THE GEOGRAPHIC EXPLANATION AND DEFINITION OF THE PROVINCIAL MARKET AREA FOR THE CITY OF YORK DURING THE LATE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

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INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The city of York has a long history as both an administrative and mercantile center. Strategically located in northern England to command both communication and traffic ways since its founding as a Roman colonia, York possessed a prominent position in England's lay and ecclesiastic activities. As a crucial component in Scottish relations and as a judicial and tax collection center, medieval York figured significantly as the northern capital of England at the end of the thirteenth century. Likewise, as the seat of an Archiepiscopal See and the administrative center for the Church's Northern Province from A.D. 735, York also figured prominently as an ecclesiastic capital second only to Canterbury. While York's political and ecclesiastic significance has been well defined, the nature of York's economic activities remains relatively unexplored.

York was an economic focal point for trade in northern England. The city oversaw the greatest market in the north, and that market attracted merchants from all areas of Yorkshire and beyond. York's market influence extended north as far as the Scottish border and south to the Humber River and its tributaries. It integrated the highlands of

the Pennines and the Yorkshire Moors with the lowlands of the Vale of York through an intricate network of river systems and Roman roads. The distinct geographic regions of the county shaped the nature of the trade conducted within Yorkshire. Regional markets gathered the commodities of local trade and funneled them towards York. The purpose of this study is to define the market structure surrounding the medieval city of York in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and to explain the geographic conditions of Yorkshire and how the river and road networks operated within that environment directing trade to York and its provincial market.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, an intense interest in England's medieval past culminated in the foundation of numerous historical societies and a flurry of other activities. Participants in the so-called antiquarian movement collected, translated, and preserved many rare historical documents that otherwise might have been destroyed. These activities have proved invaluable to modern historians.

As a part of the antiquarian movement, the English Place-Name Society was founded. Dedicated to an investigation of the origins of England's town and village names, this society sifted through and catalogued an immense amount of information that proved to be the foundation of many future medieval historians' theories. Medieval documents preserved several types of surnames--occupational,

descriptive, family, and place of origin. Medieval merchant accounts and city financial records often contained this type of information. The surnames obtained from the city of origin of the bearer became the basis for place-name studies and other analytical attempts to determine the active area of individual markets as well as the interaction between different markets. The English Place-Name Society independently examined the three ridings of Yorkshire and published all of their results by 1960. The maps and place-name lists within these volumes were significant in defining and assessing York's markets and their activities.

The <u>Victoria History of the Counties of England</u> (<u>VCH</u>) series was the longest running and most ambitious endeavor initiated by early English historians. Beginning as an antiquarian publication in the late nineteenth century, the <u>VCH</u> evolved over the course of its publication as perspectives and interpretative approaches changed. Adopting a more analytical approach in the 1950s, the <u>VCH</u> became more academic while it managed to retained much of its original antiquarian flavor. Although only four of the nine proposed volumes for Yorkshire were completed, including one devoted entirely to the city of York itself, the <u>VCH</u> remained one of the most informative as well as voluminous sources consulted.²

A. Raine's <u>Medieval York: A Topographical Survey</u>

<u>based on Original Sources</u>, published in 1955, was

antiquarian in its nature. Useful in identifying the exact

locations of many sites within the city of York, Raine's work contained many intricate details about the city not contained within the VCH. A comparison of the two proved insightful in determining the possible number of grain mills located within the city of York.

Also part of the antiquarian movement, the Ordinance Survey Maps for England were compiled. These detailed maps consolidated a vast amount of unorganized information into a single reference source. Included within the Ordinance Survey Maps were the exact locations of individual farms, households, and manors, along with the location of roads, both ancient and contemporary, and geographic information such as rivers, altitudes and gradation. Once compiled, the Ordinance Survey Maps supplied historians with the wealth of information needed for the production of historical geographies.

England was H. C. Darby's and I. S. Maxwell's <u>The Domesday</u> Geography of England.⁴ Darby and Maxwell provided indispensable demographic, geological, and climatological information about England during the eleventh century.

First published in 1952 and in conjunction with Darby's previous work, <u>An Historical Geography of England before A.D. 1800</u>, the <u>Domesday Geography</u> was the forerunner of many works to follow. M. Beresford's <u>The Lost Villages of England</u> and C. Platt's <u>The English Medieval Town</u>, were among those works that followed and were two of the best

proponents of geographic and topographic studies. Among Beresford's most significant research was his examination of aerial photographs of England taken during World War II. observed distinctive landscape features through which he successfully identified formerly extant medieval villages.8 Using a different approach, Platt dissected the physical arrangement of several medieval towns and identified their common characteristics and construction patterns while proposing plausible explanations for their differences. Next to Darby's Domesday Geography, only the multi-volume Agrarian History of England and Wales, with J. Thirsk as general editor, merited any type of direct comparison.9 Originally conceived in 1956, the Agrarian History provided much of the same information as Darby's work, although not in as much detail. Covering a much longer period of time, the Agrarian History made comparisons between the eleventh century and the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries plausible.

An important aspect of such comparisons often centered on urban studies. The history of towns and other urban centers included in many early historical works concentrated on the discovery of origins. Maitland's <u>Domesday Book and Beyond</u> and <u>Township and Borough</u>, proposed the "garrison theory" for the foundation of English towns. He argued that the defensive boroughs established during the Anglo-Saxon period were the decisive factor in later town development. Emphasizing economic considerations, J. Tait openly

contested Maitland's arguments in 1897 and claimed that mercantile interests were the primary determining factors in early medieval urban development. 10 H. Pirenne, a French scholar investigating the development of continental European medieval towns, synthesized both Maitland's and Tait's hypotheses and constructed the "protection theory." 11 Acknowledging the presence of both military and mercantile interests, Pirenne added that a stable working environment for the peasantry was necessary for successful agrarian development. Medieval fortifications, individually and in networks, provided local and regional stability, allowing farmers to plant, sow, and eventually trade produce. Thus, the more adept and enterprising peasant merchants flourished to the extent that, in some instances, they shifted their primary means of subsistence from agriculture to commerce.

The theories of Maitland, Tait, and Pirenne represented most of the significant developments in urban history before World War II. Another publication essential to an understanding of medieval English economic development, however, was E. Power's The Wool Trade in English Medieval History. Exhaustive in its examination of England's medieval wool trade during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Power's work was among the first to examine a particular commercial activity with such specificity. As such, her work heralded a new direction and phase of investigative activity. Inquiries into the origins of towns diminished while investigations into the commercial

activities of towns increased, particularly with regard to England's medieval wool trade. Prominent historians, such as W. Cunningham, 13 A. E. Bland, J. C. Davies, D. Hughes, S. B. Terry, T. F. Tout, and G. Unwin, all began research on the topic. 14 H. Heaton's The Yorkshire Woolen and Worsted Industries was the one investigation centered on Yorkshire, although his work concentrated on the woolen cloth industry rather than the wool trade itself. 15 The primary focus of most of these historians became the identification of the wool trade as the chief source of royal revenue in association with the more general task of further defining England's overall past economic activity in greater While many of these works mentioned York in detail.16 passing, none of them described York and its economic activities in any detail.

After World War II the fascination with England's wool trade diminished with few publications produced until E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman's England's Export Trade, 1275-1547" in 1963 and T. H. Lloyd's The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages in 1977. The Carus-Wilson/Coleman volume primarily analyzed England's customs accounts for the specified time period. Lloyd's work supplemented Power's previous study with greater references to original source materials and an extension of the time period discussed. Like their predecessors, they did not investigate York either directly or in depth.

Meanwhile, the focus of attention among economic historians shifted from the wool trade to the overall and a economic trends in England during the Later Middle Ages. M. M. Postan's and A. R. Bridbury's oviews dominated scholarly debates. Postan concentrated on the wast increase in England's economic activity during the thirteenth century. He suggested a rise in overall population as the probable explanation. Postan postulated that the increased number of laborers decreased wage earnings through competition, while the swollen number of consumers caused prices to increase as goods became proportionately more Furthermore, he asserted that resourceful landowners saw the profit potential of the situation and converted traditional service-oriented payments into monetary gains. Postan concluded that any economic growth that originated from an increase in population remained intimately connected to that population trend. Therefore, when there was a dramatic decrease in population in the early fourteenth century -- the result of England's extended involvement in domestic and foreign wars, crop failures and famines caused by climatic changes and soil exhaustion, as well as the eventual incursion of the Black Death--England experienced an economic crisis and subsequent economic decline.

Bridbury failed to accept Postan's theory that England was in an economic crisis during the early fourteenth century. Instead, using distribution of wealth as an

indicator of economic strength, he characterized both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as periods of economic growth. Bridbury acknowledged Postan's assertion of the decline in population, but he concluded that the decrease in population actually increased the amount of wealth, theoretical or actual, possessed by every individual. Although later historians adopted selective parts of Bridbury's theories, Postan's evaluation, emphasizing urban decline that bordered on economic disaster, became the generally accepted or "orthodox" view of the late medieval English economy.

E. Miller presented a new and provocative argument in the early 1970s. He asserted that restrictions placed on the mobility of the peasantry during the manpower shortage of the fourteenth century caused a decrease in rural economic activity. Yet the economic activity of some towns continued to increase as more peasant entrepreneurs and traders gained access to towns and their economic liberties. Furthermore, while concentrating his research on northern England, Miller presented the city of York as one exception to Postan's theory. York had a prosperous market for most of the fourteenth century and did not begin an economic decline until the beginning of the fifteenth century. With this assertion, Miller concluded that medieval economic activities and relationships were more complex than previously imagined.

The debate over the "late medieval urban crisis," as

the perceived general decline was called, concentrated on the description of the exact nature and extent of the event itself. J. N. Bartlett's23 "The Expansion and Decline of York in the Later Middle Ages" and J. I. Kermode's "Urban Decline? The Flight from Office in Late Medieval York" were among those works directly representing York within the debate. Bartlett, concentrating on the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, agreed with Miller and presented strong evidence supporting a thriving marketplace in York until the beginning of the fifteenth century. Likewise, Kermode demonstrated that the evasion of public office was not proof of urban economic decline. But by continuing to adhere to Postan's theory of general urban decline, while attempting to explain away apparent anomalies within that system, Miller and his supporters succumbed to the same weakness as their predecessors, the problem of the universal application of Postan's thesis.

R. B. Dobson's "Admissions to the Freedom of the City of York in the Later Middle Ages" offered a rebuttal to earlier historians, such as Postan and Bridbury, as well as contemporary historians, such as Miller, Bartlett, and Kermode. His research on York represented a leftist interpretation of the medieval English economy. He emphasized class consciousness and class conflict as the primary factors in analyzing economic history. Dobson argued that the origins of a capitalistic economy, the extent of peasant class consciousness, and the degree of

egalitarianism in medieval English society heavily
influenced peasant economic activities. He was the first
historian who presented a historical analysis that attempted
a systematic examination of York's economics as a whole.
His emphasis was on the structure of peasant economic
activity, not the activities of the city itself, or how it
interacted with other cities within Yorkshire.

While mainstream historians were discussing economic trends through the early 1970s, the direction medieval historical research took in the mid 1970s and early 1980s actually originated much earlier. During the 1930s, the German geographer W. Christallar introduced the "Central Place Theory" as an explanation of the spacial orientation for medieval towns in southern Germany. 26 The premise of the "Central Place Theory" was that certain communities acted as the focal point for social and economic activities for given areas. Furthermore, the size of the central community dictated the size of the area and the scale of the activities performed. Ignored by mainstream historians who were busy writing national histories at the time, only a few historians previously interested in geography, such as Darby, made use of the theory. As the influence of the Annales school increased in the 1960s, particularly with its interdisciplinary emphasis, more and more historians took note of Christallar's "Central Place Theory" until it became the principal means of defining market areas and their interaction during the middle ages.

Predating Christallar's publication, N. S. B. Gras's 1915 book, The Evolution of the English Corn Market from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century, which used many of Thorold Rogers' earlier agricultural calculations, 27 was notable in at least one aspect. 28 Gras successfully identified several distinct market areas centered around prominent cities, including York. Gras focused on the same general concept as Christallar. Unfortunately, his willingness to use evidence arbitrarily taken from a sixhundred year time period created problems in determining the accuracy of his projections for any specific era. Additionally, J. C. Russell's Medieval Regions and Their Cities was one of the first and crudest applications of Christallar's "Central Place Theory" to late medieval He described a single economic realm centered at London covering all of England and Wales, extending into parts of Scotland and Ireland.29

Other early explanations and refinements of Christallar's notion included the "dual economy" theory. 30 Composed of separate and distinct rural and urban elements, the "dual economy" theory proposed that England's medieval economy was segregated between town and country except for very simplistic relationships of exchange between rural and urban centers. Platt presented a somewhat more complicated application of Christallar's theory and proposed a more complex relationship between the rural and urban elements of the market, as well as the interaction of different

markets.31 He claimed that the nature of the goods sold, the demand for those goods, and the difficulty or ease of transportation, played significant roles within market relationships.

The Marxists presented the most precise and best description of the "Central Place Theory" as it applied to medieval England. C. Dyer³² and R. Hilton, ³³ with their examination of the medieval peasant economy, identified local, regional, and provincial market areas and defined the interaction among those market areas. Centered on a village or small town, the smallest and most common type of market area identified had a radius of approximately six miles. This local market dealt with essential commodities, such as food, drink, and clothing, and was the most active in terms of the number of transactions by different individuals.

According to Dyer and Hilton, the regional market area had a radius of approximately twenty miles originating from a large medieval town. These market areas, while acting as a local market for the area immediately surrounding the town, also acted as small-scale collection and redistribution centers for raw materials, manufactured goods, and basic luxury items, such as wool, cloth, and wine. Provincial markets, the largest market areas defined, acted as extended regional markets. Located within medieval cities and affecting an area anywhere from a fifty- to a one-hundred mile radius, provincial markets were large-scale collection and redistribution centers.

Provincial markets also acted as local markets for those communities in their immediate vicinity. Unlike the smaller regional markets, the provincial markets added more expensive luxury items to their list of purchasable wares. While not its major activity, international trade also commonly occurred within the provincial marketplace.

As the "Central Place Theory" gained acceptance, more historians realized the true complexity of England's medieval economy. Increasingly, Christallar's theory appeared in academic historical research, such as J. P. Masschaele's "A Regional Economy in Medieval England." During the 1970s, many other historians incorporated the "Central Place Theory" into their work and used it to attack earlier theories.

S. Reynolds's An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns clarified many controversial issues in medieval urban history, and in particular the newly realized economic complexity. In fact, she presented the antithesis to the debate over the nature and even the existence of a "late medieval urban crisis." In doing so, she introduced a new focus for future medieval economic studies. Stressing continuity, Reynolds proposed the absence of radical urban decline or economic crisis in late medieval England. Instead, she proposed that individual towns in England experienced the ebb and flow of economic prosperity, as they had always done, independent of any pervasive tendency. Reynolds encouraged the detailed

investigation of individual towns and their markets. The only accurate method of analyzing England's economic activities as a whole, she argued, was the compilation of a composite picture after the completion of such studies.

Since then, either in part or as the whole of their work, several historians have done just that. S. L. Waugh's England in the Reign of Edward III, 36 G. Platts' Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire, 37 and D. M. Palliser's Tudor York acknowledged intricate mercantile relationships between town and country. This extended the understanding of individual town economies by defining them in greater detail.

It was Reynolds's call for more research into the nature and extent of economic activity for specific communities that stimulated this study, which is intended to help complete her proposed composite picture of medieval English economic history. A place-name analysis of the Warder's Accounts³⁹ and the Debt Certificates recorded at York⁴⁰ confirmed York's provincial market status and defined the physical shape of that market area in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Furthermore, as the Warder's Accounts demonstrated, the primary international trade activity within York centered around the wool trade and was conducted by Italian merchants.

The Warder's Accounts were the official city documents recorded by the royally appointed keeper of the city during a six-year period, from 1292-1296, when Edward I suspended

the civic liberties of the city of York. An examination of these documents balanced the place-name study. Concerns over a possible bias towards defining only a wool market was eradicated upon examination of the Warder's Accounts.

Between one-half and two-thirds of the place-names taken from the Warder's Accounts were from court proceedings, toll and farm collections, or the sale of other commodities, such as leather and wood. Furthermore, much of the information obtained on the character of international trade came from the Warder's Accounts.

The Debt Certificates recorded at York between 1284 and 1286 also served a distinct purpose in providing balance to the place-name study. Most previous market definitions based on place-name studies concentrated on mercantile documents pertaining to the merchants themselves. The York Debt Certificates provided place-name information from the orientation of the consumer. Place-names mentioned through recording the debtors' names gave the exact locations and distances individuals were willing to travel during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries for mercantile interests.

Individually, each debt certificate was an official acknowledgement of a defaulted financial obligation. The debtor appeared in the city's court and pledged to ensure future payment of the debt to the moneylender or suffer the penalties according to the Statute of Acton Burnel enacted in 1285. The Statute of Acton Burnel was an adoption of

merchant common law into English common law. In order to insure the repayment of debts, Acton Burnel stipulated that upon the official acknowledgement of a defaulted loan the creditor was entitled to land rents, or other payment in kind, until such time as the debt and interest had been repaid.

The Debt Certificates' other major contribution, besides their interesting orientation, was in establishing the farthest reaches of York's provincial market area. The county sheriffs were the individuals responsible for enforcing the Statute of Acton Burnel. Therefore, when someone from another county borrowed money from a York merchant, the county and the name of that county's sheriff as well as the debtor's name appeared on the document. This made the interaction between counties easily and accurately identifiable.

Another aspect of this place-name study that helped support its conclusions was its chronological compactness. The primary evidence for the study, the Warder's Accounts of 1284-1286 and the Debt Certificates of 1292-1296, had only six years between them. All of the information used herein was extracted from the city of York between a ten- to thirteen-year period of Edward I's reign. Chronologically, therefore, the focus was precise, thus avoiding many of the pitfalls of over-generalizations.

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BCHAPTER II Suntable to write stands

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THE ENVIRONS OF A CITY: THE COUNTY OF YORKSHIRE

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In order to discuss the economy of the city of York during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, an examination of the environment in which that economy operated was necessary. This examination had two primary objectives: first, a definition of the geographical conditions of the county of Yorkshire, and second, the identification of the probable primary regional markets within Yorkshire and their spatial relationship to the city of York. As part of the second objective, the consideration of geographical conditions in the immediate vicinity of prospective regional markets was taken into consideration as well.

In the <u>Domesday Geography</u>, Darby subdivided the three ridings of Yorkshire into thirteen distinct geographic districts: Craven, the Pennines, the Sandstone Hills, the Limestone Hills, the Humberhead Levels, Holderness, the Yorkshire Wolds, the Vale of Pickering, the Howardian Hills, the North Yorkshire Moors, the Coastal Fringe, Cleveland,

and the Vale of York (See Appendix A, Map 1). A A a that relatively detailed discussion of each district, including elevation, soil, weather, and agricultural information, followed this subdivision and was essential to understanding the nature of each region's economic activities.

The environmentally distinct areas identified through the two highest altitude demarcations of Darby composed the majority of three areas of Yorkshire highlands. Craven and the Pennines represented the most mountainous and hilly regions to the west of the city. The North Yorkshire Moors and the Howardian Hills likewise acted similarly to the northeast, as did the Yorkshire Wolds to the east of York.

Most of Craven and the Pennines--west of York--and the North Yorkshire Moors--northeast of York--were over 800 feet above sea level and were poor prospects for settlement not only in the times of Domesday but also in the thirteenth century and beyond. Harsh weather conditions and poor soils made living excessively difficult in these areas, which remained unsettled throughout the history of Yorkshire. Before and during the twelfth century, little if any use was made of the higher elevations because the existing population tended to congregate within the more agreeable geographic districts. The Domesday evidence indicated that even during the expansive settlement of Yorkshire during 1066, few if any settlements existed more than 800 feet above sea level (See Appendix A, Map 2). William the Conqueror's "harrying of the north" in 1086

destroyed those few settlements that existed above that elevation, or caused their abandonment, reducing the the highlands to uninhabited, coniferous wilderness (See Appendix A, Map 3).4

During the late thirteenth century the rise of the wool trade and its dominance as an industry made these previously inhospitable lands more valuable. During the warmer, summer months, grazing sheep populated the highlands and roamed over much of England's countryside, including Yorkshire. Flock estimations for individual granges ranged between two and twelve thousand sheep in the North Yorkshire Moors. The total flock estimate for the eastern-most two-thirds of the North Yorkshire Moors was 73,600 sheep in the mid fourteenth century.

Surrounding these uplands was a passable range of land, between 400 and 800 feet above sea level. Primarily composed of the many river valleys that cut through Craven and the Pennines to the west of York, the northwestern extremes of the Vale of York and the western edge of the Sandstone Hills, where they joined the Pennines, also had this type of terrain. The North Yorkshire Moors, northeast of York, contained this terrain as did the northern section of the Howardian Hills, the northern-most regions of the Vale of Pickering, and the western edge of the Coastal Fringe where they also joined with the Moors. The third most hilly region located between 400 and 800 feet above sea level was the Yorkshire Wolds to the east of York.

These mid-range elevations had a reputation for the difficult living because of harsh weather and poor soils. Despite those obstacles, settlement within these areas occurred. The most intensive settlement areas included the heavily wooded areas particularly in the Swale, Ure, Nidd, Warfe, Aire, and Colder river valleys of the Pennines, all of which were settled prior to 1087 (See Appendix A, Map 2).8

The geographic conditions of the regions between 400 and 800 feet promoted a mixed economy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, combining pastoral and agricultural activities. Largely inhabited in 1066 and later substantially laid waste or abandoned in 1086, these areas were repopulated during the expansion and resettlement of the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (See Appendix A, Map 3). Colonization and assarting within these regions -- to create and expand meadows, pastures, and arable farmland--further encouraged the development of animal husbandry in the upper elevations with an emphasis on horses, cattle, pigs, and sheep. 10 Chickens also were valued in this mixed economy, as their eggs were often used to pay taxes. 11 Among the crops hardy enough to thrive in this climate, oats predominated, although some wheat and rye were grown where possible. 12

An intricate network of local and regional markets covered the entire county of Yorkshire. Due to geographic conditions and spatial orientation, certain communities had

advantages over others for conducting trade. Communities located along prominent rivers in the foothills of mountain and hill chains profited from their advantageous locations and often became the centers for regional markets. With the geographic conditions in the mountains and shills promoting travel almost exclusively along river systems these communities often acted as collection points for expansive areas of mountain and hill country. Those same communities were also accessible to other communities located in the lower elevations via overland trade routes. Thus, the communities located within the foothills often became collection points for trade goods produced within the mountains and from the plains. The combination of commodities from two distinct geographic areas allowed the communities located within the foothills to offer a wider assortment of goods within their markets than other markets located exclusively within one of the other elevations. This further enhanced the economic vitality of the foothill communities over other communities not so advantageously situated. 13 Of the markets and fairs examined here, over 70 percent were located either in the mid-range elevation, between 400-800 feet, or in hilly areas at a slightly lower elevation where they could take advantage of similar circumstances (See Appendix A, Maps 4 and 5).

Within the 400 to 800 elevation and to the west of

York--in the southern section of Craven and the western side

of the Pennines: Sedbergh, Burton-in-Lonsdale, Slaidburn,

Settle, and Gisburn--in order from north to south--were communities that had their market or fair charters renewed between 1227 and 1307. The renewal of those market or fair charters denoted centers of considerable economic activity. During that same time period, but along the eastern edge of the Pennines--in order from north to south: Bowes, Brignall, Cliffe, Richmond, Carperby, Wensley, East Witton, Bedale, Masham, Kirkby Malzeard, Grassington, Embsay, Thornton-by-Skipton, Ilkley, Pannal, Otley, Keighley, Wortley, Wakefield, Almondbury, Emley, Penistone, and Shefield underwent similar charter renewals. Ripon, Skipton, and Bradford were other communities situated along the eastern edge of the Pennines were repeatedly mentioned within the primary sources and appeared to function as regional markets as well.

Likewise, within the 400-800 elevation, northeast of York--along the northwestern edge of the Howardian Hills and the North Yorkshire Moors--in order from southwest to northeast: Easingwold, Coxwold, Whorlton, Great Ayton, and Kildale renewed their market or fair charters. Thirsk, Craythorn, and Stokesley also functioned as primary regional market centers within the same area of northeastern Yorkshire. Similarly, Darby, centrally located along the Esk River Valley in the heart of the North Yorkshire Moors, acted as the regional market center within the Moors themselves. Yet it was connected via the Esk River system to Whitby's regional market economy located on the Coastal

Fringe. Scarborough, farther south on the Coastal Fringe, operated comparably to Whitby.

In the Yorkshire Wolds--to the east of York--in order from southwest to northeast: Faxfleet, South Cave, Holme-on-Spalding Moor, Pocklington, Warter, Lund-on-the-Wolds, Little Driffield, Wansford, Lowthorpe, Sledmere, Thwing, Scampston, Kilham, and Burton Agnes went through the economic charter renewal process. Within these regional markets, Pocklington was of particular interest. In the eighty years examined, Pocklington renewed its charter four times by four different people. One possible reason for the exceptional amount of activity was Pocklington's location near several of the major access routes to York from the east, which gave it an advantage over other markets in the area not so fortunately situated.

The most hospitable land within Yorkshire was at 400 feet above sea level and below. Within these lowlands, soil conditions often influenced or even dictated settlement patterns (See Appendix A, Maps 2, 6-8). This land, variably suited to medieval farming techniques, comprised three distinct areas within Yorkshire.

Sandwiched between the Pennines to the west and the North Yorkshire Moors and the Wolds to the east—in order from north to south—the Vale of York and the Sandstone and Limestone Hills constituted the first area of lowlands. The Limestone Hills and the southwestern section of the Vale of York were the most densely populated and productive farming

regions in all of Yorkshire, followed closely by the

The Vale of Pickering--northeast of York--was positioned between the North Yorkshire Moors to its north and the Yorkshire Wolds to its south, and comprised the second lowlands district. The Vale of Pickering was moderately populated with a somewhat denser concentration along the southern side of the vale than the north.

Southeast of the Yorkshire Wolds, the third lowlands region, Holderness, lay to the south of the Wolds and was bordered by the North Sea to the east and the Humber River to the south (See Appendix A, Map 1). Most of Holderness was moderately settled and was acceptable farm land.

These lowland regions, heavily populated in 1066, survived the experiences of 1086 relatively intact (See Appendix A, Map 3). The disruption of trade that unquestionably resulted from the "harrying of the north" in the eleventh century, as well as the numerous Scottish incursions during the twelfth century, undoubtedly caused the surviving population to concentrate into the more productive areas. As the stability of the region increased, expansion into the surrounding countryside and the reestablishment of extended economic activity occurred. Lowland colonization and assarting, particularly in the deciduous forests of the Sandstone Hills and in the northern section of the Vale of York, occurred commonly during the

thirteenth century, as is indicated by the high number of new settlements within those regions. 18 column the settlements within those regions.

As for the types of agricultural products these localities provided, wheat dominated the winter crop with rye running a close second. Among the spring and summer crops, oats, beans, and peas appeared most frequently, with occasional indications of barley as well. Furthermore, a general trend concerning the lowland crop harvests is apparent. Oats became a more common crop in the northern lowlands and appeared prominently in the marshier districts, such as the Humberhead Levels. 20

Poultry was common and performed the same economic function in the lowlands as it did in the higher elevations, with eggs and chickens often recorded as tax payments. 21 While some horses, cattle, pigs, and sheep were present within the lowlands, arable agriculture became the dominant economic activity. Other enterprises were significant, yet secondary in nature. 22

Within the three distinct lowland areas, regional markets concentrated in these areas. In order from north to south, in the Vale of York--west of the city: Leeming, Pickhill, Tollerton, Newton-upon-Ouse, Walshford renewed their economic charters. Continuing southward in that same lowlands region, Tadcaster, Aberford, Selby, Sherburn, Osgodby, Hemingborough, Pontefract, Campsall, Doncaster, Swinefleet, Whitgift, Adlingfleet, Rotherham, Braithwell,

and Hedon lay within the Limestone and Sandstone Hills. They, too, renewed their market or fair charters.

Below the 400 foot elevation, in the Vale of Pickering
--northeast of the city of York--in order from west to east,
Hovingham, Barton-le-Street, Malton, Thornton-le-Dale, and
Pickering acted as regional markets for the extreme southern
Moors, eastern Howardian Hills, and the Vale of Pickering
itself. With the exception of Malton, these towns renewed
their economic charters during the time period examined.
The inclusion of Malton as a regional market was based on
references to it in the Debt Certificates.

East of York, south of the Yorkshire Wolds within
Holderness, and below 400 foot of elevation, in order from
southwest to northeast: Brough, Hull, Beverley, Leven,
Brandesburton, and Skipsea renewed their market or fair
charters. Many acted as regional market centers as well.
Additionally, Beverley and Hull were the dominant collection
and redistribution centers for almost all of Holderness (See
Appendix A, Maps 4 and 5).23

Because of the higher population density of the lowlands, particularly in the area south of York, these communities did not experience the access to the vast areas of land within their regional market areas as did their northern counterparts in the more mountainous areas. The higher population density increased market competition and restricted regional market area size accordingly, making these regional market areas closer to the twenty-mile radius

estimate. Yet the increased economic activity that occurred within the higher population densities meant that these communities did not necessarily suffer from their smaller regional market areas.

The lowlands also had at least one significant disadvantage. Blessed by a multitude of rivers and cursed with poor drainage, the Humberhead Levels, southern Holderness, and the central and south-central areas of the Vale of York flooded often. While more of a problem for Domesday Yorkshire, the systematic draining and land reclamation projects between 1086 and 1300, which converted marshlands and fens into arable farmland and meadow, made increased settlement in these areas possible while also making the land more valuable. Nevertheless, flooding remained a major concern and an occasional reality within the county of Yorkshire and the city of York during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The economic network that operated within Yorkshire during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was influenced by the geography of the county itself. Based on those geographic conditions, certain communities, often located in the hill country between 400-800 feet above sea level, became small-scale regional collection and redistribution centers providing smaller communities entrance into larger regional trade networks as well as access to a wider variety goods. Furthermore, those regionally prominent communities also sustained a large-

scale collection and redistribution center at York, to which they sent their regional products and from which they received those goods not produced within their regional areas.

The Population

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Darby's Domesday evidence provided two figures for the population of Yorkshire, one for the population in 1086, and enough information to calculate the approximate population of Yorkshire in 1066. From this it was possible to estimate the population of Yorkshire in the thirteenth century. Adding the total populations for each of the three ridings of Yorkshire in 1086 resulted in an estimate of between 11,784 and 12,784 for the total population of the county.²⁵ Taking into account that these figures represented the population of Yorkshire after the "harrying of the north," it was obvious that this estimate only represented a fraction of the total population of Yorkshire in 1066. For an estimate of the 1066 county population, the calculation of approximately what fraction of the original population the 1086 population represented was essential, and, fortunately, easily obtained. After the completion of the appropriate calculations, Yorkshire's population during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was approximately 21,435.26

The accuracy of these or any other population estimates is dubious at best. Many non-quantifiable factors, as well

as information that is unavailable, can change the figures in either direction. Nevertheless, these estimations are valuable for giving some basis upon which to found further understanding and interpretation of the volume of economic activity centered around medieval York. Additionally, they give some indication of the number of individuals whom York's provincial market accommodated. For most of the intended applications, an exact figure, while it would be nice, is not necessary. Therefore, giving considerable leeway to mathematical and human error, as well as the incomplete and imprecise nature of the data, a good working estimate of the total population of Yorkshire in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is around 25,000 +/- 3000.

The economic network that operated in Yorkshire during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries serviced a county population of approximately 25,000 individuals. While this figure only represents a fraction of England's overall late medieval population, it does give some indication of the amount of economic activity that occurred within medieval Yorkshire. Furthermore, this figure does not represent all of the participants within York's provincial market area. As will be seen, several other counties in northern England interacted with the provincial economic network centered at York, increasing the number of individuals involved.

Chapter II Endnotes

1. H. C. Darby and I. S. Maxwell, eds., The Domesday Geography of Northern England (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 78-82, 159-162, 228-232. Map 1: THE GEOGRAPHICALLY DISTINCT REGIONS OF YORKSHIRE is a compilation of the three maps presented within the Domesday Geography and is provided in Appendix A.

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- 2.
- Ibid., 16, 100, 175. Map 2: DOMESDAY PLACE-NAME SETTLEMENTS is a compilation of these three place-name settlement maps and is provided in Appendix A, p.?
- Ibid., 66, 146, 219. Map 3: DOMESDAY DEGREE OF WASTE is a compilation of these three maps and is provided in Appendix A, p.?
- 5. Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales: 1042-1350, vol.II (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 251-252.
- Bryan Waites, Moreland and Vale-Land Farming in North-East Yorkshire: The Monastic Contribution in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (Borthwick Papers No. 32) 27. Bryan Waites tabulated flock estimates for most of the granges in the North Yorkshire Moors, excluding the northern and western most regions.
- Darby, Domesday Geography of Northern England, 78-82, 159-162, 228-232.
- 8. Ibid., 16, 100, 177. See also Appendix A, Map 2.
- Ibid., 248-249; See also, Darby, Domesday Geography of Northern England, 66, 146, 219. See also Appendix A, Map 3.
- Thirsk, Agrarian History, vol. II, 408-411. 10.
- 11. Ibid., 408.
- Ibid., 405-408; see also, Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales: 1500-1640, vol. IV (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 4. There are two possible explanations for the predominance of oats in these particular areas. First, oats are a hardier crop than wheat, and thus better able to survive the harsh weather, thus creating a larger surplus crop than wheat for trade. Second, with the pastoral economy came horses and other livestock. The exact proportions of horses to other livestock is not known, but perhaps oats were grown simply to supply feed for the horses living in those areas.

- 13. See Appendix A, Map 4: Regional Markets within fore, Medieval Yorkshire. of the second and, therefore, the
- 14., See Appendix B, Table I. Accessing the process, if
- 15. Ibid., 16, 28, 35, 38, 100, 109, 117, 121, 177, 186, 192, 196. Darby's Domesday maps indicating "Settlements," "Plough-Lands," "Plough-Team Ratios," and "Population" illustrate this aspect of Yorkshire's geography quite well. Compilations of the four sets of three maps are provided in Appendix A, Map 2, Map 5: DOMESDAY PLOUGH-LANDS, Map 6: DOMESDAY PLOUGH-TEAM RATIOS, and Map 7: DOMESDAY POPULATION, pp. ?-? respectively.
- 16. Ibid., 66, 146, 219. See also Appendix A, Map 3.
- 17. This phenomenon was explained by R. H. Britnell in "The Proliferation of Markets in England 1200-1349," <u>EcHR</u>, 2d ser. 3 (May 1981): 209-222.
- 18. Thirsk, Agrarian History, Vol II, 248-249.
- 19. Ibid., 405-408.
- 20. Ibid. Again, oats were are hardier crop than wheat and as harsher weather conditions accompanied travel northward in England, the wheat crop may have been replaced by oats. The northern areas of Yorkshire are also the more mountainous regions, thus, as explained earlier, the pastoral economy and the presence of herds of horses may also account for the apparent concentration in an oats crop.
- 21. Ibid., 408.
- 22. Ibid. See also Thirsk, Agrarian History, vol. IV, 4.
- 23. See Appendix A, Maps 4 and 5.
- 24. Thirsk, Agrarian History, vol. II, 247-250.
- 25. Darby, <u>Domesday Geography of Northern England</u>, 36-40, 118-122, 193-197.
- 26. Adding the total number of "abandoned", "abandoned and wasted", and "abandoned and partially wasted" villages represented in Darby's Domesday evidence and subtracting that number from the total number of villages located within the county resulted in a reasonable estimate of the desired fraction. For Yorkshire as a whole, there were 464 waste or partially waste and abandoned villages and 300 villages that were simply abandoned, giving a total of 764 abandoned settlements. (See Appendix A, Map 3) The total number of villages named in Domesday for Yorkshire was 1134. The

percentage of abandoned villages in Yorkshire, therefore, the equaled 67 percent of the villages named and, therefore, the population estimate for 1086 represented the still existent 33 percent of the villagers. Reversing the process, if approximately 12,000 people represented roughly one third of the population, then tripling that figure should estimate the total population. A total population estimate of approximately 36,000 for Yorkshire in 1066 was accordingly considered reasonable. (Being slightly more precise in calculating the estimates and doing each riding individually eliminated some of the round-off error and actually resulted in a total county population estimate of 33,911.)

This estimate, calculated using figures based on the retraction of village residence, and projecting it onto Yorkshire in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries cannot be used without considering several possible modifications. First, had the population of Yorkshire recovered to its 1066 extent? Based on the new settlement statistics and population movement data presented in Miller's Agrarian History, probably it had not (See Thirsk, Agricultural History, vol. II, 249, 532-533). A comparison of the known Domesday settlement with the post-1086 new settlements in Yorkshire revealed that although many of the previously abandoned regions had been repopulated, it was not to the same extent as it had been in 1066. Areas which fell particularly deficient in population were the Ribble, Colder, Aire, and Ure River valleys. (See also Appendix A, Map 3) However, this did not necessarily indicate that the calculated population estimate was grossly inaccurate. Although the basic settlement pattern for the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries did follow the one represented by the Domesday settlements, it was not an exact duplication of the previous settlement pattern. Various land reclamation projects conducted throughout the twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries significantly improved areas of the Humberhead Hills and south-western Holderness and made Therefore, these areas, them more favorable to settlement. previously not even considered for settlement in the eleventh century, became viable and actual centers of settlement in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. (See Thirsk, Agricultural History, vol. II, 248-249) some previously settled areas in the Pennines remained unsettled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while previously unsettled areas of the Humberhead Hills and Holderness were settled, further complicating any attempt at an exact population estimate.

Overall, the density of villages represented by the new settlements in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries seemed less than those represented by the villages listed as abandoned in 1086. This, more than anything else, indicated that the total population estimate for 1066 may be too high for Yorkshire in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. (See Appendix A, Map 3) By comparing the number of new settlements listed by Miller--315--with

the known number of abandoned domesday settlements--764--it can further be assessed that only about a 41 percent recovery actually occurred within Yorkshire by the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This reduced the county population estimate from 33,911 to 21,435.

Total 1066 population estimate ---- 33,911
Subtract known population of 1086 -- 12,784

Total of "abandoning" population--- 21,127

Multiplied by .41 to determine 41% - 8,651

Add to the known population 1086 --- 21,435

CHAPTER III . Of the City was

A DEFINITION OF THE MARKET AREAS OF THE CITY OF YORK

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The primary market of York was held on Thursday in the central area of the city known then simply as "Thursday Market" and now as St. Sampson's Square, just west of the "Shambles." The Thursday Market was a food market specializing in meats—beef, pork, and poultry—and other commodities, such as cloth, grain, salt, vegetables, hemp, bread, butter, and cheese. The Shambles was known as the habitat for butchers and others in related industries thus its close location to the marketplace made sense (See foldout Map D).

Noticeably absent from the Thursday market was both salt- and fresh-water fish. They were sold at different times and places. For salt-water fish, the bridge over the River Foss was the market location. Opening in the morning with the sounding of the St. Anne's Chapel bell, the first two hours of the market sales were limited to freemen of the city. Afterwards, the fish market opened to anyone within the city. The fresh-water fish market was located along

Fishergate in the southeastern section of York. The exact location is unknown as are the active days for both fish markets.

The Pavement, another central area of the city, was the location for the second largest market within the city. Initially restricted to vegetables and herbs, the market eventually included other commodities although no definite list is available. The Pavement reportedly was lined with the houses, shops, and warehouses of several well-to-do merchants of York, further suggesting that more than vegetables and herbs were traded there. The official day of operation is unknown, but some sources indicated this market may have operated on Saturday.³

The haymarket took place at the south corner of the Peasholme Green in the eastern section of the city.⁴

K. Allison in VCH, however, placed the haymarket in the Shambles.⁵ Regardless of its location, in the haymarket hay and animal fodder were the primary commodities exchanged.

Unfortunately, the day that this market occurred remains unknown.

The horse fair, operating in an area outside the city limits to the north, was the place for the exchange of all types of live animals. Its probable existence as a market during the time of Edward I was indicated by the relocation of the Carmelite Friary from the Horse Fair into the city in 1295.6 This location for such activity was logical as it

kept large numbers of animals not intended for slaughter from entering the city to be sold.

Identification and Definition of York's Market Areas

The use of place-name studies to determine the area of influence of a medieval city is not without its problems. Among the most frequent problems was the identification of multiple locations with the same name within the general area studied. Identifying a specific place-name included as a part of another place-name, for example Acaster and Acaster Malibus, is also a problem, as is the possible identification of a location based on different pronunciations -- Thorp Arch as Thorp Darches. Besides these, the reliability of the data available within the primary sources was sometimes questionable. Place-names may be used to identify individuals with some degree of assurance, but there was no quarantee that they did not simply inherit that name from their ancestors. The name John of Ireland, for example, could indicate either an individual from Ireland, or the descendant of such an individual extending down at least two or three generations. Thus, if such names were inherited, as they commonly were, then there was no quarantee that an individual with a certain place-name lived in that location. Migration within and immigration to Yorkshire occurred frequently as available land was repopulated. Thus, Peter of Hoperton might not, at the time

of the recorded transaction, actually have lived in Hoperton which we have the second only one appellic but in another town close to York.

On the contrary, the information available concerning place-names often was specific. Commonly two place-names appeared within a single document in association with a single individual. The first place-name usually referred to the individual's place of origin, whether actual or ancestral, and the second referred to the individual's current residence. Thus, it was relatively certain that "John of Claybrook of Skipwith" represented commercial interaction between York and Skipwith, "Adam of Stokesley in Wetwang" represented interaction between York and Wetwang, and "Richard of Pontefract living in Clifton" represented interaction between York and Clifton.

Other information recorded in the documents aided in the identification of the exact location of several communities. Sometimes a neighboring community was mentioned in association with another place-name, eliminating all confusion over which location was correct in the case of multiple communities that had the same place-name. Therefore such phrases as "Thomas of Brumpton near Alverton" and "John Dymle of Dytherton near Alverton" identified communities in the immediate vicinity of Alverton which would not be confused with other Brumptons or Dythertons. 10

Another important aspect of place-name studies was the extent of the area that was defined by a single place-name.

While an individual place-name identified only one specific locale, the immediate surrounding area often was associated intimately with that community. For example, Catton Manor, east of the city, was identified as interacting with York.

But an examination of the map indicated that at least five specific locations could have been the source of economic exchange—Low Catton, High Catton, High Catton Common,

Catton Park, or Low Catton Grange (See Foldout Map A).

Thus, an area over six square miles could be indicated by a single place—name. Therefore, each place—name indicated not only a single location, but also an entire area.

Overall, the use of place-name studies, while not an exact exercise, was useful. Once a significant number of locations were identified, a recognizable pattern occurred in which the majority of the evidence for York was located. That pattern was then examined with respect to Christallar's "Central Place Theory" and resulted in the following categorizations of medieval York's market areas.

York's Local Market Area

The local market in the later medieval period dealt in necessary commodities such as food, bread, ale, vegetables, and other spoilable goods. The collection or extraction of raw materials, such as wool, wood, and metals, used in other areas inside and outside of Yorkshire specializing in applicable industries, was another important aspect of the local economy. All cities, including the largest ones,

Unlike Italy, where medieval cities commanded large landed estates from which they could extract their sustenance, English medieval towns typically controlled little land outside their walls. They were entirely dependent on their local markets to supply them with the most basic and necessary commodities. This was the reason medieval cities often jealously guarded their market privileges, particularly those that extended beyond the city's walls.

The city of York had such market privileges over the Aynsti, an area immediately to the west of the city. First granted to the city by the sheriff of Yorkshire in 1212, York had to fight to maintain its control over the area and briefly lost control over the Aynsti between 1280-1282. While not sufficient to meet the basic needs of the entire city, the Aynsti gave the city of York some direct access to many basic necessities.

Food was not the only thing extracted by York from Aynsti. York also directly supplemented its revenue by charging a yearly fee farm of between 7s. and 4L. for allowing occupants of the Aynsti to share in some of York's civic liberties. The renting of land and buildings also was common and occurred frequently within medieval York.

The area defined by this study of York's local market encompassed approximately a ten- to twelve-mile radius around the city. The primary influences upon the market's formation were the surrounding geographic conditions.

Specifically, the location of the rivers, in association with routes established by the old Roman road system, determined trade avenues (See Appendix B, Maps 8 and 9 and Appendix D, Maps A and B). 12

Within the ten-mile radius that made up York's local market area, over forty communities were identified. Individuals directly participating in York's marketplace had place-of-origin surnames that identified these communities. From northwest of the city, and in order of occurrence traveling away from York, the Ouse River system and a Roman road system combined to connect these various communities to York. Knapton and Hessay, within the immediate vicinity of York, were located on the Roman road leading to Boroughbridge. Clifton, Popleton, and Beningborough, along the Ouse River, resumed the progression. Its tributaries joined Cattal, Kirk Hammerton, Green Hammerton, and Hoperton along the Nidd River at the intersection of the York-Boroughbridge road. Great and Little Ouseburn on the Ure River and Myton-on-Swale upon the Swale River, also within two miles of the Boroughbridge road, profited from interaction with York's economic activity. Alne and Lund on the Kyle River, a minor tributary of the River Ouse, represented the farthest points considered for inclusion within York's local market. 13

The Ouse and Foss River systems, north and northeast of York, connected Wiggington, Sutton-on-the-Forest, Easingwold, and Crayke through many of their minor

Additionally, Braken was identified along the tributaries. Foss River. The Old Foss Beck (stream) connected Stocktonon-the-Forest and Warthill to York. And Hesslington, Grimston, Holtby, Stamford Bridge, Skirpenbeck, Full Sutton, Fangfoss, and Bugthorpe were connected to York via the Roman road to Bridlington. Buttercrambe and Leppington likewise were connected by the northern fork of the road that went to Malton. Kexby, Low and High Catton, Bolton, Thornton, and Pocklington were connected as well to York through the southern fork of the Bridlington road that extended to Bourgh. Northeast of the city, the Derwent River system, intersecting the Roman roads at Stamford Bridge and Kexby, connected Bossal, Barton Hill, Barton-le-Willows, and Kirkham to York. Leppington, Buttercrambe, and Skirpenbeck lay approximately two miles or less east of the river and may have taken advantage of its transportation potential as well.14

From the southwest and south of the city, the Roman road from Manchester connected Dringhouses, Colton, Bolton Percy, Helaugh, Grimston Park, and Tadcaster directly to York. A westward branch of that same road connected Thorp Arch, and a southern branch connected Sherburn-in-Elmet. Acaster Malibus, Appleton Roebuck, Appleton Selby, Bolton Percy, and Nun-Appleton were located on the York-Manchester road as well as the Ouse River. Additionally, the Ouse connected Riccal, Skipwith, Osgodby, Selby, and Lund to York's economy. Southeast of the city, the Derwent's course

joined Sutton-upon-Derwent, West Cottingwith, and North The Duffield and linked them with York. 15 we will be a long to

With few exceptions, the place-names mentioned so far were all within a ten-mile radius of the city of York.

These few exceptions usually occurred along a river or Roman road, where transportation was easiest; in these cases a community just outside the ten-mile radius was identified.

No identified place-names were included in the local market definition that ranged beyond a fifteen mile radius of the city. Within this area York was able to maintain an exclusionary market policy in maintenance of their own mercantile monopoly.

Because of York's location within the lowlands of the Vale of York, a considerable portion of its market economy consisted of grain transactions. On Darby's Domesday map "Domesday Mills," the absence of any grain mills within an eight to ten mile radius of the city was conspicuous (See Appendix B, Map 10). 16 Furthermore, while other cities, such as Hull and Beverley, were represented on the map as having three or more mills within them, the lack of representation of mills within the city of York was conspicuous.

According to Raine's description of medieval York and Allison's discussion of medieval mills in Miller's VCH, there were between four and six mills operating within the city of York during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Raine identified a horsemill at St. Leonard's

Hospital, 17 a mill at St. Sampson's Square, a mill along the York Wiggington road, and two or three mills belonging to St. Mary's Abbey north of Hull on the Foss River. He identified two other mills—in addition to the two castle mills located on the southern extreme of the Foss River near Castle Mill Bridge south of the city—one near the road to Tadcaster and another along the road to Bishopthorp. 18

Likewise, Allison noted the two castle mills and two mills for St. Mary's Abbey. However, Allison located a mill between the Ouse River and the York—Clifton road on the west side of the city as well as a windmill on the north side of the Bourgh road near Tang Hall, neither of which Raine mentioned. 19

Many mill construction dates are unknown, but both Raine and Allison indicated that St. Mary's Abbey was in possession of at least two mills during the late thirteenth century and that the two castle mills dated from at least the twelfth century. Turther evidence of the activity of the castle mills during the late thirteenth century came when Allison mentioned the profit of one mill at twelve marks in 1270, after paying the annual fee charged by the city of four shillings. The Warder's Accounts corroborated the mill's activity through the mention of various yearly fees collected by the city for "That place where the mill is situated." Whether the ecclesiastic houses participated in a similar activity with their mills is unknown. Yet, Allison described the Order of Templars as

renting one of the castle mills in 1292. They retained responsibility for the mill until 1315 when responsibility for the mill went to John Mowbray.²³

The analysis of the local markets was based on their day of occurrence and spatial orientation. The analysis of fairs was based on the exact time of the month of their occurrence as well as their spatial orientation. Individually the chronological aspect of the markets and fairs provided little more than confirmation of the six-mile local market area for most medieval towns that Platt's earlier work described.24 When combined, however, the distinct absence of the granting or renewal of any charter for a fair or a market within the immediate area surrounding York was noticeable. 25 During the eighty year period examined, no grants were issued within approximately a ten to fifteen mile radius of the city. Two possible explanations for this were the existence and protection of markets already established within the area or the dominance and control of markets centered within the city of York over this area. If the former were true, however, some renewal of charters should have occurred for markets within that area, as they did in other areas of Yorkshire.26 This did not occur. Therefore, based on Darby's Domesday mill evidence, regional market and fair analysis, and place-name evidence, it appears that York's local market area was approximately double the figure presented in Platt's study.

York's Provincial Market Area

Outside its local market area, York connected with many regional markets as a central collection point for commodities from all of Yorkshire. Provincial markets in the later Middle Ages were collection and redistribution centers and acted as extended regional markets. They dealt in many of the same commodities as regional markets, but on a much larger scale of operation and over longer distances. The transportation of raw materials to and from industrial centers or international trade ports was the primary function of provincial markets. The geographic variation of the county connected York to a wide assortment of domestic commodities. Besides cereal grains and other food staples, such as cheese, bread, ale, beans, and peas, the domestic trade items that commonly passed through York's market were horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, wool, leather, animal skins, fish, tin, lead, salt, and oil. Other items included wine, wool, woad, herring, cloth, iron, wax, wood, fruit, oil, rice, butter, pitch, salt, and other spices.27

The geography of Yorkshire greatly influenced York's provincial market area. Within Yorkshire, the Pennines to the west, the Swale River in the north, and the North Yorkshire Moors and Vale of Pickering to the northeast funneled trade directly to York from many regional markets. Likewise, the regional markets in the Sandstone and Limestone Hills—south of the city—channeled commerce north

towards York. To the east of York, the Yorkshire Wolds also directed much of its commerce to York and its provincial market. 28

Specific individuals mentioned in the primary documents came from these communities northwest of York: Ripon on the Ure River, Stainley, North Stainley, Skipton-upon-Swale, Richmond, Melsonby, and Barton on the Swale river and its tributaries. Directly north of York, Winston, Byland Abbey, and Grimston were identified on the southern border of the North Yorkshire Moors. Place-names identified within and to the north of the Moors included Carlton, Craythorn, Stokesley, Kildale, Danby, and Lealholm. One explanation for the presence of these northern place-names and the absence of more place-names from the southern side of the Moors may be that the northern third of the Moors contained a river system that ran from the southeast to the northwest. Carlton, Craythorn, Stokesley, and Kildale were located on the tributaries of the Tees River system that ran east. Trade from this extreme northern section of the Moors traveled to York by boat from the port town of Middleborough.

Likewise, Danby merchants traveled to York by boat to conduct their business. Danby, almost exactly in the center of the Moors, and Lealholm, east of Danby, were located on the northeastward flowing Esk River system that enters the North Sea near Whitby. Sandsend and Sneaton, in the

immediate vicinity of Whitby, also conducted their business from Whitby. 29

The southern two thirds of the North Yorkshire Moors and the eastward facing Howardian Hills contained a river system that drained southward into the Vale of Pickering. The Bilsdale, Farndale, Rosedale, Newton Dale, and Forge Valley Rivers passed through the Vale of Pickering and were tributaries of the Derwent. Therefore, the trade of the area, which followed the course of the rivers, went into and through the Vale of Pickering and down the Derwent. merchants traveled along that route, many of the contributing communities' place-names were lost as commodities from those communities were consolidated within regional markets in the area and from there transported to York. Thus the appearance of Malton, Pickering, Ebberston, Seamer, and even Scarborough among the place names identified northeast of York was not surprising. As in previous cases, these communities were all located either on or within the Derwent River system. 30

East of York, there were few place-names located.

Those identified usually were located next to one of the two major Roman roads that traversed the Yorkshire Wolds. Along the York-Bridlington road, Huggate, Wetwang, Kilham,

Wansford, Thwing, Boynton, and Bridlington were identified.

Thwing, approximately three to four miles from the road was the farthest from the road, with the average distance being less than one mile away. Hotham and South Cave were located

about a mile from the York-Brough road. Eastrington, then located southeast of the city between the Derwent River and Brough road, was also identified, but no obvious connection to either traffic-way is apparent from the maps examined.

other place-names located to the east of York. The major urban centers in that area, Beverley and Hull were naturally linked to York. The other place-names mentioned fell into Hull's regional market area and may be indicative of merchants from those places conducting business through Hull. The region east of the Hull River was physically separated from York by the steep hills of the Yorkshire Wolds. Furthermore, Beverley and Hull operated substantial regional markets and dominated that particular area. 32

South of the city, at and below the intersection of the Ouse and Derwent Rivers, place-name study identified the communities of Drax, Snaith, and Doncaster. To the southwest, however, Wakefield, Castleford, Pontefract, Knottingly, and Carlton were identified along the Aire River system. The Aire joined the Ouse approximately four miles southeast of the Derwent intersection, and from there the Ouse traveled east until it became the Humber.³³

This study disagreed with B. Waites' earlier assertions concerning the limitations of York's interaction with the Yorkshire Wolds and Holderness. Waites asserted that the regional trade for those areas, including the trade in wool, was dominated by the collection of wool and cereal grains

from the Wolds at Wansford, near Great Driffeld, and then traveled south along the Hull River where it was eventually processed for sale or consumption in either Beverley or Hull. As the place-name evidence mentioned for the area southeast of York indicated, there was some, if not considerable, interaction between York and several communities within the western and northern areas of the Wolds, including Wansford itself, and the western-most areas of the Holderness along three Roman roads. To the east of the Hull River, including a four-mile area along its western side, Waites may have been correct, but the place-name evidence indicated that considerable commercial traffic from Wansford to York existed during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Within the limitations given, the provincial market area of York extended over fifty miles north, and twenty-five miles east, west, and south. In essence, the entire county of Yorkshire was within York's market area. But the extent of York's provincial market went beyond the boundaries of its own county and included parts of or even whole other counties.

One exceptional element of the York Debt Certificates was their characterization of the economic interaction among some of these counties. Six counties—Westmoreland,

Lincoln, Lancashire, Cheshire, Nottingham, and Wiltshire—
appeared within the documents. This indicated, as past
historians suspected, that the city of York did function as

a central hub around which much of northern England's trade and other economic activities occurred, including money lending. In fact, it appears from the number of transactions that occurred between York creditors and Westmoreland and Lincoln debtors that a relatively close economic relationship existed, at least with those two counties.³⁵

In fact, with respect to Westmoreland, the place-name evidence supported and emphasized the fact that York's provincial market area included nearly all of Cumbria.

Along the Roman road from York to Carlisle, Appleby,

Penrith, Thursby, and Carlisle were identified. Along the western coast south from Carlisle, place-name study identified Wigton, Cockermouth, Egremont, and Ulverston within Cumbria. Continuing in that same direction, and entering Lancashire, Lancaster and Kirkham joined the list of locations positively identified. Farther south and inland, Blackburn, Withnell, and Bolton were identified. Completing the circuit, Bolton was connected to York by a Roman road that went through the Pennines. 36

To the north of York, interaction with Durham around the port of Middleborough was earlier indicated.

Redmarshal, right next to the port of Middleborough,

Pittington, and Corbrig, also were indicated as participants in York's provincial market. Slightly farther north,

Stanley and Berwick-upon-Tweed also were identified.³⁷

Several port communities along the North Sea Coast connected York to far reaching economy activity through their maritime activities as well. Whitby, Bridlington, and Scarborough had either significant commodities or large enough fairs to draw national interest. In particular, Whitby, with its herring trade, and Scarborough, with its lengthy fair, exceptional by medieval standards, attracted international as well as national interest. 38

Inland and to the south, Tickhill, Pykehall, Lessington, Grantham, Leicaster, Desborough and, of course, London were identified as well. Once again, Roman roads were responsible for the place-names identified in association with York. Doncaster was situated on a minor north-south Roman road coming directly from York. was located near the main road from Doncaster to Lincoln. Pykehall was situated on a minor Roman road within the network in Derbyshire between Doncaster and Derby. Lessington, in Nottingham county, was surrounded literally by the Roman road network. Grantham was situated along the Lincoln-Stamford road. Leicaster, itself, was located along the main route south. Desborough was near the main road from Leicaster to Northampton, and London was the center of most of the national trade in the south. If York was the central hub around which most of England's northern trade revolved, as well as the primary market connecting England's

northern and southern market systems, this commercial meaning of the interaction can be understood as well as expected. 39 decided

In England and the Salt Trade, Bridbury indicated that salt from the salt pans in central Cheshire was a commodity that traveled to York. Once there, it was either used by the tanning, fishing, or butchering industry within the city. Furthermore, salt may have been sent through York to Whitby for the preservation of herring. Ultimately, however, some of this Cheshire salt must have arrived in Hull where it was a primary export item in the early fourteenth century.⁴⁰

Thus, York's provincial market area depended primarily on river systems within the county and Roman roads outside the county of Yorkshire. Furthermore, coastal transportation carried trade at the provincial level. As with the regional level, however, it must be remembered that most of the evidence used for the place-name study related directly to the wool trade. Therefore a possible bias towards a market definition specialized to that trade may have presented a somewhat skewed picture.

Wool was the most valuable commodity during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Although the primary sources used were well balanced, it was always necessary to keep in mind the extent of the wool trade. Many of the entries within the Warder's Accounts were for wool transactions and often the Debt Certificates indicated that repayments were expected in the form of wool, not

currency. With that in mind, the market area York commanded within Yorkshire in the wool trade may have extended farther from the city than it did in commerce in less profitable goods.

York's International Trade

At the international level, maritime trade dominated York's economic activity as it did for the entire island. Many different nationalities traded in York's marketplace. From the north, Germans and Scandinavians brought timber and furs for exchange. Merchants from Flanders and Italy participated in the wool trade, but they also introduced cloth and spices into the market. To the south, wines came to York from Gascony. Overall, the most popular imports to York and northern England were wine, iron, wax, pitch, timber, fruit, salt, and other spices.

Wool was by far the greatest export item for England during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. But it must be remembered that cereal grains, leather, salt, herring, tin, and lead left the country in substantial quantities through York and Hull during that time period as well. Unfortunately, due to the dominance of the wool trade most of the evidence used in the place-name study was confined to the wool trade.

The Warder's Accounts, the Debt Certificates of the city of York, and a few years of the Customs Accounts for the city of Hull, gave a reasonable perception of the

international trade being conducted at York. From the Warder's accounts, Bruges in Flanders; Brabant; Lucca, Florence, and Milan in Italy; Louvain; Amys and Bordeaux in France; and Lubeck in Germany were mentioned specifically, with Ireland also being mentioned. Furthermore, the Warder's Accounts identified two distinct Italian merchant companies, the Riccardi Company and the Cerchi Company as operating within the city. The identity of a third Italian merchant company, the Frescobaldi Company, came from the Debt Certificates. The Customs accounts for the city of Hull from 1304 to 1307 also identified "Gutteland"—Juteland, "Friselond"—Frisia, and "Norwey"—Norway as participants in York's international trade.

After examining all of the international place-name evidence, several characteristics were strikingly clear.

Wool was the primary export commodity for the city of York.

Italian merchants dominated the wool trade both in numbers of transactions, accounting for over 55 percent of the wool purchases listed in the Warder's Accounts, as well as in the amount of commodities actually purchased.

Thus, York's provincial market area consisted of three basic elements. First, the local market sustained the city by providing the necessary provisions—food, drink, and clothing. Second, the provincial market acted as a large scale collection and redistribution center for raw materials and manufactured goods both within the county and beyond its borders. And third, the primary interest of the

international elements operating within York during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was wool.

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Chapter III Endnotes 111 7 7 5,87.

- 1. Angelo Raine, <u>Medieval York: A Topographical Survey</u>
 <u>Based on Original Sources</u> (London: John Murray, 1955), 164167. See Foldout Map 1.
- 2. Ibid., 67-71.
- 3. Ibid., 177.
- 4. Ibid., 87.
- 5. Edward Miller, "Medieval York," in P. M. Tillott, ed., A History of Yorkshire, The City of York, R. B. Pugh, general ed., The Victoria County History of the Counties of England (Amen House, London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 487.
- 6. Raine, Medieval York, 270.
- 7. PRO C 241/6/149.
- 8. PRO C 241/8/301.
- 9. PRO C 241/8/324.
- 10. PRO C 241/8/170; PRO C 241/8/130.
- 11. Miller, VCH, 34-35.
- 12. See Appendix B, Maps 8 and 9.
- 13. Knapton: PRO 241/7/2,168; 241/8/19,365,399; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Hessay: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Clifton: PRO C 241/7/123; 241/8/165,324.

Popleton: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Beningborough: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Cattal: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Hammerton: PRO C 241/7/89, 339; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Hoperton: PRO C 241/1/21; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Ouseburn: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Myton-on-Swale: PRO C 241/6/106.

Alne: PRO C 241/6/75; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

14. Wiggington: PRO C 241/1/27; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Sutton: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Easingwold: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Crayke: PRO C 241/8/179; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Braken: PRO C 241/8/75; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Stockton: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Warthill: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Hesslington: PRO C 241/7/172; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Grimston: PRO C 241/6/90; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Holtby: PRO C 241/6/105; 241/7/5, 6; 241/8/75,87.

Stamford Bridge: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Skirpenbeck: From a secondary source.

Full Sutton: From a secondary source.

Fangfoss: PRO SC 6/1088/13. Bugthorpe: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Buttercrambe: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Leppington: PRO C 241/7/71, 130, 261, 264; 241/8/15,

180, 364.

Kexby: PRO C 241/8/214, 360.

Catton: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Bolton: PRO C 241/7/65; 241/8/248; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Thornton: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Pocklington: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Bossal: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Barton: PRO C 241/6/17, 212; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Kirkham: PRO C 241/8/398; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

15. Dringhouses: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Colton: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Helaugh: From a secondary source.

Tadcaster: PRO C 241/7/120.
Thorp Arch: PRO C 241/8/444.
Sherburn: PRO SC 6/1088/13.
Acaster: PRO SC 6/1088/13.
Appleton: PRO SC 6/1088/13.
Riccal: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Skipwith: PRO C 241/6/149; 241/8/395.

Osgodby: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Selby: PRO C 241/7/393; PRO SC 6/1086/13.

West Cottingwith: PRO C 241/8/201. North Duffield: PRO C 241/6/149.

- 16. Darby, <u>Domesday England</u>, 73, 151, 223. Map 11 is a compilation of these three maps and is provided in Appendix A, 97.
- 17. Raine, Medieval York, 116.
- 18. See Foldout Map 1
- 19. Allison, in Miller, VCH, 507.
- 20. Ibid. See also Raine, Medieval York, 283-284.
- 21. Miller, VCH, 507.
- 22. Within PRO SC 6/1088/13 there were multiple references to the rents obtained from the site of the mill.
- 23. Miller, VCH, 507.

- 24. Colin Platt presented a similar analysis for Derbyshire in English Medieval Towns of a local market area with a six and two-thirds-mile radius. Of the various market area anomalies that developed in Yorkshire, most occurred as a result of geographic conditions, either through the presence of a mountain chain spur or river.
- 25. See Appendix B, Maps 12-23.
- 26. Otley, Sherburn, Lund-on-the-Wolds, Coatham, Pocklington, Hesslerton, and Aberford all had their market or fair charters renewed at least twice between 1227 and 1307. Pocklington had its market charters renewed four times during that time period.
- 27. PRO SC 6/1088/13. See also R. B. Pugh, <u>The Victoria</u> <u>History of the Counties of England: The City of York</u> (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 25-116.
- 28. Bryan Waites' description of the North Sea Coast and surrounding areas in, "Aspects of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Arable Farming on Yorkshire Manors" Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 42 (1968):136-142; "Medieval Assessment and Agricultural Prosperity in Northeast Yorkshire", Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 44 (1972): 134-145; and "The Medieval Ports and Trade of Northeast Yorkshire", The Mariner's Mirror 63 (1977):137-149 were extremely useful in defining the limits of York's regional market area. They also provided detailed descriptions of the local and regional market areas of several communities within northern Yorkshire.
- 29. Ripon: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Stainley: PRO C 241/7/176.

Skipton: PRO C 241/7/341.

Richmond: PRO C 241/1/52; 241/8/74, 234, 256.

Melsonby: PRO C 241/7/175. Winston: PRO C 241/6/106.

Byland: PRO C 241/7/52.

Carlton: PRO C 241/8/133, 322; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Craythorn: PRO C 241/7/67.

Stokesley: PRO C 241/7/204; 241/8/301.

Kildale: PRO C 241/6/74.

Danby: PRO C 241/7/125.

Lealholm: PRO C 241/8/212.

Sandsend: From a secondary source.

Sneaton: PRO C 241/1/20, 50; PRO C 241/6/106;

Whitby: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

30. Malton: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Pickering: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Ebberston: PRO C 241/8/252; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Seamer: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

31. Huggate: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Wetwang: PRO C 241/7/204; 241/8/301.

Kilham: PRO C 241/6/44.

Thwing: PRO C 241/7/104; 241/8/155, 216.

Boynton: PRO C 241/7/145; 241/8/178.

Bridlington: PRO SC 6/1088/13. Hotham: PRO C 241/6/108; 165. South Cave: PRO C 241/7/249. Eastrington: PRO C 241/7/213. Wansford: PRO SC 6/1088/13 Beverley: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Headon: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Roos: PRO C 241/8/298, 439.

- 32. Waites, "Aspects of Arable Farming," and "Medieval Assessments."
- 33. Drax: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Doncaster: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Snaith: From a secondary source.

Wakefield: PRO C 241/7/146.
Castleford: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Pontefract: PRO C 241/7/29, 123, 146; 241/8/147, 165,

324; PRO SC 6/1088/13. Knottingly: PRO C 241/7/148.

- 34. Bryan Waites, "Aspects of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Arable Farming on Yorkshire Manors" Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 42 (1968): 136-142; "Medieval Ports and Trade" The Mariner's Mirror 63 (1977); 137-149; and "Medieval Assessments and Agricultural Prosperity in Northeast Yorkshire, 1292-1347" 44 (1972): 134-145. Constance Fraser dealt with related topics in "Medieval Trading Restrictions in the North-East" Archaeologia Aeliana 4th ser. 39 (1961): 135-150 and "The Pattern of Trade in the Northeast of England" Northern History 4 (1969): 44-66. PRO 6/1088/13 also specifically mentioned the trade from Wansford to York.
- 35. Westmoreland: PRO 241/1/12, 52; 241/6/111, 214; 241/7/144,145, 147.

Lincoln: PRO 241/1/51; 241/7/61, 177, 265, 266, 267; 241/8/253.

Lancashire: PRO 241/1/80; 241/6/76, 105.

Cheshire: PRO 241/7/7; 241/8/184.

Nottingham: PRO 241/7/143, 384. Wiltshire: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

36. Carlisle: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Appleby: PRO C 241/6/90; 241/7/144; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Penrith: PRO SC 6/1088/13. Thursby: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Wigton: PRO C 241/1/27.

Cockermouth: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Egremont: PRO C 241/8/179.
Ulverston: PRO SC 6/1088/13.
Blackburn: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

37. Stanley: PRO C 241/7/176.
 Redmarshal: PRO SC 6/1088/13.
 Pittington: PRO SC 6/1088/13.
 Corbrig: PRO SC 6/1088/13.
 Berwick: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

- 38. Waites, "Medieval Ports and Trade."
- 39. Doncaster: PRO C 241/6/212; 241/8/87; PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Tickhill: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Pykehall: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Lessington: PRO C 241/7/143.

Grantham: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Leicaster: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

Desborough: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

London: PRO SC 6/1088/13.

See also Map 8, Roman Roads in England.

- 40. A. R. Bridbury, <u>England and the Salt Trade</u> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 168-169.
- 41. Margery K. James, <u>Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade</u> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).
- 42. PRO SC 6/1088/13. See also Carus-Wilson, England's Export Trade and Pugh, V. C. H.: The City Of York, 25-116.
- 43. All of the foreign cities listed came from PRO SC 6/1088/13.
- 44. Riccardi: PRO C 241/7/68, 380, 384; PRO SC 6/1088/13. Cerchi: PRO SC 6/1088/13. Frescobaldi: PRO C 241/8/120.
- 45. John Lister, ed., The Early Yorkshire Woolen Trade:
 Extracts from the Hull Customs' Rolls, and Complete
 Transcripts of the Ulnager's Rolls (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1924), 1-3.

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CHAPTER IV

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CONCLUSION

statements can be made concerning the nature of York's medieval economy. Based on the place-name evidence in the Warder's Accounts and the Chancery Debt Certificates, York's local market area was approximately twice that for the average medieval community. This conclusion was confirmed by analysis of the markets and fairs of Yorkshire.

Comparisons between various Domesday and late medieval mill sites further clarified and supported the extended size of York's local market area.

Concerning the transportation methods and routes used to bring various commodities from local or regional market areas to York's provincial market network, river systems and the old Roman road network were the primary promoters of commerce. Nearly every place-name obtained from the records identified a community within two or three miles of one of the primary river or road systems that led to or from York. Furthermore, York's provincial market area appeared to extend beyond the borders of Yorkshire to the north and west. Durham, Westmoreland, and Cumbria appeared to have extensive interaction with York. Thus the full range of

York's provincial market area extended approximately fifty miles north to Middleborough, over one hundred miles to the northwest to Carlisle, down along the western coastline past Lancaster to Bolton, over sixty miles southwest of York.

Furthermore, the formation of the local and regional market areas were more dependent on the river systems than the Roman road networks. Concentrating on the essential commodities, these market areas developed along lines much closer to the actual geography of their individual locations than did the larger market areas. The provincial market area of York utilized both the river systems and the Roman roads extensively. The rivers provided accessible collection points at regional market centers whose commodities then traveled naturally downriver to York.

The Roman roads, man-made networks, provided York access to areas denied by nature. The Romans built the roads where they did for military purposes, either to reach another community or to defend the frontier. In doing so they established the primary routes of communication for their own time as well as the primary trade routes for the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Several conditions limited York's provincial market to its boundaries as defined. The presence of other exceptionally large regional markets or other provincial markets to the north--Newcastle-upon-Tyne--and to the south-Lincoln--created economic pressures that limited York's market size. International boundaries, such as the Scottish

border, also limited the extent of York's economic activity and population density, distance to the market, and general economic trends also determined the size of any given market.

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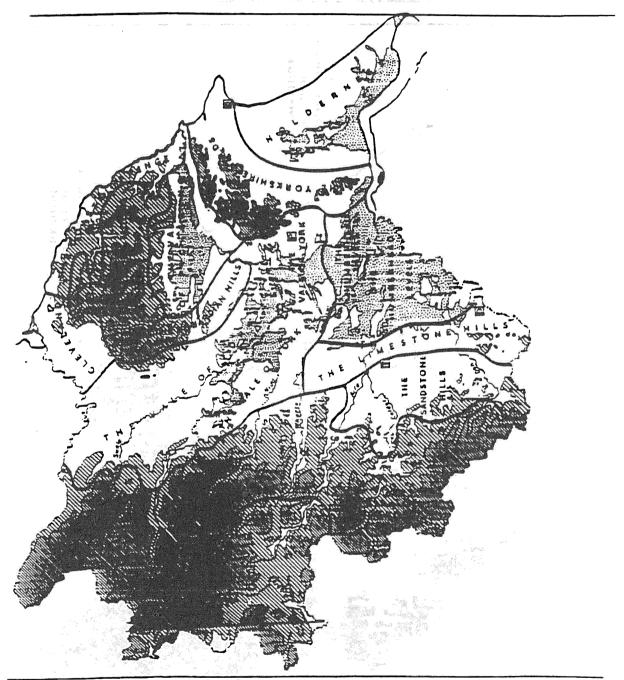
APPENDICES

7.5

APPENDIX A

SUPPLEMENTARY MAPS AND TABLE TO CHAPTER II

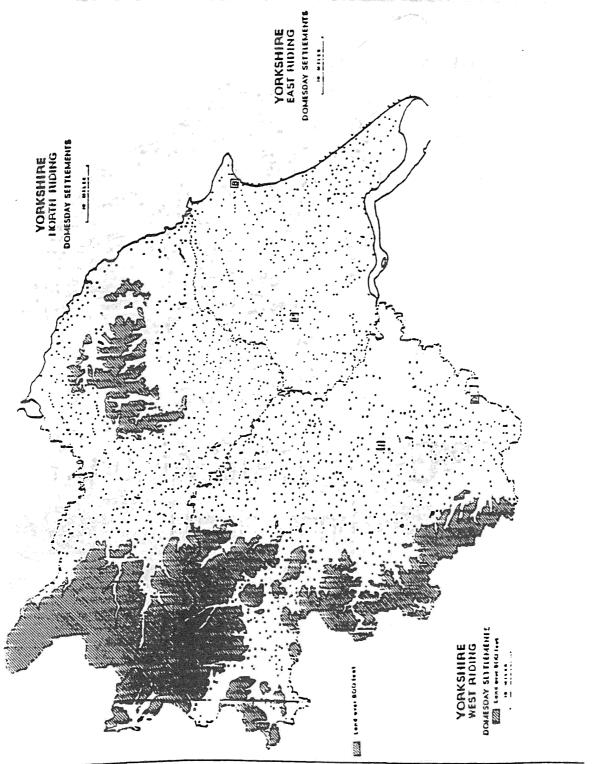
MAP I
THE GEOGRAPHICALLY DISTINCT REGIONS OF YORKSHIRE



Source: Henry Clifford Darby. The Domesday Geography of Northern England (Cambridge: The University Press. 1962), 79, 160, 229.

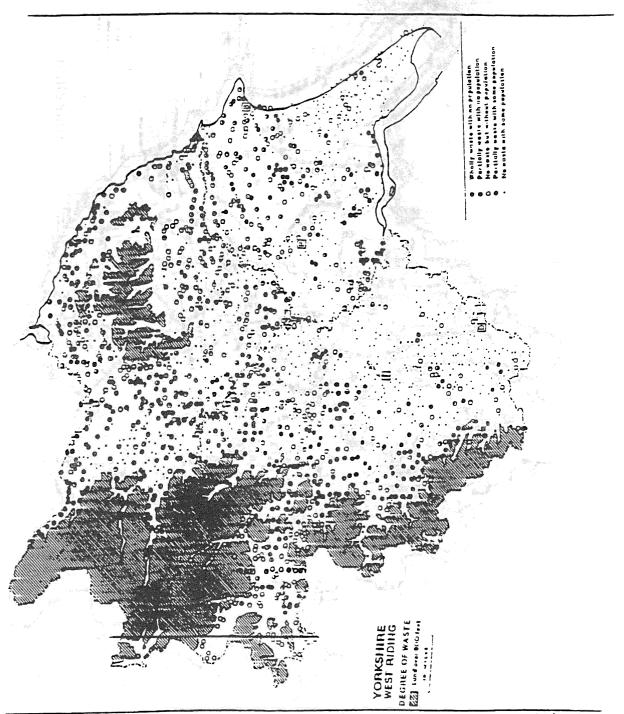
MAP 2

DOMESDAY PLACENAME SETTLEMENTS



Source: Darby, The Domesday Geography of Northern England, 16, 100, 175.

MAP 3
DOMESDAY DEGREE OF WASTE



Source: Darby, The Domesday Geography of Northern England, pp. 146, 219.

MAP 4 5

FAIRS WITH RESPECT TO GEOGRAPHIC DISTRICTS

Source: Bolton, Yorkshire Revealed.

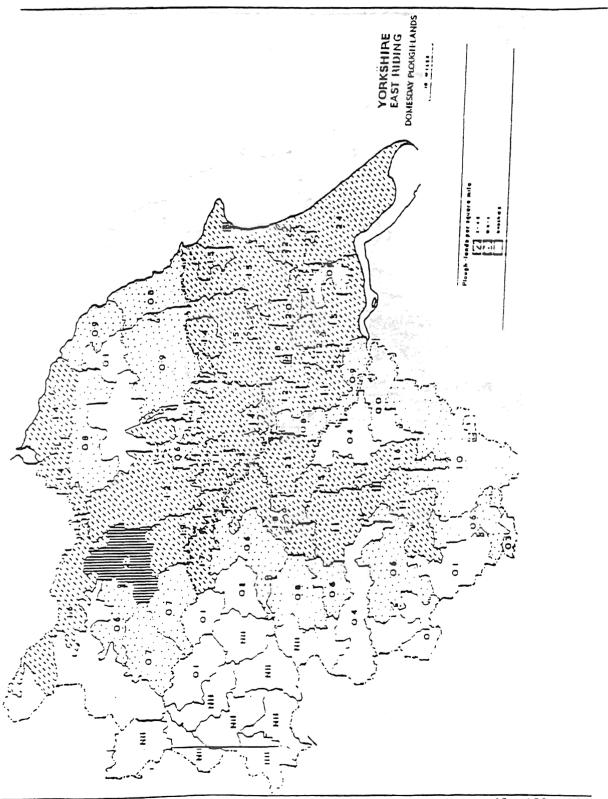
MARKETS WITH RESPECT TO GEOGRAPHIC DISTRICTS

MAP 5

MARKETS WITH RESPECT TO GEOGRAPHIC DISTRICTS

Source: Bolton, Yorkshire Revealed.

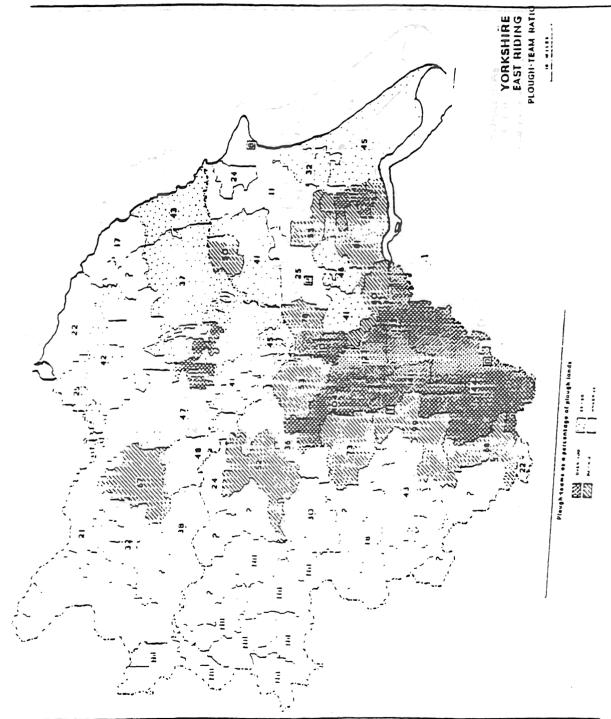
MAP 6
DOMESDAY PLOUGH-LANDS



Source: Carpy, The Domesday Geography of Morthern England, 18, 109, 188.

MAP 7

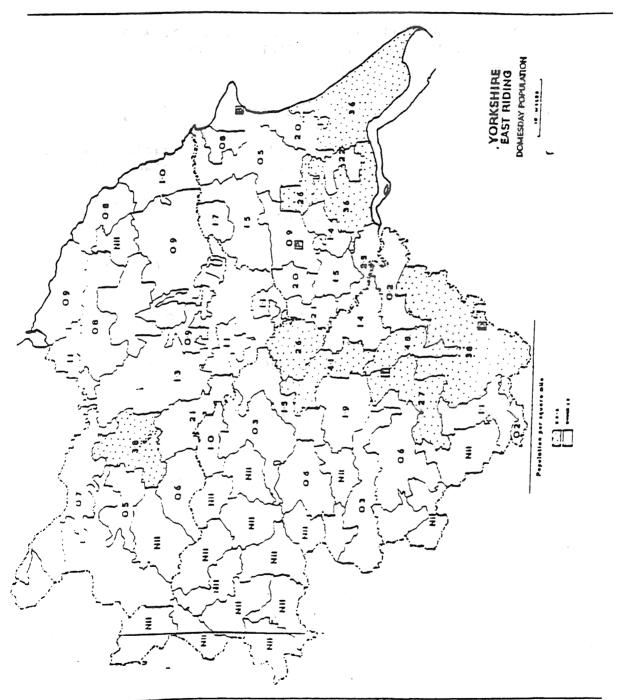
DOMESDAY PLOUGH-TEAM RATIOS



Source: Darby, The Domesday Geograpsy of Northern England, 33, 117, 192.

MAP 8

DOMESDAY POPULATION



Source: Darpy, The Domesday Geography of Northern England, 38, 121, 196.

TABLE I

GRANTS OF YORKSHIRE FAIRS AND MARKETS IN
THE CALENDAR OF CHARTER ROLLS
1227-1307

Year	Place	Grantee	Fairs	Markets
1227	Walshford, par. of Ribston	Brethren of the Temple	June 23-26	Т
1227	Selby W.R.	Brian de Insula, Grace, his wife	July 20-21	W
1227	Otley (Ottele)	Walter, Arch- bishop of York	July 21-22	M
1227	Sherburn (Sireburn)	Walter, Arch- bishop of York	Sept. 13-14	F
1227	Kilham (Killum)	Church of St. Mary of Rouen/ Dean & Chapter	Aug. 9-10	Т
1232	Whitgift	Robert, Abbot of St. Mary's, York	July 21-22	Th
1239	Otley (see 1227)	Walter, Arch- bishop of York	July 21-22	M
<u> </u>	Sherburn (see 1227)	Walter, Arch-bishop of York	Sept. 13-14	F
	Brough (Burgh on Humber)	Walter, Arch- bishop of York	Sept. 20-21	Th
1240	Richmond	Peter of Savoy	all prev granted	iously liberties
1245	Bowes	Peter of Savoy	Nov. 10-12	T

TABLE I CONTINUED

Year	Place	Grantee	Fairs	Markets
1245	Pocklington	William de Fortibus, Count of Aumale	July 19-22	3
1246			Aug. 6	W
1249		Henry de Percy, son of Richard de Percy	Aug. 9-11	T
1249	Barnsley (Bernesleya)	Prior & Convent of Pontefract	Sep.28- Oct.1	W
1251	Aberford	Richard de Grammayr	April 25-27	W
1251	Sedbergh	Alice de Staveley	Sept. 7-9	Т
1251	Bedale	Alan, son of Brian As	V,F,M scension	Т
1251	Ravensrodd (Raveneserot)	William de Fortibus Count of Aumale	Sept. 7-22	Th
1251	Masham	John de Wauton	Aug. 14-16	F
1251	Warter	Prior & Convent of Warter	July 24-26	W
1252	Heslerton	Thomas, son of Hugh de Heslerton	Oct.31- Nov.2	· F
1252	Hovingham	Roger de Mowbray	Aug. 14-16	Th
1253	Emley, near Wakefield	William de Wudehalle	May 2-6	Th
1253	Scampston (Scameston)	William de Latimer	July 19-22	W
1253	Driffield, Little	Roger de Turkilby	Aug. 9-11	W

TABLE I CONTINUED

Year	Place	Grantee	Fairs M	arkets
1253	Ilkley (Illecley)	Peter de Percy	Oct. 17-23	· · W (*)
1253	Kildale	William de Percy	July 24-26	F
1253	Great Ayton (Ayton)	Robert de Stuteville	Nov.29- Dec.1	M
1257	Burton Agnes	Roger de Merlay	Nov. 10-17	Т
1257	Lund on the Wolds	Marmaduke de Twenge	Oct.31- Nov.1	Th
1257	Thwing (Tuenge)	Marmaduke de Twenge	July 6-8	W
1257	Coatham (Cotum)	Marmaduke de Twenge	Aug. 9-11	W
1257	Tanshelf, par. of Pontefract	Edmund de Lacy	V,F,M Trinity	W
1257	Stonegrave (Stayngrue)	Simon de Stayngrue H	V,F,M Trinity	W
1257	Kilvington	Geoffrey de Uppesale	July 24-26	F
1258	Wakefield	John de Warrenne	June 23-25	
1260	Adlingfleet, near Goole	John de Eyvill	Sept 13-20	F
1260	Gisburn (Gyseburn)	Abbot and monks of Sallay	Sept. 7-9	M
1265	Brignall (Brigenhal)	William Charles	Sept. 7-9	Th
1265	Cliffe, par. of Manfield	William Charles	Nov. 19-21	Т
1269	Whorlton	John de Menyll	Sept. 13-15	Т

TABLE I CONTINUED

Year	Place	Grantee	Fairs M	arkets
1270	Leven	John de Chishull, Provost of Beverley		eekly
1271	Tadcaster	Henry de Percy	Aug. 14-17	Т
1272	Hedon	King's son) and	V,F,M St. Augus- tine the Bishop	
1272	Skipsea	Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (the King's son) and Avelina, his wife		W
1272	Pocklington (see 1245)	Edmond, Earl of Lancaster (the King's son) and Avelina, his wife	Oct.31 Nov.6	
1279	Richmond	John of Britanny, Earl of Richmond	Sept. 13-16	
1279	Kingston-upon- Hull	Abbot and Convent of Meaux	V,F,M H. Trinity	Th
1281	Grassington (Gersington)	Robert de Plumpton	Sept. 28-30	F
1281	Thornton le Dale, by Pickering	John de Eston	V,F,M H. Trinity Oct.31-	T,
			Nov.2	
1282	Newton-upon- Ouse	Master and Brethren of Hospital of St. Leonard, York	June 23-25 Oct.31- Nov.2	Т
1286	Brandesburton	Herbert de St. Quentin	May 2-4	Th
1289	Braithwell, near Rotherham (Braythwell)	Elias de Hawville	July 19-26	T

TABLE I CONTINUED

Year	Place	Grantee	Fairs N	Markets
1290	Penisale in Langsett, par. Penistone (Peningesale)	Elias de Midehope	June 10-12	T
1291	Pickering	Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (the King's brother)	Sept. 7-9 % Sept. 13-15	***
1291	Easingwold	Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (the King's brother	Sept. 7-8	
1291	Tollerton, par. Alne	Bevis de Clare, Treasurer of St. Peter's, York	Aug. 14-16	W
1291	South Cave	Master and Brethren of the Temple in England	•	M Ey
1292	Lund on the Wolds (see 1257)	Marmaduke de Thwing	Oct.31- Nov.2	Th
1292	Thwing	Marmaduke de Thwing	July 6-8	W
1292	Coatham (Cotum) (see 1257)	Marmaduke de Thwing	Aug. 9-11	W
1294	Pontefract	Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	V,F+3 Palm Sunda	W
1294	Campsall (Camsal)	Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	July 21-24	Th
1294	Slaidburn (Slaghteburne)	Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	July 31 Aug. 3	
1294	Almondbury (Almanbury)	Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	Aug. 14-16	Th
1294	Hemingborough	Prior and Convent of Durham	Aug. 14-21	Th

TABLE I CONTINUED

Year	Place	Grantee 1	Fairs Ma	arkets
1294	Duffield [North]	Gerard Salvayn, son Sibyl Salvayn	Aug. 9-112	With
1296	Sheffield	Thomas de Furnivall H	V,F,M . Trinity	Т
1299	Croft:	Henry le Scrop	July 31- Aug.1	Th
1299	Kingston-upon- Hull (see 1279)	Burgesses of the Town	Aug.26- Sept.24	T&F
1299	Ravenserodd (see 1251)	Burgesses of the Town	Sept.7- Oct.6	T&Sa
1299	Carnaby	Robert de Percy	June 23-28 Aug.28- Sept.2	Th
1299	Pocklington (see 1272)	Roger of Pocklington	March 24-25	W
1300	Leeming, par. of Burneston (Leaming by Eskelby)	Walter de Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (Master of Hospital of St. Leonard, York)	June 23-25	F
1300	Thornton by Skipton	Walter de Muncy	July 6-9	Th
1301	Faxfleet, par. of South Cave	Abbot and Convent of Thornton-on- Humber	Sept. 13-16	W
1301	Holme on Spalding Moor	William le Constable	Aug. 28-30	W
1302	Osgodby, par. of Hemingborough	Robert de Osgodby	Sept. 7-9	W
1303	Pocklington (see 1299)	Henry de Percy	Oct.31- Nov.1 July 19-20	Sa

TABLE I CONTINUED

Year	Place	Grantee	Fairs M	arkets
1303	Sledmere	Gerard Salveyn	July 21-22	Th
1303	Sinnington (Syvelington)	William le Latimer the Younger	Nov. 10-12	М
1304	Coxwold (Cokewald)	Thomas de Coleville	Aug. 14-15	W
1304	Heslerton (see 1252)	John de Heslerton		М
1304	Lowthorpe (Louthorpe)	John de Heslerton	Nov. 10-12	F
1304	Pannal (Panehale by Spofford)	Henry de Percy	Sept. 28-29	T
1304	Wansford, par. of Nafferton (Wandesford)	Henry de Percy	July 21-22	Th
1305	Carperby (Kerperby)	Gilbert de Wauton	July 24-26 Nov.29- Dec.1	
1305	Embsay	Prior and Canons of Bolton	Sept. 1-5	
1305	Swinefleet, par. of Whitgift	Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	Sept. 15-18	Th
1305	Keighley (Kyghelay)	Henry de Kyghelay	Oct. 27-29	W
1307	Burton-in- Lonsdale	John de Moubray	Whitsun. +2 days July 24-26	M
1307	Kirkby Malseard (Kyrkeby Malasart)	John de Moubray	Sept. 7-9 Sept. 28-30	M

TABLE I CONTINUED

Year	Place	Grantee	Fairs M	arkets
1307	Wensley (Wandsley)	James de Wandesleye	V,F,M H. Trinity	W
1307	East Witton	Abbot and Convent of Jervaulx	Aug. 14-21 Nov. 10-11	М
1307	Aberford (see 1251)	Hugh le Despenser	Oct. 8-10	W
1307	Rotherham (Roderham)	Robert de Waddesleye	June 23 – 25	F
1307	Wortley, par. of Tankersley	Nicholas de Wortley	V,F,M Whitsun.	Th
1307	Pickhill (Pikehale)	Jolland de Nevill	Sept. 7-16	Sa
1307	Penisale in Langsett, par. of Penistone (see 1290)	William de Sheffeld	June 10-12	Т

Source: K. L. McCutcheon, <u>Yorkshire Fairs and Markets to the End of the Eighteenth Century</u> (Thoresby Society, 39, 1940).

APPENDIX B

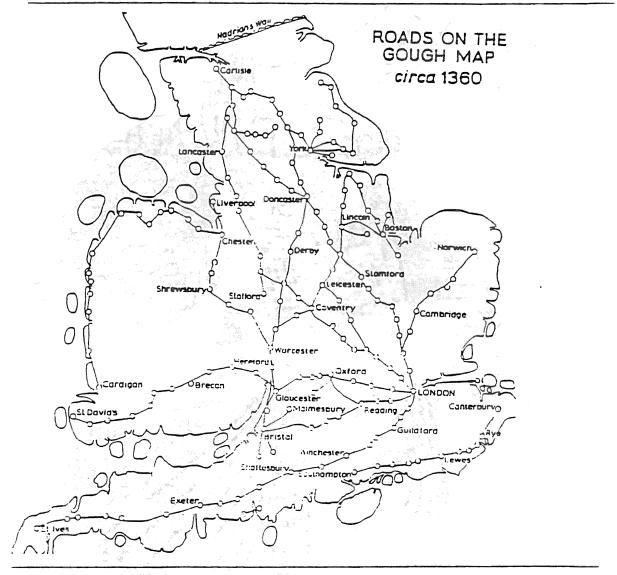
SUPPLEMENTARY MAPS TO CHAPTER III

MAP 9
ROMAN ROADS IN ENGLAND



Source: A. H. Smith, The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part VII, vol. 36 (Campridge: Campridge University Press, 1962), Map 4.

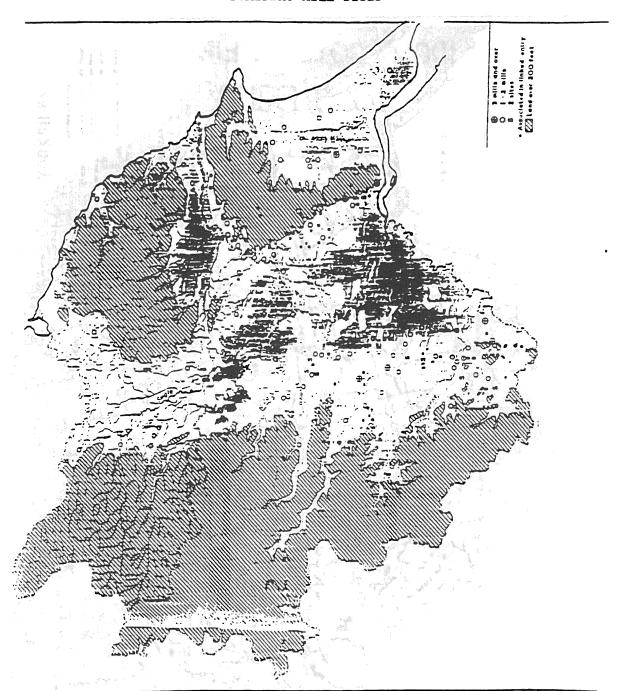
MAP 10
GOUGH ROADS MAP



Source: H. C. Darby, A New Historical Geography of England (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1973), 175.

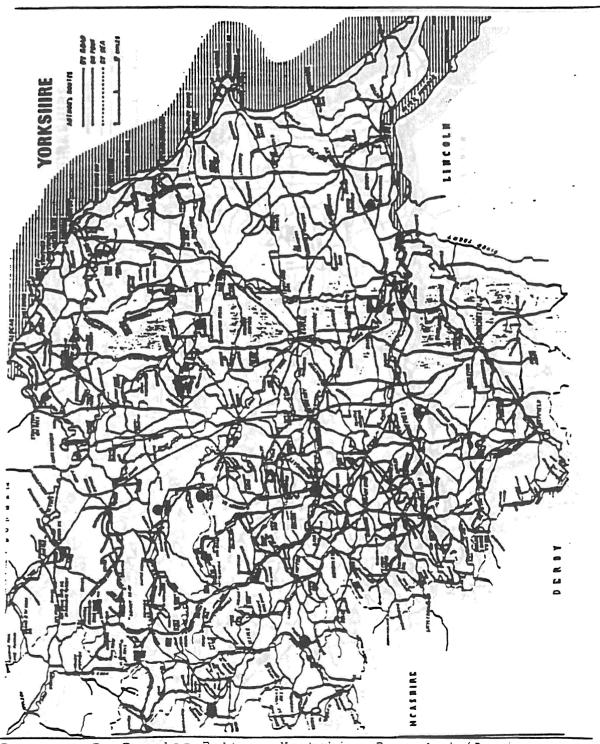
MAP 11

DOMESDAY MILL SITES



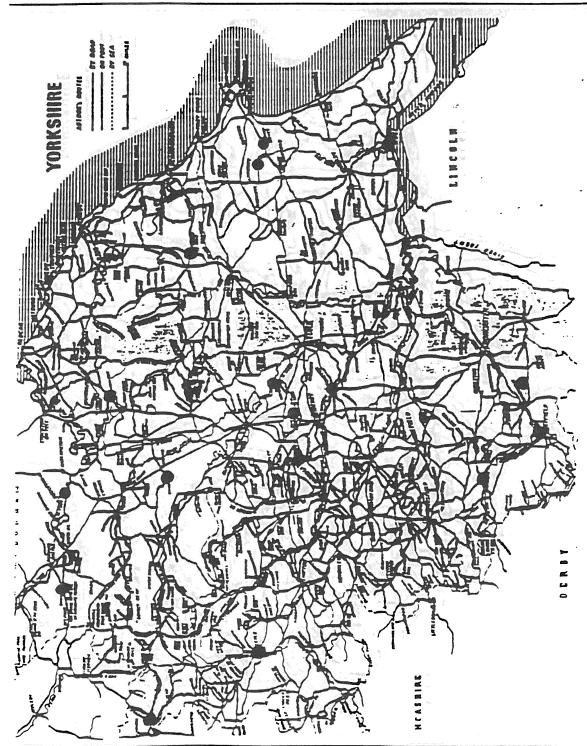
Source: Darby, The Domesday Geography of Northern-England, 73, 151, 223.

MAP 12
MONDAY MARKET LOCATIONS

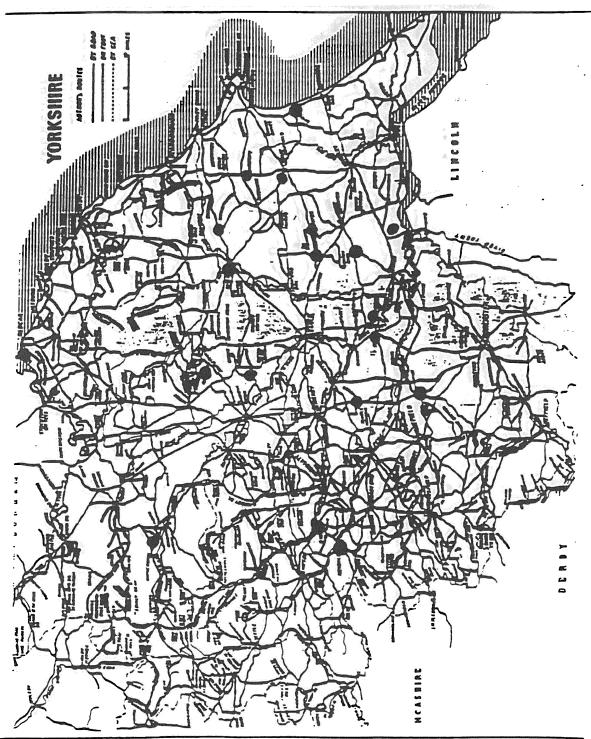


Source: G. Douglas Bolton, Yorkshire Revealed (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1955). All locations for Maps 10-21 are from Table I.

MAP 13
TUESDAY MARKET LOCATIONS



Source: Bolton, Yorksnire Revealed.



MAP 14
WEDNESDAY MARKET LOCATIONS

Bourca: Boiton, Youmantra Payatlad.

MAP 15
THURSDAY MARKET LOCATIONS

MAP 16

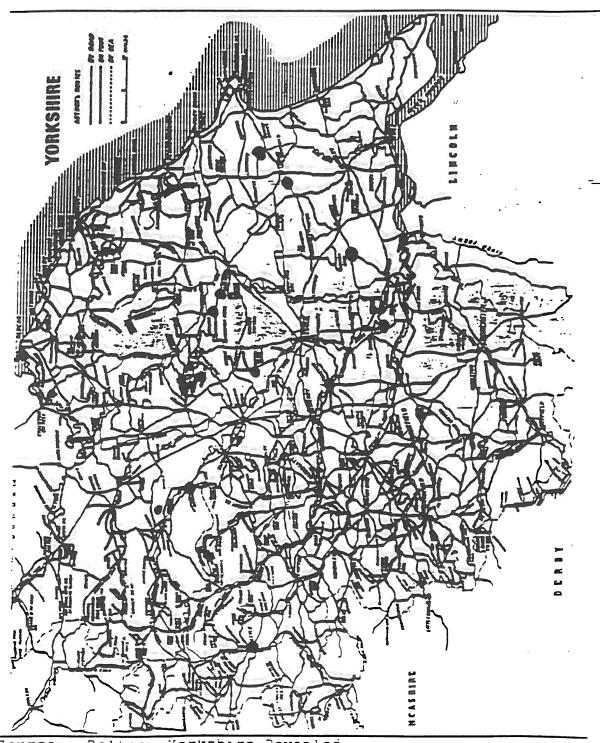
COMPOSITE OF ALL MARKET LOCATIONS

MAP 17
JUNE FAIR LOCATIONS

MAP 18

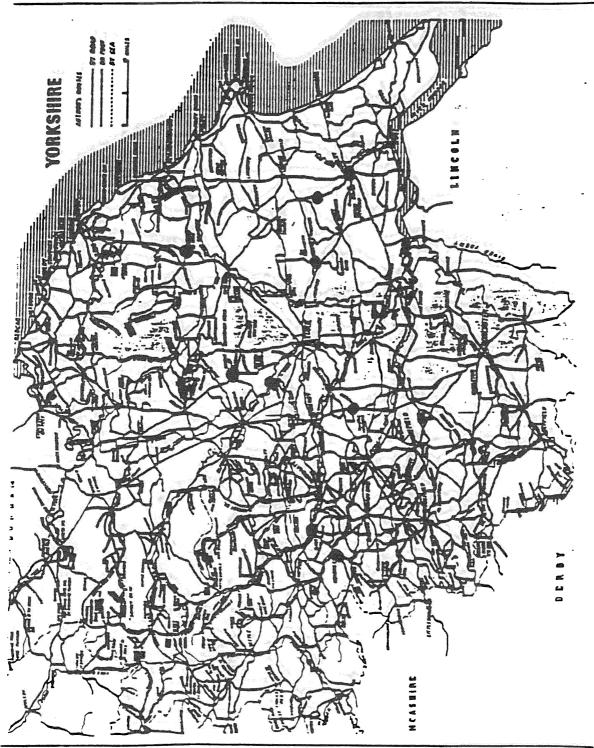
JULY FAIR LOCATIONS

MAP 19
AUGUST FAIR LOCATIONS

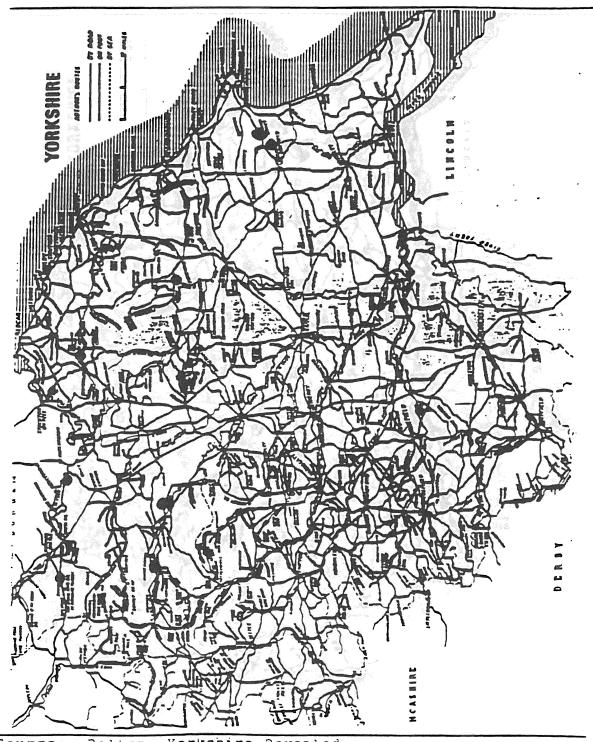


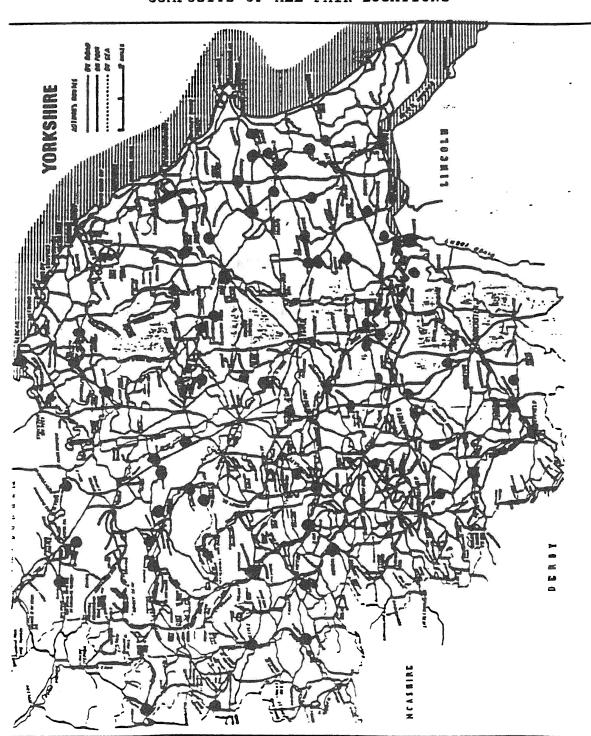
MAP 20 SEPTEMBER FAIR LOCATIONS

MAP 21
OCTOBER FAIR LOCATIONS



MAP 22
NOVEMBER FAIR LOCATIONS





MAP 23
COMPOSITE OF ALL FAIR LOCATIONS

1.1.3

TABL

- 1. K. K. K. K. D. C.

,我们就是这个**没有**,只要是有一个大型,就是这些人的人,我们就是这个人的,我们就不会<mark>没有</mark>这个人,我们

APPENDIX C

SUPPLEMENTARY PLACE-NAME TABLE TO CHAPTER III

TABLE II
PLACE-NAME IDENTIFICATION TABLE FOR MEDIEVAL YORK

Company of the second			
NAME IN PRIMARY	CLOSEST MODERN	MAP	PROB-
SOURCE	EQUIVELANT	LOCATION	ABILITY
Aberford	Aberford	57-f40	h
Aberton	Abberton	34 - g56	m
Acaster	Acaster-Selby	58-e41	h
	Acaster-Malibis	58-e41	h
Addlington	Adlington, Che.	49-d35	m
Adwick	Adwick-le-Street	51-b40	m
	Adwock-upon-Dearne	51 - b41	m
Almania	. -	Germany	
Alne	Alne	57-c40	h
Alverton	Alverton	42-a43	m
Alwalady	Alwoodly	57-e38	m
Ampelford/	, 3		
Ampleforth	Ampleford	58-b41	h
Amayas	Amys	France	m
Apelton	Appleton-le-moors	58-a43	m
•	Appleton-le-street	58-e41	m
Appelby	Appleby	61-e32	h
Archington/			
Arthington	Arthington	57 - e38	h
Arkengarthdale	Arkendale	57-c39	m *
Ask	Esk	by Darby	h
Avenanges			_
Bail, the	Old Baile	w/in York	h h
Bainbridge	Bainbridge	61-g35	h *
Bantre	Bawtry	51-c42	h
Barneby	Barnby Dun	51-b42	m
Barton	Barton	62-f38	m
Batayl	Battleburn	E.R.	m
Bathes			_
Beamayr			
Bella Landa			***
Bellerly			-
Beningburg	Beningbrough	58-d41	h
Berewyk	Barwick in Elmet	57 - f39	m
DOT CM Y M	Barwick N/NW of Ripor		
Beston			m —
Beverley	Beverley	59 - f46	– h
Bihale	pever rel	55-140	h —
Bindesthorp			_
princeprinorh			-

TABLE II CONTINUED

NAME IN PRIMARY SOURCE	CLOSEST MODERN EQUIVELANT	MAP LOCATION	PROB- ABILITY
Bolford	5775777		~
Bolton/Boulton	Bolton :	58-d43	h
Bonevyle			_
Bosco			_
Bossale	Bossall	58-c43	h
Bouldron		<u> </u>	- *
Bowes/Bowe	Bowes	62-d42	h *
Boyvill			_
Braban	Braban	Belgium	h
Braken	Braken	E:R:	h
Bramham	Bramham	57-e40	h
Brampton	Brampton	51-b40	m
	Brampton, Cum.	70-g31	m
	Brampton, Cum.	61-d32	m m
Brandon	Brampton, Linc. Brandon, Linc.	52-e44 42-a45	m m
Brettville	brandon, binc.	42 ⁻ d45	m -
Briddelington/		_	_
Bridlington	Bridlington	59-c47	h
Brigges	Brigg -	52-b46	m
Briland/Bryland	Byland Abbey	58-b41	h h
Broline			-
Bruges	Bruges	Flanders	h
Brumpton near			
Alverton	Brompton near		
	Northallerton	62-g39	h
Brussel	Brussels	Germany	m
Brythton/			
Brytherton/			
Bitherton	-,-		-
Bufford			_
Bugthorpe	Bugthorpe	58-d43	h
Burnbton	Burnston	57-a39	h
Buttercrambe	Buttercrambe	58-d43	h
By-the-hill			_
Bykerton	Byker	114-d4	m
Byvil			-
Gamana	17 1	(0 =06	
Camera	Camerton, Cum.	60-c26	m
Cansel Carleton	Carleton	56-e35	– h
Carleton in	Carreton	20-633	11
Clyneland	Carlton	58-a42	m
CTYTIETATIO	Carlton	63-f41	m
	Carlton	57-a36	m
	Carlton	58-q42	m
	Carlton	51-b39	m
	Carren	27 723	111

TABLE II CONTINUED

NAME IN PRIMARY SOURCE	CLOSEST MODERN EQUIVELANT	MAP LOCATION	PROB- ABILITY
BOOKCE	EQUIVEDANT	LOCATION	MULLITI
and the second	Carlton	57. - g39	m
Carlisle	Carlisle	60-A29	h
Castelford	Castleford	57-q40	h
Cathale/Cattal	Cattal	57- d 40	h
Catherton	Catterton	58-e41	h
Catton	Catton	57 - b39	h
Cauntelew	<u> </u>		
Chelague/Thelague			
Cherby/Therby			_
Clerewaux/Clervaus		France	h
Clifton	Clifton	57 - e37	m
CIII COII	Clifton	51-c41	m
Cokermove	Cockermouth	60 - c27	m
Cokermove	COCKET MOUCH		
_	Coalville	41_440	– h
Colevyle	Coalville	41 - d40	
Colton		58-e41	h - h
Coppergate	Coppergate	w/in York	
Corbrigg	Corbridge	70-g35	m
Cottingham	Cottingham	59 - f46	h *
Coyners			_
Crakhale			_
Crathorn	Crathorne	62 - f40	h
Craven	Craven	N.R.	h
Crek	Craik	69 -f 28	m
Cruses			_
Dale			_
Dalton	Dalton	57 - b40	m
	Dalton	62 - f37	m
V 3 48"	Dalton	51-c40	m
Danby/Daneby	Danby	63-f43	h
Dascy			-
Digton			_
Disburgh/Diseburgh	Desborough	42 - g43	h
Doncastre	Doncaster	51 - b41	h
Doraunt			_
Doxelby			
Drax	Drax	58 - g42	h
Drifeld	Driffield	59-d46	h
Dringhuses	Dringhouses	W.R.	h
Dureem	DI THUMBES	W • IV •	
			_
Dychom/Dychon/	Ditton Cha	40_A20	***
Dythom/Dython	Ditton, Che.	48-d30	m
Dyneman	D-14-1		
Dytherton	Ditherington	38-d31	m
East Ketwik	Keswick, Cum.	60 - d28	m
Tabe Kermik	Meswick, Cum.	00-u20	111

TABLE II CONTINUED

NAME IN PRIMARY	CLOSEST MODERN		PROB-
SOURCE	EQUIVELANT	LOCATION A	BILITY
Eberston	Ebberston	58-a44	h
Edelingthorp	Edingthorp	45 - b59	h
Eggesline 💎 🛷 🦠			-
Egremond	Egremont	60-e26	h
Elmesdale			-
Erkham			-
Esingwald	Easingwold	58-c41	h ·
Eston	Easton	60 - a28	h
Estrington	Eastrington	58 - g43	h
Etton	Eaton, Not.	51-e43	m
Eyvell/Eyvill			4116
Fangfoss	Fangfoss	58 - d43	h
Farndale			- *
Fiker			_
Fisley	Filey	59-a47	m
Flaxton	Flaxton	58 - c42	h
Florence	Florence	Italy	h
Fofford			_
Fontynes	Fountains		h
Forcett	Forncett	45 - £57	m *
Foulbeck			-
Foulthorp			-
Fulford	Fulford	58-e42	h
Full Sutton	Full Sutton	58-d43	h *
Furneus			_
Galwey			-
Gateforth	Gateforth	58 - g41	h *
Sayrague			-
Gerfordeby			-,
Germany	Germany	Germany	h
Gilling	West Gilling	62 - f37	m *
•	East Gilling	58-b42	m
Gisburn	Gisburn	56-e34	h *
Gixgele			-
Graham	Grayingham	52 - c45	m
Grantham	Grantham	42-b45	h
Grauntebridge			-
Greatham	Greatham	62 - d40	h *
Grymesby	Grimsby	53-a48	h
Grymeston	Grimston	E of York	h
	Grimston	S/W of Yor:	
	Grimston	N/E of Yor	k m
	Grimston	N of York	m
Gyrlington	Girlington	112-b5	h

TABLE II CONTINUED

NAME IN PRIMARY SOURCE	CLOSEST MODERN EQUIVELANT	MAP LOCATION	PROB- ABILITY
Habeton			· · ·
Hale		* * * *	
Hamelak/Hanilak	4		
Hamerton		4	-
Hanley	<u> </u>	ت ج ت ت ت	_
Harewood	Harewood	57-e39	h
Healaugh	Healaugh	62-g36	m *
1100100311	Healaugh	57-e40	m
Hedon	Hedon	59-g47	h
Helathe			_
Hemelsax		<u> </u>	_
Hepelington			
Herk			_
	Hartergate	w/in Yor	c h
Hertergate	narcergate	w/III IOLI	L 11
Heslington/ Heselarton	Hadlington	E0 440	h
	Heslington	58-d42	h h
Hessay	Hessay	58-d41	h b
Heton	Hetton	56-d35	h —
High Bank	High Bank Hill	61-b31	m
Hildinglay/			
Hildingly			-
Hillham	Hillam	58-g41	h *
Hilton	Hilton	62-d37	m
	Hilton	61-d33	m
	Hilton	62 - e40	m
Hobberton/Hobbton			-
Holagyve			
Holbek/Holbeche	Holbeck	51-e41	m
Holdernesse	Holderness	E.R.	h
Holm/Holme	Holm upon		
	Spalding Moor	58 - f44	m
Holteby/Holby/			
Holtely	Holtby	58 - d42	h
Hoperton	Hopperton	57 - d40	h
Horington			_
Hothom/Hothon	Hotham	58-f44	h
Hugate	Huggate	58-d44	h
Hulse	<u> </u>		-
Hund Burton			_
Hunmanby	Hunmanby	59-b46	h *
Ilketon	Ilkeston	41 - a40	h
	Ireston Ireland		h b
Ireland	Trerand	Ireland	h
Kelum	Kelham	51 - g43	h
Value of the second of the sec	Kilham	59 - c46	m
Kettlewell	Kettlewell	56-b35	h *

TABLE II CONTINUED

NAME IN PRIMARY	CLOSEST MODERN		PROB-
SOURCE	EQUIVELANT	LOCATION A	BILITY
Kexby	Kexby	58-d43	h
Kiddale	Kiddal Lane End	57-f40	h.
Kildale	Kildale	63-f42	h.
Kirkbly	Kirkby	52-c46	h.
Kirkham	Kirkham	58-c43	h
Kirklithum	Kirkleatham	63-d41	h.
Knapton	Knapton	58-d41	h
Knotingley	Knottingly	58-g41	h
Knocingicy	* * * *	30 941	72
Langesbay			
Langeton	Langton	58-c43	h.
Langstrothdale			- *
Lasces/Lascelas	ساج موس چاچاپ چاچ		- :
Launde, de la			_
Leeds	Leeds	57 - £39	h *
Lek	Leek	49 - g35	m
Lelum	Lealholm	63 - £43	m
Lenne			_
Lepington	Leppington	58-c43	h
Lessington			-
Leycastre	Leicaster	41-e41	h
Lindesay	Lindsey	34-d55	m
Lingeby	——————————————————————————————————————		
London	London 😘 🐭	23-c49	h
Loton			_
Lovayne	Louvain Read	Belgium	h
Lowe			_
Lubek	Lubeck	Belgium	h
Lucca	Lucca	Italy	h
Lund	Lund	59 - e45	m
	Lund	N of York	m
	Lund	S/W of Yor	
Lybeley			_
Lyversegge	Liversedge	57 - g37	h
Malbir			_
Malton	Malton	58-B43	h
Marske by the Sea	Marske by the Sea	63 - d42	h *
Matherlay			_
Mayningham	Manningham	112-b5	h
Meaux/Melsa	Meaux	E.R.	
Melsonby	Melsonby	62 - f37	h
Midhop/Midthorp	Middop	W.R.	h
Migkelfeld/	zizadop	44 • 77 •	11
Mikelfeld	Michael Field	S/W of Yor	·k m
Mikelhyth		5/W OI 10I	III
Milanes	Milan	Ttalu	h
HITAIICS	HITAII	Italy	h

TABLE II CONTINUED

NAME IN PRIMARY	CLOSEST MODERN	MAP	PROB-
SOURCE	EQUIVELANT	LOCATION	ABILITY
Mildeby	Milbyr Popy 194 or	57-c40	m
Mileford	Milford, Dby. Co.	41-a39	m
	Milford, Nor. Co.	71-e37	m
	Milford, Stf. Co.	40-c35	m
Mirford	<u> </u>		
Morton	Morton	42-f40	m
	Morton Francis	52-c44	m
	Morton	51 - g43	m
	Morton	51-c46	m
Moulton	Moulton	62 - f38	h *
Myton	Myton-on-Swale	57 - c40	m
Nasserton	Nassington	42 - f46	m
Nessefeld			-
Neuby	Newby	63-e41	m
	Newby	61 - d31	m
	Newby	61-a30	m
	Newby	56 - b33	m
	Newby	59-a46	m
Neusom			-
Nevil/Nevile/	F		
Nevill			-
New Bald	North Newbald	E.R	h *
	South Newbald	E.R	h
Newlands	Newlands	62-a36	m *
Newton Bewley	Newton Bewley	62-d40	h *
Northstret	North Street	15-b56	m
Noryduffeld	North Duffield	58- f 42	h
Nosell			_
Oakenshaw	Oakenshaw	57 - g37	h *
Ormesby	Ormesby •	63 - e41	h
Osgotby	Osgodby	59 - a46	m
a'	Osgodby	58 - f42	m
Ouseburne	Great Ouseburn	W.R.	h
	Little Ouseburn	W.R.	h
Owsthorpe			- *
Parteny	Partney	53- f 50	h
Penistone	Penistone	50-b38	h
Penreth	Penrith	61-c31	h
Pery			_
Plandamus			_
Pluckvile			_
Plumbton	Plumbton	61 - c30	h
Pokelington	Pocklington	58-e44	h
Pontefract	Pontefract	57 - g40	h
	10110011400	3, 940	11

TABLE II CONTINUED

NAME IN PRIMARY	CLOSEST MODERN	MAP	PROB-
SOURCE	EQUIVELANT	LOCATION	ABILITY
Popelton	Nether Poppleton	58-d41	h
	Upper Poppleton	58 - d41	h
Potterington		\$ 2.0 pt 10	-
Puche			- 5
Pykehale	Pikehall	50-g37	h
Pykering -	Pickering	58-a43	h
Pytingdon	Pittington	62 - b39	h
	The state of the s	W. T.	
Queldrik			_
	and the second of the second		
Raceburgh			_
Rawcroft		<u></u>	- *
Redemerschell	Redmarshal	62 - d39	h
Richmond/Rychmond	Richmond	62 - f37	h
Rievaulx	Rievaulx	58-a41	h *
Rigton -	Rigton	W.R.	h
Rikale/Rikehale/		1.7	
Rykehale	Riccall	58-f42	h
Ripon	Ripon	57 - b39	h
Roccese/Rocese	Rotsea	E.R.	m
Roecliffe	Roecliffe	W.R.	h *
Ronford			
Ros	Roos	59-f48	h
Rotherfeld	Rotherfield	13-b51	m
Routhcliffe/	1100110111010	10 201	211
Routheclif			
Routhclyne/			
Routhyne			-
Rowley	Rowley	62-b36	h *
Ruseles			
Rydale	Rydal	60 - f29	h
Sandsend	Sandsend	63-e44	h *
Saumpton			-
Scoreby	Scoreby	E.R.	h
Scotkild		D.K.	
Scoton	Scotton	W.R.	m
Screvin	Scriven	57-d39	h
Sculcoats	Sculcoats	59 - f47	h *
Scurveton	Sculcoats	59-147	
Selby	Selby	58- f 42	<u>-</u> h
Semer	Seamer		h m
Sellet		59 - a46	m
Cotomington	Seamer	62-e40	m 1-
Seterington	Settrington	58-b44	h
Shireburne	Sherburn in Elmet	58-f41	h
Sibthorp	Sibthorpe	42-a43	h
Skeffling	Skeffling	53-a49	h *
Skilford			-

TABLE II CONTINUED

NAME IN PRIMARY	CLOSEST MODERN	MAP	PROB-
SOURCE	EQUIVELANT	LOCATION	ABILITY
Skipton	Skiptonpe	56-d35	m *
	Skipton	57 - b39	m
Skipwith	Skipwith	58 - f42	h
Skirpenbeck	Skirpenbeck	58-d43	h *
Snaith, Soke of	Snaith	58-g42	h *
Snayton/Sneton	Sneaton	63 - £44	h
Solday É			_
Sothill	Neither Soothill	W.R.	m
	Upper Soothill	W.R.	m
South Cave	South Cave	59-f45	h
Southburn	Southburn	59-d45	h *
Speton	Speeton	59-b47	h
Stanbury	Stanbury	57- f 36	h *
Stanceby		J/ 130	
Stanceby Stanforyd	Stamford, Linc.	42 - e46	m
	Stamphow	63-e42	h *
Stanghow	_		==
Stanley Stantus	Stanley	57 - g39	h
Stanton/Stantuon		20 22	_ _
Staynfordbrig	Stamfordbridge	29-b33	h
Stelton			***
Stirkeland/			
Stirkland	Stirkland, Westmor.		h
Stivelington			_
Stockeld			-
Stokesley	Stokesley	63 - f41	h
Stoketon	Stokton	near	
		Warthill	h
Storby			-
Storthvayt/			
Stortwayt/			
Stortwait			_
Suthum			
Sutton	Sutton on the Forest	57-e36	h
Swaldal			_
Tadcastre	Tadcaster	57-e40	h
Tankrelay	Tankerley	51-c39	h
Therby	Tullvet tel	J1 -CJ9	_
→			_
Thoresby			_
Thornover	mh		_
Thornton/Thorneton		57-f36	m
	Thornton	58-e43	m
	•		m
	Thornton, Linc.	53 - f48	m
Hill			_
Thorp Darches	Thorp Arch	57-e40	m
Thornton on the Hill Thorp Darches	Thornton, Lanc. Thornton, Linc.	55-e29 53-f48	m m –

TABLE II CONTINUED

NAME IN PRIMARY	CLOSEST MODERN	MAP	PROB-
SOURCE	EQUIVELANT	LOCATION	ABILITY
	~		
Tibthorpe	Tibthorpe	59 - d45	h *
Tikhal	Tickhill	51-c41	m
Totwith	Tockwith	57-d40	h
Tresk	Thirsk	57-a40	h
Tweng/Twenge	Thwing	59 - c46	h
Ulveston	Ulverston	54-b28	, m
The second second	And the second of the second		
Virly			-
	Samuel Sa) April -	
Wakefeld	Wakefield	* ≥57 - g39	h
Walbethorp		*,*,	
Wald	Wold	E.R.	h
Wale	Wale, Westmor.	, 🔻 🗓 💴 🗕 🗕 🕳	h
Walmesford			₂₀ —
Wandesford/			
Wandesforth	Wansford	59 - d46	h
Warthyl	Warthill	58 - d42	h
Wensleydale	Wensley Wensley	57 - a36	h *
West Cotingwith	West Cottingwith	58-e42	h
Westony House			- *
Westvile			-
Wetwang	Wetwang	59 - d45	h
Wheelton	Wheelton	56 - g32	h *
Whyteby	Whitby	63-e44	h
Wigton/Wigdon	Wigton	60-b28	m
Wiltershire/	3		
Wilteshire	Wiltshire Co.	20/21	h
Winton	Winton	60-e33	m
	Winton	62-q40	m
Withnell	Withnell	56-g32	h *
Wolfington	Wolviston	62- d 40	h
Woodhowses	Woodhouses	48-e31	m
	Woodhouses	49-b35	m
	Woodhouse	51-d40	m
Wortbay			_
Wygington	Wiggington	58-d41	h
1 2 1113 2011		30 441	11

TABLE II CONTINUED

NAME IN PRIMARY SOURCE	CLOSEST MODERN EQUIVELANT	MAP LOCATION	PROB- ABILITY
Wyk	Wike	57-e39	h
Wylton	Wilton	58-a44	h
Wyndwley/Wyrdeley	Windley	41-a39	m
Wyvelsthorp			_
Wyvile/Wyvill). · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		_

Source: Place-Names taken from PRO C 241/1/1-End, PRO C 241/6/1-End, PRO C 241/7/1-End, PRO C 241/8/1-End and PRO SC 6/1088/13. The "NAME IN PRIMARY SOURCE" column has listed under it the place-names as they actually appeared in the primary sources. The "CLOSEST MODERN EQUIVELANT" column contains the closest literary match to place-names mentioned in the primary sources. Map locations are from the Rand McNally Road Atlas of Britain, based on the Ordnance Survey Probability ranking of h--high--and m--medium--were determined by the literary closeness of the match as well as spatial orientation to York. N.R., E.R., or W.R. in the Map Location column indicates a place-name that may correspond to a Wapentake or Hundred name for the riding thus indicated. An asterisk following the probability estimate indicates a place name that was obtained from a secondary source.

VITA

Christopher Paul Gehringer

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLANATION AND DEFINITION OF THE

PROVINCIAL MARKET AREA FOR THE CITY OF YORK DURING

THE LATE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

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APPENDIX D

SUPPLEMENTARY FOLD-OUT MAPS OF

PLACE-NAME LOCATIONS

- Fold-Out Map A York and Humberside
 Source: York and Humberside: National Map Series
 33 Edinburgh: John Bartholomew and Sons Ltd.
- Fold-Out Map B Yorkshire (North Riding): Domesday
 Wapentakes
 Source: Smith, A. H. <u>Place-Names of the North Riding</u>
 of Yorkshire, vol. 5. Cambridge, England: Cambridge
 University Press, 1928.
- Fold-Out Map C Great Britain
 Source: Rand McNally Road Atlas of Britain 1990,
 Glasgow: William Collins Sons and Co., Ltd., ii,
 iii, v.
- Fold-Out Map D The Medieval City of York
 Source: Raine, Angelo. Medieval York: A
 Topographical Survey Based on Original Sources.
 London: John Murray, 1955.

