some exceptional commodity crops up - milliners' goods at

Askrigg, Bedale and Hedon, toys at Bridlington, Hull, Wakefield and Gargrave, boots and shoes at Egton and Seamer, goosepies at Barnsley. Pedlars' goods appear frequently; linen-cloth, hardware, pewter, brass are occasionally to be found, copper-ware is rare, as are tin, oatmeal (at Ingleton) and cheese. But apart from his list of commodities Defoe has many remarks of great interest and value on the chief Yorkshire market-towns. Thus "Rotherham is eight miles south-west of Doncaster. It has a great market on Mondays, for provisions, cattle and corn, with two fairs, held on Whitsun-Monday, for horned cattle and sheep and the 1st of December, for horned cattle and horses." (62) At Pontefract he says: "Here is a spacious market-place, in which is a market on Saturdays" (63) "Eight miles to the east of Pontefract is Snaith, a small town on the river Aire, near its confluence with the river Don. It has a good trade, by means of the navigation of those rivers, and has a market on Fridays, with three fairs" Thorne is situated six miles south by east of Snaith but is a town that contains nothing worthy of notice; it has, however, a market on Wednesdays and two fairs." (64) "The market-place (at Ripon) is accounted one of the finest squares in England and is adorned with an obelisk, erected by John Aislabie, Esq.; who was chancellor of the exchequer in the reign of King George I." (65) "Yarum (= Yarm) by the navigation of the Tees carries on a good trade to London, in lead, corn and butter." (66) At Richmond "there is a plentiful market on Saturdays for cattle and all sorts of provisions." (67) Askrigg he dismisses as a small obscure town but Leyburn is classed as a "considerable village", whilst Settle "is a pretty good town, seated in the road from York to Lancaster, by the side of the river Ribble, over which it has a stone bridge." (68) There is an interesting note about Sedbergh, "fourteen miles north of Ingleton, situated on the east side of the river Lune on the borders

of Westmoreland, is improperly marked in most of our maps as a market-town; but it has two fairs."⁽⁶⁹⁾ Dewsbury is a village; Bradford "has a manufacture of cloth, a market on Thursdays and three fairs." "Wakefield has a market place in which is a beautiful cross."⁽⁷⁰⁾ Kirby-Moorside is "but an indifferent place", but Stokesley "has a good market on Saturdays and a fair held on the Saturday before Trinity Sunday which is reckoned the greatest fair in England for horned cattle, horses and linen cloth".⁽⁷¹⁾ To complete the picture of Yorkshire trade drawn by Defoe it is necessary to give his description of the trade carried on by the towns of the East coast. He assigns chief importance amongst the Yorkshire ports to Whitby, Scarborough and Hull. Of these three, only Hull has retained this importance, growing to be one of the foremost ports of the country; Whitby harbour now fights an almost constantly losing struggle with sand, so that it is visited by few boats of any tonnage - the visit of a two masted Dutch Schooner being an event of great remark in the summer of 1934 - whilst Scarborough harbour is now used for few purposes beyond the requirements of the North Sea trawlers, for which it is , however, still an important and, in rough weather, safe haven. of Whitby, Defoe says:

"The best and strongest vessels used in England for the coal-trade are built at Whitby, and upwards of 300 ships belong to this place. As fishing was its original support, there is still abundance of fish caught here, and besides what is cured, their pannier men dispose of great quantities of fresh fish to all the places round for many miles distance. Their coast-trade in time of peace is very large; they export butter, fish, hams, alum, tallow etc:, and 'tis said that 500 barrels of this fish come every year to London, and no less than 6000 barrels to the same market.

On the other hand they import a thousand tons of lime from Scarborough, and many thousand chaldrons of coals for the use of the alum works, etc., there being several considerable alum mines by this town. They have also a considerable share in the coal-trade, and in time of war are generally much concerned in letting out their shipping for the transport service. With respect to their foreign commerce, it reaches to almost all parts of Europe. They annually send between 20 and 30 large ships into the Baltic, 9 or 10 vessels pass almost constantly between this place and Holland; five or six sail yearly up the Mediterranean, with salt fish, and the products of this country. They have likewise been pretty successful in the whole fishery. What they chiefly import are rice, timber, hemp, pitch, tar, turpentine and other bulky commodities. This town has a market on Saturdays well supplied with corn, flesh, fowls and fish, but it has no fairs."⁽⁷²⁾

Defoe's description of Whitby is of great importance in the story of Yorkshire fairs and markets. The fair at Whitby granted by Henry I to the Abbey is now absolutely at an end, yet Whitby trade is in a highly flourishing condition - a trade which does not depend either on market or fair. Whitby provides one of the first great examples of where the old system is dying out. So far as Whitby is concerned, the medieval restriction of progressive and valuable commerce to the limits of the occasional, but regular, fairs has disappeared. The commodities imported are natural for a town in which shipbuilding was an important occupation. The alum mines are no longer important; to the visitor to Whitby today the only apparent manufacture is that of jet - made popular by Queen Victoria.

A similar development - the destruction of the limitation of trade to the fairs - is to be seen at Hull

and Scarborough.

"Scarborough has one of the best harbours in the kingdom, that is of great advantage in receiving ships in stormy weather, coming from the eastern seas, along our northern coasts. The town carries on a considerable trade, and has a great number of ships, chiefly employed in carrying coals from Newcastle to London. It has a market on Thursdays and Saturdays and two fairs, held on Holy Thursday, and on the 22nd of November, for toys."⁽⁷³⁾

The fair has thus already appeared in modern guise at Scarborough. Trade passes it by and it is become merely a pleasurable institution.

"The trade carried on at Hull is very great, for a number of the most considerable manufacturing towns in England, being situated on the rivers that fall into the Humber, are of infinite advantage to its commerce, enabling its merchants to export a variety of manufactures, to most parts of the world. There are 150 ships belonging to the town, rising from small craft to those of 600 tons burthen. In short, the foreign trade is so great, that the customs here are reckoned at between 30 and 40,000L. a year. With respect to the inland trade, it is carried on by the rivers that fall into the Humber, not only to great part of Yorkshire, but to Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire and Warwickshire; the heavy goods of which counties are brought hither and exported to Holland, Hamburgh, France, Spain, the Baltic, and other parts of Europe; and from thence are returned iron, copper, hemp, flax, canvas, Russia-linen, and yarn, besides wine, oil, fruit and many other commodities. This town has two markets kept on Tuesdays and Saturdays; and a fair held on the 10th of October for horses and toys."⁽⁷⁴⁾

Thus all three ports, Whitby, Scarborough and Hull, have the same story to tell. Before the manufacturing towns of the West and the agricultural districts of the North and East, they have become emancipated from the old methods and are the centres of a great overseas and inland trade which has spread far beyond the bounds of their local fairs. It was perhaps natural that it should be the ports of Yorkshire that first rose beyond the limits of fair and market, since they were most in touch of any town with the commercial world beyond their own county whilst sea-borne trade does not easily move within set bounds of time and place. The Hull horse-fair did remain important for some time further and today Hull fair, growing from the fair for toys, is considered as one of the most important of all fairs but Hull trade has today little connection with Hull fair; the bond had already been snapped even at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The importance of the horse and cattle fair is evidenced by an Order in the Hull Court of Quarter Sessions, of August 27, 1752, that "no horned cattle whatsoever or hides be driven or brought to this town to the fair to be held on the 10th day of October next, the said fair being, according to a late Act of Parliament, to be held on that day, and not on the 29th day of September as heretofore."(75)

Daniel Defoe was not the only Englishman to tour Yorkshire in the eighteenth century, leaving behind a record of his travels. Another such traveller was Harley, Earl of Oxford, who visited Leeds in 1725 and left an account of the market there which corresponds very closely with that of Defoe. He estimates that there about 2000 persons present, whose dealings - concluded in about half an hour were worth £30,000, "and yet, all carried on with such hush and silence as if they had all been bred in the school of Pythagoras.

This they told us was a very small market, many of the neighbouring traders having been prevented from coming in by the floods and boisterousness of the weather; at other times they have dealings here in the same space of time and with the same tranquillity for 50 to £60,000. Happy would it be for the family of the Moroses could they procure wives educated under this system." (Tour of Harley, Earl of Oxford, 1725. Portland MSS. VI. 140-1)⁽⁷⁶⁾ Leeds with its great market stood at one corner of the pentagon formed by it together with Wakefield, Huddersfield, Halifax and Bradford (declared by Defoe to be "of no other note than having been the birthplace of Dr. Sharp, the good Archbishop of York") within which the Yorkshire woollen area as distinct from the worsted was confined. Yet despite its importance Leeds market suffered from grave inconveniences; it was exposed to all the disadvantages that inclement weather could provide. The market in Briggate was regarded as a natural institution and continued whether few or many were permitted by the weather to attend. It was only the appearance of a dangerous rivalry in the building of a cloth hall at Hightown that aroused["] to realise the inadequacy of its arrangements for its so important trade and led it to supersede its open-air market by a series of cloth halls.

One other notice of the wool trade may be given. In Wensleydale, Swaledale and Cleveland districts knitted goods, e.g. socks, "wool caps for seamen", were produced either to be worn by their producers or else to be sold at the fairs and markets of **Dent** and Bedale, or even to be taken so far afield across the moors to Kirby Stephen in Westmoreland and Kendal. In those fairs they were sold to supply the needs of "servants and ordinary people" of other counties.⁽⁷⁷⁾

The eighteenth century witnessed also a very important trade in horses and cattle. Draught oxen were bought and

sold like horses and John Hobson has frequent references in his "Diary" to such cattle-dealings:

1726 March 23 (Wednesday). At Barnsly. Abra:
Hawksworth had bought a pair of fatt
oxen of my Lord Strafford for £16.

1730 May 18th. At Rhootherham fair. Bought a pair of
oxen, price £12 17s. 6d.

1730 Oct. 29th. At Leeds Fair. Bought a fat ox
for £7 10s.

1731-2 February 23rd. At Barnsly. A slow fair for
oxen. (78)

A cattle market was first established in 1765 at Wakefield on gently sloping land in the Ings, south of the town which had been obtained by Wakefield from the Rev. Henry Zouch, Vicar of Sandal, in exchange for land in that parish, the land thus obtained being 1a. 2r. 16p. in extent. The Governors of the Charities let this on February 16, 1765 to six persons on a twenty one years' lease at £4 15s. a year, these tenants agreeing to enclose the land, to provide a sufficient number of sheep-pens, to keep the road and ground in good repair and to leave all posts, rails and pens in good and sufficient repair at the end of their tenure. The Governors having lent £50 to the tenants towards the initial cost, the first market was held on March 7th, 1765. Immediately, threats of legal action were made by Adwalton which had been formerly the scene of an important cattle fair. The Adwalton fortnight fairs were held on alternate Thursdays through the summer, and the threat to their existence by the Wakefield market was the more real in that already the authorities at Adwalton were accused by traders of using the fair to make extortionate charges. The inhabitants of Adwalton declared the Wakefield fair illegal on the grounds of the prejudice done by it to the neighbouring fairs and markets held under royal charter at Adwalton. Nothing beyond legal threatenings came of the dispute and Wakefield market - from the first a success - rapidly

attracted an immense trade. 59,118 sheep were penned in the year ending September 30, 1780. Certain nineteenth century figures show the constant increase in its popularity:

Sales of	Cattle	Sheep.	
1805	5,527	100,626	
1817	10,444	151,980	
1824	12,333	258,750	
1835	13,519	170,912	
1868	50,289	360,112	(79)

There were at Doncaster two fairs in the year, one on April 5, and the other on August 5, chiefly for horned cattle, horses, sheep and coarse woollen cloth. The markets there are situated nearly in the centre of the town, the corn market in a wide area close to the meat market for which in 1756 the corporation erected a special building. The fish-market remained open in the eighteenth century and was well supplied with salmon, chiefly from Newcastle and Carlisle, with sea-fish from Flamborough and the Lincolnshire coasts, with river-fish and particularly large eels from Gamston in Nottinghamshire. The area of the fish market is called the Magdalenes; there also the gardeners have their stalls for all kinds of vegetables, together with the dealers in pottery ware and the market in wool.⁽⁸⁰⁾ There were a number of fairs in the neighbourhood of Doncaster, those at Thorne and Bawtrey being used for the sale of horned cattle and horses. The garden produce raised in this district, and especially at Tickhill, was not, however, sold locally but was sent to the markets at Rotherham and Sheffield.⁽⁸¹⁾ Various schedules of the persons holding shops, houses, fixed stalls and removable standings in the market were prepared at Sheffield in the eighteenth century. These were occupied by people of all variety of callings. The tenants of the houses included dyers, coopers, fruiterers, hardwaremen, hatters, gardeners, breeches-makers, and flax-dressers. In addition to these trades there were

representatives of the pelt-mongers, shoemakers, tanners, hucksters, hosiers, fishmongers, staymakers, butchers and one bookseller occupying the standings and stalls.

There were seventy-six stalls in the streets adjoining the markets, and High Street, up to the Church gates was lined with the stalls of vendors from amongst those already mentioned, but especially there were found here the sellers of earthenware, old shoes, gingerbread, cheese and bacon, whilst there also stood in this street carts laden with fruit and garden produce. Each tradesman was allotted a definite standing, there being three "before the front of Mr. Bayley's house" and four "in front of Mr. Wreaks's." Gathered round the Market Cross there were the farmers' wives with their butter and eggs. This medley was the normal feature of Sheffield market-day; on fair-days the gathering was increased by the attendance of a further twenty-eight cheesemongers and farmers with cheese, sixty clothiers, linen-drapers, sellers of gingerbread, toys and hardware "too numerous to mention". One eighteenth century list shows that there were in the town on the property of the lord of the manor thirty eight shops in the shambles, forty-five movable stalls in the Market, five shops in different parts of the town, seven stalls in the public street, thirteen shops under dwellinghouses.⁽⁸²⁾ The main features of this Sheffield market disappeared in 1786 when an indoor-market was instituted. Great changes took place also at Lee Fair. At the beginning of the century there was in practice only one fair, lasting three weeks, one of the most important in the kingdom. It was a mart for the sale of all kinds of produce although it was formerly especially celebrated for the size and importance of its transactions in horses and cattle. Fruit and onions were in abundance there and multitudes are said to have come from the neighbourhood of Huddersfield and other parts of the county to purchase

such victuals, which when brought to the market were stowed in barns and then sold by lamplight at the booths in the morning.⁽⁸³⁾ The inhabitants of West Ardsley had in 1656 already declared Lee Fair to be utterly decayed and to be the resort only of idle persons, whilst its wares were but a few peddling trifles (v. supra p. 191) but the decay of Lee Fair must be dated in a later period. In the course of the eighteenth century the one great fair disappeared and in its stead reappeared the two original fairs of August 24 and September 17 which did not long maintain any measure of importance.

In the North Riding fairs were very frequent in this century; thus there were eight at Egton (Egton horse fair is still held in September), nine at Lythe, and four at Masham. These inland towns dealt mainly in agricultural produce. Middleham cattle fair was one of the largest in the North of England, the Swine Market there still retaining its old name. Masham fair had most fame from its popularity as a sheep fair, and all comers to it were - according to the law of hospitality in the parish - regaled with roast-beef, pickled-cabbage and strong ale. At Bedale large quantities of pewter were sold - the natural outcome of the presence of lead mines in its neighbourhood.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The fairs at Bedale were also celebrated for the sale of horned cattle, sheep, horses, leather, brass, tin and milliners' goods, the last item proving that Bedale women insisted on their right to share in the trade of the fair. This insistence was locally celebrated in a jingle:

"Bedale bonnets and Bedale Faces
Find nowt to beat 'em in any places -
For t'first are 'Fairings' an' t'last
are Graces."

In this period Richmond was gaining more importance, passing its rival-neighbour Grinton, which had two fairs - now becoming more of the "feast" in character - and had

been the headquarters of the Swale and Blackburne families.⁽⁸⁵⁾
Northallerton's fairs were also famous for their trade in horses, cattle and sheep, the St. George's fair being noted as a resort - like the fairs at Bedale - of the fair sex.⁽⁸⁶⁾
For the fairs at York the best authority is Drake who published his description of the city, "Eboracum", in 1736. At that time a fair was always kept in Micklegate on St. Luke's day (October 18) for all sorts of small wares. Commonly this fair was known as "Dish Fair" from the great quantity of wooden dishes and ladles brought to it. An old custom always observed in this fair was that of bearing a wooden ladle in a sling on two stangs, carried by four sturdy labourers, each labourer supported by another - a ridicule on the meanness of the wares brought to the fair, small benefit accruing to the labourers from it.⁽⁸⁷⁾
A Line Fair was regularly kept in the yard of the Guild Hall and beneath the gateway, formerly being held beneath the Cross in Thursday market (now St. Sampson's Square), on the Saturdays preceding Old Michaelmas Day, Old Martinmas Day, Old Christmas-Day, Old Candlemas Day, Old Lady Day and on Whitmonday, St. Peter's Day and Lammas Day (old style). The fair began about 9 o'clock in the morning and was usually over in about two hours, the line (or flax) being brought from the neighbouring towns and villages.⁽⁸⁸⁾

One other type of trade cannot be omitted. Some of the south-western fairs of England have memories of the ~~slave~~ slave-trade in the early Middle Ages. The method of hiring servants at certain of the Yorkshire fairs retained something of the flavour of that trade and the mingling of great numbers of young men and women in strange towns without any form of guardianship or supervision was not conducive to a high moral standard. By the end of the eighteenth century "statute" fairs - those at which labourers were

hired - were fast dying out and only the commoner sort of servants then presented themselves for engagements after this fashion but for two centuries, at least, previously they had been very common in Yorkshire and were always accompanied by disorderly scenes of dissipation. For the point of view of the farmer anxious to hire labourers it is possible to turn both to the farming book and account book of Henry Best of Elmswell. It must be remembered that Henry Best was no idealist or theorist but a substantial farmer who had an active interest in the fairs held in the towns around him - thus in 1624 he records that he sold two quarters of barley at market, having already sold in that year twenty quarters each to Mr. Colton and Mr. Brice of York and fifty one and a half quarters of barley to Mr. Toppin of York. (89) In his account book he records the prices he had to pay to his servants:

1641 Servants hyred at Martynmasse - Christopher Pearson to have £4 p.a., and 12d. for his godspenny; Henry Wise £2 13s. 4d., Henry Pinder £1 13s. 4d., William Tadman, 'shep' £5, and 16 ewes and 7 hogges wintered, or ells 20 ewes and no hogges, whether he will; Alce Foxe £1 12s. and 2s. for her godspenny; Robert Ward £2, Ellin Edmonds 16s., Joane Temy £1 13s. 4d. her godspenny was 1s. 6d., George £1. £22 6s.

1642 Christopher Pearson £4 6s. and a pair of my boots which are to strate for mee, and a pair of old shoes; William Browne £4; James Wethrill £3 10s., John Smyth £3, Percival Holmes £2 10s., George Gardam, £1 2s., and a pair of boots; George Morley, a shepherd £1 6s. 8d., Elizabeth Dales £2 4s., Isabel Huntly £1 4s. £23 2s. 8d. There godspennyes came to 20s. and 4d. more which I gave them. (90)

It is of interest to notice that it was no uncommon thing to pay wages in kind; the shepherd would be stirred to greater care of his charges if part of his wages were involved in their welfare. In the "Farming Book" there are directions for the "Hyringe of Servantes" -

"Aboute a fortnight or tenne dayes afore

Martynmasse, the chiefe constable of every division

sendeth abroad his precepts to all pettie constables, willinge them to give notice to all masters and servants within theire severall constableries howe that hee intendeth to sitte att such a place on such a day, commandinge everie of them to bringe in a bill of the names of all the masters and servants within theire severall constableries. There are usually two, and sometimes three, sittings or statute-dayes for every division, whereof the first is a weeke or more afore Martynmasse, and the next three or fower dayes after that; for hee perhapps sendeth one warrant to soe many townes to meete him att such a place on such a day, and another to other townes to meete him againe att another place, or perhapps att the same place on such a day; and the townes that are the first called, are the most priviledged; for masters that wante servants, and servants that wante masters, have the benefitte of the next sittinge to provide for themselves; whereas those townes that are not called till the latter sittinge have but one day to provide themselves in, for the servants in these townes cannot bee hyred till the townes bee called, that theire masters, or some for them, bee there to sette them at liberty; the first thinge that the cheife constable doth is to call the constables of everie towne, and to take in the bills, and then to call the masters by theire names, in order as they are sette in the bills, and to aske them if they will sette such and such a servant att liberts if the master will, then hee maketh the servant his tickett, and the servant giveth him 2d. for his paines; if the master will not sette him att liberty, then the cheife constable is to lette them knowe what wages the statute will allowe, and to sette downe a reasonable and indifferent (= impartial) wage betwixt them, and hee is

to have one penny of the master for every servant that stayeth two yeares in a place, or is not sette att liberty, and this the pettie constables are to doe for him, viz: to sende in bills of the names of all such servants as stay with their olde masters, and to gather the money, and sende it him. Our sittings weare both att Kirk-burne this yeare; the cheife constable sate att Mr. Whipps, and the servants stode in the church-yard, there is allwayes a sittinge att Killam the morrow after All Saint day, and usually another at Sledgmour (- Sledmere), two or three days after. A master cannot turne away his servant, nor a servant goe from his master, without a quarter's warninge; servants will usually give their olde masters a day, some two dayes, and some will stay three dayes with their olde masters, and goe away on the fowerth day after Martynmasse. They stay usually two or three dayes with their friends, and then aboute the fifth or sixth day after Martynmasse will they come to their newe masters; they will depart from their old services, any day in the weeke, but their desire (hereabouts) is to goe to their new masters eyther on a Tewsday, or on a Thursday; for on a Sunday they will seldome remoove, and as for Munday, they account it ominous, for they say

Munday flitte,
Neaver sitte;

but as for the other dayes in the weeke, they make no greate matter. I heard a servant asked what hee could doe, whoe made this answeare,

"I can sowe
I can mowe,
And I can stacke,
And I can doe
My master too,
When my master turnes his back."

They will say to a mayde, when they hire her, that if

shee have but beene used to washinge, milkinge, brewinge and bakinge, they make no question but shee can sweepe the howse and wash the dishes. When servants goe to the sittinge, they putte on theire best apparrell, that theire masters may see them well cladde; they gette theire breakefasts, and soe goe to the sittinge immediately, yett the townes are seldome called before tenne or eleaven of the clocke, yett they will stay till it bee allmost darke, afore they come hoame, and then have they theire dinners; and if they bee hyred, they are not to goe to the latter sittinge."⁽⁹¹⁾

This picture shows an orderly gathering. Though there was some measure of unfairness in the system in that some masters and servants had only one instead of two sittings at which to obtain new opportunities, on the one hand, of service and on the other, employment, there was in this system a real possibility that all disorder would be prevented and means found of lessening the risk of unemployment. Many servants must have found the period after breakfast until darkness a period of great anxiety until hired by some new master but they were protected from the humiliations which a more exposed method of hire permitted at other statutes. The holding of the statute in the churchyard in one form of the survival of the connection between church and fair - another form being seen in the existence of the village "feast". During the eighteenth century the Wakefield "Statute" fair was held each year on November 11, on which day there were to be seen crowds of young men and women ranged along the south side of Westgate between the Corn Exchange and the Saw Inn. As they waited to be hired, the men wore the badges of their occupation - the agricultural labourer, chewing at the straw in his mouth, and the shepherd displaying a piece of wool fastened to his smock. On the completion of the engagement a handshake

or the giving of a "luckpenny" - usually a shilling - to the servant struck the bargain.⁽⁹²⁾ The statutes at Rotherham were held annually on the first Monday in November. Here again the farmers' lads and lasses stood in the church-yard or in the neighbouring streets. The circumstances which led to the abolition of the statutes at Sheffield were not creditable but in view of the scenes at them the abolition could not be regretted. Held on the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude (October 18) they were regarded by the cutler lads of the towns as a fitting opportunity for indulging in coarse horse-play at the expense of the country labourers who had come to the town for hire and proved somewhat simple game. Not only did these labourers have to stand in front of verbal rudenesses of the broadest kind but they also suffered from the perpetration of many practical jokes. Nails were driven through coats in order to fasten the luckless wearer to the posts of the church-yard-wall; the women, and particularly the girls, frequently found themselves pinned, or even stitched, each to her neighbour. The constant recurrence of these and worse enormities induced the country people rather to risk unemployment than to undergo them, and with the cessation of the labourers' attendance, the statutes died out.⁽⁹³⁾ Statutes were still held at the beginning of the nineteenth century annually on the second Thursday in November at Bolton-upon-Dearne,⁽⁹⁴⁾ and it is only in very recent years that the labourers have ceased to attend the Martinmas Fair at York for the purpose of gaining a year's hire.

Since the "Complete List of Northern Fairs" published in 1813 is content with recording the places at which fairs and markets were held, together with the days of their holding, the last complete statement of the trade carried on in the various fairs of Yorkshire is that given in

W. Owen's "Book of Fairs" published in 1770. This statement is in close agreement with Defoe's account, and suggests, therefore, that the same details of trade were continuing in the last decades of the century as had been witnessed by Defoe. Since nothing more than a statement of the wares at each fair is given, it is impossible to tell whether that trade was flourishing or was already in a state of decay. The same places have their accustomed fairs; many of these places are today almost entirely unknown outside their own district, and it may be assumed that in some cases at least the trade was confined to that district. Again the chief commodities mentioned go to the proving of what has previously been a generally misunderstood fact. These fairs were chiefly concerned with the sale of livestock and only occasionally is there any mention of "pedlary" or "toys", or any hint that luxuries were the principal items of merchandise. The view that the trade in fairs was a luxury-trade must be definitely abandoned, in the case of Yorkshire at least. All available evidence shows that the trade was in those commodities in which Yorkshiremen have in all centuries found their chief interest - cattle, sheep, horses, wool and woollen goods. In so far as spices are to be considered a luxury, there is a partial luxury trade, but it must not be forgotten that in the Middle Ages spices were to some degree a necessity to people faced by the prospect of dried meat as the main article of food through the winter. Through the centuries the main features of the trade in the Yorkshire markets have remained almost entirely constant; at the latter part of the eighteenth century there are causes at work which mean the complete alteration of the face of the fair, but their operation bears no complete effect until the nineteenth century except in one sphere. The development of the "closed" market and the Cloth Hall is an important

and remarkable feature in the eighteenth century but it was confined to certain of the larger towns. Those places which today are market-towns and pleasant villages still retained their open fair, held annually, and their weekly market in the **street**. The atmosphere of the roundabout and sideshow must not be dated earlier than the nineteenth century so far as the fair is concerned. Until then, the Yorkshire fair was still concerned with serious matters of trade. That trade matters in these fairs were of this serious nature is further evidenced by certain protective regulations.

Many of the **gilds** at the close of the Middle Ages found it necessary to protect themselves **against** the danger of competition to which they were exposed by the freer trade of the fair. One special feature of the bowyers' regulations at York appears in the minute directions laid down with reference to the sale of arrows at fairs; a bowyer was only allowed to take a limited number of arrows to Chester fair. All bowyers' shops were to be closed during the time of fairs, but no arrows were to be left to be sold by other people after the end of the fair (York Memorandum Book).⁽⁹⁵⁾ In the sixteenth century the Yorkshire reputation for the manufacture of good cloth was suffering, together with the trade of York, from the making of cloth by upstart clothiers of little or no training. To end such an outrage on law, order, and industrial honesty, an act was passed (34-5 Hen. VIII C. 10) decreeing that "no manner of persons dwelling within the said county of York, or nigh unto the same shall make any coverlets to be put to sale, unless such persons be inhabiting within the city of York or within the suburbs of the same, upon pain of forfeiture of every coverlet wrought and put to sale. And it is further enacted that no manner of persons of the

occupation of handicraftsmen of coverlets shall use the said craft of hawking, or go as hawkers out of the city but only in markets and open fairs."⁽⁹⁶⁾ The craftsmen found it impossible to limit the trade carried on in fair and market; the same exception appears again and again. At Scarborough the "Glovers' Composition" of 1608 contains:

Rule 8. "Yt is agreid that noe glover w'thoute ye lib'tyes of Scardeburghe dwellynge shall bye anye kind of wares belongynge to ye glover crafte w'thyn this towne of anye man (excepte it bee on ye markett daye), and that betwixt ye howers of tenne in ye mornynge and fower of ye clock in ye afternoone, or in time of ye fayere, uppon payne of forfeiture of 20s. for evrie defalte, th' one-halfe to ye baylyffes, and th' other halfe to ye use of ye pavadge of ye same tounes."

Similarly the "Smiths' Composition" of Scarborough in 1599 laid down as Rule 5 that it was only on market days that stranger-smiths might sell their wares.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Such regulations were not confined to Yorkshire - the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Guild of Merchant Adventurers in 1525 had declared that "no man being free of this fellowship do carry no manner of merchandise into the country, neither by water nor by land, but only unto free fairs: except those that will go with a fool pack."⁽⁹⁸⁾

On a very similar nature are the regulations to prevent forestalling and regrating. Many of these have been quoted in connection with the judicial requirements in the fair (v. supra pp. 248 et seq.). There was always the constant temptation to attempt to effect a "corner" in the goods sold at any fair - particularly in corn and produce - and then to make a profit by selling at the monopolist's own price. State and municipality alike made war upon this practice but never with complete success. The Council met

on the evening of December 31, 1586 to sign the orders concerning the relief of the poor and for serving the markets with corn (note from Wm. Waad to Secretary Davison),⁽⁹⁹⁾ and on June 13, 1600 the Lord Keeper made a grave speech requiring the judges to look to forestallers and regrators of markets.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Thus at Wakefield the bailiffs of the town regulated the trade whilst the law fixed the value of the labour which was to be expended on wheat and barley in order to make them into bread and ale.

The central government also ordained what weight of bread was to be sold for a given sum, and what price should be paid for a gallon of ale - this was part of the national assize - whilst the bailiffs fixed the price of other provisions, as, for instance, of meat, fish and poultry, The legal penalty for breach of either type of regulation was the pillory or tumbrel. Here at Wakefield there was also the regulation - designed to prevent forestalling - that "no man or woman go out to buy victuals or other kind of stuff coming to the market, but that they be brought into the open market for all."⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Hucksters were not allowed to buy salt from the shops - with the intention of re-selling it - but only in the open market. Already in 1322 Richard Stell, a "foreigner" was convicted at Wakefield of being a common forestaller of goods brought to the market. The wives of William Pratt and William Marriott were punished for being forestallers of cheese and butter, John Russel of Pontefract and Thomas Laker for trying to sell their poultry before the opening of the market. More than two and a half centuries later - in 1579 - the Burgess Court agreed to appoint two honest men of every street to be searchers of the market for corn and victuals and to take a toll of 3s.4d. from any who should prove to be forestallers (those who bought or sold or intercepted goods for sale before the

opening of the market), regrators (those who rebought and resold victuals in the same market, or within five miles of it), or ingrossers (those who bought up the whole supplies of corn or victual).⁽¹⁰²⁾ When these practices of forestalling and ingrossing affected the supply of corn in the market, the situation, especially for the poor, might easily become serious. There was reason for the Wakefield "paynes" of 1579:

"that no man sell there corne Brought to the market to be sold before the bell be ronge except to the Inhabitants in payn for every lode xijd.,"

and "that no huckester whiche use to bye and sell againe shal not bye eny kind of victuall or fruite untill the market-bell be ronge in payne of everye offence xijd."

Similarly at Sheffield the Sembly Quest of 1609 appointed officers (Frauncis Stanyforth and George Cleytonne) "to see and search that corne be brought into the markett and none be sould until the markett bell rynges." Under these regulations, Heugh Roberts was fined 3s.4d. for "forestallinge or buying of whitmeate in the feildes before it come into the towne or markett" and William Sponer and John Harrison 4d. each "for buying butter in the feilds".⁽¹⁰³⁾ There was always in

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the danger of an artificial scarcity of corn. A proclamation of Queen Elizabeth in 1565 commanded the magistrates to attend the markets and required that some of them "be alwaise present to assist the poorer sorte with provision for their money at

reasonable prises; which, if the owners thereof shall not be induced by you, and persuaded to utter their corne at such reasonable prises as you shall be your direction lymitt, you shall cause the said corne to be distributed, especiaillie to the poorer sorte; and if any shall murmer or repine at your order, ye shall,

as the course of the state of the realme requireth in such a tyme of necessitie, comitt them that refuse to performe such your order to prison of the market, or of the county, there to remayne, without any baile, untill they shall conforme themselves to your said order."

As a further precaution it was commanded that no justice who was "a great owner of corne of his owne growth, or by rent, or buyinge, shall have authoritie to execute the contents of this our letter for furnishing the markets at reasonable prices."(104)

There was not only danger from the forestalling of corn but in the West Riding especially from the forestalling of the supplies of wool. An act (29 Eliz. c. 20) was passed in 1597 to forbid the use of "tenters" (machines for stretching woven cloth, so that when set it shrank and became uneven). By the same act searchers were appointed to go once a month to all houses where cloth was made to measure and to seal all goods that were ready for market, no cloth being allowed to be sold unless already sealed.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ The clothiers of several West Riding towns petitioned the Privy Council in 1644, declaring that if any countryman or woolman dwelling at some distance away was to bring his wool to the markets at Leeds, Wakefield, Ripon, Doncaster, or Pontefract, which the clothiers usually frequented, even then the woolmen came purposely to forestall the wool so that the poor clothiers could only be served at their hands, this proving a serious burden to them. The Council was desired to restrain the woolmen from such buying and engrossing.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

There can, therefore, be no doubt that throughout their history from their first appearance in the early Middle Ages until towards the close of the eighteenth century the Yorkshire fairs and markets were concerned with vital matters of trade. It remains to be seen what part they

also played in the life of those centuries as factors in politics, as centres of entertainment, and as a portion of the social development of the county.

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EXPLANATORY NOTES.

- p. 270 osmund-iron

This term refers to iron in the form of small bars or rods imported from the Baltic lands into England for the manufacture of fish-hooks, arrow-heads, bell-gear.

- p. 280 Massledine

A mixture of wheat and rye.

- p. 280 dodd-red-wheat

The term "dodded", of which "dodd" is an abbreviation, in regard to wheat implies that the wheat is awnless.

The same term "dodded" is used in regard to hornless cattle.

- p. 294 Duddery

Though this term is applied chiefly to the fair at Sturbridge, it is found elsewhere in open markets where a section is set apart for the sale of woollen goods. In North Yorkshire the term "duds" is applied to woollen clothes.

CHAPTER V.

THE PLACE OF FAIRS IN POLITICAL

AND

SOCIAL LIFE.

Political Importance: Growth of Yorkshire families; Connection with Relatives; Counsellors and Favourites of Kings; Rewards for Service; Danger of Rebellion; Declaration of Government Policy; Scottish Raids; Effect of the Civil War.

Importance in Town Development; Street Names; the Market-Cross.

Attractions at the Fairs; Amusements; Proximity of Market and Inn; Position of Women; Particular Customs.

Upkeep of the Market-Place.

Dangers; Breach of the Peace; Private War; the Highwayman; the Surface of Roads; Plague.

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It has long been generally supposed that the meeting of people at fairs was of some importance in political life i.e. in matters touching the welfare of the State. There were in the assembling of crowds originally for purposes of trade ample opportunities for the dissemination of news of all kinds and in any crowd news of any form rapidly assumes with the ready assistance of rumour and misunderstanding a strange colour and guise. Plots and seditious suggestions had a ready-ploughed field for their sowing; those who sowed faced little risk of detection in crowds where many were strangers except to their immediate friends. Rumours of impending changes in a ministry, discontents at a lighter weight in the coins exchanged in the business of the fair, hints of a monarch's highhandedness, these must have caused governments to view with suspicion the not always idle talk in the fair. External disturbances, too, must have alarmed or exhilarated the crowds when news came of danger or victory as in those fairs where men came on the morning following the blazing of the Armada beacons. There would be anxiety in the fairs of Lancashire as the Highlanders of the "Forty-Five" invaded England, and corresponding relief in Yorkshire when it was learnt that they would not pass that way. There was a further side, too, to the political nature of a fair. The grant of a fair was a means of rewarding good service to the king or to the king's friends; opposition to the king could be punished by the withdrawal of a previous charter. The king also could make his will known to all parts of the country by proclamation made at fair-time, since, the fair over, those who had heard the proclamation would bear its declarations to their several homes.

Yet it must be confessed that the evidence for the importance of the fair in the political view-point is very slight but through the centuries there are indications of the part which such a gathering might and did play. So far as such evidence is concerned, it must also be realised that it is usually of a very general nature and only on occasion is reference made to any particular county such as Yorkshire.

Yorkshire shares with the other northern counties the position of the home of the great families responsible for the guarding of the northern marches against the Scots. The manors of Yorkshire are, many of them, in their holding and in the grants attached to such holding, the means of an indication of the rise to importance and honour of these families. The visitor to Masham today is visiting the Percy lands. Not far from Masham is the little church of Well where there are tombs and memorials of the Percies. Percies, Scropps, Nevilles, Dacres, Mowbrays rise to similar fortunes and form the powerful group of northern lords dreaded in the late Middle Ages by the Lancastrian kings and in an earlier period with such families as that of Roos they ruled the north in their own power, generally unmolested by the authority of the king. Richard II relied on the Nevilles and Scropps; Henry IV by the assistance of the Percies gained the throne and Richard's deposition. Though Henry IV had the Percies - Northumberland, Worcester and Hotspur - killed, his grandson Henry VI was removed by the Neville friends of Richard of York and Edward IV. With their immense and almost independent power in mind, it is of interest to see how their fame is indicated in the Middle Ages by their tenure of fairs. Already in Henry III's reign there are several families in the Percy connection. Peter de Percy⁽¹⁾ and his heirs were granted a fair at Ilkley, William de Percy of Kildale

and his heirs one at Kildale, both grants being made in 1253. Before them, in 1249, the weekly market and fair at Settle was granted to Henry de Percy, son of Richard de Percy. At the instance of the Bishop of Durham, Robert de Percy in 1299 obtained a market and two fairs at Carnaby. Edward I at Perth in 1303 had time to remember the services of Henry de Percy (not, however, the Henry de Percy of Settle, apparently) and granted him a market and two fairs at Pocklington. This same Henry de Percy was again remembered when the king was returning and was at Dunfermline in January 1304; he received then a market and fair at each of his manors of Pannal and Wandsforth. One of the earliest of Edward III's grants is that made in 1327 to "the king's kinsman", Henry de Percy of a market and fair at his manor of Topcliffe-upon-Swale. With the reign of Richard II the importance of the Percies is established. On November 11, 1382 Richard II granted to Henry de Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the king's cousin and descendant of the Henry de Percy of Topcliffe, the right to hold a market and fair at Seamer; six months later - May 8, 1383 - the earl was empowered to hold a market and fair at Leckonfield. The date of these two grants is of importance. During the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 John of Gaunt - against whom the rising in Kent had been largely directed - had been safely in Scotland whither he had been sent to conduct negotiations for a truce. His continued stay in Scotland until the Revolt had been suppressed led - perhaps naturally - to the taunt of cowardice from those nobles who had stayed in the Tower until after the Smithfield scenes. John of Gaunt had, however, a plausible excuse, accusing Henry de Percy, Earl of Northumberland, of refusing him permission to pass through his lands, so that he had perforce remained in Scotland. A violent altercation broke out in the Council

between the two lords and was only brought to an end by the dismissal of both to their own manors (v. the St. Albans and Walsingham's chronicles). Immediately after this imputation against his wardenship of the Marches and in the following year, Henry de Percy received new grants of fairs and markets. One other early notice of the Percy holdings may be remarked. When John de Kirkeby held his Inquest of Yorkshire (12 - 14 Edward I), he recorded that William de Percy claimed to have a fair and market in Kildale through the charter of King Henry (III) but "how and from what time it cannot be asked"⁽²⁾ - this fair and market were, as has been seen, granted to William de Percy of Kildale and his heirs in 1253.

Grants to the Neville family appear later than those to the Percies. Jolland de Nevill in 1307 obtained the right to hold a market and fair at Pikehall. Again it is in Richard II's reign that the importance of the family can be recognized. The ruins of Sheriff Hutton castle still command a distant view in all directions; in political history, the castle earned fame as the place whence Henry VII took Elizabeth of York to become his Queen. Here at Sheriff Hutton, John de Nevill of Raby (in Co. Durham) was granted a fair and market in 1378. The more famous Ralph de Neville - founder of the great fifteenth century family - received right to hold a market and fair at Middleham in 1389 - Middleham remaining in the Neville hands until the rebellion of Warwick the Kingmaker against Edward IV when it was granted to the King's most trusted brother and adviser Richard of Gloucester.

There are occasional Scrop grants. In 1299 Henry le Scrop of Bolton obtained a yearly fair at Croft in Gilling East Wapentake. The Scrops were granted a fair and market at Wensley in 1318; Geoffrey le Scrop, the king's yeoman, gained a fair and market at Burton Constable in 1321. He

was also granted two fairs and a market at Masham in 1328. It has been said that Richard II in the later years of his reign relied on the Scrops - in 1393 he granted to Stephen le Scrop and his heirs a market and two fairs at Masham.

Thus the three allied families increased their fortunes by the profits and tolls of fairs and markets. Whilst some of the grants are for other parts of Yorkshire it is to be noticed that their manors group together especially in the dales - at Ilkley, Topcliffe, Middleham, Masham. In those dales also the Dacre family was increasing its authority: from the dales came the chief danger of rebellion to Henry VIII and Elizabeth - rebellions in which the Dacres figures prominently. Yet in the Middle Ages the Dacres were only once granted the right to hold a fair and market - and these were to be held by Edmund de Dacre and his heirs at Rotherham by a grant of Edward II in 1309.

As Earls of Norfolk the Mowbrays played an important part in English medieval politics. They held seisin of many manors in Yorkshire and it is not surprising to find them - through a Neville marriage - closely connected with the Yorkist fortunes in the Wars of the Roses. Amongst the last grants of Edward I was one in 1307 to John de Mowbray and his heirs of two fairs and a market at his manor of Burton in Lonsdale. This grant was repeated with the addition of a grant of a market at Kirkby Malasart, from Carlisle on Edward I's last expedition against the Scots, almost as he set out to his death at Burgh-on-Sands. Today the inn at Coxwold is named "the Fauconberg Arms"; the Fauconbergs have long been connected with Yorkshire, though not originally with Coxwold; John de Fauconberg in 1319 was granted a fair and market at Skelton-in-Cleveland. The banner of the Ingilby family is still flown from the castle at Ripley (three miles from Harrogate) where the Ingilby family still hold their fair, originally granted to

them in 1346. James de Roos obtained a fair and market at Aldborough in 1332.

But not only great Yorkshire families held fairs and markets in Yorkshire. The wealth of the county's trade attracted to the possession of its manors relatives and close counsellors of kings. Edmund, the second son of Henry III, was granted a fair at Pocklington in 1272. As the king's brother, the same Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, was the recipient of a grant of two fairs for his manor of Pickering in 1291. Similarly the founder of the Yorkist house, Edmund de Langley, son of Edward III obtained a fair and market in 1348 at Stainforth in Hatfield, in the West Riding. Before the marriage of the Black Prince to Joan de Holand, she, as the wife of Thomas de Holand and sister and heir of John Earl of Kent, was granted a fair and market at Buttercrambe. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was deputed by his brother, Edward IV, after the Kingmaker's rebellion, to reorganise the government of, and to pacify the northern counties. He made his headquarters at Middleham (where his memory is now honoured in the new window in the church set in memory of his only son) and was empowered in 1479 to hold there two fairs yearly.⁽³⁾ Successive Johns de Brittonia were kinsmen to the king. The first grant to this family was in 1281, when a fair was granted at Hamburg. In 1310 as Earl of Richmond, John de Brittonia obtained a manor and fair at Bowes. Eight years later he received the manor of Hert, the town of Hartlepool, the manor of Woodhall (Co. York) and the town of Thirsk, the manor of Caythorpe (Co. Lincs.), to hold them with all their liberties, including the rights of fairs and markets. Of these places Hert and Hartlepool had previously been held by Roger de Clifford, Woodhall and Thirsk by John de Mowbray, Caythorpe by Roger Damory, all of whom had been supporters of Thomas of Lancaster against Edward II.⁽⁴⁾ In 1318 also

he was given a market and fair at his manor of Driffild. John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, the "king's cousin", in 1331 was granted a fair at Wakefield.

The favourites of kings also found means of profit in the holding of fairs. Peter of Savoy, one of the detested "aliens" whom Henry III was pleased to enrich, gained the honour of Richmond with its liberties and free customs in 1240 and a fair at Bowes in 1245. William de Fortibus, Count of Aumale was granted a fair at Pocklington in 1245, and one at Ravenser in 1251. Hugh le Despenser in 1307 obtained a market and fair at Aberford. Piers Gaveston received many favours in 1310 - the manor and honour of Knaresborough, with a market and fair there, a market and three yearly fairs at Boroughbridge, with the further privileges that he and his men of Knaresborough and Boroughbridge should be quit of all toll, murage, pontage, passage, pavage, terrage, stallage, quayage, coinage and tronage in the city of York and elsewhere throughout the kingdom, together with the right to close the rivers of Ure and Ouse between Boroughbridge and York to all boats and fishing.⁽⁵⁾ But Piers de Gaveston did not always use his influence for his own benefit. In 1310 the prior and convent of Bolton-in-Craven owed their fair at Appletreewick to him. In a similar manner John de Thornhill obtained a market and fair at Thornhill and John de Eland a market and two fairs at Eland, in 1317 - both grants being made "at the request of John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, the king's cousin." The charter of Richard II granting to the mayor of Hull the right to exercise the office of clerk of the market was dated in 1382 - when the young king was already falling under the influence of his able favourite, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, a native of Hull. Three centuries later one of the chief courtiers of Charles II, George, Duke of

Buckingham was in 1670 granted three yearly fairs and a weekly market at Helmsley.⁽⁶⁾

There might, indeed, be more reason for a grant than mere relationship or favouritism. The town of Braithwell contributed largely to the ransom of Richard I; the reward for its loyalty was a charter for a fair to be held each first Thursday in May.⁽⁷⁾

The grant made to James de Wandesleye and his heirs of a market and fair at Wandesleye by Edward I in 1307 was in return for good service done in Scotland, as was the grant to Robert de Wandesleye of a market and fair at Rotherham in the same year. The fullest document in evidence of such a reward is the grant of the manor of Bridlington by James I to John Ramsey, Earl of Holderness, which reads:

"The King to all to Whom etc. greeting. For as much as our most beloved and most Trusty Cousin John Ramsey Knight Lord Ramsey of Barnis Viscount Hadington and Earl of Holderness hath performed very many true good and faithful services to us heretofore and especially his most successful service in defending our Royal person and delivering us from the wicked and dangerous Conspiracy of the two Brothers, the Gowries whom when they were fiercely rushing against our innocent and defenceless head by his fortunate hand, he deprived of life Inperpetual Remembrance of which seasonable assistance so very happily afforded to us when most bravely struggling in the most imminent hazard of life We have decreed that the happy day of our deliverance should be perpetually observed for the purpose of always returning incessant thanks to the most great and good God. And to the said John Earl of Holderness whose Valour the Divine Goodness was willing should deserve the pre-eminence in this illustrious achievement We have given and granted and by these presents for us our

heirs and successors do give and grant to the
aforesaid John Earl of Holderness his heirs and assigns
for ever all those yearly Fairs from time to time
held in Bridlington aforesaid and the Tolls and profits
of the same We have also given and granted
all and singular Fairs Markets Tolls Tallage
whatsoever with all and every their appurtencies of
Whatsoever Names they may be Known named acknowledged
or called situate lying and being coming growing renewing
or arising within the County Villages Places Parishes or
Hamlet of Scarborough and Bridlington that he the
aforesaid John Earl of Holderness his Heirs and assigns
may for the time to come for ever have hold and enjoy
and shall and may be able to have hold enjoy within
the before mentioned Manor all other and singular
the Premises above by these presents before granted
whatsoever how many how great or of what kind soever
and that as fully freely and wholly and in as ample manner
and form as any Abbot or Prior, Abbess or Prioress of
the aforesaid late Monastery of Bridlington or any other
person or persons ever heretofore holding possession
or being seized of the aforesaid Manor and other the
premises above by reason or pretext of any Charter,
Gift, Grant or Confirmation by us or by any of our
Progenitors or Ancestors late Kings or Queens of England
heretofore had made granted or confirmed or by reason
or pretext of any Act of Parliament or Acts of
Parliament or by reason or pretext of any prescription
Use or Custom heretofore had or used or in any other
manner whatsoever by any legal manner Right or Title
..... "(8)

It seems a long cry from the Gowrie conspiracy to the
possession of the Bridlington fairs, yet there is in this
document a clear example of the use to which such possession

might be put by a sovereign anxious to reward those who had been faithful to him in times of danger. The Gowrie conspiracy was only indirectly concerned with the matters that occupied the people at a fair; sometimes rebellion was nearer and directly affected even the trade. In 1569 Queen Elizabeth was facing the threat of a rising by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland but gained some measure of re-assurance from a letter written to her by Thomas, Earl of Sussex, the head of the Council of the North:

"I have been told that some men had 80, some 100 geldings in their stables, upon which I made search but found the Earls had not sufficient for their ordinary families; inquiring who bought horses in the great fairs, I found they were all bought and carried southward, and that there was never so few bought in this country."⁽⁹⁾

This letter from York is evidence of the important trade in horses in the county's fairs and to what use that trade might be put if a weak government should fail to control the northern lords. So long as there were few horses in the stables and so long as none had been bought and hidden away, the Queen and her observers need not fear the prospect of immediate rebellion. There are other enactments to show the use to which fairs could be put by a government anxious to maintain order. The first paragraph of Edward I's Statute of Winchester is as follows:

"Forasmuch as from day to day, robberies, murders, burnings be more often committed than they have been heretofore, and felonies cannot be attained by the oath of jurors which had rather suffer felonies done to strangers to pass unpunished, than to indict the offenders of whom great part be people of the same

country, or at least because, if the offenders be of another country, the receivers be of the neighbourhood; and they do the same because an oath is not put into jurors, nor upon the country where such felonies were done, as to the restitution of damages, and hitherto no penalty hath been provided for their concealment and neglect; our lord the king, for to abate the power of felons, ordains a penalty in this case, so that from henceforth, for fear of the penalty more than from fear of any oath, they shall not spare any person nor conceal any felonies; and doth command that proclamation be solemnly made in all shire-courts, hundred-courts, markets, fairs, and all other places where great resort of people is, so that none may excuse himself by ignorance; that from henceforth every country be so well kept that immediately upon such robberies and felonies committed vigorous pursuit shall be made from town to town and from country to country."

The fair provided a convenient opportunity for the declaration of new measures of governments. Thus, similarly, Edward III addressed his commands to the Sheriff of York on October 3, 1327.

"Whereas the King has caused a great seal for the government of this realm to be made anew, differing in the circumference and in divers sculptures on both sides from the seal that he has hitherto used, and he wills that faith shall be given to the new seal from the fourth day of the present month of October, and that the old seal shall be broken, and that no writs or letters shall be sealed with it after the said fourth day, and he has caused an impression to be shewn and made known in his county (court), markets, fairs and other places where he shall see fit, enjoining all

and singular on the king's behalf to give faith to writs, letters, and charters sealed with the said new seal, and not to receive or use any writs or letters sealed with the old seal, after the said fourth day. The King wills that writs, letters, and charters sealed with the old seal before the said fourth day shall retain their force, and that faith shall be given to them as before."⁽¹⁰⁾

Similar writs were addressed to all the sheriffs of England. At times, however, the officers of the government were occupied during fair-time in the suppression of rumours leading to their discredit. Sir Thomas Gargrave wrote from York on June 17, 1570 to Sir William Cecil:

"Here is a great bruit raised of the fall of money. I have searched for the beginners and occasion, but only understand that it was uttered in the fairs northward from hence. A month ago, I wrote to the Justices of the peace to stay such rumours, and see the offenders punished; some of them travail to find out the spreaders. It may chance to further the payment of the loan money."⁽¹¹⁾

At times there was real danger to the persons attending the fairs from external enemies as well as from rebels at home. The Yorkshire fairs were not in the constant peril from the Scots from which the fairs of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland suffered, but occasional raids had a temporarily devastating effect. An inquisition taken before Adam de Hoperton and Thomas de Eyvill on February 18, 1319 (12 Edward II) revealed that the town of Boroughbridge had in that year been burned and wasted by the Scots and other rebels (followers of Thomas of Lancaster) to the impoverishment of the tenants, whilst the profit of the market and fair were thereby lessened by 73s. 4d.⁽¹²⁾

Bradford felt the visitations of the Scots in Yorkshire

for a period of practically eighty years. A slow recovery began with the accession of Edward III to the throne but the extent of the manor taken in 1342 reveals a condition of decay even from the hardly prosperous position of 1311 - decay shown in every feature of the manor except the toll of the fair of St. Andrew which had greatly increased, the value of the land and church. (13)

The seventeenth century witnessed a close inter-connection of politics with the business of the fair. There is a petition from Daniel Butler to Archbishop Laud in 1639 (April 6) in which the petitioner claimed that by his late imprisonment (at the hands of the Court of High Commission) he had sustained very great loss in his trade. Many of his chapmen who came out of the country to buy wares from him and to pay him for wares formerly sold to them, had heard of his imprisonment and refused to pay their debts, or to buy any wares from his servants. On his "enlargement" he was bound to appear before the Archbishop and the other High Commissioners on May 2, to answer those matters which should be objected against him. At that time, however, there was a mart at Beverley to which most of his chapmen would resort, it being the place of their and his most constant meeting both for sale and receipts, so that if he should be restrained at that season, his losses would be far greater than they already were in his imprisonment, to the utter subversion of his trade, the stay and livelihood of his family. He therefore prayed for a respite of his appearance. (14) The authority of the Court of High Commission, exercised apart from parliamentary control, was one of the chief causes of the complaint of Puritans against the Stuarts, so that its suppression together with that of the other representative of autocracy - the Star Chamber - was amongst the earliest acts of the Long Parliament

meeting for the first time in 1640. The ensuing acts of that Parliament soon led to the Civil War, the operations of which caused far more disturbance to trade than any of the actions of the Court of High Commission. Scarborough was besieged by Cromwell's forces in 1645 (the parish-church still bears witness to their gunnery - as does that at Ripley) and on March 1 in that year the markets in the town were prohibited. Some compensation for this grave interruption of the trade of the town and countryside was granted in the permission extended to the inhabitants that they, subject to certain restrictions, might attend one held specially at Peaseholme, to the immediate north of the town. Thither they might journey on specified days of the week, along roads that were carefully guarded, each carrying an authenticated ticket to show for how large a family he must purchase necessities, for the inhabitants were rationed to a bare subsistence.⁽¹⁵⁾ The troubles of the Civil War temporarily ended the visits of the Londoners to Beverley. As confidence was restored after 1649 they once more resumed their journeys northward. The measure of the returning confidence is shown in two items of the Beverley accounts:

1649 Item. Received for Londoners standings £3.
Leading Londoners wares £8 6s. 8d.

1650 Item. Received for Londoners standings £4 6s. 8d.
Leading Londoners wares £16.

Despite the successes of the Cromwellian navy under Blake there was grave danger at sea for unprotected merchantmen, especially in the North Sea. An undated paper relating to the Navy (probably of the year 1653) shows a petition of certain merchants for protection - three **shipmasters** of Hull, one of Boston, four of Lynn and two of Yarmouth petitioning the Admiral Commanding that he would commission the "Nonsuch" or some other frigate to convey them to the northern ports, their ladings being rich, and the fairs and

markets soon coming on.⁽¹⁶⁾ Fairs and markets had an important place in Cromwell's scheme of government, as is shown by the following declarations of the Protector and Parliament, the first of which (September 23, 1656) calls for a day of solemn fasting and humiliation in England, Scotland and Ireland:

"The dealings of God with us have been wonderful, but great has been our ingratitude. The Lord might well say to us 'Ephraim is joined to his idols, let him alone'. We have deeply grieved Him in not mourning over our barrenness and profaneness; in not improving mercies, in neglecting to punish vice; in blasphemies, in want of Christian love; in not being sensible that in the late change of authorities God has set up rulers who allowed the free exercise of religion; in a lukewarm and atheistical spirit; in a spirit of dissatisfaction. We ought to humble ourselves and pray that He will infatuate the counsels of those who are against His people; that He will be present with those who manage the affairs of these nations; that He would appear as the mighty counsellor; that He would grant us the unity of the spirit; and that these nations, being delivered from their enemies, may serve Him without fear. Wherefore 30th October is to be a day of solemn humiliation and prayer, whereon all are to abstain from work or recreation, and no fairs or markets to be kept. Officers of justice to cause due observance, and all ministers to take notice."⁽¹⁷⁾

The second, dated July 3, 1658, is a declaration by the Protector for a day of public thanksgiving:

"When the last adjourned Parliament met 20 January, a happy settlement was hoped, but in vain. The old enemy was designing an invasion with an army of Papists and Atheists for Charles Stuart, in conjunction with

the King of Spain, - who wishes to give us work in England, rather than we should halp the French against them, - the inferior people were inclined to dangerous commotions, the army unsettled, from their wants and fear of leaving to take free quarter; the trade of the nation and our honour at sea nearly lost for want of due supplies, we being obliged to keep our men-of-war at sea, and not having money to pay our mariners, while our neighbours kept large fleets. In Flanders 20 men-of-war were ready to transport Charles Stuart and his Spanish forces to invade us, they endeavoured to bribe our garrisons to receive them, and insurrections were laid in several counties to rise in assistance, fire London, and seize on the treasure there, all which has been proved, some of the offenders are already executed, and examinations of others proceed. Also we feared God's hand was upon us in an epidemical sickness that lay sore on London, and in the unseasonable Spring. Yet though we have been like the burning bush these past five months, we are not consumed; we live in peace. God disappointed our enemies by giving us timely notice of their preparations, and revealing their conspiracies. He has also given our soldiers a spirit of honesty, and the good old spirit has carried them through all their difficulties. Also the plague stayed two weeks after the fast day, and we are now in hopes of plenty, the unseasonable Spring notwithstanding.

"Also God has abased Spain, whence our troubles sprung, by a victory gained over them by the French who owed much therein to the English, and wondered that our English behaved so well, while those on Charles Stuart's part were more cowardly than any in the Spanish army.

The Lord has also given us a port-town, not the worst in Flanders, and therefore, as we ought to acknowledge His mercies, we appoint 21 July for a public thanksgiving day in England, Wales and Berwick-on-Tweed, and require all ministers to give notice the Sunday before, and on the day, to read this declaration in their churches: No fairs or markets to be held on that day."(18)

Whether those whose trade was thus interrupted also rejoiced there is no means of knowing but rejoicing for substantial political gains did not always mean an interference with local and national commerce. Thus the rulers of Sheffield record the following items in their expenses for the year 1713:

"Expenses when the peace of Utrecht was proclaimed:

Gave att the Towns hall bonfire £2 10s. Irish Crosse £2 10s. Market Place 10s."(19)

When the King of Denmark passed through Leeds in 1786, he was not allowed to depart before he had been taken to see the sights of the Mixed Cloth Hall,⁽²⁰⁾ - an important member of the cloth markets of the West Riding.

Whilst the evidence for the part played by fair and market in the politics of these centuries is somewhat scanty, that for their connection with social developments is of a full and varied nature. From it, it is possible to see how far their possession influenced the growth of town-life, both as a centre of local authority and trade and as a collection of streets. But the merchant who traded at the fair had to go through many perils on his journey thither and had also to face them during the market. The fair afforded also a centre for the life of the countryside and those who came to it required to be amused. Fairs and markets had, therefore, an important share in the organisation of society throughout the period of their greatness and decline, whilst it must be remembered that today it is the

amusement side - the social nature, using "social" in its narrowest sense - of the fair of which people think when they sing

"Oh dear, what can the matter be?
"Johnny's so long at the fair."

For some time the opinion was held by the followers of Mr. Gross that a free borough had the right to hold markets and fairs. Very often, indeed, where this right was not granted to a lord of a manor it was granted to the burgesses of a free town but the grant was always a special token of favour from the Crown. No one had the right to assume the possession of fair or market; where the charter was withheld, the free borough could not claim that its borough-right entitled it to a market-right, though in practice the former in the majority of cases implied the latter. The reverse is also true. In England the right to have markets and fairs was freely granted to rural manors which never became boroughs, or which had still to wait many years before they received charters. The numerous royal grants of markets and fairs to the lords of ordinary manors did not of necessity mean that those manors would rise to be boroughs or even market towns. Fleta speaks of "villa mercatoria" as those "quae habent jus nundinarum", and "jus feriarum" became almost a symbol for "law merchant". Yet, nevertheless, the privilege of a fair proceeded from the Crown and was not part and parcel of the ordinary municipal franchise.⁽²¹⁾ Thus at Whitby the right to hold a fair was conceded by Henry II solely to the Abbot and Convent of St. Hilda and not to the town. But very many towns of Yorkshire owe their importance in some measure at least to the various grants which they received empowering them to hold markets and fairs, to collect tolls and other dues at them, and to exercise in them the accustomed offices. Many of these charters have

already been quoted (v. supra, chapter II) and only require mention here. The city of York had for the greater part of the Middle Ages to be content with quittance from tolls elsewhere, as in their charters granted by Henry III, recited and confirmed by Edward II in 1312 and by Edward III in 1327; the mayor gained the right to exercise the office of clerk of the market in 1396 "out of affection for the city of York and in consideration of the good service done by the citizens;" in 1442 the citizens were protected by a grant limiting the right of alien merchants thus:

"Nor shall any merchant strange to the liberties of the city sell aught to any other strange merchant within the city, nor shall any such merchant purchase merchandise there from any other such merchant upon pain of forfeiting the merchandise." (22)

When in 1449 the mayor and citizens were given their grant of a fair "without payment of fine or fee to the king" this clause of 1442 would ensure the limiting of "alien" trade at York to the confines of that fair. Very similarly the grant of two markets in each week and a fair to the burgesses of Kingston-upon-Hull made in 1299 was "for the bettering of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull" - as in the same year a grant of like markets and fairs was made "for the bettering of the town of Ravenserod". The additions made in the confirmation of Hull's privileges made by the charter of Edward III (May 6, 1331) are worth quoting in full, as expressing the sense of this consideration for the improvement of the town:

"Moreover, whereas in the charter of King Edward I it is contained that the said town shall be a free borough and that they shall have all the liberties and free customs pertaining to a free borough, so that the said borough shall be kept by a faithful man to be chosen successively by the king and his heirs, the king,

desiring the betterment of the said town which is situated up on the river Humber, an arm of the sea, and is now walled, and considering that the defence of the people of those parts against attacks from the sea depends upon the safe keeping of the borough, in order that the burgesses might be better able to attend to their affairs, and for a fine, has not granted to the said burgesses the said borough to be held by them and their successors, burgesses, with fairs, markets, liberties and free customs, as fully as the king hitherto has held it, from the king and his heirs at fee farm; by rendering at the Exchequer £70 yearly, to wit £68 17s. 6½d. at which sum the borough was valued in the time of King Edward II by Hervey de Stanton, Adam de Limbergh, and Geoffrey le Scrop, and 22s. 5½d. of increment, half at Michaelmas and half at Easter."(23)

The privileges of Hull were confirmed by Henry V in 1414, and the mayor and burgesses in 1440 gained "the forfeiture of all victuals forfeited by the law of England, to wit of bread, wine and other things, not being merchandise", as well as exemption from the exercise of their office by the stewards and marshals of the king's household and the clerk of the market, "out of special affection to the town of Kingston-upon-Hull and the mayor and burgesses thereof and in consideration of their charges and expenses in the service of the king and his ancestors, and for the relief of and increase of the town."(24) When the grant of two fairs and a weekly market was made in 1407 by Henry IV to Rothwell, it was made "for the profit of the king's men and commons of the town of Rothwell since the king wishes that his liegemen and tenants shall have liberties, monies, and customs from merchants, mercers and others coming to the

said market and fairs to buy and sell, as the town of Leeds is privileged, and as the men there have of custom and take by their franchises."⁽²⁵⁾ Such grants had been the practice in the fourteenth century, the two chief examples being found at Scarborough and Hedon. Previous charters of Henry III to Scarborough granting the burgesses quittance from toll were confirmed in 1312, by which date the burgesses, being independent of any lord of the manor, had succeeded in maintaining their independence of the royal sheriff and in preserving the freedom of their town. Such quittance from tolls forms the main feature of the confirmatory charter granted by Edward III in 1348 to the burgesses of the king's town of Hedon - their privileges being modelled on those of York and Lincoln. As in other cases the charter is specifically granted for "the betterment of the town".⁽²⁶⁾ A charter granting - or rather confirming a previous grant of - the right of becoming a free borough to Doncaster comes from the second half of the fifteenth century, bearing date May 30, 1467:

"From the burgesses and inhabitants of the town of Doncaster, Co. York, the king has learned that they have for some time past had and enjoyed certain liberties and free customs, but that they now fear that they may be troubled in their enjoyment of the same by reason of the defects of the declaration and expression of the same; and they have now petitioned the king to grant them the said liberties in the following form and to incorporate them and make them persons able and capable with a perpetual succession;

and therefore the king, of special grace, sure science and mere motion, has hereby granted that the said town of Doncaster shall be a free borough

and that they (the burgesses, tenants, residents and inhabitants, their heirs and successors) shall be henceforth in fact and name one body and one perpetual community the mayor and community shall have a yearly fair in the said borough, on the eve, the feast and the morrow of the Annunciation

and they shall enjoy all the foregoing without impediments from any of the king's ministers, notwithstanding that there is here no express mention made of the yearly value of the foregoing, or of any grants previously made, and notwithstanding any statute, act, ordinance, or provision to the contrary hereof.

For 20 marks paid in the hanaper."⁽²⁷⁾

The fair thus granted was the least of the privileges now confirmed. A century and a half later a grant was made by James I (July 6, 1604) to Doncaster of a charter of incorporation, with the privilege of constituting certain justices of the peace, and of holding a yearly fair;⁽²⁸⁾ in this case then, the privilege of borough-right appears side by side with the privilege of fair-tenure. In the case of Pontefract it was not considered that in 1484 a grant of a fair would most meet the needs of the town. Richard III made the following grant:

"Out of affection for the town and borough of Pontefract and in consideration of the good service done by the burgesses and the great costs thereby incurred, and of sure science and mere motion, and of special grace the king has granted to the mayor and burgesses the following liberties the mayor shall have the survey, correction and punishment of the assise of bread and ale and all victuals sold in the said town or borough, from time to time as he may think it needful;

and the mayor and burgesses shall have a common seal for sealing weights and measures in the said town; to the exclusion of the clerk of the market of the household from intermeddling touching the sealing or examination of measures and weights within the said borough upon heavy penalty "(29)

The borough-fair at Pontefract had been obtained during the visit of Henry II in 1181, when Henry de Lacy, then lord of the manor was the recipient of the grant. Similarly early in the Middle Ages Wakefield and Sheffield owed the growth in their prosperity to the action of their lords in securing the right to hold a fair within the manorial borough. The burgesses of Wakefield approached their lord - William, sixth Earl Warenne and Surrey - in 1204 and induced him to use his influence with the king to secure them a charter for a fair, a second fair being obtained in 1258. (30)

The inhabitants of Sheffield owed their emancipation from a state of vassalage and the regular establishment of a municipal court with trial by jury, and a market and fair to Thomas de Furnival (died 1332), the market and fair being granted by charter from Edward I in 1296. (31)

More particularly, the grant of the right to levy tolls, to hold markets and fairs, to carry out the market offices, might be granted for some special requirement of a town's welfare. This may be seen - so far as Yorkshire is concerned - in grants made to Beverley and Bridlington.

The list of tolls granted to Beverley in 1483 was made with the express reason in view that "whereas the burgesses of the town of Beverley by the munificence of the king and his progenitors have had an aid or subsidy for the pavement of the said town under letters patent fixing the duration of the grant and whereas on the expiration of such letters the pavement often fell into decay before new letters could be obtained; now the king out of reverence

for the confessor St. John of Beverley, and at the instance of Thomas, archbishop of York, the chancellor, has granted to the burgesses of Beverley, and their successors, that in aid of the paving of the said town they may take from all things for sale coming to the said town, except wools, hides, and woolfells", certain customs.⁽³²⁾ A letter showing the condition of Bridlington in 1566, and proposing provisions for the repair of the piers, contains as one suggestion:

"The personage of Bridlington, tole of ffaïres, perquisites of Courts, vacua funda and other howses and places of Comoditie, to be letten to such of them selves and others inhabitinge the towne, as will geve moste for the same, the profitt to be bestowed of the Peere."⁽³³⁾

Apparently, however, the "pier" is to some degree synonymous with "Bridlington", as would appear from the lease made by Queen Elizabeth in 1595 of Bridlington to twelve gentlemen. This lease again draws reference to the decayed state of the "pier":

"Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all to whom the present letters shall come, greeting. Since a certain port called "Le Pere" de Bridlington in our County of York upon the sea by the extreme strength of the sea waves and by tempest and blasts of the wind was in the eighth of our reign so broken and devastated and brought into so great ruin and decay that all of £500 of lawful money of England could scarce at that time restore the same port into any good and convenient state. And that port being amended and repaired from the same ruins and decays could scarcely be maintained with the continual annual burden or sum of £40, as by the certificate at that time as well of divers our Officials as of certain our trustworthy Subjects duly

assigned there for the true knowledge of the truth, as by our then Council William Matthew Seynton then our Treasurer of England and Walter Mildmaye then Chancellor and Richard Sackvyle, then our sub-Treasurer was often declared and shown; By pretext of which ruin and decay not only the whole property there was by good and skilled sailors and sundry ships and other vessels of burden then empty and deserted but by that occasion that property was in danger of destruction whereby came a hindrance and impediment to all our subjects there; so that they neither received nor could receive by sea nor sent out or exported by sea nor could send out or transport any merchandises, grain, timber or wood called "Fewell" or any other commodities for their support to the grave harm and injury of our subjects there then inhabiting; indeed also divers messuages, tenements and cottages there were entirely torn away, and such of those our messuages, tenements and cottages as now remain by the decease of the inhabitants fell into and then were in such ruin and decay that a great part of our yearly rents of the same town of Bridlington was then destroyed and moreover it was then likely that very many decays would there daily increase unless remedy for same were speedily provided."

In view of the plight of Bridlington grant had been made to twelve gentlemen of all sites and tenements at Bridlington. They had borne the expense of the repairs but in return for the grant of the sites and tenements had promised to pay £184 17s. 5³/₄d. rent per annum. They had however failed to continue to pay the rent which, falling into arrears, had caused the grant to become void. Other gentlemen had repaired the town and had received the same grant, including:

"all those our fairs annually and from time to time held and to be held in Bridlington aforesaid; and tolls and

profitts of the same
and also profits of Fairs and market **Clynt** of
Piepowder stallage, picage and tolls."

This grant was made for a term of forty years.⁽³⁴⁾ The 1742 statement of the tolls and fairs contained an indenture of 1636 in which there is the statement:

"And it is thereby also agreed and so Declared that all the Tolls and Duties as well arising from the port there as from the Fairs and Markets shall be applied towards the maintainance and support of the Piers there and the same are so applied accordingly being for the common Benefit of the Town."⁽³⁵⁾

Bridlington, then, owed some measure of its improved fortunes to the markets and fairs held within its bounds and to the tolls collected in them. The reverse picture is seen at Scarborough where the "gablers'" or "jabblers'" fair owed its origin and name to a toll imposed on the town by Henry II, under which every house which stood with its gable end facing the street should pay fourpence yearly but those which faced in the contrary manner should pay sixpence. In 1348 this toll **Clynt**lised £16 17s. 11d.⁽³⁶⁾

The possession of a fair or market was also of some influence in determining the development of the form of the town. Street names such as Market Street in York are an obvious indication of this development. There seem no other grounds for the appearance of the names of certain areas, an example of which may be seen in the Ripon records. John de **Clynt** granted to David de Wollore on April 4, 1367 "a certain annual rent of twenty shillings coming from the lands and holdings which formerly belonged to Richard the Shepherd of Ripon in the Horsefair."⁽³⁷⁾ References to this "Horsefair" are common in the Ripon rent-accounts. Some few examples may be quoted. Among the goods belonging

to the chantry of St. James in the Church of Ripon 1546-7
is the following:

"One tenement in the horsefayre in the tenure of
Agnes Brake. viijs."

Among those belonging to John Percivall, Clerk, Clerk of
the Works of the Church of Ripon:

"One tenement in Horsfare in tholdinge of Metcalf viijs."

Among those belonging to the chantry in the chapel called
the Lady Church in Stammergate:

"John Blande one barne in the Horsefayre ij s."

Among those belonging to the chantry in the chapel of
Clotherholme in the Parish of Ripon:

"One annual rent of iijs. goinge furth of ij cotagez
in Horsfare."

Among those belonging to the hospital of Mary Magdalene in
the parish of Ripon:

"Paiaable to the Kinges majestie for Rent furth of
one Burgage in Horse Fayre iiijd."

Similarly the Ministers' Accounts in the Assize Returns
of 1547-9 contain similar references:

"And xijd. in free rent must be paid each year by
Christopher Dale for ij tenements in the Horsefayer.
And for the 10s. for the tenths from the Horsefair,
it was paid by six vicars of the Church, at the end
of the year.

(Rents for the Chantry of St. James)

And concerning the 16s. for the rent of one
tenement in the Horse Fayer in the tenure of Agnes
Brake at 8s. per year, it was paid for the two years
together."

This tenure of Agnes Brake proved too heavily burdened, for
it is recorded immediately after this entry, to have become
vacant, so that 12s. (rent for a year and a half) was lacking. (38)

Similarly the tenure of Bewes Hoghson in the "Horsfayre"
(one tenement) was recorded in 1541-2 as too heavily
burdened at 5s. per annum, and the rent was therefore
decreased to 4s. (39) The earliest reference in the
"Memorials" is in the answer given to the royal justices
in 1228 as to the fiefs and lands held by the church and

chapter. They gave answer that they had certain areas in Ripon, one of which bordered on the horse-fair.⁽⁴⁰⁾ From this, it would seem that in the early Middle Ages there was in Ripon an open space on which was held a fair for the sale of horses. As the Middle Ages passed, this area was built upon and became simply the area of the town bearing the name of the old fair. A similar development at Pontefract is suggested by an entry in Fretwell's Family History and Diary:

1759 Tuesday March 20. I took (or hyred) a little house in the Horse-Fair in Pontefract, designing to remove thither and keep house myself.⁽⁴¹⁾

Less speculative is the origin of the name "Finkle Street" which occurs at Richmond and many other old towns, Kendal, Malton, Ripon, Knaresborough, Thirsk and Thorne. The name is apparently Dutch or Fleming, from "vincle", meaning a booth or stall, or wagon containing merchandise destined for a market. In most of these towns the "finkle" street leads directly to the market square and was the natural home for the wagons of the merchants or for outcropping stalls or booths.⁽⁴²⁾ The fairs at Whitby were probably held in the lower part of the town though on what particular site it is no longer possible to say. The position of the fair may have been at different times on different sides of the river, though it would appear certain that the "Fair Isle" on the east side gained its name not from any supposition of beauty but from its connection with the fair. The wide area of the "Fair Isle" was in the early nineteenth century still only fully occupied during the fair, whilst so far as the market is concerned, there is close by a small area which was probably the market-place until the dissolution of the abbey. A further theory, however, points to the holding of the markets on the west side of the Esk, in the present locally-known "Old Market Place" where Flowergate, Haggleseygate

and Baxtergate - Whitby's three principal streets - now meet. This site would have had much to recommend it in its close proximity both to the bridge and to St. Ann's Staith. In 1640 the market was removed under the direction of Sir Hugh Cholmley to the east side of the river, the growing population of the town making a larger market necessary. The old market-place - if the "Old Market Place" theory be accepted - was at the time of the removal about twenty yards by seven or eight, although the encroachment of houses had probably reduced it from its earlier proportions. The new site of 1640 was thirty five yards by seventeen or eighteen.⁽⁴³⁾ "High Tollergate" at Scarborough could have only one derivation - the street in which stood the gate for the collection of tolls on merchandise.

The development of the stalls in the market-place into the streets of the town is clearly seen at Wakefield. Already in the thirteenth century increasing trade was causing traders to enlarge their shops and booths. Robert Kaye paid 6d. in 1285 to enlarge his booth over against the market by three feet; in 1297 John Cussyng paid 12d. for an extension towards the north and the same price for a similar extension to the south. Walter Hogg and Robert the Lorimer each lengthened their booths nine feet. When the last Earl Warenne obtained a charter in 1331 for a third fair at Wakefield, he did so with the definite object of providing funds for the paving of the streets of the town.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In the sixteenth century the butchers were to be found gathered in the centre of the market in the part called the "Flesh bothes". The Fish Shambles were in the Bull Ring. The modern Silver Street was originally the Leather booths, the homes of the leather merchants and purveyors of fancy goods and ornaments. The corn-market was to the west of the "market stede", whilst the "Mercir" booths were close by the west end of the church

The market cross was the gathering focus of the poulterers; hard by were the sellers of pots and hardware. Around this cross the stalls or shops of the provision dealers and lesser craftsmen clustered; frequently a shop was to be found as originally a room in a dwellinghouse opening directly on the market place. There the unglazed window was protected by a shutter which when open formed a simple counter projecting into the street. The stalls and booths became in process of time more permanent fixtures. Originally simple frames of wood with a wooden roof and a counter, more permanence was given by the filling up of the spaces in the framework with lath and plaster, or by twisted willow twigs covered within and without by rough plaster. Here and there brickwork was used in such filling of gaps. At first these stalls had little foundation and could be moved from place to place but when the work of strengthening the framework had been completed a second storey might be added until, ultimately, the stall had become a dwelling-house. Little Westgate, Bread Street, Silver Street, Butcher Row, were all originally lanes between the lines of stalls in the market-place.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Thus, since each trade had a definite space allotted to it, regular representatives of the trade in the market left their stalls standing; the stalls became shops; the market-area became a series of narrow, clustering, streets.

The close of a similar development may be seen at Sheffield towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1784 the market cross still stood between Change Alley and King Street. Below it were the wooden sheds and stalls of the butchers described in the following way by the late eighteenth century local poet, Wills,:

"The shambles most dismal were then made of wood,
The sheds of the stalls, almost closing amain,
Form'd an archway for customers out of the rain;
Down the centre a channel, the filth to convey;
And some lighted candles, almost at midday."

More permanent erections formed a higgledy-piggledy group of shops, workshops, houses, warehouses, inns, occasionally separated by narrow passages, but each in its frontage on the streets being a law for its own development. One block, then the shop of Mr. Robert Lambert, grocer, at the north-west corner of King street stood isolated in the centre of several thoroughfares. Below it there was a line of buildings on both sides of the present Shambles, running east by north, making the bottom end of Pudding Lane (King Street) very narrow at its junction with Bull Stake (Old Haymarket). On the other side (where ~~there~~ is now FitzAlan Square) the buildings receded, leaving a wide, open space used as the swine market, opposite the modern Market Street.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The Market Cross had also an important part to play in the life of the town and today is in many cases the sole survival of the market and fair which once had been the mainspring of trade and life. At the foot of these crosses many incidents of great interest occurred, from the proclamation of **important** news to the punishment of unruly vagrants. In most parts of the country there can be found examples of the collection of tolls and dues, the publishing of banns of marriage, the sentences of penalties which involved the occupation of the nearby stocks. It is very probable that the Butter Cross at Hooton Pagnell originated in the charter granting a market to Sir Geoffrey Luterel there in 1253; the market and fair have lapsed but the Cross is still a witness to the busy communal life of the villagers in the Middle Ages.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Similarly at Scarborough there is a Butter Cross, but in this case there remains only a portion of the original market cross - to be seen at the north corner of the Low Conduit, West Sandgate. From this cross - of which frequent mention is made in the corporation records - the municipal authorities were accustomed to make public proclamations.⁽⁴⁸⁾ One of the

earliest references in Yorkshire history to the local importance of this institution occurs in the Curia Regis Rolls (vol. III p. 327) and refers to Beverley. John de Harpham had in 1205 failed in his attempt to recover his debts from William the Carpenter and therefore explained the matter to the sheriff at Beverley market-cross.

The market-cross was the common place for the awarding of varied penalties. A woman was ordered in 1602 to be set on Wakefield market-cross for one hour with a paper fastened on her forehead stating her crime.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The same market-cross was the temporary station of another woman in 1680 who, being convicted of being "a common scold and great disturber of her neighbours", was ordered to be set upon the market-cross for one hour on Friday, the market-day, with a page on her forehead, signifying her offence (Quarter Sessions Rolls Order Book I f. 174 Pontefract. April 1680).⁽⁵⁰⁾

In 1684 Ann Smith was placed there for selling ale on Sunday in time of Divine Service. She was, apparently, one of the last to be made such a public spectacle at Wakefield because within a few years the Cross had either perished or been removed. This led to a complaint from the townspeople and parishioners, urging their need for some convenient place for public meetings and for the sale of butter, eggs and poultry. The new Market Cross followed the customary lines of seventeenth and eighteenth century development. Erected in 1707 the new Cross had a chamber over it, reached by a winding wooden staircase. In this upper chamber meetings of the Commissioners for Streets, the Constables and Overseers of the town were held, whilst the steps surrounding the ground floor and the floor itself were occupied by the vendors of butter, eggs, poultry and other farm produce and the sellers of crockery cumbered the space around. The money for this edifice was obtained by voluntary subscription.⁽⁵¹⁾

seventeenth century as a result of the generosity of a York citizen, Marmaduke Rawdon who, dying in 1669, left in his will the following provision:

"Item. I give unto the said cittie (York) four hundred pounds for the buying those houses which belonged to Mr. Scott next Allhallowes, for them all to be puld downe to enlarge the Pavement, and what the materials of the old houses may come to, be towards making a Crosse or shelter for the markett people that sell meale and corne."

This market cross, though intended by the donor to be the most enduring memorial of himself, has since been completely removed, but Marmaduke Rawdon was not the first to desire to benefit the city in this way. The accommodation of the market place had proved insufficient earlier in the century and the desire to enlarge it is expressed in the following passage from Sir Thomas Widdrington's MS. History of York:

"The Pavement, which is the chief market-place is not very large. The learned Dr. Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, (died 1659) who was born in this city did purpose to have bestowed some considerable cost in the enlarging of it, but one who was the owner of a house which he intended to have bought and pulled down for that purpose, stood upon so high terms in the sale of it, that his good purpose was frustrated. (1640)."

The corporation of the city did not have to face such opposition. Having received Mr. Rawdon's legacy, the members in 1671 appropriated the greater part of the money to the purchase of those houses specified in the will, which stood at the east end of the church of All Saints ("Allhallowes") Pavement and were the property of Lady Scott, widow of Alderman Scott, and her son, Mr. Joseph Scott. Terms were quickly accepted by both parties; some few

months later, the site had been cleared so that the building of the new market cross could be begun "according to a draught shewn thereof by Mr. Thomas Mann". This cross was finished in the following year. Its description is best given in what are probably the architect's own words, preserved in an almost contemporary manuscript belonging to the Dean and Chapter of York:

"The Description of ye Cross in ye Pavement
of Yorke"

"It's a commendable piece of architecture; the ichnography or ground plan is a quandrate or right-angled square, to which you ascend by two stepps: upon the area (or the flower) of the uppermost is erected 12 columes or pillars crowned with architrave, freese, and cornice; upon the cornice is erected a tarrase or battlement, not with ballisters or indented, as has formerly been used, but with a pedistall or foot of a pillar perpendicular over every collume, whose breadth agrees with the naked of the colume above, open'd before into a pannell and with sollid pannells betwixt, only the pedestalls breake before the pannells, as also the coronett or small cornice which covers it; upon every breake or pedestall stands the forme of an urne (or flower pot rather) for finishing; the rafters or the roofe make a semi-circle from the one side to the other (like unto a cupolo) or round loover, on each side or face of which is a lucia window finished with pedamett or cornice; and on the side next the markett stands the head or effigie of Mr. Rawdon the donor, with an inscription showing the same, in the centre of which roofe rises a turret octa-angular, finished on each angle with pillasters which revolves into scrowles, on which is 4 quadrans or sun dyalls, lanskipt with severall inscriptions: (i.e.), on the east quadran EHEU FUGACES, on the south quadran DUM

SPECTUS FUGIO, on the west quadran FUGIT HORA ORA, on the north quadran TEMPUS EDAX RERUM. On his pedestalls below and above is finished with architrave, freese and cornice, with breaks about the head of each pillaster, and is rooft with a cupullo of the same angles, upon which is a flower-pott, in the centre of which is fixed the standard for the ffaine, on each side of which is sett of with scrowl'd worke of iron E. W. N. S. signifying or showing the 4 cardinall winds or quarters of the horrizon; above is the ffaine, upon which is depicted 1672, being the year in which it was built. Upon the pavement below, and equa-distant from each side, is erected 5 or 6 stepps of stone quaderangular in the center of the area; above is erected a newell octa-angular, about which rises a pair of winding staires of the same angles and finisht with rayles and ballisters on the outside, by which you ascend into the roofe or chamber above."

Early in the nineteenth century this Market Cross was taken down by order of the Corporation. From the sale of the materials only one piece remains as a witness of the intricate skill used in its erection - a portion of the stone architrave which is inscribed:

"Marmaduke Rawdon, Deceased, Sonne of
Laurence Rawdon, Late Alderman of
This Citty, was Founder of This Cross.

Erected in Ye Mayoralty of William Richardson in ye
year 1671
Finished in Ye Mayoralty of Sir Henry Thomson, Junior,
Kt., in ye year 1672." (52)

There was apparently another market-cross at the opposite end of the market - in what is now St. Sampson's Square. This building was taken down during the eighteenth century.

At Sheffield the market cross was taken down in 1568 and rebuilt in 1741, when the Townhead Cross was taken down (53)

Before considering the lighter side of fair-life mention must be made of one point. The importance of the fair in country-life needs no detailed illustration but three brief references may be made. The fair in every aspect was an important event to everyone in its neighbourhood, not simply to the township in which it was held and the country shared with the town in every phase of its incidence. This is shown by "a remembrance of certayne articles to be shewed unto the king's highness" concerning Bridlington in 1537, in which the first is:

"Brydlyngton standyth in a farre corner of the shire adioning to the see where no resort is of strangers except such as dwellyth about the same that comyth to the market there."(54)

The commercial horizon of the country districts was almost always bounded by the neighbouring town. For social purposes, the fair was identically the centre of life for village and town. It must be remembered, however, that the time of the fair might interfere with the normal operations of the country. Thus both in "Fleta" and the "Seneschaucie" appears the regulation that neither cowherd nor shepherd, nor other man in charge of the beasts may "go to fairs or markets or wrestling-matches or taverns" without asking leave and providing efficient substitutes.(55) In some cases, as e.g. at Masham, the time of the fair was altered so that it might no longer interfere with the harvest.(56)

There were many attractions at the fair to draw people from town and countryside even beyond the reasons of trade. It has already been mentioned that in the Middle Ages the Woodkirk Austin canons of Nostell Priory found a source of revenue for themselves and an added attraction for the concourse at the fair in the presentation of the Towneley cycle of mystery plays. The performance of religious plays has its classic example at Bartholomew Fair where the

monks of Smithfield Priory entertained the throng. Though the Towneley Mysteries do not present as full a record of these plays as does the Smithfield cycle, there was in them a large store of humour together with striking and solemn scenes of high educative possibilities. The more humorous scenes are part of that character of Wakefield fair which gained for the town the name of "Merry Wakefield". At most fairs the vendors of necessities were accompanied by those whose wares were of a more questionable character but for which there was an unquestionable demand. Today the fair is simply the home of the attractive amusement which the gipsy retails. The gipsy may not have been a frequent visitor to fairs in the Middle Ages but there were always present those who have less real title to profit - the tinker, the pedlar, the minstrel, the juggler. Medieval people were probably at their noisiest at fair-time. On these occasions there seems to have been little attempt at any restraint upon merry-making. Squares and streets were besieged by thronging crowds who found their pleasure in the antics of mummers, strolling players, and the skill of morris-dancers. As booths were set up for trade, so booths were also set up for purposes of entertainment. The crowd at fair-time was entertained by the crude, coarse plays of the strolling players, mountebanks, tumblers, for none was seeking for refined mirth. There were similar scenes on the occasions of the processions of the gilds, as at York, and the performances of pageants, so that very frequently what was by tradition a religious exercise, became a time of riotous disorder and uncouth merry-making.⁽⁵⁷⁾ After the procession for the proclamation of the fair at Scarborough - itself designed for entertainment in the band of music, the flower-ornaments on the heads of horses, the fancifully-adorned hats of the riders - was over, all who had taken part in it joined in the games when the sports

consisted mainly of puppet-shows, of which the sole survivor now is the Punch and Judy show. There were many minstrels present, and ballads and popular songs were sung to audiences gathering among the booths and in the streets. Merchants Row in the fourteenth century - when the skill of the juggler was at its zenith - of popular favour - was blocked by the carts and carriages of those who coming to trade, stopped to witness morris-dancing and mummary.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The amusement-side of the fair has never languished and Gay's ballad of the early eighteenth century, in "The Shepherd's Week" bears witness to the gaiety of the festivities of the fair in all periods of its existence:

"How pedlers' stalls with glittering toys are laid
The various fairings of the country-maid.
Long silken laces hang upon the twine,
And rows of pins and amber bracelets shine.
How the tight lass knives, combs and scissors
spies,
And looks on thimbles with designing eyes.
Of lotteries next with tuneful note he told,
Where silver spoons are won, and rings of gold:
The lads and lasses trudge the street along,
And all the fair is crowded in his song.
The mountebank now treads the stage, and sells
His pills, his balsams and his ague spells;
Now o'er and o'er the nimble tumbler springs,
And on the rope the venturous maiden swings,
Jack Pudding, in his party-coloured jacket,
Tosses the glove, and jokes at every packet.
Of raree shows he sung, and Punch's feats,
Of pockets picked in crowds and various cheats."

The ballad-singer had seen all the sights of the fair, and despite the warning in the last line, few could resist the appeal that was made in the allurements of the fun of the fair. The household book of the Clifford family of the Craven district records the payment in 1638 of one pound to "certain itinerant players", and 1640 of a like sum to "a certain company of roguish players" who had given a performance of "A New Way to Pay Old Debts".⁽⁵⁹⁾ The adjective "roguish" was no indication of habits and character but was applied to those actors who were unlicensed or unrecognised, thus distinguishing them from the strolling players who had been granted permission to

assume the title of some peer and to wear his livery.

It is indeed a far cry from the mystery-plays performed in the Middle Ages to the plays given by the "roguish players" in the seventeenth century. In this change there is an early indication of the change which ultimately takes place in the character of the fair itself; seriousness departs and only gaiety remains. There was, however, some measure of unpopularity in the sixteenth century to be incurred by these strolling players and their activities must at least have been suspended during the ten years of the Commonwealth. This unpopularity is most clearly marked - at any rate, so far as Yorkshire is concerned - by the regulations issued at Hull. Since mechanical contrivances were largely unknown - though there were extremely clever and ingenious stage arrangements at Bartholomew Fair in the Middle Ages - the Hull amusements consisted almost solely of fortune-telling, dancing, juggling, wrestling, acrobatics, exhibition of grotesque things, and bull-baiting, whilst great importance was attached to the acting of plays. It was this last item to which the members of the Hull Corporation as lords of the fair were particularly averse. There can be little doubt that many of the plays were gross and coarse in character and of little value as moral training, and although Puritanism was at the end of the sixteenth century strong in Hull, it would be an unfair indictment of Puritanism to say that in opposing the performances of these plays it was destroying harmless entertainment. The Mayor and Aldermen of Hull issued an order on September 27, 1599, denouncing "divers idle and lewd persons, players or setters out of plays and interludes" who frequented the town, and proclaimed further that every Hull man or woman found at the acting of the "ungodly and wicked" plays should forfeit 2s.6d. for every time and offence. At times the plays were not simply performed in the open in the fair but privately

in houses; the owner of every house or place where these "frivolous and vague exercises" were performed "to the evil example of many" were to forfeit 20s. (Corporation Bench Book. September 27, 1599).⁽⁶⁰⁾ Puritanism in Hull had some effect in lessening the evil nature of these plays but the fair continued to be a centre of entertainment until it is today considered one of the most important fairs in the North of England.

A further form of entertainment at fair-time was the setting up of a May-Pole on the green, and the dancing consequent upon its erection. Today the maypole dance has no longer any connection with the holding of a fair but at **Barnsley May-Day Green** was a suitable site both for the dancing and the Easter fair. This Barnsley Green was according to tradition a home of sports in the time of Robin Hood i.e. in the thirteenth century, but there are no records either of the setting up or of the final taking-down of the Maypole.⁽⁶¹⁾ Similar custom and tradition surrounded an old yew tree which still stood at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the Alderman's head grounds, in the township of Langsett, on the banks of the Don. The market and fair were, according to tradition, held round this tree, on the green plat in which it stood. The market was chiefly for cloth, to facilitate the sale of which tenters for the hanging of the cloth were fixed on the tree itself. One of Callot's finest etchings shows the scene at one of the rural fairs around this yew, which was also the centre for the township's merrymaking until it was set on fire and destroyed during the night of St. Mark's Day (April 25) 1758.⁽⁶²⁾

The fair at Wakefield also had a festive nature. At Sheffield there was an inn "The Coach and Six" in the market place; there are several public-houses in close proximity to the market-place at York and there were many from early times at Wakefield where the traders could find ale or mead brewed from honey. There were also eating-booths,

gambling, dancing-booths; there were present the usual minstrels, jugglers, buffoons, and merry-go-rounds. Bear-baiting and bull-baiting were the two most popular sports. The bull-ring was marked out by stones laid level with the surface in the market-place. The bull was fastened to an iron ring in the centre by a fifteen feet long chain or rope. If killed by the dogs, its flesh was by law distributed among the poor. The stones and iron ring remained in position until 1820, and the site is still called the Bull Ring.⁽⁶³⁾ The pressure of these amusements caused the fair to degenerate into scenes of riot and dissipation. Birstal fair or feast was enlivened in 1792 when the bull which had been brought to amuse the people broke loose from the post to which it had been tied for the baiting. The bull, in order to enliven the fair still further, chased the spectators so that some were driven into a pond where they were drenched as well as frightened.⁽⁶⁴⁾

The close proximity of market and inn was not unnatural. Henry Best related the manner in which his servants lodged during their attendance at the fairs of his district. The crowds gathered in the weekly market alone would justify the appearance of places of resort where food could be obtained. The far greater crowds visiting a fair of some days' duration required where they might find accommodation for not all fairs were like the medieval habit at Smithfield where the traders slept amongst their wares in their booths. Those who came for two or three days with farm produce did not necessarily carry with them their sleeping-quarters. It was far better that lodgings might be obtained together with the prospects of conviviality within the immediate neighbourhood of the market-place and fair-ground. That this was recognised by the authorities responsible for the maintenance of law and order is shown by directions sent from the justices of

assize to the justices of peace in 1618 which while showing the governmental anxiety at the undue multiplication of places of refreshment also shows the essential nature of their existence in certain areas:

(Paragraph 7 of the directions) "That the number of ale-houses bee abated, and that in townes that bee noe thorowe faires (- 'thoroughfares') or market-townes there bee few or none allowed."⁽⁶⁵⁾

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at Leeds - until the opening of the Cloth Hall, the clothiers attending the market there all found their refreshment at the inns which lined Briggate, at the foot of which road the market was held. Refreshment was very necessary for very often the clothier had to make his journey on foot over miles of mere pretence at roads, facing the danger of assault by highwaymen or - where he was fortunate enough to possess a horse - of coming to grief in a quagmire or deep cart-rut. Having set off at an early hour of the morning he was ready to order the "clothier's twopennyworth" or "brigg-shot" which consisted of a "pot of ale, a noggin of pottage, and a trencher of boiled or roast beef for two pence" (Thoresby "Ducatus" p. 17, and Defoe III p. 116).

When in 1725 Harley, Earl of Oxford, visited Leeds he was bold to criticise this form of nourishment, suggesting that the food was very inferior and that "however trifling the price may appear for so many ingredients, yet so far as I can conjecture it is a very dear bargain." (Portland MSS. VI 140-1).⁽⁶⁶⁾ The Masham Fairs were always famed for the laws of hospitality which required that all visitors to them should be regaled with roast-beef, pickled-cabbage and strong ale.

The inns, however, served a double purpose. They were not only the providers of opportunities for nourishment but were also the makers of greater gaiety in fair and

market. Whilst there seems little real foundation for the story told by Mr. S. Baring-Gould in his "Yorkshire Oddities", the legend of Brother Jocundus affords an example of the dangers of too great indulgence in the refreshment provided by the inns in fair-time. The substance of the story is as follows. Today the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's (monastic) hospital at York still abut so that there is in appearance a division formed by only one wall. In the period when the abbey and the monastery were flourishing many of their walls must have so abutted against one another. Towards the end of the fifteenth century there was among the brethren of St. Leonard's a monk who had taken the vows in haste and, owing to a previous predilection for strong drink, had repented at leisure. He had, apparently, taken his vows during a period of remorse and headache after one such yielding to his infirmity during certain civic rejoicings. Soon the monastic fare of bread and herbs led him to long for the old repasts of beef and strong ale, so that, when within a year of his entering the monastery the time of the York fair came round he was ready to risk the penalty for attendance at it. Shortly after lunch he slipped away to Parliament Street where he gazed in delight at the feats of jugglers and posturers, at the highly coloured and much exaggerated pictures of giants and dwarfs, and at the long rows of stalls laden with gingerbread (probably "Yorkshire parkin") and spice. He supplemented his poor dinner with pastry and cakes; he quaffed strong ale and attended all the shows. The Prior had, however, missed him and despatched two monks in quest for him. Finding him in a scarcely sober state, they compelled him to return to the monastery where he was condemned to be walled up alive in a convenient cellar. A year and a day later the time of the York fair had again come. The

cellarer of St. Leonard's was dispatched to the cellar in pursuit of the monastic needs and was startled to hear the voice of Brother Jocundus in a song which he, drunkenly, had been singing when he was last seen alive by St. Leonard's. The tone and accent were the same and the cellarer fled in terror. When the Prior came to open the wall, Brother Jocundus stood there, alive and well, and as drunk as a year previously. The monks of St. Mary's had heard his cries in the previous year, had released him from the prospects of an unpleasant death, and for a year he had lived in exemplary manner in the Abbey. Then, when he found himself unable to slip out to the fair, he had found consolation in the abbey-cellar. By a freak of coincidence St. Mary's had condemned him to be walled up in the same place in the wall to which he had previously been consigned by the monks of St. Leonard's, to whose lot it now fell to release him.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The story can hardly be regarded as serious but affords an excellent illustration of the lighter side of fair-life and the dangers attendant upon it.

As more modern times approached it became increasingly customary that there should be provided at fairs something which would excite or amuse the crowds, or awaken their interest. There seems to have been some shred of curiosity allowed to the people of the market-towns in response to a special expense in 1730, when Mr. Hobson being at Thirsk on May 25, he "saw two outlandish men, habited like Turks, said to come from Morocco; they were travelling about the country. The noblemen were very civill to them, and conducted them sometimes in their own coaches; other times they went on horseback, at the expense of the market towns they passed thro'. 'Tis said they had a pass from the king, who ordered every market-town to pay them 5 pound, and every sea-port and borrow to pay

them £10."(68) The White Cloth Hall at Leeds provided opportunities for social functions towards the end of the eighteenth century. Assembly rooms were built above it in 1777, and opened on June 9 "with a minuet by Lady Effingham and Sir George Savile, Bart., when upwards of 220 of the nobility and gentry were present The appearance of the ladies and gentlemen was more brilliant than was ever remembered" (Leeds Mercury June 9, 1777), On December 4, 1786, Mr. Lunardi made a "balloon ascent from the area of the White Cloth Hall amidst the plaudits of 30,000 spectators" (Yorkshire Magazine 1786 p. 379).(69) The "feasts" which have in many places superseded fairs were primarily places of amusement, not of business. They are constantly mentioned in the diary of John Hobson - at Holmfirth, Dodworth, Silkston, Birchouse, and Ardsley, and there is one reference in the diary of Mr. Fretwell - on Monday, July 7, 1760 he records:

"I walked to Doncaster. My brother, William Fretwell, met me there, and brought a horse for me to ride on to Thorp, it being their feast, so I went with him. I had not been at a feast there for many years, nor did I think I should ever have been there at that time any more."(70)

The fact that to John Hobson the most important point in connection with the Ardsley feast of July 16, 1732 was that he was there "in company with cozen Betty Prince and coz. Nancy Briggs" also points to one other attraction of the fair. The St. George's fair at Northallerton was famed as a resort of the fair sex; the beauty of Bedale ladies was apparently closely connected with the charm of its fair. In the Middle Ages it was customary for a priest to stand ready all day during the fair to lead to the nearby church those whose minds had been made up for entry into marriage. Similar opportunities were provided under the

Commonwealth. On June 11, 1654, John Smith and Margaret Inford, both of the parish of Arksey, were married together at Doncaster by Thomas Lee, a justice of the peace for the borough of Doncaster, the banns having been published for three several market-days in the market-place at Doncaster, according to the act of Parliament (August 23, 1653) and no exception made. The witnesses were John Morris and Thomas Newton.⁽⁷¹⁾ Women had other interests at fair-time. In 1479 Edward IV allowed the manors of John Pilkington, knight, together with the market held in them, to be assigned as dower to the knight's widow for the cost of upbringing of her son who was still a minor.⁽⁷²⁾ John Stead of Norland (near Halifax) in his will, dated 1540, bequeathed twenty shillings to his brother Thomas "to be good to Elizabeth my wife, and Agnes my daughter, as to sell their cloth in the fairs in Yorkshire."⁽⁷³⁾ At times there were scenes in which the women concerned were treated in a deplorable manner, as, for instance, in the "statute fairs" at Rotherham and practically everywhere female labour was hired in open market. Certain stories connected with Sheffield market in the eighteenth century witness to an unpleasantly low standard of respect - in great contrast to the simple scenes in the previous century at the Doncaster marriage already quoted. In the eighteenth century the scolding woman was regularly punished through the means of the cuckstool - a barbarous but entirely popular form of treatment with the spectators - but this was not nearly so unpleasant as the sight of a wife led in a halter by her husband to Paradise Square, or the Market Place to be sold there to the highest bidder. Thus in 1796 John Lees "steel-burner" put up for auction his wife, selling her to Samuel Hall, fishmonger, for sixpence. "She was delivered up with an halter round her neck, and the clerk of the market received 4d. for toll." There was

no sense of unfitness in such a sale; the woman thus bought was recognised as the wife of the purchaser; no mark of public opprobrium or social stigma was in any way attached to the union. A similar event occurs in Thomas Hardy's "The Mayor of Casterbridge", and leads there to awkward consequences. Apparently in the late eighteenth century no such awkward consequences were ever anticipated but the occurrence was not common in character, being in fact sufficiently remarkable to become the theme of a Sheffield street song:

"In Sheffield market, I declare
'Tis true, upon my life,
A cotton spinner t'other day,
By auction, sold his wife."

The most complete picture of Sheffield market at this period is to be found in the songs of the file-cutter, Joseph Mather who, when unable to obtain his wages on Saturday night, would ride about Sheffield streets, seated on a grinder's donkey with his face to the tail, amusing the people with quips and jests, and finding a ready sale for his local ~~ditties~~. So, on Saturday nights at Sheffield, the streets and old market-place were crowded with the cutlers and their wives, wandering about, some aimlessly, some to provide for their Sunday dinner, or to buy clothes, amongst the stalls of butchers, fruiterers, fishmongers, shoemakers, tinmen, leather-breeches' makers, buckle-sellers and the old women at their meal-tubs, whilst all along the streets were the ~~noisy~~ criers of ballads and last dying speeches and confessions. (74)

Certain other Yorkshire customs closely connected with the holding of a fair remain to be noticed. The fair at West Ardsley - more familiarly known as Lee Fair - came to an end on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24) on which day there came to the fair the scholars from the grammar schools of Leeds, Wakefield and other places for disputation and to prove their proficiency in

classical learning. This practice continued until well into the eighteenth century, at which time St. Bartholomew patron saint of scholars ceased to hold high carnival at Lee Fair - itself becoming of little account in the life of the West Riding.⁽⁷⁵⁾ There were two almost identical customs in York and Hull relating to the punishment of stray dogs. At Hull all dogs found running about the streets on October 10 were, under the law of custom, so lawfully the prey of any who might design to whip them, that every small urchin believed himself faithless to his duty if he did not fashion for himself a whip to inflict full penalty on them. To this custom tradition has assigned what seems at least a plausible origin. It is suggested that before the time of the dissolution of the monasteries in Hull, the monks were accustomed to make liberal provision for the poor and for the wayfarer coming to the fair on October 11. One year (a precise date is never given) the monks engaged in the busy task of preparation for this service were disturbed by intrusion of a dog which, strolling into the larder, purloined thence a joint of meat. They hastily gave the alarm and the dog, emerging into the street in haste, was immediately engaged in chase by the crowd collected expectant of the monastery's bounty. Warned by this theft, both monks and wayfarers instantly beat off any dog that should dare disturb the preparation. Until the introduction of the new police (those organised originally by Sir Robert Peel) the practice was rigidly observed by all boys of Hull every tenth of October. A somewhat different origin is assigned to the like custom at York, where St. Luke's Day (October 18) long bore the name of "Whip-dog Day" from the habit of York schoolboys of securing all stray dogs on that day and of whipping them in procession through the streets close by the market. The story given by Drake in his "Eboracum" (London 1736

p. 218) only requires slightly more definiteness. It is now generally believed in York that the church concerned in the story was that of St. Crux at the foot of the Shambles and only some few yards from the market-place. On the site of that church there now stands St. Crux parish-hall, serving the parish of All Saints', Pavement, which itself suffered the loss of part of the chancel for the enlargement of the market place. That St. Crux was the church concerned - and there can be really very little doubt on this point - is further shown by the name of the street which passed its eastern-end - Whip-ma-whop-ma-gate. The tradition in York has it that the priest at St. Crux was celebrating Mass on St. Luke's Day (being also a York fair-day) when he let fall the host after consecration. A dog lying near hastily snatched this up but for the profanation was speedily put to death. From that year arose the annual persecution of stray dogs in York. A similar custom also existed in Manchester on the first day of Acres Fair, held at about the same time as St. Luke's Fair at York.⁽⁷⁶⁾ At Scalby, Old Midsummer Day was a kind of gala time early in the nineteenth century when sports took place of a varied and rustic type of amusement, of which the most popular was donkey-racing. Booths were erected for the accommodation of visitors so that the village presented a motley, fair-like appearance.⁽⁷⁷⁾

The importance of the market place in the social life of a town is borne witness to by the regulations promulgated by certain towns for its maintenance in good repair. The Sheffield records have frequent instances of this policy of making the market attractive to outsiders and pleasant to frequenters. The "Burgery Accounts" of 1568 include:

Item. paid to William Atkynson and his sonnes for
leyinge the stone of the crose in the market-
stede and poyntyng it with lyme and sende Xs.

Item. payde to Hugh Sponer for Lyme to the
seme crose viijs. iiij d.

Item. paid fecheinge the lyme ij d.

Item. paid for wacheynge the sayde crose one
nyghte vj.d.

In 1570 twenty shillings were paid to the clerk of the
market, but in 1576 he only received twelve shillings.

The accounts of 1589 include:

Item, Payd to Nicholas Gee for mending and poynting
the Markett Crosse and the Irysh crose and
for lyme vj.s. iiij.d.

Those of 1664 include:

To Hollinbrigg for paveinge in the Markett Place 3s. Od.

To Shores for leading away gravell from the
Market Place 4s. Od.

Paid for 3 days leadinge stones for paveinge in the
Market Place and about ye Barker poole 12s. Od.

The "Accompt of Mr. Thomas Rawson, Collectour of the townes
Rentes taken the fifth day of July 1679 for the Rents and
Revennues belonging to the said Burgesses for two yeares
ending att Martinmas 1678", has one entry on this subject:

To Richard Phillips for dressing the Ladyes Bridge
and the streets against the Fayre 2s. 6d.

An act was passed in Parliament in 1784 for the **improvement
of markets**, the improvement to be conducted under the
inspection, and subject to the regulation, of the
principal inhabitants of each town, these being nominated
in the act as commissioners for that purpose. Reference is
made to the performance of the act at Sheffield in the
accounts of John Shore, town collector from 1784 to 1787. He
records:

1786 Aug. 8. To cash paid Henry Moorhouse for an
account of the number of stalls in the
market, by desire of a great number of
gentlemen £1 10s.

Nov. 11. To cash paid Badger and Stacey for
information and plans of market place
by desire of the gentlemen £9 19s. 6d.

The gentlemen here mentioned are those principal inhabitants
of Sheffield appointed as commissioners to carry out the

act of 1784. The last note on this subject at Sheffield occurs in Samuel Staniforth's account of 1804-1805:

1805 April 30. To cash paid Robert Taylor for
sweeping the market on Sunday
mornings 19s. 4d. (78)

There are three references to the upkeep of the market-place in the Bridlington records (Town Constables' Accounts):

(Undated, cir. 1645) Item. Paid to Bartholomu Atkin
for mendinge the market stead well 1s. 8d.

(Undated, cir. 1650) Paid for markit bell 2d.

and included in "the key constabl Rate ffor this yeare 1669
lad the 4th of May":

"for ye faire setting by 3s. 0d." (79)

But the life of the fair was not all merry-making or secure good humour, even apart from the serious business of the trade. It is necessary to balance against the gaiety the insecurity and danger which in all centuries dogged the steps of those who journeyed to and from the fair. It was no idle phrase which medieval kings included in their charters when they granted their "firm peace to those coming to, delaying in, and returning from the fair." The extension of the idea of the king's peace had in Saxon times promoted the development of order and justice in all parts of the country but the commandments of kings were frequently disobeyed and there were some perils against which their legislation could have no effect. That the royal edict of peace in fair-time was shadowy is shown by the issue of local regulations and the oft-repeated commands that there should be no bloodshed or violence within the market grounds. Yet the frequent repetition of local orders had as little effect as the beneficent intentions of the royal charter, and there were frequent accounts of the mischances and quarrels which led to affrays in the fairs of many different parts of England. Yorkshire was no exception to these affrays. Of Lee Fair - once the most important fair in the West Riding - it could be said in 1656 - when the

development of the importance of Wakefield fair had robbed it of much of its cloth trade - that it was

"now utterly decayed and become a tumultuous meeting off the idle and loose persons of ye Country, where there is much Revelling and Drunkennesse, and hathe beene noted these many yeares to be a meetinge where there is usually more or lesse Bloodshed and some lives lost."

Yet only a century previously the mayor and bailiffs at Hedon were, in accordance with the commands of Queen Mary Tudor, making proclamation at their fair

"that evrie person and persons resorting and comynge unto this faire keape our said sovereign's leig peax, and that no person or persons presume within this said ffaire to brall, chyde, nor make quarrel, wherbis the said peax might be dysturbyd, on paine of imprysonment, and to make ffyne accordinge to ther deservynge and all mysdoers that in anye wise troubles the people in this said ffaire shalbe punyshed according to ther deservynge "

At a period contemporary with the petition drawing attention to the evil condition of Lee Fair, Henry Best was pointing out in his Farming Book that there was

"on Munday in Whitsun-weeke a fayre att Little Driffield, to which Nafferton and Lowthrope men come with clubbs to keepe goode order and rule the fair; they have a piper to play before them, and the like doinges is att the latter Lady-Day in harvest."

This was probably one of the best means of preserving order but at Bolton fair - at one time attended for the sale of cattle by the farmers of all northern England - it was always customary that differences arising in business transactions should be settled by fighting. So far as the

Middle Ages were concerned there is a constant succession of complaints of violence which reach a climax in the war between the Archbishop of York and the men of Ripon and Knaresborough in the fifteenth century. Most of the complaints are from owners of fairs who had been prevented from levying the tolls granted them together with their fair by the violence of those who did not wish to pay for the privilege of trading in a secure and fixed place. As toll-disputes these have already been quoted in full - the chief examples being in 1300 when the Abbot of Meaux was prevented from levying his tolls in the market and fair at Pocklington by certain inhabitants of Pocklington, and in 1365 when Margaret, widow of Peter de Malo Lacu "le quynt", had deputed her servants to collect her toll and other profits at Doncaster but they had been assaulted by a group of armed men. In that same year John, archbishop of York, complained of the misdoings of the two William Brennands (father and son) and Adam Brennand who not only opposed the levying of tolls at Ripon fair, but also gathered to them many other evil-doers and beset the merchants on their way to and from the town. They had been seized and committed to prison, but breaking out, had continued their misdeeds. The fair held by the prior and convent of Warter at Warter had to be suspended in 1318 on the plea of the prior that there were constant homicides and other enormities perpetrated at it. Also in Edward II's reign there occurred that act of violence at Woodkirk (Lee) Fair which showed that it was not only in the seventeenth century that it was "noted to be a meetinge where there is usually more or lesse Bloodshed and some lives lost." This was the occasion when John de Heton, living at Howley Hall, and his wife Amabil, had entered the fair and assaulted Alice of Scarborough, dragging her by the hairs of her head from one end of the fair to the other, causing her grievous bodily injury by blows and beatings. At the

same fair John de Heton had also assaulted John of Newcastle. The most serious affray of all was that which occurred at Ripon when, during Sir William Plumpton's tenure of office as Steward and Master Forester of the Honour and Forest, and Constable of the Castle, of Knaresborough (1439-1460) a dispute as to the rights of the tenants of the forest of Knaresborough to pay toll at fairs became the preliminary to a bitter struggle with the officers, tenants and servants of John Kemp, Cardinal and Archbishop of York, on May 5, 1441 - a struggle in which several lives were lost. The following declaration indicates the story of the trouble:

"Please the king of his grace to be remembered how that his tenants of the forest of Knaresbrough have sewed continually unto his highnes since Michaelmas terme was thre years, and all for his right, desyring by all the bills given to his highnes, that the matter of the right of toll might take such end as his law would; the whilk unto this day could not be had, but ever hath bene adiourned and delayed from tearme to tearme, And the said Archbishop hath, all the said tyme of suite of the said Kings tenants, hath kept his towne of Ripon at fair tymes by night, like a towne of warr, with souldiers hired for their wages like as it had bene in the land of warr, so that none of the King's said tenants might, ne durst, come att the towne of Ripon, all the said tearme of thre yeares, to utter their caffer, wherewith to pay his farme att tearmes accustomed for dread of death. Now late this last fair tyme, the Archbishops' officers by his commaundement kept the said towne of Ripon like a towne of warr, with souldiers waged thither out of Tindale and Hexhamshire and of other partes nigh unto Scotland, into the number of cc men of armes, rideing and comeing fro the said partes unto Ripon like men of were, with brest-plate, vambacs

and rerebrace, greves and quischers, gorgett and salett, long speares and launcegayes; and the simplest arrayed of all the said persons had either a gestiment, or a hawburgon, or a thick jack, upon him, and either a pricknighate or a sallett upon their heads; and there came out of Beverley, Cawood, and Yorke into the number of an c persons in likewise arraied, save only speares, lancegaies and breast-plate. And the said people, with many other persons of Ripon and Otlay, kept the said towne of Ripon like a towne of warr, takeing some vid. a day, and xiid. a day, and bouch of court, thus waged by Hugh Pakenham. And they went robling up the said openly (it was the most continuall language that they had during the said faire), "Would God there knaves and lads of the forest would come hider that we might have a faire day upon them," and other words of great scorne, rebuke and provokeing. And this said fellowship, when the faire was done, saw that none of the said forest came thither, so that they might have nothing to doe with them, abode all a day after the faire in the said towne of Ripon, that is to say, on thursday the 4th day of Maie, to take purpose what they would do, or they went out of the country; for the marchmen were ashamed to come so farr, and not to be noysed with none affray, or they went out of the Country. And so that day the marchmen, by the advice of their persons took to purpose that they would ride to Yorke, with the other persons of York, Cawood and Beverley, that was xxx miles and more out of their way, and that they would ride throughout Burghbrigg, a towne of the lordship of **Knaresburgh**. And certaine persons of Ripon that were well willing unto the aforesaid tenants of **Knaresburgh** send word unto the said towne of Burghbrigg of their purpose; and the

aforesaid tenants of Burghbrigg send word unto Sir William Plompton, that is Justice of and Steward of the said Lordship, of their purpose, and he sent word againe to Burghbrigg, on the said thursday at even, that the balif with the tenants of the said towne should keep the said towne all that night unto the morne after, that was friday the Vth day of Maie, unto he came himself to se the peace kept, and the good rule of the demeyning of the said towne. And that said nighte certaine persons, into the number of forty persons, went out of the said Lordship by nightertale that none of the officers wiste of, over the water of Yure, and went unto Thornton Brigg, the whilk is two miles and more fro Burghbrigg, to the intent to have arreasted certaine persons that had spoiled and fairen foule with one of the aforesaid tenants wife of the said forest, att the said towne of Ripon, on a market-day late afore this last faire. And on the friday the said Vth of Maie, Sir William Plompton with other officers came to Burghbrigg or the sun rose, and with him 24 persons, for the keping of the peace; and spirred of the said tenants of the aforesaid towne of the governance and rule that night, and they lett him witt of their persons that were gone out on the said night, and he sent a man to them in all that he might ride, and charged them on the Kings behalf to come againe to the said towne of Burghbrigg. And, or the messenger was ridden half a mile without the said towne of Burghbrigg, he was perceived of all the said souldiers of the marchmen, and of Yorke, Beverley, Cawood, Otlay, and all of Ripon that they might gett, how they went riding to Thornton-brig, where the said forty persons lay; for the souldiers were warned by a spie of the said small fellowship that

were so gone out att night; and so changed their purpose fro Burghbrigg and thought to have overridden and slayne this said forty persons that lay at Thorntonbrigg. And this said messenger, seing this great sight of arrayed people, and how they rode the highway unto Thorntonbrigge, rode againe in all that he might unto the said Sir Wm. Plompton and told him all the case. And he, with officers of the said forest, rode to themward in all that they might prioke, to thintent to have mett and treate with them of Ripon in saving and keeping of the peace, or they had met with these forty persons, that lay at the said brigg, that knew not of them, nor of their great strengthe, till they sodainly mett and affrayed togeather. And so the said Sir William Plompton, with the aforesaid other officers, rode to them, and peaced all that they might, so that were ne he had bene there, had mickle mischief fallen; and the said Sir William, with other officers, saved and kept all that were overcomen like to have bene mischieved, and brought them into such ward as they desired: and this shalbe soothed in all that truthe requires."

Some time previously the Cardinal Archbishop of York had complained to the king of the riotous behaviours of the dwellers within the forest of Knaresborough and had obtained letters under the royal signet charging Sir William Plumpton and the other officers of that lordship to keep the peace towards the servants of the Archbishop. Following the disturbance just described, the Archbishop forwarded to the king a further complaint, headed "These bene the artikles of the Cardinall of Yorke of the offences and occasion done by Sir William of Plompton, Thomas Beckwith, and other misdoers and rioters of the forest of Knaresbroughe." The

first and seventh of the articles are chiefly relevant to this subject. The first sets forth "That Thomas of Beckwith, John Fawks, William Wakefield, John Beckwith of Killinghall, and many others of the said forest of Knaresborough, and with as they had associed to the number of DCC persons or thereabouts, be the covyne and assent of Sir William Plompton, knight, arrayed in manner of war, and in ryotous wise assembled and gadred the XXIIith day of July, the xviii yeare of the reigne of our lord the King, against his peace and laws went the same day to Ottlay, the faire the said towne that tyme being, (the which towne and faire are the said Cardinall and Archbishop as in right of his church of Yorke,) not to buy nor make frut of marchandize their, but rather disposed to bete, as it is semed, wholen and be manassys pretying; and their said forcible comeing put Robert Malleverer, steward, John Thoresby, balif, and other of the said Cardinall and Archbishop officers their, which were few in number and had not supposing of any such assembly, namely, considering the King's said letters, in great feare and doubt of their persons, saying to them that they should not take, aske nor receive their any toll of any men of the said forest. And so letted the said steward, balif, and other officers beforesaid, that they might not frely nor surely occupy, nor use the rule and governaile of the said faire, nor gader in the name and right of the said Cardinall and Archbishop the toll due and accustomed. And caused much people, that coming to the said faire to have bought and sold to depart without their buying and selling; and also letted other to come thither, to the great prejudice, hurt, and harme of the said Cardinall and Archbishop, and great affray of the King's people."

The seventh article lays the following indictment:

"Item. The said Raphe Pulleyn, with others of the said misdoers and rioters, in great and notable numbers, by permission, ordinance, and assent of the said Sir William Plompton, Tho. Beckwith, John Fawks and of the remnant of the said misdoers, arrayed in manner of war and in riotouswise, the Thursday the 4th day of May last past, att Skitbrigg, lay in waite to beat and to sley the officers, servants and tenants of the said Cardinall, that had bene att his fair of Ripon, entending upon the good rule and governance thereof, if they had come that way. And semblably the same day was laid at Burghbrig another great and notable fellowship, by thassent as before, to the intent to have beaten and slaine the said officers, servants and tenants next before rehearsed if they had come that way "

This article continues with a description - from the Archbishop's point-of-view - of the skirmishes which took place and in which two of the Archbishop's servants were killed, six were severely, and sixteen slightly, wounded at the hands of the Knaresborough rioters. Thus the article concludes:

"Item in the said assaut and pursuit were grievously bett, wounded and hurte by the said misdoers John Burton, Henrie Fox and William Playne, and other, of the number of xvi persons, servants of the said Cardinall and the remnant of his said servants greatly affraied and doubted of their lives; and no marvaile that they so were, considering that by the said misdoers were shott to the said servants and tenants of the said Cardinall a M arrowes and moe, by the which also many of the said Cardinalls officers', servants', and tenants' horses were slayn and grievously wounded."

Sir William Plumptre denied or explained all the charges against him and no further proceedings were taken. (80)

It was not indeed often that the merchant had to fear the interruption of his trade by local warfare but the fifteenth century must have provided many alarms of that nature. It was for this reason that the merchant classes supported first the Yorkist and then the Tudor monarchs as able to give them a guarantee of a strong administration preventing private war between overmighty subjects and checking those disputes over the levying of tolls by private lords which medieval administration had never succeeded in bringing to an end. From the Tudor period there are no more petty or serious skirmishes over the right to demand and the right to refuse to pay tolls in markets. But even the strong rule of Tudors failed to deal completely with the problem of the sturdy beggar in spite of the better form of the Poor Law devised in 1601. The medieval trader was in danger from pirates at sea and outlaws on land; the sixteenth century merchant had to fear the attacks of the bands of armed desperadoes; the seventeenth and eighteenth century merchant ran the risk of attack by highwaymen. The Statute of Winchester of Edward I was an attempt to safeguard the person of the merchant and traveller by requiring the clearance of brushwood for two hundred yards from each side of the road - the archer was not expected to be able to shoot accurately at more than that distance. But laws and ordinances notwithstanding attacks from armed marauders were no uncommon thing even late in the eighteenth century. The Great Bell of St. Nicholas Church at Newcastle-upon-Tyne was interestingly called the "Thief and Reaver Bell", the reaver being the border free-booter, who was always permitted to attend the great fairs. After the tolling of the curfew bell on the evening preceding the fair, the thief and reaver bell was rung to announce that during the fair "all people might freely enter the town, and resort to it, no process being

issued from the mayor's or sheriff's courts without affidavit being made that the party could not at other times be taken."⁽⁸¹⁾ Old ballads tell of the attempt of the sheriff of Nottingham to entrap Robin Hood at the goose-fair and of his out-witting by the prince of outlaws. But the lawless man of the forests and roads was never a welcome sight to the merchant whose purse was full or whose wares were costly and he was grateful for local protection such as that afforded at Wakefield where in the eighteenth century all roads leading to the market-place were at the time of the fair patrolled by guards to protect merchants from the attacks of robbers and highwaymen.⁽⁸²⁾ The clothier travelling to Leeds had also to face the risks of highwaymen but in many ways these were perhaps even less real than the danger of coming to grief in some quagmire or cart-rut, for the condition of Yorkshire roads was very bad. Many highways were merely strips of ground between unfenced fields and even the main roads between market towns could not always boast of a sound surface. There is in the Bradford Quarter-Sessions Roll book for 1654 an interesting requirement which shows the danger to which roads were subject:

"Forasmuch as ye grand inquest did present upon their oath that certain coal-pitts are digged in ye highway between ye market-towns of Wakefield and Bradford in ye parish of Bradford to ye common grievance of ye people of this nation, this cort therefore orders that ye parties therein concerned do cause ye sayde coal-pitt to be filled upp before ye first September next upon pain of £40."⁽⁸³⁾

As late as a century ago a waggon leaving York market broke through the surface of the road in St. Saviourgate. Mr. Hobson in his diary records in 1728-9 (January 20) the death of Mr. Jonathan Swinden, whose father, of Womble Woodhead had died previously after a fall off his horse on his return from Doncaster fair⁽⁸⁴⁾ but here there is no means

of knowing whether the fall was due to the state of the roads, a frightened horse, or the too close proximity of Doncaster fair and inns. There were few improvements so welcome to the clothier as the eighteenth century development of road-building, and similarly, the opening of the Aire and Calder Navigation in 1699 from the Humber to Wakefield improved the facilities of trade, so that wool was brought by boat from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire instead of on horseback.

A further inconvenience to which the merchant was exposed was the inclemency of the weather, when fairs and markets were held in the open. This was particularly the case in Leeds during the seventeenth century when the market being held on the narrow bridge spanning the Aire at the bottom of Briggate, was also subject to the unpleasantness of the mists and damp arising from the river. This market was removed in June 1684 to Briggate itself "by order of the Mayor and Aldermen from off the bridge to the broad street above, to prevent the inconveniency from the cold air of the water in winter, and the trouble of carts and carriage in Summer."⁽⁸⁵⁾ This inconvenience was very largely met by the appearance of closed markets and Cloth Halls in the eighteenth century.

* There was one form of danger to which the merchant was particularly liable. It is probable that the Black Death of 1349 was largely carried in the merchants' bales of goods and the merchants at Bartholomew Fair suffered extremely heavily from its ravages. Their journeying from fair to fair was one of the principal means of the spread of the infection - a fact which had at any rate been recognised by the seventeenth century. When the plague in one of its numerous sporadic outbursts reached York in 1604 the markets were promptly closed, the courts were adjourned to Ripon, the assizes transferred to Wakefield and the

Minster shut up. 312 persons in the city are supposed to have died and sheriffs, chamberlains and constables fled in haste.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Secretary Coke on September 5, 1637 replied to a letter from Sir Edward Osborne in the following manner, showing that the plague was again rife in that year:

"This day I received at Bagshot yours dated from York the 2nd whereby you may see what expedition is now used in the carriage of letters. I have acquainted his Majesty with the contents of your letter to me, and of that you wrote to the Lords and few of them being here I return you that answer which I received from his Majesty. He is sorry to hear of the visitation at Hull and well approves your care in prohibiting goods to pass from Hull to Howden or Malton fairs, with other particulars in the proclamation expressed; as to such cautions as were fit to be given to the justices of the peace, I doubt not but your provident care will give the Board good satisfaction. For the letters which come weekly by post, the manner in other countries is to open and air before the fire all such letters as are bound up with silk-thread, pack-thread or such like, but for letters of bare paper they use no such observance, but suffer them to pass. Wherein, nevertheless, if any one that receives any letters from a known infected place will but take that care to air them before the danger, it may well be hoped no inconvenience will ensue."⁽⁸⁷⁾

Of the precautions thus suggested for preventing the spread of the infection undoubtedly the most important was the prohibition of the passage of goods from the ports to the great fairs. The Hull bench books record on September 11, 1645, similar precautions in a further visitation, ordering that "no fair be kept in this town this next Michaelmas in respect of the danger of the plague which is dispersed and

the great promiscuous concourse of people that will be drawn to the town by reason thereof then more than at any other times."⁽⁸⁸⁾ There was also an outbreak in that year at Wakefield, and after the notice of the first death on August 2, 245 persons died from the plague in a year. The market was removed to Stanley being held there in Ferry Lane where a market cross was specially erected. When the plague again appeared in 1665 - the year of the "Great Plague", the West Riding justices took greater precautions. Thus order was made to Christopher Hargreaves, chief bailiff of Wakefield in July, to "take special care that watch and ward be strictly performed, and to keep all carriers and commodities they bring from London, and all other passengers which tradeth which may be suspected to be dangerous and to examine their passes." Wakefield was visited very lightly by the plague - most probably as a result of these precautions.⁽⁸⁹⁾ At Scarborough the market was suspended entirely in time of plague but in order that the town might obtain necessary foodstuffs from the countryside around a stone was kept at Peaseholme on which the farmers placed their goods and the townspeople gathering them up left in exchange the requisite coins on the stone. A similar practice was observed at York; the stone used for the purpose may still be seen at the corner of Bootham and Burton Stone Lane (so named from the stone). It might be possible to consider that the decay in the great fairs and the cessation of the constant journeys of merchants and buyers of all classes along the roads from fair to fair, of their mingling in hastily erected booths, of their crowding where no means of adequate sanitation could be devised, were in part responsible for the disappearance of the plague from England. At any rate, in the seventeenth century these habits were considered to be means of spreading infection, and the decay of the fair is to some extent

contemporary with the disappearance of the plague, helped in this disappearance by increasing medical knowledge and skill, by improvements in sanitation and by an increase in general understanding of the forces which led to such outbreaks, and their avoidance.

With the eighteenth century the life of the fair and market enters on a new phase. Where that life was serious - in matters of trade and politics - there is a decline in importance, for new commercial methods are arising to supersede the old arrangements of annual or semi-annual open marts, and news more rapidly carried, with more centralised administration of government, ended the importance of market rumours and proclamations. Where that life was gay - in matters of entertainment - there is a growth in importance, so that with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the fair is the annual occasion for mirth and merry-making which surpasses all other forms of amusement.

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- p. 400 (88) Article in the "Hull Quarterly" (Organ of the
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October 1934. p. 21.
- p. 400 (89) J. W. Walker "Wakefield Its History and People"
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CHAPTER VI.

SOME EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS.

THE DECAY OF THE FAIR.

The Change in the Character of the Market and Fair;
Cloth Halls; Indoor Markets; Modern Open-Air Markets;
Disappearance of Some Individual Fairs; New Grants and
Survivals; The General Causes of the Decline in the
Importance of Fairs.

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No fact in the history of fairs is more certain than that there has always been a tendency to antedate the decline of the fair from its greatness as a commercial centre to its position as a mere social function of amusement. The newspapers of Northern England at the end of June 1935 recorded the great size of the Town Moor fair at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, covering there an area of forty acres; the fairs at Hull and Nottingham annually cover thirteen and eight acres respectively. None of these three fairs is solely a pleasure fair although their commercial aspect has faded into the least conspicuous matter in them. They do, indeed, represent most clearly the changed character of the fair. Yet it is a mistake to suppose that the change is of distant date; it is much more recent than many people suppose. It is possible to point to the nineteenth century as the age of this change; any period prior to the eighteenth century is certainly too early. But as in the case of two contemporary movements, the twin revolutions in industry and agriculture, it is impossible to state any year in which there appeared a definite beginning; it is only possible to realise that the change has taken place or to see it actually in process. The full effects of the change are not visible until the nineteenth century; the process may be seen, not always clearly, in the eighteenth. In any century it is possible to find examples of fairs which have decayed or which have ceased to exist, Already in the fifteenth century there were complaints that Sturbridge fair - of all medieval fairs in England the chief - had begun to decline; the fairs of the South-east, Lynn, Yarmouth, were suffering in the sixteenth century; there are many examples in Yorkshire of fairs which had died out in the century in which they were born, of others which lingered for some few centuries in a precarious condition of small

livelihood; there is the West Ardsley petition in the seventeenth century which illustrates such a decline. But in each of these cases it will be found that there were particular causes to account for a particular decay. Against such examples must always be cited examples of definite growth and vigorous life - more frequently and clearly seen in Northern rather than in Southern England - of new foundations springing up by royal charter to take advantage of a thriving trade or local industry, of a rich and necessary commerce carried on at annual or semi-annual marts.

There is a change, too, in the character of the market. Here there is no problem of a decline to be considered. Throughout the country, as in Yorkshire, the weekly market is still an essential feature in the life of industrial and agricultural community alike. In most case, however, the market is no longer the busy affair of open-air life where the stalls clutter the streets and the thoroughfare becomes impassable with the gathering of vendors with their merchandise. For the most part markets are now rigidly confined within walls and gates; no stalls may be set up outside the building set apart for the use of marketers. Inside that building much of the old picturesque character of the market remains. There is still the same medley of wares; produce from the neighbouring farms mingles with books, gramophone records, fish and butchers' meat; There is a tendency towards the capture of the stalls by the big shops of the town but the chief feature of the market still survives for the fortunes of the farm-wives are still in the ascendant in the market-hall. In country villages market-day still means the sudden appearance of market-stalls in the main street, and here and there in some market-town the custom still survives. But for the most part the market has re-

treated behind walls.

This tendency to retreat within doors has much in its favour. The recognised vagaries and inclemencies of the English climate no longer inconvenience buyers and sellers alike; both are protected by the roof, the former from unnecessary discomfort in purchasing weekly needs, the latter from the risk of the loss of their livelihood through rain-sodden or sun-withered produce unfit for sale or through lack of customers forced to remain at home. No longer does the traffic of the township suffer interference to the point of enforced cessation on a highway encumbered by stalls; nineteenth century inventions in transport made essential unobstructed roads. The risks of brawls grow less when rough or idle spirits found their only means of escape to be through a guarded doorway, and theft and like offences are more easily to be observed. Since the advantages are so obvious there is little reason for surprise that where the nature of the commodities permitted it the fair also found a natural home within doors. The cattle and horse fair has naturally withstood the tendency but the fact that the wool and cloth fairs of Yorkshire were only housed in the great Cloth Halls at the end of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth century must be considered surprising. The cost of the equipment of such halls, the difficulty of finding sites, such reasons as these lie behind the postponement of so clearly an advantageous step. It is necessary to consider the development of this last great phase in the history of the cloth fairs of the West Riding before considering those general and peculiar causes which led to the decay of the Yorkshire fairs.

It must be understood that the appearance of the Cloth Hall is confined solely, so far as Yorkshire is concerned, to the West Riding; elsewhere in the country there is no such development. In that riding the

appearance is general; there is no large town which either awakening of its own accord to the advantages of an indoor fair, or forced to adopt it by the pressure of the successful rivalry of other towns, in the eighteenth century set up a hall for its sales of cloth. In naming these halls "fairs" one confusion must be avoided - frequently their meetings took place each week, and on that account they should properly be termed markets. The magnitude of the business conducted in them entitles them to the term "fair".

The first of the eighteenth century Cloth Halls was that built at Wakefield in 1710. The opening of the Aire and Calder Navigation from the Humber to Wakefield in 1699 had improved considerably the means of outside communication for the town, thereby adding materially to its trade since the wool of Lincolnshire and Leicestershire had no longer to be brought on horseback but came by boat up the Calder. With this immense growth of its wool-trade, coupled with the development of the manufacture of broad white cloths the open-air market at Wakefield became immediately too small and inconvenient. The hall erected in 1710 only met the requirements of the clothiers for half a century and a new one was erected in 1766, known as the "Tammy Hall", intended primarily for the sale of tammy cloth, a kind of "worsted", or coarse serge much worn in country districts. Every Friday a considerable trade in this material was carried on until the closing of the hall - which had been improved in 1777 - in 1820. The opening of the market was announced by the ringing of the great bell, suspended in the cupola on the top of the hall, by the hall-keeper at 11 o'clock (An analogy might be drawn here with the lord's steward and his proclamation of the fair). The long wars with France at the close of the century proved destructive to the trade which failed to revive whilst at

the same time the decision of the Tammy Hall to exclude from the privilege of offering goods for sale within it - or within ten miles of it - anyone who had not passed a seven years' apprenticeship to the trade was fatal to the prosperity of the town since it drove away a number of rising manufacturers who found a ready welcome at Bradford.⁽¹⁾ In the days of its prosperity the Tammy Hall had attracted the attention of foreign visitors to the country, as in the "Tournée faite en 1788 dans la Grande Brétagne" occurs the following description:

"(At Wakefield) the Cloth Hall is a large square three-storied building, in the middle of which is a huge courtyard. No windows are to be seen from the outside, all looking into that central yard. The number of rooms in the Cloth Hall amounts to 370, each of them with a door and a window, opening on an outer gallery which runs around the courtyard along each story."⁽²⁾

Business was also carried on in the streets, the squares and the public-houses.

The cloth hall at Wakefield soon proved a much more serious menace to the trade of Leeds than had ever been threatened by the open market which certain merchants of Hightown had endeavoured to establish in the seventeenth century. Despite a judicial decision that a cloth market at Hightown for white woollen goods would prove injurious to the markets of Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax and Huddersfield the sponsors of the Hightown market continued to urge the necessity of it until the Leeds corporation, merchants and clothiers were aroused to prove the nuisance and destructive nature of the creation of a superfluous number of markets. The wrath of Leeds had proved victorious over Hightown, only for Leeds to be confronted by the spectacle of the Wakefield cloth hall of 1710 where the chief commodity

for sale was broad white cloth, the principal manufacture of the district around Wakefield, but for which Leeds market had been for long recognised as the principal, if not the sole, centre. Whilst Wakefield was thus uttering a grave threat to Leeds, the hall erected at Huddersfield was also beginning to provide an attraction to those manufacturers and merchants who dwelt in its neighbourhood. The first charter obtained by Huddersfield for a cloth market was dated as late as 1671. In that market the cloth was exposed for sale on the walls of the churchyard. The great progress of the town in the eighteenth century made this interesting relic of a past age no longer adequate to meet the needs of those who attended the market. By the generosity of Sir John Ramsden a member of the principal Huddersfield family, the townspeople were enabled to erect a hall in 1766. The large circular building of that year had to be enlarged in 1780 to accommodate the manufacturers - about six hundred in number - who brought their cloths to be sold there. The Ramsden family remained the owners of the hall, administering the market-affairs with singular enlightenment. Thus they made no stipulations as to apprenticeship as Wakefield had so unwisely done, whilst they allowed the use of the hall to all who wished to accept the advantages it offered in the sale of cloth and who were willing to make return for such advantages by the payment of a small toll on each cloth. As the direct result of this enlightened policy the Huddersfield hall became the market for the wares of the Yorkshiremen of the Pennine valleys and dales and of the clothiers of the neighbouring parts of Cheshire, Derbyshire and Lancashire.

Though at the end of the eighteenth century Huddersfield cloth market was flourishing whilst that at Wakefield was - owing to the restrictions which surrounded it - in a state of decay, it was the rivalry of the latter at the beginning

of that century which induced the Leeds corporation to **abandon** the site in Briggate as they had previously **abandoned** that on the bridge over the Aire. The open-air market in Briggate could no longer attract the merchants of Batley, Ossett and Dewsbury who were now offered greater facilities in more comfortable form at Wakefield. Merchants of the Calder valley naturally forsook Leeds to take **advantage** of Wakefield's foresight. Leeds therefore in 1710 began the erection of its first cloth hall in defiance of Wakefield's challenge. **Kirkgate** was chosen for the hall which was opened in April 1711. As Huddersfield had benefited from the generosity of Sir John Ramsden, so Leeds gained from the readiness of Lord Irwin of Temple Newsam to respond to the appeal of the mayor. He provided the site whilst the tradesmen contributed £1000 capital. The first building - arranged round a quadrangular court, and having two storeys filled with stalls - soon proved too small for the clothiers who began immediately to flock thither from the white cloth districts for the Tuesday afternoon sales. The second white cloth hall was therefore opened in 1755 on land south of Leeds Bridge, between Hunslet and Meadow Lane. Within twenty years the continued rapid growth of the Leeds trade made even this larger hall inadequate for the trade in undyed cloths but Leeds again needed the threat of competition from a rival before being willing to bear the cost necessary for the extension and improvement of its own market-facilities. Since many clothiers were unable to display their wares to advantage at Leeds, they were readily willing to support the project of a group of influential gentlemen of Gomersal to establish a cloth hall there. Gomersal was however barely seven miles from Leeds, so that the cloth hall trustees of that town were quick to point out the nuisance arising from it to their own market. Their first attempts to frighten the

Gomersal magnates proved to be empty bluster since the clothiers were supported enthusiastically by the local gentry who subscribed considerably to the cost of the hall. Great names of the West Riding - Sir George Armitage, Sir Thomas Wentworth, R. H. Beaumont, E. E. Savile, Sir James Ibbetson - are amongst those signed at the end of the following letter appearing in the "Leeds Mercury" of December 26, 1776:

"Gentlemen: We being fully desirous of promoting the Woollen Trade in the West Riding of Yorkshire, think it expedient to signify to you our entire approbation of your erection of a Hall at Gomersall, in order to establish your market there, and we recommend you to go on and complete your design with all possible expedition, being clearly of opinion that it will be of the greatest advantage to the industrious manufacturer and also to the White cloth trade in general. Therefore we are determined to give all possible encouragement to so laudable an undertaking."

The hall was erected; in 1793 it is described in the "British Directory" as a large brick building. But local enthusiasm and the support of landed families were alike unavailing when brought into conflict with vested interests and old-established custom when supported by the new attraction of a more commodious market-building. The shock given to the ambitions of Leeds to stand as the principal, if not sole, mart for white cloths, by the Gomersal project of 1774 had one beneficial result in that it forced the Leeds merchants and townspeople to awake to the inadequacy of their hall. The Leeds merchants were equally irritated at the fulminations of the cloth hall trustees as were the Gomersal gentry. Themselves injured by the

out-of-date accommodation of the hall, they set about the provision of improved facilities as the surest means of destroying the rivalry of the Gomersal clothiers. The manufacturers of the Leeds districts looked with sympathy upon the scheme though leaving the question of its cost, erection and maintenance to the merchants - the Dennisons, the Bischoffs, Fountains, Wormalds, Smithsons - who more wealthy than the manufacturers provided £4000 as the sum necessary for the building of the third White Cloth Hall. In the attempt to raise the necessary funds a circular was issued not only to Yorkshire merchants but also to those of London, and to neighbouring landowners, explaining the scheme and making request for a subscription of ten to fifteen pounds. The actual sums received varied from a guinea to £250 whilst the Leeds corporation - from the first interested in the development of the town's halls - made a grant of £100. Once again a viscount Irwin was approached and proved as generous as his predecessor in the title. He agreed to a scheme whereby land known as the Tenter Ground, situate in the Calls, was transferred from its then lessees the Committee for Pious Uses, to a committee set up by the merchants who paid £300 as the price of the transfer. Still further, Lord Irwin made himself responsible for the passing through parliament of the private act necessary for the legalising of the transfer. The hall was opened on October 17, 1775 - within thirteenth months of the original appeal for subscriptions. It is the greatest in importance of all the cloth halls of Yorkshire and is worthy of description. Built like its predecessors on the four sides of a quadrangle, it was rectangular in shape, in length 99 yards and in width 70. Five streets divided up the interior, each having two rows of stands which numbered in all 1,213. Lessees of these stalls paid a lump

sum of £1 10s. for life or 2s.6d. per annum, whilst in time it became possible to acquire a freehold of a stall on the payment of this lump sum. Where a clothier had obtained such a freehold, he became the sole owner of the stall, able to sell it, to let it, or at his death to leave it by bequest to his nominee. Since the hall required for its upkeep necessary caretaking, repairs, cleaning, sweeping, the cost for this was met out of a general fund maintained by an annual levy of 6d. to 1s.6d. to which all clothiers were liable. Some clothiers did not wish to rent a stall - those for instance, whose attendance was intermittent or casual. They were enabled to use the hall by the institution of a toll of threepence on every cloth exposed by them for sale in the market. As was the case at Huddersfield, this new hall was built but barely in time to take advantage of the end of the century boom in trade. The immediate effects of this boom were to be seen in the rapid growth in the value of the stalls which, to be purchased for £1 10s. in 1775, could only be bought in 1806 on payment of three to eight guineas, according to the position in the hall. Whilst the transactions had been in progress the Cloth Hall estate had been placed in trust in the hands of Darcy Molyneux, Joseph Fountain and Robert Green as representative of the mercantile interest which was chiefly responsible for the erection of the hall and which was of sufficient strength to induce the merchants to bind themselves not to buy any white cloth in any other hall in the West Riding except Huddersfield. Once, however, the erection was completed, the merchants were prepared to hand over the administration to the clothiers this being done on October 21, 1776. Since the clothiers had hitherto taken only a small part in the provision of market-amenities, they now agreed to contribute £1000 in

order to pay off the deficit on the hall. The most important clause in the conditions of membership of the hall is that which required a five years' apprenticeship in the white cloth trade - more favourable to the development of the trade than the seven years' apprenticeship required at Wakefield.

Contemporary with the development of the white cloth market was the growth in the trade in coloured cloth in which Leeds held an unrivalled place in Yorkshire. Two factors induced the manufacturers of coloured cloth to embark upon the project of a cloth hall in place of the old open-air market. The first of these was the Leeds Improvement Act of 1755 which amongst other things required the widening of Briggate where the market was held. The necessity of the removal of the stalls to a new site suggested that they should be placed under cover, whilst the Leeds corporation, anxious to defray the cost of the widening of its thoroughfares, levied increased fees on the holders of stalls in the market. After several local meetings and general assemblies in 1756 fifteen clothiers were chosen from the various parts of the mixed cloth area. They collected subscriptions of from £2 10s. to £7 10s. from the clothiers, applying the sum thus obtained to the purchase of a hall for the "sale of mixt broad woollen cloth, made and sold by the mixt broad woollen clothiers residing in the West Riding." The site 120 yards by 66 yards chosen for the hall in the "Park" (near City Square) was the property of Richard Wilson who, selling it for £420, required that the site together with all buildings that might be erected on it should revert to him should any goods other than broad woollen cloths be sold there. It is difficult to understand his requirements that his express permission should be obtained for any

building beyond twenty-four feet in height or for the piercing of windows on the south-eastern side. Since it was obvious that a caretaker would be needed for the upkeep of the hall Wilson permitted the building of a cottage for him on the condition that it should never become the excuse for the uses of a public house, whilst the caretaker himself was to follow the trade of a weaver of woollen goods. By 1756 a hall larger than the White Cloth Hall of 1775 had been erected by local builders, having accommodation for 1,770 stalls, each twenty-two inches wide. There seems to have been no system of lease of stalls; each stall on the payment of £2 10s. became the freehold property of the clothier who, however, was not allowed to hold more than three, and who was liable to meet an annual levy of sixpence to defray the cost of the maintenance of the hall. The end of the century boom in trade had an effect identical with that in the White Cloth Hall; there was a tremendous growth in the demand for stalls, and with that growth in demand, a growth in the price which now varied from £8 to £15.

The fifteen trustees originally chosen for the purchase of the site, and their successors, retained in their hands the control of the hall, with very great administrative powers. In order that all districts might benefit equally from the use of the hall, their interests were guarded by strict adherence to a proportioned representation on this committee, each district of the coloured cloth area having one member. Leeds was reckoned as three districts, the other twelve being Rawdon and Horsforth, Idle and Eccleshill, Armley, Yeadon and Guiseley, Holbeck, Bramley, Dewsbury and Batley, Ossett and Horbury, Calverley and Farsley, Morley with Gildersome and Churwell, Pudsey and Stanningley, Hunslet. Meeting in the "Rotunda" - a small octagonal building on

the right-hand side of the gateway & the trustees were responsible for the registering of all transfers of stalls, the drawing-up of bye-laws and ordinances, the levying of fines on those who broke the rules of the hall. In their hands lay all control of the income and expenditure of the hall for the three years for which they were elected.

A third group of clothiers in Leeds was formed by the "irregulars" - men who had not served the full term of apprenticeship and who were therefore barred from the use of the two main halls. They brought their goods for sale to a large room in the "Potter's Field" in Meadow Lane and were met there by many merchants who seem to have forgotten their oath to purchase cloth only in the White Cloth and Mixed Cloth Halls. The abolition of the system of apprenticeship in 1817 brought this third hall to an end since the clothiers attending it were from that date able to obtain stalls and to sell their wares in the two main halls.

In a description of the procedure of the market in these halls it is possible to see a very close similarity to that in the open-market and to notice how accurately the picture made by Defoe at the beginning of the century would apply to the sales conducted in the halls at the height of their fame late in that century. There were strict regulations as to the manner of the clothiers' arrival at the hall, and the times in which they might sell and the merchants might buy cloth, regulations which are not a mere survival in these cases of medieval custom but an experience learnt from the teaching of the great fairs of the Middle Ages. There is one contrast with the Middle Ages; the air of bustle, of gaiety and clamour that coloured the fair was always absent from the halls even as

Defoe had remarked on the silence and despatch with which business was conducted. The simplicity obtained by strict attention to a recognised method enabled a tremendously large volume of trade to pass through the halls in the short space of the hour and twenty minutes during which they were open. On a busy market-day it was no exception for cloth totalling in worth between £20,000 and £30,000 to pass into the hands of the merchants from the manufacturers. The trustees kept constant watch over the business done in the stalls and over those who performed it.

A system of fines was the recognised method of dealing with breaches of the regulations. Thus any clothier who left his horse standing in the yard of the Cloth Hall for half-an-hour after the beginning of the market was liable to a fine of one shilling. No clothier might hope to save himself either trouble or fine by the employment of boys for the purpose of removing his horse; this might only be performed by recognised hostlers, since there was always the danger that the horses might be galloped in the streets by the boys. It is an interesting contrast with the days of the old open-air market or with the early rising habits of Farmer Best's servants on their way to Malton fair, to find that in summer the Coloured Hall opened its doors only at 8.30 a.m. and in winter an hour later. During Spring and Autumn the market began at 9 a.m. When the bell in the cupola had been rung there was an hour before the end of the market was announced once more by the bell (the modern counterpart of the "rods" of the archbishop and sheriff at York St. Peter's fair or of the proclamations by the lord's steward at other fairs). In that time the clothiers set out their wares on the stalls whilst the buyers moved to and fro in the streets to make their purchases. The second ringing of the bell was a warning;

a third ringing followed at the end of a quarter-of-an-hour. This third ringing continued for some moments for should it cease whilst a clothier or merchant remained in the stall he had to pay a fine of five shillings, with a further five shillings for every five minutes he might still linger. In the Middle Ages the act of buying and selling before or after the lawful opening and closing of the market recoiled upon the lord of the fair who permitted it and entailed the voiding of his grant. Any such interruption of a customary trade in the case of the Cloth Hall would have had serious effects upon the West Riding as a whole; hence failure to observe the rules of the market meant simply the punishment of the delinquent and not of the trustees or general community. The closing of the Mixed Cloth Hall was immediately followed by the opening of the White Cloth Hall where the same procedure was followed. For both these halls there were still further regulations.

In some cases there was a tendency for the richer clothiers who had brought a heavy load to market to seek to override the rule that no more than two stalls might be allotted to each person. This he did by exposing his goods on the stalls of some less fortunate clothier who had space to spare through lack of cloth on his stall. The trustees, however, regarded this practice with severe censure, as being to the detriment of the poorer clothier. In this they cannot altogether be accused of hampering progress since the overweening ambition of some few capitalists did not tend to the easy working of the hall and proved in the long run to be a later type of the medieval habits of forestalling and engrossing. The trustees were equally opposed to the practice of the exposure for sale by members of the hall of the cloth of non-members who thus gained the advantages of the hall without its responsibilities. Offenders in both practices were punished by a heavy fine.

Many stalls changed hands through being forfeit by their original owners through failure to maintain the payment of yearly rent and usual contributions, whilst some stall-holders lost their privileges through convictions for felony or under the Worsted Acts.

Only one of the White Cloth Hall regulations in regard to trade is open to criticism. By the refusal of the trustees to allow stall-holders to expose their wares for sale at any other market in Leeds it became practically impossible for white cloth manufacturers to make any other kind of cloth - a practice which had become customary by 1800. The dilemma in which these clothiers were thus placed had serious effects upon the fortunes of the White Cloth Hall for many clothiers forsook the White Cloth trade and their membership of the hall in order to reap the benefit of the markets for varied types of cloth elsewhere. By this regulation the trustees dealt a similar, though in the long run not so fatal, a blow to a particular form of Leeds industry to that dealt to Wakefield enterprise as a whole by the apprentice-regulations of the Tammy Hall.

The first cloth hall in Yorkshire appears to have been that at Halifax, erected by Lord Irwin, and already in 1708 a centre of great industry. This hall was, however, unlike those of Leeds, directly under the control of the lord, for whom his own official collected tolls on the goods - at times obtaining from thirty to forty shillings from a toll of one penny per piece. Here again the opening of the market was announced by the ringing of a bell and there were like regulations designed to prevent sales before the specified hour. Their severity may be judged from the penalty of 39s.11d. levied on those persons who were so rash as to ask the price of a piece of cloth before the opening of the market. It will be remembered that in most fairs in the Middle Ages the right to levy fines on forestallers was

a valued and lucrative privilege of the lord of the manor; at Halifax, in contrast, the poor benefitted from the distribution of the money taken in fines amongst them. Though the hall had been described in 1708 as "large and spacious", the expansion of the cloth industry in the eighteenth century soon forced clothiers, especially the manufacturers of coloured cloths, to expose their wares elsewhere, many of them finding a temporary market-stand in the Butchers' Shambles. It was not, however, until 1774 that it was decided to build a new and larger hall on a site given by Mr. Caygill. This was completed in 1778 and opened, with a fitting firework display on January 2, 1779. The usual quadrangle was adopted; the buildings at each side of it were two or three storeys high (the three storeys appearing at the lower side of the hall, built on a slope). The quadrangle measured 112 yards by 100 yards, and the whole building cost nearly £10,000. Here the similarity with the other halls came to an end. There were at Halifax no streets of stalls; instead, each clothier, on payment of £28, was able to obtain a small, separate and private apartment in which he might keep his cloth between the weekly markets - held each Saturday from 10 a.m. to 12 noon. So great was the prosperity of the hall under this arrangement that in 1787 only twenty-two out of the 315 apartments were unoccupied. Woollen and worsted goods were brought not only from Halifax and Bradford and their immediate neighbourhood but from Burnley in Lancashire through the Pennine passes, from Bingley, Colne, Haworth, Keighley, Pendle, and **Skipton**. So great was the fame of the hall that in 1805 manufacturers of cotton goods had also come to gain an entry amongst the hall salesmen, to be met there by merchants of Leeds, York and Hull or by middlemen commissioned by foreign patrons who found their best market at Halifax. No internal strife or unwise regulation

caused the decay of this hall; early in the nineteenth century its greatness declined before the growth of the prosperity of Bradford.

At first the trade at Bradford was concerned more with worsted than woollen cloth. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the arrangements for marketing worsteds had not progressed but despite their inconvenience, there was no move to secure a hall until 1773. The manufacturers of worsted were few in number, each working with a large individual stock, usually preparing cloth only to order, and therefore in the main not sending their cloth to seek a sale in open market. Those who were natives of Bradford had piece rooms in their own houses where they were visited by the merchants. The only fixed form of worsted market was to be found in a large room in the White Lion Hotel, Kirkgate, whither came the clothiers of the outlying districts. It was natural that the merchants should be the promoters of the project of a cloth hall since they suffered the most inconvenience through the waste of time involved in going from house to house in search of cloth suitable to their needs. The hall opened in 1773 followed the model of the second Halifax hall, having a hundred apartments for the storing of cloth which on market-days was placed on the show-board in front of the apartment - in similar fashion as the shutters of the shops in medieval Wakefield had formed market-stalls. A larger hall, with 258 holders of apartments, was created by the extension of the former one in 1780. This was intended primarily for the worsted-trade, but after the closing of the market yarn might be sold in the hall. The market lasted for an hour and a half each Thursday morning; those who sold goods before 10 a.m. when the bell rang to announce the opening, or after 11.30 a.m. when the closure was similarly proclaimed, were fined five shillings, and as at Leeds there were severe penalties for those who exposed for

sale goods not their own property, although clothiers were here allowed to expose the property of other members of the hall. Expulsion from the enjoyment of all the privileges of the hall followed rude or riotous conduct by any of its members. (3)

Any picture of the Cloth Halls of the eighteenth century is incomplete without mention of the great cloth fairs of southern England with which the Yorkshire halls had an intimate connection. Many clothiers who had only few pieces of cloth sold them in the West Riding markets to merchants and middlemen who, gathering them in large stores from the various markets, took them for disposal to the great cloth fairs of Sturbridge, St. Bartholomew or Blackwell Hall. In the seventeenth century there was a part, known as the "Duddery", specially set apart for the sale of the Yorkshire cloth. Wakefield was then gaining from Coventry the lead in worsted manufacture and through its own Cloth Hall and Sturbridge market its wares became famous throughout Western Europe. Sturbridge fair was, however, declining by the end of the seventeenth century, so that the majority of Yorkshire clothiers preferred, if travelling outside their own county, to visit either Bartholomew Fair or Blackwell Hall. By the end of the Middle Ages the cloth fair at Smithfield had moved within doors, whilst at Blackwell Hall large quantities of broadcloths and kerseys were sold to the London merchants.

It is possible to see in the appearance of indoor markets a very close comparison with the development of the cloth hall system, but whilst the latter was confined to the West Riding, the indoor market appears in all parts of the county. The visitor to Whitby may discover the site of the market there whilst on the quayside north of the river Esk, for looking across the harbour he is confronted by the word "market" painted on the back of a brick building,

the entry of which he may find by following narrow roadways through the southern quarters of the old town, at the foot of the abbey hill. In front of the market buildings, themselves almost insignificant in appearance, is a more imposing stone fountain, obscured by the nature of its surroundings. At Scarborough the market has an air of crowdedness and of great variety of wares. Similarly there are small markets in the Yorkshire towns but there is no important history connected with their development. Two of the most striking in appearance and of the greatest interest historically are the markets at Doncaster and Sheffield, both of which were built in the course of the eighteenth century.

At Doncaster the market-hall may be found close to the station, almost in the centre of the town. The corn market borders on the meat market, the latter being housed in 1756 when new shambles were built at the expense of the corporation. The stalls of the butchers are each set between the twenty four pillars forming the colonnade which supports a slate roof. In 1756 also an octagonal building was erected. This was for the better welfare of the country-people who journeyed to Doncaster for the sale of country produce such as fowls, butter, eggs. The fish market was close by but in the eighteenth century this had not obtained a hall whilst the gardeners' stalls also remained in the street with the stalls of the dealers in pottery ware and - a striking contrast to the towns of the neighbouring West Riding - in wool. Close by Doncaster, Tickhill had erected a "neat stone building" in the market-place for the accommodation of the country people.(4)

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the markets in Sheffield were ripe for improvement. The local poet Wills, says of the shambles - the meat market of the period:

"The shambles most dismal were then made of wood,
The sheds of the stalls, almost closing amain,
Form'd an archway for customers out of the rain;
Down the centre a channel, the filth to convey;
And some lighted candles, almost at midday."

Not only were the shambles in an insanitary condition which militated against successful trade but the general arrangement and planning of the Sheffield markets as a whole was in a completely muddled condition. All shapes and sizes of permanent erections, separated here and there only by narrow passages, accommodated the inns, warehouses and shops of all variety of owners and tenants, opening out only for the swine market with the slaughter-houses opposite to it. There seems to have been some ameliorative change in the condition of the markets in the first half of the century but the improvements finally effected appear to have been very slight. By 1784 a complete destruction of the old system was inevitable. The Shambles were the first buildings to go, being swept completely away. The slaughter-houses were removed from their prominent position to a site on Lady's Bridge. The cattle and swine markets (not to be confused with the Shambles where only meat was exposed for sale) were sent to the Wicker. In place of the old tenements there was built the structure which served as the central market for Sheffield until 1855 when new shambles were erected. This first important market-building was not imposing in appearance but was admirably suited to its purpose. There was only one storey - few of the Yorkshire market-buildings outside the Cloth Halls have more - entered by two doors leading into shops, on one side the bookshop of Mr. Thompson, and on the other the toyshop of Mr. Burden. Two pillars supported an architrave to form a central compartment, surmounted by the blindfold figure of Justice, carrying her scales and spear, designed by Mr. Waterworth of Doncaster. A tablet bearing a Latin record of the erection

of the Market was placed in the wall above the doors and beneath the cornice of the architrave. From the walls led out passages to the Shambles whilst two small shops - one tenanted at first by a seller of flax and later by a cheesemonger, and the other by a butcher - were connected with the frontage by a cornice. The shop tenanted by the dealer in flax, a Mr. Cockayne, earned the title of the "weigh-house", from its position as the most commanding site for the destruction of Sheffield reputations, being constantly resorted to by the scandalmongers and gossips of the town. The hall faced west and in front of it chains enclosed a space for the corn-market. The new buildings of 1784 did not indeed cater for much of the merchandise in the market. Vendors of vegetables, fish, breeches, trunks, shoe-buckles, all had to find a site for their stalls in the open. Wills comments on this open-air market in the lines:

"Not fifty years since, at the Market Place Head,
Were the broad, shallow tubs to sell oatmeal for
bread."

Shoes and books could also be bought at the stalls at the top of the shambles. But in spite of its failure to provide for so large a part of the Sheffield market trade the hall was the sole place where meat might be bought. Within it the shops of the more important among the butchers were ranged along each side, beneath a colonnade formed by a projecting upper storey supported by pillars. Inferior meat could be bought at the wooden stalls which in two rows occupied the middle of the market. Those who sought butter, eggs and poultry could find the farmwives at the bottom end of the hall.⁽⁵⁾

These are the chief features of eighteenth century development. Apart from the question of the rise of the cloth halls and the appearance of the covered-in market - where every new building means an increase in size - there

can be no doubt that the eighteenth century witnessed a decay in the importance of many of the Yorkshire fairs, if not of all. Some had decayed; some had disappeared, before that period; some appear to gain a new lease of life even within the century and some are reported as still flourishing but there must remain the general impression that the factors which make for decay in the importance of fairs as centres of trade are already present and largely at work before the nineteenth century, even if it be admitted that in many particular cases the decline is of much more recent date than has generally been supposed. Before considering the nature of these general factors and their particular incidence in Yorkshire, it is possible from one example to show that in modern times the market has not decayed but flourishes as an all-important centre for local trade. From this example it can be seen that the decay of the fair has not involved the decay of the market; that whereas in the Middle Ages the latter was but a smaller and a more frequent commercial gathering than the former, now it is the market which bears the significance of a focus of a countryside's commercial dealings whilst the fair, where it survives, is but an important social matter of entertainment.

The Saturday market at York is still held in the open air. The main part is to be found in Parliament Street, a wide area of some hundred or so yards length. Besides this the market also extends beyond All Saints' Church (which in quite a modern age suffered the loss of part of its choir to admit of the extension of the market) into Piccadilly, into Pavement and into Church Street. The stalls are erected each Friday night and are removed when the market closes on Saturday night. They are wooden affair with, in some cases, an iron framework, and are covered-in.

During the winter months they are lit by flares from gas-jets. On each side of the market the frontage of the stalls faces the pathway of Parliament Street, but between these two rows there are other rows which face only on the narrow passages left between them, passages themselves partially cumbered by the farmwives come to sell their butter, eggs, fowls and curd. There are certain stations where products of certain types are usually to be found; thus the best flowers may be generally be obtained at the South east corner of the market where Parliament Street is met by the Pavement, or in a small street which leads east from the market about halfway down its eastern side. The vendors of farm implements may be found congregated outside the east end of All Saints Church. Livestock of the kitten, rabbit, puppy type, may sometimes be found in the southern end of the stalls down the middle of the market. Here also in the weeks before Christmas are the sellers of turkeys and geese, the former frequently still able to enjoy the question of their sale. At that season of the year, too, the flower stalls are more generally set out with holly and mistletoe. Sweet-sellers are to be found facing the Midland Bank and further towards All Saints' Church. The fruitsellers chiefly cluster the northern end of the market. These are the main features of the trade; besides them there are many varieties of wares - toys, clothes, books, pottery, garden produce. In the present years the sale of fruit, garden and farm produce, is not so greatly in the hands of country-folk; many of the stalls are now tenanted by the shop-people of the city. Varied shades of local dialect may, however, still be heard in passing from stall to stall, although the familiar figure of "Wrap-it-up-George" disappeared some few years ago, together with his customary cry of "Wrap-it-up" to his assistant as he sold each item of his wares. Each

Saturday morning the market is crowded by the people of the City anxious to lay in - if not a week's supply - at least farm produce for the weekend, each buying with the same question on his or her lips and with the same end in view - the discovery of the cheapest stall in the market or the comparison of market and shop prices. The market may also be considered an important item in social affairs, since the Saturday market means generally an opportunity for foregatherings of friends - however unpremeditated. For the regulation of this market the city maintains certain bye-laws. These have in this present year undergone revision; the revised laws may be compared with many of the regulations quoted in regard to fairs and markets in previous ages. The time of the opening and closing of the market is strictly defined. No one may bring to the market any goods for sale more than half-an-hour before the time fixed for its commencement nor keep his goods in the market-place more than half-an-hour after its closure, whilst all lights in stalls must be extinguished within that half-hour. No goods may be sold after the actual closure. No carcasses or meat may be cleaved except upon a cleaving block or shopping-board or suspended from hooks designed for the purpose. There is to be no hawking or carrying about of goods, or crying of goods for sale in the market-place; thus the stall-owners are limited to the area of their stall whence they beseech the more attentive or inquisitive or purposeful of passers-by to regard the value of their wares. The care of the stalls is also considered; to prevent the nuisance which arises from dirty, untidy and therefore unwholesome stalls, they must be cleaned immediately before and after the day's selling, whilst refuse may not be left on any stall longer than is inevitable; it must be cleared away to some rubbish-receptacle which itself so soon as it is filled must be emptied into the Corporation cart provided for the disposal of rubbish. Where it is necessary that

goods be brought by cart or by beast of burden to the stall such must be removed speedily in order not to obstruct the ways between the stalls. These alley-ways are to be cleaned and swept by the tenants of the stalls fronting on them. For any offence committed against any of these bye-laws the person offending is liable to a fine not exceeding the sum of £5. This market "shall be held on every weekday throughout the year upon which a market can lawfully be held, between the hours of eight in the forenoon and nine in the afternoon during the months of May, June, July, August and September, and between the hours of eight in the forenoon and eight in the afternoon during the months of October, November, December, January, February, March and April." These new regulations repealed the regulations of May 1873, and, given under the Corporate Seal of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of York, are dated the thirteenth day of May, 1935.⁽⁶⁾ In February 1933 a new list of tolls, stallages, rents and charges for the hire of stalls and for the sale of marketable commodities in the Parliament Street Market was drawn up. They give a clear indication of the variety of wares to be obtained in York market.

Stalls. For every superficial foot or part of a foot of ground occupied by a stall used for the sale of

Butcher's Meat	Not Exceeding	3d.
Fish	" "	4d.
Flowers and Plants, Fruit, Vegetables or any other article of Market Garden Produce	" "	3d.
Bacon, Ham, Cheese or any other provisions	" "	3d.
Live or Dead Game, Poultry or Rabbits	" "	3d.
Butter or Eggs	" "	3d.
Books	" "	4d.
Manufactured Goods	" "	6d.

Sweets or Confectionery ... Not Exceeding	6d.
Any other provisions, goods, wares or marketable commodities	" " 6d.
Standing Places: For every superficial foot or part of a foot of ground occupied for the sale of	
Furniture or Manufactured Goods	Not Exceeding 4d.
Any other provisions, goods, wares, or marketable commodities	" " 6d.
For every basket, box, hamper or other receptacle containing:	
Not exceeding 7 lbs. of butter	2d.
Exceeding 7 lbs. but not exceeding 10 lbs. of butter	3d.
" 10 lbs. " " exceeding 14 lbs. of butter	4d.
" 14 lbs. " " exceeding 17 lbs. of butter	5d.
" 17 lbs. " " exceeding 21 lbs. of butter.	6d.
" 21 lbs. " " exceeding 30 lbs. of butter	8d.
" 30 lbs. of butter	1s.0d.
Not exceeding 72 eggs	2d.
Exceeding 72 but not exceeding 144 eggs	4d.
" 144 " " " 216 "	6d.
" 216 " " " 264 "	9d.
" 264 eggs	1s.0d.
Vegetables	3d.
Any other marketable commodity	1s.0d.
For every Turkey, Goose, Fowl or Duck	
Not exceeding	2d.
For every half dozen or less number of pigeons	
Alive	Not exceeding 2d.
Dead	" " 1d.
For every Pheasant	" " 1d.
For every other bird	" " ½d.
For every Hare	" " 1d.
For every Rabbit	
Alive	" " 1d.
Dead	" " ½d.
For each and every set of three poultry cages	" " 1s.6d.

For every stall for the sale of Ice Cream 5s.0d.

Whether the city authorities object to the consumption of ice-cream in the open air of the market-place or not, the range of charges for stallage indicates that the trade at York market is no mean affair. Buses from the neighbouring countryside and local trains still fill each Saturday with market-women laden with large baskets, whilst not every countryman has forsaken the horse and rulle for the transport of his merchandise. The inns of the neighbouring streets still are visited each Saturday by the farmers in need for meals and refreshment during a long day in the open - a day which in summer may prove almost unbearably hot in the close grouping of the stalls with their heavy covering, and in winter may be unbearably cold since there are no means of lighting fires amongst the stalls. Such, then, are the main features of the market at York - reproduced on far smaller scale at the open-air Thursday market of Otley, held around the market-cross and in the main street towards the parish church. There can be no question of decline in the history of the weekly market.

It is now necessary to consider the problem of the disappearance of certain individual fairs at various ages in Yorkshire. During the Middle Ages certain fairs had to be suppressed on account of the disorders committed at them which both hindered traders from attending them and also were breaches of the king's peace involving forfeiture. Such a case has already been seen at Warter in the early fourteenth century when the prior proved unable to restrain the homicides perpetrated in his fair and petitioned for its suppression. In like manner Nostell fair, originally owned by the canons of St. Oswald, Nostell, under a grant of Henry I was suppressed by John de L'Isle on account of the riots and disorders for which it became famous. The village of Hovingham gained a charter for a fair and market in 1252; now it nestles

quietly in the Hambleton Hills, not far from Terrington Bank. The fair never gained great importance, being always overshadowed by Malton. There is a significant note in the survey of the priory of Guisborough and its possessions after it had passed into the hands of Henry VIII at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539. The markets and fairs are recorded in the survey as worth 23s. 4d. whereas the common bakehouse is valued at £4 6s. 8d. and two watermills with one windmill at £13 12s. 2d.⁽⁷⁾ At this same period Leland has some hints to make of the decline in importance of some of the fairs. He refers to Bawtrey as a "poore market toune"; "the market town of Tickhill is very bare"; "the toun of Howden the only market of Howdenshire is of no great reputation."⁽⁸⁾ This last point is of particular significance for Howden fair granted by King John to Philip, Bishop of Durham, in 1200 had through the Middle Ages been reckoned the most important horse fair of Yorkshire and one of the most important of the whole of England. The markets at York in 1623 were in a condition of ill-fortune owing to the forestalling by the merchants of Hull of the goods brought to them - corn, lead, herrings and coal being especially mentioned in the complaint made to the Council by the lord mayor and citizens of York.⁽⁹⁾ Here, however, with the removal of the cause of the decline the decline itself was brought to an end so that York markets once more recovered their former condition of prosperity. To this same century belongs the complaint of West Ardsley where the once famous Lee fair had become a fair for mere peddling trifles. The petition of 1656 assigned the decay here to the rise of the cloth market at Wakefield which absorbed the trade which had formerly been done at Lee. The fair was never suppressed but it never regained its former glory as one of the leading cloth fairs of the West Riding. Thirty years previously the people of Wakefield had complained of the poverty of

their town, but solely as an excuse for the evasion of the duty of providing, together with Hull, Leeds and Halifax, three ships for the King's service. Their complaint had little real basis in actual fact and it is impossible to consider that there was any decline in the prosperity of Wakefield until the end of the eighteenth century. From the late seventeenth century the prosperity of the town greatly increased - as a result in large measure of the trade carried on in the cloth halls. It was only when the unwise apprentice regulations of the trustees of these cloth halls had driven skilled labour from Wakefield to neighbouring towns that the markets lost their importance. On the other hand, the greatness of the fairs at Ripon and Halifax had been injured by the growth of the trade of Wakefield already in the sixteenth century. After the decline of the Halifax fairs the town recovered some measure of prosperity in the eighteenth century through its cloth halls, until they were deprived of trade by the growth of Bradford. So far as the early part of the eighteenth century is concerned Defoe has valuable suggestions to make on the state of Yorkshire trade. Thus he says that "Cockswold (= Coxwold) had once both a market and a fair, but the former has long been disused; the fair is, however, still held on the 25th of August, for horned cattle, sheep, linen and woollen cloth, pewter and hardware." This is one of the few exceptions in which a fair has survived a market. The fair at Coxwold has now followed the market into oblivion. A similar exception occurs at Seamer which Defoe records, "had formerly a market, and has now a fair on the 15th of July, for horses, boots and shoes." Seamer fair is still continued and its market was revived later in the seventeenth century; the history of the long dispute between Scarborough and Seamer over the latter's right to hold a market has already been told. It is a clear illustration of the particular cause which was

of all causes most responsible for decay in fair or market - the successful rivalry of a neighbouring town. Defoe has one other reference to fallen greatness. Of Hedon he says: "it was formerly much more considerable."⁽¹⁰⁾ Here, then, is the record of the decline of one of the greatest of medieval fairs in Yorkshire, one of the earliest to be established and one in Saxon times reckoned as one of the five "marts" of England. Contemporary evidence of the failing state of the once famous sheep fairs of Masham is afforded by the picture "Masham Fair", painted by Julius Caesar Ibbetson (1759-1817). In the background of the picture are the buildings of the town, including the church, in the immediate vicinity of which the fair was held. The market-cross, occupying the centre, is surrounded by a group of people apparently engaged in discussion and certainly not active in any dealings of trade. The only commodities for sale are those offered by a quack who with the promises of his papers attracts a small group around himself, except that a few donkeys are depicted in the foreground, with some few pigs (whilst a goose suffers from the attention of a number of dogs). Pigs and cattle are also to be seen in the background of the market-place where two Scots pipers endeavour to maintain the spirits of the few people attending the fair. The Barnabas fairs at Masham were in 1750 declared not to have been held within living memory though no reason could be given for their discontinuance.⁽¹¹⁾ Formerly they had thriven upon the trade brought to Masham by the highroad which, much frequented, led direct from York to Lancaster. The appearance of new highways, therefore, rather than the growth of a rival may probably be assigned as the real cause of the end of Masham fairs. In the days of their prosperity they had inflicted severe damage on the trade

of Richmond, property there deteriorating greatly in value as a result. The Masham markets maintained their importance into the nineteenth century as a centre of trade regularly attended by the people of Nidderdale. Beverley wool sales had become a thing of the past early in the eighteenth century; the specific cause here may be found in the increasing development of the wool trade of the West Riding whilst new means of communication left Beverley untouched and deprived it of all value as a port. At Scarborough the fair declined owing to the successful re-establishment of the fair at Seamer in 1788. At a like period the cloth market there ceased to be held for reasons identical with those which brought Beverley wool sales to an end. The clothiers from the manufacturing districts who had previously brought their wool to Scarborough preferred to enjoy the advantages and privileges which the growing markets and cloth halls of the West Riding offered in their own immediate neighbourhood to the laborious journey to the coast. Scarborough also had in the past a horse-fair. Only one particular in regard to this fair has survived, in a notice of 1738 (contained in the Minutes of the Corporation) which is a sufficient indication of the value of that fair:

"On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, being the 7th, 8th and 9th days of August, there will be an Horse Fair in the towne of Scarbroughe, in the Beast Markett (now - Queen St.), and places there adjacent, which hathe been disused for some time, but will now be continued every year, the first Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday after the ffifth day of August, for the benefit of the gentlemen resorting to the Scarbrough Spaws."⁽¹²⁾

Scarborough was already gaining fame as a centre for holidays; with the rise to fame of its spas its share in serious trade declines, so that its trade is more and more designed for the

benefit of those who resort to it for refreshment and recreation. Further north the fair at Ruswarp, held on July 6, rapidly became a day of pleasure and at Scalby Old Midsummer Day was celebrated only as a gala, in which rustic sports of the type of donkey-racing were the chief events, a fair-like appearance being given by the erection of booths for the accommodation of visitors. These were nineteenth century developments. At Bridlington until 1846 a large export trade to the Continent was carried on in horses and agricultural produce but all the activity in this and at the fair held yearly on the North Pier was destroyed by the arrival of the railway from Hull in that year.⁽¹³⁾ Bridlington was no longer of importance in sea-borne trade, which now passed under the control of Hull, so far as South-East Yorkshire was concerned. One other town may be mentioned. Blyth affords an example similar to Coxwold for here also the fair outlived the market. The former, on Holy Thursday, was still held at the beginning of the nineteenth century but the inhabitants of the town had for some years previously made use of Bawtry in preference to their own.⁽¹⁴⁾

The eighteenth century witnessed the entire decay of one type of fair - the statute fair. The circumstances which led to the disappearance of these sales of labourers have already been discussed. Although labourers have within memory still attended fairs in order to obtain hire, there was little general acceptance of this custom in the county a century ago.

In most of the cases cited a special or particular cause may be assigned for the decay of the fair or market. Where this is so, it is possible to see whether that particular cause is not also part of a general tendency making for the decay of the system of fair-trade as a whole.

One particular cause may be dismissed immediately as not part of such a tendency. Where any fair is destroyed by the success of a neighbouring rival there is no general decline in the system, for the failure of the one is balanced - may even be counterbalanced by the success of the other. Before the eighteenth century several Yorkshire fairs did decline on this account, so that some few survived and gained within their control the major proportion of the trade conducted by these means. This tendency is the reverse of that which appears in southern England in the late Middle Ages where the great fairs of ~~Star~~bridge, St. Ives, St. Giles (Winchester) and St. Bartholomew (Smithfield) decay in measure as their supremacy is threatened by the rise of numerous smaller fairs, those, for instance, in London itself or at Bristol. Such a transference may not be regarded as decay but with the nineteenth century it may no longer be postulated as the means of the survival of certain fairs for during the eighteenth century general causes have been at work to destroy those which had gained their strength originally by the destruction of weaker, more inaccessible fairs. Particular causes which make for the development of these tendencies have already been suggested - the movement of the centres of trade and industry and the method of their conduct, with consequent alterations in the lines of communications. That these general tendencies were not clearly visible to Englishmen before the eighteenth century is witnessed by the number of new grants of fairs which date up to that period for places where the particular causes of decline already noticeable elsewhere were not felt to apply. That they did not operate in certain areas at all even in that century is given witness by the thriving survival of some fairs in the nineteenth.

It was not until the sixteenth century that Bradford which had been previously a comfortable village holding for

two centuries the **privileges** of a market-town began to make real use of its market and became a busy centre for the manufacture of woollen cloths. Defoe treated Bradford with very short shrift, but in marvelling at the greatness of other West Riding towns he failed to foresee the enormous development of the most westerly of the cloth markets of the county. It has already been said that York was late in obtaining a city fair; previous fairs until the fifteenth century had been in the hands of either St. Mary's Abbey or of successive archbishops. The grant of 1446 had given so great an impetus to the prosperity of the city that in 1590 the lord mayor and aldermen petitioned for, and obtained, the right to hold two additional fairs each year. (15)

A grant was made on June 22, 1604 to the Earl of Derby and his heirs of a fair to be held at Thirsk, to be used solely for the purchase and sale of beasts. Less than a month later (July 6) the charter of incorporation granted to the town of Doncaster included permission to hold an annual fair. To David Waterhouse, Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench, and lord of the manor of the town of Halifax, permission was given on December 15 1607 to hold two weekly markets and two yearly fairs at the town. (16)

It is not conceivable that Sir Henry Yelverton would willingly have accepted a special commission dated March 30, 1620, to compound with all persons for a confirmation of their ancient fairs and markets and for grants of new fairs and markets had there been no value attached to such compounding, value which could only come from the value of the fairs and markets themselves. A similar point of view would have been held by Sir John Wood grantee on April 10, 1620, of all fines and compositions for confirmations and grants of fairs and markets. (17) It is unlikely that the lord mayor and citizens would have made such loud complaint in 1623 of the damage

done to their markets by the forestalling methods of the Hull merchants, had they not considered their markets a valuable privilege. This same criticism applies to all complaints of injury done by one fair to another. In what was almost a last effort to restore the failing prosperity of Hedon, the mayor and citizens sought to obtain what were universally recognised in the seventeenth century as real means to wealth - further fairs. Their petition was granted (1623-25) on the decision of a jury that such fairs would not be to the injury of the Crown or of any others.⁽¹⁸⁾ In the case of Hedon, however, the new fairs were powerless to stem the tide of misfortune due to changing methods and locality of industry which now left Hedon on one side. The latter half of the century also witnessed grants of fairs. George, Duke of Buckingham, a leading courtier of the Restoration and a close friend of Charles II, was in 1670 empowered to hold three yearly fairs and a weekly market at Helmsley. A month later Francis Calvert and Thomas Wilkinson obtained a grant of three fairs to be held for ninety-nine years at Boroughbridge, on payment of an annual rent of 6s. 8d.⁽¹⁹⁾ Huddersfield gained its charter for a cloth market in 1671. In this period the Hull Bench books show the continued importance of the trade carried on at Hull and other northern fairs. Regulations were made in the plague years of 1630 to 1650, and especially in 1637, for the cancelling of the fair and the removal of the market in order to prevent the spread of the infection. In August 1638 the Council of the North had to proclaim that those goods which were brought up the Humber to the markets of Howden and Malton should not be landed in Hull but should be there transferred to lighter vessels.⁽²⁰⁾ Despite Leland's declaration that Howden was of less repute than formerly it still had a part to play in the economic life of the East Riding, whilst Malton fair was still

considered one of the most important centres for the beast and corn-trade in northern England, as is shown by Best's directions in his "Farming Book". Thus although there are in the seventeenth century frequent complaints as to the decay of some of the Yorkshire fairs there is in regard to others unmistakable evidence that they were in a flourishing condition. It must always be remembered that those who complained of poverty were not always simple or unbiassed in their outlook - a town in decay might not be required to contribute so greatly to the upkeep of the realm as one which vaunted loudly of its wealth and industry. Complaints are therefore all to be considered with caution, and whilst Leland and Defoe both point to certain towns which were indeed less prosperous than in former days the general impression from their survey of the county is that the majority of towns holding fairs and markets still rejoiced in the value of the trade conducted in them. Best undoubtedly suggests that several of the North and East Riding fairs in the middle of the seventeenth century were in a considerably thriving position.

When the eighteenth century is considered there still appears a tale of good-fortune in many places. There are, apparently, no new grants of fairs, but the lists made out under official requirements by William Owen (v. appendix) still records that the fairs were in the main being held but no notice is given of their condition. Apart from this, however, there is no little evidence of a certain measure of prosperity. Most of the eighteenth century towns had only one function to perform - that of a local trading centre. In agricultural districts such places slept throughout the year but awoke annually when the day of the fair had come. Examples of this may be found at Dent, Bedale, Skipton, Cawood, Aberford, of which today only Skipton is considered of any importance. Probably, indeed, in agricultural districts the

fairs were generally unimportant but where the towns were within, or bordered upon, the industrial areas fairs and markets were not only important but frequent and numerous since men had cloth to sell in return for the purchase of raw materials and food.⁽²¹⁾ At Dent and Bedale there was an extensive market in knitted goods of the small type such as socks, woollen caps, worn by the labourers and small farmers of Wensleydale, Swaledale, Cleveland. The more hardy of the manufacturers of these also found them saleable in the fairs of Kirkby Stephen and Kendal in Westmoreland where they were bought by "servants and ordinary people"⁽²²⁾ At Skipton the tolls of the fairs might in 1702 still be farmed for "eighteene pounds of good and lawfull money of England". A hundred years previously the tolls of the fairs were let for £9 13s. 4d. and in 1651 for £10 16s.⁽²³⁾ Here, then, there is definite evidence for an increase in value. When Skipton fairs were proclaimed on March 28, 1694 the fee of the official was 4s. 6d. Skipton throve as a connecting link between York and Lancaster, its fairs and markets being long attended by the people of both counties. The Barnaby Fair of Boroughbridge - always one of the most famous in Yorkshire, lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. As late as the early part of that century immense droves of horned cattle and sheep were brought to Richmond fair on the 5th, 6th and 7th of November. It was no infrequent sight to see kilted Highlanders herding their beasts at the fair. Formerly one of the largest cattle fairs in the county Richmond retained its greatness until last century. The importance of the fair is attested by the twenty-seven inns of eighteenth century Richmond; its decline in the nineteenth by the reduction of these to three or four.⁽²⁴⁾ Northallerton also had great fame for its three fairs for horned cattle, horses and sheep, and especially prime oxen.

This town also is an example of long survival. Even in the nineteenth century the market- and fair-days provide the exception to its general air of freedom from clamour, for on those days the town once more assumes its old mantle of briskness and bustling activity. (25)

So far as the West Riding towns are concerned there are several examples of prosperity in the eighteenth century. The erection of closed-in markets at Sheffield has already been noticed. It was only because of increasing prosperity that the Earl of Surrey was willing in 1784 to obtain an act of parliament authorising him to carry out improvements in the Sheffield markets and to sell certain small chief rents payable to him as lord of the manor in order to raise sufficient funds for the alteration. Sheffield fair had been still flourishing in the seventeenth century as is shown by the proclamation of it authorised for use by Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey in 1634. The cattle and sheep market begun in the late eighteenth century at Wakefield was from the first a success. The following figures record the progress of its popularity:

	Cattle sold.	Sheep sold.	
1780		59,118	
1805	5,527	100,626	
1817	10,444	151,280	
1824	12,333	258,750	
1835	13,519	170,912	
1868	50,289	360,112.	(26)

There is no question of a decline here. At Bradford, the toll of St. Andrews' Fair was still worth its collection in 1841 but did not record any great advance on the sums collected in earlier centuries. Whilst Beverley wool sales had ceased to be important those of Leeds, Wakefield, Huddersfield, Bradford were growing in importance. Every manufacturing town in this period had a market to which the manufacturer came to purchase small quantities of wool which did not make worth while a longer journey by him to

the East Riding. Doncaster fish market was still well attended by fishermen from Newcastle and Carlisle, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. The fairs there were still being held in 1802 when Mr. E. Miller published his "History of Doncaster". (v. p. 142.)

There are some modern notices of fairs which have still survived. The Ministry of Health in 1933 sanctioned the purchase of the Selby market-rights from the Earl of Londesborough, lord of the manor by the Selby Urban Council, permitting this body to borrow £6,500 for the purpose.⁽²⁷⁾ The old-time proclamation of Yarm Fair was made on October 19th 1923 by Mr. W. C. Fawcett, steward of the manor, in the name of the Lady of the Manor, Miss Louisa Mary Meynell. The people of Ripley valley (three miles from Harrogate) lament the passing of the greatness of the horse-fair which within living memory so thronged the market-square between the castle and church and the streets leading out to Ripon and Harrogate that barricades had to be erected in front of houses and shops, leaving only a narrow pathway for the inhabitants and passers-by. Postcards still record the scenes at this fair, and show a group of farmers who, with a few moments of leisure, find the natural place for rest at the foot of the market-cross, whilst all around are horses. Two policemen appear in the photograph, come to maintain the peace of the fair. Similarly, there is a postcard to be obtained at the York City Art Gallery showing something of the scenes in the York horse fair held in the Pavement between the Market-Cross and St. Crux Church. The photographer of the "York Herald" in July 1934 obtained a photograph of the proclamation of Seamer Fair. Mr. T. Harrison, whose family have read the proclamation for a hundred years, is seated on a cart-horse, with two farmers similarly seated behind him. At his right rides his chief assistance, armed with the old halberd.

Only a few children, however, seem to be interested in the ceremony. The "York Herald" of August 25, 1934, records the decay in the great horse-fairs of Stagshaw Bank, Newcastle, Brough, Yarm, Boroughbridge, Northallerton, Topcliffe, Hull and Horncastle which, where they survive at all, are confined solely to the sale of a few ponies or "pound a leg" knackers. Hunter dealers no longer find that the best hunters are brought to these fairs where previously dealers used to come from all over England and were able to buy hundreds of first-class horses. These horse fairs formed a regular circuit as still do the race-meetings. A further comment on this decay occurred in the "York Herald" on September 5, 1934. Rural areas comment frequently on the passing of the old-time village feasts and fairs. The weekend previously, September 1 and 2, the feast at Shiptonthorpe proved so small as almost to pass unnoticed, yet folk who have now spent a number of years in that village declare it to be within their memory that crowds foregathered there on those days for races and amusements in the fields. In those days so great were these crowds that the land available was too small to cater for the amusement-caterers, some of whom were forced to erect their stalls in the neighbouring inn. In the same month, September, Market Weighton used to hold its sheep-fair, once the largest in Yorkshire, where frequently as many as 70,000 sheep are said to have been shown in the streets on the day of the fair. The cattle fair has in similar fashion died away, though here, as at Ripley, old residents tell of the times when the shopkeepers barricaded their windows to prevent damage from the cattle in the street. Pocklington and Easingwold still hold their fairs, but they exist in name rather than in fact, Where the hoardings of York are billed with notices of fairs, as of the Bishop Wilton fair in August 1934, the attractions are not the busy problems of commerce

but the gay attractions of a gala.

In all parts of Yorkshire, then, and, indeed, throughout England, with some few exceptions the eighteenth century and succeeding years record a constant history of decline in the fortunes of the fair together with a complete transformation in its nature. The general causes which lie at the root of the decay are not far to seek. They lie in the deep-rooted changes which swept over the whole of England from early modern times and which attained their highest momentum in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The England of 1800 was a very different country from the England of 1700. In the growth of the new conditions of industry, agriculture, commerce, social and political life, it was inevitable that men should find that the part played in so important a manner in previous years in the transactions of everyday life by the fair could no longer be played by it, that it was in fact as a centre of commercial operations no longer necessary, a hindrance rather than a help to the smooth working of trade. That any fair survived at all was due solely to the fact that long custom and tradition were hard to break and men cling to the relics of what to some at least were, in contrast with the methods of the industrial and agricultural revolutions, a golden age. In fairs throughout the county there were still many to be found who lamented the passing away of the old and found it still possible in annual or semi-annual marts to make of small transactions an excuse for much gossip and real enlivenment through the fair's entertainments. The twentieth century has by no means seen the end of the fair as a centre of amusement - as witness Mr. Allingham's book on the life of fairs: "Cheapjack". So far as serious trade is concerned there is no fair of importance in the modern world. The British Industries Fair may perhaps point to a revival of the idea of the value of great annual markets for the interchange of ideas and for

the advertisement of new goods through the medium of the sample, and the year 1935 did reveal a tremendous growth in the interest taken in this event. In order to raise funds for charitable purposes certain leaders of society in London found in the early summer of 1935 a reproduction of old Westminster fair to prove most attractive. But in neither of these senses can there be said to be any revival of the old glory of the fair with its importance in commerce, in local finance, in politics and society.

The causes for this change are to be found in changing methods of commerce, in new means of commerce, in new conditions for the carrying on of commerce. The chief types of men engaged in trade alter, and with their alteration there continue the causes of that alteration - the development of new institutions through the foresight and skill of some pioneer. It must not, of course, be thought that it always is development or growth elsewhere which means the decay of the fair. There were at times causes of that decay within the fairs themselves. Such causes - the inadequacy of open-air arrangements and the insanitary conditions of life during the course of the fair, unwise regulations hampering the growth of the fair's trade - have already been sufficiently stressed. Serious causes as they were they had not so large a part to play as the causes which were external to the fair.

There can be no doubt that the chief cause of the decay of the fair was the survival of medieval customs of regulations in an age which had grown impatient of all external restraint. Wakefield in its apprentice-regulations was the most important example in Yorkshire of such a survival. Though this cause did not have full effect until the complete acceptance of the laissez-faire theory in England in the nineteenth century the new conditions which the agricultural and industrial revolutions had already brought about in the eighteenth

century, were causing manufacturers and merchants alike to grow impatient of petty restrictions in the form of tolls imposed by every, or almost every, lord on whose manor a fair was held. That these restrictions were petty rather than onerous did not lessen their effect, for all those who had been accustomed to carry on the major part of their trade within the bounds of the annual or semi-annual fairs now found that by the adoption of new methods of commerce such local restrictions were evaded. The fact of this attitude in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries argues a very great modification of the original nature of the fair. In the Middle Ages the fair had been granted and had been customarily regarded as a centre to which all men might bring their goods, subject to those tolls which the lord of the fair had been empowered to levy in return for the protection he afforded to all comers, but freed from the stress of obedience to all other regulations of town, gild or craft. Trade in the fair was the nearest approach to any conception of freedom in men's dealings which the Middle Ages evolved. The reverse became true with the growth of the authority of the State, itself imposing restrictions and conditions. The modern power of the State to watch over and to protect the lives of its citizens from force and robbery make the lord's claim to exact tolls as the means of meeting the expense of the protection he has afforded no longer tenable. Where the tolls have survived the only justification for them is as a payment in return for the conveniences and shelter afforded to vendors and buyers, in a sense, as a rent for the site of land on which the stall has been set up. Since, however, there are more convenient means of purchase and sale of goods than those found in the open air of the fair there are few willing to pay for the very slight conveniences the fair can offer, a toll which has not to be paid if

greater conveniences are made use of elsewhere. From the position of the sole centre of free trade the fair has become the sole relic of an outworn protective and protectionist system which failed to allow for the free passage of goods from one part of the country to another and therefore confined it to those channels where it had most easy access - where high banks of restrictions on trade within the country forced the flow into the open sea of fair-trade in which men of all counties and from abroad could meet unhindered. The nineteenth century witnessed the triumph of the doctrine of "laissez-faire". Under it no regulations at all were regarded with friendly eye but in many places in an age when the State itself had abdicated from its position as an omnipotent regulator of the affairs of commerce, petty lords of manors clung tenaciously to medieval rights granted for a purpose no longer necessary. The flow of trade was therefore diverted away from the fair. It is perhaps fanciful to see in the re-emergence of a national protectionist idea the re-emergence of the idea of the fair, but in preventing, or limiting, the free passage of trade from country to country, protectionist regulation forces trade into a circumscribed area - the country within the tariff-walls - where trade is free, in a manner similar to the forcing of trade within the fair by merchants, and craft-, gild regulations of previous centuries.

A further cause arose from this. Since trade was developing along new lines under new conditions it was inevitable that the character of those who had traded in the fair should also undergo change. New methods of commerce meant a new type of merchant, no longer to be satisfied with the somewhat haphazard dealings of the fair. This new merchant was no longer content to rely for his profits on the uncertain attendance at a yearly gathering, nor did he wish to limit his purchases to the materials which would be brought there

and of which there could be little accurate fore-knowledge. It is true that some of the fairs were famous for the commodities sold in them as Malton or Howden for horses and Beverley for sheep, but this could only apply to the greater meetings. Even so a failure of harvest or an onset of murrain might seriously interfere with the prospects of sales. At best, trade in the fair was of an uncertain quantity and quality. As new means of marketing arose and new opportunities for the growth of capital were presented in the eighteenth century, merchants found it necessary to adopt means of trade which were reliable and which afforded immediate prospects of safe returns. In Yorkshire this is especially marked in the development of the woollen trade of the West Riding. The seventeenth century merchant had been content to meet the clothier in the market and there to buy ~~his~~ pieces. These he handed over to the cloth-workers in his employment, selling them finally to his customers at home and abroad. His successor of the following century seldom went into the market at all. Instead, he purchased the cloth directly from the manufacturers, many of whom, frequently, were employed by one merchant or middleman alone. This change - in the merchant's character - more to be noticed in the wool trade of the West Riding than in the corn and beast trade of the North and East, is largely responsible for the fact that the decline in the cloth-fairs - with the exception of the great cloth halls - is earlier than the decline in those fairs where the primary concerns were wheat or cattle. In the latter the chief merchant was the farmer himself. New methods in agriculture were slower to take root than the new methods in industry and commerce - as witness the account by Arthur Young of the unwillingness to adopt change which he everywhere met. When in the nineteenth century the Agricultural Revolution had indeed greatly affected the

habits of Yorkshire farmers, their character, and with it their attitude to the Yorkshire fairs, changed, for the new methods of scientific farming had brought within their grasp the factor which lies behind the altered character of the eighteenth century merchant - the factor of an increasing command over capital.

The discoveries and inventions of the eighteenth century gave to merchants and industrialists alike a new power and authority. The constant output which factory and machine manufacture made possible meant an assured and steady source of income. This, in turn, required for its employment a continuous supply of raw material. The great capitalist could no longer be content with the supplies he obtained at fair-time if he were to keep both labourers and machines at work in his factory. The increase in the capital of the merchant also enabled him to dispense with the supplies obtainable in local markets since he could now secure for himself the constant supply of materials which his increased factories and machineries required. Thus the new power which increasing capital gave worked in two ways, each complementary to the other. This development may also be looked at from the side of the maker of the raw materials and of the artisans in the factories. Since the merchant was now prepared to deal directly with the clothiers in preference to meeting them in the cloth fairs the clothiers themselves ceased to have any reason for attendance at those fairs. These two needs worked into one another; in due course of time the manufacturer of cloth became the employee of the merchant. Working together in the factory, they, pursuing their functions of skilled labourer or entrepreneur, created goods to be sold in a far wider market than was ever dreamt of in the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Their steady output together, and the new knowledge of world economics which the nineteenth century

evolved, resulted in a supply of manufactured products which could not find a satisfactory demand in less than a country-wide, and increasingly world-wide, continuous, not intermittent or annual, market. As the factories grew in bulk, the number of workpeople within them also grew and towns sprang up around the factories to house the workpeople. The great needs of the new townsfolk in their large masses could not be catered for, as the needs of small market-towns and country villages had been catered for, by the supplies of necessities in olden days to be bought only at fair-time. A much quicker means of immediate satisfaction had to be devised. This was supplied by the new town-shop. Until the eighteenth century the street of shops had been a rare phenomenon, only to be encountered in city and county-town. Elsewhere there were shops in every town but they were few and scattered and such as there were - with the obvious exception of those of London - did not cater for a large and constant demand since there was not a surrounding population to make that demand. Such was now created by the people who gathered together for work in the factories. The growth of the town-shop economy spelt disaster to the economy of the fair. That this was so was still more clearly revealed when improvements in communication allied with the growth of capital led to the appearance of the large shop or stores, having branches in most of the towns of the country, or one large central establishment brought within reach of every district by means of advertisement and the parcel post. There was, then, no longer any need for the villager to await the annual fair to purchase those commodities which his village could not produce. A money order brought them immediately in response to the pressure of his demand.

At first sight it might have seemed that improvements in communication would have led to a revival in the fortunes

of the fair, since frequently a fair suffered from the inability of either farmer or merchant or others who attended it to pass over roads which normally had had been rendered impassable by bad weather. Yet today Thwing in the Yorkshire Wolds is only noticed in the newspapers when heavy snowfalls have made it isolated; in the Middle Ages it possessed a flourishing fair. An improvement in the highways was the most welcome of all eighteenth century improvements so far as the clothier was concerned. On the road from the time of the beginning of his travels in the wool-producing areas to the time when he at last placed his cloth on the market-stalls he was at the mercy of the ill-conditioned surfaces of muddy, rutted tracks until invention blessed him with scientifically prepared roads. The market at Wakefield was immensely affected by the opening of the Aire and Calder Navigation in 1699. At first there was a rapid increase in the trade of the market since wool could now be brought by boat up the Calder instead of on horseback from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire. Yet within a few years the open market had succumbed to the improvement in means of transport. As the trade of the town flourished, that of the open market dwindled. In 1710 its place was taken by a cloth hall which retained for a century the trading characteristics of the market, but outside it there was growing up an increasing stream of trade which ignored the market. The boon that new roads meant to all classes of the community is to be seen in the efforts made to evade the tolls which the owners of the new roads sought to levy for their upkeep. The Rebecca riots are an instance of the hostility felt towards the limitations caused by these tolls; previously an act of 1728 had ordered that anyone convicted of breaking down a turnpike gate should be sent to gaol for three months, or should be "publicly whipt" at a market cross - still, obviously, a centre of social life. But whilst

at first improvement in the condition of roads meant easier access to fairs and markets, it meant also that there was no longer any need for such fairs. People could now more easily journey to the towns where the new shops provided a constant supply of their demands. There was no longer any need to limit journeying over bad roads to a yearly occasion, nor, since the roads had become good, to limit journeying at all where purchase of necessaries was concerned. To this improvement in roads the nineteenth century added still greater ease of transport through the railways, now supplemented in these present years by motor-car and motor-bus. These have brought within reach of almost every hitherto isolated village the goods which are everyday to be seen in the shops of the towns, so that such goods are not required at an annual fair. Improvement in means of transport has also dealt a heavy blow at the great cattle fairs for since the farmer can now easily move his stock he is not dependent for his sales on his meeting with dealers once or twice a year. An inhabitant of Grassington in 1935 explained the decay of the cattle fair there as being due to the ease with which dealers could journey from farm to farm, not limiting their attentions to the market-place.

One other factor must be considered. In the Middle Ages fairs were frequently interrupted by riots and other disturbances. To travel alone was dangerous on account of outlaws and robbers, or bands of sturdy beggars. In the North there was danger from an invasion by the Scots. The eighteenth century saw an end of these dangers. Though the highwayman was a source of danger, he represented a last survival of the medieval state's inability to maintain peace in its borders. In the light of these dangers it was natural that merchants should choose to travel at a time when other merchants were travelling, and to expose their wares when

others were doing so, in order that numbers might give some measure of security. The increasing power of the State to afford protection to the persons of its own citizens and of merchants from abroad made the convoy no longer a necessary institution. Since there was no further need for merchants to travel in company individual merchants found it possible to carry their wares in safety for sale at times other than those at which the company had been previously accustomed to foregather. Thus the importance of the fair diminished since it was no longer the sole institution of commerce where security and protection were promised and maintained. A further factor in this was the abolition of the danger from Scotland. Frequently, northerly fairs were disturbed by an irruption of the Scots bent on plunder. The removal of the northern frontier by the Act of Union of 1707 would therefore seem to have made possible greater prosperity for these northern fairs. Here again, however, the removal of the danger which had injured them led to their decline, since they were no longer necessary as the only, even if not altogether successful, means of defence for merchandise against the Scots. The Union is in large measure responsible for the great growth of prosperity in northern England in the eighteenth century. New confidence, born of new peace and security, made possible that imposing development in agriculture, industry and commerce which put into the hands of merchants and manufacturers a new command over capital, a factor already considered as in part responsible for the decline of Yorkshire fairs. The Union also meant the opening of a free trade with Scotland, no longer hampered by mutual jealousies fostered by the severe duties and regulations of the Navigation Act, whilst Scottish enterprise and ability was able to unite with those of the northerners of England. Under such conditions in the late eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries a new economy appeared which rendered finally unnecessary the great fairs of Yorkshire and the North.

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- p. 425 (3) The main details in regard to the Cloth Halls of the West Riding will be found in H. Heaton "The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries" (Oxford 1920) p.365 et seq.
- p. 426 (4) E. Miller "History and Antiquities of Doncaster" (Doncaster 1804) pp. 142, 240.
- p. 428 (5) R. E. Leader "Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century" (Sheffield 1901) p. 165 et seq.
- p. 432 (6) These regulations together with the list of stall-ages immediately succeeding them are quoted here by kind permission of the Town Clerk of York.
- p. 435 (7) Guisborough Chartulary (Durham 1889) Vol II p. xxxi
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CHAPTER VII.

NOTES ON SOME MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENTS

IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND.

The General Nature of the System of Fairs
throughout England.

Origins; close connection of Church and Fair;
Boroughs and Fair-Tenure; Authority of the Crown;
Profits from Tolls; Payments into the Exchequer;
Judicial Problems and Courts of Pie-powder; External
Officials; Channels of Trade, Alien and English;
Political and Social Matters; Unpopularity of the
Merchant; Dangers in Trading; The Problem of the
Decay.

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This development in Yorkshire must not be considered as peculiar to that county. Throughout the Middle Ages, and until the eighteenth century, England was a land of fairs. Every township possessed, if there were any excuse at all for the possession, an annual fair for the exchange of commodities too important or too great in bulk to be exchanged in a weekly market. There were, through the whole country, closely connected channels of trade, these channels being linked by the great fairs and conducting commerce to the small. By means of a fair each manor and borough could take a place in the general economic system of these centuries - a system in which one of the chief features was the importance of the trade done in fair-time. It must not be forgotten also that English fairs linked England with the Continent where there was, similarly, a complete network of fairs. In southern England, the fairs are seen at their greatest in the Middle Ages, in the centuries of Plantagenet rule.

Although it is not until the twelfth century that a definition occurs of the word "fair" - in the grant to Truro of quittance from toll in "fairs and markets and wherever they sell", made in 1166 - there were fairs in existence south of the Humber before that century. That Irish merchants visited Cambridge to sell cloth (Liber Eliensis II 32) before the Norman Conquest suggests that a fair was already in existence there. The main fairs of southern England did not however appear before the eleventh century. It is quite probable that that at St. Ives began with the increasing growth of the monastery as a centre of religious devotion after the discovery of the relics in 1002 but the Abbey of Ramsey's charter was not granted until 1116. The greatest of all these fairs - at Sturbridge - only began in John's reign as a special grant for the

maintenance of a hospital of lepers which had a chapel in the neighbourhood. The almost equally famous fair of St. Bartholomew was already well-established as it was amongst the first of the grants made by Henry I to Rahere, his erstwhile jester and first abbot of the new abbey. Here at Smithfield the fair was held in the immediate vicinity of the monastery. In the south as in the north it was customary to hold the fair in the churchyard - thus in 1246 Henry III granted to Marlborough a fair thus:

"Know ye that we will and grant for us and our heirs that for the bettering of our town of Marlborough there be henceforth held there in the parish of St. Peter about the church, within and without the churchyard, a fair to last annually for four days viz. on the eve and day of the apostles Peter and Paul and the two days following."(1)

The close proximity of market and church enabled the church to exercise a measure of control over the dealings that went on in the former; inscriptions were fastened up on the church-door as at Abingdon urging men to deal honestly with each other, not to steal, not to cheat, not to go beyond or to defraud a brother in any matter (Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon (Rolls Series) I p. lxxxii), whilst in other places, as at Smithfield, every trader was obliged to bind himself by an oath at the gate not to lie, steal, or cheat until he went out again. At Exeter in fair-time the throng of traders expected to be allowed to overflow from the High Street into the cathedral precincts and "were ever wont and used to lay open, buy and sell divers merchandises in the said church and cemetery and especially in the King's highway there as at Wells, Salisbury and other places more, as dishes, bowls and other like things, and in the said church, ornaments for the same and other jewels convenient thereto."(2)

This process at Exeter is illustrated also by the letters of John Shillingford as late as the fifteenth century. He records that merchants bringing their goods to the market were accustomed "when that great multitude of people cometh to the city to lay open, buy and sell divers merchandises in the church and cemetery".⁽³⁾ In England south of the Humber the legislation of State and Church had as little effect upon this practice as it had in Yorkshire. Yet the Church had a very great interest in these fairs. With the sole exception of the fair of St. Botolph (founded in 1200) all the great fairs were in the hands of ecclesiastics. The Calendar of Charter Rolls gives evidence of many of the lesser grants. Peterborough and Thorney Abbeys, the Priory of Sempringham gained the right to hold a fair in 1270, the abbey of Croyland (famous previously in the annals of the resistance made to William the Conqueror by Hereward the Wake) in 1271, the abbey of St. Albans, and the convent of Romsey in Hampshire in 1272. Middleton Abbey was granted two fairs in 1280, one at Middleton, the other at Stockland. In 1282 a grant was made "at the instance of brother John Gerard, a monk of Reading" of a fair to the prior and convent of Leominster (the date on which it was to be held was changed in 1290). The ancient abbey of Glastonbury gained its right to a fair in 1283. One of the most important ecclesiastical ownerships was that held by successive bishops of Winchester over the fair of St. Giles. The charter for this fair was the earliest after the Conquest, being made by William II to Bishop Walkelin who died in 1088. Here, as in the St. Peter's fairs at York, the authority of the local officials was suspended in time of the fair, all authority passing into the hands of the bishop who himself possessed stalls in the fair which he let out to those traders willing to pay the stallage required before they were permitted to

trade in the fair. The convent of St. Swithun's itself took an active share in the trade, dealing chiefly in foreign wines but keeping also a "spicery" or grocer's stall, and selling furs for the winter. From the tolls and the profits of the convent's trade there was obtained the money necessary for the completion of the cathedral church. The Receivers' Roll at St. Swithun's for 1334/5 shows that in that year the convent bought forty casks of red wine; for consumption or sale they had 136 sheep, 11,300 white herrings and 42,000 red, 220 salted salmon, with vast quantities of salted cod, mullet, conger, hake and mackerel. They bought great store of spices, 550 quarters of almonds, 201 of rice, ginger also, cinnamon and pepper, mace, crocus or saffron, suger, cotton, wax, dates, honey, together with large quantities of cloth and furs. Of these goods some were actually used by the convent but the ~~more~~ part were re-sold in the fair. The extent of the convent's purchases indicates the development of the trade of southern England by the fourteenth centuries. St. Giles' fair could already claim to be one of the "four fairs of England". Whilst the fair continued the bishop held his "Pavilion Court" on St. Giles' Hill for the settlement of all disputes within the city and fair. No trade was permitted outside the fair during the sixteen days of its duration - even the shopkeepers of Southampton had to close their shops.⁽⁴⁾ The fair at Smithfield was not solely in the hands of the Priory of St. Bartholomew but of the priory in conjunction with the corporation of London. The latter exercised scrutiny of weights and measures whilst tolls were equally divided between the two authorities. A further important ecclesiastical fair was that of St. Ives granted to the Abbey of Ramsey by Henry I, and confirmed by Henry II (twice) John, Henry III (four times) and Edward III. These charters are all to be found in the Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia

(Rolls Series I pp. 80-83). The first charter - that of Henry I - is as follows:

"In this writ is made manifest the gift made by King Henry to God, St. Benedict, and St. Ives. In each year there is to be a fair of eight days, that is a fair in Easter week until the eighth day, with sac and soc, with tol, team and infangenetheof, and with all customs which are accustomed to be held in any fair throughout all England, and with all those things which pertain there to the firm peace of God and of the King."

That the grant of legal rights under the old Saxon names was little more than the inclusion of high-sounding phrases in what was a merely formal document is shown by the simplicity of the Charter of Henry II, issued between 1154 and 1173, "Concerning the Liberties of Places in the Fair of St. Ives", which reads:

"I ordain that you permit the Abbot of Ramsey to have and to hold all his liberties, free customs, quittances and places in the fair of St. Ives as well, and in as great peace and justice as he is accustomed to have, and as he had in the time of my grandfather King Henry. And I ordain that on account of this you do no injury nor permit any to be done."

This command was addressed to the sheriffs, bailiffs and reeves of the county of Huntingdon. The charter of Henry III specified very full rights in the fair "with stallage, tronage, attachments, pleas, perquisites, complaints, forfeitures, carriage, roadage, by land and by water, with all rents, goods, easements, profits, with all liberties and free customs belonging to the fair, without hindrance or contradiction from ourselves, heirs and officers, none of whom shall enter the fair or its neighbourhood to interfere with or to lessen the perpetual rights of the Abbot's

administration No merchant shall during the fair carry on any business to the injury of the Abbot's rights." This charter was the proof of the penitence of the king for in 1252 "seeking riches more than he ought to do" he had seized some of the profits of the fair into his own hands. The chronicler, Matthew Paris, in describing this assault upon the Abbey's rights states that the fair was first obtained by the gift of King Edgar but this was mere legend ("Chronica Majora" V pp. 297, 699). The use to which the profits of a fair might be put may be seen in the grant by Edward I to the abbey of Bury St. Edmund's of the town of St. Edmunds together with its lands, meadows, fairs, markets, rents, reliefs, **escheats**, together with the mint and its profits "to the use of the sacristy for the lighting the church, and the provision of the sacramental wine and bread in the church itself and through the liberty of St. Edmund, and for the livery of wax every week to the abbot and others according to custom, and for the repairs of the church and other buildings, especially some standing within the close and belonging to the abbot, and for the construction of all other houses for the future, and for the liveries of the servants of the church; and the repair of the church ornaments; and for pittances and presents and other burdens according to the customs of the church."(5)

The interest which the Church had in fairs is frequently shown by disputes. The fair at Bury St. Edmunds became the subject of disagreement between the abbey and the Londoners who, in the days of Abbot Samson, refused to pay tolls there. Rather than be compelled to pay, they withdrew for two years from the fair, to its no small loss. The Bishop of London finally acted as mediator and effected a remarkable compromise. To save the dignity of the abbey, the Londoners were to pay the tolls; to save the pockets of the Londoners, the abbey was to repay the toll immediately to them.(6) In 1201 the

monks of St. Edmunds were again quarrelling, this time with the monks of Ely who had set up a market at Lakingheath. This St. Edmunds declared to be injurious to its own fair but since the bishop and monks of Ely refused to surrender it, the Abbot of St. Edmunds set out with an armed force to destroy it, only on arrival to find the market bare.⁽⁷⁾ Disturbances in Norwich fair led to the destruction of the cathedral in 1270, it being set on fire in a fight between monks and townsmen in which several people were wounded and some slain.⁽⁸⁾ The Abingdon chronicle relates several struggles between the abbot and the men of Wallingford over the abbey's right to sell goods in Abingdon fair - a right bought from Henry I with three hundred marks of silver. The county courts finally decided in favour of the abbey which, left in quiet possession of the privilege for which the monks had energetically contended, availed itself of it to the uttermost, gaining considerable wealth from trade.⁽⁹⁾

There were other authorities than the Church concerned in the gains to be obtained from the holding of a fair. It is significant that the great church fairs almost all originate in that period of English history when the political influence of the Church was at its greatest - from the Norman Conquest to the fourteenth century. Whilst the Church controlled the great fairs of the country with the exception of St. Botolph, south of Humber, there were many fairs in the hands of lords or towns which had an important part to play in medieval commerce even if individually none reached the greatness of St. Bartholomew, St. Giles, Sturbridge or St. Ives. The only fair mentioned in Domesday Book (Aspall in Suffolk - Domesday Book II. 418) was not in the hands of an ecclesiastic. It has been previously remarked that the view held formerly that the grant of borough-status implied the grant of market and fair, and that, conversely, the grant of market and fair implied

the grant of borough-status, is definitely erroneous. But a great many English boroughs owed their prosperity to the holding of a fair within their bounds even where the borough was not the sole owner of that fair. At Yarmouth the Cinque Ports controlled the herring-fair which by the value of its trade was the cause of the gradual growth of the town around it. Even when Yarmouth had obtained complete municipal privileges the bailiffs of the Cinque Ports still took their part along with the men of Yarmouth in the management of the fair.⁽¹⁰⁾ The thirteenth century was the most prolific age in which boroughs obtained the right to hold fairs and markets, but it is possible that at least some of those fairs which appear as original grants in the charters of that century had been held previously either by custom or by some grant now lost. The Calendar of Charter Rolls is again the best authority and records the grants to Tintagel 1225, Montgomery, Chipping Sodbury, and Hereford 1227, Derby and Leicester 1229, Hartlepool 1230, West Looe 1243, Saltash and Marlborough 1246, Farnham 1247, Huntingdon 1252, Kingston-on-Thames 1256, Retford 1259, Stafford and Hythe 1261, Shrewsbury 1267, Lostwithiel 1268, Clifton, Lydham and Salisbury 1270, Chard 1271-2, Aberystwyth 1277, Melcombe 1280, Newcastle-under-Lyme 1281, Nottingham 1284. In later years Higham Ferrers obtained a fair in 1300, Gloucester in 1302, Colchester in 1318 and Coventry in 1444. There is an interesting grant made to Newport in the Isle of Wight, under which that borough had the right to hold a fair from 1226 to 1293. The grant reads:

"Know all men, present and future, that I, Isabella de Forz, countess of Albemarle and Devon, and Lady of the Island, in my loyal widowhood and full power, have given and granted to my burgesses of the New Borough of Medina all manner of liberty from toll and all other customs from which free burgesses have freedom, as far

as pertains to me, in towns, in ways, on land, on sea, in harbour, in fairs, in markets, in sales, in purchases, in borough and without borough and in all places and for all their goods."(11)

Hubert de Burgh, Justiciar of England from 1219 to 1232, granted in 1228/9 a fair and market to his town of Montgomery. Richard Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans, and brother of Henry III in 1260 granted a fair to his men of Camelford in Cornwall. Henry III's second son, Edmund Earl of Lancaster, and formerly King of Sicily was responsible for the grant of a fair to Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1281. Such grants as these were made by the lord of the manor for the benefit of the town which was growing up within the manor. It must, however, be borne in mind that it was only in palatine districts that such a grant could be made - in the Isle of Wight, in Kent, Cornwall, Shrewsbury, Chester, or, in the North, in County Durham - without the authority of the king from whom in the last resort all rights and privileges are held by written charter. It was to counteract the loss of royal rights which had been consequent on the appropriation by many a lord of the royal privilege of granting privileges that Edward I in 1279 instituted the first of his Quo Warranto proceedings.

One of the principal matters into which inquisition was made under the Statute of Gloucester was the right to hold fairs and markets. The information obtained was embodied in the Hundred Rolls. The following are examples of the evidence given before the royal commissioners:

"In the county of Berkshire, the men of Wallingford do not wish to pay any tolls on merchandise, since this is against ancient custom and liberty when they are buying in their own county corn and victuals for their homes."

"In the city of Exeter they say that a certain fair on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula in the suburbs of

that city formerly belonged to that city and to the crown of the king; of which fair a half is now held by Amice, Countess of Devon as dowry for the possessions of Baldwin de Ripiis, formerly Earl of Devon, her husband, and that the said Baldwin and his ancestors held that same half by an ancient right from time immemorial but it is not known by what warrant. And the other half of the fair remained in the hands of the king and of the city of Exeter until King John gave that same half to the prior and convent of St. Nicholas of Exeter but it is not known by what warrant."

"The bailiff of Peter of Savoy requires from the men of Lincoln an aid on account of their ships and merchandise coming from Norway to the fair of St. Botolph, but this was not granted to him in his charter, and, besides, the men of Lincoln may lawfully take goods anywhere within their county without custom. The claim of the lord of the fair is to the prejudice of the king and to the damage of the city of Lincoln through forty shillings per annum, and it is not known by what warrant."

Several entries relate to Lincoln:

"They say that the Cistercian and Sempringham orders of friars have impeded justice through fifteen years in that the Cistercian friars of Kirkstead, Revesby, Pasco de Luda, and of other houses, buy wool and all merchandises of the county of Lincoln and carry them to the fairs of Lincoln and there sell them to the Flemish merchants (this is an important side-light on the nature of English medieval external trade) and others from overseas and receive from these merchants their own goods and thus act against justice and order and to the prejudice of the King and to the very great loss of the city of Lincoln through 100 marks per annum. So that

the bailiffs of Lincoln lose theolnage and proper customs of tonnage and are thus impoverished and the firm of Lincoln cannot be fully paid."

"Also they say that all citizens of Lincoln have been free of all customs and demands in all time in the fair of St. Botolph until the lord Peter de Savoy, then lord of the fair, in the time of the fair strove against the citizens from day to day and increased their poverty, and through the work of his bailiffs, the knights Wychard and Richard Lowe, drew money from the citizens at the fair until the mayor William Fitz-Egide, his brother Jordan, and Thomas son of Robert Walter Brand sought remedy from the king and on account of their poverty yielded to the said Peter de Savoy an annual grant of £10 without the assent or consent of the community of Lincoln which for fourteen years continued, to the prejudice of the king and the loss of £100 to the city. And Jordan then said in the presence of the community of Lincoln that he would pay from his own chattels the £10 but would lose his fair-rights at St. Botolph."(12)

These examples show that many of the usurpations were, in Edward I's time, of comparatively recent origin. The influx of foreign favourites in the course of his father's reign was in large measure responsible for the loss of rights held by English townships still hardly sufficiently articulate to withstand encroachments. Faced by some measure of opposition to his enquiry, Edward I finally accepted in the stead of a written warrant proof of tenure in the reign of Richard I as sufficient basis for a right, thus being able to recover into royal hands those rights which had been lost in the troubles of the reigns of John and Henry III. The Placita de Quo Warranto afford further instances of the claims met in this inquiry:

(In the county of Bedford) "John de Gyse was summoned to reply to the king concerning his claim for a free warren in his manor of Aspell in which he claimed view of frankpledge and all things pertaining, and a weekly market on Friday and a yearly fair of four days at St. Botolph-tide, with all the liberties and customs of markets and fairs. This market and fair was granted to Anselm de Gyse, his ancestor, for himself and his heirs to hold for ever, provided that they were not to the injury of neighbouring markets and fairs, by King Henry. But Richard of Aldeburgh contended that they were not lawful rights but were royal rights which the king could not alienate, and also that John and Margaret his wife have not held the fair during the last three years. John and Margaret, however, were permitted to hold the fair lawfully on payment of half a mark to the king."

(In the county of Cornwall). "The burgesses of Helston claimed that their merchant gild had the right to hold weekly markets and two fairs each year, but were quit of stallage not only in Helston but in all royal boroughs through the charter of King John."

Henry Tyays had to reply by what warrant he held a fair in Mousehol; he claimed that his right was based on immemorial custom though he could produce no charter, and that there had never been any interruption in the tenure. Hugh de Pomeray claimed a fair at Tregonis by charter from Henry (III ?) granting it to himself and his heirs. John de Arundel declared that he held his fair on his manor of Modeshole by reason of a grant to himself and his heirs from Peter de Raleigh; he offered to produce the charter in evidence.(13)

These few instances serve to illustrate the importance of the claims made by the Crown to be the sole authority for the tenure of any right economic as well as political, however small.

From September 29 to October 6, 1286, the commissioner John de Wales and his associates visited Ramsey, summoning the Abbot to answer by what warrant he claimed to hold a fair at St. Ives. The abbot declared the fair to be the grant of Henry I, whilst further privileges of liberties, customs, rents and profits had been granted by a charter of Henry II. The royal bailiffs claimed there the right to carry a black rod into the fair and to collect toll there. Whilst admitting the former right the Abbot was successful in resisting the latter.⁽¹⁴⁾ But it was not only in Edward I's reign that such enquiries were made; rather, he set a fashion amongst later kings. In 1321 (14 Edward II) a writ was issued inquiring by what warrant the Priory at Smithfield claimed to hold its rights over Bartholomew Fair. The Prior pleaded that his House had royal charters granted to his predecessors who had held the three-day fair since times beyond memory, in virtue of those charters. The justices of the Exchequer accepted this justification.⁽¹⁵⁾ Not only was royal authority necessary for the grant of a fair, but also for its extension. Thus William II's grant - made in 1069 - of a three-day fair (the famous St. Giles Fair) to the Bishop of Winchester, was prolonged to eight days by Henry I, by Stephen to fourteen, by Henry II to sixteen. Finally in 1269 by payment of £60 the then bishop obtained a further eight days. There is one example which may be quoted of an inquisition made into the validity of the claims of ownership of a fair - validity here in question because of complaints that the fair was a nuisance to other fairs - in an inquisitio ad quod damnum of 1252:

"Henry, by the grace of God King of England, lord of Ireland, etc. to his mayor and bailiffs of Bristol, greeting: We command you that by the oath of good and lawful men of your town, by whom the truth of the matter may be better known, you make diligent enquiry if it

would be to the nuisance of the town aforesaid if we should grant to our beloved abbot of Pershore that he have a market at his manor of Hawksbury on Monday, and a fair there at the feast of St. Matthew in Autumn, and if it be to your nuisance, to what extent; and that without delay you send to us the inquisition made thereon under your seal and the seals of those by whom it shall be made, and this writ. Witness myself at Westminster 26 February in the thirty sixth year of our reign."

The inquisition was carried out by William de Feria, clerk, who found no nuisance in either market or fair, which were therefore granted.⁽¹⁶⁾

The importance of the Crown as the final authority in regard to the right of holding a fair cannot be stressed too much. Only by that authority is there any guarantee that a sale or purchase is legal and that agreements if broken will be restored by the law; it is the basis of the whole system of medieval commerce, the only link between the multitudinous fairs of the country and the sole accepted creator of a standard of measures in all markets. The authority might indeed be exercised in an arbitrary manner as when Henry III for the better success of his fair at Westminster commanded the Londoners to close their shops and put an end to the fair at Ely, compelling the traders of both in spite of inclement weather to expose their goods for sale even though they could find no purchasers. Momentarily the king might not fear their curses⁽¹⁷⁾ but such an interference against customary and chartered right is exceedingly rare. The Kingship must be regarded as the benefactor of medieval commerce.

Often in the grants of the fair there were limitations placed on outside trade in order to ensure a temporary monopoly of the control over the purchase and sale of merchandise for the lord of the fair. During the fair at

Winchester nothing was to be sold in the town except at the fair under pain of seizure of the goods exhibited. There were similar restrictions at Bristol where no foreigner might sell cloth by retail except at the fair, and at Chesterfield where none but burgesses were allowed to cut cloth or to buy hides and skins except in the eight days of the fair, such goods sold otherwise being taken to the use of the community of the town. Where a monopoly might not be secured there were profits to be secured from the right to raise tolls and other dues. There was one southern fair where no tolls might be raised - that at Hethe where the grant to the barons and men of the township of a yearly fair in 1261 provided that no toll, stallage, or any custom be taken from any person coming to the fair or from their goods or merchandise.⁽¹⁸⁾ Elsewhere the profits from the tolls of the fair formed no inconsiderable part of the revenue of an estate. At Manchester in 1282 the lord of the manor obtained £6-13-4d. from his tolls - a sum almost equal to his burgage rents. In the same year £90 was obtained in rents and stallage, and £40 in profits of jurisdiction from St. Botolph's fair - thus justifying its claim to be one of the chief fairs of southern England. At the end of Henry II's reign the St. Giles fair was yielding from the profits of its tolls the immense sum of £146. In many cases privileges granted were modelled on those of more famous fairs, St. Giles serving as a model for Henry III's fair at Westminster. The burgesses of Plympton held their fair with all liberties and free customs in the same manner as the citizens of Exeter. Such privileges had, of course, to be paid for. The town of Huntingdon in 1252 paid an increase of £20 yearly at the exchequer in return for a grant of the right to take and to have freely for ever "all the toll within and without the town of St. Ives in all places as well at the time of the fair there as at

other times, as the said burgesses best and most freely took that toll before we (the King) took it into our own hands." Margaret, Countess of Richmond owed the great and unusual privileges she held in regard to her fair to the loyal devotion of her son, Henry VII - at Southampton she held a yearly fair "with toll and tem, picage and stallage and all other profits of the said fair without impeachment from the king or any other and without rendering any account or aught else to the king for the same."⁽¹⁹⁾ The king did interfere in the financial rights and trading rights of a fair by virtue of his own privilege of pre-emption. In 1263 Agardsley was granted that neither the king nor his successors would take any caption from the men of Agardsley against their will in fair or market, but would fully pay for them within fifteen days. The king's representatives were always present at Lynn and St. Ives fairs. The bailiffs of Hoyland and Lynn were in 1222 required to see that all birds brought to the fairs of Hoyland and Lynn should be kept until the king's representative, Henry de Hauvill should come and receive the king's price for them. The following year the bailiffs of the fair at St. Ives were commanded to support the royal representatives in carrying out the royal rights as the king's men should show to them. Further commands were issued to the prior to attend to the security of the buyers. The same orders were given to the barons of the Cinque Ports to support the wardens of Yarmouth fair in carrying out the royal business.⁽²⁰⁾ In one case it might seem as if a fair were granted not for the benefit of the grantee but for the benefit of the grantor; the charter to Chard of 1271/2 reads:

"Because we desire the welfare of our burgesses of Chard, we will and grant that the aforesaid burgesses shall have for ever St. James's fair completely and without diminution within the bounds of the borough of Chard, as they were wont to have. Saving to us and our successors the toll and amercements and other profits

made in the aforesaid fair for all kinds of trespasses." (21)
Yet when privileges had been obtained, they were frequently maintained only by constant payments into the exchequer. Thus St. Ives by its wealth was able to enjoy many privileges of value until the civil wars of the reign of Henry III had a disastrous effect upon the fair so that the abbot was unable to pay his yearly contribution to the royal revenues. He was forced in 1268 to obtain the following charter:

"For the welfare of the king's soul and for a fine of 120 marks the abbot is released from the payment of the £50 stipulated in the charter of 1258, if through war at any time the abbot should lose his fair."

From 1267 to 1268 the abbot and convent owed £133 6s. 8d. of the ferm for St. Ives' fair for the forty-eighth, fifty-first, and part of the forty-ninth year of the reign. In 1320 it was stated that the abbot and convent should pay a rent of £50 for the ferm of St. Ives' fair. With this should be contrasted the entry in the return made in 1211 by Robert Braybrook to the exchequer, in relation to the revenues of Ramsey Abbey. Amongst other entries there appears

"£180 from the profits of the fair of St. Ives"(22)
The burgesses of Plympton paid £24 2s. 2d. annually for their fair: for the increase in his fair of St. Giles in 1269 the Bishop of Winchester paid £60. Even when payment had been made for the right to hold fairs and to levy tolls in them the latter right was frequently resisted. The quarrels over tolls in Yorkshire are by no means isolated in England. Peace was made between the Abbot of Waltham and the citizens of London in 1256 "where there had before been discord, because the abbot wished to have stallage from them in Waltham fair, and for this cause the Londoners had withdrawn, not wishing to go to the Waltham fair for three years or more. The agreement was such that the abbot gave over to the

citizens of London all the pledges which had been taken for the stallage, and for these useless and foolish pledges received full value in money, granting to the citizens that they should come in future to the fair quit for ever from all stallage."⁽²³⁾ The dispute between the men of Northampton and the citizens of London at Northampton fair grew to serious dimensions. After a man of Northampton had been killed, the bailiffs of that town, "who always hated the Londoners" took four men from London, charging them with the man's death. Finally the quarrel came before the king, and, after each party had produced charters in support of their claims, judgment was postponed.⁽²⁴⁾ Two commissions were appointed in 1272 to inquire into the rights of liberties in fairs. The former, to Henry de Wollavinton, recited that it had been shown to the king on behalf of the bishop of Ely that whereas he ought to have had, and his predecessors time out of mind had had certain liberties in the fair of St. Ives, for himself and his men of the liberty of St. Etheldreda, trading therein, the Abbot of Ramsey and the bailiffs of that fair did not permit them to use and to enjoy these liberties in the same manner as they used to do when the fair was in the king's hands, but the liberties were diminished by their austeritv and power day by day; and that because the king willed that they should enjoy those liberties as when the fair was in his hand, he had appointed him to enquire by the oath of good men as well as merchants of the city of London, Huntingdon, Cambridge and other market-towns coming to that fair, as other men of the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge, what liberties the bishop and the men of his liberty used to have in the fair whilst it was in the king's hands and what they were now prevented from using and to restore to them, what he should find to have been withdrawn from them. The king, therefore, commanded him to go to the fair and to make the enquiry and he commanded the sheriff of Huntingdon and Cambridge to send

jurors before him on such a day as he should let them know.⁽²⁵⁾ The other commission was more particular in its reference. Given to William de Weylaund and James de Paunton, it recited that it had been shown to the king on behalf of William de Huntingfeud that whereas he ought to have had and his ancestors had had hitherto all the tuns of wine emptied in Boston fair, certain of the city of London and others, coming to the fair, detained the empty tuns and did not permit him to have them; and that he had appointed them as his justices to enquire by the oath of good men of the said county and others in the fair, who detained the tuns, and to do justice according to the finding of the inquisition.⁽²⁶⁾ These are typical examples of the clash between privileges granted to lords of fairs with those claimed by merchants.

The problem of justice had to play almost as prominent a part in the life of the fair as had the question of finance. The privilege of the exercise of immediate judgment had a two-fold significance. To the lord of the fair, to whom the privilege was granted by royal charter, whether specifically or implicitly in the charter granting the fair, the right meant considerable profit from fines and amercements levied in his court. To those who thronged the fair the knowledge that justice was available was an inducement to carry out transactions and a guarantee of peace for the person of the trader. Although in the "Carta Mercatoria" of Edward I the privilege of exemption from the authority of the local court in fairs, markets, cities and boroughs was granted to alien merchants, in fact many alien merchants were glad to avail themselves of the court when they conceived themselves to have been wronged and the bulk of the community was generally ready to abide by the decisions given by the court of pie-powder. The city of London did, in virtue of Henry III's charter of 1268, claim the right to appoint their own wardens at every fair in England - five at Boston, six or seven at Winchester - to determine all

pleas in which they were concerned, whilst they refused to answer a suit in any court other than their own.⁽²⁷⁾

The burgesses of Melcumbe (in Dorset) obtained in 1280 a grant of all the liberties of the city of London, including the privilege:

"that none shall plead without the bounds of the said borough save of foreign tenure and excepting pleas of merchandise which by the law merchant are determined in boroughs and fairs so that such complaints shall be determined by four or five of the said burgesses present in the said boroughs or fairs, saving always to the king the amercements thence arising, which shall be answered to him on pain of forfeiture."⁽²⁸⁾

A like privilege was secured by Lyme Regis. Many of the London companies - the Embroiderers, Leathersellers, Pewterers, Skinners, exercised the right of search for false wares throughout all the fairs of England, whilst the coverlet makers of York were empowered to make search in the fairs and markets north of Trent. Thus in many ways the lord's control over the administration of his fair was interrupted by external privileged authorities. In 1419 there was a suit pending before the King's Council between the Chancellor and Scholars of Cambridge University, and the mayor, aldermen and citizens of London, each of whom claimed the custody of assize and assay of bread, wine and beer and the suspension of the measures and weights of the citizens of London coming to Sturbridge fair. On July 14, Henry IV directed letters patent to Sir William Asenhull, sheriff of the county, commanding him to exercise that custody and supervision over the citizens of London in the fair at Sturbridge until the matter should be decided, and requiring the litigating parties to assist the sheriff.⁽²⁹⁾ The city of London had by the end of the fifteenth century gained the right to appoint four persons as keepers of Bartholomew fair,

and as representatives of city jurisdiction in the piepowder court, before which the two eldest clerks in the city sheriffs' court also came to act as attorneys. Definite procedure in the courts of piepowder was established by a statute of 1285, which involved a definite constitution. The court met under the control of a president, an office held usually by the mayor or bailiff of a borough, or by the steward of a manor. With him was associated a number of assessors to administer justice. In cases affecting aliens, half of these assessors were drawn from amongst the aliens, and in all cases were themselves merchants, acting as suitors who also declare the law and give the verdict - as is shown in the Select Pleas in Manorial Courts (I 153) stating the principle: "let all the merchants of all the commonalties that are in the fair of St. Ives be summoned before the steward to adjudge the case". The authority of the court was supported by a constabulary force, each township being required to send its contribution as part of its manorial obligations. Thus at Chester a knight's fee was held on condition of finding a horse-man to do guard at the fair.⁽³¹⁾ The chief competence of the court was in matters of debt. At the fair of St. Ives in 1324 there was a plea for the recovery of a debt incurred at Cambridge in 1321. A burgher of Lynn who had exported a quantity of wool to Flanders in 1265 only to have it impounded by Flemish authorities, sought redress from Flemish merchants trading in Lynn fair in 1271. When the traders of Leicester were distrained for a debt contracted by one of their number at Leicester fair three years previously they defended themselves by a denial that the debtor was of their company, not by calling in question the legality of the attachment; the verdict was, however, given against them. At St. Botolph's fair an attempt was made to arrest burgesses of Norwich for debts incurred by some of their fellow-townsmen. The piepowder court at Yarmouth fair

was peculiar in that it could only be summoned by common consent. A letter was sent each year to each of the Cinque Ports (wardens of Yarmouth fair) to ask "whether a brotherhood or questling is necessary to be arreared this year". The summons for the court was issued only after assent to the letter had been obtained. It was presided over by the chief magistrate of each port in turn, but each of the five ports (Dover, Hastings, Romney, Hythe and Sandwich) was represented in it by mayor or bailiff, three elected jurats and three commoners. The court heard the report of the bailiffs of the last fair, who stood bareheaded, and then proceeded to elect their successors for the present fair.⁽³²⁾ The brotherhood court had more authority - or, rather, included within itself - the authority of the court of piepowder; this latter was the representative of the former for the duration of the fair. The importance to which a fair-court might attain finds witness in the frequent entries relating to it in the Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia; those there dealing with its effects including:

"Pleas of the fair of St. Ives made in the presence of William Wasingle in the 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 28th years of the abbacy of John."

"Inquisition concerning the fair of St. Ives."

"Tallage granted from the fair of St. Ives."

"A bag containing the pleas of the St. Ives fairs in the time of Abbot John". (This, however, may have been a repetition of the earlier entry).

"Concerning the pleas of the fairs of St. Ives, and the proceeds from them in the time of Abbot William."⁽³³⁾

The following cases occur in the St. Ives records:

In 1288, William of Houghton complained against Joan of Earith, for that whereas he, the said William, was in front of his gate near the waterside on Thursday last, the said Joan came there and assaulted him with vile words

(saying that all his life he had lived by vile knavery, and that the measures of the said Joan had been seized by the contrivance of the said William) to his dishonour to the amount of two shillings.

In the same year, John, son of John of Eltisely, complained of Roger the barber, for that he had unjustly broken a covenant with him and (herein) unjustly (that) whereas the said John was in the vill of Ramsey on the Monday after Epiphany last past, a year ago, in the house of Thomas Buck, the said Roger came there and undertook to cure his, John's, head of baldness for ninepence, which the said John paid in advance; the next day, Tuesday, the said Roger put (a plaster on him) and did likewise on Wednesday, and afterwards withdrew from the vill, so that from that day to this he would in no way interpose, to his, John's, damage a half mark; and he produced suit. The said Roger was present and denied (tort and force) and put himself on his law, and in finding pledges of his law withdrew from the bar without leave. Therefore the said John craved judgment against him as against one who is convicted. Wherefore it was awarded that the said Roger make satisfaction to the said John for ninepence, the sum claimed and for his damages which are remitted and that he be in mercy sixpence for the trespass.

In 1291, John, son of Agnes of Lynn, who is ten years of age, was found in the vill of St. Ives near the foot of the bridge of the said vill, stealing a purse during the fair; but because he is not old enough to sustain the judgment which is ordained for such evil-doers (i.e. "to be hanged by the neck till he be dead") it is awarded that he abjure the vill of St. Ives and the fair thereof.

In 1300, Ives Vickery (and five others) who were appointed to watch in Cross Lane near the canvass booth on the night of Thursday before the feast of St. Dunstan, withdrew from

their vigil and watched badly, so that the canvass booth was broken into by robbers, and the greater part of the canvas and other goods were carried. Therefore let them be attached to answer, and they are in mercy three shillings for the contempt.

These cases illustrate the varied nature of the cases which came within the purview of the piepowder court, whilst the last affords some explanation of the difficulty of keeping the peace in the fair - the readiness of those appointed to watch to find some more congenial occupation. The difficulty is further explained by the convivial habits recorded in a case at Caernarvon in 1325 when Richard Brewhouse having received the merry-andrews in the midst of the fair, to the disturbance and peril of the merchants, was fined sixpence.⁽³⁴⁾ The piepowder court at Colchester affords an example of speedy efficiency in its administration of Justice, since those cases which came before it had to arise, the complaint to be laid, the decision to be reached, and execution to be delivered, all in one day. The following is an instance from the reign of Henry VI:

Pie Poudre court held at the Moot-hall before the bailiffs according to the custom of the town, beyond memory, and by reason of the market (- fair, actually) held all day on Friday before the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, at the eighth hour in the forenoon of that day.

To this court came Thomas Smith who complained of Christina van Bondelyng being indebted to him £60 10s. 10d. and he found pledges to prosecute his suit, and the Sergeant was ordered to summon her before the Court at the ninth hour

At the ninth hour, plaintiff being present, but defendant not appearing, precept was issued to the sergeant to attach her goods and chattels, so that she should appear at the tenth hour.

At the tenth hour, defendant not appearing, the serjeant

certified that he had attached twenty three woollen cloths belonging to her. An order was made to record a first default and summon her for the eleventh hour.

At the eleventh hour, no defendant appearing, a second default was recorded, and a summons issued for her appearance at the first hour after noon.

At that hour, defendant still being contumacious, a third default was recorded. Plaintiff was permitted to prove his debt, and appraisers were sworn to inspect and value the goods seized. Judgment was recorded for the plaintiff for his debt and 26s. 8d. damages.

At the fourth hour after noon the appraisers returned the value of the goods at £6l 4s. which were delivered to the plaintiff, he finding pledges to answer defendant in the same court should she plead in a year and a day (i.e. on the day of the fair in the following year).⁽³⁵⁾

By such means the courts of piepowder through England dealt even-handed justice amongst merchants and people of the district and ensured the keeping of contracts whilst putting down violence and lawlessness, and guarding the persons and property of all.

External authority was represented by the officials of the royal wardrobe, sent to each fair to confiscate goods not of the weight or measurement required by the assise. The chief of these officials in time came to be the clerk of the market but in many places the sheriff of the county was empowered to exercise the office. At Worcester in 1218 the sheriff was required to have charge in the fair of all things pertaining to the king in the assise of cloth, proclaiming through the whole fair that no merchant might sell or show any kind of cloth except of the width prescribed by the Common Council. Any cloth so shown was to be seized into the royal hands. Similar directions were sent in that year

to the sheriff of Hereford in regard to Hereford fair.⁽³⁶⁾
In 1271 the sheriff of Lincoln, Thomas de Boulton, and two buyers of the wardrobe, Richard de Ewell and William de Arundell, were sent to the fairs of Boston and St. Giles to arrest all goods not of the right assise, sealing the goods confiscated and keeping them until further order, whilst the king promised to make full payment for all confiscations. The office of "aulnager" - or measurer of cloth - did, like that of the clerk of the market - give opportunity for personal gains and there were frequent complaints against the method of exercise of the office, together with attempts to secure exemption from his authority. Evasion of such control was also common as is shown in the following petition presented in the Parliament of 1423:

"Prien the wise and worthi Communes, that for as muchell as in the Citee of London, and in the suburbs thereof, diverses persones occupying the craft of Brauderie maken divers werkes of Brauderie of unsufficaunt stuff and unduely wrought, as well upon Velowet, and Cloth of Gold, as upon all other clothes of silk wrought with gold or silver of Cipre, and gold of Luk, or Spaynysh laton Togedre and swich werkes, so untrewely made by swiche persones aforesaid, dredying the serche of the wardens of Brauderie in the Citie of London, kepen and senden unto the fayers of Steresbrugg, Ely, Oxenford, Salesbury, and ther thei outre hem, to greet deseit of our soverain lord the Kyng, and al his peple. That it like our soverain lord the king, wyth his lordes Spirituell and temporell in this present Parlement, to ordeyn by statute, that all the werk of Brauderie so unduely made as above is declared, be forfayt to oure soverain lord the king. And that the Wardeins of Brauderes of the said citee of London, for that tyme beyng may, by auctorite of this present Parlement, have warant by patent to make serche

of all werk of braderie put to selle at the said faires of Steresbrugg, Ely, Oxenford, and Salesbury, and thoo werkes of brouderie there founden unsuffisant, to forfaite and areste to the use of our soverain lord the king as ofte times as such werk be founde."

The petition was successful and an act passed authorising such seizure.⁽³⁸⁾ That such authority was also wielded by the lord of the fair is shown by the possession by Ramsey Abbey of a bag of bad weights collected in St. Ives' fair.⁽³⁹⁾ It was inevitable that disputes should arise over the exercise of the assise. One of the most bitter was that between the priory of St. Bartholomew and London in 1246 when the prior and canons, with the council and aid of the Treasurer, William de Haverille, created a new "weighing-machine" ("tronium") and refused to allow any goods to be weighed except by it - a requirement which infringed the liberties and customs of the city. "Wherefore the magnates of the city, with their mayor, Peter FitzAlan, and with a multitude of citizens, came to the Prior of St. Bartholomew, warning the prior and canons to put away their presumption. They did so immediately, and the mayor and sheriffs of London then declared that everyone should sell, buy, and weigh in that mart as they were previously accustomed to do."⁽⁴⁰⁾

In cases too grave for decision in the court of piepowder or outside the scope of the authority of royal officials the king called the case to his own courts. That the royal officials were, however, frequent and important visitors to the fairs is shown by the number of patents made out on their behalf. Thus the Calendar of Patent Rolls records their presence at St. Botolph, Lynn and Northampton in 1218, at Stamford and Lynn in 1219, at St. Botolph in 1221, at Lynn and Hoyland in 1222, at St. Ives (where the abbot of Ramsey was required to receive and to entertain the two royal representatives) and Yarmouth in 1223 and again at St. Ives

in 1224; two years later at St. Botolph and Yarmouth, where they were again present in 1227, and in later years, at Yarmouth and Lynn (where the king's buyer was to purchase goshawks and falcons for the royal use) in 1267, at Boston (for the purchase of wine) in 1268. The serious dispute between the men of Northampton and the citizens of London over the latter's rights in Northampton fair in 1260 in which one of the former was killed and several wounded could only be settled by the king since the Londoners refused to plead outside their own walls, but the men of Northampton refused to release the prisoners they had taken.⁽⁴¹⁾

Similarly the dispute between the city of London and the priory of St. Bartholomew over the tolls to be taken in Bartholomew fair was brought for settlement before Edward I in 1292 particularly after the arrest by the city authorities of some of the monks, whom they imprisoned at Cornhill. Here the final verdict was against the claims of the city.

In disputes over financial matters the court of the exchequer had final competence - though that competence might be called in question. The debt of the abbey of Ramsey as rent for St. Ives fair was naturally a matter for the exchequer, before which court the abbey's representatives appeared in 1267-68, 1320, 1321, 1330, 1331. The entry of 1330 is typical of the procedure:

"The abbot and convent of Ramsey pay a rent of £50 for the ferm of St. Ives fair as is contained in the 39th roll.

In the exchequer there are £41.

And they should not be summoned for £8 15s. 9½d. which are for the last 9 weeks 1 day of the last quarter of the 14th year, nor in any way burdened for the rest of the ferm."

The entry for 1321 is very similar in purport:

"In the king's writ of his fifteenth year is contained:

That the king, desiring to increase the honour and welfare of his brother Edmund of Woodstock, gave and granted for himself and his heirs, to the same Edmund, the said ferm for life. The king commands the barons of the exchequer that the abbot and convent shall be disburdened therefore from the 28th of July.

They owe 4s. 2½d.

They pay a compound for their debt:

In the book of the Treasury: they are quit."⁽⁴²⁾

The most important case in which the authority of the exchequer-court was called in question was in 1340 when Margaret, Countess of Kent, for herself and the king sued in the exchequer the abbot of Ramsey to show why she should not have £50 yearly issuing from the ferm of the fair of St. Ives, to which she was entitled from the endowment of her husband, the Earl of Kent, and by assignment of the king. Exception was taken to the writ on the grounds that the court of exchequer ought not to take cognisance of anything touching freehold. The decision was against the abbot, since it was held that ferm issuing from a fair does not properly issue from certain soil so that an assise lies from it and also that the countess held by assignment from the king and would therefore deraign her holding as the king would, so that, therefore, the writ was good and the court could take cognisance of the case. This verdict was upheld when the abbot appealed against the judgment before the king's Council in the following year.⁽⁴³⁾

Alien merchants were regularly to be seen at all the great southern fairs. Alfred had enacted that alien merchants should come only to the "four fairs" and should remain in England only forty days. Such restrictions were removed under Norman and Angevin kings who thereby increased both the number and the importance of English fairs, able to take advantage of continental trade. In 1224 Henry III commanded

the bailiff of the fair of Winchester to release the merchants of Flanders, Ypres, Ghent, Bruges, Ardenburg, Normandy and France and to restore their merchandise to them; similar commands had been addressed to the bailiffs of Lynn fair in respect of a Norman merchant two years previously.⁽⁴⁴⁾

In 1235 Henry III gave special permission to the merchants of Cologne to attend fairs in all parts of England. Thus from the beginning of the thirteenth century there was a regular trade between southern England and Europe. Towards the end of that century there is evidence that that trade was rapidly developing. Thus the merchants of Douai and Ypres were granted a safe conduct to the fair at St. Ives in 1270 and Flemish merchants generally to Boston fair. In 1272 merchants from Constantinople reached England.⁽⁴⁵⁾

It was in Edward I's reign that England really reaped the benefits of the renewed outburst of European maritime activity consequent upon the crusades. Italian merchants from Florence, Siena, Venice, Genoa, bought English wool in English fairs and formed a connecting link with eastern trade. Englishmen were forced to adopt views of commerce which involved at least a European-Mediterranean and European-Baltic economy. Thus the returning ships of Lincoln bearing goods from Norway to the fair of St. Botolph were hindered by the attempted exactions of the bailiff of the fair, Peter de Savoy, in spite of the privileges of Lincoln to trade freely within the county.⁽⁴⁶⁾ It was inevitable that the old restrictions of external officials should ~~slash~~ with, but suffer defeat at the hands of, the new international trade. At Coventry fair - after the charters of 1217 and 1227 were to be seen Irish traders with druggets from Drogheda, Frenchmen with dyes for cloth, Somerset men with the coarse cloth of the West Country and men of Bristol with wine from Guienne and Spain, whilst in the Corpus Christi gild membership was claimed by merchants from Dublin, Drogheda, London and

Kingston-upon-Hull, besides many of the local country gentlemen and yeomen in the later Middle Ages.(47)

In the fourteenth century the fair at Sturbridge had no rival as a centre of international trade. Not only did the people of the great English towns - London, Norwich, Colchester, Oxford, give their names to the rows of booths and in the case of London each trade having a separate "street ", but representatives of many nations came together. The Lombard exchanger - as a monetary interpreter - was present in place of the Jew - expelled from England by Edward I. Eastern produce was brought by merchants of Venice and Genoa, with Italian silks and velvets, and store of delicate glass. The linens of Liège and Ghent were to be bought from Flemish merchants; the Spaniards had stocks of iron, the Norwegians tar and pitch. Wine from the vineyards of Gascony, or rarely from Spain, and still more rarely from Greece, might be purchased. The towns of the Hanseatic league sent furs and amber and acted as the channel by which the precious stones of the East were brought from the great fairs of Moscow and Nijni Novgorod. Blakeney, Colchester, Lynn and Norwich thrived, their harbours busy with the vessels of Europe. East Anglia grew rich under this trade.(48)

The greater proportion of the trade in these fairs in the south was as in those of the north English. Whilst in "The Wife of Bath's Prologue" Chaucer shows that lighter things were bought at fair-time (the wife of Bath is boasting of her husbands):

"I governed hem so wel after my lawe
That eche of them ful blissful was, and fawe
To bringen me gaye thinges fro the fayre
They were ful glade "

but more often the goods purchased were "ornaments of holy Church", household goods, or "vytell for the time of Lent and other stuff", as linen cloth, woollen cloth, bedding, iron, flax, wax, brass and pewter - as is suggested by the phraseology of an act of 1487. To Sturbridge fair came not

only foreigners, but men from the Cornish tin-mines, from the Worcester salt-springs and the salterns of the East coast, men, too, from the lead mines of Derbyshire and the iron forges of Sussex, whilst there **was** considerable trade in agricultural produce from the farm-lands around and in cloth. Bartholomew fair was the central wool fair of southern England - its close connection with Yorkshire has already been described. Apart from this trade in wool, there was trade in live-stock, leather, pewter but it was an annual gathering of English clothiers and London drapers that the fair was chiefly important. For the weekly sale of country cloths in London there was established Blackwell Hall in the reign of Richard II - like Bartholomew Fair, in all centuries tied closely to Yorkshire. The city of London was constantly jealous of the trade in livestock at Smithfield; thus in 1253 the commons of the city declared that none within the city's liberties should give anything towards the feeding of the beasts sold at Smithfield, as had previously been done.(49) One chronicler gives an interesting picture of this fair:

"Outside one of the gates of the city of London in the suburbs is a certain open 'Smooth-field'. There is held a feast of great solemnity, a spectacle of noble horses; all who are present in the town, earls, barons, knights and citizens, come there to watch or to buy. Here are gathered all types of horses, for war, young palfreys which have never felt the rein, and horses of burden."

There were also sold in the fair cows, bullocks, "wool-bearing" sheep, pigs, plough-horses, implements of agriculture.(50)

There are many minor glimpses of trade in particular fairs. The Coventry Corpus Christi fair benefitted from the position of the town on the great road from London to the north-west. In the fair were sold bales of Coventry cloth, and blue thread, the secret of the colouring of which was

alone possessed by the Coventry dyers. Here as at St. Frideswide's fair at Oxford were to be seen scholars anxious to purchase books. At Stamford and Boston fairs the merchants of Leicester had their own "street" outside of which none of them might sell any cloth. There was at Boston a considerable trade in wine. At Nottingham fair the chief frequenters were cloth-merchants, apothecaries, and mercers, but there were also present dealers in hides and iron. Oxford was especially famous as a book-fair, Abingdon as a cattle fair, as was Wycombe. Chesterfield indulged in a variety of trades - in linen, woollen cloth, hides and skins. Yarmouth ranked in southern England as the most important of the herring fairs.

The slave-dealer had visited England - appearing at Bristol - before the Norman Conquest but though slavery died out in medieval England Bartholomew de Glanville writing at the end of the fourteenth century stated that in his time men and women were publicly sold in the fairs of England - more especially at Bartholomew fair where they were considered as merchandise.⁽⁵¹⁾ The Michaelmas fair - in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire and Berkshire, known as the "mopp" - long continued to be the occasion for the hiring of labourers⁽⁵²⁾ - in close correspondence with the Michaelmas tide statute fairs of Yorkshire.

From the description given by Matthew Paris of Westminster fair it may be seen that the booths there were temporary erections. Wooden frameworks were roofed in and enclosed by canvas or other woven material.⁽⁵³⁾ An agreement in 1304 concerning Lenton fair provides an indication of the cost of hire of such booths. Those traders from Nottingham who wished to hire booths were required to pay 12d. for each covered booth, and ~~were~~ then assigned places according to the importance of their trade. Those whose trade was held to be of high standing were placed amongst the best of

other "foreign" merchants, and so through all ranks of society. Those who were only selling "everyday cloth" paid only 8d. for each booth which was however uncovered, or covered at their own expense or with their own material. If the dealer in iron required a standing he paid 4d., if he merely required a "pitch", he paid 2d. Tanners and shoemakers, who did not require standings, had nothing to pay for stallage. No booth was to be more than eight feet in width and depth, including within that area any "pentice", or counter, which a merchant should wish to set up. Merchants who wished to hire a booth but did not want a special standing, were charged 2d. but those who could plead real poverty were excused all payment. These booths at Lenton fair were not permanent structures. At the two important fairs of St. Giles Winchester and Sturbridge it would appear that by the fourteenth century some at least of the booths were permanent structures. It is however, very probable that where "booths" were left by will e.g. by Richard Andrewe, a spicer, of Cambridge in 1459, the bequest was of the site, and not of the structure.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Many of the booths at St. Giles do seem to have been permanent structures as in a list drawn up in 1362 many were recorded to be unroofed or fallen down.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The tenants of the manor were in many cases responsible for the provision and erection of the booths. This is shown e.g. in the records of Ramsey Abbey:

- 1251 Services due to Ramsey Abbey from the men of St. Ives:
"Let them maintain three booths in the fairs for the wealth of the Abbot."

There are entries also in regard to the guarding of the fair:

1251. Services due from the men of Holywell:
"Each shall gather for two days, in the time of St. Ives' fair, two small bundles of rods, and shall carry them to St. Ives and shall keep watch there in his turn."

"Henry the reeve shall keep watch at the fair of St. Ives."

Services due from the men of Upwode:

"Concerning keys, walls, and the keeping of watches, in the time of the fair of St. Ives, let one virgator do this."

Services due from Houghton:

"In the fair of St. Ives they shall close the walls of the township of Houghton and Wythone against Leicester, and shall make keys to the openings of the stalls of Leicester facing the north, and shall collect rods for that purpose as it is provided by the bailiff of the Abbot."

"John Marshal, cottager, shall collect rods and thorns and shall with others keep the road in the fair of St. Ives."

Services due from Hemingford:

"One shall collect in the wood of St. Ives a small bundle of rods and thorns and shall carry them to St. Ives for the enclosure of the fair. He shall keep watch with one other man during the fair of St. Ives, so long as the fair shall be in the hands of the Abbot." (56)

Of a somewhat different nature were the manorial requirements at Abingdon indicated in the order:

"If the chamberlain shall go to the fair, the horses and men which shall accompany him shall be provided by him, both in the outward and in the return journey. When he goes to the fair of Winchester, the men of Welford shall accompany him." (57)

Where then men and women came together to the established fairs of the country they were concerned chiefly with matters of trade and those requirements which made peaceful trade possible. All types of persons were to be seen busy at matters of purchase; all classes were concerned in the organisation of the fairs. That other problems arose may be seen in a comparison with the political and social questions which affected fair-times in Yorkshire. There is evidence in the south of the importance of such matters. The execution of William Wallace was carried out on the first day of Bartholomew fair, within the fair-grounds, in 1305. Many of those present must have considered that the conquest of Scotland had now been accomplished; within two years the merchants at St. Bartholomew realised the failure of Edward I's scheme, whilst those in the north were learning the danger of increasingly unchecked Scottish raids. The lighter side of fair-life is borne witness to both by Chaucer and Shakespeare. In "The House of Fame" (Book III, lines 124-136) the former

describes the type of music to be heard:

"Tho saugh I stonden hem behinde,
A-fer fro hym, al by hemselfe,
Many thousand tymes twelve,
That maden loud **menstralsyes**,
In cornemuse and shalmyes,
And many other maner pype
Both in doucet and rede,
That ben at festes with the brede;
And many flout and liltng horne,
And pypes made of grene corne,
As han thise litel herd-gromes,
That kepen bestes in the bromes."

The latter in "The Winter's Tale" speaks of the mummers, jugglers, tumblers whom he sums up in the character of Autolycus, the beggar of all vices, the process-server, bailiff, ape-bearer who, haunting wakes, fairs and bear-baitings, would exhibit in them "ribands of all the colours i' the rainbow; points, more than all the lawyers in Bohemia can learnedly handle, though they come to him by the gross; inkles, caddisses, cambricks, lawns." (Act IV Sc. 3. ll. 84, 86, 92; Sc. 4. ll. 204-207). So ably did he show his goods that servants would say "Why, he sings them over as they were gods and goddesses; you would think a smock were a she-angel, he so chants to the sleeve-hand and the work about the square on't", and the clown just robbed by the beggar states more truly than he knew "You have of these pedlars that have more in them that you'd think, sister". (Act IV. Sc.4. ll. 207-210) Of such men the Winter's Tale refrain

"Jog on, jog on, the footpath-way,
And merrily hent the stile-a;
A merry heart goes all the day,
Your sad tires in a mile-a."

was an accurate description; they were found in greatest numbers at Bartholomew fair where, according to tradition, the first prior Rahere, formerly the jester of Henry I, set the example in skilled jugglery. The Smithfield fair was the epitome of the gay life of the fair. There not only were there the skilful exhibitions of mummary, but there were presented miracles in the environs of the church and churchyard - miracles which it is not always essential to

regard as intentional forgeries but some certainly were mere unscrupulous deceits practised by impostors on the crowds coming to the fair. It was here, too, that of all fairs in England there was most entertainment provided by means of miracle-plays based on biblical events, and particularly on scenes in the life of Christ and the apostles. The mechanical devices adopted for the stage effects were extremely well-developed. Tournaments and jousts were also held here, as e.g. in 1375 in honour of Alice Perres, the "Lady of the Sun". At Coventry also there were frequently enacted miracle-plays.⁽⁵⁸⁾ A source of entertainment at Smithfield similar to the execution of Wallace was the burning of heretics there. This type of spectacle began in the reign of Henry IV with the persecution of the Lollards, the first heretic to suffer being a tailor, John Bedby, in 1410. Referring to the lighter side of fair-life Occleve writing about 1400 says:

"This lyf, my sone is but a chery feyre".⁽⁵⁹⁾

But whilst cherry-fairs were the resort of the gay and thoughtless there was constant peril to be faced in fair-time in southern England as well as in northern, and in the south as in the north one of the chief dangers lay in the character of certain amongst the merchants, who sought each and every opportunity "to go beyond and defraud" one another. There is witness of this in Langland's "Piers Plowman", in the Vision of Reason:

"Then came Peace to Parliament and put forth
a bill:
Wrong has taken my wife against my will
To St. Giles' fair I dare not take money,
He watcheth me well when I take silver with me,
Which way I go to rifle and rob me;
He maintaineth his men to murder my labourers,
He forestall~~eth~~eth my goods and fighteth when I sell."

The evil practices of certain amongst the merchants gave to the class generally an ill odour with the public which afforded the satirist the opportunity for the exaggeration

which alone could cause reaction against the evil. There may, however, be also something of monastic jealousy of the world in the bitterness of the picture portrayed by Langland in the words of Covetousness:

"First I learnt to lie, a page or two of lies,
Then to weigh false was my second lesson,
To Winchester and Weyhill I went to the fair
With all kinds of merchandise as my master bad,
But had not grace of Guile gone with me and my
 goods,
They had been unsold seven years, Gods my witness."

Covetousness' narration of the methods of stretching and pressing cloth, and of the mixture of inferior with better ale to sell at the price of the latter provides a striking indictment of those offences which injured the reputation of merchants in towns as well as in fairs - offences which were not peculiar to Yorkshire or the "brogger" but were general throughout England. But merchants had to face dangers external to their trade as well as those arising from the unscrupulousness of their comrades. An entry in the Ramsey Abbey chartulary illustrates the interference which times of war meant in the peaceful affairs of commerce. Here the interruption was not due to foreign war but to civil rebellion - the after-effects of the career of Simon de Montfort. The entry is as follows:

1267 Oct. 28 - 1268 Oct. 27. Allocation of the ferm
of St. Ives' fair in time of war, Cambridgeshire and
Huntingdonshire:

The Abbot and Convent of Ramsey owe £133 6s. 8d. of the
 term of St. Ives' fair for the 48th, 51st, and part of
 the 49th years of the reign.
 But they ought not to be summoned for it through royal
 brief or inquisition because the abbot and convent through
 the disturbed state of the kingdom have received nothing
 from the fair in those years." (60)

The numerous instances in the Calendar of Patent Rolls of the issue of safe conducts to foreign merchants suggests the grave danger which those merchants suffered from war or the inability of monarchs to maintain the royal peace even within their own dominions. It is significant that the more perturbed the state of the realm the more numerous were the

safe-conducts issued, as in the latter years of Edward II. Throughout the Middle Ages the merchant at sea was in constant danger from piracy. So regular was this habit that Chaucer's "Shipman" boasts quite freely of the methods he adopts. In 1226 a writ was issued to the Cinque Ports commanding them to guard the seas better and reprimanding them for their failure to prevent a piratical attack on a merchant.⁽⁶¹⁾ The King sent his writ in 1315 to the bailiffs of the Abbot of Ramsey at the fair of St. Ives, in the following words:

"Edward etc. etc. greeting. Whereas on the frequent complaint of our beloved cousin, Alice, Countess Marshal, representing to us that lately by our licence she caused a ship about to sail to the parts beyond seas to be laden with jewels of gold and silver and other her goods and chattels to the value of £2,000 to be taken thence to the said parts to await her coming there; and that John Crabbe, master of a ship of "The Mew", together with certain other evil-doers of the parts of Flanders, met the aforesaid ship and in hostile manner took and carried away the same ship and still detain the same jewels and goods of the aforesaid countess, to her no small damage and loss; we many times requested Robert, Count of Flanders, to cause full justice to be done to her; whereupon the same count afterwards wrote back to us, saying that he had caused certain of the evil-doers to be punished. Nevertheless the Count has delayed and neglected to do anything touching the restitution of the cloths, jewels and goods aforesaid, although a great part of the same goods had come into his hands, but has altogether failed to show her justice, as the mayor and aldermen of our city of London have made known to us by their letters patent sealed with their common seal. The King therefore

commands the bailiffs of the fair of St. Ives to arrest without delay all goods and wares of the men and merchants of Flanders, except those of Ypres, within their bailiwick to the value of £200, declaring to the king what goods are arrested. The mayor and sheriffs of London are to arrest goods to the value of £1000; the bailiffs of the town of Great Yarmouth to the value of £300; the bailiffs of the town of Lynn to the value of £200, and the bailiffs of Ipswich to the value of £300."

Answer was made to the writ that no goods or chattels of the power of Robert, Count of Flanders, were found in the fair of St. Ives after the writ had been delivered to the bailiffs and therefore nothing had been done.⁽⁶²⁾ Nor was there such danger only at sea. In 1224 a writ was sent to the sheriffs of Bedford, Cambridge and Huntingdon, commanding them to guard the roads from evil-doers.⁽⁶³⁾ There was also danger from violence in fair-time. In 1219 the barons of the Cinque Ports coming to Yarmouth fair were commanded to desist from disturbing the fair and from troubling the men and merchants of Yarmouth, permitting them to dispose of their goods in peace. This was on August 18. On September 5 the command had to be repeated with more stringent requirements and with the injunction that any dispute should come before the sheriff of Norfolk and the king's wardens of the fair.⁽⁶⁴⁾ There was in 1189 a flagrant instance of this danger when a party of young Crusaders attacked and slew a company of Jewish merchants in Stamford fair.⁽⁶⁵⁾ In Essex in 1272 the abbot of Colchester's fair was disturbed by malefactors who beat his men and carried away his goods.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The sheriffs of Essex and Hertford were in 1325 commissioned to arrest persons who should confederate together, making raids by day and night, imprisoning people until they should make ransom, and should go into fairs and markets, taking goods without paying for them, beating those who would not

join them. Amongst them were some whose duty it was to keep the peace in those counties but who openly robbed merchants. In the same year there was a complaint made by John de Bridgport and Isabel, his wife, that their fair at Bere (Dorset) had been invaded by John Mantravers and others who had assaulted their men appointed to collect the customs and other profits of the fair and their men appointed to keep the peace of the fair, so that they had lost their service for a great time.(67) Practices of violence remained common throughout the Middle Ages in spite of all attempts by the State or by local authorities to preserve order. There was, however, one peril which no medieval regulation could prevent - the danger from plague. The conditions under which merchants met at Bartholomew fair invited the worst ravages of the Black Death. It is significant that the outbreak of 1349 began - so far as London at least is concerned - at Bartholomew fair.(68)

Despite all the dangers connected with their tenure the right to hold fairs was a very valued possession. There is therefore little reason to suppose that there was any decline in their importance in southern England so far as the Middle Ages were concerned, although it may be possible that that decline took place in a period prior to the decline in Yorkshire. It is indeed possible to produce evidence of the decay of individual fairs in the fifteenth century - the outstanding example being the once great fair of St. Giles at Winchester. The revenue roll of William Wainfleet in 1471 states that one district "ubi homines Cornubia~~2~~ stare solebant" was quite unoccupied. The issues of the fair had reached their highest point as early as 1240 when they stood at £125. In 1292 the issues were £84 whilst expenses were £20. In the reign of Edward II, whilst the expenses remained almost at the same figure, the issues had fallen to £55. In 1346 they had dropped to £30; the Black Death was respons-

ible for a very low figure, £14, in 1349; in 1356 they were again £30. In the succeeding century booth after booth was abandoned. By 1420 out of receipts amounting to £10 5s. 7d. as much as £7 10s. 1d. came from the issues of the Pavilion Court, leaving less than £3 from tolls and stallage.⁽⁶⁹⁾

St. Ives' fair ceased to pay any ferm in the fourteenth century. In 1416 the Londoners refused to interrupt the usual course of business in the city for attendance at Boston fair, since that fair had not been held for some years.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Town economy was already taking the place of the commercial system which required great local annual or semi-annual marts but the greatest age of Sturbridge fair is undoubtedly in the fifteenth century. In that century also there were several new creations of fairs, together with confirmations of existing grants. The Bishop of Lincoln was granted two fairs at Louth in 1474, in which year the Augustinian friars at Oxford were granted one "on account of their poverty".⁽⁷¹⁾

In 1490 Henry VII granted to his mother, Margaret Countess of Richmond, a yearly fair at Southampton "for her maintenance."⁽⁷²⁾

The Calendar of Charter Rolls alone show sixty fairs appearing between 1427 and 1516. There is, however, in the south only one example of that development which had so great an effect on Yorkshire trade in the eighteenth century - the appearance of the cloth hall.

With the removal of the wool-staple from Calais to nine English towns by Edward III and its further removal from Westminster to Holborn by Richard II in 1378 there was begun at Blackwell Hall a weekly market for the sale of country cloths in London. The rise in importance of this hall led to an increase in the importance of Bartholomew fair by association with it as a great annual mart to which even the foreigner had unrestricted access.⁽⁷³⁾ Such decline as there was in the condition of southern fairs is solely relative. They were no longer the only channels of commerce. The real

decline of the fair as a commercial institution is an event of the modern world which considers the fair solely as a merry-go-round and seldom realises that in the past it played an all-important part in English and in international trade and was a centre of religious life, legal and judicial authority, and social foregathering.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF YORKSHIRE FAIRS AND MARKETS FROM THE

CHARTER ROLLS.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place.</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Duration</u>
1227	Walshford (Parish of Ribston)	Brethren of the Temple.	1. Weekly market on Tuesday. 2. Fair on Vigil and Feast of St. John the Baptist and two days following. June 23 - 26.
1227	Selby	Brian de Insula and Grace his wife.	1. Weekly market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on feast and morrow of St. Margaret. July 20 - 21.
1227	Otley.	Walter, Archbishop of York.	1. Fair on Vigil and Feast of St. Mary Magdalen. July 21 - 22. 2. Market on Monday.
	Sherburn.	" "	1. Fair on Vigil and Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. September 13 - 14. 2. Market on Friday.
1227	Kilham	Church of St. Mary of Rouen, and Dean and Chapter.	1. Fair on the Vigil and feast of St. Laurence. August 9 - 10. 2. Market on Saturday.
1232	Whitgift	Robert, Abbot of St. Mary's, York.	1. Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Mary Magdalen. July 21 - 22. 2. Market on Thursday.
1239	Otley	Walter, Archbishop of York.	1. Fair on Vigil and Feast of St. Mary Magdalen. July 21 - 22. 2. Market on Monday.
	Sherburn	" "	1. Fair on Vigil and Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. September 13 - 14. 2. Market on Friday.
	Burgh-on-Humber.	" "	1. Fair on Vigil and

Feast of St. Matthew.
September 20 - 21.

2. Market on Thursday.

1240 Richmond Peter of Savoy (All previously granted liberties of the honour).

1245 Bowes Peter of Savoy 1. Fair on the Vigil,
Feast and morrow of
St. Martin.
November 10 - 12.

2. Market on Tuesday.

1245 Poeklington William de Fortibus
Count of Aumale. 1. Fair on the Vigil
and Feast of St.
Margaret and two
days following.
July 19 - 22.

1246 Barton-le-Street Richard de Grey. 1. Fair on the vigil,
feast and morrow of
St. Laurence.
August 9 - 11.

2. Market on Wednesday.

1249 Settle Henry de Percy,
son of Richard
de Percy. 1. Market on Tuesday.
2. Fair on vigil, feast
and morrow of
St. Laurence.
August 9 - 11.

1249 Barnsley Prior and Convent 1. Fair on the vigil
and feast of St.
Michael and two days
following.
September 28 - Octo-
ber 1st.

2. Market on Wednesday.

1251 Abberford Richard Grammayr. 1. Market on Wednesday.
2. Fair on vigil, feast
and morrow of St.
Richerius.
April 25 - 27.

1251 Sedbergh Alice de Staveley. 1. Fair on vigil, feast
and morrow of the
Nativity of St. Mary.
September 7 - 9.

2. Market on Tuesday.

1251 Bedale Alan, son of
Brian. 1. Fair on vigil, feast
and morrow of the
Ascension.

2. Market on Tuesday.

1251 Raveneserot William de Fortibus.
Count of Aumale. 1. Fair for fifteen
days from the vigil
of the Nativity of

			St. Mary. September 8 - 22.
			2. Market on Thursday.
1251	Masham	John de Wanton	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of th the Assumption. August 14 - 16.
			2. Market on Friday.
1252	Heslerton	Thomas, son of Hugh de Heslerton.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of All Saints. October 31 - November 2.
			2. Market on Friday.
1252	Hovingham	Roger de Mowbray	1. Fair, on the vigil feast and morrow of the Assumption. August 14 - 16.
			2. Market on Thursday.
1253	Emley	William de Wudehalle.	1. Fair on the vigil and feast of the Invention of the Cross and three days following. May 2 - 6.
			2. Market on Thursday.
1253	Scameston	William de Latimer.	1. Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Margaret and two days following. July 19 - 22.
			2. Market on Wednesday.
1253	Drifffield	Roger de Turkilby.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Laurence. August 9 - 11.
			2. Market on Wednesday.
1253	Ilkley.	Peter de Percy.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Luke and five days following. October 17 - 23.
			2. Market on Wednesday.
1253	Kildale.	William de Percy.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. James. July 24 - 26.
			2. Market on Friday.
1253	Ayton.	Robert de Stuteville.	1. Fair on the vigil,

			feast and morrow of St. Andrew. November 29 - December 1.
			2. Market on Monday.
1257	Burton Agnes	Roger de Merlay.	1. Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Martin and the six days following. November 10 - 17.
			2. Market on Tuesday.
1257	Lunt-on-the- Wolds.	Marmaduke de Twenge.	1. Fair on the vigil and feast of All Saints. October 31 - November 1.
			2. Market on Thursday.
1257	Thwing	" "	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. James. July 24 - 26.
			2. Market on Wednesday.
1257	Cotum	" "	1. Fair on the Vigil, feast and morrow of St. Laurence. August 9 - 11.
			2. Market on Wednesday.
1257	Tanshelf (Pontefract)	Edmund de Lacy.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of Holy Trinity.
			2. Market on Wednesday.
1257	Stayngrue (Stonegrave)	Simon de Stayngrue	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of Holy Trinity.
			2. Market on Monday.
1257	Kilvington	Geoffrey de Uppeshale.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. James. July 24 - 26.
			2. Market on Friday.
1258	Wakefield	John de Warrenne.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. James. July 24 - 26.
1260	Adlingfleet.	John de Eyvill	1. Fair on the vigil and feast of the Exaltation of the Cross and six days following. September 13 - 20.
			2. Market on Friday.

1260	Gisburn	Abbot and Monks of Sallay.	1. Fair on the vigil and feast and morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary. September 7 - 9.
			2. Market on Monday.
1265	Brignall.	William Charles.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary. September 7 - 9.
			2. Market on Thursday.
1265	Cliff	" "	1. Fair on the vigil feast and morrow of St. Edmund. November 19 - 21.
			2. Market on Tuesday.
1269	Whorlton	John de Menyll.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of tl the Exaltation of the Cross. September 13 - 15.
			2. Market on Tuesday.
1270	Leven	John de Chishull, Provost of Beverley.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of S.S. Simon and Jude. October 27 - 29.
			2. A weekly market.
1271	Tadcaster	Henry de Percy.	1. Fair on the vigil, and feast of the Assumption and two days following. August 14 - 17.
			2. Market on Tuesday.
1272	Hedon	Edmund, the King's son (Earl of Lancaster) and Avelina his wife.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Augustine the bishop and five days following. August 25 to Sept. 1.
1272	Skipsea	" "	1. Market on Wednesday.
1272	Pocklington	" "	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of All Saints and five days following. Oct. 31 to Nov. 6.
1279	Richmond	John of Brittany Earl of Richmond.	1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Exaltation of the Cross and the follow- ing day. September 13 - 16.

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|------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1279 | Wick-upon-Hull.
(Kingston-upon-Hull) | Abbot and
Convent of
Meaux. | 1. Fair on the vigil, feast
and morrow of Holy
Trinity and the twelve
days following. |
| | | | 2. Market on Thursday. |
| 1281 | Grassington | Robert de
Plumpton. | 1. Fair on the vigil, feast
and morrow of St. Michael.
September 28 - 30. |
| | | | 2. Market on Friday. |
| 1281 | Hanburg | John of
Brittany,
Earl of
Richmond. | 1. Fair on the vigil, feast
and morrow of St. Michael.
September 28 - 30. |
| | | | 2. Market on Tuesday. |
| 1281 | Thornton
(by Pickering) | John de Eston. | 1. Fair on vigil, feast and
morrow of Holy Trinity. |
| | | | 2. Fair on vigil, feast and
morrow of All Saints.
Oct. 31 - Nov. 2. |
| | | | 3. Market on Tuesday. |
| 1282 | Newton-upon-
Ouse. | Master and
Brethren of
the Hospital
of St. Leonard
York. | 1. Fair on vigil, feast and
morrow of the Nativity
of St. John the Baptist.
June 23 - 25. |
| | | | 2. Fair on vigil, feast and
morrow of All Saints.
Oct. 31 - Nov. 2. |
| | | | 3. Market on Tuesday. |
| 1286 | Brandsburton. | Herbert de
St. Quentin. | 1. Fair on vigil, feast
and morrow of the
Invention of the Holy
Cross.
May 2 - 4. |
| | | | 2. Market on Thursday. |
| 1289 | Braythwell. | Elias de
Hawville. | 1. Market on Tuesday. |
| | | | 2. Fair on the vigil and
feast of St. Margaret
and six days following.
July 19 - 26. |
| 1290 | Penningsale. | Elias de
Midehope. | 1. Market on Tuesday. |
| | | | 2. Fair on the vigil, feast
and morrow of St.
Barnabas.
June 10 - 12. |
| 1291 | Pickering | Edmund, the
King's Brother
(Earl of
Lancaster). | 1. Fair on the vigil, feast
and morrow of the
Nativity of the Virgin.
September 7 - 9. |
| | | | 2. Fair on the vigil, feast
and morrow of the Exalta-
tion of the Cross.
September 13 - 15. |

1291	Easingwold	Edmund, the King's Brother (Earl of Lancaster).	1.	Fair on the vigil and feast of the Nativity of St. Mary. September 7 - 8.
1291	Tollerton	Bevis de Clare, Treasurer of St. Peter's, York.	1.	Market on Wednesday.
			2.	Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Assumption. August 14 - 16.
1291	South Cave.	Master and Brethren of the Temple in England.	1.	Market on Monday.
			2.	Fair on the vigil and feast of Holy Trinity and two days follow- ing.
1292	Lunt	Marmaduke de Thwing.	1.	Market on Thursday.
			2.	Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of All Saints. October 31 - November 2.
1292	Thwing	" "	1.	Market on Wednesday.
			2.	Fair on vigil, feast and morrow of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr. July 6 - 8.
1292	Cotum	" "	1.	Market on Wednesday.
	(v. these grants above)		2.	Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Laurence. August 9 - 11.
1294	Pontefract	Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.	1.	Market on Wednesday.
			2.	Fair on the Vigil, and feast of Palm Sunday and three days follow- ing.
1294	Campsall	" "	1.	Market on Thursday.
			2.	Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Mary Magdalen and two days following. July 21 - 24.
1294	Slaughteburne	" "	1.	Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Peter ad Vincula and two days following. July 31 - August 3.
1294	Almondbury	" "	1.	Market on Thursday.
			2.	Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Assumption. August 14 - 16.

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|------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1294 | Hemingborough | Prior and Convent of Durham. | 1. | Market on Thursday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the vigil and feast of the Assumption and six days following. August 14 - 21. |
| 1296 | Sheffield | Thomas de Furnivall. | 1. | Market on Tuesday |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of Holy Trinity. |
| 1299 | Croft | Henry le Scrop | 1. | Market on Thursday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Peter ad Vincula. July 31 - August 1. |
| 1299 | Kingston-upon-Hull.
(v. above) | Burgesses of the Town. | 1. | Markets on Tuesday and Friday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the day of St. Augustine after Easter and 29 days following. August 26 to September 24. |
| 1299 | Ravenserod
(v. above) | Burgesses of the Town. | 1. | Markets on Tuesday and Saturday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the vigil and feast of the Nativity of St. Mary and 28 days following. September 7 - October 6. |
| 1299 | Kernetteby
(Carnaby) | Robert de Percy. | 1. | Market on Thursday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the vigil and feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and four days following. June 23 - 28. |
| | | | 3. | Fair on the vigil and feast of the Decollation of St. John and four days following. August 28 to September 2. |
| 1299 | Pocklington
(v. above) | Roger of Pocklington. | 1. | Market on Wednesday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the vigil and feast of the Annunciation. March 24 - 25. |
| 1300 | Leaming
(by Eskelby) | Walter de Langton. Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.
(Master of the | 1. | Market on Friday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow |

		Hospital of St. Leonard, York)	of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. June 23 - 25.
1300	Thornton (by Skipton)	Walter de Muncy.	1. Market on Thursday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr and two days following. July 6 - 9.
1301	Faxfleet	Abbot and Convent of Thornton-on- Humber.	1. Market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of the Exaltation of the Cross and two days following. September 13 - 16.
1301	Holm	William de Constable.	1. Market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist. August 28 - 30.
1302	Osgodby	Robert de Osgodby.	1. Market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on vigil, feast and morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary. September 7 - 9.
1303	Pocklington (v. above)	Henry de Percy.	1. Market on Saturday. 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of All Saints. October 31 to Nov. 1. 3. Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Margaret. July 19 - 20.
1303	Sledmere	Gerard Salveyn.	1. Market on Thursday. 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Mary Magdalen. July 21 - 22.
1304	Coxwold	Thomas de Coleville.	1. Market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of the Assumption. August 14 - 15.

1304	Heslerton (v. above)	John de Heslerton.	1. Market on Friday.
1304	Lowthorpe	" "	1. Market on Friday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Martin in the Winter. November 10 - 12.
1304	Pannal (by Spofforth)	Henry de Percy.	1. Market on Tuesday. 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Michael. September 28 - 29.
1304	Wandsforth	" "	1. Market on Thursday. 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Mary Magdalen. July 21 - 22.
1303	Syvelington (Sinnington)	William le Latimer.	1. Market on Monday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Martin in the Winter. November 10 - 12.
1305	Kerperby. (Carperby)	Gilbert de Wamton.	1. Market 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. James. July 24 - 26. 3. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Andrew. Nov. 29 to Dec. 1.
1305	Swinefleet.	Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.	1. Market on Thursday. 2. Fair on the morrow of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross and three days following. September 15 - 18.
1305	Keighley.	Henry de Keighley.	1. Market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of S.S. Simon and Jude. October 27 - 29.
1307	Burton-in- Lonsdale.	John de Mowbray.	1. Market on Monday. 2. Fair on Whitsunday and two days following 3. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. James the Apostle. July 24 - 26.

Burton-in-
Lonsdale (continued)

(Cancelled because repeated, later in the year,
together with:-)

1307 Kirkby Malasart.

- John de Mowbray.
1. Market on Monday.
 2. Fair on the vigil,
feast and morrow of
the Nativity of
St. Mary.
September 7 - 9.
 3. Fair on the vigil,
feast and morrow of
St. Michael.
September 28 - 30.

1307 Wandsley

James de
Wandesleye.

1. Market on Wednesday.
2. Fair on the vigil,
feast and morrow of
Holy Trinity.

1307 East Witton

Abbot and Convent
of Jervaulx.

1. Market on Monday.
2. Fair on the vigil,
and feast of the
Assumption and six
days following.
August 14 - 21.
3. Fair on the vigil
and feast of St.
Martin in the Winter.
November 10 - 11.

1307 Abberford
(v. above)

Hugh le
Dispenser.

1. Market on Wednesday.
2. Fair on the vigil,
feast and morrow of
St. Denis.
October 8 - 10.

1307 Rotherham

Robert de
Waddesleye.

1. Market on Friday.
2. Fair on the vigil,
feast and morrow of
the Nativity of St.
John the Baptist.
June 23 - 25.

1307 Wortley

Nicholas de
Wortley.

1. Market on Thursday.
2. Fair on the vigil,
feast and morrow of
Whitsunday.

1307 Pikehale
(Pickhill)

Jolland de Nevill.

1. Market on Saturday.
2. Fair on the vigil
and feast of the
Nativity of St. Mary
and eight days follow
ing.
September 7 - 16.

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|------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1307 | Penningsall | William de Sheffield. | 1. Market on Tuesday. |
| | | | 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Barnabas. June 10 - 12. |
| 1309 | Rotherham
(v. above) | Edmund de Daere. | 1. Market on Friday. |
| | | | 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Edmund the Archbishop and the five days following. November 15 - 22. |
| 1310 | Bowes
(v. above) | John of Brittany
Earl of Richmond. | 1. Market on Friday. |
| | | | 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of the Translation of St. Swithin and two days following. July 14 - 17. |
| 1310 | Patrington-in-
Holderness. | William, Archbishop
of York. | 1. Market on Monday. |
| | | | 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr. July 6 - 7. |
| 1310 | Knaresborough. | Peter de Gaveston,
Earl of Cornwall
and Margaret his
wife. | 1. Market on Wednesday. |
| | | | 2. Fair for two days before and on the feast of St. Margaret July 18 to 20. |
| 1310 | Boroughbridge. | " " | 1. Market on Saturday. |
| | | | 2. Fair on the two days before and on the feast of St. James. July 23 - 25. |
| | | | 3. Fair on the two days before and on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin. September 6 - 8. |
| | | | 4. Fair on the two days before, and on the feast of All Saints. October 30 - Nov. 1. |
| 1310 | Crauncewyk.
(Cranswick) | Geoffrey de
Hothum. | 1. Market on Tuesday. |
| | | | 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Barnabas the Apostle. June 10 - 12. |

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|------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1310 | Appletreewick. | Prior and Convent
of Bolton-in-
Craven. | 1. | Fair on the two days
before, the feast,
and the morrow, of
St. Luke.
October 16 - 19. |
| 1311 | Thorner | Simon de La Roche. | 1. | Market on Wednesday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the feast of
the Translation of
St. Thomas the
Martyr.
July 7. |
| 1311 | Wyghton
(Market Weighton) | Payn Tybotot and
Agnes his wife. | 1. | Market on Tuesday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the vigil,
feast and morrow of
St. Mary Magdalen.
July 21 - 23. |
| 1312 | Wath | Reyner le Fleming. | 1. | Market on Tuesday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the vigil
and feast of St.
Matthew.
September 20 - 21. |
| 1313 | Warter | Prior and Convent
of Warter. | 1. | Market on Wednesday. |
| 1314 | South Cave.
(v. above) | Peter Dayvill. | 1. | Market on Monday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the vigil,
feast and morrow
of the Holy Trinity. |
| 1316 | Rotherham
(v. above) | Abbot and
Convent of
Rufforth | 1. | Market on Monday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the day
before the vigil,
the vigil, and the
day of St. Edmund and
five days following.
Nov. 18 - 25. |
| 1317 | Thornhill | John de
Thornhill. | 1. | Market on Thursday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the day
before the vigil,
the vigil and the
feast of St. Mary
Magdalen.
July 20 - 22. |
| 1317 | Elland | John de Elland. | 1. | Market on Tuesday. |
| | | | 2. | Fair on the day be-
fore the vigil, the
vigil and the feast
of St. Barnabas.
June 9 - 11. |
| | | | 3. | Fair on the day be-
fore the vigil, the
vigil and the feast
of St. Peter ad |

			Vincula. July 30 - August 1.
1318	Wensley	Henry le Scrop.	1. Market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of Holy Trinity
1318	Cottingham	Thomas Wake.	1. Market on Tuesday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Translation of St. James. 3. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of Martinmas. November 10 - 12.
1318	Driffield (v. above)	John de Brittany Earl of Richmond.	1. Market on Friday. 2. Fair on the Monday after the octave of Easter and the three days following.
1318	Bootham (York)	Abbot and Convent of St. Mary's, York.	1. Market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary. September 7 - 9.
1319	Skelton-in-Cleveland.	John de Fauconberg.	1. Market on Saturday. 2. Fair on Monday in Whitsun week and two days following.
1320	Pateley Bridge.	William de Melton, Archbishop of York.	1. Market on Tuesday. 2. Fair on the three days before, and the feast and morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary. September 5 - 9.
1320	Otley	" "	1. Fair on the four days before, and the feast and morrow of St. Mary Magdalen July 18 - 23.
1321	Burton Constable.	Geoffrey le Scrop.	1. Market. 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Mary Magdalen. July 21 - 22.
1327	Topcliff.	Henry de Percy.	1. Market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of

			the Translation of st. Thomas the Martyr. July 6 - 8.
1328	Bedale (v. above)	Thomas de Sheffield.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Michael. September 28 - 30. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. John the Baptist. June 23 - 25.
1328	Masham (v. above)	Geoffrey le Scrop.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on the vigil and feast of St. Barnabas. June 10 - 11. 3. Fair on the vigil and feast of the Assumption. August 14 - 15.
1331	Wakefield. (v. above)	John de Warenne Earl of Surrey.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Oswald. August 4 - 6.
1334	Kilham (v. above)	William de Melton Archbishop of York.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Market on Saturday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Laurence. August 9 - 11. 3. Fair on the three days before, the feast, of All Saints and the two days following. October 29 - November 3.
1335	Abberford (v. above)	William de Gramary.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Market on Wednesday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Richard in the Winter. April 2 - 4.
1337	Whorlton (v. above)	Nicholas de Menyll	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Market on Tuesday. 2. Fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Exaltation of the Cross. September 13 - 15.
1338	Skipsea-in- Holderness.	Men of the Town.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Market on Thursday. 2. Fair on the feast of All Saints and

- three days following.
November 1 - 4.
3. Fair on the feast of
St. Thomas the
Martyr and three
days following.
Dec. 29 - Jan. 1.
- 1338 Withernsea Men of the Town. 1. Market on Wednesday.
2. Fair on the feast of
the Assumption and
three days following.
August 15 - 18.
3. Fair on the feast of
the Nativity of the
Virgin and the three
days following.
September 8 - 11.
- 1343 Buttercrambe Thomas Wake
of Lydell. 1. Market on Monday.
2. Fair on St. Botolph's
Day.
June 17.
3. Fair on St. Leonard's
Day.
November 6.
- 1344 Studley Thomas de Bourn. 1. Market on Wednesday.
2. Fair on the feast of
the Nativity of St.
Mary and the eight
days following.
September 8 - 16.
- 1346 Womersley Roger of Newmarket.
1. Market on Thursday.
2. Fair on the vigil and
day of St. Martin in
the Winter.
November 10 - 11.
- 1348 Stainforth- Edmund de Langley 1. Market on Friday.
in-Hatfield. the King's son.
2. Fair on the vigil
and day of the Nativity
of the Virgin and
eight days following.
September 7 - 16.
- 1348 North Newbald. John de Wynwyk
(Prebendary of
North Newbald
prebend in York
Minster) 1. Market on Thursday.
2. Fair on the vigil,
day and morrow of St.
Laurence.
August 9 - 11.
- 1350 Riccall William de Excestre.
(King's clerk,
prebendary of 1. Market on Wednesday.

		Riccall, prebend in York Minster).	2.	Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of St. Margaret the Virgin. July 19 - 21.
1352	Bolton-in- Craven.	John de Pudsay	1.	Market on Wednesday.
			2.	Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles. June 28 - 30.
1353	Buttercrambe (v. above)	Thomas de Holand and Joan his wife.	1.	Market on Wednesday.
			2.	Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of St. Botolph. June 16 - 18.
1354	Bolton-in- Craven.	John de Pudsay. Abbot of Sallay.	1.	Market on Wednesday.
			2.	Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles. June 28 - 30.
1357	Ripley	Thomas de Ingilby.	1.	Market on Monday.
			2.	Fair on the vigil day and morrow of the Assumption. August 14 - 16.
1358	Tollerton (v. above)	John de Wynwyk (as above)	1.	Market on Wednesday.
			2.	Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. June 23 - 25.
			3.	Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of the Exaltation of the Cross. September 13 - 15.
1358	Hornsea	Abbot and Convent of St. Mary, York.	1.	Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of St. Peter ad Vincula. July 31 - August 2.
1371	Kirkburn-on- the-Wolds.	Adam de Everyngham. of Laxton	1.	Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of St. Peter ad Vincula. July 31 - August 2.
			2.	Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr July 6 - 8.
			3.	Market on Tuesday.

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|------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1378 | Sheriff Hutton. | John de Nevill
of Raby. | 1. Market on Monday.
2. Fair on the vigil
and day of the
Exaltation of the
Cross and two days
following.
September 13 - 16. |
| 1382 | Seamer | Henry de Percy
Earl of Northumberland. | 1. Market on Monday.
2. Fair on the feast
of St. Martin in
July and seven days
following.
July 4 - 11. |
| 1383 | Leckonfield | " " | 1. Market on Tuesday.
2. Fair on the vigil
and day of the
Exaltation of the
Cross and seven days
following.
September 13 - 21. |
| 1389 | Middleham | Ralph de Nevill. | 1. Market on Monday.
2. Fair on the feast of
St. Alkeld the
Virgin.
October 27. |
| 1393 | Masham
(v. above) | Stephen le Scrop. | 1. Market on Wednesday.
2. Fair on the two
days before and the
day of St. Barnabas.
June 9 - 11.
3. Fair on the two days
before and the feast
of the Nativity of
the Virgin.
September 6 - 8. |
| 1400 | East Witton
(v. above) | Abbot and Convent
of Jervaulx. | 1. Market on Monday.
2. Fair on the vigil and
day of the Assumption
August 14 - 15.
3. Fair on the seven
days before and on
the feast of St.
Martin in the Winter.
November 4 - 11. |
| 1407 | Rothwell
(Pontefract) | King's men and
commons of Rothwell. | 1. Market on Wednesday.
2. Fair on the vigil
and day of St. Thomas
the Martyr.
December 28 - 29.
3. Fair on the vigil
and day of St.
Matthew the Evange-
list.
Sept. 20 - 21. |

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|------|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1446 | Bridlington | Robert, Prior of St. Mary's Convent Bridlington. | 1. Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary. September 7 - 9. |
| | | | 2. Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of the deposition of St. John, late prior of Bridlington. |
| | | | 3. Fair on the vigil, day and morrow of the translation of the same St. John. |
| 1449 | York | Mayor and Citizens of York. | 1. Fair on the six days after the feast of Whitsuntide. |
| 1514 | Barnsley | Richard, Prior of St. John's Monastery, Pontefract. | 1. Fair on the day of the Conversion of St. Paul and the two days following. January 25 - 27. |

APPENDIX

Leland's List of Yorkshire Market Towns.

Bawtry	"a poore market toune".
Tickhill	"a very bare market toune".
Wakefield	"a faire area for a market place".
	"a very quik market toune".
Pocklington	"a market toune".
Beverley.	
Howden	"is of no great reputation".
Malton	"hath a good market".
Thirsk	"a smaule market toune".
Middleham	"a praty market toune".
Ripon.	
Masham	"a praty quik market toune".
Knaresborough	"the market ther is quik".
Wetherby	"a smaule market toune".
Bradford	"a praty quik market toune".
Leeds	"a praty market, as large as Bradford but not so quik as it".

APPENDIX

Defoe's List of Yorkshire Market Towns.

City of York.

In the North Riding: Askrigg, Bedale, Gisborough, Helmsley, Kirby-Moorside, Malton, Masham, Middleham, Northallerton, Pickering, Richmond, Scarborough, Stokesley, Thirsk, Whitby, Yarm.

In the East Riding: Beverley, Bridlington, Hedon, Hornsea, Howden, Kilham, Kingston-upon-Hull, Patrington, Pocklington, Weighton (Market-).

In the West Riding: Aberforth, Aldborough, Barnsley, Bawtrey, Bradford, Boroughbridge, Doncaster, Gisborn, Halifax, Huddersfield, Knaresborough, Leeds, Otley, Pontefract, Ripley, Ripon, Rotherham, Selby, Settle, Sheffield, Sherburn, Skipton, Snaith, Tadcaster, Thorn, Tickhill, Wakefield, Wetherby.

(Defoe: Sketch of Yorkshire. p. 147).

<u>Place</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Fairs</u>	<u>Chief Commodities.</u>
Bawtrey	Saturday	(1) Holy Thursday. Horned Cattle and (2) November 22nd. horses.	
Doncaster	Saturday	(1) April 5th. Horses, horned cattle, (2) August 5th. sheep, pedlars' (3) November 26th. goods. (4) Monday before old Candlemas day.	
Thorn	Wednesday	(1) June 17th. Horses, horned cattle (2) October 17th. and pedlars' goods.	
Rotherham	Monday	(1) Whitsun-Monday. Horned cattle and sheep (provisions and corn) (2) December 1st. Horned cattle and horses.	
Pontefract	Saturday.	(1) St. Andrew's Fair (First Saturday in December) (2) Twenty-day fair (First Saturday twenty days after Christmas)	

<u>Place</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Fairs</u>	<u>Chief Commodities.</u>
		(3) Candlemas Fair (First Saturday after February 13th)	
		(4) St. Giles' Fair (First Saturday after September 12th)	
		(5) Palm-Sunday	} Saturday } before } each.
		(6) Low-Sunday	
		(7) Trinity Sunday	
		(8) Fortnight Fairs (Saturday next after York fortnight-fair)	
		(9) Palm Sunday Show (begins February 5th)	For horses.
Snaith	Friday	(1) First Friday in April.	Horses, horned cattle
		(2) August 10th	pedlars' goods.
		(3) First Friday in September.	Horses, horned cattle.
Thorne	Wednesday	(1) First Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday after June 11th.	Horses, horned cattle pedlars' goods.
		(2) First Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday after October 11th.	
Sherburn	Friday	October 6th	Horses and flax.
Selby	Monday	(1) Easter Tuesday.	Cattle, wool, linen,
		(2) June 22nd	tin and copper ware.
		(3) October 10th.	
Cawood	-	May 12th	Cattle, wooden ware.
Aberford	Wednesday	(1) Last Wednesday in April.	Horses, horned cattle and sheep.
		(2) Last Wednesday in May.	
		(3) Wednesday after St. Luke.	
		(4) Last Wednesday in October.	
Tadcaster	Thursday		
Wetherby	Thursday	(1) Holy Thursday	Horses, sheep and
		(2) August 5th.	hogs.
		(3) November 22nd.	
York.	(1) Thursday.	(1) Whitsun-Monday.	
	(2) Saturday.	(2) July 10th.	

<u>Place</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Fairs</u>	<u>Chief Commodities</u>
		(3) August 12th.	
		(4) November 22nd.	
		(5) Alternate Thursdays in the year.	
		(6) Monday in York "Summer Show" for Race-Week. horses.	
		(7) Monday and "Winter Show" for week before horses. Christmas.	
Boroughbridge	Saturday	(1) April 27th	Horned cattle and sheep.
		(2) June 22nd	Horses, horned cattle, sheep, hardware.
		(3) October 23rd.	Horned cattle and sheep.
Ripon	Thursday	(1) Thursday after January 24th.	Horses, horned cattle, and leather.
		(2) Thursday after March 21st.	
		(3) May 12th and 13th.	Horses and sheep.
		(4) First Thursday in June.	Horned cattle, horses, leather, sheep.
		(5) Holy Thursday) (6) Thursday after) August 22nd.) (7) November 22nd.)	Horses and sheep.
Thirsk	Monday	(1) Shrove Monday.	
		(2) April 4th, 5th and 6th.	
		(3) August 3rd, 4th, and 5th.	"A show of Horses".
		(4) October 28th, 29th.	
		(5) December 14th.	Horned cattle, horses, sheep, leather.
Coxwold	Market disused.	August 25th.	Horned cattle, sheep, linen, woollen cloth, pewter and hardware.
Northallerton	Wednesday	(1) February 13th	Horned cattle, horses, sheep and (particular- ly) large, fat, oxen.
(cattle, corn, pro- visions)		(2) May 4th.	
		(3) October 2nd.	
Yarm	Thursday	(1) Thursday be- fore April 5th.	Horses, horned cattle and sheep.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Fairs</u>	<u>Chief Commodities.</u>
		(2) Holy Thursday.	
		(3) August 2nd	
		(4) October 9th.	
Richmond	Saturday (cattle, provisions)	(1) Saturday before Palm Sunday. (2) First Saturday in July. (3) September 14th.	Horned cattle, horses and sheep.
Reeth	-	(1) Friday before Palm Sunday. (2) Friday "seven- night" before May 12th. (3) Friday before May 12th. (4) Friday before St. Bartholomew. (5) Friday before November 22nd.	Brass, pewter, hawkers' and pedlars goods.
Askrigg.	Tuesday	(1) May 11th. (2) First Thurs- day in June. (3) October 28th, 29th.	Woollen cloth, pewter, brass and milliners' goods. Horned cattle, woollen cloth, pewter, millin- ers' goods.
Hawes	-	Whitsun-Monday.	Horned cattle, sheep.
Leyburn	-	(1) Second Friday in February. (2) Second Friday in May. (3) Second Friday in October. (4) Second Friday in December.	Horned cattle, sheep.
Middleham	Monday	November 6th, 7th.	Sheep.
Masham	Tuesday	September 17th, and 18th.	Horned cattle, sheep, pedlars' goods.
Bedale	Tuesday	(1) Easter Tuesday. (2) Whitsun Tues- day. (3) July 5th, 6th.	Horned cattle, horses, sheep, leather, pewter brass, tin, and milliners' goods.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Fairs</u>	<u>Chief Commodities</u>
		(4) October 10th, 11th.	Horned cattle, sheep, hogs, leather.
		(5) Tuesday "seven-night" before Christmas.	Horned cattle, sheep.
Kettlewell	-	(1) July 6th (2) September 2nd.	Sheep.
Settle	Thursday	(1) Tuesday before Palm-Sunday. (2) Thursday before Good Friday. (3) Alternate Fridays (Easter - Whitsun) (4) April 26th. (5) August 18 - 21st. (6) Tuesday after October 27th.	Horned cattle. Sheep. Horned cattle, leather wood, sheep and lambs.
Astwick	-	Thursday before Whitsunday.	
Clapham	-	September 21st.	Sheep.
Ingleton	-	November 17th.	Leather, oatmeal.
Sedbergh	-	(1) March 20th (2) October 29th.	Horned cattle.
Bentham	-	June 24th	Horned cattle.
Gargrave	-	December 11th.	Horned cattle, toys.
Skipton-in-Craven.	Saturday	(1) March 23rd (2) Palm-Sunday Eve. (3) Easter Eve (4) First, second, third Tuesdays after Easter. (5) Whitsun-Eve. (6) August 5th. (7) November 20th. (8) November 22nd.	Horned cattle, sheep. Horses. Horned cattle, sheep. Horned cattle. Linen-cloth, mercery. Horses, Cloth. Horned cattle. Horses, broadcloth, pedlary.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Fairs</u>	<u>Chief Commodities</u>
Appletree- wick	-	October 2nd.	Horned cattle, horses.
Otley	Tuesday	(1) August 1st (2) November 15th.	Horned cattle, and household goods.
Bingley.	-	(1) January 25th. (2) August 25th, 26th, 27th.	Horned cattle. Horned cattle, sheep linen.
Knarborough.	Wednesday	(1) Wednesday after January 24th. (2) Wednesday after March 12th. (3) May 6th. (4) Wednesday after August 12th. (5) Monday after October 10th. (6) December 13th.	Horned cattle, hogs and sheep.
Ripley.	Monday	August 25th, 26th, 27th.	Horned cattle, sheep and linen.
Leeds (1) (2)	Tuesday) Saturday)	Cloth, Linen, Hardware, Flesh, Fish, Fruit. (1) July 10th. (2) November 8th.	Horned cattle, horses, and hardware.
Adwalton	-	(1) January 26th (2) February 26th. (3) Thursday in Easter Week. (4) Thursday fort- night after Easter. (5) Thursday month after Easter. (6) Whitsun-Thursday. (7) Alternate Thurs- days Whitsun-Christ- mas.	
Dewsbury.	-	(1) Wednesday before May 12th (2) Wednesday before October 10th.	Horned cattle and sheep.
Bradford	Thursday	(1) March 14th, 15th.	Household furniture and horned cattle.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Fairs</u>	<u>Chief Commodities</u>
		(2) June 28th, 29th, 30th.	
Wakefield	(1) Thursday	(1) July 4th, 5th.	First Day for horses, hardware.
	(2) Friday.		Second Day for Toys and pleasure.
		(2) November 11th, 12th.	First Day for Horses, Horned cattle.
			Second Day for Toys and pleasure.
Halifax	Saturday	June 24th	Horses.
	(Provisions and Manufactured Cloth Goods)		
Barnsley	Wednesday.	(1) Wednesday before February 28th.	Horned cattle and swine.
		(2) May 12th.	
		(3) October 10th.	Horned cattle, swine, cheese, geese.
Sheffield.	Tuesday.	(1) Tuesday after Trinity Sunday.	Horses and horned
		(2) November 28th.	cattle.
Howden.	Saturday	(1) Second Tuesday in January.	Horses, horned cattle, and line.
		(2) Tuesday before March 25th.	
		(3) October 2nd.	
Weighton (Market-)	Wednesday	(1) May 14th.	Horses and sheep.
		(2) September 25th.	
North-Duffield	-	May 4th	Cattle and sheep.
Pocklington	-		
	Saturday	(1) February 24th.	Horned cattle,
		(2) April 25th	cheese, cloth and
		(3) July 24th	leathern goods.
		(4) October 28th.	
		(5) December 7th; Seven days before St. Matthias; Seven days before Christmas -	"Horse-Shows".
Kirkham	-	Saturday before Trinity Sunday.	Sheep, brass, pewter, hardware, pots and small-ware.
Helmsley.	Saturday.	(1) May 19th.	Horned cattle, horses
		(2) July 16th	sheep, linen and woollen cloth.

<u>Place.</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Fairs.</u>	<u>Chief Commodities</u>
		(3) October 2nd.	
		(4) November 6th.	
Kirby-Moorside.	Wednesday	(1) Whitsun-Wednesday.	Horned cattle, horses.
		(2) September 18th.	Sheep, linen, wool-cloth.
Stokesley.	Saturday.	Saturday before Trinity Sunday.	Horned cattle, horses, linen-cloth.
Guisborough.	Monday.	(1) Monday and Tuesday after April 11th.	Linen-cloth, horned cattle.
		(2) Tuesday in Whitsun-week.	Horned cattle, linen.
		(3) August 27th.	Horned cattle.
		(4) September 19th, 20th.	
		(5) Monday after November 11th.	
Egton.	-	(1) Tuesday before February 15th	Horned cattle, boots and shoes.
		(2) Tuesday before May 11th.	
		(3) September 4th.	
		(4) Tuesday before November 22nd.	
Whitby.	Saturday	(Corn, flesh, fowls, fish)	
Scarborough.	(1) Thursday	(1) Holy-Thursday.	
	(2) Saturday	(2) November 22nd.	Toys.
Seamer.	(Market disused)	July 15th	Horses, boots, shoes.
Pickering.	Monday	September 14th	Horned cattle, horses, sheep.
Bridlington.	Saturday (Corn)	(1) Monday before Whitsunday.	Linen and toys.
		(2) October 21st.	
Kilham.	Thursday	(1) August 21st	Horned cattle and horses.
		(2) November 12th.	

<u>Place.</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Fairs</u>	<u>Chief Commodities</u>
Beverley	Wednesday (Lent - Midsummer)	(1) Thursday be- fore Valentine's Day. (2) Holy-Thursdai (3) July 5th. (4) November 5th.	Horned cattle, horses, sheep.
	Saturday (Corn, flesh, fish, provisions).		
Hornsea	Saturday	(1) August 12th (2) December 17th.	Horses, horned cattle.
Hull	(1) Tuesday (2) Saturday.	October 10th.	Horses, Toys.
Hedon	Saturday	(1) February 14th (2) August 2nd (3) September 25th. (4) November 17th.	Pewter, tin, leathern-wares, millinery goods.

OWEN. BOOK OF FAIRS.

List of Yorkshire Fairs and Markets.

(Letter after name indicates market day).

- Aberforth W. Last Wednesday in April, Last Wednesday in May. Last Wednesday in **October**. Wednesday after St. Luke. October 18th for horses, horned cattle and sheep.
- Adwalton. January 26th. February 26th. Thursday in Easter Week. Thursday fortnight after Easter (there being no weekly market here, the fairs for Easter to Michaelmas may rather be called fortnight fairs). Thursday month after Easter. Whitsun-Thursday and every Thursday fortnight after till Michaelmas, for horses, sheep, pedlary and tin-ware.
- Appletrewick. October 2nd for cattle and horses.
- Askrig T. May 11th. First Thursday in June, for woollen cloth, pewter, brass and milliners' goods. October 28th and 29th for horned cattle, woollen cloth, pewter, millinery.
- Astwick. Thursday before Whitsunday for horned cattle.
- Barnsley W. Last Wednesday in February preceding the 28th; if Wednesday be the 28th it is held the Wednesday before so that it can never be later than the 27th or sooner than the 21st, a great fair for horned cattle and swine. May 12th for horned cattle and swine. October 10th for horned cattle, swine, cheese and goosepies.
- Bawtrey S. Holy Thursday, Old Martinmas. November 22nd for cattle and horses.
- Bedal T. Easter Tuesday, Whitsun-Tuesday, July 5th and 6th for horned cattle, horses, pewter, brass, tin, millinery and sheep. October 10th and 11th for horned cattle, sheep, hogs and leather. Tuesday sevensnight before Christmas for horned cattle and sheep.
- Beverley W.S. Thursday before Valentine February 14th. Holy Thursday. July 5th. November 5th for beasts, horses and sheep.
- Bingley. January 25th for horned cattle. August 25th, 26th and 27th for horned cattle, sheep and linen.
- Black-Burton. Whitsun-Monday for horned cattle.
- Bolton. June 28th for cattle and pedlary.
- Bradfield. June 17th, December 9th, chiefly for swine.
- Bradford Th. March 14th and 15th. June 28th, 29th and 30th for horned cattle and household furniture. December 20th, 21st and 22nd a large fair for hogs.

Barns-Burton. May 14th for horses, sheep and beasts.

Bridlington S. Monday before Whitsuntide. October 21st for linen cloth and toys.

Brumpton. November 12th for swine and a few horses.

Burrowbridge S. April 27th for horned cattle and sheep. June 22nd for horses, horned cattle, sheep and hard ware. October 23rd for horned cattle and sheep.

Cawood. May 12th for cattle and wooden ware.

Clapham. St. Matthew September 21st for sheep.

Coxwould August 25th for horned cattle, sheep, linnen and woollen cloth, pewter and hardware.

Dewsbury. Wednesday before May 12th, Wednesday before October 10th for horned cattle and sheep.

Doncaster S. April 5th, August 5th, November 26th and Monday before Old Candlemas Day for horses, cattle, sheep and pedlary.

Easingwould. July 5th, September 25th for horned cattle, horses, sheep, linnen and woollen cloth.

Egton. Tuesday before February 15th, Tuesday before May 11th, September 4th, Tuesday before November 22nd for horned cattle, boots and shoes.

Frodlingham. July 10th, October 2nd for toys and pedlars' ware.

Gargrave. December 11th for horned cattle and toys.

Gisbrough M. Third Monday and Tuesday after April 11th for linnen cloth and horned cattle, Tuesday in Whitsun-week for horned cattle and linen. August 26th for linnen and cattle. August 27th, September 19th and 20th, first Monday after November 11th for horned cattle.

Grassington. March 4th for horned cattle. April 24th and June 29th for sheep. September 26th for horned cattle.

Grinton. Good-Friday, St. Thomas Day December 21st for cloth, brass, pewter, tin and millinery goods.

Guisburn. Easter Monday, Monday-fortnight after Easter, Monday month after Easter, Saturday after Monday month from Easter, for horned cattle. Monday five weeks after Easter for pedlary, September 18th and 19th for horned cattle and pedlary.

Halifax S. June 24th for horses.

Hawes. Whitsun Monday for horned cattle and sheep.

Haworth. July 22nd for pedlary. October 14th for horned cattle and pedlary.

Headon S.	Every fortnight. February 14th, August 2nd, September 25th, November 17th for pewter, tin, leathern wares and millinery goods.
Helmsley- Blackmoor. S.	May 19th, July 16th, October 2nd, November 6th for horned cattle, horses, sheep, linnen and woollen cloth.
Holmsfirth.	October 30th for horned cattle.
Hornsey S.	August 12th, December 17th for horses and beasts.
Howden S.	Second Tuesday in January, Tuesday before March 25th, Second Tuesday in July, October 2nd for horses, cattle and line.
Huddersfield. T.	May 24th for lean horned cattle and horses.
Hull T. S.	October 10th for horses and toys.
Hunmanby.	May 6th, October 29th for toys.
Ingleton.	November 17th for leather and oatmeal.
Kettlewell.	July 6th, September 2nd for sheep.
Keighley.	May 8th for horned cattle, brass and pewter. November 8th for horned cattle, brass, pewter and pedlary.
Kilham Th.	August 21st, November 12th for horses and beasts.
Kirby-Moorside. W.	Whitsun-Wednesday for horned cattle and horses. September 18th for sheep, linnen and woollen cloth.
Kirkham.	Saturday before Trinity Sunday for sheep, brass, pewter, hardware, pots and small ware.
Knaresborough. W.	Wednesday after January 24th, Wednesday after March 12th, May 6th, Wednesday after August 12th, Monday after October 10th, December 13th, for horned cattle, horses, hogs and sheep.
Lee.	August 24th, September 17th for horses and cheese.
Leeds T. S.	July 10th for horses and hardware. November 8th for horned cattle, horses and hard ware.
Leighton.	Midsummer-Day, June 24th, for pedlary.
Leyburn.	Second Friday in February, Second Friday in May, Second Friday in October, Second Friday in December for horned cattle and sheep.
Little Driffield.	Easter-Monday, Whitsun-Monday, August 26th, September 19th for horses and leather.
Long-Preston.	February 18th, September 3rd for horned cattle.
Malham.	June 25th, October 4th for sheep.

- Malton T. S. Saturday before Palm Sunday, for horses and horned cattle. Day before Whit-Sunday for sheep, brass and pewter. October 10th for hardware, pots and small ware. October 11th for sheep.
- Masham T. September 17th and 18th for horned cattle, sheep and pedlary.
- Middleham Moor. November 6th and 7th for sheep.
M.
- Moor Kirk. June 24th for leather ware.
- Northallerton. February 13th, May 4th, October 2nd for
W. horned cattle, horses and sheep.
- North Duffield. May 4th for cattle and sheep.
- Ottley T. August 1st, November 15th for horned cattle and household goods.
- Patrington S. March 28th, July 18th for toys.
- Pickering M. Holy Rood-Day, September 14th for horned cattle, horses and sheep.
- Pocklington S. February 24th, April 25th, July 24th, October 28th for cattle, cheese, cloth and leathern ware, December 7th shew of horses, seven days before St. Matthias's shew of horses, seven days before Christmas Day shew of horses.
- Penniston. Thursday before February 28th, last Thursday in March, the Thursday before old May-day and the Thursday after old Michaelmas day for horned cattle and horses.
- Pontefract S. St. Andrew's Fair on the 1st Saturday in December. Twenty-Day fair, the first Saturday after the twentieth day from Christmas, Candlemas Fair, the first Saturday after February 13th, St. Giles Fair, the first Saturday after September 12th, and all other moveable fairs, viz:- Palm-Sunday, Low-Sunday and Trinity-Sunday, to be held on the Saturday before each of those days respectively. The fortnight fairs will always be held on the Saturday next after York fortnight fairs as usual. The shew for horses, formerly called Palm-Sunday shew, will always for the future begin on the 5th of February.
- Reeth. Friday before Palm-Sunday, Friday Sevensnight before old May-day, May 12th, Friday before St. Bartholomew, August 24th, Friday seven-night before old Martinmas, November 22nd for pewter, brass, hawkers* and pedlary.
- Richmond S. Saturday before Palm Sunday, first Saturday in July, Holy Rood September 14th for horned cattle, horses and sheep.
- Ripley M. August 25th, 26th, 27th for sheep, horned

Rippon Th.	Thursday after January 24th, Thursday after March 21st for horses, horned cattle and leather. May 12th and 13th for horses and sheep. First Thursday in June, horned cattle horses, leather and sheep. Holy-Thursday, First Thursday after August 22nd, November 22nd, for horses and sheep.
Rotherham M.	Whitsun-Monday for horned cattle and sheep. December 1st for cattle and horses.
Scarborough Th. S.	Holy-Thursday, November 22nd for toys.
Seamore.	July 15th for boots, shoes, and horses.
Sedbergh.	March 20th, October 29th for horned cattle.
Selby M.	Easter-Tuesday, June 22nd, October 10th, for cattle, wool, line, tin and copper ware.
Settle Th.	Tuesday before Palm-Sunday, Thursday before Good Friday, and every other Friday till Whitsunday, for horned cattle. April 26th for sheep. August 18th to 21st, First Tuesday after October 27th for horned cattle, leather, wool, sheep, lambs, etc.
Sheffield T.	Tuesday before Trinity-Sunday, November 28th for cattle and horses.
Sherburne F.	October 6th for flax and horses.
Skipton S.	March 23rd for horned cattle and sheep. Palm-Sunday Eve for horses. Easter Eve for cattle and sheep. First Tuesday after Easter, Second Tuesday after Easter, Third Tuesday after Easter for horned cattle. Whitsun-Eve for linnen cloth and mercery. August 5th for horses and cloth. November 20th for horned cattle. November 22nd for horses, broad-cloth and pedlary.
Slaidburn.	February 14th, April 15th, August 1st, October 20th for cattle.
Snaith F.	First Friday in April, August 10th, for cattle, horses and pedlary. First Friday in September for cattle and horses.
South Cave.	Trinity Monday for horses and sheep.
Stamford Bridge.	November 22nd for horses, horned cattle, sheep, brass, pewter, hard ware and woollen cloth.
Stokesley S.	Saturday before Trinity Sunday, for horned cattle, horses and linnen cloth.
Thirsk M.	Shrove-Monday, April 4th, 5th, and 6th, a shew of horses. August 3rd, 4th, 5th, a shew of horses. October 28th, 29th, December 14th for horned cattle, horses, sheep and leather.
Thorne W.	First Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday after June 11th and also the said days after October 11th for horned cattle, horses and pedlary.
Tollerton.	August 26th for horned cattle, horses,

sheep and cheese.

- Topcliff July 17th and 18th for sheep, horned cattle, horses.
- Wakefield. July 4th and 5th for horses and hardware.
Th. F. November 11th and 12th for horses and horned cattle. If either of these days fall on a Sunday the fair is held on the Saturday before. Note - July 5th and November 12th are pleasure fairs, toys, etc.
- Weighton W. May 14th, September 25th for horses and sheep.
- Wetherby Th. Holy Thursday, August 5th, November 22nd, for horses, sheep and hogs.
- Whitgift July 22nd for pedlary.
- Yarm Th. Thursday before April 5th, Holy-Thursday, August 2nd, October 9th for horned cattle, horses and sheep.
- York. Th. S. Whitsun-Monday, July 10th, August 12th, November 22nd and every Thursday in the year. The half year shew for horses, the Summer shew on Monday in York race-week, the Winter shew on Monday, the first whole week before Christmas.

Complete List of All Northern Fairs 1813.

Yorkshire.

<u>Aberford</u>	First Monday in April, first Monday in May, first Monday in October, first Monday after August 18th, first Monday after November 2nd.
<u>Adwalton</u>	January 26th, February 26th, Easter Thursday and every Thursday fortnight after till Michaelmas.
<u>Aldborough</u>	September 4th.
<u>Appletreewick</u>	October 2nd.
<u>Askrigg</u>	May 11th, 12th, first Thursday in June, October 28th, 29th.
<u>Astwick</u>	Thursday before Whit-Sunday.
<u>Brandsburton.</u>	May 14th.
<u>Barnsley</u>	Wednesday before February 28th, May 13th, October 11th.
<u>Bawtrey</u>	Whit-Thursday, November 22nd.
<u>Bedale</u>	Easter Tuesday, Whit-Tuesday, July 6th, 7th, October 11th, 12th, Monday after December 14th.
<u>Bentham</u>	March 26th, October 25th.
<u>Beverley</u>	Thursday before February 25th, Holy Thursday July 5th, November 5th. Principal Markets for cattle: April 5th, Wednesday before May 12th, Wednesday before September 14th, Wednesday after December 25th.
<u>Bingley.</u>	January 25th, August 25th, 26th, 27th.
<u>Blackburton.</u>	Whitmonday.
<u>Bolton</u>	June 28th.
<u>Boroughbridge.</u>	April 27th, June 22nd, October 23rd.
<u>Bradfield</u>	June 17th, December 9th.
<u>Bradford.</u>	March 3rd, 4th, June 17th, 18th, 19th, December 9th, 10th, 11th.
<u>Bridlington</u>	Monday before Whit-Sunday, October 21st.
<u>Brumpton</u>	November 12th.
<u>Cawood</u>	May 13th.
<u>Clapham</u>	October 2nd.
<u>Coxwold</u>	August 25th.
<u>Dewsbury</u>	Wednesday before May 13th. Wednesday before October 11th.

<u>Doncaster</u>	Monday before February 14th, April 6th, August 5th, November 26th.
<u>Darlington</u>	November 10th.
<u>Dunnington</u>	November 7th.
<u>Easingwold</u>	July 5th, September 2 ⁵ th.
<u>Egton</u>	Tuesday before February 15th, Tuesday before May 11th, September 4th, Tuesday before November 22nd.
<u>Frodlingham</u>	July 10th, October 2nd.
<u>Gargrave</u>	December 11th.
<u>Gisborough</u>	April 27th, 28th. Whit-Tuesday, August 26th, 27th, September 19th, 20th, Monday after November 11th.
<u>Grassington</u>	March 4th, April 24th, June 29th, September 26th.
<u>Grinton</u>	Good Friday, December 21st.
<u>Guisburn</u>	Easter Monday and second and fourth Monday after; Saturday after 4th May. Fifth Monday after Easter, September 18th, 19th.
<u>Halifax</u>	June 24th.
<u>Harewood</u>	Last Monday in April and last Monday in October.
<u>Hawes</u>	Whit-Tuesday, September 28th.
<u>Haworth</u>	July 22nd, October 14th.
<u>Hedon</u>	February 14th, August 2nd, September 22nd, November 17th, December 6th. A market every other Monday in the year.
<u>Helmsley</u>	May 19th, July 16th, October 2nd, November 6th.
<u>Holmsfirth</u>	October 30th.
<u>Hornsea</u>	August 13th, December 17th.
<u>Howden</u>	Second Tuesday after January 11th, Tuesday before April 5th, Second Tuesday after July 11th, October 2nd.
<u>Huddersfield</u>	May 24th.
<u>Hull</u>	October 11th.
<u>Hunmanby</u>	May 6th, October 29th.
<u>Ingleton</u>	November 17th.
<u>Kettlewell</u>	July 6th, September 2nd.
<u>Keighley</u>	May 8th, November 8th.
<u>Kilham</u>	August 21st, November 12th.

<u>Kirby-Moorside.</u>	Whit-Wednesday. September 18th.
<u>Kirkham</u>	Trinity Monday.
<u>Knaresborough</u>	Wednesday after January 13th, Wednesday after March 12th, May 6th, Wednesday after August 12th, Tuesday after October 11th, Wednesday after December 15th.
<u>Leeds</u>	July 10th, 11th, November 8th, 9th.
<u>Lee</u>	August 24th, September 17th.
<u>Leayburn</u>	Second Friday in February, Second Friday in May, October, December.
<u>Little Driffeld.</u>	Easter Monday, Whit-Monday, August 26th, September 19th.
<u>Leighton</u>	June 24th.
<u>Long Preston</u>	March 1st, September 3rd.
<u>Melham</u>	July 5th, October 14th.
<u>Malton</u>	Monday and Saturday before Palm-Sunday. A Shew of Horses Saturday before Whit-Sunday, October 11th, 12th.
<u>Masham</u>	September 17th, 18th.
<u>Middleham</u>	November 5th, 6th.
<u>Moor Kirk</u>	June 24th.
<u>Northallerton</u>	February 14th, May 5th, September 5th, October 3; and Second Wednesday in October for cheese.
<u>North Duffield</u>	May 4th.
<u>Otley</u>	August 1st, November 15th.
<u>Patrington</u>	March 28th, July 18th, December 6th.
<u>Pickering</u>	Monday before February 14th, before May 13th, September 25th, Monday before November 22nd.
<u>Pocklington</u>	March 7th, May 6th, August 5th, November 8th.
<u>Penniston</u>	Thursday before February 28th, last Thursday in March, Thursday before May 12th, Thursday after October 11th.
<u>Pontefract</u>	First Saturday after the 20th day from December 25th, February 5th, First Saturday after February 13th, Saturday before Palm Sunday, Low Sunday and Trinity Sunday respectively. Saturday after September 12th. First Saturday in December. The fortnight fairs are held on the Saturdays after the York fortnight fairs.
<u>Reeth</u>	Friday before Palm Sunday, Second Friday before May 13th. Friday before August 24th. Second Friday before November 22nd.
<u>Richmond</u>	Saturday before Palm Sunday. First Saturday in July. September 25th.

<u>Ripley</u>	Easter Monday and Tuesday. August 25th, 26th, 27th.
<u>Ripon</u>	Thursday after January 24th, and after March 21st, May 13th. Holy Thursday. First Thursday in June. Thursday after August 22nd, November 23rd.
<u>Rotherham</u>	Whit-Monday, December 1st.
<u>Scarborough</u>	Holy Thursday, November 22nd.
<u>Seamore</u>	July 15th.
<u>Sedberg</u>	March 20th, October 29th.
<u>Selby</u>	Easter Tuesday, June 22nd, October 11th.
<u>Settle</u>	Tuesday before Palm Sunday, Thursday before Good Friday and every other Friday till Whit-Sunday, April 26th, August 18th to 21st, Tuesday before October 27th.
<u>Sherburn</u>	October 6th.
<u>Sheffield</u>	Trinity Tuesday, November 28th.
<u>Skipton</u>	March 23rd, Palm Sunday Eve, Easter Eve, First, second and third Tuesdays after Easter, Whitsun Eve, August 5th, November 20th, 22nd.
<u>Slaidburn</u>	February 14th, April 15th, August 1st, October 20th.
<u>Snaith</u>	Last Thursday in April, August 10th, First Friday in September.
<u>South Cave</u>	Trinity Monday.
<u>Stamford Bridge</u>	September 1st.
<u>Stokesley</u>	Saturday before Trinity Sunday.
<u>Thirsk</u>	Shrove Monday, April 4th, 5th, 6th. A Shew of Horses August 3rd, 4th, 5th. October 28th, 29th. December 14th.
<u>Thorne</u>	Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday after June 11th. Same days after October 11th.
<u>Tollerton</u>	August 15th.
<u>Topcliffe</u>	July 17th, 18th.
<u>Wakefield</u>	July 4th, 5th, November 11th, 12th.
<u>Weighton</u>	May 14th, September 25th.
<u>Wetherby</u>	Holy Thursday, August 5th, November 22nd.
<u>Whitgift</u>	July 22nd.
<u>Wibsey</u>	October 5th, November 25th.
<u>Witton (East)</u>	November 20th.

<u>Yarum</u>	Thursday before April 5th, Holy Thursday, August 2nd, October 19th, 20th.
<u>York Principal Fairs</u>	Whit-Monday, Thursday before Old Candlemas, Thursday before Old Palm Sunday, July 10th, August 12th, November 14th and 23rd.
<u>York Small Fairs</u>	(which are ruled by Old Palm Sunday Fair) Every other Thursday in the Year, and Principal fairs for horses, are on Monday in the Race-Week, and the first whole week before December 25th.
<u>York Line Fairs</u>	Saturday before old Candlemas Day; Saturday before Old Lady Day; Whitsun Monday; Old St. Peter's Day; Old Lammas Day; Saturday before Old Michaelmas; Saturday before Old Martinmas; and Saturday before Christmas Day.

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