

<sup>2</sup>  
ALLISON (K.J.)  
<sub>2</sub>

PART TWO

THE NORFOLK WORSTED  
INDUSTRY.

UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY  
LEEDS



## **IMAGING SERVICES NORTH**

Boston Spa, Wetherby

West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ

[www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)

**BEST COPY AVAILABLE.**

**VARIABLE PRINT QUALITY**



## IMAGING SERVICES NORTH

Boston Spa, Wetherby  
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ  
[www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)

CONTAINS  
PULLOUTS



## IMAGING SERVICES NORTH

Boston Spa, Wetherby

West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ

[www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)

**TEXT CUT OFF IN THE  
ORIGINAL**

## IMAGING SERVICES NORTH

Boston Spa, Wetherby  
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ  
[www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)

**DAMAGED TEXT IN  
ORIGINAL**

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE NORFOLK WORSTED INDUSTRY:

#### INTRODUCTORY.

## I.

Until the end of the sixteenth century, the cloth industry of Norfolk was concerned with a type of fabric unknown elsewhere in England; in the nature of both the wool and yarn used and the finished product, worsted cloths were unlike the woollen cloths manufactured in the other clothing districts of the country. The worsted weavers had relied on Norfolk sheep for their entire wool supply, and this in part explains the distinctive nature of the cloth: Norfolk wool was of medium length, coarse and low-priced and was consequently neither included among the finer wools exported by the Staplers nor suitable for the manufacture of fine broadcloths. And the worsteds themselves were exempted from the payment of alnage to which all types of woollen cloths, with few exceptions, were subjected. In the late sixteenth century, Norfolk cloths lost their unique position: the old worsteds were replaced by the New Draperies, and these were introduced into some of the broadcloth districts as well; at this point, too, the Norfolk industry began to draw upon wool grown outside the county for the new cloths demanded not only more but better quality wool. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, and under the influence of the New Draperies introduced from the continent, the worsted industry produced cloths known collectively as Norwich Stuffs. These stuffs of great and increasing variety were made in Norfolk until the final decay of the industry in the nineteenth century.

This study of the worsted industry and its wool supply during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries thus covers three main phases: the decay of the old worsted manufacture, the revival brought about by the introduction of the New Draperies, and the increased development of the industry in the seventeenth century. Neither the mediaeval worsted industry nor the dying manufacture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has as yet found its historian, so that the present study can look backwards and forwards only with difficulty. Some attempt must be made in this introductory chapter, however, to trace the earlier developments influencing the sixteenth century situation.<sup>(1)</sup>

## II.

By the sixteenth century, the city of Norwich had become the chief centre of the worsted industry and worsteds had been made there at least as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. It has been suggested that worsted weaving was initially introduced by the Flemish immigrants who came to Norfolk between 1066 and 1200,<sup>(2)</sup> and the earliest

---

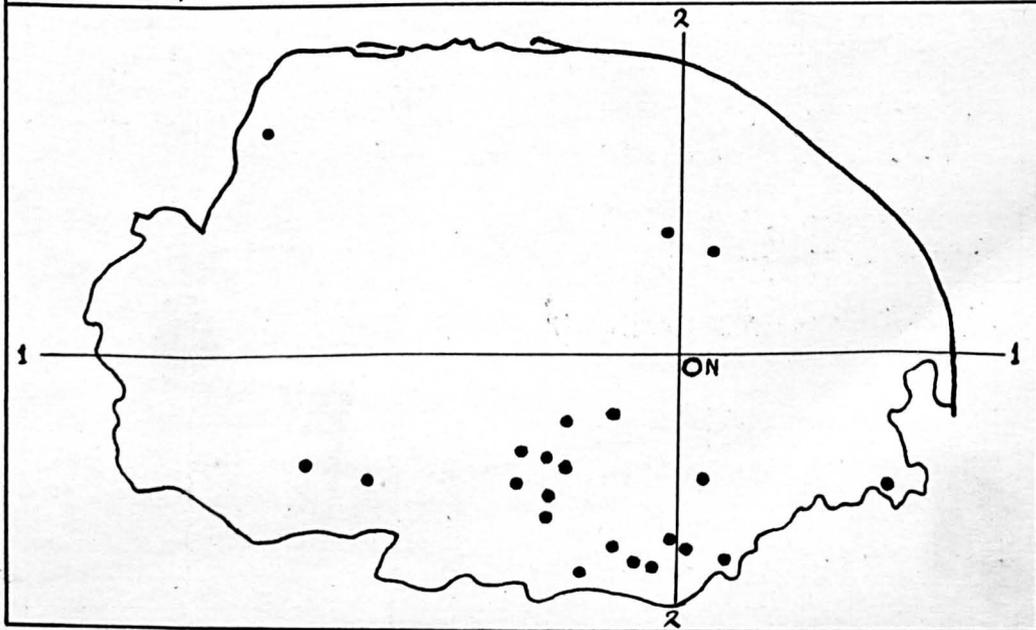
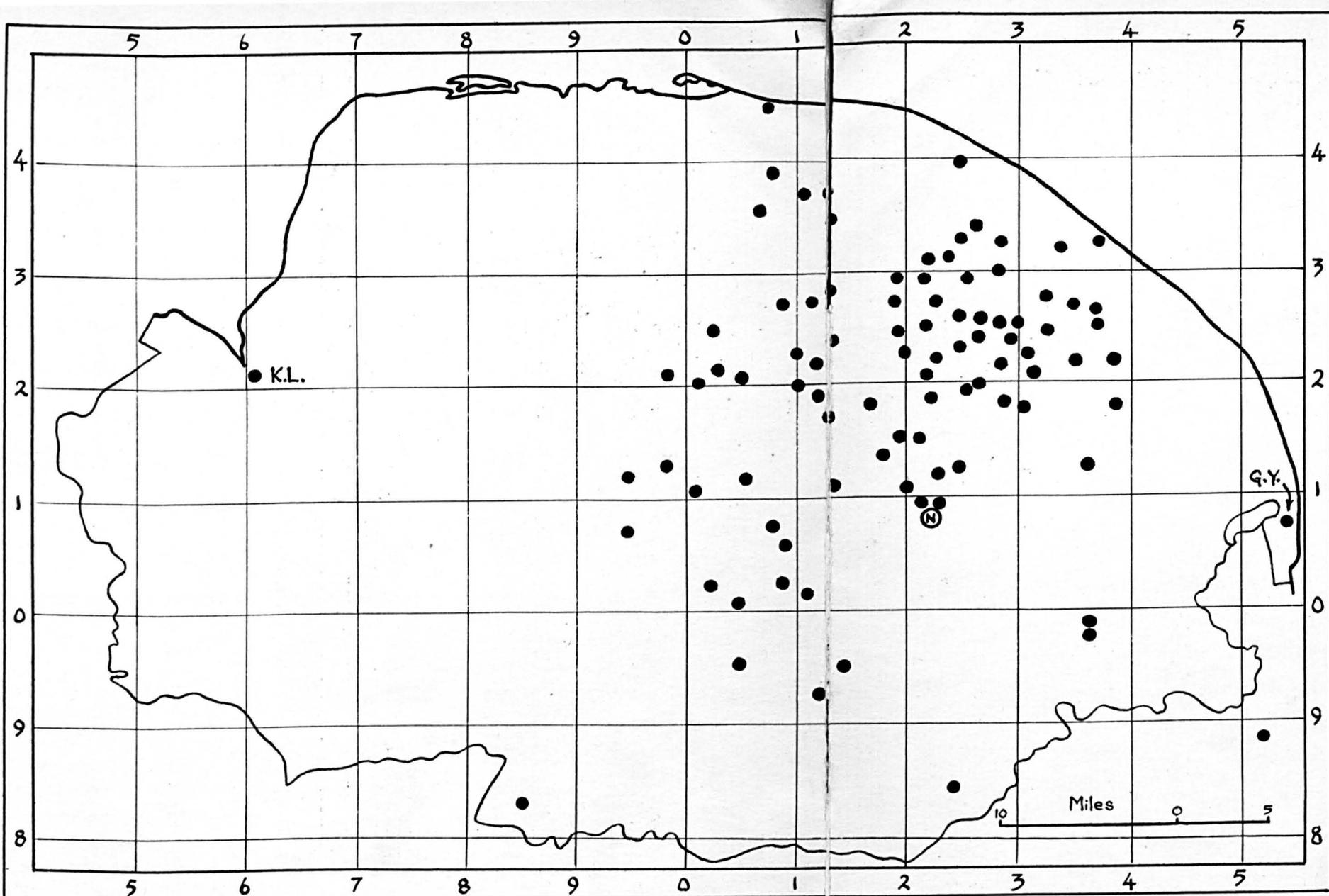
(1) The sole source of information concerning the mediaeval worsted industry is Hudson, Rev. W., and Tingey, J.C., "The Records of the City of Norwich", Vol. II, (1910). The documents in this volume were compiled by Tingey, and are preceded by a lengthy introduction.

(2) H. and T., II, lxi

references indicate that it was carried on in a number of villages north of Norwich, including Worstead and Aylesham.<sup>(1)</sup> Norwich itself first appears in an order of 1315 which mentions cloths of "Northwys, Ireland and Causton".<sup>(2)</sup> During this century there are frequent references to Irelands and Ireland weavers: neither a resemblance to Irish fabrics nor introduction by Irish immigrants<sup>(3)</sup> offers a satisfactory explanation, and the occurrence with Norwich and Cawston suggests another place name. This could possibly be Irmingland, a now-lost village only five miles from Aylesham and within the worsted weaving district. Other fourteenth century weavers worked in North Walsham,<sup>(4)</sup> Sloley, Dilham, Honing, Scottow, Tunstead and Catton - all in the area north of Norwich - and at Bishop's Lynn.<sup>(5)</sup>

Weaving was carried on in a clearly defined area north and north-west of Norwich,<sup>(6)</sup> and although the power

- 
- (1) H. and T., II, lxiv: in 1301, the King's Justices were presented with gifts of cloths of "Wrthsted and Aylesham", and the same names were mentioned by merchants in 1314.
- (2) Loc.cit..
- (3) H. and T., II, lxv.
- (4) Loc.cit.: a commission of 1327 referred to worsteds made in and around North Walsham.
- (5) Loc.cit.: in 1329, the alnager complained against seven worsted weavers of Worstead, ten of Sloley, and others of the remaining villages. He spoke of his work in the villages and in Norwich and Bishop's Lynn.
- (6) See Map 15 . This has been compiled from sixteenth and seventeenth century references; there is no indication that the distribution was changed after the introduction of the New Draperies.



MAP 15 THE WORSTED  
WEAVING AREA  
For identity of villages, see Appendix 9 .

On left: the linen weaving area.

of search of the worsted weavers' wardens was extended to Suffolk in 1444<sup>(1)</sup> and to Cambridgeshire in 1467<sup>(2)</sup> there is little indication that worsteds were made outside Norfolk,<sup>(3)</sup> and those statutes were simply making sure that no worsted weavers were beyond the craft's jurisdiction. Despite the growing importance of Norwich as the centre of the industry, the Norfolk villages provided a large though scattered body of weavers; in 1442 it was ordered that four wardens should be chosen for Norwich and two for the county, but two years later the Norfolk weavers were given equal representation with those of the city. Some indication of the numbers of the country weavers is given in the lists of those who annually elected the wardens in the sixteenth century, but although all members of the craft should have attended the assemblies held for this purpose it is clear that absenteeism was high; at Aylesham in 1549-50, the wardens were elected by "ye most substanshall of ye occapayshn of worstedweurs hosse names here aft folen", and there were 63 names, but between 1513 and 1560 the numbers in these lists vary from 19 to 100.<sup>(4)</sup> The weavers of Great Yarmouth were allowed a

---

(1) Statute 23 Henry VI, c.3.

(2) Statute 7 Edw. IV, c.1.

(3) Only one reference has been found to a worsted weaver working outside Norfolk: he was at Gisleham in Suffolk in 1665; Norwich, Bishop's Chapel, Inventories, Box 138, No.148.

(4) See overleaf for footnote 4.

(4) 1513-14,	at Westwick	- 28 electors
1517-18,	Aylsham	- 19
1518-19,	Swanton	- 28
1519-20,	Worstead	- 39
1521-22,	Aylsham	- about 50, "and others".
1523-24,	Worstead	- 36 "and others".
1534-35,	Swanton	- 25
1539-40,	Sloley	- 40
1549-50,	Aylsham	- 63. These were on the same day and
1549-50,	Aylsham	- 100 in the same house; 2 of the 4
		wardens were the same in each ms.
1557-58,	Swanton	- 64
1558-59,	Buxton,	- 47
1559-60,	Scot Ruston	- 33
1560-61,	Aylsham	- 45

All in the Second Worsted Weavers' Book, N.C.M.R.

(1) Statute 23 Henry VI, c. 5.  
 (2) Statute 7 Hen. IV, c. 4.  
 (3) Only one reference has been found to a worsted weaver working outside Norfolk: he was at Glasham in Norfolk in 1688; Norwich, Bishop's Chapel, Inventories, Box 138, No. 148.  
 (4) See overleaf for footnote A.

warden of their own in 1522-23, and another was to be appointed for King's Lynn whenever the number of householders practising the craft there reached 10: worsted weaving "was now practiced more busily and diligently than in times past at Yarmouth and Lynn".<sup>(1)</sup> Wardens were certainly elected for Yarmouth though the longest available list names only 13 electors,<sup>(2)</sup> but there seems rarely to have been occasion for election at Lynn and a Norwich warden visited the town once monthly to seal the worsteds.<sup>(3)</sup> The list of electors for the city are even less reliable,<sup>(4)</sup> and no estimate of the numbers of weavers there is possible.

There is little evidence available concerning the finishing sections of the industry before the sixteenth century, but they were apparently confined to Norwich, whither

---

(1) Statute 14 and 15 Henry VIII, c.3; made perpetual in 1534-35, Statute 26 Henry VIII, c.16.

(2) 1521-22, 13 electors  
 1539-40, 5 names, "and others"  
 1557-58, 5 " " "  
 un-dated, 7 " "  
 1560, 9 " " "

Second Worsted Weavers' Book, N.C.M.R.

(3) Statute 14 and 15 Henry VIII, c.3.

(4) 1532-33, 12 electors  
 1558, 26  
 1559, 27  
 1566, 26

Second Worsted Weavers' Book, N.C.M.R.

These numbers cannot be a true reflection of the size of the city industry.

country cloths were sent to be dyed or calendered and shorn. Worsteds were never fulled, although some of the New Draperies will be seen to have resembled woollen cloths in this respect. (1) When Yarmouth and Lynn were allowed in 1522-23 to elect wardens to seal their cloths, they were nevertheless forced to remain under the jurisdiction of Norwich and all their worsteds had to be sent to the city to be finished prior to export. (2) Within Norwich, the finishing craftsmen lived near to the river in the great wards of Wymer and Over-the-Water; (3) the dyers and calenderers, and "all suche gret noyers", were more heavily charged than other people towards the cleansing of the river. (4) Although not heavily localised, the weavers also dwelt in this sector of the city.

(1) *Infra*, p. 495.

(2) Statute 14 and 15 Henry VIII, c. 3.

(3) Part of Lower Westwick Street, in West Wymer, was known as "Listers' (Dyers') Row". Lanes leading down to the river here were called Bleksters Hole and Fullers Hole; blacking was one of the functions of the calenderer, and the fullers were dealing with the woollen cloths made in Norwich. The shearmen lived hereabouts, too: the present Charing Cross is derived from Shearing Cross; and nearby was the market for madder, still known as the Maddermarket. The fullers stretched their woollen cloths in the tenter ground, in St. Giles' Ward adjoining West Wymer. (John Kirkpatrick, "The Streets and Lanes of the City of Norwich", edited Rev. W. Hudson, 1889, pp. 21, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58).

(4) N.C.M.R., A.B. 7th June, 1532, quoted by H. and T., II, 115-6; and A.B. 28th March, 1552, quoted by H. and T., II, 127-131.

Finally, why was the worsted industry situated in this well-defined area in north-east Norfolk? Since worsteds were not fulled, the factors of water supply and availability of fuller's earth were not involved, and the localisation depended solely upon the wool supply and marketing facilities. The port of Great Yarmouth, with the navigable river Yare providing a link with Norwich, handled a large part of the industry's export as well as the import of such materials as dyestuffs. The weaving villages were conveniently situated with respect to Norwich, which controlled both the finishing stages of the manufacture and the industry's commercial arteries - the river to Yarmouth and the land route to London which carried perhaps the greater part of the worsteds intended for export. And situated north of the city, these villages were within the Sheep-Corn Region of Norfolk: at least in the early stages of the manufacture, most of the necessary wool supply was available near at hand.

It is unlikely that cloth-making was the sole activity of the country worsted weavers, and the testamentary inventories of the late sixteenth century well illustrate the weavers' interest in husbandry. The 1517 Commissioners<sup>(1)</sup> went so far as to allege that husbandry was neglected by the

---

(1) Supra, p. 183.

worsted weavers: much land in Eynesford hundred had been converted to pasture since 1488, "et causa est quod sui infra idem hundredum occupant misteram siue facturam de le worsted & paruipendunt iconomiam ad detrimentum dicti hundredi"; it would be surprising if this were true, especially in view of the decaying state of the industry in the sixteenth century. The worsted weavers had in fact always made a concession to husbandry by leaving work at harvest time to spend a month in the fields; in the words of the 1511 ordinances, this was done "for the releffe and helpe of husbondry in the tyme of harvest", and weavers were to be fined for each day they worked on worsteds, stamins and says during the month following August 15th.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1552, the prohibition was extended to the weaving of any rock-spun (or worsted) yarn,<sup>(2)</sup> and an order of 1560 makes the reason clear: in saving the harvest, the worsted weavers were losing their yarn supplies to the makers of other commodities.

"Whereas in tyme past in harvest tyme moche rocke spon yarne

- 
- (1) N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf b; printed in H. and T., II, 376-9. The period varied during the 16th and 17th centuries, and was usually different for the city and country weavers and for the strangers (Court Books). Numerous offences are recorded in the First and Second Worsted Weavers' Books.
- (2) 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book, fo. 95d. In 1548, the dornix and coverlet weavers had been ordered to stop work annually from 15th August to 8th September; A.B. 2/207, and C.B. 5/464.

haue ben spente by wevyng of russelles, chamblettes, bustians, sattens and in souche other like devyses, and also in weaving of laces and other devises woven upon fframes, stoles, or otherwyse consumed or spente by hatters or other parsons to the great decaye of worstedes, by reason wherof husbondry ys moche decayed for want of laborers in tyme of harvest to the greate hynderaunce and decaye of the Common Welthe of the cittie and country adioynng", the weaving of rock-spun yarn was henceforth altogether prohibited during harvest.<sup>(1)</sup>

### III.

In the early stages of the manufacture, the worsted weavers had complete freedom to make their cloths of any size. With the growth of the industry, this proved unsatisfactory and after both native and alien merchants had complained in 1314 that they were deceived because there was no fixed assize,<sup>(2)</sup> constant attempts were made to achieve uniformity. They usually took the form of searching and sealing by an alnager. The early alnage grants<sup>(3)</sup> included

---

(1) A.B. 3/64d., printed in H. and T., II, 134-5; repeated in 1561, A.B. 3/74.

(2) H. and T., II, lxiv.

(3) In 1315, John Pecok was appointed alnager of worsteds and other cloths and in 1327 the alnage of worsteds was granted to Robert de Poley; a commission in the same year reported that many people in and around North Walsham had broken it; H. and T., II, lxiv-lxv.

all the cloths, both worsted and woollen, made in Norfolk, but the worsted weavers actively opposed the alnager on the grounds that they had always made cloths according to their liking and he alleged in 1329 that they had conspired to prevent the execution of his office.<sup>(1)</sup> As a result, the alnage patent was revoked that year. While the worsteds thus escaped, the woollen weavers of Norwich continued to pay the alnage;<sup>(2)</sup> in 1346, John Marreys was appointed alnager of "all manner of cloths" of Norfolk, Suffolk and other counties, and it may have been the comprehensive terms of this grant which alarmed the worsted weavers into obtaining a ratification of their exemption in 1348.<sup>(3)</sup> Henceforth, worsteds never fell within the national alnage until after the arrival of the New Draperies, although it was sometimes collected by the civic authorities.<sup>(4)</sup>

In 1327, an assize had been fixed for serges, coverlets and curtains of worsted made in Norfolk,<sup>(5)</sup> but by

---

(1) Loc. cit..

(2) In 1335, Thomas But was appointed alnager for Norwich and other towns in Norfolk and Suffolk; Lipson, E., "Economic History of England", Vol. I (7th edition, 1937), p.490.

(3) Op. cit., p.491.

(4) In 1410, the governing body of Norwich received a grant of the alnage for 7 years; H. and T., II, lxvii.

(5) Serges: (1) 50 yards long. Coverlets: (1) 6yds. x 5yds.  
           (2) 49  (2) 5  4  
           (3) 30  (3) 4  3  
           (4) 24

H. and T., II, 407.

the fifteenth century deceitful manufacture was alleged to have caused a falling off in trade, and the assize of nine varieties of worsteds was fixed in 1442.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1458, the Assembly decided that sealing should continue to be necessary before worsteds were finished and sold,<sup>(2)</sup> and in 1467 the assize was re-iterated with the addition of two other

---

(1) Beds of the greatest assize	14 yds.	x	4 yds.
" " " middle	"		3
" " " least	"		2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Monks cloths	at least	12	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Canons cloths		5	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
" "		6	2
Double Worsteds		10	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Single "		6	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Roll Worsted		30	$\frac{1}{2}$

Statute 20 Henry VI, c.10.

Wardens were to be appointed (4 for Norwich, 2 for Norfolk) to worsteds and yarn and enforce the assize, lambs and pelt wool were to be excluded, defective cloths and stuff seized and forfeited if fault proved.

An inspeximus of the petition in Parliament and of the Royal response is printed in H. and T., II, 149-152, taken from the Book of Miscellaneous Matters before the Mayor, fo.91.

This statute was renewed in 1444; there were now to be 4 wardens for both city and county, and the right of search was extended to Suffolk; Statute 23 Henry VI, c.3.

(2) A.B., 10th November, printed in H. and T., II, 93.

varieties of cloth. (1)

The presentments of faulty cloths by the wardens suggest that throughout the sixteenth century until the introduction of the New Draperies, the cloth most commonly made was the double worsted - usually referred to as the "Ten Yards Worsted". Other cloths were presented far less frequently: stamins, monks cloths, canons cloths, "chekerwerk" and beds of both worsted and say. Again, the majority of the double worsteds presented were white, and had been calendered and not dyed; a minority had been blacked, and even fewer dyed - into blue, russett, tawny, plunket and "bloody". (2)

Worsted beds were woven to some extent by the worsted weavers, but most beds and coverlets, together with carpeting and hangings, were the products of the dornix weavers. Until the early sixteenth century, bed weavers and coverlet weavers had maintained a separate existence, (3) but

---

(1) Double Motleys 7 yds. x  $1\frac{1}{4}$  yds.  
 Single Motleys 6  $1\frac{1}{4}$

The 1444 Act now made perpetual; offences found by the 8 wardens would be tried by 12 discreet craftsmen (6 of city and 6 of county), cloths might be searched while still on the looms, all weavers were to put their own woven marks into the cloths, places and days were to be appointed for searching and sealing in both city and county; Statute 7 Edw. IV, c. 1. Both petition and response were exemplified by letters patent; N.C.M.R., Liber Albus, fos. 52-53.

(2) First and Second Worsted Weavers' Books.  
 (3) C.B. 5/176 (1543-44); 5/169 (1543-44).

in 1543 they were amalgamated with the larger craft of the dornix weavers. In that year, a weaver was admitted to the occupation of dornix and bed weaving "as one occupacon or handcraft taken acceptid & reputed";<sup>(1)</sup> and in the following year, after great contention between the dornix and coverlet weavers, the court ordered that they should be reputed one occupation with common rules.<sup>(2)</sup> Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the dornix weavers' craft was maintained separately from that of the worsted weavers, though of decreasing importance with the development of the Norwich Stuffs.

Apart from these cloths which came under the general designation of worsteds, woollen cloths properly so-called were manufactured on a small scale in Norwich and some of the country towns.<sup>(3)</sup> As with the finishing crafts in the worsted industry, the fullers and shearmen of these woollen cloths worked only within the city.<sup>(4)</sup> In the mid-fifteenth century, orders were made for the reformation of

---

(1) C.B. 5/191.

(2) C.B. 5/215. Probably in connection with this amalgamation the headman of the coverlet weavers refused to make a true account to the occupation of the money belonging to it; C.B. 5/241 (1544-45).

(3) Tingey (H. and T., II) does not consistently recognise that some of his data refer to worsteds and some to woollens. Lipson was similarly misled.

(4) In 1421, the fullers and weavers were instructed to elect annually two masters each; and "no one within the liberty of the said city shall in future set any woollen cloth to anyone to be woven or fulled, unless that weaver or fuller shall reside and ply his said craft within the said liberty"; A.B. 3rd April, quoted by H. and T., II, 85-6.

these "cloths of wool called Wollencloth Norwich Cloth", and two weavers and three fullers were appointed to confer with the cloth sealer concerning the manufacture of these fabrics.<sup>(1)</sup> Although nothing is known of the early stages in the making of these cloths, they may well have preceded the worsteds in Norwich itself; in about 1578 Norwich protested against the imposition of an alnage payment on worsteds, and the continuity of the series of difference cloths all made of Norfolk wool was stressed: "For first wer made at Norwich...cloth called Norwich whightes, then wurstedes, then monkes clothes, after them russelles, after them sayes, bustyns, chamlettes and sutche other lyke commodities".<sup>(2)</sup> The production of woollen cloths was probably never very great; the alnage returns, if they may be trusted, suggest only 500 to 1,000 cloths in the

- 
- (1) A.B. 4th August, 1458, quoted by H. and T., II, 93. In 1460, woollen weavers were ordered to make their cloths of sufficient length and breadth and to have them tokened, and the fuller was to "do his parte in his trade"; the weavers, fullers, spinners and "corderes" (carders) were to receive ready money for their work, and each tokened cloth was to fetch 10s.; no "comown berer" was to act as middleman in the sale of these cloths, which must be sold directly by the weaver or some member of his household; A.B. 22nd April, quoted by H. and T., II, 94.
- (2) A.B. 20th February, 1567, quoted by H. and T., II, 96.
- (3) Quoted by H. and T., II, 379.

second half of the fifteenth century. (1)

Though insignificant compared with the dominant manufacture of worsteds, woollen cloths continued to be made in the sixteenth century. The cloth-makers and thick woollen weavers maintained separate crafts, but after the worsted shearmen had broken away from the general shearmen's craft, the woollen shearmen fell into amalgamation with the fullers. (2) The woollen weavers' inquisitions for the searching of cloths were often held in conjunction with those of the fullers and shearmen, (3) and the further decay of this manufacture is indicated by the joint inquisitions of the woollen and linen weavers in the later sixteenth century. (4) The numbers of cloths presented were always small. A good idea of the size and nature of the cloths is given by orders enforced in

---

(1)	<u>1467-8</u>	<u>1468-9</u>	<u>1469-70</u>
Norwich	435½	558	505
King's Lynn	162	147	157½
East Dereham	96	99	94
Thetford	19	22	21½

P.R.O. E101/343/4, 5, 6, 7; quoted by Morey, G., "East Anglian Society in the Fifteenth Century", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1951.

Heaton, H., "The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries" (1920), pp.84-88 gives the Norwich figure of 1468-9 as 557.

(2) C.B. 6/195

(3) For example, C.B. 5/413 (1547-8).

(4) For example, C.B. 11/41, 502 (1582, 1585).

1502,<sup>(1)</sup> and among the faulty cloths presented were "huswyfes cloth", "Rawe wollen clothe", and white and gray blanket.<sup>(2)</sup>

#### IV.

The quality of Norfolk wool was well suited to the production of worsteds, and until the introduction of the New Draperies it was also sufficient in quantity. Both Norfolk and Suffolk wool was of poor quality in the sixteenth century and it deteriorated in the seventeenth. Most of the wool grown in Norfolk was of a medium length though the Marshland sheep produced a longer staple; its coarseness and poor

---

(1) The assizes were to be (1) the "brode cloth whele sponne" was to be not less than the assize called a "vij hundreth" (700 threads in the warp), 13 ells long and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  yards broad in the loom. (2) the assize of "x hundreth...rok sponne", 13 ells x  $2\frac{3}{4}$  yards. (3) the assize of "xij hundrethes" 14 ells x  $3\frac{1}{4}$  yards. (4) the "narowe cloth of rok spynnyng" to be of 600 assize. (5) the smallest cloth "wele sponne" to be of the 350 assize.

Prices were to be 1s. 8d. for the 700 cloth, and whatever the parties might agree after that rate for the 1000 and 1200; 2s. for "the hole cloth callid xxiiij yerdes"; 1s. for the "halff cloth"; and 6d. for the "dosens".

Regulations were made for searching and sealing, and fines fixed for the sale of un-tokened cloths.

A.B. 2/40, printed in H. and T., II, 105-6.

(2) C.B. 2/238, 6/192, 7/366, 8/150d.

felting quality made it unsuitable for the manufacture of fine broadcloth,<sup>(1)</sup> and it was amongst the lowest-priced of English wools.<sup>(2)</sup> Although used chiefly for worsteds, Norfolk wool was also used for the coarse broadcloths of Suffolk, and this dual suitability applied, too, to the wools of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Bedfordshire though they were not in demand in Norfolk until the later sixteenth century.<sup>(3)</sup>

Worsted yarn was spun primarily from Norfolk wool and its peculiar quality resulted in part from the use of the distaff as against the wheel: it was "rock-spun" yarn.<sup>(4)</sup> The Norwich woollen weavers used yarn of both types in different cloths.<sup>(5)</sup> The dornix weavers used yet another variety of yarn - kersey or carsey yarn: no doubt it could have been used for worsteds too but this was forbidden.<sup>(6)</sup>

(1) Bowden, P., "The Internal Wool Trade during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1952), pp.38-39.

(2) For example, in 1536:

	<u>In years past</u>	<u>This year</u>
Leominster wool, a stone	6s.8d.	9s. - 9s.3d.
March	6s.0d.	7s.6d.
Cotswold	5s. - 5s.3d.	7s. and more
Berkshire	4s.6d. - 4s.9d.	6s.8d.
"Yong Coottes"	4s.0d.	6s.0d.
Lindsey and Kesteven	2s.8d.	5s.0d.
Holland and Rutland	2s.4d.	4s.8d.
NORFOLK	1s.6d. - 1s.8d.	3s.4d.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, Calendar 1536, p.90 (Vol. 10)

(3) Bowden, op.cit., pp.39-40.

(4) Many poor people in Norfolk and Norwich were maintained "by Spynge...uppon the rocke into yarne...", Statute 1, Edw.VI, c.6. In 1571, poor women were to be provided with stuff and "rockes, cardes, wheles or such other things wherwith theie shold woorke", quoted by H. and T., II, 356-8. Worsted yarn was "nectati super colu(mna)", P.R.O. E159/327/Easter 24, etc..

(5) Supra, p.391, f.n.1.

(6) In 1548 their wardens were ordered to see that no worsted weavers bought any kersey yarn "mete ffor dornyx & cou'lights". C.B. 5/502-3.

A note of "The diu'sitie of yarnes"<sup>(1)</sup> makes this differentiation clear: woollen yarn was spun on the "greate wheele", "Garnesey or Jarsey" yarn - presumably the same as the kersey yarn of the dornix weavers - on the small wheel, and worsted yarn on the rock. Wool was combed for the spinning of both worsted and kersey yarn, as against the carding of wool for woollen yarn, the difference being that "Worsted is spun in his oile. Jarsey is washed out of his oil & spun cleane". The varying qualities of wool produced by combing resulted in the spinning of several different varieties of worsted yarn: small uffe,<sup>(2)</sup> mentil warp, middle uffe and hevil yarn. The niles remaining after combing were used in the manufacture of blankets, the flock was used for a cheap cloth called "donges".<sup>(3)</sup> Finally, the dornix weavers used a certain amount of linen yarn in their cloths.<sup>(4)</sup>

The raw material of the finishing section of the industry, dyestuffs, was largely imported though small quantities may have been grown locally.<sup>(5)</sup> A variety of dyes

---

(1) P.R.O. S.P.15/33/71, undated but queried 1596.

(2) Uffe, offe, woelf and woof, etc. are corruptions of weft.

(3) A.B. 2/147d., 1532.

(4) In 1468 it was ordered that "lynen warp" suitable for bed weavers sold in Norwich must be "truly nowmbred" and at least 1 yard "withynne the bowt of euey haspe", A.B. 7th November, quoted by H. and T., II, 99.

(5) Woad, madder, saffron and weld, for instance, could all be grown in this country and weld certainly appears in some Norfolk inventories: at Eccles in 1595, Helleston in 1608, Mundford in 1616; Bishop's Chapel, Norwich, Inventories, Lyston 96, Jedaine 358, Johnson 17.

and mordants was imported through Great Yarmouth. (1)

Considerable quantities of one of the chief dyes, woad, were brought into England by the twelfth century, notably Picardy woad from the Somme region; the Picardy merchants had made an agreement for trading with London in 1237, (2) and in 1286 were granted permission to trade freely in Norwich and to stay as long as they liked, on the payment of certain dues and observance of certain regulations, in order to import woad, weld and ashes. (3) Among the tolls payable on goods coming up-river were those on alum, brasil and woad. (4) Although no quantitative assessment of the trade is possible, an account of the woad imports into Yarmouth in 1558-60 shows a dozen merchants bringing in considerable amounts. (5)

- 
- (1) The chief dyes were woad, weld, saffron, madder, brasil, vermillion and grain; among the mordants were potash (usually made from wood ashes), alum and copperas; Carus-Wilson, E.M., "Mediaeval Merchant Venturers", pp. 216-221. A number of these were included in the will of a dyer, Richard Ferrour (five times Mayor of Norwich in the late sixteenth century): "wadde, madder, coprasse, also pikke, terr', osmonde and all wadde ashes"; Cozens-Hardy, B. and Kent, E., "The Mayors of Norwich, 1403 to 1835" (1938), p.31.
- (2) Carus-Wilson, op.cit., pp.216-8.
- (3) The agreement is printed in H.and T.,II,209-212 and commented upon on p.xxiii. Special markets were available for these merchants within the city: the present-day Maddermarket indicates the position of one of them, and the City Chamberlain's accounts of 1300-1306 include the receipts from the woad market; see H.and T.,II, xvi.
- (4) H.and T., II. 200, 203.
- (5) In 1558-9, two merchants imported 32 ballets of woad, valued at £42.13.4.; in 1559-60, nine merchants imported 40 bales, 121 ballets and 18 hundred of woad, valued at £257; P.R.O. E122/171/2.

## V.

It is impossible to estimate what proportion of the Norfolk worsted production was destined for export; probably the majority of the better quality double worsteds were, for when testamentary inventories become available in the later sixteenth century the worsted cloths which most frequently appear in the homes of poor and wealthy alike are dornix beds and coverlets, dornix and say hangings, and dornix carpets.<sup>(1)</sup> Other kinds of worsteds were certainly there but less in evidence and usually in the shape of clothing.<sup>(2)</sup> Many of the country weavers' cloths were no doubt sold to neighbours or in the many market towns,<sup>(3)</sup> but Norwich was the chief market and all cloths for export were sold there. In 1314, the merchants had complained that they were deceived in the city because there was no assize for the cloths of Worstead and Aylesham,<sup>(4)</sup> and it was a complaint on the same topic by the mercers of London and Norwich which led to the commission of 1327.<sup>(5)</sup> Within the city, all worsteds had to be sold at a

- 
- (1) An inventory of Wolsey's household goods included 85 woollen coverlets made at Bury, Lynn and Norwich; Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, calendar 1529-30, pp.2763-2770.
- (2) Bishop's Chapel, Norwich, inventories.
- (3) In addition to the normal markets there, periodic or annual sales attracted wool broggers, spinners, weavers and merchants. It was enacted in 1389 that merchants and makers of worsteds might carry and sell single worsteds anywhere in the realm; H. and T., II, 408.
- (4) H. and T., II, lxiv.
- (5) H. and T., II, lxv.

common sale hall - the Worsted Seld. (1)

An important development in the late fourteenth century had been the assumption of control by the city authorities over all the marketing facilities. (2) Deficits in the city accounts had previously been met by the levying of tallages on the citizens, and it was ostensibly to remove this necessity that control over marketing was sought. (3)

In 1378, an assessment was raised and with it three messuages, eighteen shops, forty-two stalls and fifty-four shillings rent were acquired; a committee of sixteen decreed that all food should be sold at the common stalls which were not to be leased for terms of more than three years. In addition, the Old and New common stathes were bought and all boats henceforth had to be laden and unladen there, their goods being stored in the community's warehouses. But the largest acquisition was of the messuage and tavern of John de Welbourn in 1384; it was later always called the Common Inn, and part of it was converted into the Worsted Seld. In 1388, country weavers

---

(1) All worsted made in Norwich for sale, or brought to the city for sale, were to be sold there only; A.B. 24th June, 1440, quoted by H. and T., II, 89-90. The country weavers might expose their cloths for sale there any day of the week, but only for sale to citizens, and they might not sell by retail; A.B. 24th October, 1455, quoted by H. and T., II, 92.

(2) The following details are from H. and T., II, xxxv-xxxvi.

(3) The plague of 1349 had no doubt depreciated the value of the market stalls, many of them being unoccupied. After a further serious outbreak in 1369, the site of two rows of stalls was enclosed within the churchyard of St. Peter Mancroft; H. and T., II, xxxv.

were ordered to bring their cloths there and to sell them only to citizens, and in 1419-20 ordinances were made for the Seld.<sup>(1)</sup> From 1381-84, the committee managed the city's accounts and the success of their marketing policy was reflected in a three-fold increase in the revenues; and various improvements were subsequently carried out in the city.<sup>(2)</sup>

From the Worsted Seld, the cloths destined for export passed either to the carriers for the road journey to London or to the watermen at the common stathes. The link with Great Yarmouth was provided by the Yare, "by and vpon whiche Rever aswell marchaunts & Inhabitaunts of the said Citie as other of the kynges Amyte doo Conveye m'chaundises & goodes to and from the same Citie in to the gret See".<sup>(3)</sup> Considerable quantities of filth found their way from the streets into the river and by the sixteenth century special annual assessments were being levied to cover the expenses of keeping the waterway clear.<sup>(4)</sup> The majority of goods were laden and

---

(1) A.B. 24th October, 1455, quoted in H. and T., II, 92.

(2) 1399, the Cow Tower built or re-built (part of the city's defences).

1409, the Market Cross rebuilt.

1411, the Murage Loft rebuilt.

1412, the Guildhall rebuilt.

H. and T., II, xxxvi.

(3) A.B. 2/102 (1519).

(4) In 1519, Robert Jannys built 3 tenements in the market, their profits to be used to keep the river and streets clean; A.B. 2/102. Details of the assessments and the mode of their expenditure are recorded in the "River and Streete" accounts, N.C.M.R.

unladen at the common stathes, situated not far inside the boom towers at Conesford where a chain was lowered across the river. (1) Customs were taken at the stathes for goods imported, and merchants exporting cloths were obliged to pay "Carte grynte and Cranage". (2) Attempts to reach the river away from the stathes to avoid these dues led to an order in 1577 that nobody should set up, between the stathes and Conesford Gates, any "carte gates Leding into diu'se mens howsys yards and grounds". (3) The common stathes were not the only ones on the river, (4) but the city authorities constantly tried to give them a monopoly of both passengers and goods.

At Yarmouth, customs were paid on the worsteds, and further charges for storage and cranage exacted before the merchant finally saw his goods loaded. (5) Great Yarmouth was a flourishing mediaeval port, thriving on the trade of Norwich and on a substantial herring fishery. In 1334, only four English cities were more, or as, heavily taxed, and Yarmouth's wealth exceeded that of Norwich. (6) This position had been

- 
- (1) See H. and T., II, 248.  
 (2) The stathes were leased out by the city authorities for an annual rent, with an additional payment by the lessee for cart grint and cranage; then he enjoyed the profits; examples of these leases: A.B. 2/125d., 177d., 211, 221d., 3/25, 83, 105.  
 (3) A.B. 3/37; an offender punished, C.B. 7/395 (1560).  
 (4) Some of the others were used solely by the citizens for washing, etc.  
 (5) Great Yarmouth Corporation records, River Books.  
 (6) I am indebted to Mr. M.W. Beresford for this information.

achieved despite the handicap of maintaining the haven at great expense. By 1377, Yarmouth had become only the 19th town in the realm with 1,941 payers of the poll tax,<sup>(1)</sup> and a fifteenth century petition from the port spoke of a population of 1,200 men and women.<sup>(2)</sup> By this time, the haven had become "by the power of the See so broken and stopped ~~up~~ by casting in of sand" that ships could enter with great difficulty: "a naturall haven wtout cost or charge" had been replaced by "An Artificiall haven yerly to be repaired wt mannes hand with tymbyr and Iron". In the following centuries this became an increasingly difficult problem.<sup>(3)</sup> A small number of worsteds was exported from the north Norfolk ports and from King's Lynn,<sup>(4)</sup> but the latter especially involved a long road journey and Yarmouth's pre-eminence was unrivalled.

A proportion of the worsteds shipped at Yarmouth were intended for re-export from London, but until the later seventeenth century most cloths reached the capital by the more costly but safer land route. Norwich merchants enjoyed considerable freedom of marketing in London; they were exempted from the payment of customs there and were at liberty "to brynge cary bye and convey ther goodas and m'chaundises to and from the same Citie". Their exemption from bailliage was confirmed in 1516<sup>(5)</sup> and 1527<sup>(6)</sup> and was enjoyed also at

---

(1) Supra, p. 398, f.n.6.

(2) N.C.M.R., Case 8, Shelf k. (undated but probably tempus Henry VI).

(3) Infra, pp. 716-18.

(4) For example, in 1431, cloths, including cloths "de Worsted" exported from Lynn to "les Scluse" in Flanders; P.R.O. C47/70/12/440.

(5) N.C.M.R. Liber Albus, fos.96d-97d. (6) A.B. 2/126d.

Cambridge<sup>(1)</sup> where Norwich mercers and merchants had stalls at Stourbridge Fair.<sup>(2)</sup> They were not always unmolested in London, however, and in 1477 the London Mercers' Company framed a bill against the "Worstetmen of Norwiche" who sold "Worstettes, Couerleddes & other wares in theyr Innes aswell to forreynes & more than to fremen";<sup>(3)</sup> but determined efforts by the London authorities to control the marketing of Norwich cloths were not made until the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>(4)</sup>

The worsted industry probably reached the height of its production and export during the fourteenth century; the following century witnessed a gradual decline which was to be continued until the reign of Elizabeth and arrested only by the replacement of the traditional types of worsteds by new and superior draperies introduced from the continent. "Worsteds shipped from English ports in the fifteenth century were not numerous and not widely distributed. Nearly all passed through London or Yarmouth, with sometimes a few from Ipswich, Sandwich and Southampton. Their separate entry in

- 
- (1) In 1544, two Norwich charters were shown to the Mayor and bailiffs of Cambridge to prove this exemption; C.B. 5/179. In 1565, a charter was shown at Stourbridge Fair for the discharge of "Bailliyage"; A.B. 3/115. And again in 1598; A.B. 5/191d.
- (2) Gregory Clerk, mercer (Mayor in 1505, died 1516-17), left his ground and booths at Stourbridge Fair to his eldest son; Cozens-Hardy and Kent, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-9.
- (3) Lyell, L., assisted by Watney, F.D., "Acts of Court of the Mercers Company" (1936), p. 100.
- (4) *Infra*, pp. 591-8.



all-important overseas market was being lost. "And where as wurstedes were somtyme faire true wrought and plesaunt marchaundise and gretly desired and loued in the parties by yonde the see. Now by cause they be of vntrue making and of vntrue stuf they be reported and called a subtill and an vntrue marchaundise and litel set by to the right grete hurte of the Custumes of yor sou'aign lord and grete preiudice to your true liege peple".<sup>(1)</sup> That worsteds were out of estimation abroad was no doubt the cause rather than the result of the weavers' faulty manufacture but consideration of the worsening position of the sixteenth century will throw more light on the causes of the industry's decline.

## VI.

One other essential preliminary to the study of the organisation of the industry in the sixteenth century is to consider the development of the crafts in Norwich. By 1450, detailed craft regulations had been established, upon which the modifications and additions of the sixteenth century were based. Craft control had begun in the late thirteenth century when the various trades were already passing beyond the stage of individual householders supplying a purely local market;

---

(1) Worsteds weavers' petition for the statute of 1467; N.C.M.R., Liber Albus, fos.52-3.

in about 1286, the city bailiffs were directed to choose two or more men for each craft to search for faulty work.<sup>(1)</sup> These early crafts, including a number connected with the cloth industry,<sup>(2)</sup> were not formally constituted as guilds at this time,<sup>(3)</sup> but many had achieved this status by the late fourteenth century.<sup>(4)</sup> National legislation was then being devised to limit craftsmen to working and dealing in their own commodity only,<sup>(5)</sup> but beyond the supervision of their work the Norwich guilds were apparently neglected until after 1415.<sup>(6)</sup> Detailed craft regulation was instituted as part of the Composition made in that year:<sup>(7)</sup> the former order that masters should be chosen to search for faulty work was repeated and others were concerned with apprenticeship and freedom which were to be prominent in industrial regulation throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

By the late thirteenth century, liberty to merchandise

- 
- (1) In the 46th Chapter of the Custumal, quoted by H. and T., II, xxii,  
 (2) Weavers, shermen, dyers, fullers, blackers, combers, woadmen, blanket makers, hosiers, hatters, woolmongers, mercers, merchants; H. and T., II, xxiii, xxv.  
 (3) The city Charter of 1256 ordered that no guilds should be kept to the detriment of the city, H. and T., II, xxi; and the fullers were among those fined for having a guild in 1293, H. and T., II, xxii.  
 (4) 19 of the Norwich Gild Certificates of 1389 have survived; one was founded by a variety of artificers and 6 others were craft guilds (all founded between 1350 and 1385) - though none were within the cloth industry; H. and T., II, xlii.  
 (5) Statutes 37 Edw. III, c. 5 and c. 6 (1363).  
 (6) H. and T., II, xlii.  
 (7) H. and T., II, xlv.

within the city was already limited to those who had become freemen, and all strangers<sup>(1)</sup> were compelled to take up their freedom after spending a year and a day in Norwich.<sup>(2)</sup> During the fourteenth century, a number of statutes affected the readiness of the inhabitants to seek admission to the freedom: that of 1335, for example, gave liberty to everybody to trade with whom they pleased,<sup>(3)</sup> and retail trade was opened to all alien and native merchants in 1351.<sup>(4)</sup> A petition to Parliament by the citizens of Norwich sought prohibition to strangers within their franchises from buying and selling there by retail, but they were ordered to comply with the Statute of Gloucester of 1378: this permitted wholesale and retail in small wares as before but restricted dealing in the more important commodities - including wool and cloth - to the citizens and burgesses of cities and boroughs.<sup>(5)</sup>

- 
- (1) The word "strangers" is always used with reference to aliens; "foreigners" are non-free natives.
- (2) H. and T., II, xxviii, xxix; in the 36th chapter of the Customal, about 1286.
- (3) H. and T., II, xxix.
- (4) Statute 25 Edw. III, s. 4., c. 2. (H. and T., II, xxxi).
- (5) Statute 2 Ric. 2, c. 1. (H. and T., II, xxxv).

The Norwich Composition of 1415 records that a number of non-freemen had been illegally keeping shop and taking apprentices; this was forbidden, and strangers to the city were to be given two years' and one day's grace in which to become freemen. Freemen were allowed to take apprentices but never for less than a term of seven years and all apprentices had to be enrolled with the payment of fees. At the end of his term, every apprentice would be obliged to take up his freedom in order to become a master craftsman. Foreigners who had not been apprenticed in Norwich might purchase their freedom, but only if a master was willing to receive them. The Composition finally decreed that all freemen were to be enrolled under their crafts. (1)

It is very doubtful, however, whether the consequent lists are complete - with the exception of the mercers, who numbered 106 of the more substantial citizens; rarely was a Mayor chosen during the first half of the fifteenth century who was neither a mercer nor a merchant, (2) and those occupations provided the majority of the aldermen. (3) The

---

(1) H. and T., II, xliv-xlvi.

(2) The trade of the Mayor is known for 36 of the years between 1403 and 1453: on 31 occasions he was a mercer or merchant, thrice a grocer, once a butcher and once a bellfounder; Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op.cit..

(3) In 1424, for example, 23 of the 24 aldermen were mercers or merchants; H. and T., II, xlvi.

result of the apprenticeship regulations is not immediately clear for no enrollments of an earlier date than 1512 have survived.<sup>(1)</sup> The first surviving list of masters of crafts concerns 16 crafts in 1440: all had two masters with the exception of the worsted weavers with six; there are 24 crafts in the list of 1446, 26 in that of 1448.<sup>(2)</sup> From 1510 onwards, annual lists are recorded in the Court Books, but they are often incomplete.

In 1449, the Composition was replaced by a most comprehensive set of craft regulations, containing 34 articles in all. An interesting indication of the varying status of the crafts is the article ordering that for their better regulation all small misteries should be united with the crafts to which they appurtained; misteries with seven members might then choose their own warden, those with fewer members would have a warden appointed by the Mayor. Each of the larger crafts chose either two or four wardens. Several articles concerned the wardens' duty to search for faulty goods, and the fines to be levied; others detailed the liveries to be worn, meetings attended and tallages paid.

---

(1) H. and T., II, xlvii.

(2) H. and T., II, xlviii.

Regulation of freedom and apprenticeship bulked large in the objects of the remaining articles.<sup>(1)</sup> Among them was one designed to strengthen the ruling, merchanting class of the city: if a man grew to such ability that he might bear office in the city but belonged to a craft which did not customarily provide Mayors, Sheriffs or Bailiffs, then he could be received into another craft which did. There was little relaxation of control over the Mayoralty by a select group of occupations during the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>(2)</sup>

- 
- (1) The chief ones were: that the wardens were to present to the Mayor names of all foreigners within 14 days of their arrival or within one year and one day of their keeping an open shop; that foreigners were not to take apprentices or journeymen unless they could not manage without help; and if they were of ability to buy their freedom they might have help for only 1 year and 1 day, otherwise they were to live under tribute to the sheriffs and the craft; that apprentices must be enrolled, must serve for 7 years, and then take up their freedom paying 5s. to the city, 3s.4d. to the sheriffs and 6d. to the clerk. If not enrolled within 1 year and 1 day, apprentices should be free from their covenants; payments for enrollment - 5s. to the city, 6d. to the clerk. Children of citizens to be enrolled on payment of only 6d. to the clerk, and admitted to the freedom when 16 years old on payment of 1d. to the clerk; that foreigners living out of the city and never apprenticed there might be enrolled under a craft with the craft's permission, paying 3s.4d. to the craft and 6d. to the clerk. Foreigners living in Norwich and never apprenticed there might be similarly enrolled, paying 1s.8d. to the craft and 6d. to the clerk; that all men becoming enfranchised should take out a letter of freedom which could be shown at fairs and markets for the avoidance of tolls and customs. The regulations are printed in full in H. and T., II, 278-296.
- (2) The occupations are known of 48 Mayors between 1453 and 1500; 20 were mercers or merchants, 10 grocers, 5 drapers, 2 chandlers, 8 dyers, 2 goldsmiths and 1 lawyer; Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op. cit..

There were few significant developments in the organisation of the crafts until the Reformation, when their religious aspects were suppressed and the term 'gild' was dropped in favour of 'craft'.<sup>(1)</sup> Shortly after, in 1543, a new set of detailed craft regulations was compiled.<sup>(2)</sup> The orders were primarily concerned with the crafts' annual feasts and other meetings, but the former orders concerning freedom and apprenticeship were repeated, with modifications; some of these additional points are worth noting. For the first time there is some mention of the number of apprentices that a man might take, but it was applied only to the tailors' craft: they were not to keep more than two apprentices until one or both of them had completed his apprenticeship, so that the number never exceeded two; again, an addition to the order that all apprentices must serve a seven-year term provided exemption for those who were 24 years old when their term began - no doubt an unusual occurrence; similarly, exemption to the rule that no craftsmen might teach his trade to anyone but his own child or apprentice was now granted not only to scriveners but to all men in Mayoral or aldermanic posts. Two other documents of the same date add to the

---

(1) H. and T., II,

(2) The old craft ordinances were committed for reform in January (A.B. 2/180d.-181) and the new ones enacted in March (A.B. 2/182d.-183). The new ordinances are in N.C.M.R., Liber Albus, fos. 164 et seq., and printed in H. and T., II, 296-310.

picture of the crafts at this time; the first lists the feast and mass days of the crafts,<sup>(1)</sup> the second gives their order in the procession on Corpus Christi Day.<sup>(2)</sup> Both these ceremonies involved the division of the crafts into groups, and the basis on which this was done throws some light on the inter-dependency of the crafts within the cloth industry. It has already been noted<sup>(3)</sup> that the woollen and linen weavers, the shearmen and the fullers were intimately connected; and in the procession and the feast hall, too, they formed a separate group which included the wool chapmen as well. The coverlet and dornix weavers met together, with the girdlers, on these occasions and it was in this year that the two crafts were amalgamated.<sup>(4)</sup> The dyers and callenderers were incongruously grouped with the saddlers and goldsmiths, as were the mercers and drapers with the lawyers and scriveners, but the worsted weavers were one of the two crafts large and important enough to remain separate for these occasions.<sup>(5)</sup>

No important changes were made in the general craft organisation until the seventeenth century, but the various crafts, within the framework provided by the ordinances of 1449 and 1543, constantly revised and re-iterated their regulations to meet their own circumstances.

---

(1) N.C.M.R., Liber Albus, fo.172, printed in H. and T., II, 310-2.

(2) Printed in H. and T., II, 312-3. The order of the procession in about 1449 is printed in *ibid.*, 230.

(3) *Supra*, p. 390.

(4) *Supra*, p. 388.

(5) The other was the tanners' craft.

The organization of the sixteenth century worsted industry is especially interesting in the light of the contrasts it affords to that of the broadcloth industry of East Anglia or the West Country. To a greater or less degree the broadcloth manufacture was based on the domestic or putting-out system, with a variety of processes and artificers controlled by the comparatively wealthy clothier. One searched in vain for the term 'clothier' among the records of the Norfolk worsted industry, (1) for the organization was essentially one

### CHAPTER NINE.

of a large number of small, independent master craftsmen. They worked in their own houses and workshops, and they each employed one or more apprentices and journeymen according to their means. **THE DECAYING WORSTED INDUSTRY,** working craftsmen; he supervised his apprentices and journeymen who were "put into" his looms; he sought yarn in the market place; he presented his worsteds at the hall for searching and sealing by the wardens; and he sought a merchant customer in the sale hall or a citizen customer who might be mercer, chapman, tailor, grocer, haberdasher.

1500 - 1564.

There was considerable variation in the size of the masters' establishments and trade, but there was no capitalistic organization among the more wealthy weavers. It was likely, however, that having waxed fat as a craftsman a weaver

(1) In the one case in which the term has been found, it was used to describe a linen weaver; Norwich Bishop's Chapel Inventories, Palmer 1494 (1603).

## I.

The organisation of the sixteenth century worsted industry is especially interesting in the light of the contrasts it affords to that of the broadcloth industry of East Anglia or the West Country. To a greater or less degree the broadcloth manufacture was based on the domestic or putting-out system, with a variety of processes and artificers controlled by the comparatively wealthy clothier. One searches in vain for the term 'clothier' among the records of the Norfolk worsted industry,<sup>(1)</sup> for the organisation was essentially one of a large number of small but independent master craftsmen. They worked in their own houses and workshops, and they each employed one or more apprentices and journeymen according to their means. The master himself was often not a working craftsman: he supervised his apprentices and journeymen who were "put into" his looms; he sought yarn in the market place; he presented his worsteds at the hall for searching and sealing by the wardens; and he sought a merchant customer in the sale hall or a citizen customer who might be mercer, chapman, tailor, grocer, haberdasher.

There was considerable variation in the size of the masters' establishments and trade, but there was no capitalistic organisation among the more wealthy weavers. It seems likely, however, that having waxed fat as a craftsman a weaver

---

(1) In the one case in which the term has been found, it was used to describe a linen weaver; Norwich Bishop's Chapel Inventories, Palmer 145A (1603).

might transfer his attention to the lucrative trade of a mercer or a merchant: the craft ordinances of 1449 had specifically authorised such a transference so that the man who had gained wealth and "ability" in an un-fashionable craft might nevertheless be elected to a civic office.<sup>(1)</sup> But the majority of worsted weavers who did not achieve such promotion, a variety of smaller or larger master craftsmen, were not involved in a domestic or capitalist system: they were neither employees of clothiers nor employers of spinners or of weavers other than those under their own roofs. In the absence of a putting-out system, the worsted industry was made up of a series of consecutive links: wool was sold by the grower - via the wool-brogger - to the spinner, yarn was sold to the weaver, and the finished cloth to the merchant. The large class of spinners, women and children in both city and county, were too poor to visit the country districts for their wool, and Norfolk was allowed exemption from the general prohibition of wool-brogers who performed an indispensable function for an industry organised on such lines as these. In Norwich market place the city spinsters could meet the weavers for the sale of yarn, but yarn middlewomen, or "huksters", acted as intermediaries for the country spinners. Worsteds weavers were obliged to have the yarn woven on their own premises so that putting-out at this stage was legally impossible; and the scale of a weaver's trade was further limited by craft

---

(1) See supra, p. 407.

restrictions on the numbers and conditions of employment of apprentices, journeymen and looms.<sup>(1)</sup>

Only in the finishing sections of the worsted industry is there an indication of a kind of putting-out system: the weavers normally sent their cloths to the shearmen, dyers and calenderers for finishing and received them back before they were sold. The work of these craftsmen was checked by the insistence that they should put their own marks on to the cloths that they finished, and their trades were restricted by various apprenticeship and technical regulations.

Before considering the regulation of the Norfolk industry, the contrast with the organisation of some other branches of the English cloth industry should be stressed. The divergence is greatest between Norfolk and the fine broadcloth manufacture of Wiltshire, as typical of the West Country industry.<sup>(2)</sup> The putting-out system dominated the industrial organisation in Wiltshire; large and small clothiers controlled the production of a large body of dependent workers as well as that of many quasi-independent spinners and weavers. The clothiers had the means to fetch their own wool without

---

(1) The only exception to this organisation among the weavers is provided by the small woollen weavers craft; they wove individual cloths for people who had provided the raw material, and not infrequently embezzled some of the yarn producing cloths which did not come up to the owners' specifications: C.B. 5/352; 6/116; 296; 8/17, 21, 46d.

(2) See Ramsay, G.D., "The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (1943).

the assistance of broggers who were vigourously denounced; they put out the wool to spinners at piece-work wages; they put out the yarn to weavers who rarely owned their own looms but either rented them for use in their homes or worked on the clothier's premises; they owned or rented fulling mills and so supervised the finishing processes for they commissioned work to the dyers and were directly responsible for the shearing; and some of them even took the cloth to London themselves or employed a factor there. Some of the wealthiest clothiers, like William Stumpe, owned up to twenty or more looms. Much the same kind of organisation prevailed in the broadcloth industry of Suffolk and Essex,<sup>(1)</sup> with the Springs of Lavenham rivalling Stumpe and his Wiltshire colleagues. The organisation which has been described for the worsted industry bears no resemblance to the domestic, capitalist, putting-out system of the broadcloth industry. The industry of the West Riding of Yorkshire<sup>(2)</sup> presents some features of comparison with the Norfolk organisation; there, the meaner clothiers predominated, needing the services of large numbers

- 
- (1) See Unwin, G., "Woollen Cloth - the Old Draperies", in V.C.H. Suffolk, Vol.II (1907), pp.254-266.  
 Pilgrim J.E., "The Cloth Industry in Essex and Suffolk, 1558-1640", unpublished University of London M.A. thesis summarised in the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol.16-17 (1938-40), pp.143-5.
- (2) See Heaton, H., "The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries", Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, Vol.10 (1920). Crump, W.B., and Ghorbal, G., "History of the Huddersfield Woollen Industry", Publications of the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, Handbook IX (1935)

of wool-brogers and merchants for the supply of wool and the marketing of cloth. But the extensive use of the putting-out system, and the existence of wealthy clothiers employing up to forty people, make it impossible to draw too close an analogy with the worsted industry. It is tempting to do so, however, in the case of the Welsh cloth industry:<sup>(1)</sup> the weavers were scattered in North Wales as part-time farmers and the clothier who controlled a number of processes was almost unknown. But in other ways the contrast between Norfolk and Wales was as great as that between Norfolk and Wiltshire; especially in the sixteenth century, the Welsh industry was a primitive one with no urban connections, no craft guilds, and a comparatively small production of poor quality cloths. The Norfolk worsted industry must, in fact, occupy a unique position in the story of the English cloth industry in these two centuries.

## II.

In the earlier sixteenth century, as in the fifteenth, the worsted weavers were struggling against the gradual loss of their overseas market. In these conditions it is not surprising that they attempted to cut their costs and maximise what profits there were to be had by making

---

(1) See Mendenhall, T.C., "The Shrewsbury Drapers and the Welsh Wool Trade in the XVI and XVII Centuries" (1953).

many cloths faulty in stuff, workmanship and size. Together with a rigorous enforcement of orders for the cloths' assize<sup>(1)</sup> leading to a stream of presentments of faulty cloths by the wardens,<sup>(2)</sup> the crafts constantly attempted to control standards of workmanship by regulation in which apprenticeship occupied a prominent position.

Shortly before the sixteenth century opened the way was made clear for the children of the many poor inhabitants of Norwich to be taken as apprentices. The statute of 1405-6,<sup>(3)</sup> which prevented children from entering apprenticeship unless their parents owned lands and rents to the value of 20s. per annum, was stated to be the "especial cause" of the decay of Norwich industry. The subsidy collected in Norwich in 1524 will show how numerous this poor class was.<sup>(4)</sup> The resultant enactment of 1495<sup>(5)</sup> allowed the citizens of Norwich to take anybody's children as apprentices, and in the following year this freedom was extended to the country worsted weavers on the condition that they took only two apprentices.<sup>(6)</sup>

By 1511 it was found that previous regulations were

- 
- (1) See supra, pp. 386-7.  
 (2) See infra, pp. 428-9.  
 (3) Statute 7 Henry IV, c. 17. Two offences in the Second Worsted Weavers' Book.  
 (4) See infra, pp. 437-8.  
 (5) Statute 11 Henry VII, c. 11; also N.C.M.R., Liber Albus, fo. 59.  
 (6) Statute 12 Henry VII, c. 1.

not sufficiently explicit about the age of apprentices, and the 1495 and 1496 statutes no doubt encouraged the apprenticeship of young children. The manufacture of deceitful cloths was now attributed to the taking of children "of tender and yonge age the which were nott able to werke in the said occupacion", and a minimum age limit of 14 was imposed. The 1511 Ordinances for the worsted weavers<sup>(1)</sup> also re-iterated several orders which had appeared among the fifteenth century craft regulations:<sup>(2)</sup> apprentices must serve their masters for a minimum of seven years; their indentures must be enrolled within one year of the covenant being made. The number of apprentices that a weaver might have was now prescribed - four in Norwich and two in the county; well in advance of the national legislation of 1552, this order worked towards not only the maintenance of good workmanship but also the prevention of over-production for the failing market. Not only aliens and married men, but also women and girls were considered unsuitable for apprenticeship "for that that (sic) thei be nott of sufficient powre to werke the said worsteddes as thei owte to the wrought." In the following years, few of these rules remained unbrokem, but it does seem that an

---

(1) N. C. M. R., Case 10, Shelf b; printed in H. and T., II, 376-9. The Ordinances were ratified in Parliament in 1512, Liber Albus, fos. 94d-96d.

(2) See supra, pp. 405-7.

attempt was made to enforce them effectively.<sup>(1)</sup> The fifteen and sixteenth century regulations never set down the conditions of employment of journeymen, but they were hired for certain terms - usually a year - and paid wages by the piece.<sup>(2)</sup> Only qualified master craftsmen were allowed to take apprentices and occasionally the wardens discovered journeymen doing so.<sup>(3)</sup>

The dornix weavers were subjected to similar legislation. In 1544-5 they were limited to four apprentices each,<sup>(4)</sup> and two years later to only two each;<sup>(5)</sup> and only legally bound apprentices were to be taught the trade.<sup>(6)</sup> After a number of weavers had ignored the insistence on a

- 
- (1) Apprentices were taken on trial and set to work though not legally bound and enrolled, C.B. 2/50 (1514-5); aliens were apprenticed, C.B. 8/222d. (1564); the number of apprentices allowed was exceeded, 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book (1512-3, John Watts senior of Norwich had five), and P.R.O. C1/577/31-34 (1515-29, Henry Scarbrugh complained against the wardens for punishing him on the allegation, which he denied, of having five); boys under 14 years of age were taken, 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book (1512-3); others were employed without their indentures being sealed, or enrolled, 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book; an apprentice employed for wages as a journeyman, 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book.
- (2) A journeyman hired in 1562 to weave "freses" for 1 year from Easter at an agreed wage per cloth made, C.B. 8/16d. A journeyman hired "in open Sessions", C.B. 8/335 (1565).
- (3) In 1515-7, William Pratte found to have an apprentice and a journeyman, and his worsteds were coarsely made, C.B. 2/37-38.
- (4) And apprentices were not to be sold to other masters without the Mayor's licence, C.B. 5/215.
- (5) A new set of rules was submitted to the Assembly and approved in 1546, but the rules are not given, A.B. 2/194d. Later that year, 2 offenders were allowed to keep 4 of their eldest apprentices until they had served their full term, and then only 2 each - according to the Act (presumably referring to that approved shortly before) A.B. 2/196d. In 1560, both these men were offending again, Robert Saborn having 3 and Christopher Soham 5 too many apprentices, C.B. 7/421.
- (6) C.B. 5/391

seven-year term of apprenticeship by prematurely releasing their boys, an enquiry revealed 15 dornix weavers in the city,<sup>(1)</sup> and in the same year, 1548, rates of payment for dornix weavers' journeymen were fixed.<sup>(2)</sup> Regulations for the worsted weavers embraced those working in the county as well as the city, but until 1551-2 dornix weavers had been able to escape their craft orders by living outside Norwich; the statute of that year brought these men within the city's jurisdiction but restricted them to corporate or market towns.<sup>(3)</sup> This occasioned a fresh enquiry of their numbers, and in the following year 22 were admitted to the craft under the new regulations;<sup>(4)</sup> dornix weavers were soon being presented for not complying with them in various ways.<sup>(5)</sup>

- 
- (1) Rauff Horne admitted to releasing an apprentice from 3 of his 7 years, having another un-bound, and also a third who was now ordered to be dismissed, C.B. 5/507-8 (1548). In the same year, 15 dornix weavers obeyed the order to bring in their apprenticeship indentures and their marks for inspection, C.B. 5/502-3, 568.
- (2) 10d. for every six ell-broad, and 8d. for every six yard-broad cloths, C.B. 5/509.
- (3) The statute applied to dornix and coverlet weavers and hat makers; the large village of Pulham was exempted from the statute, Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI, c. 24.
- (4) Another was admitted in 1554, and two country dornix weavers (from East Dereham and Reepham) in 1556, C.B. 6/326.
- (5) Some failed to take up their freedom of the city, others were not admitted to the craft, released their apprentices for a money payment, offered wages above those allowed in order to entice journeymen from their masters, and set their sons a-work un-apprenticed, C.B. 6/326 (1554), 7/421 (1560).

Local craft regulations had thus preceded the Statute of Apprentices of 1563<sup>(1)</sup> which attempted enforcement on a national scale; the worsted weavers were exempted from its orders, but apparently not so the finishing crafts in Norwich.<sup>(2)</sup>

Local also preceded national legislation in the direction of limiting the number of looms which each weaver might keep. The 1511 Ordinances<sup>(3)</sup> set the limit at four broad and one narrow loom in Norwich, two broad and one narrow in the county; and furthermore all looms had to be installed on the weaver's own premises for he might have none "wtout his dwellyng place to his aun propre use and profyght".<sup>(4)</sup> The dornix weavers were limited, in 1546-7, to six looms.<sup>(5)</sup>

- (1) Statute 5 Eliz., c.4.
- (2) A dyer and a shearman presented for erecting their crafts contrary to this statute, N.C.M.R., Case 5, Shelf k, un-dated.
- (3) Supra, p. 416. Offences - 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book, fo. 59d. (1530-31).
- (4) 1511 Ordinances; offences - John Clerk had 1 worsted and 1 bed loom in Thomas Dowe's house, 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book, fo. 36 (etc.)
- (5) A.B. 2/194d. and C.B. 5/326. Offences - C.B. 5/391, and in 1560 Some and Saborn had too many looms as well as apprentices (supra, p. 417, f.n. (5))  
C.B. 7/421

The wardens of both crafts had cause to put these orders into operation. (1)

These various regulations effectively limited the worsted weavers' scale of activity, a course in which the crafts were prompted by the industry's difficulties in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Restricted in the size of their own establishments, masters were prevented from employing looms and weavers on other premises, and there is no evidence whatsoever that they were able to increase their trade or wealth by putting-out wool to be spun or yarn to be woven.

### III.

The woven cloths passed from the weavers to undergo two finishing processes: they were first either calendered or dyed, and then shorn. The impression given by the nature of the faulty cloths presented by the wardens, together with several craft regulations, is that a majority of the worsteds were sold white and un-dyed: these cloths were calendered. (2) The calenderers were also responsible for the process of

- 
- (1) In 1546, a dornix weaver, Saham (= Some ?), ingeniously circumvented the order: he had 6 looms in his house but let 2 of them to John Comforte for 6s.8d. a year, and John Comforte had 1 loom of his own there as well; John Comforte was neither apprentice nor journeyman. Saham sold Comforte all the stuff used on the two looms at 1s.6d. the dozen "redy died" (or 1s.10d. when it was not so cheap), and then bought all the beds made by Comforte for 5s.4d. each. He boarded Comforte at 1s. per week and allowed him to have an apprentice for 1s. weekly "borde & wags". C.B. 5/355-7 (1546-7)
- (2) A process in which the cloths were cleaned and given a smooth glossy finish.

blackening though a number of craftsmen termed bleksters concentrated on this process.<sup>(1)</sup> Finally, a minority of cloths were dyed. High standards of workmanship had been endangered in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries by workmen who practised as both calenderers and dyers. In 1529, dyers and their servants were accordingly forbidden to "use ner occupye the craft or mystery of a calaunder whiles he use or occupye the misterye of a dyer"; dyers were not to black or calender worsteds, and calenderers might not dye them into any colour but black.<sup>(2)</sup> These two crafts were singled out for special attention again in 1532 though the order concerned aimed to prevent any artificer from practicing more than one "handy crafte or handy ocupacion",<sup>(3)</sup> and in 1533-34 statutory legislation forbade dyers of worsteds, stamins and says to calender them as well.<sup>(4)</sup> Apart from this "poaching" both crafts enforced the usual term of apprenticeship.<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Several orders to be considered below make it clear that this should not be interpreted as a bleaching process.

(2) A.B., 3rd May, printed in H. and T., II, 111.

(3) A.B., 20th December, printed in H. and T., II, 118-9. Three exceptions were allowed: "Provided always that it shall be lauffull to the couerlightweuers wtinne the citie to dye ther couerlightyerne in maner and ffourme as of olde tyme they haue used for to doo, eny prohibicion in this acte to ye contrarye not wtstandyng"; and "Except wollen and lynen clothemakers which shalbe at libertie". Non-calenderers were in certain circumstances allowed to employ calenderers: Robert Palmer kept three men "to the ocupacion of calaundryng" but was allowed to keep them as they had been apprenticed to the craft and were very expert; C.B. 5/101, printed in H. and T., II, 170 (1542).

(4) Statute 25 Henry VIII, c. 5.

(5) A.B., 20th December, 1532, printed in H. and T., II, 118-9; Statute 5 Henry VIII, c. 5 (1513-14).

Little information is available concerning the actual techniques of calendering and dying, but in 1513-14 a statute "to avoid deceit in worsteds" prohibited a method of calendering which was further threatening the standards of worsteds. The Norwich calenderers had always practiced wet calendering, but strangers abroad had begun to enhance the price of worsteds by dry calendering with gums, oils and other processes; but "if the same worsted so dry calendered taketh any wet, incontinent it will shew spot and shew foul, and ever after continue still foul, and will not endure...". Though disapproved of abroad, the process had been introduced into England, and it was now prohibited.<sup>(1)</sup> The importance of his craft to the industry gave the calenderer freedom to use wood to heat his leads or vats: the large quantities used in the city resulted in the dyers, brewers and bakers being forbidden to burn wood between 14th September and 1st November annually.<sup>(2)</sup>

The dyers made their own attack on craftsmen using more than one trade, an offence still rampant in 1557-8. The company of "wood-setting and dyeing" then blamed the disrepute in which the Norwich trade was held upon the inefficiency of dyers who occupied two or three trades or who were not

---

(1) Statute 5 Henry VIII, c.5; made perpetual in Statute 25 Henry VIII, c.5 (1533-34).

(2) A.B. 2/149 (1533 ).

properly "practysed, traded and vsed" in dyeing. To prevent encroachment on the trade by fullers, weavers, shearmen and others the seven-year apprenticeship was to be duly observed by anybody who wished to "sett any Wad them selves in their howses, or also shall sett vpp anye wadfatte to dye and Collour". A weekly search by the wardens was instituted in order to secure "trewe and pfect Collours", but the calenderers were allowed to retain their freedom to black the cloths that they had calendered. (1) The regulations were both merited and enforced. (2)

From the calenderers and dyers worsted passed to the shearmen for the nap to be evenly shorn. Until the end of the fifteenth century, a general shearmen's craft had dealt with all the cloths made in Norwich and Norfolk, worsteds and woollens alike; apprentices had been bound to the one craft, and two wardens had been elected. A movement to establish a separate craft of worsted shearmen led to the statute of 1495 (3) which sought the better shearing of worsteds

---

(1) A.B., 3/34-5.

(2) In 1531-2, for example, the bed-weavers craft complained that two dyers (one an alderman) had been apprenticed as dyers but kept bed looms in their houses and wove many coverlets; C.B. 2/259.

In 1554, Robert Betts insufficiently dyed 8 worsteds; C.B. 5/46. See also, C.B. 5/230, 243-5, 271. Also defectively dyed in 1554 were three worsteds "of ij d. ob. hewe", one of "iij d. hew", one of "iiij d. hewe"; C.B. 6/361. Whenever the cloths could be corrected by fresh dyeing, they were ordered to be amended.

(3) Statute 11 Henry VII, c.11.

but forbade the artificers to modify any ordinances without the approval of Mayor and aldermen. The worsted shearmen, however, went ahead to choose wardens and to separate themselves from the parent shearmen's craft without the Mayor's consent. It was immediately alleged that the upstart wardens were "intending to bring the shearing of worsteds into few hands and to enhance the price of shearing of worsteds" by insisting on the payment of heavy fees for admission to the craft. As a result, the 1495 statute was totally repealed in 1503-4,<sup>(1)</sup> but though short-lived it revealed the lowly state of craftsmanship which was common to all branches of the industry. Though a seven-year apprenticeship had been customary among shearmen of "Worstedes called X yerdes, stamyns ne any other Wurstedes", men had lately been employed who "haue not the sight nor connyng in that occupacion nor haue be apprentice to the same"; great losses had resulted "by kyttyng and otherwyse", and since all worsteds had to be shorn everybody's reputations had suffered. The remedy was enforcement of apprenticeship, unless the master of the craft approved of a workman without it, and the prohibition of non-shearmen from employing worsted shearmen in their houses.

With the repeal of the statute within seven years,

---

(1) Statute 19 Henry VII, c.17.

faulty work abounded. (1) One step to improve standards was taken in 1526 when it was ordered that all Ten-Yards Worsteds must be tokened by the weavers' wardens before being shorn. (2) The worsted shearmen must have achieved separate craft status during the two decades following the failure of their first attempt, for in 1528-9 their headman and wardens submitted a bill to the Assembly lamenting the waywardness of their members. Orders were accordingly enacted making the seven-year apprenticeship compulsory, together with a test of workmanship for the aspiring shearmen. Only approved tools were to be used - a "good & sufficient bourde & also a Sufficient Shere for the same"; each shearman was to put a thread-mark into the shorn cloth which was then to be searched and sealed before being returned to the weaver or the calenderer; (3) and

---

(1) In 1478, worsted shearmen had been forbidden to use steel rubbers because they cut the cloths, and iron smithies were not to make them; A.B. 26th August, printed in H. and T., II, 102.

Faulty shearing, cloths cut with rubbers; C.B. 2/8, 13; and 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book. In 1518-19, for example, cloths cut including a Ten-Yards Worsted which John Mannyng "totondit...cu' le Rubbors in tantu' qd. multiplicat scissa est"; C.B. 2/59.

Shearmen took apprentices illegally; e.g. C.B. 2/32. A non-shearman (a scrivener) was pardoned for keeping shearmen and shearing worsteds; Cozens Hardy and Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

(2) A.B. 2/123d.

(3) Calenderers who received unsealed cloths back from the shearmen were encouraged to inform against them by the offer of part of the fine imposable; and the wardens were given right of search in the houses of dyers as well as of worsted shearmen.

shearmen were not to work in secret or back houses in order to avoid their wardens' search, nor might they employ women and girls. Finally, a minimum payment of 4d. for every well-shorn cloth was fixed.<sup>(1)</sup> Offences against these orders were frequent,<sup>(2)</sup> and re-enactment was necessary on later occasions.<sup>(3)</sup> This account of the finishing stages of the worsted industry makes no mention of fullers, of course; but they, together with woollen shearmen, were working on the woollen cloths made in Norwich, and the faltering workmanship so prevalent in the worsted industry was found among their crafts too.<sup>(4)</sup>

The usual organisation of the finishing stages of the industry involved the delivery of cloths from the weaver

- 
- (1) A.B. 2/132d.-133d.  
 (2) Threadmarks not used; 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book. Six men used insufficient shears; C.B. 6/413 (1555). Insufficient boards; 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book. Employment of women - 7 shearmen examined in 1541-2 "iff thei haue sette ther wiffes or ony woman to sette the wolle before the sheryng of worsted"; C.B. 5/87; also 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book. Working in an "Inwarde & secret house called a plor" in 1532-3; 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book.  
 (3) The Assembly agreed to consider the worsted shearmen's Act in 1533; A.B. 2/153d. "Remembrances of things to be done" in 1540 included "to renew thact of worsted shermen"; C.B. 3/194.  
 (4) Bad workmanship by fullers: N.C.M.R. Case 5, Shelf d. (un-dated); C.B. 2/238 (1530-1); 5/79 (1541-2); 6/252 (1553); 7/55 (1556- "in the mylling"); 7/366 (1562). Bad workmanship by woollen shearmen: C.B. 6/224 (1553); 7/462 (1561 - "for Roughing cloth with woll cards contrary to all workemanship"); 6/396 (1554 - using unlawfully "pykkard"/"pykkerd" - ? what is this). Over-tentering: a fuller stretched an 11-yard cloth to 13 yards, C.B. 6/224 (1553); a fuller had "overdrawen" a woollen cloth "by the quantytie of a yerd & half vppon his tenters", C.B. 6/155 (1551). Using two crafts: a fuller made cloth badly, embezzling yarn, and then insufficiently fullled it, C.B. 5/79 (1541-2).

to calenderers, dyers and shearmen who returned them when their work was done. Occasionally, weavers sold their goods to dyers who were then responsible for the marketing.<sup>(1)</sup> The finishing crafts operated only in Norwich and all country worsteds had to be sent there to pass through these processes; since it was also necessary for country worsteds to be marketed at the Worsted Seld in the city, cloths would not have been returned to the weavers' villages after being finished, and in the later sixteenth century - and no doubt earlier - the more substantial country weavers had warehouses in Norwich.<sup>(2)</sup> The calenderers and dyers occupied a prominent and crucial position in the production of the finished cloth, a position which enabled some of them to achieve wealth and influence beyond that of the weavers. In mediaeval urban cloth industries elsewhere,<sup>(3)</sup> dyers tended to be merchants and entrepreneurs rather than artisans pure and simple, and took their place among the city's ruling class. There is

- 
- (1) Thomas Morley, a Norwich worsted dyer, delivered £5 worth of wares to Leonard Palmer, a Norwich merchant, sealing an obligation for £10; P.R.O.C1/1035/47 (1538-44). Robert Betts, a dyer frequently presented for faulty work by the Norwich wardens (supra, p. 423, f.n. 2), took un-tokened worsteds from a country weaver at North Walsham market; C.B. 1st October and 31st December, 1547, printed in H. and T., II, 173.
- {2} Infra, pp. 749, 757.
- {3} See Carus-Wilson, op. cit., pp. 222-8.

evidence that they did so in fifteenth and sixteenth century Norwich, some of them breaking the mercers' and merchants' virtual monopoly of the mayoralty;<sup>(1)</sup> the poaching upon the calenderers' craft, and the maintenance of their own monopoly of finishing even those worsteds made in King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth<sup>(2)</sup> both point to the same conclusion.

#### IV.

Enforcement of the regulations aiming at the achievement of high standards of workmanship resulted in a steady stream of presentments of faulty cloths by the worsted weavers' wardens.<sup>(3)</sup> Inquisitions were held by the city and county wardens at frequent intervals; the Norfolk officials held their sealing sessions at various villages, varying from year to year, but the more convenient centres received visits

---

(1) Supra, p. 405 f.n. 2 . Richard Ferroure, a dyer, was mayor in 1473, 1478, 1483, 1493 and 1498; he used a merchant's mark and so was not only an artificer; Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op.cit., p.31. Also, infra, p.433.

(2) Supra, p. 381. ~~fn.~~

(3) The First Worsted Weavers' Book, 1492-1504, is principally devoted to these presentments; a page from it is reproduced in H. and T., II, facing p.153. The earlier part of the Second Worsted Weavers' Book, 1511-1638, contains similar presentments, the latest inquisition being dated 1555-6. Later, the inquisitions are recorded in the Court Books. The two Books, especially the Second, contain many presentments concerning apprenticeship and looms, etc.

Similar presentments were made by the wardens of the dornix weavers; C.B.2/144, 196, 5/176, 339, etc. In 1560, "they ffynde the hole occupacon ffawty for not Sealyng ther ware"; C.B.7/421.

most frequently.<sup>(1)</sup> Fines were imposed for defective cloths and the wardens refused to seal them; these un-tokened worsteds could not legally be put to sale but many of them escaped the wardens' notice in the early sixteenth century.<sup>(2)</sup> This further deceit was encouraged by a number of merchants who were prepared to buy un-tokened cloths, and wardens might even be approached to assist the racketeers<sup>(3)</sup> who pursued their dealing in inns and private houses<sup>(4)</sup> as well as in the country.<sup>(5)</sup>

An attempt was made in 1512 to remedy the abuses;<sup>(6)</sup> it was recalled that the worsted trade had been very profitable

- 
- (1) For example, in 1542-3: two of the country wardens sealed at Aylsham on Swanton Abbott on Tuesdays and Thursdays, two at Worstead and Horstead on Mondays and Fridays. The Great Yarmouth warden sealed on Tuesdays and Thursdays. There is no mention of a King's Lynn warden (see supra, p. 380) 2nd Worsted Weavers' Book, fo. 83d.
- (2) For example, in 1520-1: 2 defective worsteds bought from a Norwich weaver for 22s. and 18s.; C.B. 2/110. 1515-7, a Norwich journeyman weaver made worsteds "very corse for lak of Stuff" and sold some of them un-tokened; C.B. 2/37-38.
- (3) In 1536, a warden was told that if he could not seal defective cloths divers merchants would buy them un-tokened. C.B. 12th June, printed in H. and T., II, 167.
- (4) In 1539, worsteds were reported to be sold at the "Signe of the Crown" in St. Clement's parish, Norwich, and in private houses. Some bought there had been delivered to country weavers for re-sale, and other weavers left cloths at houses whose occupants undertook to sell them; C.B. 3/184.
- (5) In 1547 at North Walsham market, a dyer took un-tokened worsteds from a weaver and promised that he "shuld do well inowe ffor the tokenyng"; C.B. 1st October and 31st December, printed in H. and T., II, 173.
- (6) A.B. 2/74, printed in H. and T., II, 108-9.

when the cloths were "suerly wrought and made", but that weavers had recently "by ther subtyle and crafty means" made many cloths defective in stuff, measure and workmanship, "for whiche the weuers therof leue out of the same peces ther wouen markys and oftetymes brynge them to Innes and shermens houses in secret maner to be solde, and otherwhile brynge them to the tokeners houses in secret and selle them to the tokener. And so the tokeners conueye them in hydde and couert corners where as straungers hauyng no conyng to deserne the insufficiencies of the same clothes shuld bye them...". It was accordingly ordered that no weaver, or anyone in his name, should sell worsteds in Norwich "wythynne any inne or innes, tokeners houses or other where, but openly in marchauntes shoppes or stretes of the said cite, where euery man may surely knowe that the worstedes (are) perfightly serged tokened and wouen marked according to a statute<sup>(1)</sup> thereof hadde and made..". Abuses would incur a 3s. fine for the weaver, and a similar sum for the owner or occupier of the house where any "whight worsted" was sold; but citizen shearmen, tokeners and innholders were allowed to continue to buy cloths in houses and shops if they did so without any "decepcion, gyle, ffraude, craft or collusion". These regulations were, of course,

---

(1) Referring to Statute 7 Edw. IV. c. 1 (1467).

abused and further consideration was given to this matter in 1548.<sup>(1)</sup>

Weavers and dyers sold their worsteds to a variety of tradesmen: in addition to merchants, cloths were bought and sold by mercers, drapers, grocers and such small dealers as chapmen and haberdashers. Merchants were engaged solely in large-scale and distant trade, both to London and to overseas markets.<sup>(2)</sup> The London trade was shared by the mercers, but these men followed a more various trade selling worsteds in London, at towns and fairs elsewhere in England,<sup>(3)</sup> in Norwich itself,<sup>(4)</sup> and at country fairs in Norfolk.<sup>(4)</sup> Most drapers satisfied a local market,<sup>(5)</sup> as did grocers for whom cloths provided only a small part of their

- 
- (1) False work was done by the tokeners; 1st Worsted Weavers' Book, fo.48d. In 1546, the dornix wardens were fined for sealing faulty cloths; A.B. 2/196d. In 1548, a book of regulations for the selling of worsteds was to be drawn up; A.B. 2/206d. And in the following year nine men were appointed for the purpose; C.B. 6/7.
- (2) Some of the Norwich merchants dealt in a variety of goods, both imports and exports; others probably relied wholly on the worsted trade, like Henry Bacon (Mayor in 1557 and 1566) who belonged to "a company of buyinge and sellinge of worsteddes in Norwich"; Cozens-Hardy and K&nt, op.cit., p.56.
- (3) For example, a Norwich mercer had booths at Stourbridge Fair; supra, p. 400, f.n. 2.
- (4) For example, a mercer had a booth at Sloley Fair in 1551; Tawney and Power, op.cit., i, 191.
- (5) Though some of the wealthiest drapers and grocers engaged in the export trade, too.

trade.<sup>(1)</sup> There is no sign of a merchanting class within the worsted weavers' craft, that weavers were directly responsible for marketing their wares - apart, of course, from the purely local retail trade; but as has been noted already,<sup>(2)</sup> the Norwich craft regulations offered a stepping-stone for the wealthy weaver to move into the trade of merchant or mercer. The absence of merchant-craftsmen among the weavers must account for there being no sign of enmity between large and small masters: all were independent, none established superiority over others by gaining control of the marketing of their cloth.<sup>(3)</sup> Equally striking is the absence of any sign of discontent among the journeyman class who were not prevented from becoming small master craftsmen - provided they had served an apprenticeship and were willing to take up their freedom. The only hindrance to promotion in the early sixteenth century was the unhealthy state of the whole trade, for regulations to remedy this not only checked the aspiring apprentice but also reduced the weaver's ability to take more apprentices and journeymen and install more looms.

---

(1) For the importance of wool and cloth in the grocer's trade, see Thrupp S., "The Grocers of London", in Power and Postan, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-5.

(2) *Supra*, pp. 407, 411.

(3) Contrast the situation in some of the London Livery Companies; Unwin, G., "Industrial Organisation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (1904) pp. 41-69

The mercers and merchants formed a large<sup>(1)</sup> and powerful class controlling the city government; together with the grocers and drapers, they provided about 75% of the Mayors elected between 1500 and 1565.<sup>(2)</sup> Some of the more wealthy mercers trading to the capital became members of the London Mercers' Company, and the hierarchy of Norwich merchants engaged in the export trade formed a branch of the Merchant Adventurers' Company. In other English ports the merchant companies controlled the craftsmen, and this control was the starting point of the new charters of the Merchant Adventurers.<sup>(3)</sup> The merchanting class dominated Norwich in the same way, and only if the wealthy craftsmen transferred

- 
- (1) In the early fifteenth century, the mercers' craft had over 100 members; supra, p. 405.  
A list of the members in 1477 includes 57 names (32 struck through), headed by John Wells who was Mayor in 1476. In 1491 there were 58 names (mostly struck through), and under the date 1506 is a long list, added to over a period of years (with many members presumably dead, having their names struck through); N.C.M.R. Case 10, Shelf b., the Mercers' Book (1477-1515 and 1622-3), fos. 1, 2d., 10d.
- (2) Of the 60 Mayors between 1500 and 1565 whose trades are known, 24 were mercers, 5 merchants, 13 grocers and 4 drapers, totalling 46 or 76.6%; others were chandlers (2), scribes (3), worsted weavers (2), beer-brewers (2), and one dyer, bellfounder, calenderer, sadler and goldsmith; Cozens-Hardy and Kent, *op.cit.*
- (3) Unwin, G., *op.cit.*, p. 76.

themselves to the merchanting trades could they share in the government of the city.<sup>(1)</sup> That at Norwich was not one of the larger branches of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, but it existed as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century; in 1509 its members described themselves as "we off the cytte off Norwyche that been free of the fellowship, the whiche is callyd the fraternyte of saynt Thomas byyonde the see, in the archedukys londys", and worsted were exported to the Low Countries "By us merchants adventurers off Norwyche, off the same fraternyte".<sup>(2)</sup> In 1580, a petition to the Lord Treasurer from "the marchaunts adventurers of the cittie of Norwich" was signed by fifteen men,<sup>(3)</sup> and several Mayors in the sixteenth century were members.<sup>(4)</sup> The outport Merchant Adventurers were allowed some voice in the government of the

---

(1) *Supra*, pp. 407, 444. For example, John Butte was admitted to the freedom in 1422-3 as a thaxter, but he later became a merchant and was Mayor in 1462; Cozens-Hardy and Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

(2) Sellers, M. (ed.), "The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers", *Surtees Society*, Vol. 129 (1918), pp. 121-2. The Merchant Adventurers' Company was dominated by London, and there the mercers predominated among the Adventurers; the patron saint of the mercers became the patron saint of the Merchant Adventurers in the Netherlands who consequently became known as the "Fraternity of St. Thomas beyond the Sea"; Carus-Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

(3) P.R.O. E122/196/7; *Infra*, pp. 599-600.

(4) John Clerk, Mayor in 1515 and 1520, member of the Merchant Adventurers' and Mercers' Companies; Edward Rede, M. 1521, 1531, 1543, M.A. and M. Coys; Robert Yarham, M. 1591, a grocer and M.A.; Roger Weld, M. 1599, a grocer and M.A.; Cozens-Hardy and Kent, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 44, 65, 66.

Company's affairs: twelve Assistants were chosen at each Cold mart in the Low Countries, eight from London and four of "other dyvers good townes in Englonde".<sup>(2)</sup> In 1519<sup>(1)</sup> and 1522,<sup>(2)</sup> the four were from York, Newcastle, Exeter and Norwich, the last-named being represented by William Hert.<sup>(3)</sup> But the outport merchants resented the Londoners' paramount influence: in 1509 the Norwich members tried unsuccessfully to assert their own opinions in the courts held in the Netherlands.<sup>(4)</sup> While the trade to London was shared by the merchants and the larger mercers, direct exports of worsteds from Norwich via Yarmouth was no doubt controlled by the Norwich Merchant Adventurers.

#### V.

The organisation of the chief industry of Norwich<sup>(5)</sup> points to the existence of a well-developed social stratification in the city. The introduction of a graduated tax

- 
- (1) Lyell, L., assisted by Watney, F.D., "Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527" (1936), p. xiv.  
 (2) Carus-Wilson, op. cit., p. 175.  
 (3) *Infra*, p. 440.  
 (4) Sellars, M., loc. cit.  
 (5) Ample evidence among the city records shows that the minor crafts were organised and regulated in much the same way as the worsted weavers.

assessment in 1524 enables the reality of this suggestion to be tested statistically; the subsidy granted for that year was the first to be designed to fall most heavily on those who could most afford to contribute, and few people were free from the liability to make a payment, large or small.<sup>(1)</sup> The returns made<sup>(2)</sup> consequently provide a near-complete picture of the distribution of personal wealth. The total number of taxpayers was 1,422, suggesting a population of somewhat less than 6,000 people;<sup>(3)</sup> an unknown but probably large number of poor must be added.<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) The tax was to last for four years:

For the first two years, natives were to pay

12d. in the £ on goods valued at £20 or more

6d. in the £ on goods worth £2-£20.

4d. in all if they did not fall into those categories but received annual wages of at least 20s.

12d. in the £ on lands.

Aliens were to pay double those rates in each case, or 8d. if in none of those categories.

For the third year, natives were to pay

12d. in the £ on lands worth £50 or more and aliens double that rate.

For the fourth year, natives were to pay

12d. in the £ on goods valued at £50 or more; and aliens double that rate.

Statutes of the Realm, Vol. III, pp. 230 et seq.

(2) P. R. O. E179/150/218

(3) Allowing 4 persons per taxpayer, or household, the total taxed population would be 5,684; 5 per household is less likely, though it would better allow for apprentices perhaps, and would give a total of 7,105.

(4) The number of beggars and vagabonds in the city at this period was probably considerable; *infra*, p. 474.

TABLE 17 . THE SUBSIDY ASSESSMENT FOR NORWICH, 1524.

WARD	20s. Wages	G O O D S							L A N D S			TOTAL
		£2	£2-10	£11-20	£21-50	£51-100	£101-200	Over £200	£1-10	£11-20	£21-50	
Fybridge with Spitlond	77	21	36	4	8	4	2	-	-	1	-	153
South Conesford with Trowse	37	19	17	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	81
North Conesford	34	7	24	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	72
Ber Street	43	35	32	10	5	-	-	-	2	-	-	127
St. Stephens	7	19	16	10	7	1	3	-	1	-	-	64
St. Peters	50	21	37	12	5	3	-	1	-	-	1	132 <sup>a</sup>
St. Giles	13	8	10	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
West Wymer	67	28	36	11	11	5	1	2	5	-	-	166
Middle Wymer	21	15	38	7	11	3	8	2	3	1	-	112 <sup>b</sup>
East Wymer with Holm St.	48	17	36	11	4	3	2	-	4	1	-	126
The Monastery	8	4	5	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	20
Coslany	77	16	40	9	11	2	2	1	3	-	-	161
Colegate	75	40	41	8	6	2	-	1	1	-	-	174
TOTAL	557	250	368	93	72	26	19	7	20	3	2	1422 <sup>c</sup>
Percentage	39.2	17.6	25.9	6.5	5.1	1.8	1.3	0.5	1.4	0.2	0.1	100

- a - Including 2 illegible entries (1.6%)  
 b - Including 3 illegible entries (2.7%)  
 c - Including 5 illegible entries (0.4%)

Of the 1,422 taxpayers, as many as 557 - or just over 39% - did not possess goods worth £2 but were assessed in respect of their wages: these were the journeymen and other servants. Apprentices, who neither received wages nor were likely to possess goods worth £2, would not be taxed; but since they were part of their masters' households, little adjustment of the suggested figure for total population need be made on this account. Above the class assessed on their wages was a very large one possessing goods worth £10 or less: 250 - or nearly 18% of the total number of taxpayers - had only £2 worth, and 368 - about 30% - between £2 and £10 worth of goods. These men represented the upper fringe of the journeymen and the majority of the master craftsmen. Thus about 83% of the city's taxpayers were in these lowest classes, largely composed of journeymen and craftsmen.

Above that class were 165 taxpayers (nearly 12%) with goods valued at between £11 and £50; these were the more substantial master craftsmen and probably the bulk of the smaller and middling shop-keepers. Finally, only 52 people paid on goods worth over £51, and they must have been for the most part the wealthy shop-keepers, mercers and merchants. Though some of the craftsman class may be recognised as worsted weavers, identification of individuals is easier with the more wealthy men and it will be instructive of the nature of the city hierarchy to look at their occupations. For this purpose

the anticipation of 1523<sup>(1)</sup> provides a good basis.

In that year, commissioners were appointed for each county to "practise" with all people having £40 or more in goods or lands for them to pay their first assessment by anticipation; the money was needed to help the Duke of Suffolk in his campaign in Flanders.<sup>(2)</sup> Letters Patent had been granted for this purpose on 2nd November, 1523.<sup>(3)</sup> All those citizens of Norwich who paid an anticipation of £5 or more, on goods worth at least £100, are included in Table 18 ; their trade has been added where possible,<sup>(4)</sup> together with the value of their goods. Presumably, those who paid an anticipation did not contribute again in 1524, but all were included in the latter return; though several had goods of the same valuation in both years, most were recorded as having goods of lower value in 1524 than in 1523 (see Table 18 ). One must be cautious in regarding tax assessments as completely reliable; many individuals might succeed in being under-rated; but these figures suggest an interesting year-to-year variation in

- 
- (1) P.R.O. E179/150/208.  
 (2) Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, Calendar 1519-23, pp.1456-8.  
 (3) They provided for the "anticipacon spedy & pmpt payement bifore hande of the ffirst payement of the said Subsidye... and also autorised by the seid letters patents to receyue the same of dyus Inhabytants wtin the said Citie whose names doth ensue...". As a result, 108 men and women paid £549.3.8. in advance. P.R.O. E179/150/208.  
 (4) The trades are taken from Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op.cit..

TABLE 18. THE ANTICIPATION OF 1523: THOSE PAYING £5 OR MORE.

Name	Occupation	Goods in 1523			Goods in 1524		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Mayor John Terry	Mercer & Merchant	550			550		
Alderman Robert Jannys	Grocer	1100			950		
Ald. Thomas Aldryche	Draper	700			566.	13.	4.
Ald. Edward Rede	Mercer	500			400		
Ald. Thomas Pykerell	Mercer	300			266.	13.	4.
Ald. John Bustyng		266.	13.	4.	246.	13.	4.
John Westgate		266.	13.	4.	266.	13.	4.
Ald. Robert Grene	Grocer	260			200		
Ald. John Clerk	Mercer & Merchant	240			163.	6.	8.
Ald. John Marsham	Grocer	200			150		
Margery Potter		200			160		
John Holley		180			160		
Ald. Rauff Wylkyns	Woollen draper	173.	6.	8.	160		
Herry Bagott		170			140		
Ald. Robert Brown	Mercer	166.	13.	4.	160		
Ald. Thomas Clerk		166.	13.	4.	133.	6.	8.
Thomas Godsalve		166.	13.	4.	140		
Adrian Mace, alien		160			140		
Ald. William Hert	Merchant	160			133.	6.	8.
Ald. Robert Ferror	in the wool trade	160			160		
Ald. William Roone		160			140		
Ald. Thomas Bauburgh	Mercer	160			140		
Leonard Teleon, alien		150			120		
Robert Boleyn		140			120		
Philip Hille		133.	6.	8.	133.	6.	8.
William Hermer		120			106.	13.	4.
John Bugh		120			110		
Richard Corpusty		113.	6.	8.	110		
Ald. Robert Hemmyng		100			80		
Ald. Nicholas Sywhat	Calenderer	100			66.	13.	4.
Henry Salter		100			80		
Robert Leche	Worsted weaver	100			80		

This list includes 17 aldermen: of the four aldermen with goods worth less than £100 in 1523, one was a dyer. One of the two sheriffs was a mercer.

personal wealth. Where their occupation is known, most of the £100-plus men and women are seen to be drapers, grocers, mercers and merchants;<sup>(1)</sup> cloth artificers are represented at the bottom of the list by a calenderer and a worsted weaver.

John Terry, Mayor in 1523 and a mercer and merchant, died soon after the returns of the 1524 assessment had been made. By his will he left £200 for loans to indigent merchants, craftsmen or artificers who were citizens of Norwich, and a further £200 to be invested in land to discharge the city's poor from the king's taxes and tallages; this beneficence was known as Terry's Chest.<sup>(2)</sup>

These tax returns do not suggest that any particular district of the city contained a concentration of the journeyman and craftsman classes. In ten of the twelve wards the wage-earners formed over 30% of the total number of taxpayers, reaching 50% only in Fybridge (see Table 17). And in all twelve wards, the class owning goods worth between £2 and £10 represented 35%-55% of the taxpayers. The more wealthy class with goods valued at from £11 to over £200 reached a really notable proportion only in Middle Wymer (nearly 28%) and St. Stephens (nearly 33%) wards.

---

(1) These were probably the occupations in most of the other cases where the source used here was of no help; Thomas Godsolve, for example, was found in 1523 to have ignored a warning to be sworn and admitted a freeman of the city, together with two other men: they had bought and sold worsteds and other merchandise "albeit thei ben forens" A.B. 2/113.

(2) Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op.cit., p.45.

## VI.

Although the weavers dominated the wool-using manufactures of Norwich, several other crafts will call for mention from time to time; one of them, the hatters', merits special consideration, however. By the mid-sixteenth century, hat-making had so increased in Norwich as to need regulation as a distinct craft, and its use of Norfolk wool and yarn had become a source of annoyance to the worsted weavers. Before 1540, hatters and cappers were few<sup>(1)</sup> and were supplying a purely local market, but the growing manufacture drew on Spanish and Austrian as well as much Norfolk wool and high quality hats were being made for a wider, national, market.<sup>(2)</sup>

In 1543, the hatmakers successfully submitted a book of ordinances for the Assembly's approval;<sup>(3)</sup> they explained

- 
- (1) They very occasionally occur in the lists of freemen; William Herberd, a French hatmaker, working in Norwich in 1511, C.B. 2/9.
- (2) Large quantities of foreign wool for hatmaking were being imported into London; see B.M. Lansdowne Mss. 29/22, 23, 24, 25 (1579), and Unwin, op.cit., p.132. The Spanish wool was used for "fyne felltes" and the Austrian for "Cowsrse felts wch ar Covered wth velluytt Taffittaes & suche Like" as well as hats fit for the meaner sort of country people; B.M. Lansdowne Mss. 29/24. It was sometimes called simply "hatters wool", and sometimes reached the hatter still in fleece form; C.B. 12/507 (1590). In 1564, two Norwich men, knowing that hatters wool was scarce in the city, arranged for a Londoner to send some Spanish to Norwich: 3 sacks containing 3 cwt. were bought by George Drewry; C.B. 8/200d. Other foreign wool was imported via Yarmouth: in 1565, 1½ sacks, 4 pockets and 5 bags of Austrian and hatters wool were imported into Great Yarmouth by four Norwich merchants; P.R.O. E122/171/5. Many Norwich hats were made of such wool: in 1577, for example, Richard Porter falsely made 13 "spanisshe ffelts" and 4 Westreg ffelts"; C.B. 10/101.
- (3) A.B. 2/184d.; the preamble to the book is printed in H. and T II, 381-2, whence the following quotations are taken. The ordinances are discussed there, op.cit., lxxii-lxxv, but with inaccuracies of transcription and omission of some important details; they are in N.C.M.R. Case 10, Shelf b.

that "now of late diuers honest cytezens of the seide cyte haue inuentyd and begune the craft of hattes makyng wtin the same cyte whiche they can now make as well and as good as ever came oute of Fraunce or Flaunders or any other realm".<sup>(1)</sup>

Some hatmakers had made goods "So unworkmanly and wt suche unlawfull and deceitfull stuffe, as wt hear, sterche and syse, that suche persons as haue worne and occupied the same deceitfull hattes and haue ben deceyuid wt them, do now uniuersally suspecte all hattes made in Norwiche to be deceyptfull". The orders now enacted concerned the contents, size and quality of the felts; the marking, searching and tokening of the goods; apprenticeship, good workmanship and the limitation of the craft to the urban area.<sup>(2)</sup> Later in the same year, the use of worsted yarn was restricted,<sup>(3)</sup> but the statute of 1547 limiting

- 
- (1) "came oute of Fraunce or Flaunders or" is struck through, and "were made in" written above.
- (2) The ordinances contain 17 clauses; the more important were that either Austrian alone or mixtures of Austrian with English wool were to be used, and that animals' hair or flock, starch and size were forbidden; that master hatters must brand a distinguishing mark on their goods which would be searched by the wardens, sealed if good, siezed and tried before the Mayor if faulty; that only apprentices were to be instructed in the trade, and that each master might take only 3, all apprentices and journeymen having to prove their ability before admission as masters by making 3 hat felts "of iij sundry facons" un-assisted; and that no women or girls were to be employed.
- (3) Only "clewe" (linen yarn) to be used for the felts, with worsted yarn for the stitching; felts made of coarse stuff like cowhair were to be stitched with coarse "wollenthrome"; C.B. 5/170.

the buying and selling of such yarn granted exemption for the Norwich hatmakers to buy "middle uffe yarne".<sup>(1)</sup>

The founder members of the craft in 1543 apparently numbered 17.<sup>(2)</sup> They were a miscellaneous assembly: one had practised the trade for many years and six took up their freedom as hatters or cappers at about this time, but the others included a draper, a parchment maker, a barber and a grocer. In 1542, six Frenchmen had been employed by the hatters' craft-to-be and a seventh was also a hatter, and one of the 17 members was an alien; with the allusion to France and Flanders in the ordinances, the origin of the Norwich manufacture is clearly suggested.<sup>(3)</sup>

In the early years of the craft's existence the ordinances were widely abused and the wardens openly flouted;<sup>(4)</sup> by 1547, so many faulty hats were being made that an amnesty was granted for a short period during which faulty work might

- 
- (1) Statute 1 Edward VI, c.6; *infra*, pp.453-4.  
 (2) At the end of the Court Book including the year of the ordinances, the names and marks of 17 hatters are recorded (two are struck through); they are dated 19th September - just over one month before the orders were enacted. The page is reproduced in H. and T., II, facing p.lxxiv. C.B. 5/570.  
 (3) H. and T., II, lxxv: Felt hats were not extensively made in England until the sixteenth century when they were introduced from the Netherlands and Normandy to rival the older capmaking; Unwin, *op.cit.*, p.131.  
 (4) C.B.5/175,182,184 (1543): faulty goods. C.B.5/194,315-6 (1543 and 1545): unqualified hatters. C.B.5/392: the whole occupation ordered to observe the ordinances. C.B.5/397-8-9: faulty work by William Hede who had sold 40 dozen hats and packed 20 dozen for London - all faulty.

be sold and wool mixed with hair used up before the ordinances were to be strictly adhered to.<sup>(1)</sup> Hatmaking was proving an easy and attractive occupation for a variety of other craftsmen - reeders, shearmen, shoemakers, worsted weavers, wax chandlers, barbers - who neither sought admission to the craft nor obeyed its rules;<sup>(2)</sup> but the hatters did not object to receiving such men providing they satisfied the qualifications.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1548, another six-week amnesty<sup>(4)</sup> was followed by a decision by the hatters that the ordinances should be ratified with certain articles moderated at the Mayor's discretion.<sup>(5)</sup> Yet another amnesty<sup>(6)</sup> was allowed in 1552, however, following continued abuse by the whole occupation which at this time included about thirty admitted and qualified members.<sup>(7)</sup> In the same year, statutory legislation<sup>(8)</sup> extended the Norwich ordinances to

---

(1) C.B. 5/401.

(2) C.B. 5/404, 448, 449, 492, 494, 516; further abuses of all kinds. C.B. 5/518-20: all these craftsmen found using the trade. C.B. 5/392 (1547): shearman and worsted weaver making hats. C.B. 5/519-20: apprentice bought 3 years of his term from his master for £4.

(3) C.B. 5/521a (1548): a worsted weaver.

(4) C.B. 5/522.

(5) C.B. 5/529.

(6) C.B. 6/204.

(7) 30 were listed as admitted, of whom 4 had left for London and 5 worked outside Norwich (3 at Wymondham and 2 at East Dereham); 11 had been among the original 17 founder members. Two others were admitted in 1554, one in 1555 and one in 1558. C.B. 6/207.

(8) Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI, c.24.

hatters working outside the city: they were either to serve a seven-year apprenticeship or be licenced by the Mayor, and might work only in corporate or market towns.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1554, 15 hatters were bound in Court not to work outside the city.<sup>(2)</sup>

Continued disorder<sup>(3)</sup> brought acknowledgement from the wardens in 1555 that not only were all the hatters offending but that they were unable to observe the ordinances; fines were remitted, with the whole craft paying 10s. a week instead, until better orders should be drawn up.<sup>(4)</sup> Yet after a "new booke" had been drawn up and a "newe acte" enforced<sup>(5)</sup> there was no slackening in the hatters' offences.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1558, the hatters were forbidden to "burne any Rede abowte Swynging of ther hatts",<sup>(7)</sup> and fresh ratification of the ordinances was being considered;<sup>(8)</sup> practically every rule was ignored and the wardens "ffynde all the hole occupacon is defectyfe yt is to say, in heare, fflocke, Syse and Starche".<sup>(9)</sup> New ordinances

(1) The inhabitants of Pulham were excepted.

(2) C.B. 6/207.

(3) C.B. 6, for example, 6/304-6 (1553).

(4) C.B. 7/31 and A.B. 3/25d.

(5) C.B. 7/44.

(6) C.B. 7.

(7) A.B. 3/55d. In 1574, only "Crackall reed or offall Reed that cometh of the howse" was to be burnt; A.B. 3/221.

(8) A.B. 3/55d.

(9) C.B. 7/327.

duly came in 1559,<sup>(1)</sup> leaving unaltered most of the clauses of those of 1543; but a few new or amended clauses deserve mention. The employment of apprentices and journeymen was more strictly regulated: only three apprentices were to be kept until one had served six of his seven years; journeymen must be enrolled, and if un-married they were to live with their master "By the yere or By the quartir"; and a hatter might have only four basons, with only four people working at once "att the seide basons or walkinge Banck". A second new topic was the excessive buying of yarn by hatters, much of it to be exported: they were ordered to comply with the 1541-2 statute<sup>(2)</sup> in respect of "hatters fringe...wolstead yarn or meddill vffe". And thirdly, a quarterly payment was to be made for the relief of poor hatters.<sup>(3)</sup>

There were offences against the new orders of course,<sup>(4)</sup> but new workmen were being carefully tried for proof of their skill<sup>(5)</sup> and with a marked falling off in the number of presentments it seems that after sixteen years a degree of discipline may have been achieved at last. Faulty manufacture

---

(1) N.C.M.R. Case 10, Shelf b. Tingey dismissed these ordinances "since they differ from the former (1543) in no important particulars"; H. and T., II, lxxv.

(2) *Infra*, pp.452-3.

(3) 4d. by masters, 2d. by journeymen, and 12d. by strangers on their first coming to Norwich to work as journeymen hatters.

(4) For example, C.B. 7/549, 8/154d., 156d., 226d., 343d., 562. (1561-8)

(5) C.B. 7/347 (printed in H. and T., II, 178), 373, 583, 612, 8/19, 26d., 75, 403 (1559-66).

was not prominent among subsequent offences. In 1568, orders were enacted following disorders in the "keepyng of ffayers and Apprentyces",<sup>(1)</sup> and apprenticeship was again the subject of legislation in 1578.<sup>(2)</sup> It was then alleged that many hatters "neither attend ther occupacions nor pvide stufte to set ther Apprentices on worke", but having instructed apprentices for a short time "do let them out by the weeke, by the monith or by the yeare, to others"; this prejudiced journeymen who had served their full apprenticeship, and apprentices were "evell kept & intreated". Letting out was forbidden.

The increased manufacture of hats in England had seriously affected the cappers, and in 1566 hatters were subjected to statutory regulation<sup>(3)</sup> in the cappers' interests; but the manufacture of worsted yarn into hats at Norwich was exempted. Here, as elsewhere, however, an attempt was made to enforce the wearing of woollen caps on Holy Days.<sup>(4)</sup>

Further consideration was given to orders for the Norwich hatters in 1582<sup>(5)</sup> and 1599,<sup>(6)</sup> and in 1605 new ordinances appeared<sup>(7)</sup> following the hatmakers' petition that

---

(1) No hatter to sell goods at more than one fair on one day, or have more than one stall there - stalls being not more than 20 feet long. The enrolment of apprentices was to be observed. Two wardens and 20 hatters had petitioned the Assembly for these orders; A.B. 3/146d. A Norwich hatter was found with two stalls at North Walsham Fair; C.B. 8/593 (1568). Four Norwich hatters had stalls at Ely Fair; C.B. 7/108 (1556).

(2) A.B. 3/265d.

(3) Statute 8 Eliz. c.11.

(4) C.B. 10/135 (1577).

(5) A.B. 3/318d.

(6) A.B. 5/212.

(7) A.B. 5/313.

previous ones had "lyen dead as yf non such were": they differed little from previous ordinances, but were elaborated on points of order such as neglect of duty by the wardens. In the seventeenth century, few recorded presentments concern faulty work, more attention being given -, as in all crafts - to the failure of new members of the craft to take up their freedom. (1)

This extended account of the rise of the hatters seems justified for the difficulty of controlling the new craft was intimately concerned with the fortunes of the worsted industry; their difficulties were common to many crafts, and they not only competed for the wool and yarn supply but also attracted craftsmen from the worsted trade.

#### VII.

There is no evidence to suggest that any significant part of the worsted industry's wool supply came from outside Norfolk, and indeed several contemporary statements were dogmatic that it was not so. In 1541-42, a statutory preamble (2) recited that "...The makinge and weavinge of worsteds and other clothes, whiche hath bene made and woven of the yarne called worsted yarne spune of the woolle growinge and comynge of the

---

(1) For example, C.B. 23/18 (1655), 32d. (1656).

(2) Statute 33 Henry VIII, c.16.

(3) First and Second Worsted weavers' Books.

Shepe bred onely within the countie of Norff. and in no place elsewhere..." was decayed because the Norfolk wool supply was not being maintained. Though middlemen were transporting increasing quantities of Norfolk wool outside the county, it was certainly true that until the introduction of the new draperies local wool sufficed to meet the worsted industry's requirements.

Wool was carried from the Sheep-Corn Region of the county to many spinners scattered in the country districts around Norwich<sup>(1)</sup> and to large numbers of women and children working in the city itself.<sup>(2)</sup> The poverty of these spinners and the non-capitalist organisation of the industry necessitated the employment of middlemen, especially in bringing wool to the city market. The scattered and semi-skilled body of spinners, working entirely on their own initiative, proved impossible of effective regulation, and throughout the sixteenth century they were turning out large quantities of defective yarn which rivalled faulty cloths as the chief object of the wardens' presentments.<sup>(3)</sup> The inadequate quality of the yarn supplied by the country weavers was partly attributable

- 
- (1) Probably only a minority of them were full-time spinners, and many were the wives and children of husbandmen. No doubt the early sixteenth century inventories, if they had survived, would reveal, as the later sixteenth century ones do, spinning wheels among the goods of all classes of countrymen.
- (2) A census of the poor in Norwich, taken in 1570, showed that hundreds of women and children were engaged in spinning, knitting, carding, etc. *Infra*, p.497.
- (3) First and Second Worsted Weavers' Books.

too, to the deceits of the yarn huksters who acted as intermediaries between spinner and weaver. The 1511 Ordinances<sup>(1)</sup> gave special attention to these "comon regraters or sellers of worsted yarne wherof the said worsteddes be made called hukysters" who engrossed yarn though having "no cunningg to deserne which is gode and which is defectyve"; they enhanced prices and encouraged the manufacture of faulty cloths "soo that the weuers therof can nott leve, in distruccion of the same craft". Weavers ware now forbidden to buy from huksters, but it was no doubt difficult for some of them to get yarn without doing so.<sup>(2)</sup> The ultimate offenders were the spinners, and no legislation was aimed at them. Though much faulty yarn was seized by the weavers' wardens, the huksters no doubt often avoided the accustomed markets and avoided the wardens' scrutiny.<sup>(3)</sup> Even when the yarn was well spun, spinners were sometimes guilty of "on trewly tellyng" it - using an under-sized reel to sell it in short quantity.<sup>(4)</sup>

---

(1) N.C.M.R. Case 10, Shelf b.

(2) Weavers were presented for dealing with huksters of Wymondham, Thetford and other country towns; Second Worsted Weavers' Book. See also, offences against Statute 1 Edward VI, c.6; *infra*, pp.453-4.

(3) Some yarn was forestalled before reaching the city, First Worsted Weavers' Book (1494-5) and Hudson, Rev. W., "Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich", p.92. Norwich worsted weavers were forbidden to buy yarn at the card-makers' stalls, First Worsted Weavers' Book (1494-5).

(4) First and Second Worsted Weavers' Books.

As a result of the transportation of Norfolk wool out of the county and of the forfeiture of so much faulty yarn, both weavers and spinners found the supply inadequate. Apart from sales by middlemen, significant quantities of wool reached the spinners by way of city butchers and glovers, and in 1532 the butchers were blamed for their neglect of the spinsters. Instead of offering their wool skins in the city market where the spinsters could buy them, both city and country butchers were selling large quantities to leather workers and obliging spinsters to buy only "the pore mortes skynnes, by the which aryseth nomaner of profight". And no doubt the wool eventually delivered by glovers, white leather tawers, parchment makers and pointmakers was much impaired in quality by the treatment received in their processes. By way of remedy, the poor women of Norwich were to have preference over the leather workers in the market. (1)

The butchers were only small-scale suppliers of wool compared with the broggers and only regulation of all those dealing in Norfolk wool could assure the worsted weavers' supply. The city authorities ordered in 1540 that worsted yarn should not be conveyed out of the city and not bought for re-sale, (2) and in 1541-42 Parliament attacked the same problem. (3) This statute particularly criticised the export

---

(1) A.B. 20th December, quoted by H. and T., op.cit., II, 119.  
 (2) C.B. 3/197.  
 (3) Statute 33, Henry VIII, c.16.

of Norfolk wool to France and Flanders where it was woven into cloths which competed in England with Norfolk worsteds. The remedy enacted was that only weavers and other artificers in the industry might buy worsted yarn, and that it must be woven in Norfolk: export was prohibited.<sup>(1)</sup> This Act was made perpetual in 1547 as part of the most important attempt to control the Norfolk wool supply during this period.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1546<sup>(3)</sup> there had been a strict prohibition on wool broggers in the country at large, and this was endangering the worsted weavers' supplies. The 1547 Act recited that spinners had bought wool in the common markets of Norwich and Norfolk by small lots of 8d. or 12d.worth at a time; their poverty prevented them from buying large quantities and from visiting the growers living "farre of" in the country who would not in any case have sold such small amounts. With Merchants of the Staple alone authorised to buy wool for re-sale, broggers had ceased to frequent Norfolk markets; the worsted industry was accordingly granted exemption from the general prohibition. Any inhabitant of Norfolk and Norwich might buy Norfolk wool as he had done previously, providing that it was re-sold in

- 
- (1) Examples of the enforcement of this Act: C.B.5/312 (1546), 5/328 (1547).  
 (2) "An Acte for the contynuance of making of Woosted Yarne in Norff.", Statute 1 Edw.VI, c.6.  
 (3) Statute 37 Henry VIII, c.15.

open markets to anyone who would spin it in the county. (1)

This was regulation to which vested interests could raise little objection, for Norfolk wool was of no use for the manufacture of fine broadcloths (though it was used for the coarser Suffolk broadcloths) and was for the most part too coarse for the Staple. Promotion of the worsted industry was almost entirely beneficial to the country's trade. But the Act was widely abused and much Norfolk wool was carried into Suffolk as well as being illegally sold within the county. (2) Informers discovered wool sent, for example, to Bury St. Edmund's and Hadleigh in Suffolk and Colchester in Essex, (3) and one offending clothier admitted that he intended to make the wool into "brode clothes" in his Hadleigh house. (4)

- 
- (1) A proviso allowed Norwich hatmakers to buy "myddle uffe yarne" to be used in that craft within the city; supra, pp. 443-4.
- (2) Many informations based on this legislation were presented in the Court of Exchequer: Norfolk middlemen were found selling Norfolk wool in other counties or at Westminster, selling it illegally within Norfolk, and sometimes dealing in wool of other counties (22 presentments have been found of offences between 1547 and 1565; P.R.O., K.R. Memoranda Rolls - E159 references below). The dealings in non-Norfolk wool by Norfolk middlemen may not have concerned the worsted industry, but there may possibly be an indication here of the occasional use of "foreign" wool in Norfolk; in 1563, Norfolk men bought wool at Lincoln and at Long Sutton in the same county; E159/347/Hilary 151 r. and d.
- (3) 1561: 600 stones to Colchester clothiers; E159/345/Trin. 61.  
 1563: 2000 stones from Rudham and Ryburgh to Hadleigh etc. in Suffolk; E159/348/Trinity 144.  
 1564: 300 tods from Fakenham to Hadleigh; E159/351/Mich. 171.  
 60 tods from Burnham to Bury St. Edmunds; E159/351/Mich. 195d.  
 1567: 1000 stones from Norwich to Hadleigh; E159/357/Mich. 25  
 300 stones from Mattishall to Hadleigh; E159/357/Mich. 235d.  
 1568: 300 stones at Hadleigh to men of Debenham; E. 159/358/Hilary 108.  
 500 stones from Mattishall to Hadleigh; E159/358/Bilary 109

(footnotes continued overleaf)

Footnote (3) - continued.

1594: 200 tods from Mattishall to Bury St. Edmunds;  
E159/408/Easter 108.

(4) A Hadleigh yeoman who bought 100 stones at Binham in  
Norfolk; E159/337/Michaelmas 121.

(1) A proviso allowed Norwich hatmakers to buy "wadded wools  
yarns" to be used in that craft within the city; arguments  
(2) Many informations based on this legislation were presented  
in the Court of Exchequer; Norfolk middlemen were found  
selling Norfolk wool in other counties or at Westminster,  
selling it illegally within Norfolk, and sometimes dealing  
in wool of other counties (22 presentments have been  
found of offences between 1547 and 1565; F.R.O. R.R.  
Memoranda Rolls - 2159 references below). The dealings in  
non-Norfolk wool by Norfolk middlemen may not have  
concerned the worsted industry, but there may possibly be  
an indication here of the occasional use of "foreign" wool  
in Norfolk; in 1565, Norfolk men bought wool at Binham  
and at Long Sutton in the same county; E159/337/Michaelmas  
121 p. and 6.

(3) 1561: 600 stones to Colchester clothiers; E159/352/Trinity 14  
1563: 2000 stones from Rudham and Ryburgh to Hadleigh etc.  
in Suffolk; E159/346/Trinity 14.  
1564: 300 tods from Wakenham to Hadleigh; E159/351/Michaelmas 121  
60 tods from Burham to Bury St. Edmunds; E159/351/  
Michaelmas 121.  
1567: 1000 stones from Norwich to Hadleigh; E159/357/Trinity 14  
300 stones from Mattishall to Hadleigh; E159/357/  
Michaelmas 121.  
1568: 300 stones at Hadleigh to men of Debenham; E. 159/  
Michaelmas 108.  
500 stones from Mattishall to Hadleigh; E159/358/

Other confessions of the sale of Norfolk wool in Suffolk were made in the Norwich court, and the broggers were ordered to frequent the Norwich wool market.<sup>(1)</sup> In addition to wool, all kinds of yarn - carsey as well as worsted - and nyles were also transported from Norfolk into Suffolk.<sup>(2)</sup>

In 1551-2, Norfolk was again granted exemption from anti-wool brogger legislation,<sup>(3)</sup> inhabitants of the county being ordered to buy and sell Norfolk wool in accordance with the 1547 Act which was to "remayne and contynue in full force vertue and strengthe".<sup>(4)</sup>

- 
- (1) In 1562, 100 stones of pelt wool sold to a "clother of Naylonde" in Suffolk; C.B. 29th April, quoted by H. and T., II, 180-1. 1562, 200 stones to men of Suffolk and 300 stones thence by another Norfolk brogger; and of 8 other middlemen it was stated that "All thes psons do by woll and bring none to Norwch Markett but lode yt and sell yt to the Clothers in Suff."; C.B. 7/628, quoted *ibid.* Also, C.B. 7/359 (1560), 7/153 (1557).
- (2) Dornix weavers and others offended against the Act in respect of carsey yarn; C.B. 5/365-9, 507, 511, 413 (all 1547-8) 6/326 (1554), 7/421 (1560). Carsey yarn sent to Suffolk, C.B. 5/335, 338, 537 (1546-8). In 1532 it was stated that strangers had lately been allowed to engross nyles and flock and send them to the cloth makers and "dongemakers" of Suffolk; they were then ordered to be bought only for use in Norwich; A.B. 2/147d. See also, C.B. 2/275 (1532-3).
- (3) Statute 5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 7: "An Acte lymittinge the tymes of buyinge and sellinge of Woolles"; a counter to the high prices for which growers and middlemen were held reponsible Nobody was to buy and sell wool unless he would convert it into yarn or was a Merchant of the Staple. No alien merchant was to buy wool between shearing<sup>t</sup> and 2nd February, giving precedence to home clothiers. Wool growers were not to keep their wool for more than 1 year after shearing in order to enhance prices. Exceptions from the regulations were for Newcastle merchants to export northern wools, for Merchants of the Staple to sell refuse wool within the realm and, for Norfolk.
- (4) This exemption would hardly have been intended to apply to the clause concerning alien merchants, and Simon Bowyer brought informations against two of them operating in Norfolk - Abraham Castell and John Mortlet - for buying 500 tods during the prohibited period in 1595;  
(footnote continued overleaf)

Other conditions of the sale of Norfolk wool in Suffolk

Footnote (4) - continued.

E159/409/Mich. 446 r. and d. Similarly, Norfolk wool growers were not exempted from the clause concerning the enhancing of prices: Thomas Steward of Stradsett was alleged to have kept 1000 tods of wool intending to sell it later than a year after shearing and he refused an offer to buy it before then; E159/400/Hilary 140 (1591).

In 1551-2, Norfolk was again granted exemption from

anti-wool progress legislation, (3) inhabitants of the county being ordered to buy and sell Norfolk wool in accordance with the 1547 Act which was to "remayne and continue in full force vertue and strength". (4)

- (1) In 1552, 100 stores of belt wool sold to a "clother of Naylond" in Suffolk; C.B. 23rd April, quoted by H. and T. II, 180-1. 1552, 200 stores to men of Suffolk and 300 stores thence by another Norfolk program; and of 8 other middlemen it was stated that "All these persons do by wool and bring none to Norwich market but lodge it and sell it to the clothers in Surt". C.B. 7/288, quoted ibid. Also, C.B. 7/359 (1560), 7/453 (1557).
- (2) Dornix weavers and others ordered against the Act in respect of carsey yarn: C.B. 2/555-9, 507, 511, 413 (all 1547-8). Carsey yarn sent to Suffolk. In 1552 it was stated that strangers had lately been allowed to engage ryles and flock and send them to the cloth makers and "dornemakers" of Suffolk; they were then ordered to be bought only for use in Norwich. A.B. 2/1175. See also, C.B. 2/275 (1532-3). Statute 5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 7: "An Acte limiting the tymer of buyinge and sellinge of Woolles"; a counter to the high prices for which growers and middlemen were held responsible. Nobody was to buy and sell wool unless he would convert it into yarn or was a merchant of the 8 style. No alien merchant was to buy wool between shearing and 2nd February, and was to buy wool between shearing and 2nd February, giving precedence to home clothiers. Wool growers were not to keep their wool for more than 1 year after shearing in order to enhance prices. Exceptions from the regulations were for Newcastle merchants to export northern wools, for merchants of the staple to sell certain wool within the realm and for Norfolk.
- (3) This exemption would hardly have been intended to apply to the clause concerning alien merchants, and Simon Bowyer brought information against two of them operating in Norfolk - Abraham Gattell and John Morlet - for buying 500 tods during the prohibited period in 1552.

The 1547 Act was apparently not successful in preventing the transportation of Norfolk wool to clothiers outside the county; informations against offenders continued to be presented throughout the century. The activities of informers at Norfolk ports suggest that the prohibition of the export of this wool was also evaded, though on what scale it is impossible to say.<sup>(1)</sup> Not being staple wool, Norfolk's clip was not covered by the general prohibition of the export of English wool and licences were granted for it to be carried out of the country.<sup>(2)</sup> Such licences were declared void when export was first prohibited in 1514-15 to prevent the

- 
- (1) Informers discovered illegal wool export from a number of Norfolk ports; in the case of King's Lynn, much of the wool was probably not of Norfolk growth, and some of that exported from Great Yarmouth may have been Suffolk wool. But Norfolk wool was probably concerned in the shipments from Burnham Deepdale, Wiveton, Heacham, Hunstanton and Cromer. E159/333/Easter 2 (1554), 334/Easter 5 & 19 (1555), 351/Mich. 26 & 65 (1564), 355/Mich. 32 (1566), 356/Hil. 45 (1567). The informer did not usually find out the destination of the wool, but 1000 fleeces exported from Burnham in 1555 were destined for "Roane" in France; E159/334/East. 19.
- (2) For example, in 1456-7 the Earl of Somerset and Lord Roos were licensed to export 200 sacks of Norfolk wool; Treaty Roll, 35 Henry VI, m. 8, quoted by W. I. Howard in Power and Postan, *op. cit.*, p. 398. In 1514, Sir Henry Wyatt was licensed to export 150 sacks of Norfolk and Kent wool during a term of four years; Brewer, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Calendar 1513-14 (Vol. 1, Pt. 2) p. 1244. In 1515, John Hasilby (servant to Queen Katherine) was licensed to export 60 sarplers and 6000 fleeces of Norfolk wool, not being staple ware; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Calendar 1515-18 (Vol. 2, Pt. 1) p. 110. For later licences, see *infra*, p. 565.

manufacture of worsteds in Holland and Zeeland; <sup>(1)</sup> this action was confirmed in 1541-2 and 1547. <sup>(2)</sup>

While the statutory regulation was being partially and inadequately enforced, the Norwich authorities continued their attempts to ensure that the worsted weavers received a sufficient supply of wool and yarn. Lace and ribbon making was so widely practised in the city that in 1561-2 the worsted weavers petitioned the Assembly <sup>(3)</sup> alleging that the makers of these commodities were able to escape the provisions of the 1547 Act. Lace and ribbon were made on "stoolys, framys & loomys", depriving the weavers of "halfe the vffe and warpe" that they customarily used, and attracting spinners from the weavers' employment. In future, these workers were to comply with the regulations. <sup>(4)</sup> The hatters, too, were competing with the worsted weavers <sup>(5)</sup> who complained in 1548 that the hatmakers "gathered uppe so (much) smalle uffe" that they were losing their own supplies. <sup>(6)</sup> About this time, the leather workers, whose purchase of wool-skins from the butchers had been

---

(1) Statute 6 Henry VIII, c.12.

(2) Statutes 33 Henry VIII, c.16 and 1 Edw.VI, c.6.

(3) A.B. 3/82

(4) Some lace and ribbon making was to continue, however; an inhabitant of Norwich might work worsted yarn on one stool or frame, provided that he employed a spinster in his own house and so didn't draw upon the weavers' yarn. But worsted and russell weavers (infra, pp. 467-70) were not to make lace or ribbon.

(5) Supra, pp. 443-4.

(6) C.B., 1st September, quoted by H. and T., II, 174. Hatmakers were also guilty of buying faulty worsted yarn; C.B. 7/396.

restricted in 1532, were refusing to sell their pelt wool openly in the city market but were selling it to broggers and to Suffolk clothmakers. (1)

Despite the assistance of informers under the 1547 Act, the Norwich court was still arraigning middlemen for carrying wool into Suffolk in the 1560's, (2) and it seems clear that the declining worsted industry was offering so poor a market for the Norfolk wool supply that the broggers were not bringing to the markets even that reduced supply that the weavers could absorb.

#### VIII.

The worsted industry had found difficulty in maintaining its overseas markets during the fifteenth century, (3)

- 
- (1) In 1562, Vincent Tesmonde confessed to selling 100 stones of pelt wool to a Naylond clothier, and Symonde Sallett to selling 32 stones to a Norfolk wool brogger; C.B., 29th April, quoted by H. and T., II, 180-1. Also, C.B. 7/608, 610, 611, 613 (1562).
- (2) Eight men were named as buying wool and selling it in Suffolk rather than in Norwich market (supra, p. 454); five of them confessed and promised to bring it in future to Norwich for "the Wyves and Spynners"; C.B. 7/632. Two others already did so; C.B. 7/628. Even when the wool was brought to Norwich, the middlemen sometimes deceived their customers: a "Wolleman" using a defective 2lb. weight; C.B. 2/31 (1513); a wool chapman whose "Ballounce was not even in waighte by the quantyte of half a quartuor of a li." (1548).
- (3) Supra, pp. 401-2.

and a serious decline continued into the second half of the sixteenth century. The production of worsteds, as shown by the export figures, had fallen off very considerably from the level of earlier periods:<sup>(1)</sup> in the second decade of the sixteenth century the annual export amounted to only 5,000 to 8,000 cloths, and this was reduced to 1,000 in the 1540's (see Table 19 ). The wealth of Norwich was seriously impaired: the decay of the worsted industry reduced the sum which the subsidy commissioners were able to collect in 1536,<sup>(2)</sup> and individual weavers found difficulty in paying on account of their inability to sell their cloths.<sup>(3)</sup>

The ultimate cause of the industry's decline was the loss of the foreign market which had probably taken most of the better quality worsteds.<sup>(4)</sup> These fine, light cloths had in part been sent to the Merchant Adventurers' West European market,<sup>(5)</sup> but of most importance was the Mediterranean area to whose conditions worsteds were best suited. France, Spain and Portugal were probably Norfolk's chief markets but here the Netherlands cloth industry was proving a serious competitor in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As the staple trade

---

(1) Supra, p. 401.

(2) Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, Calendar 1536 (Vol.11) p. 165.

(3) Loc. cit., Calendar 1537 (Vol.12,Pt.II) p.6.

(4) Supra, pp. 401-2.

(5) Supra, pp. 434-5.

in English wool had fallen off in favour of the production of cloth at home, the Netherlands weavers had turned to Spanish wool which had already been competing with that of English growth. Consequent upon this change, a new type of cloth was made in the Netherlands - cloth of the worsted variety<sup>(1)</sup> which was destined to arrive in Norfolk in the late sixteenth century as the "New Draperies". But it was the competition of these continental new draperies, as well<sup>as</sup> of English cloth in some markets, which brought about the decline of the Norfolk industry. The sixteenth century statutes for the relief of the worsted industry all speak of this competition: the Netherlands had used Norfolk as well as Spanish wool (both being coarse and relatively long compared with most fine English wool) and it was this poaching of the worsted industry's supplies that the 1514-5 statute aimed to prevent;<sup>(2)</sup> the statutes of 1541-2<sup>(3)</sup> and 1547<sup>(4)</sup> repeated this criticism of the continental weavers, and in 1554 it was stated that Norfolk wool was being used for the manufacture of russels, satins and satins reverses in France and Flanders.<sup>(5)</sup> These foreign draperies competed with worsteds not only in foreign markets but in England.

- 
- (1) Bowden, *Thesis cit.*, p.7.  
 (2) Statute 6 Henry VIII, c.12; *supra*, pp. 456-7.  
 (3) Statute 33 Henry VIII, c.16; *supra*, p. 452.  
 (4) Statute 1 Edward VI, c.6; *supra*, p. 453.  
 (5) Statute 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c.14.

The Norwich crafts attempted to improve this situation by stringent enforcement of old, and introduction of new, regulations - all designed to maintain the old order and the old type of worsted cloth. All these orders, with apprenticeship prominent, were intended to re-establish the former standards of good workmanship, the loss of which was regarded as the prime reason for the lack of vent abroad. But the widespread production of faulty cloths was rather the result than the cause of the loss of market, with the weavers attempting to cut their costs and maximise their dwindling profits. Local regulation failed to recognise that the Netherlands were producing superior types of worsted cloth, and the Norfolk industry was so strangled by craft restrictions that experimentation and real improvement were impossible.

The natural result of this declining production was for the wool broggers to bring decreasing supplies of wool to Norwich: Norfolk wool could better be sold in Suffolk and Essex, and even the wealthy wool-growers who sold in bulk without the middlemen's help were looking southwards for customers - Sir Richard Southwell to Essex<sup>(1)</sup> and the Prior of Norwich to Suffolk.<sup>(2)</sup> So general was this shift that even the emaciated worsted industry was threatened with a wool and yarn starvation; local regulations and Parliamentary statutes

---

(1) Supra, p. 263. Also p.285.

(2) Supra, p. 246.

TABLE 19 . WORSTED EXPORTS.

Year	Exports of:		
	<u>All cloth</u>	<u>Wool sacks</u>	<u>Worsted</u> s
1510	76	8.5	6
1511	86	8.6	5
1512	77	6.5	5
1513	86	5.1	7
1514	93	7.8	6
1515	93	7.2	7
1516	82	7.6	6
1517	87	8.2	7
1518	92	9.1	7
1519	91	13.1	6
1520	98	11.5	8
1521	76	10.2	6
1522	64	5.0	3
1523	86	5.1	5
1524	90	5.1	6
1525	96	3.8	6
1526	91	4.9	7
1527	91	7.1	6
1528	100	5.6	6
1529	95	3.3	5
1530	91	4.6	5
1531	87	2.7	4
1532	82	3.0	4
1533	100	2.1	5
1534	110	3.7	3
1535	92	3.8	3
1536	108	4.9	3
1537	103	3.6	2
1538	104	3.1	1
1539	114	4.3	2
1540	116	4.9	3
1541	131	4.7	2
1542	112	5.6	2
1543	99	4.2	1
1544	137	6.9	1
1545	147	4.9	1
1546	135	4.3	1
1547	109	4.7	1

In 1000's of cloths and worsteds, and sacks of wool;  
accurate to the nearest 1000.

(Calculated from tables in G. Schanz, "Englische Handelspolitik", II, 76-105. Printed in Stone, L., State Control in Sixteenth Century England, Economic History Review, 17, 1947).

were framed to reserve Norfolk wool to the Norfolk industry, but such a maintenance of bygone conditions was clearly impossible. The situation was worsened by the supply to the weavers of large quantities of defective yarn: the standard of workmanship of the spinners, like that of the weavers, was falling as production and profits fell. Norfolk worsteds became increasingly un-competitive in the foreign markets, and the vicious circle was complete.

The weavers of Norwich were the most hard-hit for, despite losing their trade, they still had to meet the charges incumbent on city dwellers, and substantial alternative employment was not available. The country workers were at least husbandmen-weavers, and by reason of their dispersion could more easily avoid the wardens than could weavers in the city. But unless the country cloths were intended for local sale, their makers could not avoid supervision in the marketing of their products: all cloths had to be searched and tokened if they were to be put to sale in the Norwich Worsteds Seld to which country cloths were drawn. The finishing trades were also concentrated in the city and even when King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth were given permission to search and seal their own cloths they were still forced to bring them for finishing in Norwich. The merchanting classes in the city thus maintained control over both finishing and marketing, and effectively excluded the competition of the aspiring country capitalist. In this respect, Norwich legislation had foreseen the Weavers' Act of 1555 which had

similar objects in the country at large. (1)

While craft control and the supervision of marketing were extended to the country weavers, a widespread movement of industry to the countryside was unlikely to take place; but there were certainly some advantages to be gained from such a move. A seven-year apprenticeship was enforced on all workers in the industry but in Norwich this was inevitably followed by the expensive purchase of the freedom, essential for all craftsmen and shopkeepers. In 1554 it was recalled that city dwellers had formerly been able to bear "such charges as have ben layed upon them to the good mayntenaunce of the commen wealthe of the cittie"; but of late, many people "haue dwelte wtin the cittie some by the space of a yere, some haulf a year, some moore and some other untyll they have obteyned the ffraunches and liberties of the same, and thenne haue departed out of the same and haue dwelte in dyvers places in the Countye of Norffolk adioyning to the cittie". Having procured this freedom, such persons were coming into Norwich and buying and selling as freely as the inhabitants did - and yet bearing none of the charges that the latter incurred; in future they were to deal in the

---

(1) Statute 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c.11.

city only as foreigners. (1) The attractiveness of the city had been reduced by two or more disastrous fires in the first decade of the sixteenth century (2) for it was ordered that on new buildings thatch was to be replaced by expensive tiles and slates, (3) and an additional charge was the repair of the street paving. (4) Compulsory re-edification was the object of the 1534 Act of Parliament (5) and some success was certainly achieved. (6) The further variety of charges made on the inhabitants included those for the weeding of the market place - an ominous sign - and the cleaning of the streets and river. When the charges involved in craft membership were added, it is not surprising that people looked with favour upon the countryside, that many houses "stode onlaten and grue to ruyn...And in conclusion the same Citie felle thereby to desolacion, the seruyce of god mynyshed, churches that were wonte to be richelye adhourned ruyned and ffell down". (7) Though only temporary,

- 
- (1) A.B. 19th November, quoted by H. and T., op. cit., II, pp. 131-2.  
 (2) Blomefield, op. cit., III, pp. 182, 192.  
 (3) A.B. 18th May, 1509, quoted by H. and T., op. cit., II, p. 107.  
 (4) It was found that "many commely and fayer howses adioyning upon the common and high stretes in diuerse and sundry places within this cittie" had decayed, some even "prostrate to the ground", together with the paving in front of them; A.B. 21st September, 1559, quoted by H. and T., op. cit., II, pp. 133-4.  
 (5) Statute 26 Henry VIII, c. 8.  
 (6) A.B. 5th April, 1537 and 8th February, 1538, quoted by H. and T., op. cit., II, pp. 122-3.  
 (7) A.B. 7th September, 1531, quoted by H. and T., op. cit., II, 111-5.

the disorganisation of the city during Ket's Rebellion in 1549 added to the decay.<sup>(1)</sup> And with many vagabonds resorting to the city during this period, measures for the relief and control of the poor were frequent from the 1530's onwards.<sup>(2)</sup>

Inevitably, the growth of the city's population was retarded and Norwich fell from its former position among the great cities of England: in 1334 it had been sixth and in 1377 fifth when 3,952 taxpayers<sup>(3)</sup> suggested a total population of perhaps 5,000. But by 1524, the total was still only 6,000 or so.<sup>(4)</sup>

#### IX.

Both local and national remedies for the decayed state of the worsted industry did not, and by their nature could not, succeed. Effective competition with the Netherlands draperies could be achieved only by a radical departure from the traditional worsted manufacture; the

- 
- (1) The city was isolated and fought though, some buildings were burnt, and some of the citizens joined the rebels; see the account in Blomefield, *op.cit.*, III, pp.222-260.
- (2) Stocks of corn for the poor in years of scarcity and high prices were made permanent in 1554; impotent persons were authorised to beg; the public collection of alms began in 1536; steps were taken to prevent poor and idle people from coming to the city and occupying houses at the low rents which owners were willing to let them. See H. and T., *op.cit.*, II, pp.xciv-cv.
- (3) I am indebted to Mr. M.W. Beresford for this information.
- (4) *Supra*, p.436.

answer was found in the 1560's with the introduction of some of the competitors and their manufactures into Norfolk, but one move on these lines was made in 1554 and will provide a fitting conclusion to this chapter.

In that year, the manufacture of russels, satins and satins reverses was introduced into Norwich after these cloths had been made in the Netherlands from Norfolk wool. <sup>(1)</sup> The worsted manufacture was "reduced very much, such worsteds being now brought out of estimation and very little worth either in this realm or foreign countries, the said satins being universally worn in lieu thereof". The Mayor, Thomas Marsham, and twelve aldermen, citizens and merchants had brought in a number of foreigners, made looms for them, and established their manufacture which was being taught to Englishmen; with the success of the venture, an Act of Parliament was gained constituting the russel weavers as a fellowship with power to elect wardens to search and seal the cloths. The first members were the Mayor and 12 citizens, together with 8 worsted weavers, but any citizens were to be free to join with "The Wardens and Fellowship of the

---

(1) It was in 1554 that russel making in Norwich was organised and encouraged by Statute 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c.14. The date of the first introduction is uncertain; russels are mentioned as being made in Norwich in Statute 1 Edw.VI, c.6 (1547) which confirmed Statute 33 Henry VIII, C.16 (1541) - but the latter merely names russels as one of the cloths being made abroad of yarn spun from Norfolk wool.

mystery of Russel, Satins, Satins Reverses and Fustian of Norwich making within the said city of Norwich".

A set of ordinances was immediately compiled,<sup>(1)</sup> and the new trade was subjected to most of the regulations which already applied to worsted weaving. Provision was made for the sizes of the cloths,<sup>(2)</sup> and the supervision by the wardens of both the weaving and finishing processes;<sup>(3)</sup> familiar orders were set down for the keeping of looms<sup>(4)</sup> and apprentices;<sup>(5)</sup> and the numbers of journeymen to be employed were limited.<sup>(6)</sup> The city merchants who had provided the capital and initiative for the venture were alone to profit

- 
- (1) The books of the Company are lost but Kirkpatrick saw at least one of them and these data are taken from his notes, quoted in H. and T., II, pp.408-413.
- (2) Broad russels and satins reverses were to be 15 yards, 15 inches long "wt in ye hedding" and  $\frac{3}{4}$  yard broad "full upon ye lome". Narrow pieces were to be of the same length and half an ell broad "of ye lome". Fustians of Norwich were to be 15 yards long and half an ell broad.
- (3) A court was to be held four times annually, and fines imposed for breaches of the various orders. Dyers, calenderers and shearmen were to be similarly supervised.
- (4) Looms were to be kept only in the weavers' own houses, or in houses hired for the purpose.
- (5) Apprentices were to be at least 14 years old, to serve for at least 7 years and be enrolled within a year and a day of being bound. Married men and foreign-born aliens might not be taken, but aliens might be retained as journeymen or hired servants if they already had knowledge in this manufacture or in wool combing.
- (6) A russel weaver with 3 or 4 or more satin looms was to keep only one worsted weaver as a journeyman; but Robert Hendry, John Sutton, John Cooke and Richard Tompson might keep 3 "for yt they were ye first inventors of ye russells making in ye Citie of Norwich". All four were also hatmakers.

from the marketing of russels, for the weavers werd forbidden to buy the cloths to re-sell or to transport them from the city to do so. The city proceeded cautiously with the experiment, however, desiring that worsted weaving should be "still continued in this cittie as a profitable and necessary occupacion": any weaver who made both worsteds and russels was required to keep as many worsted looms as he did before his admission to the Russel Fellowship, and when a man apprenticed to worsted weaving was so admitted he was first to set up one worsted loom "to thentent yt ye occupation of worsted wevinge maie be continued".

In 1556 and 1558, three aldermen and one merchant were admitted to the Company "And so none elected into ye Company but insteade of one deceased or expelled, etc. tho' many admitted to ye exercise of ye making of ye sd russells, etc."<sup>(1)</sup> Yet the account of pieces sealed shows that only a few hundred russels were produced each year from 1558 to 1563:<sup>(2)</sup> the technical changes necessary and the restrictions imposed on weavers of the new cloths must have discouraged any wholesale switch-over by the worsted weavers

---

(1) Kirkpatrick's notes. Admission of weavers: for example, three applied for it in 1555; C.B. 7/30. All weavers were to work in the city only: offence by a Tunstead weaver, 1575; C.B. 9/573d.

(2) Kirkpatrick's notes, quoted in H. and T., II, pp.412-3. *Infra*, pp.581-3.

and the considerable increase in russels sealed in 1564 must reflect the influx of the strangers into Norwich. It is this more substantial attempt to revive the worsted industry that opens the second phase of the industry's development in these two centuries.

#### CHAPTER III.

### THE INTRODUCTION OF THE STRANGERS AND THE NEW DISCOVERIES.



## I.

The restrained success of the Russel Company indicated on what lines the difficulties of the worsted industry might be resolved. The happy coincidence of the exodus of refugees from the Netherlands in search of religious freedom with the desire of Norwich to introduce the draperies which they manufactured led to the settlement of 300 Dutch and Walloon Strangers in the city in 1565.

The Strangers had settled first at various ports in south-east England, though they had been arriving in London for some years before religious persecution in the Netherlands had provoked the increased emigration of the 1560's.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1561, 20 to 25 households of Strangers were licensed<sup>s</sup> to settle in Sandwich, and to manufacture new draperies as well as to fish there.<sup>(2)</sup> But at these earliest centres<sup>(3)</sup> of alien settlement it appears that the motive force was provided by the Strangers, and these were not deliberate attempts to establish the new industry in England. There is nevertheless no doubt that in Kent, whose coarse broadcloth industry was in decline, the English spinners (especially) benefitted from the arrival of

- 
- (1) Strangers in London got letters patent in 1559 to be a corporate and politic body and to have a church for their use. The church was re-granted to them by Elizabeth after Mary had caused the Protestant congregation to be dispersed. Moens, W.J.C., "The Walloons and their Church at Norwich: their History and Registers, 1565-1832", Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol.I (1887-88), p.17.
- (2) See Tawney and Power, op.cit., i, p.297, printing State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol.XVIII, Number 9.
- (3) See Hewitt, E.M., in V.C.H. Kent, Vol.III (1932), pp.403-416 Vellacott, C.H., in V.C.H. Hampshire, Vol.V (1912), pp.475-489 Cross, F.W., "The Huguenot Church at Canterbury", Huguenot Society Publications, Vol.XV (1898).

the new draperies. Although they were free to make their own types of cloth, the Strangers were forbidden in the civic agreements made for their admission to manufacture any English cloths in competition with the natives. (1)

From these early settlements, Strangers were drawn deliberately to other towns in need of their skill; 200 were admitted into Southampton in 1567 to remedy the decayed state of the port, and a condition of their entry was that they should employ some English apprentices. (2) In Colchester, the refugee Congregation initiated an important manufacture of new draperies which quickly replaced a section of the broadcloth industry of Essex and Suffolk which had been in considerable trading difficulties in the sixteenth century. (3) In Norwich, of course, the need for the new manufactures was urgent and the fact that they were cloths of the worsted type gave the city

- 
- (1) As at Canterbury; Cross, *op.cit.*, p.184. See Norwich, *infra*  
 (2) Vellacott, *op.cit.*, p.485. p475.  
 (3) See Unwin, G., in V.C.H. Suffolk, Vol.II (1907), pp.267-271. Miller Christy in V.C.H. Essex, Vol.II (1907), pp.380-404. Pilgrim, J., "The Cloth Industry in Essex and Suffolk, 1558 to 1640", unpublished University of London thesis, summarised in the Bulletin of Historical Research, Vol.17 (1939-40), pp.143-5. The new draperies quickly replaced the white broadcloths, but not until much later the chief product - the coloured broadcloths. (Pilgrim). The white broadcloth was particularly susceptible because of the decay of the Central European market, the collapse of Antwerp and the rise in price of English cloth abroad as a result of the inflation (Ramsey, "The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries").

a unique advantage. Strangers were induced to move from Sandwich to Norwich and were given letters patent which make clear the dual intentions of their welcome to the city: they were to be given refuge and religious freedom, and they were to manufacture the new draperies - teaching the English the new techniques.

There had been few aliens in Norwich before this settlement judging from the numbers recorded in the subsidy rolls - probably fewer than 20 in all.<sup>(1)</sup> One, Nicholas Isborn, was admitted to the freedom as a goldsmith in 1535 and if the conditions of his admission were typical,<sup>(2)</sup> aliens were not readily accepted into city industry. The conditions under which the Strangers were introduced in 1565 obliged the authorities to offer a more friendly welcome.

- (1) In the city subsidy roll of 1455 (P.R.O. E179/149/163) there were 14 aliens, in 1465 (E179/149/162) 13, in 1469 (E179/149/161) 15; H. and T., op.cit., II, lxxxiii-lxxxviii. In 1549 there were 5, in 1553 10, in 1563 14; Moens, op.cit. p.17.
- (2) He was not to take a foreign-born alien as apprentice, not to employ a servant without the Mayor's licence, not to act on a foreigner's behalf without such licence; Moens, op.cit., p.17.

(1) H.C.M.S. Strangers Book, fo. 16, quoted by H. and T., op.cit., II, pp. 232-233.

## II.

The Strangers must have been unfavourably impressed with the city which greeted them in 1565; many of the worsted craftsmen had been forced to turn to other trades "by reason that the comodities of woorsted makynge is greatelye decayed, by the whiche manye cittyzens bothe marchauntes and artizans that before that tyme hadd (of the geyne therof) their whoale lyvinges, and greate nombre of poore of the cyttye were sette on worke by spinninge, weavinge, dyenge, callendringe and shearinge theseyde clothes which nowe were owte of estimation and vente..."; but the alternative work "was nothings so proffyttable" with the result that "people became poore, manye lefte ther howses and dwelte in the cuntrye, that howses decayed for lacke of fearmes, and that they were letten at small prises, and the citye lyke to decaye yf prudente polici did not assyste the same". The prudent policy was to bring to Norwich some of the Strangers who, it had been heard, were already making "Flaunders comodityes made of wolle" in London and Sandwich "bycause the poore here might be exercized in theyr spynninge and wolle worke".<sup>(1)</sup> Through the intermediary of the Duke of Norfolk and with the help of the Consistory of the Dutch Church in London, Strangers

---

(1) N.C.M.R. Strangers Book, fo.16, quoted by H. and T., op.cit., II, pp. 332-333.

already settled in Sandwich were induced to come to Norwich and Elizabeth granted letters patent on their behalf, dated 5th November, 1565. (1)

The city was to receive Strangers "amounting in the whole to the Nombre of Therty Douchemen of the Lowe Countrys of Flanders Alyens borne, not denysons beinge all housholders or Maister woorkmen", together with their households and servants not exceeding ten in each family. The immigrants might "safely inhabitt wthin the sayd Citty of Norwh" exercising "the faculties of making Bays, Arras, Sayes, Tapstrey, Mockadoes, Staments, Carsay and such other outlandish comodities as hath not bene used to be made within this our Realme of England onely and none other". For these purposes they were to be allowed to lease houses and to be free from any past statutes concerning the regulation of aliens. Of the thirty masters who came, 24 were Dutch and 6 Walloons. At this early stage there was already some resistance to the scheme for the city council would not admit the Strangers under their common seal and the Mayor was obliged to set his own seal to the order; this he did on 1st June, 1566. (2)

---

(1) Strangers Book, fos.16-17, printed in full in Moens, op.cit., pp.244-5.

(2) Strangers Book, fo.18, quoted by Moens, op.cit., p.18.

The Strangers immediately negotiated for the use of places of worship; the Walloons were assigned the Bishop's Chapel at the cathedral<sup>(1)</sup> and the Dutch the choir of the Black Friars' church which the corporation had acquired at the dissolution.<sup>(2)</sup> Philip II had ordered the suppression of the reformed faith in the Netherlands and many refugees were driven from West Flanders by the Duke of Alva: over half of the population of that region were Protestants.<sup>(3)</sup> In Norwich, arrangements were to be made for the form of their worship and discipline to ensure that they conformed with that "used by autoritye in the realme".<sup>(4)</sup>

### III

The Strangers at once began to make their new draperies: "These XXX masters wethe their same l'res then not passyng tenne paersons in a house beganne to make their comodities as to them and everye of them was beste pleasinge and

- 
- (1) S.P.D. Chas.I, 387/47, quoted by Moens, op.cit., p.21. The chapel was used by the Walloons until 1610 and then intermittently until 1637 when they were ejected by the Bishop. They then got a 40-year lease of the church of St. Mary the Less which they used until its dissolution as a place of worship. Moens, op.cit., pp.21-22.
- (2) Moens, op.cit., p.22.
- (3) Moens, op.cit., pp.4-16 (discussion of religious troubles causing the emigration).
- (4) Letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Norwich, printed in Moens, op.cit., p.253.

had favour therin of the maiestrates as them wolde".<sup>(1)</sup> The church of St. Mary the Less<sup>(2)</sup> was granted to the Strangers as a cloth hall, the corporation expending £43 in repairs and charging the Strangers a rent of about £13 per annum including the hallage.<sup>(3)</sup> Regulations for their government were agreed upon "at the strangers first coming"; concerning their manufactures, officials were to be yearly sworn to search the cloths and the dues received were to be paid to the city quarterly.<sup>(4)</sup> The cloth hall was to have "two seuerall places" - one in which to view the "Rawe perche" of bays and other cloths,<sup>(5)</sup> and the second for searching bays "in the whight pearche"<sup>(6)</sup> - and seals and other utensils to the value of over 300 marks were prepared in the knape's house.<sup>(7)</sup> Other articles in these regulations were concerned with non-industrial matters,<sup>(8)</sup> but

- 
- (1) Strangers Book, fo.18, quoted in Moens, op.cit., p.19.  
 (2) Already leased to the city for 500 years by the Dean and Chapter. It was later used as a yarn hall and then in 1637 became the Walloons' place of worship (supra, p.476.)  
 (3) Moens, op.cit., p.20.  
 (4) The customs were to be 2d. for each whole cloth, 1d. each half cloth, 2d. each whole bay, 2d. each double say, 2d. each double stamett, 1d. each single stamett.  
 (5) The search of the woven but unfinished cloths; infra, p.504.  
 (6) The search of the cloths after being finished; infra, p.507.  
 (7) Strangers Book, fo.18.  
 (8) 2 aldermen (one a Justice of the Peace) were to consider their causes; they were to be formally admitted and given a token on which their names and trades were written; and they were to pay church dues of 1d. per shilling of their house assessments, and also watch money.

an important clause restricted the Strangers' freedom to trade; their buying and selling was limited to goods that they had made themselves, and then was to be wholesale only unless the customer was a fellow Stranger: the retailing of goods in an open shop was quite forbidden to them. (1)

The Strangers were not, however, accepted without some opposition from the citizens and in 1567 - in Thomas Whalle's mayoralty - there were made "dyverse complaints of the Citye artizans agaynste the straungers". (2) The English lace weavers, worsted weavers, dyers, leather workers and shopkeepers all submitted objections. (3) Most of the aldermen held out against the Mayor's willingness to have the Strangers removed, and Whalle was content to impose additional regulations the chief one being that the Dutch should annually elect 8 and the Walloons 4 politic men who would answer for the whole companies. (4) Whalle's successor, Thomas Parker, confirmed these orders and introduced others after complaints against the Strangers that "the moste dysordered persons walked late in the streets of the citye dronken and of greate dysorder". (5)

---

(1) Strangers Book, fos. 18d. and 19; quoted by Moems, op.cit., p.19.

(2) Ibid., fo.19d.

(3) Ibid., fos. 20-21.

(4) Ibid., fo.19d.

(5) Loc.cit..

An outstanding point of controversy between Strangers and English concerned the formers' marketing of their goods; it was alleged that they both transported yarn to London and bribed the carriers to give their goods preference over those of natives.<sup>(1)</sup> Being forbidden to take their cloths to London, the Strangers complained and early in 1568 the most substantial of them were given permission to carry their bays to London, but they were not to use factors there.<sup>(2)</sup> The citizens now complained to the Privy Council but were informed that the Queen wished the Strangers to be treated favourably and to be allowed "to sell their commodities, as their brethren settled in Sandwich and Colchester do, to whom they please".<sup>(3)</sup> Subsequently, a conspiracy to evict the Strangers was discovered<sup>(4)</sup> The secret and illegal dealing of the Strangers was encouraged by the lack of a sale hall, for the existing hall was for searching and sealing the cloths only, and at the beginning of 1570 eight men were appointed to draw up comprehensive orders for the better government of the Strangers,<sup>(5)</sup> and for a sale hall.<sup>(6)</sup>

---

(1) Strangers Book, fo.20d.

(2) Ibid., fo.21.

(3) Blomefield, op.cit., III, 285, quoted by Moens, op.cit., p.27.

(4) Strangers Book, fo.23.

(5) A.B. 3/166.

(6) A.B. 3/177d.

Both sets of orders were approved on 16th November, 1570 and were ordered to stand from the 30th of that month.<sup>(1)</sup> But the Strangers strongly objected to the eleventh article of the general orders which dealt with the thorny question of marketing. All Strangers' commodities were to be brought to the new sale hall where city freemen and certified merchant strangers could buy them "So that ye shall not, by yor brokers, factors or other marchauntes, defeate, or by Cawtelles Subverte or perverte the trewe meaninge hereof". Merchant strangers might export the cloths or take them elsewhere in England (provided there were 10 pieces of bays and 20 of mockadoes, etc. to each merchant), but Strangers were not to go "by horsse backe" to retail cloths to country chapmen.<sup>(2)</sup> In fact, the Walloons agreed to the orders but the Dutch "utterlye denied to be under suche governemente, or to be infringed of anye liberties they pleased to take of themselves"; the city Assembly, however, would not relent over the eleventh article.<sup>(3)</sup> A licence was granted for four aldermen to buy wool for the Strangers<sup>(4)</sup> and "Upon this began a newe the Duche nation to storme"; the four governors of the bay drapery accordingly set their grievances before the Queen.<sup>(5)</sup> The Privy Council's reply

---

(1) A.B. 3/180.

(2) Strangers Book, fos. 24-24d.

(3) Strangers Book, fo. 26d.

(4) *Infra*, pp. 556 et seq.

(5) Strangers Book, fos. 26d.-27.

implored the city to relax the new order restricting the sale of cloths to none but freemen<sup>(1)</sup>, but the Mayor ordered the doors of the cloth hall to be closed on 26th March, 1571 in retaliation against the Strangers' circumvention of his authority.<sup>(2)</sup> The matter was referred by the Council to Sir Walter Mildmay and Sir Thomas Smith who made three points in the Englishmen's favour: first, that worsteds were "owte of desyre...And nowe nothings in desyre but theis comodities which they (the strangers) desyre soli to themselves, the Citezins must be cleane withoute occupieng"; second, that the Strangers bought and sold as freely as the citizens, selling at so small a profit that the English could not compete; and third, that the Strangers retailed all kinds of commodities - English as well as their own - in Norwich and the countryside "Whearby bothe the marchaunte, the chapman, and the artizan is sore decayed and they preferred, which was the onely cause of orders makinge, to brydle this unmeasurable disorder."<sup>(3)</sup>

These allegations the Strangers denied, asserting that

---

(1) Ibid., fo. 27d.

(2) He told the Privy Council, "we have ever so well thought of them, and so well have dealte with them (for the Ghospell's sake) as that we never loked or deserved to have bene so uniustelye complayned of: unlesse in this one thyng, that we have over muche favoured them and their causes...(that) they have gathered suche stomacke and boldenes, as some of them wolde seems rather nowe to governe then to be governed"; Ibid., fo. 28.

(3) Ibid., fos. 28d.-29.

they were willing for the English to make the new draperies but that they could not accept the eleventh article of the proposed orders. This brought a counter denial from the English, complaining that the Strangers sold their goods to the citizens at so high a price that no profit could be made in London, and that in their own wholesale trade the Strangers sold so cheaply that the English couldn't compete. Both parties agreed that the two arbitrators should decide, and the hall doors were opened on 21st April pending the decision.<sup>(1)</sup> On the 29th August, the Privy Council sent their revised version of the eleventh article to Norwich: they effected a compromise whereby Strangers might sell their cloths to any Englishman or Stranger - but only in the sale hall, but the prohibition of local retailing was maintained.<sup>(2)</sup> The Council instructed that the Orders should be re-enacted yearly until the Council thought fit to alter them.<sup>(3)</sup> The city Assembly finally settled the orders on 21st September, 1571.<sup>(4)</sup>

While the Book of Orders was being disputed there was also much dissention on ecclesiastical and other matters; the

---

(1) Ibid., fos. 28d.-29d.. Nine days later the Assembly gave permission for bays to be sold at the sale hall "newly appoynte" until the Council's decision was received; C.B. 9/152d.

{2} The Orders are given in full in Appendix Six.

{3} Strangers Book, fos. 30-30d.

{4} Ibid., fo. 31.

Eight and Four<sup>(1)</sup> found that "their people began to waxe verye stubborne, and would not obeye their orders as in tymes paste they have done", and the city court accordingly ordered that the Strangers must conform to the orders of the Eight and Four.<sup>(2)</sup> The Mayor's attention was also drawn to the fact that by their letters patent the Strangers were free from vexatious informations in the court, and his help was sought "agaynst them that take the benefyte of the statutes agaynst the pore straungers without cause".<sup>(3)</sup> Further dissent by the Strangers had been occasioned by the interference of the Mayor and Corporation in their spiritual matters, and on 16th September, 1571, spiritual jurisdiction over the foreign churches was confirmed to be in the Bishop of Norwich, the Mayor having jurisdiction in civil matters only.<sup>(4)</sup> And the Mayor set down 11 rules to be enforced by the Eight and Four in considering the Strangers' causes;<sup>(5)</sup> in Thomas Grene's mayoralty, the Eight and Four were ordered to be sworn each year to 13 articles.<sup>(6)</sup>

---

(1) Supra, p. 478.

(2) Strangers Book, fo.47, quoted by Moens, op.cit., p.30.

(3) Moens, op.cit., p.30.

(4) Strangers Book, fos.46-48.

(5) Ibid., fos.47d.-48

(6) Infra, p.490.

## IV

The orders of 1571 provided the basis for all future regulation of the Strangers in Norwich and they heralded a period of relative freedom from dispute with the citizens. Soon after the orders were settled, however, the Archbishop of Canterbury and others brought to the Mayor's attention an "unnaturall and barbarows dissenting" within the congregations and charged him to "roote owte" the offenders.<sup>(1)</sup> The Mayor and aldermen found difficulty in bringing to heel the four governors of the Drapery, complaining that "they coulde nott gett the booke of orders for the draperye, to understande the poores cawses, nor to redresse them as theyr offyce requyrede"; after being imprisoned the governors did hand it over and it was translated into English.<sup>(2)</sup> The rivalry of certain groups within the Dutch congregation led to a lengthy dispute over nominations for the election of the Eight who were eventually appointed on 4th December.<sup>(3)</sup> Among the Walloons, internal contention had been aroused by newcomers from Canterbury.<sup>(4)</sup>

The reduced number of complaints against the Strangers were concerned with relatively minor matters and were not connected with any branches of the cloth manufacture. The

---

(1) Strangers Book, fo.49

(2) Loc.cit., Infra, p.502.

(3) Ibid., fos. 70d.-75.

(4) Ibid., fo.98d.

English tailors alleged that they were prejudiced by the secret working in the trade of Strangers, and 27 alien tailors were accordingly authorised early in 1573;<sup>(1)</sup> the English cordwainers had their alien competitors limited to eight in the same year;<sup>(2)</sup> the English butchers and smiths asked for relief from the interference in their trades by Strangers in 1573;<sup>(3)</sup> Stranger bakers were forbidden to make white bread or to buy corn in the market before 1p.m..<sup>(4)</sup> More important was the complaint in 1578 that Strangers were again selling merchandise by retail, and they were warned that the relevant statutes and the 11th article of the orders would be enforced.<sup>(5)</sup> Yet the city's attitude to the Strangers was now so favourable that the Mayor wrote to the Privy Council in 1583 in defence of four Dutch manufacturers who had been informed against for retailing goods; the Strangers' freedom from informers was jealously guarded.<sup>(6)</sup>

The city authorities also took the Strangers' part following the grant of letters patent to William Tipper on 24th June, 1576, for the hostage of all Strangers in the country. He was to appoint the hosts with whom Strangers might lodge, and these hosts, moreover, were to supervise their

---

(1) Ibid., fos.76d.-77.

(2) Ibid., fo.77d.

(3) A.B. 3/197,199.

(4) Moens, op.cit., p.37.

(5) Strangers Book, fo.96.

(6) S.P.D. Elizabeth, 160/37, printed in Moens, op.cit., p.263.

lodgers' business and take 2d. in the £ on all deals that they made. In 1578, these rights of the host were disallowed, but Tipper's supervision of hostage was confirmed, the letters patent having been for 21 years. (1) Tipper arrested a wealthy alien merchant of Norwich, but the action was stayed by Sir Christopher Hatton, and on 6th March, 1578, the hostage for Norwich was assigned to the city for 100 marks. (2) The Mayor then assured the Strangers that "none of you shoulde be molested or trowblyd, but to procede in your lawefull exercises, as you befor have done withoute anye feare or greyfe." (3)

#### V

The size of the alien congregations in Norwich greatly increased in the years following the first settlement, the fresh influx partly resulting from the movement of refugees in 1567 occasioned by the Duke of Alva's persecutions in the Netherlands. The letters patent had authorised 300 Strangers (240 Dutch and 60 Walloons) to reside in the city but by 1568 there were 1132 Flemish and 339 Walloon or French speaking Strangers there.

The increasing numbers above the original 300 had caused alarm, it being feared that there were many

---

(1) Moens, op.cit., pp.39-40

(2) A.B. 3/266; Strangers Book, fos.102d.-104.

(3) Strangers Book, fo.90d.

Anabaptists among the newcomers, and in May 1568, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of those places having alien congregations were instructed to make full enquiries into the numbers and conditions of the Strangers.<sup>(1)</sup> They were to discover any Strangers who were contrary to the faith of the Christian Church, "To which kind of people the Queenes Majestie meaneth in no case to permitt anie refuge in her Dominions", and to make "perfect Registers" of the Strangers according to eight articles.<sup>(2)</sup> The reply, made by the Bishop of Norwich was favourable to the Strangers, and he sent in a very full return of their numbers:-<sup>(3)</sup>

- 
- (1) The letter from the Queen to the Archbishop is printed in Moens, op.cit., p.254.
  - (2) Quoted from the reply of the Bishop of Norwich in Moens, op.cit., pp.152-7.
  - (3) The Dutch were ordered to certify the names of the licenced 300 (C.B. 8/526d., 530d.) and the aldermen were to take the number of Strangers in their wards (C.B. 8/522). The Bishop's reply is printed in Moens, op.cit., pp.152-7, and the returns discussed, ibid., p.26.

Return of the Strangers in Norwich, 4th August, 1568.

<u>DUTCH</u>	Total number of families	314
	Single people over 17 years	193
	Young people under 17	461
	Children born in England	112
	Widows and widowers	<u>52</u>
	Total	1132 <sup>(1)</sup>

Trades, where given - those connected with the cloth industry only.

Woolcombers	154
Weavers	53
Spinners	15
Fullers	10
Dyers	4
Silk Weaver	1
Cap maker	1
Merchants	23

Places of origin, where given

Flanders	311
Brabant	49
Zeeland	26
Holland	5
Friesland	2
Picardy	1

<u>WALLOONS</u>	Total number of families (husbands and wives or one of either)	64
	Men and women over 17	19
	Men and women under 17	95
	Children born in England	40
	Widows	19
	Servants	<u>12</u>
	Total	249 <sup>(2)</sup>

Trades, where given - those connected with the cloth industry only.

Woolcombers	18
Weavers	9
Woolcomber and weaver	1

- 
- (1) This total, accepted by Moens, supposes that none of the families included both husband and wife: this is unlikely.
- (2) But with both husband and wife in 90 of the families, the total is in fact 339.

WALLOONSTrades, where given (cloth industry) - continued.

Say Makers	3
Fringe Makers	8
Silk weavers	2
Fuller	1
Shearmen	2
Spinners	2
Dyer	1
Cloth and bay dealer	1
Drapers	5
"Rappoincteur des drapps"	1
Merchants	4

Places of origin, where given

Flanders	28
Lille	22
Artois	9
Hainault	5
Armentiers	5
Valenciennes	2
Liege	2
Antwerp	2
Brabant	2
Namur	2
Utrecht	1
France	1

The numbers had further increased by 1569: on 16th November, Whalle reported to the Privy Council that he had 2826 Strangers in the city - 752 men, 681 women, 1132 children and 261 servants - and requested advice as to his treatment of any others that might come. (1) The Council expressed satisfaction at the maintenance of good order among the Norwich congregation, and instructed that all the Strangers

---

(1) B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 7/82: Moens mis-quoted the number of men as 792 and thus the total as 2866.

might remain in the city with the exception of 40 soldiers from a wrecked ship.<sup>(1)</sup> In Thomas Grene's mayoralty, the Eight and Four were sworn to see that the number did not exceed that reported by Whalle,<sup>(2)</sup> but the congregation continued to grow. In October 1571, the Privy Council called for another return and ordered that only those Strangers who could "stande charitablye with the weale, or at the leaste withoute damadge of the natural enhabitants" should be allowed to remain in the city.<sup>(3)</sup> Grene made the return on 16th November, 1571:-<sup>(4)</sup>

---

(1) B.M. Lansd. 7/83.  
 (2) Strangers Book, fos.60d.-62.  
 (3) Strangers Book, fos.68-69.  
 (4) Ibid., fos.69-70d. On 20th October, the numbers had been stated as men 1056, women 1095, children 1848, total 3999; C.B. 9/195. Grene's returns detailed the numbers in each ward of the city and are printed in Moens:-

South Conesford	151	North Conesford	235
Ber Street	209	St. Stephens	125
St. Peters	126	St. Giles	62
West Wymer	827	Middle Wymer	577
East Wymer	316	Coslany	412
Colegate	471	Fybridge	442

Total 3953.

(Several corrections have been made for faulty addition in the original).

---

(1) Moens, op.cit., pp. 16-17.  
 (2) S.P.D. Ellis, 1573, quoted by Moens, op.cit., p. 37.  
 (3) C.B. 11/224; incomplete details ward-by-ward show 613 of them in Colegate, 53 in St. Giles and 53 in Ber Street wards.

Dutch men	868
Walloon men	203
Women of both nations	1173
Children under 14 yrs.	<u>1681</u>
Total	<u>3925</u>

Of these, 666 were English-born and 355 had arrived in the city since 25th March that year. The Mayor reported that "We fynde the nombre verie conveniente, and proffitable for this comon weale", but 48 of them were stated to be disorderly and disturbers of the peace.

The number of French refugees reaching England increased after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24th August, 1572, and the Privy Council allowed some of them to move from the overcrowded city of London, a number of them perhaps settling in Norwich.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1575 Thomas Kendall wrote from Norwich that "the city is filled with strangers".<sup>(2)</sup> The next return of Strangers was ordered in 1582, and there were then 4679 in Norwich - 1128 men, 1358 women, 815 children born abroad and 1378 children born in England.<sup>(3)</sup>

By the 1580's, the Stranger population of the city was probably at or near its peak size; henceforth the congregation was progressively decreased and weakened by death, migration and inter-marriage with the English. The only return

---

(1) Moens, op.cit., pp.36-37.  
 (2) S.P.D. Elizabeth, 103/32, quoted by Moens, op.cit., p.37.  
 (3) C.B. 11/224; incomplete details ward-by-ward show 648 of them in Colegate, 53 in St. Giles and 55 in Ber Street wards.

made in the early seventeenth century revealed only 331 Strangers, 168 of them "borne of parents strangers" and 163 "borne beyond the seas", in 1622.<sup>(1)</sup>

Three smaller congregations of Strangers had been established in Norfolk - at King's Lynn, Great Yarmouth and Thetford. The return of 1568<sup>(2)</sup> revealed 176 aliens in Lynn, and that of 1571<sup>(3)</sup> listed 226 in 44 households. In their return to the Privy Council in 1571, the Mayor and Corporation wrote that "The said Straungers are for the greatest part pore, of good behaviour, and gette their Livinges wth Labor in their Seuerall faculties expressed in the said note". The non-denizenated Dutchmen numbered 44 and they included 5 weavers, 1 twisterer, 1 dyer, 1 hatmaker and 5 merchants; in addition, there were 5 denizenated Dutchmen and 5 non-denizenated Scots.

In 1568, the Flemish refugees at Yarmouth petitioned the Queen to be allowed to stay there in their trade of fishing, and in 1570 licence was granted for 30 aliens with

- 
- (1) S.P.D. James I, 131/103, printed in Moens, op.cit., p.189. Occupations are given for all 331 and it appears that they were all men: the total number of Strangers, therefore, may have been about 1400. The congregation at the other large East Anglian settlement, Colchester, was never as large as that at Norwich but it appears to have decreased less rapidly. 1565 - About 50 Strangers; 1571 - 185; 1573 - 474; 1584 - 1148; 1586 - 1293; 1622 - 1535 (Pilgrim, op.cit., pp.74-85).
- (2) The details are given in Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany, Vol.III, i, 228.
- (3) S.P.D. Elizabeth, 78/13 and 131, printed in the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol.V (1898), pp.188-191.

their families and servants in the town. A great increase in numbers led to orders for their regulation in 1574, but the returns of 1571<sup>(1)</sup> gave details of 105 families containing 369 Strangers and 51 Scots. Of the Dutch, 30 were fishermen, 12 mariners, 10 coopers, 5 in other trades connected with the sea and 4 were merchants: there was clearly no cloth manufacture by the Yarmouth congregation.

At Thetford, Dutch bay-making was of some importance and this was among the chief bay towns listed by the keeper of the London Bay Hall in 1578.<sup>(2)</sup> Thetford had fallen considerably from its mediaeval size and status and in 1580 (in a petition to the Lord Treasurer) described itself as "beinge greatly Impov'ished for want of inhabitaunts, and without any Travicke". The petitioners suggested two remedies: either "to have bayes only made but for a tyme in her Mats saide borowghe for the bringinge in of inhabitaunts", or "otherwise A Staple for Norffe woll to be solde and bought in her Mats saide borowghe only".<sup>(3)</sup> John Johnson, an ardent pamphleteer, had failed to impress the secretary of the Privy Council with

---

(1) The previous information is quoted, and the 1571 returns printed, in the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol.V (1898), pp.289-296; the returns are in S.P.D. Elizabeth, 78/10.

(2) P.R.O. E101/347/19; *Infra*, pp.498-9.

(3) B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 31/29.

a similar proposal in 1577<sup>(1)</sup> and was equally unsuccessful in 1582.<sup>(2)</sup>

The size of the Thetford congregation is uncertain. A list of their sworn officers<sup>(3)</sup> suggests that it was large; but, on the other hand, a list was made in 1584 of nine Dutch householders and five non-householders, and "To the senior of the Duchemen commandement is gyven by the Maior that they receyve non of their countrymen from Norwich nor other place without assent of the Maior".<sup>(4)</sup>

- 
- (1) He suggested London, Thetford and Winchester as staple towns at which the Staplers should be permitted to supply wool to strangers and English bay-makers; they were suitable because of their 'indifferent' geographical situations, convenient for Staplers and new-drapers alike. P.R.O. S.P.12/114/58, quoted by Bowden, thesis cit., p.126.
- (2) P.R.O. S.P.12/154/22, 30; 155/80; 156/3, 3i, 9, 10; quoted by Bowden, thesis cit., p.126.
- (3) 2 governors, 6 searchers of rough bays, 9 sealers of white bays, 1 clerk and 1 bailiff; Thetford Corporation Mss., Registers, 1577-83, fo.72b., quoted in Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol.55, Part 7, p.137.
- (4) Registers, 1571-1601, p.111, quoted *ibid.*, p.141.

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

THE NATURE AND MANUFACTURE OF THE  
NEW DRAPERIES.

In certain important respects all the varieties of new draperies were intermediate in their nature and manufacture between woollen and worsted cloths. They were like worsteds in being lighter than broadcloths and in using much less wool per yard than the latter; they were like worsteds in using relatively long, coarse, combed wool as against the relatively short, fine, carded wool used in broadcloths. But some of the new draperies combined wool and yarn of both types: their weft was of carded wool and their warp of combed. And one of the new draperies, the bay, was quite unlike worsteds in that it was fulled. It will be seen in considering the different kinds of new draperies made in Norwich that they were of very great variety and that they became ever more varied as Strangers and English alike devised fresh modifications. Carded wheel-spun yarn and combed rock-spun yarn were used in varying proportions; cotton, linen or sometimes silk might replace wool for the warp; and both warp and weft were in some cases comprised of multiple rather than single threads.

The wool used for the new draperies was, in general, long or medium in staple and usually coarse; inevitably there were exceptions to this, and the different types of bays used wool of all kinds. In the early years of the manufacture, most bays were made from lambs and fell wool which were unfit for the manufacture of broadcloths, but increasing amounts of fine fleece wool were accounted for by

the last decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>(1)</sup> Already by 1577 the clothiers of Essex and Suffolk were blaming the Strangers for using the best wools in their bays to the detriment of the broadcloth manufacturers.<sup>(2)</sup>

For a time, the bay-makers of Norwich were adequately supplied by Norfolk-grown medium length, coarse wool; and later, when other supplies were needed, the medium or long wools of Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Lincolnshire were brought to Norwich. In their orders, the Norwich Strangers deliberately excluded short wool, together with lambs wool and nyles, from the materials which might be used in bays.<sup>(3)</sup> Most of the wool used in the Norwich new draperies was certainly combed and then spun on the rock: the alien congregations included large numbers of combers<sup>(4)</sup>

- 
- (1) In about 1590 it was said of the Strangers, "and longe after their first cominge they vsed most fell woll wch they yet contynewe but nowe they vse fleece woll much more then before tyme"; the Strangers maintained that bays "are made onlie of fell & lambes wolles pulled from the skynnes not fitt for clothing". P.R.O. E122/196/7, undated.
- (2) S.P.D. Elizabeth, 114/33-34, quoted by Pilgrim, op.cit. p.31.
- (3) It was ordered that no "short stuffe as nyles and such lyke" might be used in bays; N.C.M.R. Case 10, Shelf b (1577) (Orders for the bay drapery). All "Naughty wolle" (lambs and other short wool) was to be removed; Strangers Book, fo. 49 (1570). In 1577, the Strangers alleged that people in the country mixed lambs and short wool and other unlawful stuff in with the good wool; Strangers Book, fo.91. In 1602 it was made unlawful, however, for the English in Norwich to make a kind of bay using equal amounts of wool and nyles; Strangers Book, fo.108.
- (4) Supra, p.488.

who were constantly forbidden to "anoye the streats wth ther wasshe nor wth the same of ther wolles".<sup>(1)</sup> Large numbers of spinners, Strangers and English, city dwellers<sup>(2)</sup> and country people, spun the wool into worsted yarn which was used both for the new draperies and by the surviving weavers of the old worsted industry.<sup>(3)</sup> Consequently, the Strangers were obliged to participate in the leave-of-work enjoyed by the worsted weavers at harvest time;<sup>(4)</sup> but since some of the new draperies did not compete for worsted yarn with the native weavers they might still be made during that month - at different times velures, bombasies, "silke worke", certain types of grograine, says and even bays were exempted from the prohibition.<sup>(5)</sup>

- 
- (1) A.B. 3/270d.-271 (1578); similar orders were made in 1579 for fear that this and other practices would assist the spread of the plague; A.B. 3/276d., Strangers Book, fo.95. Same was used in the process of combing: in 1573, Strangers were ordered not to use "anye manner of sayme to ther woolle, other than Ciuyll oyle, and Whaye butter: And no sweete barrelled butter nor pyntes at all. And all keamers of woolle to occupye oyle onelye"; Strangers Book, fo.78. Good information concerning the work of the Strangers woolcombers in Canterbury is given in Cross, op.cit., p.191.
- (2) The census of the poor in Norwich made in 1571 reveals very many women and children spinning wool, as well as others spinning hemp, cotton and flax, and knitting hose, making lace and carding wool; "The Maior his Bocke for the Pore", part of which is printed in H.& T., op.cit., pp. 339-343.
- (3) *Infra*, pp. 553 et seq.
- (4) *Supra*, pp. 383-4.
- (5) For example, C.B. 11/25 (1582); 11/190 (1583); 11/494 (1585); 13/487, 491 (1600); 16/296d. (1630).

Of the new draperies made in Norwich, bays were almost entirely the work of the Dutch: their drapery was called the Bayetry. The Walloons made a wide variety of cloths under the heading of Caungeantry. The two congregations were not mutually exclusive in the nature of cloths manufactured, but a general differentiation can be made on the basis of their stuffs: the Dutch made most of the "wett and greasy drapery", the Walloons most of the "dry and cullored stuffes".<sup>(1)</sup> The Walloon drapery was sometimes known as the Sayetry,<sup>(2)</sup> although says were certainly made by both congregations. The size of the Strangers' cloth production and their effect on the worsted industry will be considered in Chapter Twelve; the object of the following pages is to describe the types of new drapery made in Norwich, the processes in their manufacture and the organisation of the cloth halls.

#### BAYS.

Norwich was one of the leading bay manufacturing centres, rivalled only by Sandwich, surpassing Colchester, and far outstripping such other places as Thetford, Sudbury, Glenford, Coggeshall, Bocking, Braintree, Maidstone and

---

(1) Strangers Book, fo.110d.

(2) Ibid., fo.110B.

Canterbury.<sup>(1)</sup> Most of the bays were made by Strangers, though the inhabitants of those towns took to this manufacture with varying readiness, and they were among the new draperies first introduced in the 1560's. True, a cloth called a 'bay' had probably been made at Sudbury and perhaps at Coggeshall before this time,<sup>(2)</sup> but the newly introduced bays were probably very different from the native variety and contemporary opinion stressed their novelty. "Bayes were first made in England by fflemings that came hither about XXV yeares past whoe placed themselues one Companie at Sandwch another at Norwch another at Colchester and putt to their Bayes speciall seales of every Towne and called them by the saide Townes names..."<sup>(3)</sup>

The various types of bay were identified by their texture, not their size, and although the Strangers maintained uniformity in their manufacture the English bay-makers did not, spinning and weaving far less evenly than the aliens.<sup>(4)</sup> At first only single and double bays were distinguished, the former with 54-60 threads in the warp and weighing 27 lbs. and the latter with 100 threads and 46 lbs. in weight;<sup>(5)</sup>

---

(1) P.R.O. E101/347/19 (1578).

(2) Pilgrim, *op.cit.*, p.29.

(3) P.R.O. E122/196/7 (undated).

(4) B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 71/51, quoted by Pilgrim, *op.cit.*, p.31.

(5) B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 27/66, quoted by Pilgrim, *op.cit.*, p.32.

but by 1579 there were three "proper sortes": single (54 threads, 1 yard wide and 22 lbs.), double (60 threads,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  yards and 28 lbs.) and double double (68 threads,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards and 30 lbs.). All were  $3\frac{1}{4}$  yards long.<sup>(1)</sup> In about 1590, different measures were given in a plea for higher customs to be paid by the Strangers, the types being 80 bays (i.e. with 80 threads - this was the finest and best type), 60 bays and 40 bays (the worst quality).<sup>(2)</sup> The bay was sold cheaply compared with broadcloths: in 1592, the three types fetched 1s.9d., 2s.2d. and 2s.8d. per yard,<sup>(3)</sup> and in about 1590 prices of 1s., 1s.4d. and 1s.10d. are recorded, together with mention of a higher-priced variety made "Of late yeares" at Sandwich - with 100 threads and rather longer than the other types.<sup>(4)</sup>

In some of the towns, bay-making spread to the English weavers; in about 1590 it was recalled that "About fourtene yeares past our Clothiers specially of Essex and Suff practised the makinge of Bayes first at Colchester then at Coxall Bockinge Breyntree Sudbery hawsted and elleswhere, and fewe doe obserue the order weights and lengthes first vsed by the Dutchmen, but made them as they best like."<sup>(5)</sup> The

- 
- (1) Ibid.  
 (2) P.R.O. E122/196/7 (undated).  
 (3) Pilgrim, op.cit., p.32.  
 (4) P.R.O. E122/196/7 (undated)  
 (5) Ibid.

most distinctive English bays were those made in Essex - the "Coxalls, Minikins or Bluelists, and Baukine or Fleet Hundreds"<sup>(1)</sup> of Coggeshall; but "In other the places aboue saide they doe much obserue the Dutch makinge but their spynnyng and weavinge is not so cleane nor orderly handled as the fflemings doe". The weights of these bays were uncertain "bycause or men make their bayes confusedly".<sup>(2)</sup> But in Norwich the English weavers took little part in the bay manufacture.<sup>(3)</sup>

The bays of the Norwich Strangers conformed to the usual measurements: in 1578, single, double and double-double bays (54, 60 and 68) were said to be made there. Like all bays, they "be not made to beare any wrongeside, bicause they haue not substance to be wrought but of one side for that the most pte of them be made and solde but for lynnyngs in Englande": they were cottoned and given a cloth finish only on one side.<sup>(4)</sup> Detailed Ordinances, together with numerous orders dealing with different aspects of the manufacture, will provide a full picture of bay-making in the city.

---

(1) SPD Car.I, 355/10, quoted by Pilgrim, op.cit., p.33.

(2) P.R.O. E122/196/7 (undated).

(3) *Infra*, pp. 547-550.

(4) P.R.O. E133/3/521.

Norwich bay-making.

Detailed regulations for the bay drapery were compiled in 1570; <sup>(1)</sup> they were revised in 1577 and later additions were made to the book containing them. <sup>(2)</sup> The orders have survived in Dutch and also translated into English this probably being the book that the governors were so reluctant to hand over in 1571. <sup>(3)</sup>

All wool brought to Norwich for use in bay-making had first to be approved and warranted by the governors, a service for which they received 1d. for each "hundreth"; at this stage all "Naughty wolle" was removed. <sup>(4)</sup> After passing through the hands of wool-combers and spinners, the stuff was distributed by the warp-sellers; they were obliged to "see the same warpen" by one of the four appointed warpers who

{1} Strangers Book, fos. 49-56d.

{2} N. C. M. R. Case 10, Shelf b. In the following account of the bay manufacture, all data are taken from these ordinances unless otherwise stated.

{3} *Supra*, p. 484.

{4} Having been thus approved, the wool was dressed and delivered to spinners; but it was found that people outside the city mixed lambs and other unlawful wool with the good wool and spun it into uffe "comonly called Inslaghe of bayes" at Thetford and elsewhere; they had no regard what same it was wrought with. This yarn was sold in Norwich to the detriment of the cloth, for the deceit was not discovered "tyll the sooringe of suche bays doth dewraye the desceipte therof". It was accordingly ordered that uffe spun out of the city was to be sold to Strangers in Norwich only if the wool was first viewed, prepared and delivered by city artisans to be spun according to the orders for the bayetry. Strangers Book, fo. 91, 1578.

received 5d. for effecting a double and  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. a single warp. The warps were of fixed dimensions for the warpers were not to "laye any warp to woork or cause to be wroughte but hee shall warp vppon a Sealed Rule and neyther warp it longer nor shorter"; and they were obliged to set a lead sealed with their mark on each warp. An obscure technicality was for the 54 bay to be warped with 14 "pypes" in 46 "windes a bowt", the 60 bay with  $51\frac{1}{2}$  and the 68 bay with 58 "windes a bowt". Their looms having been warped, the weavers were free to proceed with the weaving, finishing with "reade lystes and read strypes" at the ends; this provision was relaxed only if the bay was made of "any naighti wolle for to dye".

The weavers set leads upon the bays to be printed or stamped if they were found to satisfy the technical specifications; the weavers were to "lay owt ther leades on half quarter" so that the printers might more easily find them, and no bays could be removed from the loom until they had been printed. The printers went round twice a week, printing only those bays having "their full compas and thredes"; weavers were forbidden to "let goe owt any threeds" and were fined if more than five were found "going owt". The drapers, who employed the weavers and were the equivalent of the English master craftsmen, paid  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for each print.

The printers marked all sleys<sup>(1)</sup> with a "whote yron" and carried a "shaft" marked with the breadth of each sort of bay to inspect and measure the reeds.<sup>(2)</sup>

Having been printed and taken from the loom, the bays were taken to the "raw pearch" in the "seale hows" within three days; not more than eight pieces might be made until they were so delivered. The printers, on the governors' orders, might forbid any work to be done in frosty weather, and all new bay makers - whether "Inglis Wallouns or Duch" - who worked under the Strangers were forced to pay 6d. to the printers.

When brought to the raw pearch for sealing, bays had to be conveniently "fowlt together". There they were searched by the persenars, lowers or judges who attended daily at 1 p.m.; the servant of the hall was not empowered to give judgement and the lowers themselves might do so only if three of their number were present. Before they could be sealed by the judges, bays must first have been printed and had sufficient leads attached to them by the weaver; one of the leads was for the fuller to print his mark on. A variety of different marks were available to be stamped on the leads by the judges according to the quality of the cloth.

- 
- (1) The sley was that part of the loom which held and moved forward the reed.  
 (2) The reed kept the warp threads evenly spaced, guided the shuttle through the warp and beat the weft up to the woven cloth.

Before the bay could be sealed, any faults - such as "toode claes or Dubel shotts vnder slaves knotts or snarls broken or the threedes that goe owt or others" - had to be amended; the lowers marked the faults with red chalk, and if there were more than 18 a penny fine was imposed for each; and any "hurtfull holes" not properly mended involved a fine of 5d.

If a bay was thin woven it was marked with a "D" and the weaver fined 10d., and if "exceeding thin wrought" with "ijD" and a fine of 20d. The "loye monny" paid for sealing was  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per cloth and it was due from the draper, but if any faults had to be mended the second payment was made by the weaver. Unevenly woven goods received an "O", or several "O's", for each of which the weaver paid 2d.. Various minor requirements in the preparation of the bay were made of the weaver, but his was not the sole responsibility for faults: he did not pay the fine if the draper encouraged him to perform the deceit or if the draper told him to use less stuff in the cloth than was necessary for good quality. And the weaver was at liberty to appeal against the decisions of the lowers "aswell vppon the OO as vppon the DD".

After the bays had passed the scrutiny of the raw pearch they were ready to be fulled; the fullers were on no account to take them until adequately printed and sealed but once this was done there was to be no delay in collecting them. The fullers cleansed the bays in the river, but they

were not to come down the "staers" there naked without a "napern" waist downwards; they had to "clenze & giue yearth" before the bays left the "full howse",<sup>(1)</sup> and to "out the crumpels"; they were allowed to stretch the 68 bays to a breadth of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards, but the draper might require them to be fullled smaller.<sup>(2)</sup> Bays were also scoured and this process so "anoyed" the river that infectious diseases were encouraged<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) The Strangers probably fullled by foot. The English in Colchester complained in 1605 that the Dutch had not used the fulling mill until the last 20 years, but thicked their bays and says by foot; S.P.D. Jas.I,15/17, quoted by Pilgrim, op.cit.,p.8. The only available record of a fulling mill in Norwich shows that one existed at the municipal corn mills (the New Mills); infra, p.657.

(2) Bays were not to be over-stretched in length or breadth by the fullers; the bailiff and governors of the drapery inspected bays while they were still "vppon the frame", and if dissatisfied caused the cloths to be wetted and hung again - a fine was imposed if the bay was then  $\frac{1}{2}$  yard shorter than when hung the first time. (Bays were dried on tenters; P.R.O. Requ. 2/165/244, 1583). Ready roughed bays were required to be brought and kept in the loy hall for a whole night and more before being measured - presumably to allow the damp cloths to shrink and reveal the true size; Strangers Book, fo.78d.

(3) Bay-scouring: "the skomme therof remaynethe under, and abowght their stathes: And dothe gather suche corruption, as the water can not be used for their usuall wasshe" and those using the water for their "viandes" found that diseases were spread. Strangers Book, fo.93, 1578.

consequently, scouring in the river was forbidden between the New Mills and White Friars' Bridge<sup>(1)</sup> and was to be carried out "in the depthe, and sharpe rune of the water, agaynste the hospitall grounds" where "shuds" were built to shield the scourers.<sup>(2)</sup> The Strangers observed the orders to this effect but complained that they were still objected to by the citizens: "after the skowringe and wasshinge therof, that yt comethe unto the rowhenge, The same bayes can not be wrowght in their kynde, excepte the rougher muste weete this clothe, which we call rynsinge of them: ffor whiche (by reason they be cleane befor, and throughe whyght) they can nott be hurtefull to anye parte of the ryver at all"; and so rinsing was allowed at any private or common stathes in the city.<sup>(3)</sup> The fullers and rowers (i.e. rinsers or strikers) set their marks on the bay on a lead next to that of the draper and returned the bays to the hall, this time to the "hye leade" or "white pearche". Any greasy bays presented by the fullers were sent for cleansing, and any

---

(1) Strangers Book, fo.95, 1579, printed in H. and T., II, pp. 335-7. Also A.B. 3/276d., 1579.

(2) Strangers Book, fo.93, 1578.

(3) Strangers Book, fo.97d., 1580. Pilgrim (op.cit.,pp.9-10) explains rowing as the raising and shearing of the nap. He says most bays wære then friezed - hot plates pressed on one or both sides. There is no evidence of this latter practice in Norwich.

fouled by the rowers were to be re-cleaned by the fuller. Again, drapers and weavers were free to appeal against the fulling and rowing.

In the white pearch, bays were examined as to their breadth and the fullers fined for any that were under-sized, these being marked with a "B"; any holes made in the fulling incurred the "half D" or "D" mark. If the lowers thought the bay unworthy of any other seal, it might be cut and marked with a "P". After being sealed in the white pearch, bays that were not to be sold white were sent for dying. The alien congregations were allowed to have several members in this craft.<sup>(1)</sup> The dyers were directed to use acknowledged dye-stuffs and not to put into their "galles" any "barck or okentrees slyp or any other yll substance". Dyed goods were returned to the hall and searched by the "blew loyers" or "wæt loyers".

Having been finally examined and appropriately sealed, the bays were delivered to the sale hall: merchants were not allowed to see them in the search halls, and full sealing was an essential pre-requisite for sale.<sup>(2)</sup> When

---

(1) *Infra*, pp. 536-8.

(2) In 1575, Adrian Walwyn was found to have violated the 15th article of the Book of Orders (*infra*, Appendix Six) stipulating that bays might not be sold before being fully sealed; C.B. 10/2.

(3) *Norwich, History & Antiquities*, p. 57.  
 (4) *N. K. Landon's Hist.*, 26/62, 64, quoted by Pilgrim.  
 (5) *Pilgrim*, op. cit. p. 57.

customers had been found, the master of the hall had to be shown the marks on the bays before they were carried away.

SAYS.

Says were among the more important of the new draperies both in Norwich and elsewhere; in Suffolk and Essex they were the only kind made in any quantity apart from bays. (1) They were probably a cloth using both worsted and woollen yarn and were apparently light fabrics: (2) in testamentary inventories, says are prominent as linings, coverlets, hangings and some clothes. (3) In the earlier stages of the new drapery manufacture in Suffolk and Essex, says were of two kinds only: broad and silk. The former were 10 yards long, an ell broad, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$ - $2\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. in weight; the latter were 14-15 yards long,  $\frac{1}{2}$  yard or  $\frac{1}{2}$  ell broad "per half piece", and  $13\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. in weight. (4) In the seventeenth century, however, both production and variety of says increased very greatly in those counties: in the 1640's, there were milled, ordinary yard broad, ordinary ell broad, hounscott, twisted and silk says. The first of these exceeded all others. They were apparently fulled in the mill whereas the others were thicked by hand or foot. (5)

---

(1) Pilgrim, op.cit. p.35.

(2) Op.cit., p.36.

(3) Norwich, Bishop's Chapel, inventories.

(4) B.M. Landowne Mss., 26/62,64, quoted by Pilgrim, op.cit., p.37.

(5) Pilgrim, op.cit. p.37.

In Norwich, says were made by both Walloons and Dutch but most were the work of Walloon weavers whose drapery was sometimes called the Sayetry.<sup>(1)</sup>

Norwich Say-making.

Says were covered by the detailed orders made for the Walloons' cloths in 1571.<sup>(2)</sup> They were one of the dry, coloured stuffs made by this congregation,<sup>(3)</sup> being woven from "drye yarne, and not in sayme vnto clothe". In length they measured 40 ells "of the measure of Lille" when they left the loom, with a half piece made after the same rate; and in breadth, an ell ("awlne") "and a nayle of an awlne";<sup>(4)</sup> and says contained at least 1600 threads in the warp "but more yf they wyll after the ordenaunce of Lylle". Another variety was "after the manner of Amiaunce, Moij" and other places in France; again they were of dry, un-samed yarn with both single and double threads in the warp; they were 35 ells long,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  yards and 1 inch broad, and with at least 2200 threads in the warp. These two varieties were distinguished as being like

(1) Supra, p. 498.

(2) Strangers Book, fos. 66d-68.

(3) Supra, p. 498.

(4) In many of the orders concerning the dimensions of types of new drapery measurements are given in ells. Though there was an English ell (=45") as well as the Flemish (=27"), it is clear that the latter was almost always the measure in question. In the following pages, the variable use of ells and yards in describing cloths closely follows the form in the Mss.. 1 ell equals  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a yard; 1 nail equals  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches or one-sixteenth of a yard.

those made in the Low Countries and those made in France. Fines were imposed for deficiency in threads and in workmanship but those adequately made received from two to five seals according to their quality. Says were sealed in the same place as the mockadoes and sealing was essential before the cloths could be sold. Both varieties of says, and the types having either single or double threads in the warp, were given distinguishing marks of coloured and linen yarn at the edges. One further variant of the say was authorised to be woven after 1571: it was  $\frac{3}{4}$  or  $\frac{7}{8}$  of an ell broad measured on the reed, "And the lengthe of the Caungeans, with a doble Chetton or chayne".

Says were calendered, a process which the weaver might not carry out in his own house and which was to be applied only to cloths that had first been sealed. The ordinances for the bay drapery, made in 1570,<sup>(1)</sup> had declared that says might not be fulled, dyed or sold until searched and sealed. The fullers were not to "drye up" a narrow say unless it had first been stretched, and this type of cloth had to be stretched or framed, folded and pressed<sup>(2)</sup> before being brought to the sealing hall.

---

(1) Strangers Book, fos.49-56d. See under bays.

(2) In 1593, John Mortyer, alien, sought a grant "for the pressing of Sayes" desiring to take the authority for appointing the officers for this process from the Mayor; he was banished from the city. C.B. 12/814.

More detailed orders for the say makers, complementary to those for the bay drapery, were enacted in 1583. <sup>(1)</sup> Before the loom was warped ready for weaving, it had first to be sealed or "Branded" to certify that it was of the full length - 36 Flemish ells; when the finished cloth was removed from the loom, its minimum length was 35 ells. The wardens were responsible for branding both the racks (i.e. looms) and the reeds, reeds being 7 quarters and an inch long for the double say. Measurements for the narrow say, or "ffynnyken" ("ffynikin"), were 40 ells long on the loom and 39 off it, and the number of threads in the breadths of the cloths<sup>w</sup> was 2296 for the double, 1400 for the single and 1596 for the narrow or finikin says. Weavers were fined for cloths lacking in length or for any threads that they had "lett slippe out". At the ends of the says, stripes of blue yarn were woven in, together with the marks of both weaver and draper; when new drapers or weavers entered the trade they were obliged to present their marks and to pay for the benefit of the poor 12d. in the case of drapers and 6d. in the case of weavers - whether Dutch, Walloon or English.

All says had to be measured and sealed before they could be sold or carried out of the city, fulled or dyed. Well-made cloths were given seals with four castles, five castles, five double lions or four double lions according to

---

(1) N.C.M.R. Case 10, Shelf b.

the variety of say, and the seals varied for cloths of different qualities. Five sealers worked in the hall three days weekly and the servant kept accounts of the money collected. A wide variety of faults on the part of weavers, drapers, fullers and pressers were ordered to be fined and faulty cloths received a "P" on their seals instead of lions or castles.

Although the Strangers introduced varieties of says that were truly new draperies, a native say had long been made in Norwich<sup>(1)</sup> and the worsted weavers still numbered a say along their products after the Strangers' arrival. In 1596, English and Strangers disputed the sole right to make a cloth which the former called "worsted sayes" and the latter, "striped sayes or Busetts": the English were given the benefit of the doubt.<sup>(2)</sup> Native weavers also took to the manufacture of Dutch cloths called "Sayes and Twistered Sayes" which were scoured by the Strangers and came under the Dutch wardens' search. After being sealed, both native and alien pieces were scoured by the Dutch and then presented for the full sealing.<sup>(3)</sup>

---

(1) Supra, pp. 387, 389.

(2) C. B. 13/101.

(3) Strangers Book, fo. 111.

CAUNGEANTRY.

The numerous varieties of cloth made almost exclusively by the Walloon congregation in Norwich were known collectively as the Caungeantry; in 1571, the Walloons compiled orders for "caungeantries, Tufted mockadoes, aswell drawne as cutt, ffustian of Naples, Carrelles, and all other workes, Cutt and all Cutte, myngled with sylke or saietrie and lynnen yerne, ffigured and nott ffigured, appartayeninge to the seyde occupacion."<sup>(1)</sup>

These cloths in general were 19 ells ( $14\frac{1}{4}$  yards) long. In breadth, the narrow caungeans measured  $\frac{3}{4}$  yard less one inch and the large caungeans  $\frac{7}{8}$  yard "of all the measure of Lylle"<sup>(2)</sup> The carrells, Fustian of Naples, and others having no "figures"<sup>(3)</sup> were of the accustomed breadths "accordinge to the measure in the haule worthie seale"; in the case of both coloured and uncoloured carrells there were 900 threads in the breadth, and fines were imposed for any left out, as well as for cloths lacking their true lengths and breadths.

(1) Ibid., fos. 62-68. These orders are summarised in P.R.O. S.P. 12/287/95, temp. Elizabeth.

(2) These measures were modified in 1580 and 1591:-  
 1580: Broadest sort, 14x and 14" long,  $\frac{7}{8}$ x and  $\frac{1}{2}$ " nail broad  
 Narrowest " 14x and 14" long,  $\frac{1}{2}$ x and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " nail broad  
 1591: Broadest sort 14x and 14" long,  $\frac{5}{8}$ x and  $\frac{1}{2}$ " inch broad  
 Narrowest sort 14x and 14" long,  $\frac{1}{2}$ x and  $\frac{1}{2}$ " inch broad  
 (A.B. 3/309d., 1591)

(3) Decorative patterns.

Distinguishing courses of linen yarn were woven into the ends of the cloths and each master added his own mark; the cloths were then ready for searching in the Walloons hall where the wardens and clerk were in attendance from 1 p.m. on hall-days. Badly made pieces received a "lyttle leade" or might even be condemned by the masters of the drapery; if too short or too narrow they were cut, and remnants and cut pieces received a lead stamped with a "P & S"; undersized and badly woven cloths might also get a seal with a "Ø" and the date. For good quality cloths, the Walloons used a seal "of the biggnes of a iijd. pece", engraved on one side with "a lyon" and the date, and on the other with "Norwiche" "in faire lettres". As with the bay-makers, the Walloon weavers were entitled to appeal against the decisions of the four wardens, who were assisted in the searching by 12 master workmen. These wardens and 12 masters of the sayetry were having difficulty in controlling the weavers of caungeantry and "triperie" in 1580, for the workers were moving into other trades during the harvest leave-of-work. (1)

The Walloons' cloths were of great and increasing variety: in 1608 they were ordered to set down the number of

---

(1) Strangers Book, fo.98.

threads and ends required in all the cloths they made, including those of new device.<sup>(1)</sup> Regulations in the Strangers' Book enable some of these cloths to be considered more carefully.

#### Mockadoes.

These were one of the more important of the Walloons' manufactures, and they were woven at King's Lynn as well as Norwich: together with any cloths of the sayetry made there, the Lynn mockadoes were searched and sealed by the wardens in Norwich.<sup>(2)</sup> Faulty working was common in the weaving of mockadoes, it being discovered in 1575 that additional threads were put into the ends of the cloths "to make yt seme better stuffed ther, then in the reste of the pece, to the disceipte of manye"; steps were taken to prevent this,<sup>(3)</sup> but in the following year the Mayor warned the Walloons' wardens that their mockadoes would be cut unless the "midle sorte" were better made.<sup>(4)</sup> For the improvement of the double mockadoes, the weavers were required in 1577 to put two threads of flax and two of say into every slay "in the grownde of their worke".<sup>(5)</sup> A similar order was at the same time made for tufted

---

(1) Ibid., fo.110Bd. The English weavers developed their Nowich Stuffs from the Walloons' caungeantry and in 1613 detailed orders were made for the Stuffs; infra, pp.654-5.

(2) Ibid., fo.75d.

(3) Ibid., fo.83d.

(4) C.B. 10/123

(5) Strangers Book, 88d.

mockadoes, a new device first made in Norwich at the beginning of 1572.<sup>(1)</sup> Another variety was the changeable<sup>(2)</sup> mockado which was granted in 1568 to be sealed, together with grograines, with a lead having a lion on one side and a "C & N" on the other.<sup>(3)</sup>

#### Grograines.

Large grograines were devised at about the same time as tufted mockadoes and grograines in general used the same seal as the changeable mockado (supra): no doubt the two cloths were of a very similar type. No separate orders for grograines are recorded in the Strangers Book, and their measurements are probably covered by the general orders for the caungeantry.

#### Fustian of Naples.

The several types of this cloth used a combination of woollen and linen yarn, or woollen only; and two types were woven of ready-dyed yarn. A similar stuff was the "Crosset of sylke". All these varieties were not less than 400 reeds

(1) Ibid., 76d.

(2) With different coloured yarn used for the warp and weft, giving a 'shot' effect.

(3) C.B. 8/570d. In 1577 an Englishman (William Blome) was presented in court for counterfeiting two seals "with C & a lyen lyke vnt the strangers"; C.B. 10/119.

broad. (1)

By 1581 it was stated that "in these latter dayes, The cutte & uncutte, and all cutte ffustian of Naples have almoste bene brought to nothings, and owe of use in this Citye for lacke of good orders". Orders were accordingly set down for the weaving and breadth of these cloths, and all were to be searched in the hall; they were searched again when dyed and were then "glosed" by the shearmen who were fined for making holes in the cloth during this process. (2) In addition to searching the cloths, the wardens had "regarde over the lynen crewell, that it be well dressed, as suche worke dothe requyre". (3)

Velures and Tufts (i.e. tufted mockadoes)

Both these stuffs were closely allied to Fustian of Naples. (4) Orders of 1575 required the double tuft with a linen ground to have 1100 threads in its breadth, the single tuft "upon the grownde of fustyan of naples..." 1200 threads, any "white tuftes of other fassion" 1000 threads and coloured

---

(1) Strangers Book, fo,66.

(2) Glosing put a surface lustre on the cloths; some new draperies were not vendible "vnlesse they have a glosse put vpon them by the hot Presse"; P.R.O. S.P.16/180/48 (1619)

(3) Strangers Book, fos. 101d.-102.

(4) The 1581 orders (supra) were, in fact, applicable to "vellures or Fustian of Naples".

tufts of other fashions 1000. Fines varied with the number of threads lacking and the single tufts that were insufficiently made received two little leads instead of two good ones. All new slays had to be searched and sealed before being put on the loom. (1)

Orders had been made in the previous year for velures and double tufts stipulating 400 as the number of threads, and requiring these cloths to be of the same width as the pure say and the white tuft. Some of the tufted mockadoes were woven with woollen yarn on a ground of linen thread. A certain unexplained peculiarity of the colours of these commodities made it impossible for the wardens of the colours of the sayetry in general to discern which cloths were well dyed: special wardens were appointed to search the dyed velures and tufts. (2)

---

(1) Strangers Book, fo. 81.

(2) Ibid., fo. 80. Profits from the searching of the colours of tufted mockadoes formed a separate item in the City Chamberlain's account of profits from the Strangers' cloth halls (infra, pp. 568 et seq.) but they amounted to only a few pence and were recorded only in 1580-81, 1582-83 and 1583-84.

Russells and Satins.

The Strangers made a type of russell differing from those made by the English Russell Company, established in 1554;<sup>(1)</sup> the new cloth was called a capha but the English weavers complained that it was essentially the same as the figured russell made previous to the Strangers' arrival, and so prohibited to them. The Strangers would not agree, in 1578, to become members of the Russell Company and the latter accordingly compiled orders to be observed by the aliens in making this cloth. Broad figured russells were to be  $15\frac{1}{2}$  yards long and half an English ell and a nail broad; the narrow type, of the same length and half a yard and an inch broad. All weavers of figured russells were required to be admitted before the Mayor and the Russell Company, and the cloths were to be searched and sealed by the English wardens.<sup>(2)</sup> A settlement was not immediately reached, however, for the Strangers complained against this action and were exempted from the proposed penalties until an answer should be given by the English Company.<sup>(3)</sup>

In 1581, the Russell Company formulated orders for the

- 
- (1) Supra, p.567.  
(2) Strangers Book, fos. 94d.-95.  
(3) C.B. 10/341 and C.B. 10/351.

manufacture and sealing of Norwich Satins - and again an attempt was made to oblige the Strangers to conform. The broad variety were to be 15 yards and 15 inches long, half an ell and one inch broad; the narrow satins, of the same length and half a yard and one inch broad. None of these cloths might be sold until sealed, but the Walloons complained thinking that the orders "wolde be a meane to bereave them of their priviledges, orders and seales used, sythence their retorne hyther". The city court promised that their liberties would not be infringed, and time was allowed for the Walloons to weave any unfinished cloths before the order should come into force. (1)

The dimensions of russells and satins were later changed: in 1614 all double pieces were ordered to be  $27\frac{1}{2}$  yards and 27 inches long,  $\frac{1}{2}$  yard and 1 nail broad, and in 1622, narrow russells were appointed to be  $\frac{1}{2}$  yard and 1 nail broad, broad russells  $\frac{7}{8}$  yard broad. A new stuff called "russell italiano" ( $27\frac{1}{2}$  yards x  $\frac{1}{2}$  yard and 1 nail) was devised in 1630 and in 1635 "laced russells alias laced russell sattins" ( $\frac{3}{4}$  yard broad) were introduced. (2)

---

(1) Strangers Book, fos. 100d.-101.

(2) H. and T., op.cit., II, pp.408-12, quoting Kirkpatrick's notes from the no longer extant book of the Russell Company.

(2) Strangers Book, fos. 97-2.

### Buffins.

In the absence of specific orders for buffins their measurements can be inferred only by regarding them as one of the general class of caungeantry; they may well have been similar to the russells in character, for when the English weavers began to make them they were ordered to keep to the Strangers' measures and to have the buffins sealed by the Russell Company wardens with the russell seal. This native manufacture was stated at that time - in 1587 - to have been only recently begun. (1)

### Scallop Shells.

This was yet another cloth coming under the Sayetry of the Walloons. Orders were made for them in 1578 as the result of complaints by merchants of both Norwich and London; the narrow white scallops were to have 1200 reeds, those made in colours on the loom 1100, the large scallops 1200 and to be an ell and an inch in breadth. A further variety was called the "damaske flower", "beinge beanes"; it also had 1200 reeds when white, but 1100 when made in colours on the loom. (2)

---

(1) Ibid., fo. 106.

(2) Strangers Book, fos. 93-94.

(1) Ibid., fos. 961-97

(2) Ibid., fos. 84-85.

Olliets and damasks.

The Walloons found that the stuffs made in Norwich had "good successe and issue" - especially the damasks and other cloths having any "fygure"; to maintain their standards, orders were made in 1579 for "the Olyete hooles and damaskes". Both were to be not less than  $\frac{7}{8}$  yard broad. (1)

Bombasines.

Though similar to the other Walloon cloths, the Dutch congregation first made bombasines in Norwich and sustained their sole right to their manufacture against the Walloon complaint that "all white worke, and whatsoever workes be made of woollen and lynnene yerne, of right apperteyneth to them onely". And the Dutch presented orders for the new cloth in 1575. (2) Bombasines were to be made "Eyther of woolle or of cotton", and sealed in the Dutch say hall where a book of the drapers' marks was kept. They were sealed with a "dowble lyon" above the word "Norwyche" if well made, but cloths of inferior quality got only one lion, and the worst piéces received the sword. Each piece was  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a Dutch ell broad and contained 600 reeds; in length they measured  $21\frac{1}{2}$  ells. Various penalties were imposed for undersized cloths, <sup>and</sup> the amount in which they were lacking was marked on the seal "to the assuringe of the marchaunte".

(1) Ibid., fos. 96d.-97

(2) Ibid., fos. 84-85.

Bombasines were searched in the "ordenarie seale haule, Ther to be sould as the tufte mockados, whether they be white, or dyed". Well-dyed pieces were sealed with "Norwiche dye", but those improperly amended with an "N" only. As with all cloths, bombasines were to be sealed and any forfeitures paid before they were removed from the sealing hall to be sold or transported out of the city.

A new variation on this cloth was presented by the Walloons for recognition in 1608: it was the "satten Cotton or bumbazie", made partly of silk and partly of "Cotton Woll". The length was  $19\frac{1}{4}$  Flemish ells (i.e.  $14\frac{1}{4}$  English yards) and the most under-sized cloths were condemned as remnants and sealed with a "P"; they were 10 reeds broader than the mockadoes. <sup>(1)</sup> Several other orders concerning the use of silk were made in the same year. <sup>(2)</sup> The use of "syngle Shena Sylke" in the warp of cloths was forbidden; every "Buce or Stripe" of any kind was to consist of 11 ends; and "Crymsyn sylke" for satins was to be dyed only in grain. Measurements were stipulated too, for another silk stuff, the "Spannishe Sattens": they must have 1200 ends or threads and be no narrower than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a Flemish ell "wantinge one inch within the slaye".

---

(1) Strangers Book, fo.109d.

(2) Ibid., fo.111d.

In the following year, 1609, a new device called a figurato was presented by the Walloons - again made in part of silk, <sup>in</sup> this case in conjunction with "white spunne yarne" (woollen). Its dimensions were to be those of the Spanish Satins, the breadth containing 225 ends of double silk in half a yard and half a nail; fines were imposed on cloths lacking the full  $19\frac{1}{4}$  ells, and any too short to be sealed received a lead with a "P" and were sold as remnants. (1)

#### Other Walloon cloths.

The great variety of Walloon cloths was constantly added to by the presentment of new devices for the approval of the Mayor and governors of the Draperies. Often there was only a fine distinction between the stuffs, and the brief entries in the Strangers Book do not always make their characteristics clear.

In 1607, the Dutch presented the philezote - one of the few cloths devised by that congregation; it was 14 yards long and two kinds had different (unspecified) breadths; it contained from 1760 to 1920 threads in the breadth. (2)

Also in 1607, the broad philoselo was appointed to have 1680 threads in a breadth of  $1\frac{1}{8}$  Flemish ells, and the narrow 1084 ends in  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an ell less half an inch. All philoselos were to be "stricken with doble yarne". (3)

- 
- (1) Ibid., fo.112d.  
 (2) Ibid., fo.110.  
 (3) Ibid., fo.111d.

Three new cloths appeared in 1615: the paropus, the novatus and the cut fustian (otherwise called the "Cut vppon Taffitie"). The paropus was one yard less half an inch broad with 620 reeds; the novatus, as broad as the silk work, with 400 reeds; the cut fustian the same as the novatus; all were of the same length as the buffin. (1)

In 1618, the Walloons brought forward the quadramides: 27½ yards long, half a yard and half an inch broad - containing 4500 ends. Good twisted stuff was to be used for both warp and weft. (2)

In the following year, three more made their appearance. The cheveron and the cross billett were devised from a cloth formerly called the bird's eye; they were 27½ yards long and half a yard and 1½ inches broad, containing 1500 reeds with three threads in a reed. The third new cloth was the pearl and beauty, derived from the "Trisses"; it was wrought upon linen. Its dimensions were 27½ yards by half a yard and 1½ inches; in the breadth were 2100 reeds, each containing two threads; the tuft was of two or more colours and not less than four threads. (3)

---

(1) Ibid., fo.113d.. A silk tuft taffeta made in Norwich was presented as faulty in 1588; C.B. 12/146.

(2) Ibid., fo.114d.

(3) Ibid., fo.114d.

With these new devices, however, the new draperies were new no longer and it was these Walloon cloths that formed the basis of the manufacture of Norwich Stuffs by the English weavers in the seventeenth century.<sup>(1)</sup> The cloths described above do not form a complete list of the Strangers' draperies; though no orders for any others are included in the Strangers Book, several names may be added from other sources. Durables, syetts and plommetts, for instance, appear in the city's alnage accounts.<sup>(2)</sup> Conversely, a number of new draperies made by other alien congregations were not manufactured by the Dutch and Walloons in Norwich. Serges and perpetuanas were both made in Colchester, for example,<sup>(3)</sup> but the Norwich congregations do not appear to have made them. Both perpetuanas and serges (of several kinds) were, however, included among the Norwich Stuffs made by the English weavers in the early seventeenth century.<sup>(4)</sup>

In addition to their draperies, the Strangers' production of lace provided a further demand for wool.

---

(1) *Infra*, pp. 652 et seq.

(2) *Infra*, pp. 571 et seq.

(3) Pilgrim, *op.cit.*, p. 39. Full orders for these two cloths are in P.R.O. S.P. 14/121/34 (1621).

(4) *Infra*, pp. 652-3. Orders for the manufacture of serges and perpetuanas are contained in P.R.O. S.P. 14/121/34 (1621).

(1) *Strangers' Book*, fols.

(2) *Ibid.*, fols. 561.-601.

Within three years of their arrival, the Strangers were complained against by the English lace weavers for making lace badly and in large quantities, and so lowering the prices. An enquiry revealed 30 workmen with 78 looms, and it was accordingly set down that no Stranger should use more than two looms nor acquire another if he had only one. The Strangers did not observe these regulations, however,<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1571 more detailed orders<sup>(2)</sup> were required to prevent the manufacture of evil lace by both English and Strangers: the weavers of lace, fringe and parchmentary now became a recognised craft, with four wardens - two English, one Dutch and one Walloon. The weavers had to be tried and admitted to the craft after first serving a seven-year apprenticeship. All kinds of "lome lace" were ordered to be 24 yards long, well made, of good colours, "not burnte in the dyenge", and distinguished with each man's mark. Like all weavers, those making lace were forbidden to transport worsted yarn out of the city on pain of being dis-communed or, if Strangers, banished from the city. Yarn might not be bought by the lace-weavers in any fair or market outside Norwich, but wool might be put out to be spun by anyone in the city or county.

---

(1) Strangers Book, fo.20

(2) Ibid., fos. 58d.-60d.

In 1577, a book of orders for the knitting of hose and weaving of lace was enacted by the Assembly.<sup>(1)</sup> Many of the provisions were for the employment of children in these occupations and it was set down that lace weavers must serve a seven-year apprenticeship unless they were Strangers born. Stockings were being made by both English and Strangers, but worsted stockings had been knitted long before the latter arrived in Norwich. Worsted yarn was readily adapted to be used in stockings<sup>(2)</sup> and worsted were superior in quality to woollen stockings.<sup>(3)</sup>

Some idea of the considerable quantities of both lace and hose made in Norwich is provided by the city's alnage returns of 1580-85.<sup>(4)</sup> The annual production of hose varied from 575 to 3375 dozen pairs, and of lace and gartering from 2658 to 4860 gross.

---

(1) A.B. 3/254 r and d.

(2) In 1597, the wardens siezed yarn "wch ys twistered for hose yearne & was before smale<sup>y</sup>ffe or worsted yearne"; having been ~~twistered~~, it was unsuitable to be woven into worsted cloths. C.B. 13/142.

(3) P.R.O. S.P. 12/231/11 (1590)

(4) Infra, pp. 571 et seq.

(5) In 1500, the wallacons petitioned the city court concerning the "Conroyngs & Dressings of stuff invented by them" C.B. 15/480. In 1605 it was examined whether "Conroyngs & kalerings be all one or not"; C.B. 14/95.

(6) Supra, pp. 40-1.

(7) A.B. 3/254.-277; Strangers Book, Nos. 766.-80.

THE FINISHING PROCESSES.

Some of the new draperies no doubt passed through the same processes between the weaver and the sale hall as did the old worsteds: a number of them were certainly dyed or calendered and shorn.<sup>(1)</sup> But the Strangers do seem to have introduced certain new finishing techniques as well as new weaving methods: some of the cloths were woven of ready-dyed yarn,<sup>(2)</sup> some of the colours into which they were put involved a dyeing technique which the English craftsmen did not know,<sup>(3)</sup> the fulling, scouring and rowing of bays involved treatment that had never been accorded to any of the varieties of worsteds, the shearmen were required to press and "glose" some of the new draperies, and the Walloons had <sup>an</sup> obscure finishing processes known as "Conroyinge".<sup>(4)</sup>

The dyers had undoubtedly played their part in the decline of the worsted industry<sup>(5)</sup> and an advance in the standards of dying was essential for the success of the new draperies; but in 1574 it was found<sup>(6)</sup> that "Cangeants",

---

(1) Supra, pp. 508, 511, e.g.

(2) Supra, p. 522, e.g.

(3) Infra, p. 537.

(4) In 1600, the Walloons petitioned the city court concerning the "Conroyinge & Dressinge of Stuff invented by them"; C.B. 13/480. In 1605 it was examined whether "Conroyenge & kalendringe be all one or not"; C.B. 14/95.

(5) Supra, pp. 420-3.

(6) A.B. 3/226d.-277; Strangers Book, fos. 78d.-80.

"Grograynes, Tuftmocadoes" and other cloths "do wante and lacke ther trewe and pfect dye and collours", and that the dyers, both English and Strangers, used "very evell and Subtill stuff", moreover putting their goods to sale unsearched. Dyers were accordingly instructed to observe the eighth article of the Book of Orders<sup>(1)</sup> which required all goods to be searched for true colours, and the wardens were empowered to search not only in the hall but wherever it was thought necessary. Two English and three Strangers dyers were appointed as wardens to use the "Este ende of the Cloyster" at the New Hall for the search. Yarn dyed for the manufacture of double and changeable mockadoes and other Walloon stuffs dyed after weaving were to be treated with a good dyestuff "and souche as will endewer for souche a kinde of clothe"; fines and cutting would be the penalty for a defective dyer and his work. The weavers of the two kinds of mockado were free to dye their own yarn, or have it dyed by an additional Stranger dyer appointed for this purpose; but all "white hole clothes" were to be dyed only by "the ordinary diers being men allowed workemen". Well-dyed cloths received a seal imprinted with "Norwch dye", and the wardens took a  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each cloth sealed.

---

(1) See Appendix Six.

Despite controversy between the Strangers and English dyers in 1576,<sup>(1)</sup> and consideration of the dyers' orders in 1578,<sup>(2)</sup> no fresh regulations appear to have been made until 1579. Those drawn up in that year were for the reformation of abuses in the dying of "Satten Reusyes (Reverses) otherwyse Scalopp shelles, Durables & branched clothes", as well as of yarn and other commodities.<sup>(3)</sup> Any of those cloths that were dyed black had to be woaded first "and also a Roose of Blewe to be lefte vpon the same Clothe"<sup>(4)</sup>; such stuffs were immediately searched by the wardens who received  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for sealing each piece. Dyers and blacksters were enjoined to use only good colour and no "shomake",<sup>(5)</sup> and prices were set down for the various cloths which the dyers might not refuse.<sup>(6)</sup> Having been dyed, these stuffs were not shorn and might be dressed only if they had first been sealed.

---

(1) C.B. 9/727

(2) A.B. 3/274

(3) A.B. 3/280d.-281

(4) An illegal practice in respect of this rose was to dye it a deeper blue than the rest of the cloth; C.B. 8/546d. (1567), 9/454d. (1574), 10/515 (1580).

(5) Perhaps the yellow dye, symak (or cymak); see Carus-Wilson, *Venturers*, p. 220.

(6) For the woading of broad satins reverses - 16d. each; narrow satins reverses - 12d.; durables - 12d.; olliet holes and other branched cloths - 12d.

some olliet holes were dyed black without being woaded. C.B. 10/422.

(2) The book was approved and enacted with the exception of one article which, though not given in detail, concerned the carrying of white commodities out of the city; A.B. 3/306d.-307d.

(3) In 1563, Thomas Teulle dressed 6 cloths "not having 113 daies standing vpon the stuffe"; C.B. 11/223, 225.

The necessity for those ordars was soon proved,<sup>(1)</sup> and a detailed book of orders for the dying and dressing of new commodities was compiled in 1581.<sup>(2)</sup> Abuses had been practised in the calendering, dying, woading, blacking and glosing of all kinds of cloths which were "neu' so well made and wrought yet the Colours being sleyghtie & deceytfull they will in tyme growe to be oute of Request & of no reputacon". White cloths were now to be calendered only upon "whight staves coued (covered) with wight sarpecloathes & well & thoroughly boyled in cleane water", and they were to remain on the staves for three days after being removed from the calendering lead;<sup>(3)</sup> only mockadoes, grograines and buffins did not need to stand so long. Some of the cloths were calendered four times before being glosed, others only three, that is "whight, bl<sup>n</sup>cked & blacke"; but any cloths which had been dyed were calendered only twice. Glosing was deferred until the cloths were thoroughly dry after calendering. Many of the cloths were either blacked or woaded, but woad-setters were allowed to black only a limited number of

- 
- (1) In 1579, Adame Kent, dyer, woaded 5 scallop shells and 5 olliet holes and didn't send for the wardens to search them: they were faulty; C.B. 10/419. In the same year, some olliet holes were dyed black without being woaded; C.B. 10/422.
- (2) The book was approved and enacted with the exception of one article which, though not given in detail, concerned the carrying of white commodities out of the city; A.B. 3/306d.-307d.
- (3) In 1583, Thomas Trulle dressed 6 cloths "not hauing iij daies standing vpon the staffe"; C.B. 11/223, 225.

commodities. Badly-dyed cloths were amended if possible, or otherwise cut, **and** all were searched for good dressing before they were "tarte vpp".<sup>(1)</sup> Within a few months of the enactment of these orders, it was again necessary to instruct the dyers to put their marks on dyed cloths.<sup>(2)</sup>

Earlier in the sixteenth century the dyers and calenderers had constantly contended that one man should not work in both those trades,<sup>(3)</sup> and the advent of the new draperies did nothing to abate this feud.<sup>(4)</sup> The two crafts were intimately connected, of course, for although white cloths were the sole concern of the calenderer he was also responsible for dressing dyed cloths. Orders framed in 1584 to reform faulty dying and dressing<sup>(5)</sup> dwelt upon this

(1) Presumably packed up.

(2) C.B. 10/670.

(3) *Supra*, p. 421.

(4) In 1583, the dyers were warned to appear in the Assembly to answer a complaint made by the calenderers, or else their proposals (undetailed) would be enacted; A.B. 3/321d. In 1574 and 1577, a calenderer was presented for dying new draperies; C.B. 9/464d. and 10/86. In 1577, a dornix weaver, and in 1591 a haberdasher, offended in the same way; C.B. 10/124 and C.B. 12/578. In 1595, the calenderers agreed that the alien dyer, Gyles Camby, was not to use the calendering trade (*infra*, pp. 537-8.); C.B. 12/943. The calenderers had always been allowed to black cloths (*supra*, pp. 421, 423) but this was temporarily withdrawn for an unspecified reason in 1582; A.B. 3/318; Offences: C.B. 11/208 (1583).

(5) Assembly Minute Book, 256-257 (26th June, 1584), printed in H. and T., *op.cit.*, II, 148-9.

close connection. It was first set down that any cloths which were to be later calendered should be dyed into crimson, purple, "murrey"<sup>(1)</sup> and red only with the dyestuff called grain,<sup>(2)</sup> and into tawney only with mather and woad;<sup>(3)</sup> such cloths were then to bear the dyer's mark and a seal with a "G" to signify that grain had been used. Presumably those colours dyed in other stuffs would not remain fast when subjected to the cleaning of the calenderers. The calenderers added their own marks to the cloths on a special seal - but only if they had been correctly dyed. This act thus introduced for the first time sealing by a craftsman, not the wardens: the calenderers received from merchants the  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. that was due for the searching and sealing of each cloth, and retained half of it as a reward for their work in carrying out this duty, the other half being paid to the city. These orders were enacted for one year only, but after lapsing for several months they were revived in the following year.<sup>(4)</sup>

---

(1) A reddish-brown or mulberry colour.

(2) In 1583, after 42 pieces of purple cloth were found to be badly dyed, the city court ordered that all stuffs dyed into purple had first to be woaded and engrained; C.B.11/140. Examples of bad dying in purple, C.B.12/884 (1594); and in crimson, C.B.12/588 (1591).

(3) Examples of bad dying in tawny, C.B.11/294 (1584). When tawny and other colours could not be amended, the cloths were put into black.

(4) A.B. 4/27.

In 1600 a petition from the calenderers was considered by the Assembly<sup>(1)</sup> and it was later decreed that all commodities with few exceptions were not to be blacked unless they had been woaded.<sup>(2)</sup>

It was not until 1610 that further orders were set down for the dyers, and by that time Norwich Stuffs had replaced the new draperies; the previous orders, having lapsed, were confirmed but the ever-changing varieties of Stuffs required some fresh regulations which will be considered in a later chapter. The Strangers had been strictly limited in the number of aliens allowed to work as dyers and steps had been taken to ensure that English dyers were taught the Strangers' dying techniques in order that this important process might remain under native control. Soon after the Strangers' arrival in Norwich, the English dyers complained of their competition,<sup>(3)</sup> and in 1568 all aliens with the exception of Anthoyne de Pottier were forbidden to dye with woad; Pottier was to let no other Stranger but his servant dye

---

(1) A.B. 5/239.

(2) A.B. 5/302d.

(3) In addition to their competition with English dyers, the Strangers were not always well versed in the trade: in 1573, a Stranger was presented for dying cloth though he had not been apprenticed; C.B.9/414d. And their work was often faulty, e.g. C.B.8/598d. (1568).

in his house, and was forbidden to treat English commodities. Moreover, if any Stranger or Englishman had any bays dyed by Pottier, every third cloth was to be sent to a native dyer.<sup>(1)</sup> With the regulations of 1574,<sup>(2)</sup> one alien dyer was allowed in addition to Pottier but other Strangers were allowed to dye their own yarn,<sup>(3)</sup> and three Strangers were appointed to join two Englishmen as wardens. Pottier died in 1576 and five English dyers agreed that Adam Kente should replace him "to be dyer for the whole companye of the straungers, and do praye to have none other"; any other alien dyer might engage only in his own work.<sup>(4)</sup>

In 1590 an alien dyer, Gyles Camby, invited another Stranger named Arthur Rotye to come to Norwich from London; Rotye was skilled in dying, especially "of perfect greenes and other sutche coullors" and he was allowed to work in the city on the condition that he taught an English dyer, William Morley and his apprentices how to dye in those colours.<sup>(5)</sup> Though

---

(1) C.B. 9/17; Strangers Book, fos.20-21.

(2) Supra, pp.530-1.

(3) But Strangers other than the two appointed dyers dyed their own cloths as well as yarn: in 1575 it was complained that "so manye straungers dyers do dye their owne wares, and do make suche false coullars", that the draperies were in disrepute. All Strangers were therefore to mark their cloths and have them sealed before being sold; Strangers Book, fos.82d.-83.

(4) Strangers Book, fo.87. Soon after, John de Boys, alien, was forbidden to dye after finishing the goods in hand; C.B. 9/719.

(5) Ibid., fo.107. An English dyer, John Betts, dyed cloths in green badly in 1591; C.B.12/588. Dying in green had been practised in Norwich before the arrival of Rotye; C.B.11/13 (1582), 10/560 (1580).

the two men were reckoned as equal in their status of master craftsmen, Camby protested in 1592 that Roye "p'supposeth that the seid Gyles should be but his man".<sup>(1)</sup> Camby himself was certainly an accomplished craftsman, for the Mayor and justices presented him with a testimonial in 1601 "for dyinge dressinge & Conroyinge of Norwich stuffes".<sup>(2)</sup>

The restriction on Strangers dyers was confirmed in 1599,<sup>(3)</sup> and in 1601 there were still only three of them licensed to practise the trade. Each of those three was obliged to pass on his special skills to one English dyer, teaching him "dyinge & woddinge from the fyrst settinge to the endinge aswell by settinge wt lyme & otherwise!"<sup>(4)</sup>

#### THE CLOTH HALLS.

The basic orders for the halls were those coupled with the book of general orders in 1571 and several clauses in that book itself are concerned with this matter.<sup>(5)</sup> Orders for individual types have amply confirmed the strict ruling that cloths had to be searched before being sold, and that some stuffs came to the hall twice or more for the work of

---

(1) C.B. 12/640.

(2) Strangers Book, fo.107d. But even Camby had sometimes done his work badly; C.B. 12/62 (1587), 12/588 (1591), 12/901 (1594).

(3) Ibid., fo.108.

(4) A.B. 5/242d.

(5) Supra, pp. 480-2.

weavers and finishers to be tested.<sup>(1)</sup> From the various search halls the cloths that passed the wardens' scrutiny were taken to the sale hall, but having been recorded there and with the hallage duties paid they might be sold in other places too. The two main halls were the Dutch congregation's Bay Hall, and the Walloons' Camiant Hall: bays and caungeantry were clearly divided between the two congregations, but the division was not complete and Walloon-made bays, for example, were searched in the Dutch hall.<sup>(2)</sup> The halls were composed of several rooms to which particular varieties of cloths might be confined. Multiple searching was most notable in the case of bays: they were subjected to the raw **p**earch when woven and to the white pearch after being fullled and finished. The raw pearch was carried out in the Church of St. Mary the **L**ess,<sup>(3)</sup> but the white pearch and the Walloons' hall were in the New Hall;<sup>(4)</sup> other rooms in the latter building served for the several sale halls.

- 
- (1) There is no need to repeat here the information already given under different varieties of cloths; those details illustrate the following general statements concerning the halls.
- (2) **Infra, Appendix Six.**
- (3) This church was appointed as the Strangers' cloth hall at their settlement in the city; *supra*, p. 477.
- (4) This building had belonged to the Black Friars; after the Dissolution it was used for various purposes and known as the Common Hall. The name New Hall was applied when the old hall for the Strangers' cloths became inadequate. It is now St. Andrew's Hall.

Cloths were subject to the imposition of various charges in the halls, beginning with a custom for each piece manufactured.<sup>(1)</sup> If they successfully passed the search, the only other duties were small payments to the wardens for performing their work and the hallage payable in the sale hall.<sup>(2)</sup> But the less fortunate, or less capable, weavers and drapers were fined or obliged to forfeit their cloths for a very wide variety of faults in their work - as the orders for individual cloth types have shown. Accounts of the money received in these various ways were kept by the knapes of the halls who took their share of the profits before they were divided between the Strangers and the city.

From the orders for the bay drapery it is clear that the personnel of officers in the search halls was large; the intricate organisation at Norwich was similar to that in the other alien centres, notably Colchester.<sup>(3)</sup>

---

(1) See Appendix Six.

(2) Ibid.

(3) The Colchester Bay Hall had 2 governors and probably 22 assistants. There were 6 printers (see Norwich, *supra*, pp. 503-4). The Raw Hall and the White Hall corresponded to the two divisions at Norwich. In the White Hall there were about 40 officials. Pilgrim, *thesis cit.*, pp. 133-135.

And with the imposition of the subsidy and alnage on the new draperies,<sup>(1)</sup> additional sealers were required. The final comment on the regulation of the manufacture and marketing of new draperies in Norwich must be that it was extensive and thorough; there is, moreover, no indication that the regulations were not efficiently enforced - at least during the remaining years of the sixteenth century.<sup>(2)</sup> The care taken by the Strangers in the supervision of their workmen is an important consideration, for one of the leading arguments in favour of imposing the subsidy and alnage on the new draperies was that they were inadequately ordered and in need of efficient searching and sealing.<sup>(3)</sup>

- 
- (1) *Infra*, **Chapter Thirteen**.  
(2) *Infra*, p. 586.  
(3) *Infra*, p. 610.

CHAPTER TWELVE.

THE REVIVAL AND TRANSFORMATION  
OF THE WORSTED INDUSTRY,

1565 - 1600.

Within a decade of the first arrival of the Dutch and Walloons, ten "benefits" received in Norwich by leaving the strangers there were listed,<sup>(1)</sup> and by this time the city authorities and the Privy Council had permitted a considerable influx of immigrants above the number originally allowed. The first of the benefits was the manufacture of the tow draperies, "whereby they do not only set on works their own people but do also set on works our own people within the citie as also a

{1} Hurra, pp. 484-5.  
{2} P.R.O. S.R. 13/20/49, about 1573; printed in Soona, op. cit., p. 262, and in Turner and Power, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 315-316.

## I

Despite the animosity between Strangers and English in the early years of the settlement, the advantages conferred on the city gradually induced the almost complete acceptance of the Strangers. Orders were devised to meet complaints that the Strangers interfered with the trade of various English craftsmen,<sup>(1)</sup> and from the beginning the Strangers had been forbidden to manufacture any type of cloth that had been made in Norwich prior to their admission; it was only in the making of new draperies that the Strangers continued to excite some disapproval, for despite certain undoubted benefits of this manufacture the English themselves moved only slowly away from their traditional industry and for some years there was acute competition for wool and yarn.

Within a decade of the first arrival of the Dutch and Walloons, ten "benefittes received in Norwich by havying the strangers there" were listed,<sup>(2)</sup> and by this time the city authorities and the Privy Council had permitted a considerable influx of immigrants above the number originally allowed. The first of the benefits was the manufacture of the new draperies, "wherby they do not onely set on worke their owne people but do also set on worke our owne people within the cittie as also a

---

(1) Supra, pp. 484-5.

(2) P.R.O. S.P.12/20/49, about 1575; printed in Moens, op.cit., p.262, and in Tawney and Power, op.cit., Vol.i, pp.315-316.

grete number of people nere XXti myles aboute the cittie, to the grete relief of the porer sorte there". It was undoubtedly the English spinners who were the chief recipients of this relief, but the English weavers were beginning to weave the new stuffs and a second benefit was that "our owne people do practice and make suche comodities as the strangers do make, whereby the youthe is set on worke and kepte from idlenes". Thirdly, the English merchants' home and overseas trade had greatly improved with the highly esteemed new draperies. Inhabitants of both city and county had benefited from the demand created by the Strangers, and with the revival in its fortunes, the city was more populous and better edified than it had been twenty years previously. The last quarter of the sixteenth century certainly saw a marked increase in the population of Norwich.<sup>(1)</sup> Two further benefits were the Strangers' contributions to taxes and other payments, and their sustenance of their own poor without recourse to begging. Industry was not the sole beneficiary from the Strangers' innovations for the eighth and ninth benefits were the cultivation of much ground for flax, which the Strangers made into linen cloth, and for roots, which fed Strangers and English alike. "And to conclude, they for the moste parte feare God and do diligently and laborously attende upon their severall

---

(1) *Infra*, pp. 603-8.

occupations, they obey all magistrates and all good lawes and ordynaunces, they lyve peaceablie amonge themselves and towarde all men, and we thinke our cittie happie to enjoye them."

The various payments made by the Strangers were elaborated at about the same time in a "Noet of the matters that the straungers bothe of the Dutche and French congregacions in the cittie of Norwiche have ben and are daylye charged withal."<sup>(1)</sup> Charges were made for the ministers and the poor of both Strangers and English;<sup>(2)</sup> house rents in the city had been increased and individual citizens benefited from interest-free loans from the aliens; both Norwich and Yarmouth received 3s. for each passport granted to the Strangers, despite the latters' payment of £60 towards the repair of Yarmouth haven; over £400 was paid annually to the city on the cloths made, and English spinners and knitters received over

- 
- (1) P.R.O. S.P.12/127/81, 1578?; printed in Moens, op.cit., p.264, and in Tawney and Power, op.cit., Vol.i, pp.316-317.
- (2) The city authorities were anxious that the maintenance of the Strangers' poor should not fall on them and even during the harvest leave-of-work the Strangers promised to keep their poor and children at work; C.B.11/25 (1582). During this period, special collections were made by the Strangers for this purpose - in 1583, for example, they were instructed to collect 40s. and the Mayor gave an additional 40s.; C.B.11/190. But even so, the Strangers could not always maintain their poor; in 1587, in "this hard tyme of wynter" the Dutch complained that the decay of trade and increase in poverty was too much for them to meet, and £10 was allowed out of the duties levied on their cloths; C.B.12/72. Similar allowances were made to the Walloons in 1589; C.B.12/354.

£500 for work done for the Strangers. Despite the exaggerated claim here, the city's financial gain from the Strangers' manufactures was a considerable one: the chamberlain received over £208 from the Strangers' cloth halls in 1580-81, and it was not until after 1610-11 that this profit fell permanently below £100. (1) In the century from 1458 to 1558, the city's revenues had increased only from £157 to £210, but in 1581 they reached upwards of £350 and in 1589 to £450; £500 was not exceeded until 1609. In addition to the profits of the Strangers' halls, a big contribution to this increase was made by payments for admission to the freedom of the city; (2) although the regained prosperity of the city naturally encouraged its inhabitants to take up their freedom, it is noticeable that the worsted weavers and other English cloth artisans did not share in this enthusiasm until the turn of the century by which time the change-over from worsteds to new varieties of stuffs was well advanced. (3)

## II.

A strong motive for the introduction of the Strangers into Norwich had been that the manufacture of new types of cloth would bring about a revival of the decaying

---

(1) See *infra*, Table 19.

(2) H. and T., *op. cit.*, II, pp. lxxviii-lxxxviii.

(3) See Appendix Seven (graph)

worsted industry; it is clear, however, that this hope was not fulfilled for some years after the Strangers arrived in 1565. Understandably, the weavers were cautious in turning to the new techniques and products and despite the difficulty in marketing them the traditional types of worsteds continued to be made.<sup>(1)</sup> For a time the worsted weavers were in fact adversely affected by the Strangers' manufacture, for the new cloths competed for the wool supply and for the work of the spinners. It was the spinners, in both city and country, who reaped the first benefits, finding from the Strangers the employment which the English weavers had been increasingly unable to give them. As well as using yarn of the kinds previously spun for the worsted weavers, the aliens made wide use of a kind called white warp<sup>(2)</sup> which was the chief product of the women and children spinners revealed by the 1570 census of the poor in Norwich.<sup>(3)</sup>

- 
- (1) The poverty of many of the worsted weavers at this time is illustrated by the 1570 census of the poor in Norwich: 497 men were thought fit to be given some relief, and both employed and out-of-work weavers and cloth finishers were among them; N.C.M.R., Case 20, Shelf c.
- (2) Richard Parslye, a Norwich grocer, said in 1602 that white warp was a yarn twistered by the Dutchmen; P.R.O. E134/44 and 45 Elizabeth/Michaelmas 1; *infra*, p.626.
- (3) N.C.M.R., Case 20, Shelf c.

Numerous promises had been forthcoming from the Strangers that they would teach their crafts to Englishmen: it was a condition in their original letters patent,<sup>(1)</sup> it was a condition of agreements made with individual aliens,<sup>(2)</sup> it was a bribe offered in lieu of fines.<sup>(3)</sup> But the earliest records of the promise being carried out are delayed until the late 1570's and the 1580's: then English boys were being apprenticed to bay-weavers,<sup>(4)</sup> as well as to other craftsmen,<sup>(5)</sup> and another who had been taught to make mockadoes and other cloths was given permission to buy yarn in the city market.<sup>(6)</sup>

---

(1) Supra, pp.474-5.

(2) For example, the agreement between eight worsted weavers and Guy de Lewaulle, a Walloon bay-weaver; he was to serve them for 1 year, making bays, instructing them and their servants to do likewise and to select, comb and spin wool ("la parfaicte et vray maniere de bien choysir et a rompre les laynes et a filer"); he would make only 3 bays a week, receiving 5s. each and an additional 8d. for each day that he did any work other than weaving, and £6 would be paid for his instruction of Englishmen during the year; he would pay them 40s. for their expenses in running the loom; he would at first deliver bays to be fulled by Dutchmen (at 3s.8d. per bay), but would teach 2 Englishmen to full, either by foot or mill. N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf b, 1566 (in French).

(3) In 1567, in lieu of a fine for transporting wool to London, a Stranger promised to teach wool-combing to an Englishman; C.B. 8/521d.

(4) In 1576, a Norfolk tailor apprenticed his 16 year old son to Charles Droghbroot, Norwich bay-weaver; C.B. 9/679. In 1581, Robert Allen was to serve an alien bay-weaver and learn his trade; C.B. 10/716. In 1581 an English boy was bound to a Stranger to learn bay-making, combing and roughing; C.B. 10/663.

(5) English boys apprenticed to an alien joiner (C.B.11/276, 1584), pinner and turner (C.B.17th September, 1576, quoted by H. and T., op.cit., II, 185-6.)

(6) He had learnt to make mockadoes and other cloths from Xpan de Mundo; he was to go under the Strangers' search and not to be molested by the worsted weavers' wardens; C.B. 10/201, 655.

Their slowness to learn the new manufacture was due not only to the worsted weavers' conservatism but to some active resistance by the Strangers. In 1581, the Dutch were asked to teach four Englishmen to full and scour bays but they said that they had ten master fullers with sufficient alien servants and saw no reason why they should teach Englishmen.<sup>(1)</sup> And in 1568, three glovers had been instructed to attend Peter Byllet, Stranger, "to know and understande the manner and waye of pullyng the shepkynnes", but Byllet refused to teach them "to pelte woll" unless they would become apprenticed to him for four or five years.<sup>(2)</sup>

In considering the English weavers' learning of the new techniques it is important to differentiate between the Dutch bays and the Walloon caungeantry. The Norwich Stuffs, which the English had developed by the beginning of the seventeenth century, were based on the caungeantry and were essentially variations on the old worsted cloths embodying new techniques which the Walloons had introduced.<sup>(3)</sup> Bays, on the other hand, were heavy cloths and required fulling, far removed in type from the old worsteds. These facts must explain why the English weavers developed the caungeantry but

---

(1) C.B. 10/746

(2) C.B. 6th March, 1568, quoted by H. and T., op.cit., II, p.184.

(3) These theme was fully developed by the worsted weavers in their disputes with the collectors of the subsidy and alnage; infra, pp.629-30, e.g.

never made bays in any considerable quantities; and they probably explain, too, the scanty evidence for deliberate teaching of the new methods. The old worsted looms no doubt needed little modification for the manufacture of caungeantry and the new techniques - involving, as they did, changes in dimensions of the cloths, in numbers of threads, in colours, and so on<sup>(1)</sup> - were not fundamentally different from those used for the cloths of the old worsted industry. The Walloons' devices could surely have been gradually acquired by the worsted weavers without lengthy instruction and apprenticeship. Bays, in contrast, demanded fundamental changes in technique - in weaving, fulling, scouring - and most likely needed a different type of loom;<sup>(2)</sup> and not un-naturally, the records of apprenticeship to Strangers concern bays.

---

(1) Supra, Chapter Eleven.

(2) In Canterbury, the Strangers paid loom-money at the rate of 3d. per loom and an additional charge was made for their "greate loomes" in 1583-4: these may have been a peculiar Dutch type. A few years later, the London Weavers' Company were grieved by "an Engine or Loom brought first from beyond the seas...., Some with tenn, some sixtene, some twentie and some twentie and foure Shuttells a piece By which ffourtie and foure Loomes thus set on worke we finde they take away the liveinge of ffoure hundred foure score and six persons according to the computacon of their Shutteller"; Cross., op.cit., p.187.

While the Walloons' cloths were passed on to English weavers and perpetuated in the Norwich Stuffs, bays were made on only a very small scale by the worsted weavers<sup>(1)</sup> and their manufacture in Norwich died out with the decline of the Dutch congregation.<sup>(2)</sup> In the presentments of faulty cloths by the worsted weavers' wardens the gradual change from traditional worsteds to new draperies is clearly shown: white, black and plunkett worsteds<sup>(3)</sup> are replaced by tuft mockadoes, Chambletts russells, bustians, satins reverses and says,<sup>(4)</sup> and to these in turn were added olliets, mountains, callamancoes and philozelis;<sup>(5)</sup> the fundamental similarity of these new cloths to the old worsteds is recalled by the way in which they were named - not damasks and philozelis, but worsted damasks and worsted philozelis, for example. Only the dornix weavers continued their traditional manufacture in the face of this re-orientation of the worsted industry's production.<sup>(6)</sup>

- 
- (1) The 1571 Orders for the Strangers suggest that those Englishmen who had begun to make bays were not reaching satisfactory standards; see Appendix Six. When a bay made half of wool and half of nyles was appointed to be made by the English in 1602, it was not considered fit to receive any seal but that of the alnager; Strangers Book, fo.108.
- (2) *Infra*, pp. 571-2. In 1636 the Bay Hall (under the Say Hall in the New Hall) was ordered to be used by the wardens of the Russell Company for as long as they needed it (C.B. 20/107) and in 1664 it was being considered for use as the Girls' Hospital (C.B. 23/230d).
- (3) C.B. 8/406d. (1566), for example.
- (4) C.B. 9/264d., 289 (1572); 10/158 (1577), 231 (1578), 529 (1580).
- (5) C.B. 11/424, 432 (1585); 13/459 (1600), 703; 14/7 (1602).
- (6) *Infra*, pp. 656-7.

The small woollen weavers' craft, whose production of cloths had long been a very small one,<sup>(1)</sup> were also attracted to the new draperies. In 1568, two woollen weavers were deputed to attend the Strangers in their cloth searches "to the entente to lerne the making of Bayes, Sayes, Stamyns and other Clothes".<sup>(2)</sup> The small number of presentments by their wardens testifies to the still falling level of output of the woollen weavers.<sup>(3)</sup>

### III.

The introduction of the new draperies greatly increased the range of cloths handled by the worsted shearmen, and in 1572 they sought additions to their orders enacted by the Assembly in 1528-9.<sup>(4)</sup> It was now alleged that "other kynds of Clothes syns the making of the sayd acte ar so rysen and made wthin this Citie for the wch the sayd acte of Assembly takit no holde", and consequently many unskilled men had begun to shear the new cloths, bringing the craft into disrepute. The desired amendment was that all shearmen of any cloths made

---

(1) *Supra*, p. 390.

(2) C.B. 8/565.

(3) For example, C.B. 11/41 (1582), 502 (1585). Several such presentments were of woollen cloths made by Dutchmen, C.B. 9/53, 86d. (1570), 619 (1575).

(4) *Supra*, pp. 425-6.

of worsted yarn must serve a seven-year apprenticeship and must weave their own thread mark into the cloths on which they worked.<sup>(1)</sup> But the Assembly apparently did not accept this recommendation for in 1587 the worsted shearmen again complained that their old orders applied only to the traditional worsteds which "wer and yet ar greatly decayed owte of request", and that the new draperies "haue byn and ar vsed to be shorne within the sayde Cytty by Worstedshermen". This time the Assembly agreed to enforce the apprenticeship.<sup>(2)</sup>

The worsted calenderers must similarly have been given increased employment by the new manufacture and the bulk of the new draperies were dyed by Englishmen in whose interests the number of Strangers dyers allowed to work in the city was strictly limited.<sup>(3)</sup>

Although some of the woollen weavers followed the worsted weavers in the change-over to new cloths, some continued to satisfy the demand for heavy woollen cloths and blankets and to provide work for the "Clotheworkers and wollen sheremen and fullers". Renewed regulations were set down for these men in 1575, indlyding a clause to prohibit aliens from competing in their trades.<sup>(4)</sup>

---

(1) A.B. 3/196d. Moens mistakenly says that this complaint by the English shearmen resulted from their oppression by the Strangers; op.cit., p.37.

(2) A.B. 4/44d.

(3) The finishing, especially the dyeing, of the new draperies has been discussed in Chapter Eleven, supra, pp.530-538.

(4) A.B. 3/234d., 236d.-237d. For defective shearing, tentering and fulling of woollen cloths see C.B. 8/334d., 365; 9/555; 11/45, 59, 264, 295, 354; 12/65, 201 (1565-1588).

## IV.

With the English weavers moving only gradually towards the manufacture of the Strangers' new draperies, there was inevitably competition between them for the supplies of Norfolk wool and yarn - supplies which had for many years been re-orientated away from the declining worsted industry - and even when they were enjoying the benefits of the new manufactures, the worsted weavers resented the Strangers' appetite for yarn whenever there was a shortage. The Strangers may at first have been apprehensive about the suitability of Norfolk wool for their stuffs, and they imported from home small quantities of both wool and yarn.<sup>(1)</sup> Not until 1570 were arrangements made for non-Norfolk wool to be brought to Norwich and even after that time locally grown wool must have formed a large proportion of the industry's supply.

This growing demand for Norfolk wool increased the city authority's anxiety<sup>(2)</sup> over the failure of wool broggers to bring it consistently to Norwich: in 1567, eleven names were certified of "the wolchapmen yt dwell in Matsale & vse bying

---

(1) Small lots of wool, yarn and thread were among the goods imported by Strangers between 1582 and 1610; others were wool combs, wool oil, card wire, madder and cloths. See collectors' accounts of customs on Strangers' goods brought to the city during that period, N.C.M.R., Strangers Books, Number 5.

(2) For regulation of the wool supply prior to 1565, see *supra*, pp.449-458.

and Selling of woll".<sup>(1)</sup> And already by 1568, the English dyers and weavers complained that some of the yarn which did reach the Norwich market was transported to London by the Strangers, increasing the price at Norwich from "viiij a doss to xiiij a doss". The Strangers refused to have their goods, packed for transport, searched for yarn and when the carriers themselves certified what goods they carried, many were found to be foreign bought and sold.<sup>(2)</sup> An attempt had previously been made in 1567 to give Englishmen preference in buying wool and woolskins in the market.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Mayor and worsted weavers agreed that the Strangers should buy only the yarn needed for their own weaving and should not re-sell or carry any out of Norwich. But no co-operation was forthcoming from the Strangers and in 1569 the worsted weavers tried unsuccessfully to procure an order that they alone might buy worsted yarn.<sup>(4)</sup> In the following year, the weavers suggested that the Strangers' use

- 
- (1) C.B. 8/500d. While striving to get broggers to come to the city market, the city yet enforced the need for citizenship upon them: in 1570 some wool chapmen who "bee no Cittezens" were asked on what authority they brought wool to sell in the market; A.B. 3/166d.
- (2) Strangers Book, fo.20d. An example of wool being confiscated from a Stranger taking it to London, C.B.8/521d., 1567.
- (3) Aliens born overseas were forbidden to buy wool or woolskins in the market before 12.0 a.m.; A.B. 3/142d.
- (4) Strangers Book, fos.21d.-22.

(1) Strangers Book, fo.20d.  
 (2) Ibid., fo.20d.

of yarn might be curtailed by allowing them to use only such wool as they could get spun "by puttinge furthe of woolle to the spynninge, and that to be emonges their owne people onelye". In these early years the worsted weavers were seemingly blind to the benefits which the English spinners, as well as they themselves, could reap from the presence of the aliens. An attempt to give both parties their share of the available yarn was embodied in the order of July, 1570: the Strangers were to buy yarn in their own houses and only for their own use but not in the market or on the roads, while the English were forbidden to forestall yarn before any fair or market opened and to have only one buyer in each market.<sup>(1)</sup>

Dissatisfied with what they could get in Norwich itself, the Strangers were alleged to "go abroade the countrie" to fetch large quantities of wool "wherof their marchauntes had all the whole trade"; they had the sole benefit of the cloths made "So that nowe no trade was but of their comodities" Not only did they visit the houses of the country spinsters, but they persuaded country chapmen to bring wool back to the city for them, and while out on this business the Strangers retailed their cloths in the villages.<sup>(2)</sup> In the light of the difficulty which the emaciated worsted industry had had in getting sufficient yarn before the Strangers were introduced,

---

(1) Strangers Book, fo.23.

(2) Ibid., fo.26d.

some drastic remedy was clearly needed now with the Norfolk supplies increasingly over-taxed.

Late in 1570, a remedy was formulated. The city authorities sought a licence to give them control of the wool supply and Simon Bowde was sent to London to negotiate for it; the grant was made to him and three other city aldermen<sup>(2)</sup> for them or their factors to buy wool anywhere in England, provided that it was sold only to inhabitants of Norwich - whether English or Strangers.<sup>(3)</sup> It will be remembered that the 1547 and 1552 acts had allowed dealers to buy and sell wool only within the county.<sup>(4)</sup> The Strangers immediately complained: the licence was against their privileges, especially in that they "hetherto hath bought their woolle and other materialles necessarye...and sold the same, wheare, and to whome they lyked, aswel in this yor Majesties Realme, as in other places beyonde the sea...".<sup>(5)</sup> In reply the Privy Council wrote to the city authorities on 19th March, 1571, making it clear that the licence did not bind the Strangers to make all their purchases of wool from the four aldermen;

---

(1) Loc.cit..

(2) John Aldriche, the Mayor, Robert Suckling and Thomas Layer.

(3) The grant was of unspecified length of tenure and set no limit to the amount of wool which could be bought.

P.R.O. C66/1062, mm. 31-32, 23rd October, 1570;  
quoted by Bowden, thesis cit., p.88.

(4) Supra, pp.453,455.

(5) Strangers Book, fos. 26d.-27.

but, they said, "we dought nott but ye wyll use the same lycens so well, that all thoughe the seide straungers, enhabitinge within the Citye of Norwiche maye by the lawes of the realme, buye woolles anye whear to drape or make yarne of the same (nottwithstandinge that lycens) yet they had as lief buye of you, as anye other wheare".<sup>(1)</sup>

The four aldermen made wide use of the grant and their supplies no doubt considerably relieved the situation; but in other respects complaints of the Strangers' activities were not yet done with. Not only did they sell in the country both un-saleable cloths at an underprice and commodities reserved to English weavers, but under cover of that activity enhanced the price of yarn in the city by carrying large quantities to London and elsewhere.<sup>(2)</sup>

The action of the Privy Council to control the wool trade, though it did not apply with equal force to Norfolk as to other parts of the country, revealed the activities of the Norwich aldermen patentees. Rising wool prices were still attributed, above all, to the engrossing of supplies by the

---

(1) Strangers Book fo. 27d.

(2) Ibid., fos. 57-58d.

various middlemen - staplers, licencees and broggers; a proclamation aimed against these men in 1576<sup>(1)</sup> was unsuccessful but in the following year the Council decided upon its strict enforcement. On 31st May, the Justices of the Peace of Norfolk were reminded that the 1576 proclamation had restrained all licences previously granted, and were instructed to seek out seven named broggers<sup>(2)</sup> and all others of whom they had information. A bond of £100 was to be taken from each man, discouraging him from buying a larger quantity of wool in Norfolk or elsewhere than he needed for his own cloth-making: none was to be re-sold.<sup>(3)</sup> Although the Norwich aldermen's grant had been excepted from the proclamation,<sup>(4)</sup> this legislation - like the act of 1547<sup>(5)</sup> - would have deprived the Norfolk weavers of the indispensable services of the wool chapmen. The Bishop of Norwich and the Norfolk Justices were now unsure of the position: in their reply to the Privy Council on 13th September, 1577, they recalled that about February last

---

(1) Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, 712, quoted by Bowden, thesis cit., p. 94. It prohibited the purchase of wool by licence before 1st November, 1577 and forbade Merchants of the Staple from buying any wool before the end of the following February.

(2) See Appendix Four.

(3) P.R.O. S.P. 12/115/28-9.

(4) Acts of the Privy Council, Calendar 1575-77, p. 281.

(5) Supra, p. 453.

the aldermen's licence had been given a "Tolleracon furder", but they were not certain whether the Council's latest letter countermanded that toleration. They had therefore stayed the licence without taking bonds from the licencees, but emphasised that its permanent withdrawal would be a great loss to both Strangers and English. In accordance with the Council's orders bonds of £100 had been taken from 47 broggers,<sup>(1)</sup> "the moste pte (as we take it)" of the Norfolk dealers "wch be a very great nomber". But, recalling the act of 1547 which had allowed Norfolk the broggers' services, the Bishop and Justices took the liberty of modifying the Council's instructions; the 47 men were restrained from dealing except in open market by retail. Thus, "we haue upon theis considerations somewhat swarued from the full tenor of yor honors Letters".<sup>(2)</sup>

Opposition to the aldermen's licence was growing. In June, 1577, the merchants of the staple blamed the broggers for the dearth and high price of wools, and Simon Bowde was among the seven Norfolk dealers whom they named.<sup>(3)</sup> Full enquiry into the licence was ordered,<sup>(4)</sup> and one report to

---

(1) See Appendix Four.

(2) P.R.O. S.P. 12/115/23-231.

(3) P.R.O. S.P. 12/114/31, 39. For the seven broggers see Appendix Four.

(4) P.R.O. S.P. 12/114/38, 1577.

Simon Bowyer<sup>(1)</sup> alleged that it was "verie moche evell thought of", with about six Strangers factors buying much wool in London and sending it to the licencees in Norfolk.<sup>(2)</sup> The most detailed evidence against the aldermen was given by Thomas and William Freman, again in June, 1577. Bowde and Layer were the chief offenders: "wch two men have done more hurte in buyenge up all the wolls they can lay ther hands on in Northampton shere then ever was theretofore by any". Their dealing had prevented any wool from being sent, as it formerly had been, to Cirencester market, and the Northampton clothiers themselves were forced to pay higher prices than those current at Cirencester. For five or six years, Bowde and Layer had visited Northampton at two or three monthly intervals buying up all the wool that they could get - 400 or 500 tods in the town and perhaps even more in the county; and when they

---

(1) Bowyer was a Gentleman Usher of the Queen's Chamber; in October, 1576 he received a wool-patent authorising him to buy and sell within the realm 500 sarplers of wool during the next ten years; B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 22/35, quoted by Bowden, thesis cit., p.86. In 1577 he was seeking an even more extensive grant and was enquiring about the activities of rival patentees; P.R.O. S.P. 12/115/40, 114/41, quoted by Bowden, thesis cit., p.132. In 1590, Bowyer received a commission to uphold the statutes regulating the purchase and sale of wool (Bowden, p.137) and he brought a number of informations against Norfolk broggers under the acts of 1547 and 1552. See, for example, P.R.O. E159/401/Michaelmas 496,503,504 (1591); 403/Trinity 152r. and d. (1592); 404/Hilary 123r. and d., 124,323 (1593); 408/Hilary 102, Michaelmas 442,443r. and d., 444r. and d., 445 (1595); 410/Easter 117 (1596); 409/Michaelmas 446r. and d. (1595) (the two latter being under the act of 1552).

(2) P.R.O. S.P. 12/114/41, June, 1577.

returned to Norwich, they left £30-£40 or more with factors to continue buying in their absence.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Privy Council, in receipt of so much evidence of excessive buying by <sup>the</sup> Norwich aldermen, instructed their wool to be stayed by the city Justices and bonds to be taken of them for their appearance before the Council.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1579, moreover, another proclamation was issued temporarily prohibiting the purchase of wool by licence.<sup>(3)</sup> But the grant was not withdrawn: in 1581 it was made clear that the 1576 proclamation had been aimed solely at those who had re-grated wool under colour of licences, not at the cloth manufacturers themselves, and the citizens of Norwich were not to be restrained.<sup>(4)</sup> An information in the Court of Exchequer against Simon Bowde was accordingly dismissed,<sup>(5)</sup> and the continuance of his activities is revealed by a suit between

(1) P.R.O. S.P. 12/114/40.

(2) Acts of the Privy Council, Calendar 1577-78, p.25, 1577.

(3) Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, 738. On the strength of this proclamation, the Norfolk brogger Fyrmin Neave, was presented in court for bringing 2 packs of wool to his Norwich warehouse to be sold. If it had been Norfolk wool he would have been within his rights - but he would not swear that this was so, and only the now temporarily restrained licence of 1570 would have justified his dealing in non-Norfolk wool. C.B. 10/538,542 (1580)

(4) Acts of the Privy Council, Calendar 1581-2, pp.48-49.

(5) Ibid., p.72.

a Northampton glover and Bowde's executors after his death in 1595; in April and June, 1593, Thomas Adkins had sold Bowde 12 packs, 3 tods and 2 pounds of fell and fleece wool for £145.8.2.<sup>(1)</sup>

Despite the provisions which this licence made for the adequate supply of wool to both Strangers and English, relations between them continued to be strained. For one thing, the new licence did not immediately meet everybody's needs, and in 1578 it was found necessary to repeat the order of 1567<sup>(2)</sup> giving Englishmen preference in its purchase.<sup>(3)</sup> The Strangers not only continued to fetch Norfolk wool and yarn into the city<sup>(4)</sup> but bought from broggers who had travelled outside the county in search of it:<sup>(5)</sup> here, of course, the broggers offended the aldermen's licence. The common broggers of Norfolk wool also had their grievance for the Strangers' wool was often foreign-bought and foreign-sold, in contravention of the ancient custom of the city that only freemen

---

(1) P.R.O. Requ. 2/169/12.

(2) Supra, p.554.

(3) Strangers, not being free of the city, might not buy wool in houses and shops before 1.0 a.m. on Saturdays and Wednesdays, and combers who were not members of the Drapery were similarly prohibited; Orders for the Bay Drapery, N.C.M.R. Case 10, Shelf b., 1577 - this clause being added in 1578.

(4) In 1584, Lewys Quantyn, alien, was forbidden to engross wool to re-sell in Norwich; C.B. 11/331. In 1594, two aliens were said to buy 100 lbs. of yarn weekly in city and country markets; C.B. 12/906. Also C.B. 8/695, 703A (1569).

(5) In 1594, an alien confessed that wool which he had bought - 60 tods of it - had come from Northamptonshire or Lincolnshire; C.B. 12/898.

might deal by retail. Five wool chapmen made this complaint against John Williamson, an alien comber, in 1598; and he further earned their displeasure by transporting yarn out of the city, some of it for export.<sup>(1)</sup> In respect of the use of faulty yarn, English and Strangers weavers alike were guilty<sup>(2)</sup> but it is noticeable that its manufacture by spinsters had greatly decreased since the revival in the industry's fortunes.<sup>(3)</sup>

Aside from the excitement of the English-Stranger competition for wool, the routine enforcement of the 1547 act continued.<sup>(4)</sup> Wool was occasionally still sent to Suffolk,<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) C.B. 13/232,234,245,251,261; A.B. 5/196d.,203r.and d., 209,214.

(2) English offenders: C.B. 9/313 (1573), 11/68 (1582), 11/494 (1585), 12/258 (1589). Strangers offenders: in 1595 the English weavers alleged that the Strangers bought yarn short reeled and false told, and the latter agreed to reform "all ther Spynsters and such as they vse to buy yarne of"; C.B. 12/937. Another old offence, the forestalling of wool before it reached the market, was continued by the worsted weavers; C.B.9/486d.(1574), 10/327 (1578).

(3) Supra, pp. 450-1.

(4) Supra, pp.453-8. Informations under this act against Norfolk middlemen would doubtless have been more numerous had informers not been paid to halt their proceedings. Edward Body, London clothworker and prominent informer, was prosecuted by the Crown in 1593 for taking payments from "various persons in Norfolk of yearly fees and annuities, for which the said Body taketh upon him to dispenche with those persons for offending penall stanttutes", P.R.O. E133/8/1149, quoted by Bowden, thesis cit., p.138.

(5) For example, 1567, Thomas Watts, Godfridus Spylman and Richard Starkye of Mattishall were alleged to have sent 1600 stones in all to Hadleigh; P.R.O.E159/357/Michaelmas 235r.and d., 229. 1568, other consignments to Hadleigh E159/358/Hilary 108,109r.and d., 110. 1594, to Bury St. Edmunds; E159/408/Easter 108,109.

it was bought in Norfolk but not re-sold for manufacture into cloth,<sup>(1)</sup> and Norfolk broggers were working outside the county.<sup>(2)</sup> Despite the increased opportunities of working up wool and yarn in Norfolk, the prevention of transportation and export was still an important concern: yarn was got away from Norwich both on the road to London and on the river to Yarmouth.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1597, a bill to restrain the carrying of unwrought worsted yarn out of Norfolk reached a second reading in the Commons but a committee decided that it "be left to Oblivion";<sup>(4)</sup> it may well have been felt that the 1547 act - still popular with informers<sup>(5)</sup> - and local regulations by the English and Strangers<sup>(6)</sup> in Norfolk were adequate for the suppression of offenders. The existence of smuggling in

- 
- (1) E159/403/Trinity 56,57 (1591), 417/Trinity 33r. and d., 34r. and d. (1598), 419/Michaelmas/226d. (1599), 420/Michaelmas 238 (1600), 425/Trinity 34 (1603).
- (2) Jacob Bowde of Norwich at Westminster; E159/417/Trinity 29 (1598). John Watts of Mattishall at Bury St. Edmunds; E159/407/Trinity 50 (1593). Peter Boote of Mattishall in Northamptonshire; E159/410/Easter 117 (1595). In 1591 the Privy Council instructed the J.P.'s of Norfolk (inter alia) to restrain any broggers of that county who had engrossed wool in Suffolk, enhancing prices and eliciting a complaint from the Suffolk clothiers; Acts of the Privy Council, Calendar 1590-91, p.302.
- (3) C.B. 8/694d., 1569; C.B. 12/465, 1590.
- (4) I am indebted to Mr. M.W. Beresford for this information.
- (5) A majority of the informers were Londoners, the most notable being John Chambers and George Hamond, fishmongers, and Jacob Langrake and Edward Body, clothworkers.
- (6) The Strangers joined the worsted weavers in condemning this practice: in 1579 they sought a warrant against those who transported yarn or chetons; Strangers Book, fos. 96-96d. And they had previously, in 1571, ordered that Strangers were not to buy more yarn than they themselves needed, nor were they to re-sell or transport it; Strangers Book, fo.65.

Norfolk wool and yarn is revealed by presentments, under the same act, of English and alien merchants on the information of (1) both common informers and official searchers at Great Yarmouth. But despite the prevalent regulation against export, the searchers were obliged to let pass wool authorised by at least two licences, granted in 1565<sup>(2)</sup> and 1574.<sup>(3)</sup>

A significant by-product of the Strangers wool combers was the poor quality material, nyles, which were used in the manufacture of certain inferior cloths in Norwich. Like wool and yarn, nyles were being transported out of the county by Strangers, and in 1573, order was taken for the supervision of their sale of this commodity.<sup>(4)</sup> Two years later, the Assembly decided that accounts should be kept of all nyles sold in the city,<sup>(5)</sup> and in 1576 orders were drawn

- 
- (1) YARN: E159/412/Easter 17r. and d.; 413/Michaelmas 9d., 35d., 414/Easter 67 (1596 and 1597, all alien merchants). E159/411/Trinity 2, Michaelmas 9; 415/Michaelmas 21 (1595 and 1597), E159/419/Michaelmas 16; 420/Easter 9 (1599 and 1600). WOOL: E159/365/Michaelmas 11 (1572).
- (2) A licence to Thomas Duke of Norfolk to export the wool of his own sheep in Norfolk from Norfolk and Suffolk ports at the rate of 30 serplers annually. He was to pay those customs normally paid for the export of Northumberland wool and to enjoy the grant for his lifetime unless it were revoked by letters patent. P.R.O. E159/352/Hilary 309. A survey of the Duke's possessions in 1588 revealed 4 foldcourses in Flitcham, 2 in Thetford and 1 each in Rushworth, Castle Rising and Anmer. See supra, p.86.
- (3) A licence to William Heidon to export 10 serplers of Norfolk wool annually from Norfolk ports. He was to pay those customs normally due on the export of Northumberland wool, and to enjoy the grant for 7 years. P.R.O. S.P.40/1/8.
- (4) A.B. 3/216d.
- (5) A.B. 3/242d.

up for a sale hall - it was to be in the "longe chambre" over the printing house<sup>(1)</sup> in the New Hall. This careful attention had been provoked by the Strangers' sale of nyles to Suffolk men which had enhanced prices in Norwich from 2s.2d. to 4s.6d. per stone; they were now to bring their nyles and flocks to the hall, and after sale all were to be converted into yarn and cloth in the city unless the buyer found it necessary to use a country spinster. In the hall, buyers paid  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per stone for having the nyles weighed ("for the poysenge") and the officer was to keep an account of sales.<sup>(2)</sup> Within a few months it was necessary to re-iterate the orders,<sup>(3)</sup> but early in 1578 the Strangers complained that the second article was "a great Lett", and it was made void; the new article allowed nyles and flocks to be bought by any citizen whether to spin or to re-sell, but the Strangers were still obliged not to re-sell them and the hall was confirmed as the sole place of sale.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1581, it was the turn of English buyers of nyles to be criticised by the clerk of the hall: he asserted that

---

(1) The printing house was perhaps the cloth sealing hall where the seals were printed or stamped, or perhaps the room containing the press of Anthony de Solen, the Dutch book-printer (See Moens, op.cit., p.72).

(2) Strangers Book, fos.85d.-87.

(3) Ibid., fo.87d., 1576.

(4) Ibid., fos. 90-90d.

hallage and weighage were lost because the hall was not used,<sup>(1)</sup> and they were immediately ordered to make no more deals in Strangers' houses.<sup>(2)</sup>

There were few users of nyles in Norwich apart from the small craft of dornix weavers and it appears that they were eventually unable to use the whole of the output. The alternative of transporting them out of the city was considered in 1601,<sup>(3)</sup> and the regulations were eased to the extent that alien wool combers were permitted to sell nyles and flock to citizens anywhere in the city, provided that they had first been weighed and charged in the hall.<sup>(4)</sup> Within 14 months this laxity had been withdrawn: an increase in the number of poor in the city and a decrease in wages in the cloth industry were given as reasons for a rigorous enforcement of the use of all nyles and flocks in Norwich.<sup>(5)</sup> This last order apparently impelled the produce of both Strangers and English combers to be brought to the nyle hall but although there is no record of its revocation the hall was gradually ignored yielding no profit for 12 years before the clerk ceased to submit accounts in 1649.<sup>(6)</sup>

---

{1} Strangers Book, fo.100.

{2} A.B. 3/302. Examples of offences: "Cotton woolle or flock" foreign bought and foreign sold in 1584; C.B.11/303. 16 stones of nyles sold without being brought to the hall in 1593; C.B.12/754.

{3} A.B. 5/242d.

{4} A.B. 5/251d., 1601.

{5} A.B. 5/273, 1602.

{6} Infra, p.582.

## V.

The survival of accounts drawn up by the city chamberlain and by officers of the various cloth halls makes it possible to assess quantitatively both the financial benefits conferred upon Norwich by the Strangers, and their output of the new draperies. In the case of the accounts of the Walloon cloths, the output must include cloths made by English weavers, for when they made any of the caungeantry the worsted weavers were obliged to attend the Strangers' search halls. With the decline of the Walloon congregation and the growth of the Norwich Stuffs manufacture, these accounts are concerned largely with an English industry in the early seventeenth century; but the resistance of weavers and merchants to the payment of hallage renders the accounts most unsatisfactory as a guide to the number of cloths produced, though they effectively illustrate the city's declining revenues from the halls.

Reference has already been made<sup>(1)</sup> to the city chamberlains' accounts of total profits from the Strangers' cloth halls (see Table 20). These profits had probably not reached their peak before the accounts begin in 1580-81; after being around £200 for the first seven years, the receipts decreased substantially and fell permanently below £100 in 1611-12. With the decline of the alien congregations and the

---

(1) *Supra*, p.545.

failure of merchants to meet the hallage on English-made cloths, the profits eventually reached an insignificant level by the mid-seventeenth century and the accounts were discontinued in 1649.

Among the Dutch congregation the predominant cloth manufacture was of bays<sup>(1)</sup> (See Table 21). From a few hundreds in the first half-year of the settlement, the output of bays rose sharply with the increasing numbers of refugees: there were 24 Dutch masters in the original party, each with his servants, and in 1568 the designation of "weaver" was applied to 53 Dutchmen.<sup>(2)</sup> The annual production of each man was limited to 72 bays by an order of 1570.<sup>(3)</sup> Peak production was achieved in the early 1580's: both the city's profit from searching and sealing (Table 21, column 1) and the payments made in the sale hall (columns 4 and 5) were at their highest in 1581-2 when over 22,000 single bays (reckoning a double bay as equalling two singles) were sealed (columns 2 and 3). Thereafter, numbers of cloths and receipts decreased gradually for six years and then followed a marked downward trend.

---

(1) The predominance of bay-weaving is indicated in letters written by some of the Dutch refugees to friends and relatives in the Netherlands; see Moens, *op.cit.*, pp. 220-224, and Tawney and Power, *op.cit.*, pp. 229-301.

(2) *Supra*, p. 448.

(3) Orders for the bay drapery; Strangers Book, fos. 49-56d.

TABLE TWENTY. CITY CHAMBERLAIN'S ACCOUNTS OF PROFITS FROM  
THE STRANGERS' CLOTH HALLS.

N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.5. Comprising receipts for the searching, sealing and hallage of all cloths, for hallage in the nyle hall, and for the rent of the consistory at the New Hall. Expenses in the halls, and of fees for the accountant and to town clerk, have been deducted.

29th September to 29th September.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1580-81	208.	16.	7.	1619-20	59.	4.	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
81-82	244.	19.	5.	20-21	45.	1.	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
82-83	197.	1.	4.	21-22	34.	3.	4.
83-84	216.	18.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	22-23	41.	7.	2.
84-85	223.	8.	5.	23-24	42.	2.	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
85-86	222.	3.	5.	24-25	37.	5.	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
86-87	215.	18.	9.	25-26	29.	1.	2.
87-88	171.	11.	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	26-27	31.	15.	6.
88-89	161.	4.	6.	27-28	39.	15.	6.
89-90	170.	5.	8.	28-29	39.	17.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
90-91	163.	3.	5.	29-30	37.	1.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
91-92	133.	12.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	30-31	34.	16.	5.
92-93	135.	12.	2.	31-32	33.	19.	3.
93-94	159.	5.	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	32-33	34.	10.	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
94-95	159.	7.	5.	33-34	33.	19.	8.
95-96	130.	10.	7.	34-35	30.	0.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
96-97	132.	16.	1.	35-36	29.	19.	0.
97-98	139.	16.	0.	36-37	26.	19.	10.
98-99	136.	18.	4.	37-38	28.	1.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
99-1600	133.	7.	9.	38-39	25.	15.	8.
1600-01	136.	19.	6.	39-40	23.	18.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
01-02	140.	18.	3.	40-41	21.	3.	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
02-03	118.	11.	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	41-42	21.	12.	10.
03-04	84.	5.	3.	42-43	18.	4.	4.
04-05	115.	10.	7.	43-44	9.	10.	11.
05-06	105.	0.	4.	44-45	10.	4.	0.
06-07	86.	16.	1.	45-46	8.	12.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
07-08	92.	2.	10.	46-47	15.	14.	7.
08-09	119.	8.	11.	47-48	13.	15.	8.
09-10	123.	3.	3.	48-49	5.	16.	3.
10-11	105.	8.	8.				
11-12	99.	10.	5.				
12-13	83.	8.	9.				
13-14	79.	14.	8.				
15-16(1)	92.	17.	3.				
16-17(2)	88.	16.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$				
17-18	62.	10.	11.				
18-19	41.	15.	7.				

(1) 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  years to 25th March, 1616.

(2) Henceforth, 25th March to 25th March.

This decrease corresponds with that in the numbers of Dutch in the city,<sup>(1)</sup> and with Englishmen taking little or no interest in bay-making<sup>(2)</sup> the Dutch and their bays died together: the city chamberlain ceased to record the profits from searching and sealing bays in 1599-1600 and the very small profits from their hallage stopped in 1626-7.<sup>(3)</sup>

For the five years when bay-making was at the height of its prosperity in the city, Norwich had a sub-lease of the subsidy and alnage on the new draperies from the Crown patentees.<sup>(4)</sup> The city authorities strove to gain the utmost profit from this grant<sup>(5)</sup> and kept detailed accounts of the duties collected (Table 21, column 3). The numbers of bays recorded as paying these duties exactly equalled those of bays sealed in the hall (cp. columns 2 and 3) and the two officials concerned probably worked side by side to avoid any

---

(1) Supra, pp. 491-2.

(2) Supra, pp. 548-9.

(3) There are no remarks by the accountant here, as there were in the case of the Walloon caungeantry, that payment for bays was avoided, and there is no reason to suppose that these accounts do not give a true picture of the production of bays. A similar decline in the entries for bay-sealing is to be seen in the Canterbury chamberlain's accounts: the first entry in 1576 was of 830 pieces at £6.18.4.; from 1576 to 1587 the annual average was £5.5.0.; a sudden fall followed, the receipts dropping by nearly half; in 1611 entries ceased to appear in the accounts. Cross, op.cit., pp. 185-6.

(4) Infra, pp. 616-9.

(5) Infra, pp. 617-8. All indications are that, despite the opposition to the subsidy and alnage, and despite the unreliability of national alnage accounts, these accounts are records of fact.

TABLE TWENTY-ONE. ACCOUNTS OF THE SEARCH AND SALE HALLS FOR BAYS.

Year.	SEARCH & SEALING	BAYS SEALED	ALNAGE AND SUBSIDY		HALLAGE		HALLAGE
	net profits. (29 Sep.-29 Sep)	Double & single bays combined (29 Sep.-29 Sep)	Double & single bays combined (30 Sep.- 30 Sep.)	Single bays	Single bays	Gross Receipts (30 Sep.- 30 Sep.)	Net Profits (29 Sep.-29 Sep)
	(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)		(5)
1565-66		382( $\frac{1}{2}$ yr.)					
66-67		1193					
67-68		3864					
68-69		4359					
69-70		4091					
70-71		8202			4508	9. 7. 6. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ year)	
71-72		8692			7821	17. 5. 11.	
72-73		7459			7997	16. 13. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
73-74		8974			9925	20. 13. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
74-75		9144			10103	21. 0. 11.	
75-76		10627			11912	24. 15. 3.	
76-77		10805			12055 $\frac{1}{2}$	25. 2. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
77-78		9382			11448 $\frac{1}{2}$	23. 17. 0.	
78-79		10395			12712	26. 9. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
79-80		6912	1698	2407 (2 months)	9207	19. 3. 7.	
80-81	123. 10. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	11016	11016	16864	16695	34. 15. 7.	30. 10. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
81-82	146. 7. 6.	13652	13652	22128	22067	45. 19. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	41. 13. 8.
82-83	83. 12. 1.	8614	8614	13676	13581	28. 5. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24. 0. 7.
83-84	70. 0. 8.	7223	7223	11105 $\frac{1}{2}$	10586	22. 1. 1.	17. 16. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
84-85	61. 17. 11.	6380	5270	8792 (10 months)	11033	22. 14. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	17. 8. 0.
85-86	67. 10. 9.	9435			13616	28. 7. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	24. 3. 0.
86-87	63. 0. 10.	6801			12657	26. 8. 9.	22. 4. 5.
87-88	24. 11. 6.	2813			5412	11. 5. 6.	7. 2. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
88-89	31. 7. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1493( $\frac{1}{2}$ yr.)			2579	5. 7. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	8. 18. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
89-90	12. 5. 11.						2. 1. 5.
90-91	10. 2. 7.						18. 2.
91-92	17. 7. 6.						2. 17. 2.
92-93	13. 11. 8.						1. 18. 5.
93-94	10. 11. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$						1. 0. 3.
94-95	9. 4. 7.						2. 1.
95-96	6. 18. 11.						Nil
96-97	5. 10. 7.						Nil
97-98	5. 1. 3.						Nil
98-99	4. 17. 4.						Nil
99-1600	4. 10. 3. (a) (Discontinued)						Nil
1600-01							Nil
01-02							13. 3.
02-03							17. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
03-04							4. 9.
04-05							7. 8.
05-06							12. 1.
06-07							12. 1.
07-08							16. 2.
08-25							Nil
25-26							7. 2.
26-49							Nil (Discontinued)

FOOTNOTES TO TABLE TWENTY-ONE.

- (1) From the City Chamberlain's accounts of profits from the Strangers' cloth halls; N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No. 5. Expenses in the halls had already been deducted. These profits include both the nominal fee for sealing (2d. for a double and 1d. for a single bay) and the fines for faulty work, thus numbers of cloths cannot be computed.
- (2) As given by Williams, N.J., in Economic History Review, Second Series, Volume IV, Number 3 (1952), p.356, quoting N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, Number 4.
- (3) From the alnage accounts for the five year term of the city's sub-lease; N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.5. The account was made quarterly and the figures have been re-arranged for a Michaelmas to Michaelmas year to enable comparison with the other accounts.
- (4) From N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.4. The account was made quarterly and the figures have been re-arranged. The accountant reckoned one double as equalling two single bays. These are gross receipts of payments of 1d. for a double and  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for a single bay.
- (5) From the City Chamberlain's accounts of profits from the Strangers' cloth halls; N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.5. These are net profits, the expenses in the halls having been deducted. For the years when comparison may be made with the hallage receipts in column 4, the expenses were constant at a little over £4; with falling numbers of cloths after 1589-90, expenses must have decreased and no attempt is made here to estimate numbers of cloths from the net profits.
- (a) Ordered now that Robert Browne should no longer receive the £1.0.0. annually paid to him for helping to seal in the bay hall.

Year	SEARCHING AND SEALING Net Profits (29Sep-29Sep) (1)	SAYS SEALED (29Sep-29Sep) (2)	ALNAGE AND SUBSIDY (22Jul-22Jul) (3)	HALLAGE Net Profits (29Sep-29Sep) (4)	HALLAGE Gross Receipts (29 Sep.- 29 Sep.) (5)	HALLAGE Net Profits (29 Sep-29 Sep) (6)
1580-81	19. 0.					
81-82	19. 4.	28	66			
82-83	18.17. 5. (a)	2871	24			
83-84	40.18. 3.	5615	1889			
84-85	66. 5. 6.	8293	4963			
85-86	53.10. 3.	6775	8076			
86-87	54. 3.11.	6891				
87-88	56.15. 3.	7157				
88-89	43. 7. 2½	2627(½ yr.)				
89-90	50. 7. 7.					
90-91	40.13. 9.			10.10. 5.		
91-92	32.13. 5.			7.15. 1.		
92-93	29.19.10.			5.13. 0.		
93-94	34.17. 2.			4.13. 1.		
94-95	40. 3. 1.			6. 1.10.		
95-96	44. 1. 2.			7. 0. 0.		
96-97	37. 1.11.			8.12.11.		
97-98	35. 8. 8.			8. 0. 6.		
98-99	34.15. 4.			7. 5. 1.		
99-1600	38. 1. 8.			6.16. 5.		
1600-01	40.12. 3.			7. 0.10.		
01-02	32.14.11.			7.17. 7.		
02-03	34.15. 3.			7.17. 6. (c)		9.14. 8.
03-04	20. 7. 9.			5.14. 1.		5.17. 1.
04-05	24.12.10.			2. 3. 1.		1.19. 6.
05-06	22. 0.11.			3. 2.11.		5. 8.
06-07	21.18. 2.			2. 1. 9.		5. 9.
07-08	24. 4. 4.			2. 7. 6.		11. 8.
08-09	34. 9.11.			3.10. 0.		13. 1.
09-10	39. 7. 7.			4.17. 2.		1.12.10.
10-11	30.12. 6.			4. 6. 0.		Nil
11-12	23. 2. 8.			2. 3. 0.		Nil
12-13	17.10.10.			2. 1. 8.		Nil
13-14	21. 2. 2.			19. 8.		Nil
14-15	-			Nil		(Discontinued)
15-16	25. 3. 8. (e)			Nil (d)		
16-17	17. 7. 3. (f)			-		
17-18	17. 3. 5.			2.12.11. (g)		
18-19	9.11. 7.			2. 6. 7.		
19-20	8.10. 7.			-		
20-21	7. 2. 3.			-		
21-22	5. 3. 0.			2. 6.11. (h)		
22-23	8. 6.11.			14. 4.		
23-24	9.12. 9.			1.17. 5. (i)		
24-25	8. 1. 2.			1.13. 4. (j)		
25-26	5.14. 6. (1017 Says)			1.13. 7.		
26-27	8. 3. 4. (1420 Says)			1. 4. 0.		
27-28	11. 8. 0½ (1926 Says)			18. 2.		
28-29	11.11.10.			1.19. 1½		
29-30	7.18. 8.			5. 3. 0.		
30-31	3. 8.10.			2. 3.11.		
31-32	2.19.10.			15. 9.		
32-33	5. 6. 4.			13.10.		
33-34	6. 0. 2.			1. 7.11¼		
34-35	4. 7. 0.			1.11. 5½		
35-36	2.18. 5.			1. 1. 6.		
36-37	5. 1. 8.			12. 5.1		
37-38	5. 2. 1.			1. 2. 5½		
38-39	4. 4. 9.			1. 3. 7.		
39-40	2.17. 5.			1. 0. 7.		
40-41	2. 1. 6.			13.11.		
41-42	2. 1.11.			9. 2.		
42-43	1.16. 8.			9. 3.		
43-44	1.10. 7.			8. 9.		
44-45	19. 3.			7. 2.		
45-46	7. 6.			Nil		
46-47	7. 8.			Nil		
47-48	4.10			Nil		
48-49	2. 6.			Nil		

(Discontinued)

(Discontinued)

9.14. 8.  
5.17. 1.  
1.19. 6.  
5. 8.  
5. 9.  
11. 8.  
13. 1.  
1.12.10.  
Nil  
Nil  
Nil  
Nil  
(Discontinued)

(b)  
8370 17. 8. 9.  
6996 14.11. 5½  
6949 14. 9. 6½  
7186 14.19. 5.  
2681 5.11. 8½  
(½ year)

FOOTNOTES TO TABLE TWENTY-TWO.

- (1) From the city chamberlain's accounts of profits from the Strangers' cloth halls; N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.5. Expenses in the halls had already been deducted. These payments were collected at the rate of 2d. for a whole and 1d. for a half say.
- (2) As given by Williams, N.J., op.cit., p.357, quoting N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.4.
- (3) From the alnage accounts for the five-year term of the city's sub-lease; N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.5. The accounts were made quarterly but the figures cannot be re-arranged to enable comparison with a Michaelmas to Michaelmas year.
- (4) From the city chamberlain's accounts of profits from the Strangers' cloth halls; N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.5. Hallage was at the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for a whole say.
- (5) From N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.4.
- (6) From the city chamberlain's accounts of profits from the Strangers' cloth halls; N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.5.
- (a)  $1\frac{1}{4}$  years to 29th September, 1583.
- (b) "and ys the first begynnyng of the Saye hall".
- (c) An additional £5.10.8. was rendered this year for grograines and says.
- (d) 29th September, 1614 to 29th September, 1615.
- (e)  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years to Annunciation, 1616.
- (f) Hence, Annunciation to Annunciation.
- (g) Three-quarters of a year to 31st March, 1617.
- (h) Two years to 24th June, 1620.
- (i)  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years to 25th December, 1622.
- (j) Three-quarters of a year to Annunciation, 1624.

- (1) Town's records were made for local manufacture by the Dutch in 1570 (N.C.M.R. Strangers Book, fol. 48-53d.). A Dutchman writing to a friend from Norwich said that he had learned say-combing (Suf), (Sufens, op.cit., pp. 220-224; Tawney and Power, op.cit., pp. 22-23).
- (2) Sufens, pp. 72-3.
- (3) See Table 22, footnote (b).
- (4) Sufens, p. 50.

loss of the unpopular subsidy. One further comment may be made on the figures provided by these accounts: it is clear that somewhat fewer bays were assessed in the sale hall than were sealed (cp. columns 2, 3 and 4); a small number were presumably sold without being taken to the sale hall and a few were perhaps used in the Dutchmen's own households.

Although there is some evidence of their manufacture in Norwich soon after the Strangers arrived,<sup>(1)</sup> says were not made in any considerable numbers until 1582-3 (see Table 22); detailed orders for them were enacted in 1583,<sup>(2)</sup> and a separate sale hall appointed in 1584-5.<sup>(3)</sup> Both congregations made says though the Walloons were chiefly responsible.<sup>(4)</sup> The output of says was at its peak during the same period as was that of bays—the 1580's; but the downward trend thereafter was more gradual than in the case of bays (Table 22, column 1). A contrast with bays is apparent in one other respect: in this case rather more says paid hallage in the sale hall than had been sealed

- 
- (1) Several orders were made for their manufacture by the Dutch in 1570 (N.C.M.R. Strangers Book, fos.49-56d.). A Dutchman writing to a friend from Norwich said that he had learned say-combing (1567), (Moens, op.cit., pp.220-224, Tawney and Power, op.cit., pp.299-301).
- (2) Supra, pp.512-3.
- (3) See Table 22, footnote (b)
- (4) Supra, p.510.

(cp. columns 2 and 5) and only avoidance of the regulations can explain this discrepancy for all cloths had to be sealed prior to sale.<sup>(1)</sup> The profits from searching and sealing rose slightly in 1600-1 (column 1), and in that year, too, a substantial and unexplained additional payment of hallage was recorded by the city chamberlain (column 6) only to disappear within eight years.

The only gradual decline in the profits from the say manufacture may possibly be explained by the participation of English weavers in this branch of the new draperies. The Norwich Stuffs made by the worsted weavers by the early seventeenth century were, in fact, based on the Walloons' cloths although says were not among the more important of them.<sup>(2)</sup> This being so, the avoidance of payment by the English weavers and merchants - specifically noted by the accountant in the case of the caungeantry - may explain the decline in these profits; and by the time the chamberlain stopped accounting profits from the Strangers' halls in 1648-9, receipts from the say halls had reached a very low level.

With the Walloons' cloths, the caungeantry (Table 23), it is necessary to consider more fully the participation of

---

(1) *Supra*, p. 512. The apparent failure of all the says sealed to pay subsidy and alnage is almost certainly explicable by the incomparability of columns 2 and 3: the subsidy accounts were rendered quarterly but it is not possible to re-arrange the figures to fit a Michaelmas term year.

(2) *Infra*, pp. 652-3.

Year	SEARCHING AND SEALING	CAUNGEANTRY SEALED	SUBSIDY AND ALNAGE	HALLAGE		HALLAGE of cloths sold at the New Hall. (29 Sep-29 Sep) (5)
	Net Profits (29 Sep-29 Sep) (1)	(29 Sep-29 Sep) (2)	(22 Jul-22 Jul) (3)	CLOTHS (29 Sep.- 29 Sep.) (4)	GROSS RECEIPTS (4)	
1570-71		5382		Nil	Nil (a)	
71-72		10294		12402	15.15.0.	
72-73		15712		15604	23.0.4½	
73-74		17723		16821	29.14.11.	
74-75		22581		21361	37.12.9.	
75-76		18949		16977	28.7.1½	
76-77		19187		17244	28.10.7½	
77-78		13823		16927	26.19.3.	
78-79		20662		20961	33.18.2½	
79-80		14695		14768	26.5.6.	
80-81	31.8.11.	16046	18182	16157	28.3.4.	20.17.6.
81-82	32.18.2.	16838	23331	16728	28.10.5.	20.18.5.
82-83	37.11.5.	19368	25463	21756	40.0.2.	31.9.7.
83-84	43.8.5.	22348	29671	27812	51.15.9.	42.9.10.
84-85	44.12.11.	22323	29146	22068	40.7.6.	31.18.0.
85-86	43.8.10.	22282		21142	52.0.5.(b)	30.5.0.
86-87	42.4.1.	21610		21856(c)	40.14.10.	31.10.0.
87-88	47.6.10.	24106		10042	42.19.11½	33.9.6.
88-89	50.6.2.	13112(d)		-	25.10.10.(e)	39.0.7.
89-90	50.7.5.					42.5.5.
90-91	51.12.4.					43.13.1.
91-92	44.5.10.					26.19.10½
92-93	45.14.4.					35.19.10.
93-94	59.2.8.					43.14.8.
94-95	58.9.1.					40.0.9.
95-96	39.12.6.					28.12.4.
96-97	48.13.7.					32.7.0.
97-98	51.16.9.					39.6.2.
98-99	48.19.7.					39.8.1.
99-1600	47.4.9.					32.5.2.
1600-01	48.9.6.					22.16.7.
01-02	51.12.1.					33.5.0.
02-03	44.2.4.					27.18.2.
03-04	39.0.0.					21.14.10.
04-05	60.5.3.					23.14.8.
05-06	64.1.5.					12.9.0.(f)
06-07	59.8.7.					1.4.8.(g)
07-08	46.10.0.					15.12.10.
08-09	57.19.9.					18.9.11.
09-10	60.15.9.					16.18.0.
10-11	58.11.0.					14.5.6.
11-12	53.1.10.					19.0.0.
12-13	49.18.6.					13.19.2.
13-14	45.16.6.					11.18.1.
15-16	67.6.7.(h)					Nil (i)
16-17	46.0.1.(j)					22.6.4.(k)
17-18	42.9.7.					Nil (l)
18-19	31.10.9.					Nil
19-20	49.9.7.					Nil
20-21	35.2.11.					Nil
21-22	27.19.8.					Nil
22-23	31.6.2.					Nil
23-24	28.3.5½					Nil
24-25	27.0.4.					Nil
25-26	21.3.3.(11238 cloths)					(Discontinued)
26-27	21.3.10.(11271 cloths)					
27-28	24.15.9.(12981 cloths)					
28-29	24.9.6½					
29-30	26.4.7½					
30-31	29.17.0½					
31-32	29.9.5½					
32-33	27.6.4½					
33-34	25.15.0.					
34-35	24.3.2½					
35-36	26.1.8½					
36-37	20.19.0½					
37-38	21.19.0½					
38-39	20.13.8.					
39-40	20.13.2½					
40-41	18.13.0½					
41-42	19.5.0.					
42-43	16.2.3.					
43-44	7.16.6.					
44-45	9.8.1.					
45-46	8.8.2½					
46-47	15.10.3.					
47-48	13.14.2.					
48-49	5.16.3.(m)					
	(Discontinued)					

FOOTNOTES TO TABLE TWENTY-THREE.

- (1) From the city chamberlain's accounts of profits from the Strangers' cloth halls, described as 'Hallage for the Walloon cloths before sale'; N.C.M.R. Strangers Books No.5. At first, various charges were imposed on different cloths of the caungeantry so that cloth figures cannot be worked out from these sums; later, in 1625-1628, the stated number of cloths was said to have been charged  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. each.
- (2) As given by Williams, N.J., op.cit., p.356, quoting N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.4.
- (3) N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.5. The accounts were made quarterly but the figures cannot be re-arranged to fit a Michaelmas term year.
- (4) N.C.M.R. Strangers Books, No.4. The accounts were made quarterly and the figures have been re-arranged to fit a Michaelmas term year. Various payments were made for the hallage of different cloths of the caungeantry.
- (5) From the city chamberlain's accounts of profits from the Strangers' cloth halls; N.C.M.R. Strangers Book, No.5. These are net profits, expenses in the halls having been deducted. For the years when comparison may be made with the hallage receipts in column 4, the expenses were constant at £8 to £9; very approximate numbers of cloths may thus be estimated from the net profits for the period 1587-1605, but thereafter the default of merchants in not paying hallage renders this impossible.
- (a) So little that it was left unaccounted.
- (b) This sum is surely incorrect considering the number of cloths given.
- (c) Half year.
- (d) Half year.
- (e) Half year.
- (f) The first half year only.
- (g) 15th May to 30th June, only.
- (h)  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years to 25th March, 1616.
- (i) The accountant complained that he could not get the money from the merchants.
- (j) Henceforth 25th March to 25th March.
- (k)  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years to 25th March, 1616.
- (l) The accountant, Daniel Skynner, paid nothing to the chamberlain but offered two notes certifying that he was owed £24.8.8. for 11728 double pieces sealed, and £22.19.5. for 11026 double pieces sealed.
- (m) Three-quarters of a year.

English weavers who turned from worsteds to these cloths and used the Walloons' hall. For the first few years of their settlement, the Walloons used the general cloth hall in the church of St. Mary the Less where their products were overshadowed by the Dutch bays; but in 1570 the New hall was adapted for use by the Strangers, providing sale as well as search halls,<sup>(1)</sup> and the growing Walloon manufactures were presented in the Camiant Hall there. Numerically the Walloons' cloths far exceeded the Dutch bay output and although the caungeantry were less substantial cloths than bays their numbers suggest that English worsted weavers were already taking part in their manufacture.<sup>(2)</sup> As with bays and says, the caungeantry production reached a high level during the 1580's but, unlike them, it appears to have increased in the following decade; and the profits from searching and sealing showed no substantial decrease until 1620. A correspondingly high level of hallage was maintained from the sale hall,<sup>(3)</sup> but these profits began to fall off after 1600 (Table 23, columns 4 and 5). The reason for such a decline - at the same time as the profits from searching and sealing were booming - is made clear in the accounts in 1615-16: the collector had

---

(1) Supra, pp. 479-482.

(2) The Dutch, it should be remembered, always outnumbered the Walloons by about 4 to 1; supra, pp. 486-492.

(3) In the case of bays and says, the numbers of cloths taken to the sale hall consistently fell below and exceeded respectively the numbers sealed in the search hall; in the case of the caungeantry, this relationship was variable from year to year.

been unable to get the duties from merchants who had bought the cloths. Although that failure was corrected by a large sum paid in the next year, no further profits were forthcoming; in 1617-18, the collector certified that over £47 was owing to him for over 22,000 cloths but he was unable to hand any money in to the chamberlain. While the decline in hallage was explained in this way, the accountant does not suggest that the falling profits of searching and sealing after 1620 were the result of default by the manufacturers in not using the halls, though this presumably was so. In 1643, for instance, the Walloons complained against Peter Castell for not bringing his stuffs to the sealing hall in the usual way.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Russell Company, which had been established in 1554 with the introduction of a small number of aliens,<sup>(2)</sup> immediately benefited from the arrival of the Strangers in 1565. Russells and satins made by the Walloons were sealed in the Russell Company's hall,<sup>(3)</sup> and production jumped from a few hundreds made from 1558 to 1564 to over 1,000 cloths in 1564-65 (Table 24). A peak output of over 3,000 cloths was achieved in 1570-71, only to be followed by an unexplained slump; the ensuing recovery lasted only until 1581-82 and production then fell continuously, almost ceasing in 1604-05.

---

(1) C.B. 20/395d.  
(2) Supra, p. 467.  
(3) Supra, pp. 520-521.

Further marked fluctuations followed until the accounts ended in 1636-37, but in the virtual absence of any supporting evidence concerning this manufacture it is impossible to discover the reasons for its varying fortunes.<sup>(1)</sup>

The city chamberlain accounted for one further profit from the Strangers' halls - the hallage of nyles and flocks at the Nyle Hall (Table 25). Orders were first drawn up for a sale hall in 1576<sup>(2)</sup> and for the next decade around 2,000 to 3,000 stones of nyles were presented there. The chamberlain's profits from this source were maintained consistently until the first years of the seventeenth century, but thereafter they decreased rapidly and nothing at all was received after 1625-26.

---

(1) A possible explanation of the decline in production after 1581-82 may be found in an order made by the Privy Council in 1580-81. Two russell weavers had complained in 1580 that the worsted weavers were making a new cloth to the prejudice of the Russell Company, and they seized some of these stuffs; as a result, the worsted weavers petitioned the Council referring to the new cloth "which they have invented for the maintenaunce of their lyvinges, the wearing and sale of worstedes as heretofore they made being now out of use". The petition was supported by the Bishop of Norwich and the Justices of the Peace, and the worsted weavers were given permission by the Council to continue their manufacture until the matter was tried and determined by law. Acts of the Privy Council, Calendar 1580-81, pp.63-64. If cloths that were virtually the same as russells were consequently allowed to be made by the worsted weavers, it would encourage weavers to avoid the regulation of the Russell Company and explain the decrease in pieces sealed by the Company's wardens.

(2) *Supra*, pp. 565-6.

TABLE TWENTY-FOUR. CLOTHS SEALED BY THE RUSSELL WEAVERS' WARDENS.

From Hudson &amp; Tingey, op.cit., II, pp. 412-13.

The charge for sealing was 1d. per cloth.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Pieces</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Pieces</u>
1558-59	361	1597-98	69
59-60	565	98-99	36
60-61	428	99-1600	51
61-62	252	1600-01	15
62-63	330	01-02	81
63-64	276	02-03	62
64-65	1048	03-04	13
65-66	1583	04-05	4
66-67	1442	05-06	132
67-68	1916	06-07	306
68-69	2308	07-08	408
69-70	2696	08-09	489
70-71	3045	09-10	400
71-72	2190	10-11	439
72-73	671	11-12	471
73-74	Missing	12-13	332
74-75	883	13-14	964
75-76	1668	14-15	2020 (a)
76-77	2132	15-16	3249
77-78	1838	16-17	2460
78-79	1721	17-18	646
79-80	1688	18-19	318
80-81	4102	19-20	744
81-82	2767	20-21	410
82-83	428	21-22	433
83-84	438	22-23	669
84-85	462	23-24	352
85-86	244	24-25	132
86-87	582	25-26	267
87-88	628	26-27	170
88-89	327	27-28	119
89-90	295	28-29	316
90-91	175	29-30	295
91-92	148	30-31	298
92-93	206	31-32	132
93-94	125	32-33	470
94-95	174	33-34	750
95-96	235	34-35	1576
96-97	101	35-36	6861

(a) From 1614 to 1636 the cloths are said to have been double pieces. This seems unlikely for although 6861 double pieces were accounted for in 1635-6, an entry in the Russell Company's Books recorded the payment of alnage for 4692 double and 2181 single pieces - 6873 pieces in all. H, and T., op.cit., II, pp. 408-12.

TABLE TWENTY-FIVE. ACCOUNTS OF THE NYLLE HALL.

Year.	HALLAGE		HALLAGE
	Stones	Gross Receipts @ $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per stone (29 Sep. - 29 Sep.) (1)	Net Profits (29 Sep.-29 Sep.) (2)
1576-77	2653	5.10. 7.	
77-78	2690	5.12. 1.	
78-79	2425	5. 1. 0.	
79-80	1737	3.12. $4\frac{1}{2}$	
80-81	2385	4.19. $4\frac{1}{2}$	2.16. 7.
81-82	3036	6. 6. 6.	3. 5. 8.
82-83	3079	6. 8. 3.	2.13. 0.
83-84	2576	5. 7. 4.	3. 6. 3.
84-85	1530( $\frac{1}{2}$ yr.)	3. 3. 9.	2. 9. 5.
85-86			2. 9. 0.
86-87			1.18.10.
87-88	2517	5. 4.11.	2. 9. 0.
88-89			2. 3. $4\frac{1}{2}$
89-90			2.10.10.
90-91			2.11. 9.
91-92			2.19. 2.
92-93			3.18. 4.
93-94			4. 0. 8.
94-95			4.11. 2.
95-96			2.16. 1.
96-97			2. 5.10.
97-98			2. 1. 5.
98-99			3. 4.11.
99-1600			4. 8. 5.
1600-01			2.18.11.
01-02			3.11. 1.
02-03			3. 8. 9.
03-04			12. 6.
04-05			3. 4.10.
05-06			3. 6.10.
06-07			15. 4.
07-08			2. 7.10. (a)
08-09			1. 7. 8. (b)
09-10			1.19. 3. (c)
10-11			-
11-12			1.15. 2. (d)
12-13			
13-14			
14-16 (e)			
16-17 (f)			
17-18			
18-19			16. 7. (g)
19-20			1. 7.11 $\frac{1}{2}$

TABLE TWENTY-FIVE (continued)

Year	HALLAGE (2)
1620-21	12. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
21-22	19. 8.
22-23	
23-24	Nil (h)
24-25	
25-26	15. 7. (i)
26-27	13. 6. (j)
27-28	15. 11.
28-29	16. 1.
29-30	17. 3.
30-31	18. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
31-32	19. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$
32-33	13. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
33-34	16. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
34-35	12. 2.
35-36	9. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
36-37	
37-38	
38-39	
39-49	Nil (Discontinued)

- (1) From Strangers Books, No. 4.  
 (2) From Strangers Books, No. 5.

- (a) 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  years (29th September, 1607 to 25th December, 1608).  
 (b) 1 year (25th December, 1608 to 13th January, 1610)  
 (c) 14th January, 1610 to 29th May, 1611.  
 (d) Last year's arrears  
 (e) 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  years (29th September, 1614 to 25th March, 1616)  
 (f) Henceforth 25th March to 25th March, except where stated.  
 (g) Until 31st May, 1619.  
 (h) Until 31st May, 1624.  
 (i) Until 26th May, 1626.  
 (j) Until 9th June, 1627.

(3) "Two Documents Concerning the New Exchanges", Economic History Review, Second Series, Volume 4, Number 3 (1953), pp. 313-350.

There need be little doubt as to the reliability of these various accounts; the declining profits accruing from the Strangers' manufacture are illustrated with certainty, but there is reason to suppose that during the seventeenth century this was in part due to the failure of weavers and merchants to comply with the regulations governing the sealing and sale of cloths. This question has been considered in discussing the accounts of the various halls. Prior to 1600, however, there is no reason to suppose that the strict orders of Strangers and English were not carried out; true, the master of the Strangers' sale halls complained that 1578 that some manufacturers were selling their cloths outside the hall, but they were immediately corrected<sup>(1)</sup> and similar complaints were not made until the reign of James I. When the Strangers did criticise the hall orders in 1581, it was only the hours of opening that troubled them.<sup>(2)</sup>

Although he accepted the reliability of the accounts of "Duties on Articles Manufactured" by the Strangers (Strangers Books No. 4), N.J. Williams<sup>(3)</sup> would give no such credit to the city's accounts of the subsidy and alnage.

---

{1} Strangers Books, fo.92.

{2} Ibid., fo.99d.

{3} "Two Documents Concerning the New Draperies", Economic History Review, Second Series, Volume 4, Number 3 (1952), pp.353-358.

His chief reason for this is the acknowledged falsity of the national alnage accounts of the old draperies;<sup>(1)</sup> but the accounts in question here were not national, being made during the five years when the city had a sub-lease from the patentees, and it will later be shown that the Norwich authorities made determined efforts to take the utmost advantage of their grant. Their opposition to the subsidy while the benefits accrued to the two gentleman pensioner patentees in London merely reveals the city authority's hypocrisy in their attitude to the worsted weavers' grievances.<sup>(2)</sup> Williams' second reason for doubting the city's subsidy and alnage returns must also be discounted. If, he says, the subsidy accounts give the total production by both Strangers and English, and the Duties on Articles Manufactured give the production of the Strangers alone - then in 1584-85 the English weavers' production amounted to

- (1) Referring to Carus-Wilson, E.M., "The Alnage Accounts: A Criticism", *Economic History Review*, Volume 2, Number 1 (1929), pp.114-123.
- (2) A full account of the imposition of the subsidy and alnage on the new draperies is given in Chapter Thirteen.

Williams' figure for the total number of cloths paying the subsidy in 1584-85, and there was no need to subtract the russall production from the total since they were not included in the account and were in part made by English weavers in any case.

- (2) See Appendix Six, orders for the halls.

only about 5,000 cloths and this is incredible.<sup>(1)</sup> But the Duties on Articles Manufactured did not apply only to Strangers' cloths for English-made caungeantry or even bays were obliged to pass through the cloth halls.<sup>(2)</sup> Comparison of the two sets of figures show how nearly they approached one another (and we can hardly expect them to have coincided) and to exclude the worsted weavers from contributing to the totals of caungeantry sealed throws a great responsibility on the small Walloon congregation. These accounts do in fact cover all new draperies made in the city and the only cloths about which there is no statistical evidence are the traditional worsteds: all the descriptive evidence, however, points to the gradual near-extinction of this manufacture by the end of the century.

- 
- (1) It is impossible to make such an exact comparison as Williams is attempting: the different accounts were rendered at different times in the year and re-arrangement of figures is not always possible, some cloths were included in one account while excluded from another, and except in the case of bays the sealer and the alnager do not seem to have been equally successful in collecting their duties - in the case of the caungeantry, the differing dates on which the accounts were made cannot wholly account for the larger number of cloths paying the subsidy and alnage. It is difficult to agree with Williams' figure for the total number of cloths paying the subsidy in 1584-85, and there was no need to subtract the russell production from the total since they were not included in the account and were in part made by English weavers in any case.
- (2) See Appendix Six, orders for the halls.

## VI

The new draperies were destined for similar markets to those from which, as the manufactures of the Netherlands, they had ousted the traditional Norfolk worsteds. Like the worsteds they were too light for those areas served by the Eastland and Muscovy merchants, but many new draperies - especially bays - were exported to the Merchant Adventurers' trading area both by members of the Company<sup>(1)</sup> and by interlopers.<sup>(2)</sup> The leading market, however, was the Mediterranean area: Spain, Portugal,<sup>(3)</sup> France<sup>(4)</sup> and Italy<sup>(5)</sup>; and here the new draperies replaced not only worsteds but also the displaced broadcloths of Suffolk and Essex.<sup>(6)</sup>

London was pre-eminent among the ports from which new draperies were exported. In 1594-95, the total numbers of

(1) Pilgrim, thesis cit., p.189.

(2) Loc. cit..

(3) Spain and Portugal see E190/14/2 (1605-6)

(4) Norwich merchants were among those visiting Rouen in the late sixteenth century; see Le Parquier, M.E., "Le Commerce Maritime de Rouen dans la Seconde Moitie du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siecle", in the "Bulletin de la Societe Libre D'Emulation du Commerce et de L'Industrie de la Seine-Inferieure" (1928), pp.87-116.

(5) See the London and Ipswich Port Books, quoted by Pilgrim, p.58. Also *ibid.*, pp.189-190.

(6) Pilgrim, pp.190, 193.

bays exported from London was 10,976,<sup>(1)</sup> whilst in the previous year 4858 were sent from "the cuntries portes"<sup>(2)</sup> Among these outports, Great Yarmouth - presumably exporting only Norwich bays - contributed only 414 single cloths. The majority of Norwich bays intended for export were doubtless sent to London first, but the entries in the London Port Books do not indicate whence the cloths came, and the same is true of says.<sup>(3)</sup> Other Norwich products, too, were sent overland to London for export, though in 1584-85 they were not numerous: the city certainly provided the 339 "English Norwiche" cloths, as well as some of the 33,455 pairs and 62 dozen worsted and 1,593 pairs and 15 dozen woollen stockings. In view of the nature of the entries in the Port Books it would be impossible to assess Norfolk's contribution to the export of new draperies from London,<sup>(4)</sup> and the Port<sup>and</sup> Water Books<sup>(5)</sup> of

- 
- (1) Comprising 9121 single, 1725 double, 60 Sudbury and 70 Colchester bays; P.R.O. S.P. 12/253/122.
- (2) P.R.O. E122/196/7.
- (3) Entries of bays and says have been extracted by Pilgrim from the London Port Books; thesis cit., pp.203-5.
- (4) In the Port Book listing alien exports in 1605-6, for example, at least three entries refer explicitly to Norwich cloths but in the majority of entries no place of manufacture is given; E190/14/2.
- (5) The Water Books are comprised of several membranes in each of the annual Court Rolls, preserved at the Town Hall. They give details of "profits from the water" - customs, **tronage**, **cranage**, **etc.** - and of the goods shipped. Other interesting information includes the home ports of the ships concerned.

Yarmouth can reveal only the minor part of the export of Norfolk and Norwich cloths. Moreover, though the efficient customs organisation in London has produced reliable Port Books, there is some doubt as to the reliability of the outports' Port Books. Williams<sup>(1)</sup> found this to be so in the case of Yarmouth: "...when a comparison of the entries in the Yarmouth Port Books with those in the local Water Books... has been possible in this period (Elizabethan), it is invariably the national customs books that seem to be 'light', both as regards the total numbers of shipments and sizes of individual cargoes"<sup>(2)</sup> Even the Water Books have their limitations for some merchants surely succeeded in avoiding the local as well as the national searchers in the Port.<sup>(3)</sup>

The great increase in cloths sent to London after the introduction of the new draperies produced a series of disputes between the Norwich merchants and the London

- 
- (1) Williams, N.J., "Francis Shaxton and the Elizabethan Port Books", *English Historical Review*, Volume 66 (1951), pp. 387-395.
- (2) *Ibid.*, p. 388, f.n. 4. This article deals with the fraudulent practices of a King's Lynn merchant.
- (3) The existence of smuggling from Great Yarmouth, involving the certain avoidance of national customs payments, is revealed by the informations presented in the Court of Exchequer by the searchers and their servants. In 1595, for instance, 20 ollietts and 3 "Norwich sayes stripe", as well as worsted yarn, were found un-customed in the "Hadock of Rotterdam", P.R.O. E159/411/Trinity 2. See also, P.R.O. E159/417/Trinity 4, 420/Mich.176r. and d., 407/Mich.9, 444/Trinity 61.

authorities. When taking worsteds to the capital, merchants had been accustomed to store the cloths in inns and warehouses of their own choice; but in the late 1570's London realised that the new stuffs could be a source of considerable profit if brought to a fixed place and charged hallage there.<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1576 the Lord Mayor proclaimed that all woollen goods not previously taken to Blackwell Hall<sup>(2)</sup> should be lodged in the Worsted Hall in the Old Jewry,<sup>(3)</sup> and the rates were fixed for hallage;<sup>(4)</sup> these duties, it was claimed, were worth £6 per month but after the Norwich merchants had refused to pay them,<sup>(5)</sup> the loss was estimated at £200 per annum.<sup>(6)</sup> The matter was referred to the two Lords Chief Justice<sup>(7)</sup> who

- (1) This question of the payment of hallage in London arose at the same time as the imposition of the subsidy and alnage on all new draperies. Norwich bitterly resisted both schemes. For the subsidy and alnage, see Chapter 13.
- (2) Norwich bays had already been ordered to be taken to Blackwell Hall in 1571 and 20 belonging to a Norwich alderman had been seized in 1572 when he refused to pay hallage, "A History of Clare, Suffolk" (1928), pp.199-200, quoting London Guildhall, Repertories, XVII, fos.170, 283b.
- (3) N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf d., quoted by H. and T., op.cit., II, pp.380-81.
- (4) In one Ms. different rates are given for six kinds of cloths as well as hose, gartering, lace, yarn and fringe; B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 26/63 (1578). Elsewhere a flat rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per cloth is given; e.g. B.M. Lansdowne, 28/25 (May, 1579).
- (5) In April, 1577 the Norwich Assembly ordered that no goods should be taken to the hall and no hallage paid; A.B. 3rd April, quoted by H. and T., op.cit., II, pp.144-5.
- (6) B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 26/63 (1578).
- (7) The Mayor and aldermen of Norwich had written to Judge Thomas Gawdy and to both Lords Chief Justice seeking this course; N.C.M.R., Case 10, Self d. (1577).

(4) N.C.M.R. Liber Almag, fo.111 (2nd February, 1579).

instructed both parties to certify what their charters contained on the subject: only Norwich complied and early in 1579 the Privy Council ordered the attendance of representatives for London.<sup>(1)</sup> When the evidence of both charters was made available, the Council sought the Lord Chief Justices' opinions.<sup>(2)</sup> The citizens of London, and especially innkeepers, had been forbidden to take into their houses or to sell any Norwich goods; but Norwich immediately replied - in January, 1579 - by prohibiting the carriage of goods to London under heavy penalty.<sup>(3)</sup> A month later, on London's failure to answer a Privy Council summons, a verdict was given in favour of the Norwich merchants who were to continue with their normal trading methods.<sup>(4)</sup>

The defence of Norwich was an interesting one, alleging a continuity in the development of its cloths which will become familiar when the subsidy and alnage on the new draperies is considered: "Wheare they stond moche upon our new commodities and therfor to be brought to the Hall, we saye that these bee no otherwise new commodityes then the wurstedes wer in respect of Norwich whightes. For first wer made at Norwich (of the self same Norffolk wooll wch was vendyble in

---

(1) Acts of the Privy Council, Calendar 1578-80, p.22 (16th January, 1579).

(2) Ibid., pp.23, 25 (20th and 22nd January, 1579).

(3) A.B. 7th January, 1579, quoted by H. and T., op.cit., II, p.145.

(4) N.C.M.R. Liber Albus, fo.114 (8th February, 1579).

all places, and neuer wer required to com to eny hall or serche at London nor to paye eny impositcion) cloth called Norwich whightes, then wurstedes, then monkes clothes, after them russelles, after them sayes, bustyns, chamlettes and sutche other lyke commodities. All wch grew in tyme owt of request wherupon the cittie of ~~en~~ Norwich greatly did decaye and a number of people wch before lyved well of the same commodities did then lyve very poorely and nedely. Then after the straungers wer tollerated by the Queen's maiestie they brought in the making of bayes, mockadoes and grogrames, wch wth dyuerse other commodities and inventyons by our owne inhabitauntes and people are nowe made to the great benefytt and relieff aswell of them as of all our confynes about the same Cittie."<sup>(1)</sup> Apart from this basic argument, six reasons were put forward against the Londonars' orders. Two concerned ancient liberties and privileges, a third feared the danger of men gathering in one place in time of sickness, a fourth feared that more orders against the merchants would follow; more important were the fifth, that money belonging to individual gentlemen and to the Queen's officers was carried in the merchants' packs and could not be unpacked openly in the hall, and the sixth, that carriers had to sell

---

(1) N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf d., quoted by H. and T., op.cit., II, p.379

(5) N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf d. (undated, probably early 1570s).

(6) Ibid; also in L.N. Lanthorne, op.cit., 26/28 (26th pag., 1970)

and return to Norwich as quickly as possible - which would be difficult if they were restricted to certain sale days unless sales were made at the Londoners' prices.<sup>(1)</sup> Carriers had already experienced such inconveniences.<sup>(2)</sup>

The London authorities objected that Norwich men had been selling goods to foreigners, goods that had not been searched in London, and that the impositions, which amounted to no more than the carriers' charges at private houses, would be put to a good use.<sup>(3)</sup> That use was for the upkeep of Christ's Hospital.<sup>(4)</sup> These objections were easily refuted in a reply from Norwich which went on to list the personal injuries and inconveniences suffered by the carriers.<sup>(5)</sup> This harangue continued after the order of February, 1579, in Norwich's favour, and in May the Londoners claimed that an offer of more favourable terms had been rejected: they had offered to take no payment for hallage but simply to insist on the cloths being sold in open market three days weekly "whereby the secret bargayning wth straungers may be avoyded and the truth of ther stuff may be seen."<sup>(6)</sup>

(1) N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf d. (undated, probably early in 1579)

(2) Loc.cit.: carriers' packs had been seized and opened, losing export shipments, and plate and money removed; Norwich carts had been met in "Bisshopps gate streete" going towards Southwark and held up, a carrier's whip broken, the carts watched all night and 40 horses kept in London longer than necessary.

(3) Loc.cit..

(4) Thornton, op.cit., pp.199-200, quoting London Guildhall, Repertories, XIX, fos.118, 420b.

(5) N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf d. (undated, probably early in 1579).

(6) Ibid; also in B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 28/25 (26th May, 1579)

After the failure of this attempt to control the Norwich merchants, the London authorities waited more than 30 years before trying again. An act of the Common Council of London, made in July 1612, ordered that Norwich merchants should use Blackwell Hall and not private shops and warehouses for the sale of their goods. A deputation was sent from Norwich to dispute the order, and to defray its expenses charges were made on all goods sent to London<sup>(1)</sup> by aliens, foreigners and freemen alike.<sup>(2)</sup> No further mention of the matter is to be found in the Norwich records, except that a fortnight or so later it was thought necessary to confirm that these charges should be collected for one year.<sup>(3)</sup> Despite the Norwich protestation, cloths sent to London from the city were presumably within the scope of a general proclamation made in December 1613, which ordered that no cloths - whether of the old or the new draperies - were to be sold or exported unless first searched and sealed at Blackwell Hall.<sup>(4)</sup>

When the question arose again in 1638, however, it appears that Norwich merchants had certainly not been

- 
- (1) 6d. per hundredweight on all stuffs, says, bays, buffins, etc. and lace; 10d. per hundredweight of stockings; 2d. per hundredweight of dornix.  
 (2) A.B. 5/432 (7th April, 1613).  
 (3) A.B. 6/1d. (23rd April, 1613).  
 (4) N.C.M.R., Liber Albus, fo. 38.

conforming with that proclamation.<sup>(1)</sup> In order to elude the order, Londoners had been making contracts for cloths in the country and returning under the pretence that the goods were not being taken to London for sale; the former order was accordingly proclaimed once again on 16th April, 1638.<sup>(2)</sup> An Assembly meeting was immediately called in Norwich<sup>(3)</sup> at which it was decided to petition the King and to send a deputation to London; its costs were to be defrayed by charges on goods sent from Norwich.<sup>(4)</sup> The petition, alleging that by their peculiar nature worsted stuffs were exempted from the general regulation and that trade would be hindered if this were not so, was referred to the Privy Council on 10th May,<sup>(5)</sup> and they considered it on the 25th May in the presence of representatives of both parties. The Council's decision was that the proclamation should not extend to Norwich Stuffs and that the customary methods of searching and sealing in Norwich should continue. The verdict was registered as an "Act of Councell" to avoid any further disputation,<sup>(6)</sup> and was read to the rejoicing Assembly at Norwich.<sup>(7)</sup> To meet

- 
- (1) The 1638 dispute is described in the Norwich Liber Albus, fo. 38 and that account is printed in H. and T., op.cit., II, pp. 259-266.
- (2) Liber Albus, fo. 38.
- (3) C.B. 20/206 (27th April, 1638).
- (4) A.B. 6/331d.-332 (30th April, 1638); the charges were identical to those of 1613.
- (5) Liber Albus, fo. 38; P.R.O. P.C. 2/49/p. 195 (18th May, 1638)
- (6) P.R.O. P.C. 2/49/pp. 214-5; Liber Albus, fo. 38.
- (7) A.B. 6/333d. (1st June, 1638).

the expenses incurred by the city's deputation in London, the earlier charges on goods were extended<sup>(1)</sup> and were collected during the rest of the year.<sup>(2)</sup>

The Privy Council had now put an effective end to the matter, but by 1662 their order was not sufficiently fresh in the memory of Londoners to prevent a suggestion that Norwich Stuffs and stockings would be better taken to Blackwell Hall.<sup>(3)</sup> The suggestion seems to have produced no dispute this time, and the Norwich merchants' position was by now impregnable.

Among the merchants who exported the Norwich-made new draperies, a number of aliens was certainly operating from the outset.<sup>(4)</sup> In the city itself, retail trade was at first denied to the Strangers<sup>(5)</sup> whose letters patent had also forbidden their participation in trades used prior to their introduction.<sup>(6)</sup> Both these activities were, however,

- 
- (1) All commodities wholly or partly of wool, and lace and gartering, were to pay 6d. per cwt; stockings 10d. per cwt. A.B. 6/335 (29th August, 1638).
- (2) C.B. 20/211 (9th June, 1638), 213 (20th June), 231 (8th December); A.B. 6/338d. (25th February, 1639) - £30 was to be paid to those who had followed the Blackwell Hall business.
- (3) C.B. 23/185 (3rd January).
- (4) Supra, pp. 488-9.
- (5) Supra, pp. 478, 480-2.
- (6) Supra, p. 475.

indulged in<sup>(1)</sup> despite a re-iteration of the prohibition of retail trade in 1579.<sup>(2)</sup> With the improvement of relations between Strangers and citizens, the freedom of the city was offered to aliens on special conditions: in 1587, for instance, Peter de Keyser was granted letters of denizenship and sworn as a freeman, but he refused to seal a bond of £200 that he would exercise only one craft at a time and he was threatened with immediate dis-enfranchisement.<sup>(3)</sup> Eventually, in 1598, the Assembly agreed to admit Strangers to the freedom,<sup>(4)</sup> thus enabling them to buy and sell as freely as English freemen.

While alien merchants had been permitted to buy and export Norwich cloths, English exporters strongly objected to Strangers in the city who acted as factors for continental merchants and in 1580 "the marchaunts adventurers of the cittie of Norwich" petitioned the Privy Council on the matter. They described how the new draperies had replaced worsteds as their main export to the Netherlands, "With transporting wherof yor sayd Orators have allso maytayned them selves as before vntill now of late that ceren marchaunts of Andwerp and Italyans who vused in tyme past to buye the said comodities of yor sayd

- 
- (1) A.B. 5/83d. (1591)  
 (2) A.B. 3/283.  
 (3) C.B. 12/41, 44.  
 (4) A.B. 5/188d.

orators att Andwerpe of purpose to intercept the trafique of your sayd orators have practysed and brought to passe by their factors (wch be straungers dwelling amongst vs) to buye the sayd comodities in or comon Sale halles, and so to transport them at their pleasures to the greate hinderance And vtter vndoing of all your Orators if speedy remedy be not pyded." The English merchants did not wish to exclude Strangers from the sale halls but suggested that a satisfactory remedy, both to increase the Queen's customs "as allso for or better prefermt", was for Strangers to be charged extra customs for the export of new draperies as they did for broadcloths and other woollen commodities. The petition, signed by 15 merchant was supported by the Mayor and aldermen of Norwich who added that the proposed remedy would take away none of the privileges granted to the Strangers in their letters patent.<sup>(1)</sup> The Norwich merchants were not alone in wanting a double custom imposed on the Strangers, but this was not carried out until early in the seventeenth century.<sup>(2)</sup>

Factorship was not eradicated without some difficulty. In 1584, Strangers in the city were prohibited to "vse any ffactorship or buy any comodities called Norwiche comodities as factors for any peason within this Realme", and seven

---

(1) P.R.O. E122/196/7

(2) *Infra*, pp. 650-1.

aliens agreed to abide by the order.<sup>(1)</sup> Three months later five aliens were still offending,<sup>(2)</sup> as indeed they were in January, 1585.<sup>(3)</sup> Factors were still troubling the Norwich merchants in 1623 when the matter was reported to the Privy Council: "And it is likewise informed upon strange presumptions that some of the said cittie do daylie buy stuffs of many kindes in verie great quantities for strangers dwelling in Amsterdam and other places beyond the seas and as brokers with the strangers' moneyes do send over those stuffes upon the adventures of the strangers onely, and not upon any of their owne, for some smale allowance upon everie peece, which course drives the English out of the trade and comerce they were wont to have, and defraudeth thereby his Majestie of his due customes". The Mayor and Justices were to make enquiries and inform the Council.<sup>(4)</sup>

Following the introduction of the new draperies there was little relaxation in the grip of the merchanting class upon the government of Norwich: as in the earlier sixteenth century,<sup>(5)</sup> nearly 75 per cent. of the Mayors holding office between 1566 and 1599, whose trades are known, were grocers,

---

(1) C.B. 11/280.

(2) C.B. 11/311.

(3) C.B. 11/401.

(4) Acts of the Privy Council, Calendar 1623-1625, p.44.

(5) Supra, p.433.

drapers or mercers.<sup>(1)</sup> The contribution of mercers was now much reduced and grocers were the most numerous holders of this office; grocers, too, were among the merchant adventurer petitioners of 1580.<sup>(2)</sup> This select group of merchants was not unchallenged in its control of the city and for four years during this period the mayoralty was taken by weavers; but attempts by craftsmen to undertake the marketing of their products were resisted by the governing class. In 1579 it was complained that mercers above all, but also some grocers, drapers and divers retailers, were handicapped "by pmitting and Suffering diu'se and Sundry artificers and handicraftsmen of Sundry misterys to kepe diu'se and sundry seu'all opon shoppes openly retaylyng Sume of Sylks and mercery wares, Som of all mann' of Clothe aswell wollen as lynnem, Sume of Gressery and Sume of Small haberdasshewares and other wares". The greatest offenders were tailors. The resultant enactment was that nobody might use two crafts except in one shop and at one time, and tailors were forbidden to sell the more substantial materials of their trade; tailors, moreover, were forbidden to work in the houses of the sellers of **mercery**

- 
- (1) There were 13 grocers, 3 mercers, 1 draper and 2 who were both mercer and draper; others were dornix weavers (4 years), worsted weavers, butchers and bakers (1 each). The occupation of 8 of the 34 Mayors is not known. Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op.cit..
- (2) Supra, p.434.

wares and silks to prevent collusion between them in defrauding the customer of his rightful cloth.<sup>(1)</sup> The orders for the various crafts needed constant consideration after this,<sup>(2)</sup> and in 1598 order was made for the correction of defects in the regulation that one man should not use two occupations.<sup>(3)</sup> This challenge to the merchanting group by the smaller craftsmen was to be intensified in the seventeenth century.<sup>(4)</sup>

## VII.

A final question to which one would like an answer concerns the population of Norwich: how was it affected by the great increase in prosperity brought about by the introduction of the new draperies? The answer is provided by an unusually valuable series of figures to be found in the city Court Books, in the weekly certificates of baptisms and burials. In 1579, Thomas Usher was instructed to search in the city and to certify the Court each week of the number of deaths:<sup>(5)</sup> presumably he was given the information by the parish priests, and few deaths can have escaped his notice. The city's curiosity had doubtless been aroused by a severe attack of the

- 
- (1) A.B. 3/281d.-282.  
 (2) A.B. 5/114 (1593), 229 (1600).  
 (3) A.B. 5/186.  
 (4) *Infra*, pp. 724-5.  
 (5) C.B. 10/407 (26th June).

plague in 1578-79 when the infection left behind by the Queen's retinue is said to have carried off 2335 Englishmen and 2482 Strangers in about six months.<sup>(1)</sup> With the passing of the plague, Usher was ordered to discontinue his work in September, 1580,<sup>(2)</sup> but within a week this decision was reversed.<sup>(3)</sup> There is a gap in the Court Books from November, 1581 to June, 1582,<sup>(4)</sup> and during this time an order must have been made for the certificate to include christenings as well as burials; and this information was submitted, with occasional gaps, until September, 1646.<sup>(5)</sup> At their fullest, the certificates give details of the numbers of both English and Strangers baptised and buried, and a check was kept on the deaths from the plague (see Table 26).

The population of Norwich in 1524 had been about 6,000<sup>(6)</sup> and it seems unlikely that much increase had taken place during the years of the worsted industry's continued decline. By 1582, seventeen years after the arrival of the

---

(1) Blomefield, *op.cit.*, III, 354.

(2) C.B. 10/592 (3rd September).

(3) C.B. 10/596 (10th September).

(4) Between Court Books 10 and 11.

(5) Court Book 22, beginning at the end of 1646, is missing and there are no entries of certificates in Court Book 23. But they may nevertheless have continued to be presented to the authorities, for on 9th September, 1671, Richard Baly's remuneration for writing the certificates of baptisms and burials was fixed; C.B. 24/185.

(6) *Supra*, p. 436.

Strangers and their manufactures, the population was probably in the region of 10,000.<sup>(1)</sup> The trend in numbers of recorded baptisms shows clearly what happened after this: a gradual increase until 1604 was followed by a more rapid growth which culminated in over 1,000 baptisms annually from 1619 to 1624 - a level which was not achieved again before these certificates close in 1646. Translating these figures into approximate ones of the city's population, numbers increased from 10,000 in 1582 and 1592 to 13,000 in 1602, to 18,000 in 1612, to 32,000 in 1622, to 21,000 in 1632 and to 27,000 in 1642.

This increase was not entirely or consistently a natural one. The slowly rising population between 1582 and 1604 was achieved despite the fact that burials exceeded births in all years but one, and the rapidly growing numbers between 1612 and 1622 despite a net natural decrease of 408. And although a net increase was shown in most years after 1626, it cannot account for the rising population: net immigration was at least four times as great as natural increase at that time, and much greater during the earlier period of rapid growth. The fame of Norwich's prosperity had spread far and wide and the city authorities were constantly considering

---

(1) In making this and the following estimations, an arbitrary birth-rate of 30 per thousand has been used.

the cases of vagabonds not only from Norfolk but distant parts of England.<sup>(1)</sup> The burials figures indicate the continual recurrence of the plague. Even the heaviest outbreak - in 1603-04 - appears to have imposed little check on the city's growth but that of 1625-26 may have contributed to the decline from the peak population of the previous years when Norwich, still confined within city walls, must have been severely over-crowded.

When the certificates of baptisms and burials were first presented, the Strangers' congregations probably accounted for about half of the total population of Norwich.<sup>(2)</sup> With little known alien immigration after this, the size of the congregations depended on the natural increases and decreases, and on emigration. Except in the years of abnormally heavy death rates (and the Strangers were more heavily visited by the plague than Englishmen), the Strangers usually showed a net natural increase so that emigration must have played its part in the decline of the congregations. The figures suggest, however, that a major reduction in the numbers of Strangers took place in the decade 1616-1626 when nearly 3,000 alien burials are recorded.

---

(1) Court Books.

(2) They numbered 4,679 in 1582; supra, p.491.

TABLE TWENTY-SIX. BAPTISMS AND BURIALS IN NORWICH, 1582-1646.

Year	BAPTISMS			BURIALS				Net Increase or Decrease.
	Total	English	Strangers	Total	English	Strangers	Plague	
1582(a)	353			413	256	157		- 60
1583	355			433	300	133		- 78
1584	360			1004	593	411		- 644
1585	366			1845	899	946		-1479
1586	378			641	378	263		- 263
1587	372			509	359	150		- 137
1588	368			550	399	151		- 182
1589	392			776	511	265		- 384
1590	388			894	538	356	72	- 506
1591	388			912	621	291	386	- 524
1592	347			1656	909	747	1164	-1309
1593	383			438	323	115	23	- 55
1594	404			431	346	85	4	- 27
1595(b)	351			456	354	102	0	- 105
1596	332			385	312	73	0	- 53
1597	367			501	398	103	6	- 134
1598	329			595	462	133	69	- 266
1599	369			510	359	151	82	- 141
1600	426			372	278	94	0	+ 54
1601	442			452	352	100	0	- 10
1602	399			443	341	102	9	- 44
1603	391			3129	1864	1265	2682	-2738
1604	389			892	595	297	520	- 503
1605	452	353	99	336	273	63	0	+ 116
1606	530	402	128	397	321	76	0	+ 133
1607	562	449	113	313	264	49	0	+ 249
1608	540	431	109	393	340	53	0	+ 147
1609	511	423	88	326	284	42	9	+ 185
1610	570	489	81	617	514	103	66	- 47
1611	580	482	98	475	385	90	0	+ 105
1612(c)	531	433	98	626	531	95	0	- 95
1613	574	488	86	452	366	86	0	+ 122
1614	687	531	156	508	380	128	0	+ 179
1615	736	591	145	666	515	151	0	+ 70
1616	670	498	172	822	602	220	0	- 152
1617	719	573	146	880	638	242	0	- 161
1618	770	637	133	1282	950	332	0	- 512
1619	1079	964	115	1105	805	300	0	- 26
1620	1143	1035	108	1059	735	324	0	+ 84
1621	1179	1100	79	981	738	243	0	+ 198
1622	958	864	94	1073	847	226	0	- 115
1623	1036	970	66	1232	950	282	0	- 196
1624	1144	1064	80	1525	1223	302	0	- 381
1625	814	760	54	2036	1712	324	861	-1222
1626	551	508	43	1154	964	190	570	- 603
1627	678	628	50	494	446	48	0	+ 184
1628	693	643	50	426	393	33	0	+ 267
1629	675	632	43	462	436	26	0	+ 213
1630	634	599	35	383	361	22	14	+ 251
1631	624	567	57	614	599	15	114	+ 10
1632	627	580	47	457	435	22	23	+ 170
1633	747	696	51	426	398	28	0	+ 321
1634	685	634	51	441	412	29	0	+ 244
1635	717	675	42	653	610	43	0	+ 64
1636	744	696	48	756	708	48	0	- 12
1637	749	697	52	812	735	77	218	- 63
1638	732	692	40	767	708	59	106	- 35
1639	682	640	42	620	592	28	8	+ 62
1640	799	764	35	604	568	36	0	+ 195
1641	764	714	50	744	713	31	0	+ 20
1642	814	769	45	640	609	31	0	+ 174
1643(d)	793	748	45	585	570	15	0	+ 208
1644(e)	581	529	52	993	959	34	0	- 412
1645	726	679	47	663	629	34	0	+ 63
1646(f)	756	704	52	566	549	17	0	+ 190

FOOTNOTES TO TABLE TWENTY-SIX.

In six years the gaps in the weekly certificates were numerous and the numbers given in the Table are estimates based on those certificates which were, in fact, presented; thus -

(a)	Based	on	figures	for	27	weeks	only.
(b)	"	"	"	"	38	"	"
(c)	"	"	"	"	33	"	"
(d)	"	"	"	"	33	"	"
(e)	"	"	"	"	27	"	"
(f)	"	"	"	"	25	"	"

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the  
manufacture of new draperies in England had reached very  
considerable proportions, and it was widely felt that some  
remedy was needed for the losses to the crown occasioned by  
the growing industry. The matter came to a head in 1578, and  
in that year four propositions were put forward which were  
expressed in English cloth laws, and which related to the  
the composition of the cloth, the quality of the wool, and the  
leading articles of the cloth.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

THE IMPOSITION OF THE SUBSIDY AND  
ALNAGE ON THE NEW DRAPERIES.

It was found that the new draperies were being made of  
than the old cloth, and that the quality of the wool was  
the custom on exported wool, which was now being used in  
England, and an imported cloth, which had been made abroad from  
that wool; and, finally, English merchants were losing their  
trading profits as a result. (1) The manufacture of new  
draperies had been encouraged by the absence of any national  
custom on the cloths, and when an imposition was eventually  
levied the Norwich weavers were not easily brought into line.  
From the outset they had been governed by strict regulations  
in the city (2) and the national interest was long disputed. In  
1596, connected with this controversy, every possible  
justification was sought for the subsidy and alnage on the new  
draperies. The three most important reasons were: first, that  
it was grounded on the same statute upon which the customs on

(1) E. H. Lansdowne MSS., 25/61  
(2) Supra, Chapters 10 and 11.

## I

By the last quarter of the sixteenth century the manufacture of new draperies in England had reached very considerable proportions, and it was widely felt that some remedy was needed for the losses to the realm occasioned by the growing industry. The matter came to a head in 1578, and in that year four grievances against the Strangers were expressed: the English cloth manufacture was decaying owing to the competition of the new draperies; English workers were losing employment since the Strangers were failing to teach them the new techniques; the double custom was lost - that is the custom on exported wool, which was now being used in England, and on imported cloth, which had been made abroad from that wool; and, finally, English merchants were losing their trading profits as a result.<sup>(1)</sup> The manufacture of new draperies had been encouraged by the absence of any national custom on the cloths, and when an imposition was eventually levied the Norwich weavers were not easily brought into line. From the outset they had been governed by strict regulations in the city<sup>(2)</sup> and the national impost was long disputed. In 1606, connected with this controversy, every possible justification was sought for the subsidy and alnage on the new draperies. The three most important reasons were: first, that it was grounded on the same statute upon which the customs on

---

(1) B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 26/61

(2) Supra, Chapters 10 and 11.

wool and cloth were based; second, that when new draperies had been imported into England a custom of 15d. in the £ had been received, but now the export custom on these stuffs was not one-tenth of that amount; and third, that only searching, sealing and alnaging could remedy the abuses in the manufacture of the new draperies. Here the writer referred disparagingly to the old Worsted industry. The companies and corporations where the stuffs were made had formerly corrected the faults with the result that those cloths were "cleane gone and vtterlie out of request neither can it well be otherwise in any Comon wealth wheare the Offendor shalbe the Judge and punisher of the Offence"; with the new imposition it was suggested that those corporations should continue to carry out the sealing, but strictly and under the jurisdiction of the crown. (1)

Some protagonists of the subsidy and alnage stressed the adverse effects of the new draperies on the old. Bay makers, it was alleged, "Comonly drawe ye moste spinners vnto them", forcing English clothiers either to give up their trade or to look for spinners at inconvenient distances: "And therby Clotinge greatly decaied, and those baies dailye increased". (2)

---

(1) P.R.O. S.P. 14/19/99<sup>x</sup>, undated but assigned to 1606.

(2) P.R.O. E101/343/15, t. Elizabeth.

It was said, too, that the new draperies' freedom from both informers<sup>(1)</sup> and any imposition had led many clothiers of Essex and Suffolk to "haue altered their making of broad Clothes into making of bayes" or to make both types. In those counties the consumption of wool for the new draperies was alleged to be the chief cause of the high wool prices at this time, and the English clothiers were forced to seek their wool in London or in "other Contries farr of".<sup>(2)</sup>

Enquiries were made by Burghley to establish numerically the production of untaxed draperies, and the information given to Mr. Osborne by the hall-keepers in London painted an alarming picture of a growing and unregulated manufacture. Between 27th June, 1577 and 7th June, 1578, 15,230 bays were said to have come to the London Bay Hall - 2,283 of them made by Englishmen - "and yet none of the bayes of Norwiche be within this reckoning nor yett the Bayes that are stollen into London and are solde there and never com to the hall bothe by Englysshe men and Straungers wch are supposed to be no smale number". Further information was to the effect

---

(1) Supra, pp. 475, 483, 485.  
 (2) B.M. Lansdowne 26/56 (1578)

The new draperies manufacturers did not deny their employment of so many workers: rather did they consider it to their credit that so many poor were set a-work. It was variously estimated that three or six times as many people were set to work in manufacturing 3 tods of wool into new draperies as into old draperies; P.R.O. S.P. 14/60/15 & 16 (undated).

that little over one-tenth of the cloths that should have come to the London Worsted Hall actually did so.<sup>(1)</sup>

As early as 1574, Delves and Fitzwilliam - the eventual recipients of the subsidy and alnage patent in 1578 - reported upon the places where the new draperies were made, and Norwich and Norfolk headed their list. They asked for the old patent for woollen cloths made in the counties concerned to be included in the new one which they were already referring to as "our patent";<sup>(2)</sup> there is nothing to show, however, that they ever received a grant for the woollen cloths of Norfolk, and the letters patent for the subsidy and alnage make no mention of such an inclusion.

---

(1) The details were:-

mockadoes - 250 come, 2400 should come.

Norwich broad and narrow worsteds - nil, 7700.

Norwich grograines - 500, 2500.

Says - nil, 1920.

Plummets - 1040, 7200.

Rash - 500, 1500.

Dornix - nil, 1500.

"Oxon blancketts als spannysshe ruggs" - 1500, 5200.

Worsted hose - nil, 7200 pairs.

Total - 3790 come, 37,120 should come.

The most important manufacturing centres, in order of importance, were said to be Norwich, London, Sandwich, Canterbury and Rochester, P.R.O. E101/347/19 (1578).

Of those cloths, there is no evidence that Spanish rugs and rashees were made in Norwich.

- (2) P.R.O. E101/347/19. Mr. Grimston was stated to have had Norwich, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire included in one patent for the old draperies.

## II.

The letters patent were issued on 22nd July, 1578.<sup>(1)</sup> They recited that "No offycers have bene as yet especially appoynted neither to the searchyng measuryng and sealyng of the said newe drapries nor to the colleccion of the said subsedy", and appointed William Fitzwilliam<sup>(2)</sup> and George Delves as alnagers for a term of seven years: these two gentlemen pensioners were said to have diligently found out the wrongs done to the realm by merchants avoiding the payment of duties.<sup>(3)</sup> A list of rates for the subsidy of each type of cloth was attached to the patent, and every cloth - whatever its size - was to pay one farthing for alnage and sealing.<sup>(4)</sup> These rates, which were drawn up on the same basis as the payments on the old draperies,<sup>(5)</sup> had been suggested by Fitzwilliam and

- 
- (1) The appointment was in the gift of the Lord Treasurer and is enrolled in P.R.O., Fine Rolls, 394, mm.21 et seq.. A first draft, made on 9th May, 1578, before Burghley had added details of the terms under which the patentees were to act, is in P.R.O., Exchequer L.T.R., Originalia Rolls, 477, m.72. The Exchequer enrollment of the full letters patent is in P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., Memoranda Roll, 20 Elizabeth, Michaelmas Communia, m.216 (22nd July, 1578). See Williams, N.J., "Two Documents Concerning the New Draperies", *Economic History Review*, Second Series, Vol.4, Number 3, 1952, p.353.
- (2) Presumably Sir William Fitzwilliam (1526-1599), Lord Deputy of Ireland; D.N.B., Vol.19 (1889), pp.232-235.
- (3) Williams incorrectly attributes the report on cloths entered in the London Bay and Worsted Halls (supra, pp.611-2) to Delves and Fitzwilliam; it was, in fact, the work of Peter Osborne. The same bundle of papers, however, includes an enquiry by those two pensioners of the places where new draperies were made (supra, p.612).
- (4) See Appendix Eight, printed in Williams, art.cit., p.354.
- (5) The rates were based upon the weights of the cloths, being calculated as 4d. subsidy for each 64 lbs.

Delves<sup>(1)</sup> but were not universally considered to be satisfactory. Mr. Osborne objected that as much should be paid on the new draperies, "beinge more slightlye wroughte and draped with lesse cost to the Clothier", as on the old.<sup>(2)</sup>

Even before the patent was sealed, Burghley received a petition on behalf of the Strangers in Norwich: both English and alien cloths made in the city were adequately searched and sealed, and rather than run the risk of driving the Strangers out of Norwich a yearly rate should be set on the whole city.<sup>(3)</sup> A further petition from the Mayor and aldermen followed soon after the patent had been granted. They claimed that the imposition was a breach of the city's charter and of the Act of Parliament<sup>(4)</sup> for worsted and russell weavers; moreover, the Strangers' cloths were searched and sealed with "painefull trauaille" by 18 officers and were creditable commodities, vendible both at home and abroad; finally, the brunt of the impost would be borne by the poorest class of people in Norwich.<sup>(5)</sup> To question its legality was no doubt the most promising line of defence against the patent, and the Norwich

- 
- (1) "A Drawght of a booke for the Patentees of the newe Draperies" was drawn up by the "lerned Counsell" of Fitzwilliam and Delves, and was sent on 3rd July, 1578, to Baron Birch by Burghley for him to peruse and alter as he thought fit; B.M. Lansd.Mss., 26/58. For letters to Burghley on this subject in 1577, see B.M. Lansd.Mss., 26/65, 68.
- (2) P.R.O. E101/347/19.
- (3) P.R.O. E101/347/19 (1578)
- (4) Presumably referring to statutes 7 Edw.IV, c.1 and 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c.14.
- (5) B.M. Lansd.Mss., 27/65 (1579).

authorities examined every possible loop-hole: are bays a "cloth"?; they use Norfolk wool which is not staple wool, so should they be chargeable to the subsidy?; the subsidy was based on the former great export of wool - staple wool - so should the products of Norfolk wool be chargeable now?; and if there was no statute to support the imposition, could the prerogative of the Queen do so?. The city even wondered whether, in the event of a negative answer to the last question, it should stand out in law or sue the Lord Treasurer by petition. And if it were a positive answer, would the Strangers letters patent discharge them from the imposition, and would any statute discharge the worsteds and russells of the English weavers? (1)

The city's deliberations were not entirely in vain for they reached an initial agreement with the two gentlemen pensioners as to which of the commodities made in Norwich should, and which should not, be chargeable. Eight cloths (2) were decided as unchargeable since they had been made by the English in the city for more than 20 years prior to the grant of the subsidy and alnage, and several statutes discharged them; a similar defence was made by Norwich in respect of six

---

(1) N.C.M.R., First Worsted Weavers Book, fo.88 ("certeyne notes & questyons", undated).

(2) Worsteds, stamins, says, russels, satins, satins reverses, fustian of Naples and dornix.

other commodities,<sup>(1)</sup> but the pensioners required proof of this; it was easily established that nine ~~or~~ more<sup>(2)</sup> were not made in the city; but five cloths<sup>(3)</sup> were indeed chargeable, and the authorities repeated their plea that a lump sum would be preferable to the piece-by-piece payments of the subsidy.<sup>(4)</sup> This must have been the controversy between the city and the gentlemen pensioners of which the two Lords Chief Justice and the Lord Chief Baron were required to give their opinion;<sup>(5)</sup> that opinion is not recorded but it appears that the city was successful in its plea, for in 1579 two Norwich aldermen handed over to the alnagers £70 for the Dutch congregation with the promise of £7.15.0. for the Walloons to come.<sup>(6)</sup>

After only two years, further success attended the city's efforts against the alnagers: if they could not avoid the impost, then at least they would get it for their own benefit. On 15th May, 1580, the pensioners' rights in the letters patent for the remaining five years of their term were transferred to two Norwich aldermen, Christopher Some and

- 
- (1) Fringe, lace, knit hose, chamblets, girāles and serge.  
 (2) Frisadoes of all three kinds, rashes or stammels of Florence, velures, Spannish rugs, English rugs, Coggeshall bays and silk says.  
 (3) Bays of all sorts, moekadoes, buffins, carrells and plometts  
 (4) B.M. Lansd.Mss., 110/34 (undated, but may be dated from internal evidence to 1578).  
 (5) Acts of the Privy Council, Calendar 1578-80, p.47 (1578-9).  
 (6) C.B., 22nd July, quoted by H. and T., op.cit., II, 188.

Robert Gosling and on 10th June they invested them in the city.<sup>(1)</sup> Now it was the city treasury that would benefit and every effort was made to ensure that the duties would be collected. Special regulations were drawn up by a ten-man committee and enacted on the 19th July to be clamped upon the weavers "ouer and besydes sutch orders as are appoynted and conteyned in the letters patentes".<sup>(2)</sup> Dimensions for "all new Clothes and Comodities that haue bene devised wth in this xx<sup>ti</sup> yeres" were set down,<sup>(3)</sup> and so that the cloths might be more speedily measured and searched the Strangers were to fold them into lengths of a Flemish ell and the English into lengths of a yard and an inch.<sup>(4)</sup> Sealing days were appointed and the venue was to be the New Hall. Each cloth was to be sealed with what was hereafter known as the Crown Seal,<sup>(5)</sup> and a letter of

(1) N.C.M.R., Case 8, Shelf h; A.B. 3/291d.

(2) A.B. 3/291d., 294, 294d. The orders, from the latter folio, are printed in H. and T., op.cit., II, 145-148.

(3) "The brodest sorte" to be 14 yards and 14 inches long,  $\frac{5}{8}$  of a yard and half a nail broad; "the narrowest sortes" the same length and  $\frac{1}{2}$  a yard and half a nail broad; tufts the same length and breadth as the narrow cloths.

(4) Lace was to be folded into lengths of one yard, and knit hose were to be tacked together and brought to be sealed. The clause concerning knit hose was re-worded in 1585 but with no alteration in the requirements; A.B. 4/17.

(5) Delves and Fitzwilliams had been delivered with special seals by Burghley; they received five for general use on 9th May, 1579 and three more - apparently for use in Kent - a year later; Exchequer K.R. Memoranda Rolls, 21 Eliz., Easter Communia, m. 250 and 22 Eliz., Easter Communia, m. 212, quoted by Williams, art.cit., p. 354.

the alphabet, changed each year, was graven on the back of the lead "to thintent that it may the better appere and be knowne in what yere the same clothes were sealid, and also what number of clothes shalbe sealyd in euery yere". To prevent the sale or transporting of unsealed cloths, any citizen of the city was invited to turn informer and be rewarded with one-third of the fines imposed. So that the duties for searching and sealing might be the more conveniently paid, leaden tokens valued at  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. and  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. were to be circulated.<sup>(1)</sup> The usual prohibition of finishing and sale of cloths before sealing was imposed and finally six searchers and sealers were appointed to carry out the requirements of the letters patent. This exhaustive attempt to swell the city's revenues at the expense of both English and Strangers weavers is in marked contrast to the previous extreme anxiety that no subsidy money should travel the road to London.

The impositions wãre duly collected and the cloths sealed; the accounts of the subsidy and alnage for the five years of the city's leave have survived<sup>(2)</sup> and have provided.

- 
- (1) Such tokens were still used after the end of the city's sub-lease. In 1618, in accordance with letters from the Duke of Lenox, £30-worth of copper farthing tokens was received by the Mayor to be distributed in Norwich. 19s. was to be paid for every 20s.-worth. A.B. 6/81. In 1623, the Duke sent £10-worth to Norwich; 5s.-worth were to be distributed to each alderman and 2s.-worth to each common councillor. A.B. 6/144.
- (2) N.C.M.R., Strangers Books, Number 5.

valuable evidence in considering the revival of the cloth industry after the introduction of the new draperies. (1)

The city authorities found the position of sub-patentee a most profitable one and three months before the lease was due to expire an attempt was made to obtain a fresh one. (2) Norwich offered Burghley to take the lease for four, five or seven years at the annual rent that Fitzwilliam and Delves had paid, but they effected despondancy about the amount of subsidy that could then be collected. The greatest profit, they said, had come from bays but "theare bee not now made any thing mere the half number of wch were made wthin these ffyve yeres past"; and if the Lord Treasurer also took account of wars, sickness, the return of Strangers to their own country and the great charges of maintaining expert men to view and search, "Then the most pt of the ferme must needes bee dymnysshed". Two alternative offers were made and Nowell Sotherton was to wait on Burghley's pleasure. (3) But the Lord Treasurer was not to be tempted and Sotherton waited in vain: in 1585 the grant was renewed to Fitzwilliam and Delves, again for seven years. (4)

- 
- (1) Discussed, *supra*, pp. 571 et seq.
- (2) Simon Bowde and Christopher Layer, aldermen, were appointed to deal and conclude with the Lord Treasurer, or anybody, for getting the subsidy and alnage for the city; C.B. 11/381, printed in H. and T., *op.cit.*, II, p.193.
- (3) The offers were of either 400 marks for a fine for 12 years, and an annual rent of £5, or £180 for a fine for 7 years and an annual rent of £5. B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 44/25.
- (4) P.R.O. Fine Rolls, 406, m.40; quoted by Williams, *art.cit.*, p.354.

This time the term of the lease ran out without any renewal,<sup>(1)</sup> but in 1594 the loss of the subsidy for the previous two years<sup>(2)</sup> prompted a fresh grant to Fitzwilliam and Delves; they were to remain patentees for 21 years from midsummer 1594, paying an annual rent of £16.13.4.<sup>(3)</sup> The farm was thus much reduced from the level of the first seven years of the imposition - a reflection of the increasing difficulty of collection encountered by the alnagers.<sup>(4)</sup> When the grant was first made in 1578 no rent was fixed,<sup>(5)</sup> but it was decided retrospectively, in 1584, as £60 per annum. For the first term of seven years, then, £420 was due but £120 was remitted to Fitzwilliam and Delves to meet the expenses incurred in setting their organisation in motion. The takings in the first five years amounted to just over £103 but the expenses took most of them.<sup>(6)</sup>

- 
- (1) Williams incorrectly states that the lease was renewed every 7 years until 1606, art.cit., p.354.
- (2) The extent of this loss was probably contained in "An Estimate of the New Drapies"; the production of 17 leading types of stuff was estimated as 204,100 and the duty payable on them as £1236.5.0. The traditional worsted contributed only 100 cloths and 6s.3d. to these totals. P.R.O. S.P.12/250/76 (undated, but 1594 suggested).
- (3) P.R.O. S.P.12/249/20.
- (4) It may have been for this reason that Mr. Carmarden made an enquiry in 1594, in the month following the new lease, as to the orders observed in certain towns for the searching and sealing of the new draperies. Thomas Robinson's answer gave a favourable account of the orders observed in Sandwich and other places, including Norwich; Cecil Papers, H.M.C. Reports, Volume 9, Part IV, pp.573-4.
- (5) Burghley told Baron Birch in 1578 that he could not fix a certain rent for the first year because this was a new matter and he did not know how many new draperies were made in England; B.M. Lansd.Mss., 26/58.
- (6) The first year's takings were £103.10.0.; deputies wages took £17.4.0., lead for the seals £8.16.0., lawsuits against London, Norwich and Northampton nearly £74; Burghley's memorandum in Exchequer K.R. Memoranda Roll, 20 Eliz., Michaelmas Communia, m.216c, quoted by Williams, art.cit., p.354. Different figures are given in another

(contd. over)

f.n. 6 continued.

manuscript: the first year's takings were £103.8.1½; deputies wages took £17.4.8. (i.e. 40d. in the £ on the takings), lead for seals £26 (i.e. 4d. for every 100 seals), the charge of the grant and duplicates of it, writs for making seals, and lawsuits against those three places £73.13.2., besides charges for attending and following the court to obtain the grant; P.R.O. E101/674/43.

- (1) Williams incorrectly states that the lease was renewed every 7 years until 1800, etc., p. 354.
- (2) The extent of this loss was probably contained in "An Estimate of the New Drapery"; the production of 17 leading types of stuff was estimated as £20,400 and the duty paid on them as £1250.5.0. The traditional worsted contributed only 100 cloths and 6s. 3d. to these totals. P.R.O. S.P.12/250/75 (undated, but 1794 suggested).
- (3) P.R.O. S.P.12/250/20.
- (4) It may have been for this reason that Mr. Gardner made enquiry in 1894, in the month following the new lease, as to the orders observed in certain towns for the rearing and sealing of the new draperies. Thomas Robinson's answer gave a favourable account of the orders observed in Sandwich and other places, including Norwich. Cecil Fayer M.M.C. Reports, Volume 9, Part IV, pp. 272-3.
- (5) Burghley told Baron Hoken in 1578 that he could not fix a certain rent for the first year because this was a new matter and he did not know how many new draperies were made in England; B.H. Landed. Mas., 26/58.
- (6) The first year's takings were £103.10.0.; deputies wages took £17.4.8., lead for the seals £26.10.0.; lawsuits against London, Norwich and Northampton nearly £74; Burghley's memorandum in Exchequer R.R. Memoranda Roll, 20 R.11.1. Michaelmas Commis. m. 246c. noted by Williams, etc.

Though Norwich had resisted the imposition of the subsidy and alnage, it was seemingly collected with thoroughness from 1580 to 1585 while the city had a sub-lease.<sup>(1)</sup> Despite the net of regulations for searching and sealing, however, some cloths escaped and reached the carriers en route for London unsealed: an additional check was imposed, and in October 1580, for example, the carrier Thomas Weavers was asked to certify what goods he had to take down "this Journey" and they were searched to see "whether any new comodities wch should passe vnder the Alnegers sealle bee theare vnsealed or no". Some were indeed found, and others were confessed to be lodged with different carriers: they included lace, hose, carrells, olliets, durables, buffins and rock-spun yarn - which last-named should not have been there, sealed or unsealed, of course.<sup>(2)</sup> In January, 1585 another carrier, Thomas Pye, was found in the possession of unsealed wares,<sup>(3)</sup> and a total of 221 gross of lace, a truss of caungeantry and a second truss of goods were discovered at various carriers' houses.<sup>(4)</sup>

William Littlewood and Chrispian Verken had been appointed as Crown Sealers during those five years, and when

---

(1) Supra, pp. 617-8. An example of individual actions: in 1584, the worsted weavers' wardens presented three cloths found at the calenderers without the Crown Seal, and imposed a fine of 20s. for each cloth; C.B. 11/343.

(2) C.B. 10/611-614.

(3) C.B. 11/402.

(4) C.B. 11/415. See also C.B. 10/658, 723, 737 (1581)

the city failed to get a fresh lease they were "comaunded no more to sealle any comodities as in the right of this Cittie bicause their terme in the same is determynd".<sup>(1)</sup> Immediately there is some indication that the city's resistance to the patentees was resumed: Nicholas Gyrdler had permission for "Crown Sealling of clothes and new comodities in the newhall" from 22nd July, 1585 onwards, but in July he was told to find somewhere else to do the sealing as the city had another use for those parts of the New Hall.<sup>(2)</sup> Crown sealing certainly did not lapse completely<sup>(3)</sup> but the duties collected cannot have been an accurate reflection of the goods produced during these years. In 1598, William Paslewe, the deputy in Norwich, brought a letter from Fitzwilliam to the city and it was recorded that "where there hath risen many doubttes vpon paymentes & Alnage of newe drapies the said Parselewe ys contente to referr all ambiguities & doubttes to be ordered by Mr. Attorneye".<sup>(4)</sup> There were in fact many doubts to be examined for the worsted weavers continued their defence that most of their commodities were not chargeable to the subsidy. "The state of the question

---

(1) C.B. 11/487 (July, 1585).

(2) C.B. 11/501. The word "Crown" is struck through.

(3) In September, 1586, for example, 2 damasks which had been given the Crown Seal were found to be too short; C.B. 11/665.

(4) C.B. 13/223. In addition to collecting the subsidy and alnage, Parselewe was instructed to stay all worsted yarn packed for transport out of Norfolk; C.B. 13/560, 565 (1601)

wth the woorsteed weavers of the Citie of Norwich" (1) was <sup>that</sup> the stuffs called worsteds by Statute 7 Edward IV, c.1, (2) were acknowledged by the alnagers to be sealed not by themselves but by the worsted weavers' wardens. But they denied the weavers' pretence, which would seem to be justified, that certain other cloths (3) were also established to be worsteds by Statutes 14 Henry VIII, c.3 and 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c.14. Six additional cloths, (4) and any others which the English weavers might make of worsted yarn, were also claimed to be worsteds since they were different only in their "draughts & treadings"; all these were agreed to be controversial, and what of bewpers and boulders - made partly of worsted yarn?, lace - made of the same grounds as says?, dornix - made partly of wool?, and stockings - made of wool and, as the weavers alleged, worsted yarn?

The Norfolk situation was by no means as straightforward as Delves and Fitzwilliam must have hoped when they originally sought the imposition and the worsted weavers were even receiving official encouragement in their resistance. Taking his warrant from Cecil's command, the Norwich alderman, Pettus, sent word from London that the duties should not be

- 
- (1) P.R.O. S.P. 12/250/78 (undated, but 1594 suggested).  
 (2) Supra, pp. 386-7.  
 (3) Says, stamins, bustians, Norwich satins, satins reverses, fustian of Naples, Supra, pp. 467-8.  
 (4) Tammetts, calamancoes, buffins, carrells, plummets, messalina.

paid, and in 1601 Fitzwilliam anxiously sought advice from Cecil as the time approached for him to pay his rent for the lease.<sup>(1)</sup> The subsidy and alnage on the new draperies was, in fact, regarded as one of the most obnoxious of many industrial monopolies; although it was not as yet to be finally broken, it lost in 1601 the complete Parliamentary backing which it had previously enjoyed. The important proclamation of that year revoked some of the most distasteful patents and left the rest to the discretion of the common law, free from any clause of restraint: the courts were to decide whether these grants should stand, and among them was the subsidy and alnage of the new draperies.<sup>(2)</sup>

### III.

The subsidy and alnage patent was soon tested in the Court of Exchequer when Delves and Fitzwilliam exhibited a bill of complaint against two Norwich worsted weavers, Mathew Hoath and Thomas Spurling, in 1602. Hoath and Spurling represented many Norwich weavers who had detained the subsidy. In order that the duties would not be lost while the suit was in progress, the Mayor and two aldermen of the city were to receive all arrears and current payments, and from the receipts to meet the Queen's rent.<sup>(3)</sup> William Paslewe, still the

- 
- (1) Cecil Papers, H.M.C. Report, Vol.9, Part XI, pp.532-3.  
 (2) See Price, W.H., "The English Patents of Monopoly", Harvard Economic Studies, Vol.I (1906), p.22.  
 (3) P.R.O. E123/28, fo.187.

patentees' deputy in Norfolk and Norwich, alleged that he delivered this commission but the Mayor refused to execute it.<sup>(1)</sup>

The defendants' case was based on three main points which were now becoming familiar to Delves and Fitzwilliam: first, many of the cloths on which the imposition was claimed were not new draperies but had long been made in Norwich - they were worsteds, and worsteds had never paid any alnage; second, those which were new draperies were nevertheless very similar to the old worsteds, and should not be differentiated; and third, all used Norfolk wool, spun into worsted yarn - wool that was useless for broadcloths, and was not staple wool, so that the argument that the new draperies subsidy replaced the custom on staple wool formerly exported was an illegitimate one in respect of cloths made in Norfolk. Questions put to witnesses on the plaintiffs' behalf sought to reject this defence: a list of woollen and part woollen cloths were given, and the deponents were asked of what materials they were woven.

---

(1) P.R.O. Requ. 2/391/75. The extent of this refusal to pay the subsidy and alnage is suggested in "Paslowes note of money due onto him for aulnage and subsidy":

(1)	for lace in Norwich, 16 (named) offenders	owed	£46.8.0
(2)	for hose in Norwich, 8 " "	"	£11.16.0
(3)	in Yarmouth and King's Lynn 4 " "	"	£10.3.4.
(4)	for fringe in Norwich, Yarmouth Thetford and Wymondham 7 " "	"	£6.1.0.
(5)	for cloths and stuff in Norwich 21 " "	"	£20.18.0.
(6)	due from country weavers since 12th November, 1601, 75 " "	"	£31.11.8.

Total: 131 offenders owed £127.18.0.

P.R.O. S.P. 12/284/105 (20th August, 1602)

whether they were in fact new draperies, whether they had been well searched and regulated before the subsidy was imposed, and what similarity there was between the latest cloths and the old worsteds.<sup>(1)</sup>

On 18th August, 1602, at the King's Head in Norwich, six witnesses were called for Delves and Fitzwilliam: Francis Smalpeece, Richard Parslye and John Morley (grocers), Thomas Deman (worsted calenderer), Alexander Thurston (alderman and merchant) and John Cockseidge (cloth-maker). They described many of the cloths listed as being made wholly of wool, others entirely or partly of silk or linen, but these mixed stuffs were made by the Strangers alone and not by English weavers. They confessed that Norfolk wool was suitable for these cloths but alleged that wool from Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Bedfordshire was used as well; moreover, two of the witnesses declared that Norfolk wool was good for the manufacture of broadcloths, though on this question of wool Thurston proved to have been a badly-chosen prosecution witness. In speaking of the comparisons between the new stuffs and the traditional worsteds, the deponents could not consistently support the plaintiffs: no worsteds proper were made in Norwich now, but the new cloths went under that name, they were made of worsted yarn, and they were dressed and calendered in the way that the old worsteds had been in the past (Deman and Parslye).

---

(1) P.R.O. E134/44 and 45 Elizabeth/Michaelmas 1.

And regarding the searching and sealing by the alnagers, the witnesses were again in disagreement as to the effectiveness of the new regulation compared with that of the worsted weavers' wardens.<sup>(1)</sup> Some of this evidence must have encouraged rather than dismayed the defendants and the alderman especially proved himself a worthy representative of the citizens of Norwich for all his evidence conforms to what is known about the nature of the new draperies.

Five worsted weavers (Reynold Hothe, James Wilson and Henry Fassett of Norwich, William Gedney of Marsham and Thomas Bassingthwayt of Heigham) and a dornix weaver (Nicholas Taylor of Norwich) were called to testify for the defendants. These workmen were adamant that the new cloths were in some cases merely variations on the theme of the old worsteds: "they ar newe names for the readyer utterance therof" (Hothe); "being a workman he would devise a new fashion & so give a new name that he might have the better utteraunce" (Wilson); for more than 20 years "he hath seen chaunge & variety in the workmanship of these stufes and well neere everie yeare a new invencon", but they are still worsteds (Wilson); chamletts, bustians and grograines had long been made in Norwich and "esteemed wthin the Compasse of worstead, notwithstandinge the name therof", and all were made of worsted yarn (Gedney).

---

(1) P.R.O. E134/44 and 45 Elizabeth/Michaelmas 1.

The witnesses agreed that rock-spun worsted yarn was the ingredient of most of the cloths, but with a few exceptions: the old says (said Fassett) had been made of rock-spun, but those of Flanders sort were made of wheel-spun yarn. Fringe and lace had long been made in the city of worsted yarn, and Taylor could personally remember dornix being woven there for 66 years - partly of linen and partly of refuse wool and nyles. Concerning the wool used, most of the stuffs used Norfolk wool the bulk of which "ys Accompted unfytte for broad Cloathes". The old worsteds had varied not only in name but in price "by reason of the fynenes and the corsenes thereof", some fetching £10 each and others but £2 (Hothe).

The weavers supported the sufficiency of the regulations in force before the subsidy and alnage was imposed; city and county wardens had always searched, sealed and punished such cloths as mockadoes and chamletts as well as the "comon worsteades". The new subsidy inevitably hit the poor weavers hardest: they might borrow 40s. to set themselves awork, and then have to pay 2d. a week in duties (Fassett); a weaver with a stock of £4 would pay 10s. a year to the patentees (Hothe). Hothe himself had made a loss on his trading and still paid the subsidy, and Fassett spoke of weavers paying the duty while they were losing 3s. in the £ on their work. Despite his evidence now, Fassett had at one time enjoyed the position of deputy to the patentees, and the annual duties from Norwich then amounted to £400. (1)

---

(1) P.R.O. E134/44 and 45 Eliz./Michaelmas 1.

The defendants thought that the case should be heard at the "Comon Lawes" and in this they were supported by the 1601 proclamation. It was accordingly to the Court of Requests that they presented their answer to the bill of complaint of Delves and Fitzwilliam. The arguments in favour of the weavers are clearly set down and nothing was conceded to the complainants; the defendants' analysis of the list of commodities named in the bill is worth looking at in some detail. For 80 or more years, they said, 23 of the cloths<sup>(1)</sup> had been manufactured, "All wch said Staffes and Clothes have bene auncientlie made in the said Cyttie of Norwich and Countie of Norff.". Seven others<sup>(2)</sup> were "of late made differinge a lytle in the forme and workemanshippe from the said other stuffes before menconed wch were auncientlie made as aforesaid and have bene conveyed into them some newe invented workes to make them differ in some one forme or other yett the same as these defendts hope hereafter to prove...are in their grounde and Chiefe substance all one wth some other

- 
- (1) Beds, monks cloths, canons cloths, double and single motleys, rolled worsteds, double and half double worsteds, broad and narrow worsteds, serges, bustians, chambletts, worsted motley, Norwich satins, satins reverses, fustian of Naples, worsted karsey, says (plain, waled, checkered, double and single), say lace, grograine lace, fringe and dornix.
- (2) Narrow grograines, plummetts, carrells, damasks, striped says, single chamletts called tammetts, and buffins.

Council by the weavers in 1600 asserting that the new cloths were essential to the weavers and should come under the jurisdiction of their craft. Spurred on by the almage disputes to believe that this was not so, apprentices had risen against their masters and non-apprenticed men had begun to make the new cloths. James, J. "History of the Woollen Manufacture in England" (1857), pp. 141-142.

(3) Says, Hopton, "The History of the Woollen Manufacture in England", p. 141.

of the said stuffes auncientlie made as aforesaid in the said Cyttie and Countie".<sup>(1)</sup> All of these 30 cloths had been searched and sealed by the worsted weavers' wardens, so that if the alnagers were now allowed similar powers "then the Artificers, makers & marchants thereof should bee Doble Charged which was not the entent of the sayde lres Patents as these defendants take it".

While those cloths had long been made, "So hath there lykewise wthin these fewe yeres ben made dyu's others newe devised stuffs" (8 named<sup>(2)</sup>) which "were not made wthin

---

(1) Further expression of this argument is to be found in the allegations presented to the Privy Council by the worsted weavers, apparently in or soon after 1618. The new stuffs varied from the old worsteds only in measurements, texture, colour, etc. and not in the material used; individual workmen devised fresh variations and applied new names. The new paragons, paropuses and phillizels were the same as the old double chambletts, one being double in the warp and the other in the weft; buffins, cattalownes and pearl of beauties were the same as the old single chamblett, differing only in the breadth; says and piramides were the same as the old beds, differing only in breadth and texture. There were equally marked differences between the different types of old worsteds - the worsteds, beds, stamins and says. "A worsted was wrought with four treadles; to make thereof a bustian, is to weave with three of the same treadles; to make the same a double chamblet is to use the two right foot treadles; to make it single, is to use the two left foot treadles; to make this a philisello, a peropus a paragon or a buffyn, is but to alter the breadth, and to make them double, treble or single in the striken; and to make this buffyn a catalowne, is to twist a thread of one colour with a thread of another, and strike it with another colour; to make the same a pearl of beauty, is to make it striped, by colours in the warp, and tufted in the striken" James couples these allegations with a report made to the Council by the worsted weavers in 1618 asserting that the new cloths were essentially the same as worsteds and should come under the jurisdiction of their craft. Encouraged by the alnage disputes to believe that this was not so, apprentices had risen against their masters and non-apprenticed men had begun to make the new stuffs. James, J., "History of the Worsted Manufacture in England" (1857), pp. 141-144.

(2) Bays, Hounscott says, rash or stammells of Flanders, knit

hose, mockadoes, French serge, bewpers and boulders.

the makers were not the extent of the... charged which was not the extent of the... as these defendants take it.

While those cloths had long been made... there likewise within these few years... new devices which (S) which were not made within

(1) Further expression of this argument is to be found in the allegations presented to the Privy Council by the worsted weavers, apparently in or soon after 1818. The new stuff varied from the old worsteds only in measurements, texture, colour, etc. and not in the material used: individual workmen devised fresh variations and applied new names. The new patterns, grasses and knitted were the same as the old double chambrays, one being double in the warp and the other in the weft; but the chambrays and pearl of besties were the same as the old single chambray, differing only in breadth and texture. There were generally marked differences between the different types of old worsteds - the worsteds, beds, stamens and says. A worsted was wrought with four threads; to make thereof a burler, is to weave with three of the same threads; to make the same a double chambray is to use the two right foot threads; to make it single, is to use the two left foot threads; to make it a knitted, and to a pattern or a burler, is to alter the breadth, and to make them double, triple or single in the stripes; and to make this burler a chambray, is to twist a thread of one colour with a thread of another, and strike it with another colour; to make the same a pearl of besty, is to make it striped, by colour in the warp, and twisted in the stripes. James couples these allegations with a report made to the Council by the worsted weavers in 1818 asserting that the new cloths were essentially the same as worsteds and should come under the jurisdiction of their craft. Encouraged by the alms to believe that this was not so, apprentices had risen against their masters and non-approved men had begun to make the new stuff. James, 5. "History of the Worsted Manufacture in England" (1837).

the sayd Citye or Countye till of Late yeres to their knowledges". But they are not broadcloths, and "a greate pte of them and all or the most pte of all the Stuffes and Marchandizes afforesayde are made off Norff. woll not fytt nor apt for Broad Clothes": therefore they should not be included within the scope of the letters patent. If nothing were done to relieve them, the worsted weavers would be charged with about £300 annually, a charge that they would find it difficult to meet.

The defendants then denied the allegations against them personally, and finally complained about the patentees' deputy, William Paslewe.<sup>(1)</sup> Fresh interrogatories were not taken in the Court of Requests, but the evidence already heard was recalled in summary. The court proceeded to criticise the evidence of the defendants' witnesses, pulling Gedney up on several trivial points and dismissing Bassingthwayt's assertions as being based on the memory of old men. The use of new names to improve sales was ridiculed: "The Allteracon of ye name maketh nott ye goodnes of ye stuf, & therfor yt reason is fryuolos, for by ye same reason if canvas weare cauled lawne, itt would make it vendible, or an Aethiope weare cauled white

---

(1) Cloths had been Crown Sealed though rejected by the wardens, bribes accepted for the sealing of defective pieces, excessive duties demanded, tickets given for stuffs without their being searched and 2d. demanded for each ticket - Paslewe made £60 to £80 a week for himself that way when the trade was good (these details are from P.R.O. Requ. 2/157/134, see infra).

itt would make him faire, wch is absurd in comon sence & understanding". What is wrong with the name worsted anyway?

While acknowledging that all cloths made of worsted yarn were worsted cloths or stuffs, the court would not agree that they were worsteds properly so-called. Several statutes<sup>(1)</sup> were quoted to show what cloths would, in fact, be accepted as worsteds and others to show that says, russells, satins, satins reverses and fustian of Naples were not worsteds.<sup>(2)</sup> And none of the new draperies would be accepted as worsteds.<sup>(3)</sup> In these judgements the court was certainly correct, but no consideration is given to the important argument of the defendants that the raw material was Norfolk wool so that none of the cloths was using wool that had formerly contributed to the export customs. On 13th October, 1602, it was ordered at Norwich that the commission and depositions in this case should be published by the following Saturday if no reason were shown to the contrary,<sup>(4)</sup> but the final verdict is not known. The opinions of the court already mentioned suggest that it was not going to be in the weavers' favour, and this was certainly only the first of several law-suits concerning the worsted weavers' liability to the subsidy and alnage.

(1) 7 Edw. IV, c. 1; 17 Ric. II, c. 3; 20 Henry VI, c. 10.

(2) 14 Henry VIII, c. 3; 33 Henry VIII, c. 16; 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 14.

(3) P.R.O. Requ. 2/157/134.

(4) P.R.O. S.P. 12/285/31

## IV

In 1594, Delves and Fitzwilliam had been granted the patent for a term of 21 years<sup>(1)</sup> but they actually enjoyed it for only 11. The Privy Council informed the Lord Chief Justice and others in 1605 that the King wished to make a fresh grant of the subsidy and alnage and asked their opinion as to what scope the patent should have. On 24th June they replied that they thought all new draperies made wholly of wool should pay the duties and be within the office of the ancient alnage. But they thought that there should be no charge for the searching and measuring of stuffs made only partly or not at all of wool and that all patents to the contrary should be void. As to the new narrow stuffs made at Norwich, these were not fit to be granted because they could not discover that there was ever an alnage imposed on Norwich worsteds; moreover, the re-opening of packed cloths that would be involved would greatly hinder the sale of those stuffs.<sup>(2)</sup> On 16th September the new patent was issued to the Duke of Lenox,<sup>(3)</sup> and from subsequent events it appears that the Lord Chief Justice's advice was heeded in some respects and the new patent given a more limited scope than the old.

---

(1) *Supra*, p.620.

(2) Cecil Papers, H.M.C., Vol.9, Part XVII, pp.274-5. quoted by H. and T., *op.cit.*, II, lxxxv.

(3) P.R.O. C66/1669. Williams incorrectly gives the date of this patent as July, 1606; he quotes the Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1603-1610, p.233, but the document in question refers not to the subsidy and alnage but to the export customs on the new draperies. Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of Lenox (1574-1624), was from childhood in special favour with James VI of Scotland to whose care his father had commended him. He was naturalised in England in 1603 and became a Privy Councillor holding various court posts; D.N.B., Vol. 55 (1898), pp.107-108.

With the appointment of a new patentee the Norwich weavers immediately resumed the battle. The worsted, dornix and knit stocking makers complained to the Privy Council that the patentee's deputies demanded duties on all such stuffs "as be measurable" and the matter was referred to the barons; they ordered, on 17th February, 1606, that all stuffs made wholly of wool in Norfolk and Norwich should pay 4d. for subsidy on each 64 lbs. weight, and that the part woollen and part linen dornix and coverlets should pay 1d. for that weight. The town clerk, Leonard Mapes, was to receive the money until the matter was finally determined,<sup>(1)</sup> and for the more speedy settlement of the dispute the patentee was to commence a suit in the Court of Exchequer against one man of each of those trades. The depositions taken in the former suit<sup>(2)</sup> were to be allowed in evidence.<sup>(3)</sup>

The patentee set down his demands and although Mathew Pecover (on behalf of the worsted weavers) and Daniel Canninge (on behalf of the dornix weavers) denied that they

(1) Mapes complained to the Privy Council that he wanted to be discharged from this duty "for yt bryngs discontent & losse of much tyme". He reported a dispute between the hosiers and the deputies: the subsidy had been paid according to the weight of the hosiers' packs but the deputy wanted to seal them by the dozen. P.R.O. S.P.14/40/78, undated.

(2) Supra, pp. 626-632.

(3) N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf b. About this time, Lenox was refuting the allegation that he made a very great profit from his patent - £5,500: in fact, he was unlikely to make an eighth part of that sum. P.R.O. S.P. 14/19/99\*, undated but March, 1606 suggested.

made the cloths mentioned in Lenox's demands, he was allowed to retain the duties that he had already exacted.<sup>(1)</sup> The defendants failed to appear in court and on 19th December, 1607 the plaintiff was awarded costs and allowed to continue his collection of subsidy on frizadoes and bays - which were made wholly of wool - and on the other goods too unless the defendants showed good reason to the contrary. On 26th January the parties were heard and the patentee instructed to continue his work until the validity of his patent had been tested in the court; in the meanwhile, all the goods assigned to Lenox (or a true note of them in the cases of dornix and stockings) were to be searched and sealed and the subsidy paid in the New Hall. This time a worsted weaver, a dornix weaver and a stocking maker were to bring actions in the Office of Common Pleas of the Court of Exchequer against Lenox's deputies and until these men had been tried the order of 19th December was to be in abeyance.<sup>(2)</sup>

In this action the weavers tried to shift the

---

(1) These demands may have been contained in a letter from Lenox to the worsted weavers' wardens in 1607: they replied to the city court that they intended to contact their "Counsell" and would proceed in law for the Duke to cease to "charge them any further wth any taxacon". C.B. 14/177d., 20th June, 1607.

(2) N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf b.

responsibility for paying the alnage on to the merchants and cloth finishers; <sup>(1)</sup> a commission was appointed on 6th May, 1608 to examine the matter and 18 days later 5 witnesses (a dyer, gentleman, mercer, merchant and worsted weaver) were questioned at the George, Tombland, in Norwich on behalf of the weavers. They were not in agreement: the weaver had never been asked to pay the duty and had not heard of the merchants doing so; the merchant himself said that both had paid - the weavers when goods were sent out of Norwich to be sold, the merchants when they were sold in the city; the gentleman agreed that the weavers paid only when they dressed and sold commodities in the role of merchants. The merchant in fact confessed that it was best that he should pay, for "if the lace should be sealed before it be bought by the m'chaunt the same usuallye must be died & glosed wherby the seale woulde spoile parte of the lace in the glosing". The weavers, he said, "sumtymes but very sildome" made a contribution to the merchants for the payment. The mercer had suffered the imposition as well,

---

(1) Responsibility for making the payments on lace and gartering was placed upon the merchants early in the reign of James I. The rates for cloths were confirmed but no duties were to be paid on stockings, lace, gartering and other goods less than 6 inches broad. But the merchants were to pay  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each dozen pairs of stockings,  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each gross (containing 12 doz. yards) of Norwich lace, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each dozen pounds of cruel, fringe, yarn and thrummes. N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf b (undated but after 1601).

(2) Dorothy, Penelope's wife, told that she had sent up her seals to her husband in London and she left a bill to the Norwich court; but she would not deliver his books because they contained "his owne debts & reckonings". N.C.M.R., Case 11, Shelf b, 21st February, 1610.

but "paide not the same as a dutie for the saide supposed subsidee or sealinge but to pcure (procure) his owne quiet & the rather for that aboute that time the wares of m'chaunts were staid & there trade with lace & garteringe disquieted". The dyer had paid it when the city held its sub-lease, and he never received any from the weavers.

Five witnesses (with a merchant's widow replacing the gentleman) then deposed on behalf of the merchants against the weavers, though their previous answers had given the weavers little comfort. The new answers make the same point of the variable payment of the subsidy by weavers and merchants but deplore the increased direct trading by weavers and allege that if the weavers never paid the duties they would be able to under-sell the merchants in the London and local markets. But all five witnesses criticised the alnager's deputy: though he sometimes searched goods, it was never for quality or measure and so he was not fully satisfying the conditions of the patent. In which case neither weaver nor merchant should pay. (1)

Whatever the terms of the settlement may have been - and they are not available - the subsidy and alnage was certainly not removed. In 1610, the worsted weavers were ordered to pay no more alnage to Paslewe, but instead to Solomon Leech. (2)

(1) P.R.O. E134/6 Jas.I/Easter 38.

(2) Dorothy, Paslewe's wife, said that she had sent up four seals to her husband in London and she left a fifth in the Norwich court; but she would not deliver his books because they contained "diu'se detts & accountes". C.B.14/279, 21st February, 1610.

## V.

The worsted weavers had always regarded the subsidy and alnage as unjustly imposed upon their manufactures but opposition was by this time widespread and Lenox's patent was regarded as the most obnoxious of the industrial monopolies.<sup>(1)</sup> The 1604 proclamation had revoked some of the many offending patents<sup>(2)</sup> but others were strongly opposed by Parliament early in James' reign. In the second session of the reign (January to May, 1606) the subsidy and alnage on the new draperies was one of those under consideration, and in the third it was defended by the King though he promised that it would be subjected to the judgement of the courts. But at the end of the fourth session of Parliament, in July 1610, disappointment at the unsatisfactory way in which the promises had been fulfilled led to a petition of grievances to the King; and the strongest protest was against Lenox's grant. During the preceding years, the abuses of his deputies had been unrestrained and increasing: "Disorders in the execution are so far from being reformed that they multiply every day, to the great grievance and oppression of your Majesty's subjects, and those of the poorer sort, who living hardly upon these manufactures are by the forementioned disorders greatly hindered and some utterly undone, as hath appeared in the

---

(1) See Price, W.H., op.cit., pp.22-28, whence the following details are taken.

(2) Supra, p.624.

particulars presented unto us".<sup>(1)</sup> The deputies were charged with violent and unauthorised seizure of cloths, blackmail and extortion from the poor, exacting annual rents from those in better circumstances and able to pay well for the privilege of being unmolested, instituting warrants and suits with a purely malicious intent, and delaying - under pretext of pressure of business - to search and seal cloths of those who did not offer special bribes to expedite the examination.<sup>(2)</sup> Some of these charges might have been levied against the deputies working in Norfolk and Norwich.<sup>(3)</sup>

Despite this Parliamentary opposition, the patent which had been granted to the Duke of Lenox in 1606 was renewed in 1613 for a term of 60 years; he was empowered to collect the duties on 87 named commodities and any others which might be devised and were made "of wooll parte of wooll cotten wooll or otherwise".<sup>(4)</sup> The rent for the grant was now £96, together with an annual increase of 28s. 5½d.<sup>(5)</sup>

- 
- (1) State Papers Domestic, 7th July, 1610, quoted by Price, op.cit., p.27.  
 (2) State Papers Domestic, 18th August, 1611, quoted by Price, op.cit., p.27.  
 (3) Supra, p. 631.  
 (4) Lenox attempted to bring the cotton fustians made in Lancashire under his control; Price, W.H., "On the Beginning of the Cloth Industry in England", in the Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol.20 (1906), pp.608-613.  
 (5) P.R.O. C66/1992, 13th April, 1613.

The abuses of Lenox's deputies continued and a complaint made in 1620-21 revealed a practice by which cloths circumvented the public search and yet received the alnager's seal. The deputies offered for rent certain stamps with which manufacturers might seal their own cloths,<sup>(1)</sup> and similar offences continued in Charles' reign.<sup>(2)</sup>

The city authorities at Norwich, who seem to have reacted immediately to any development concerning the subsidy which might affect them, opened negotiations for a sub-lease of the grant soon after it was re-issued to Lenox in 1613. They wanted to get it for an annual rent of £160 and to hold it for 10 years - but on the condition that they might give it up at six months' notice, and default in the rent if the office were not enjoyed.<sup>(3)</sup> The court agreed with the idea, "for they thinke yt wilbe very Inconvenyent that any private pson should haue yt",<sup>(4)</sup> and Christopher Barrett was sent to London about the business.<sup>(5)</sup> The worsted weavers' wardens, too, were "very willinge the Citty should take yt yf they may first haue the resolucon of the Judges touchinge Subsedy & their Judgements shalbe that Subsedy must & of right ought to be payd."<sup>(6)</sup>

- 
- (1) Price, Monopoly, pp. 27-28.  
 (2) Loc. cit..  
 (3) C.B. 14/414, 18th November, 1613.  
 (4) C.B. 14/431d., 26th April, 1614.  
 (5) C.B. 14/441, 22nd June, 1614.  
 (6) C.B. 14/442, 27th June, 1614.

This may indicate that the weavers were submitting to the imposition at last but they were later to dispute it once again and this readiness for their own city to reap the benefits was probably prompted by a hope that they would be let off more lightly than by Lenox's deputies. The negotiation went on throughout 1614 and 1615,<sup>(1)</sup> but apparently without success for in June, 1614, the Privy Council sent a letter of assistance to Henry and Samuel Paman at Norwich in their execution of Lenox's grant.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1615, distinguishing marks for good and defective, English and Strangers cloths were appointed to be set out on the back of the Crown Seal and Daniel Skynner to "pforme the business of theise Seales".<sup>(3)</sup>

The deputies continued to find difficulty in collecting the duties,<sup>(4)</sup> and in 1616 the city again tried to get a sub-lease: this time they offered only £140 annual rent but for 21 years and without the proviso of being able to give it up. Sir Thomas Hyrne and Barrett were the negotiators.<sup>(5)</sup> A committee was also appointed to make an account of the profits of the Seal to help the city make up its mind whether to take a lease or not,<sup>(6)</sup> and in October, 1616, Skynner presented his

---

{1} C.B. 15/40d., 30th October, 1615.

{2} Acts of the Privy Council, Calendar 1613-14, p.470.

{3} C.B. 15/48, 30th December, 1615. Skynner paid the expenses incurred in London by Barrett on the business of acquiring a sub-lease; C.B. 15/52d., 27th January, 1615.

{4} C.B. 15/66 and 15/69\*

{5} C.B. 15/69\*, 22nd May, 1616.

{6} C.B. 15/88, 7th September, 1616.

three preceding quarterly accounts: they totalled £110.14.9. but there were arrears to be collected. A rough account of receipts and expenses was drawn up but is clearly incomplete;<sup>(1)</sup> it did, however, cause the city to resolve to carry on with the negotiations for the lease,<sup>(2)</sup> and these eventually proved successful.<sup>(3)</sup> During the following year, both Paslewe and Paman continued to pay money that they had collected to Francis Cocke, who had earlier been appointed as Receiver.<sup>(4)</sup> In November, 1617, Cocke paid £80 to Lenox as half of that year's rent,<sup>(5)</sup> so the city had obviously been held to their first offer as far as the rent was concerned.

Those who collected the impositions for the city apparently suffered the same difficulties as Lenox's

---

(1) Receipts were:- £52.11.10. which the city and country shopkeepers, the dornix weavers and the hosiers had compounded to pay yearly ("yet some of them haue not Compounded"); £4 which the russell and satin weavers "are estemed will yeld" annually; £6.13.4. for lace, statute lace, gartering and fringe.

Expenses were:- £10 for Skynner's wages; £10 for the collection of duties from country shopkeepers; about £8 for the leads (he earlier asked for 3s.4d. for each 1000 leads used); £2 for the collection of duties in the city.

(2) C.B. 15/92d., 20th October, 1616.

(3) On 29th January, 1617, the lease made by Lenox to the city was ordered to be taken by Barrett to London; C.B. 15/109d. On 22nd June, 1618, the counterpart of the lease made by the Duke of Lenox concerning the Crown Seal was sealed with the city's common seal; A.B. 6/82d.

(4) C.B. 15/129, 138d., 139d., 159d., 175.

(5) C.B. 15/159d.

deputies,<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1621 the city Clavors had to lend William Browne as Treasurer for the Crown Seal £30 with which to pay Lenox's rent.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1622, it was decided to confer with the Duke "about an abatent of the ffearme of the Crowne Seale and to mencion the Citties Losses otherwise yt ys thought fitt the lease shalbe surrendred".<sup>(3)</sup> In July, 1622, the rent again could not be met out of the money collected, loans of £30 and £20 coming from the stocks of St. George's Company<sup>(4)</sup> and the Bridewell<sup>(5)</sup> respectively.<sup>(6)</sup> Though some collection of duties continued in the 1620's, resistance was increasing and in 1626 a mercer and another tradesman asked to see the patent to the Duke and Duchess of Lenox, doubting the liberty of the deputies to search in their shops.<sup>(7)</sup>

- 
- (1) Skynner as collector: C.B.15/175, 178d. (March 1618).  
 Edmund Skynner appointed receiver: C.B.15/178 (March 1618).  
 William Browne appointed treasurer: C.B.15/241 (June, 1619).  
 Samuel Mann appointed collector: C.B.15/246 (July 1619).  
 Also, C.B.15/278, 309d., 353d.
- (2) C.B.15/284d., 29th March,  
 (3) C.B.15/406 (20th June).  
 (4) The large Gild of St. George was incorporated in 1548, probably to avoid complete dissolution.  
 (5) A working house for the poor, established in 1571.  
 (6) C.B.15/412d, 30th July, 1622; C.B.15/423, 2nd October, 1622.  
 (7) Henry Bentley, the deputy, seized an un-Crown Sealed paragon; C.B. 16/19d.  
 Desire to see the patent: C.B. 16/110, 23rd August, 1626.

(8) P.R.O. B.1.1.11/117. The Duke's desire to see the patent was expressed in a letter to the Duke of Lenox, dated 1626-40, B.1.1.11/117 (incorrectly survived as datable to 1626-40, 1626).  
 (9) Supra, p. 64.

It is not clear exactly when the city gave up its sub-lease but by the beginning of 1626 they had certainly done so and the patent was in the possession of the Duchess of Richmond and Lenox following the death of her husband.<sup>(1)</sup> Her deputy in Norfolk, Thomas Bowde, a Norwich grocer, was resisted by the manufacturers; he appeared at the Quarter Sessions in 1628, charged with oppression and extortion.<sup>(2)</sup> Bowde recalled the Exchequer suit of 1606 and the order of 17th February in that year enforcing payment of the imposition on worsted stockings, cloths made of wool, dornix and coverlets,<sup>(3)</sup> and he alleged that John Durrant, a new draperies seller of Aylesham, refused to pay 2½ years' arrears owing to him.<sup>(4)</sup> The resistance to the deputies in Norfolk and Norwich and the disillusionment of the city as to the profitability of the grant suggest that the manufacturers' fight had been to a large extent successful. The confirmation of the subsidy on worsted stockings, cloths made wholly of wool, and dornix and coverlets<sup>(5)</sup> exempted the wide variety of Norwich Stuffs

(1) Acts of the Privy Council, Calendar 1625-6, pp. 310-311. Lenox died 19th February, 1624; D.N.B., Vol. 55 (1898) p. 108.

(2) P.R.O. S.P. 14/118/4

(3) Supra, p. 634.

(4) P.R.O. S.P. 14/114/71. Bowde obtained a warrant against Durrant who complained that it was based on false information; P.R.O. S.P. 16/119/64; and State Papers Domestic, Calendar Addenda 1625-49, p. 96 (incorrectly suggested as datable to 10th January, 1626).

(5) Supra, p. 634.

(2) Pries, Monopoly, pp. 123-141.

which used two or more kinds of material; and the weavers seem to have been able to pass the charges on to the merchants and shopkeepers who also strongly resisted them. For many years the Duchess of Lenox probably reaped little benefit from the letters patent,<sup>(1)</sup> and renewed confirmation of the grant - together with renewed opposition in Norwich - were deferred until the second half of the seventeenth century.

In the meanwhile, Parliament had given no separate consideration to this particular monopoly. It did, however, probably come under the terms of the Statute of Monopolies passed in 1624 which declared all grants for the sole buying, making, working or using of any commodities to be contrary to law; their validity was to be tested at common law.<sup>(2)</sup> That the previously alert worsted weavers did not put the patent to this test at the time may possibly be explained by the fact that the city probably had a sub-lease of the grant in 1624 - a sub-lease of which the weavers approved (*supra*). And,

- 
- (1) She certainly reaped some benefit; in 1636, the Russell Company agreed to pay to the deputy alnager 1d. per broad and  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per narrow piece of  $\frac{3}{4}$  yard broad, or less; this produced £24.1.10. for "crownsealing" that year. H. and T. *op. cit.*, II, pp. 408-412, quoting Kirkpatrick's extracts from the no longer extant book of the Company. Opposition was not confined to the Norfolk worsted weavers: in 1618 it was disputed whether certain cloths made in Essex were the same as those introduced by the Dutch and so liable to the subsidy and alnage; P.R.O. E134/15 Jas. I/ Michaelmas 31. In 1636 a long dispute between alnager and the feltmakers of London culminated in a commission being granted to end the matter; State Papers Domestic, Calendar 1636-7, pp. 65-66.
- (2) Price, Monopoly, pp. 135-141.

moreover, the demands made by Lenox's deputies and by the city were, during these years, being more and more strongly resisted and ignored. The limited privileges confirmed in the alnagers and the increasing resistance of the weavers had apparently produced an impasse which was not broken by any fresh developments for several decades. In the interval, the revocation of one patent is of some interest: in 1638 the grant for the sole "makeing, guilding and vending" of all leaden seals used for new draperies in England and Wales was withdrawn. (1)

#### VI.

The collection of the impositions had clearly been allowed to lapse: in 1658-9, the Privy Council gave fresh consideration to the patent for both old and new draperies, decided that it should be amended and that all arrears should be collected. (2) A proclamation followed on 29th September, 1660, requiring all clothiers to pay the usual subsidy and alnage on all kinds of drapery, as they had done before the recent war during which it had been withheld; the rent due from the Duke of Lenox to the Crown was greatly in arrears. (3)

---

(1) P.R.O. S.P. 2/48/p.641.

(2) State Papers Domestic, Calendar 1658-9, pp.101, 260.

(3) State Papers Domestic, Calendar 1660-1, p.278.

(5) S.P. 25/264. (29th October).

Warrants were issued for Charles, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, to be given grants of the subsidy and alnage of both the old and the new draperies in 1661,<sup>(1)</sup> and again in 1664.<sup>(2)</sup>

Once again, immediate reaction came from Norwich: the merchants and worsted weavers petitioned the Privy Council complaining that their worsted stuffs had been seized at Cambridge and other places en route for London and asserting that these wares were not chargeable to the subsidy. The Attorney-General was to give judgement<sup>(3)</sup> but there is no record of his decision. Presumably it was in the patentees' favour, for in 1679 the Right Honourable the Earl of Bath<sup>(4)</sup> appointed Paul Canham as deputy in Norwich. Canham asked the city authorities for their assistance in his collection of the duties; they refused to give him any positive help but told him that on seizing one piece of stuff he might bring an action for refusal of the duty against any weaver.<sup>(5)</sup> Later in the same year he asked for the help of constables in seizing cloths but again the court was unhelpful: constables would be allowed

---

(1) S.P.D. Calendar 1661-62, pp.374, 535.

(2) S.P.D. Calendar 1664-65, p.28. Charles, sixth Duke of Lenox (1640-1672) was an insatiable petitioner for favours from the Crown. Being without issue, his titles became extinct in 1672 and were bestowed by Charles II in 1675 on his natural son, Charles Lennox; D.N.B., Vol.55 (1898), pp.73-4.

(3) P.R.O. P.C. 2/55, p.206 (26th April, 1661)

(4) John, Earl of Bath and Robert Spencer appear to have taken over the lease; *infra* p. 648.

(5) C.B. 25/56d. (25th October).

to aid him only if he was abused in the execution of his office. (1)

In due course a suit was begun in the Exchequer Court between the King and his farmers of the subsidy (John, Earl of Bath and Robert Spencer) as plaintiffs and three Norwich makers of and dealers in woollen or worsted stockings (Samuel Manning, Martin Puckle and Benjamin Croft). On 17th January, 1683, nine witnesses answered an interrogatory on the plaintiffs' behalf at the White Horse, St. Stephens, in Norwich. (2)

The defendants were described by deponents as hosiers who used factors to sell their goods in London, and two of them were alleged to "put out yarne to be made into worsteade stockings". Paul Canham, with a second deponent in support, said that he had demanded a subsidy of 4d. for 64 lbs. weight of goods from the defendants but that they had never paid it. In general, however, the witnesses were not entirely helpful to the prosecution: two of them could not remember any subsidy and alnage being paid and a third recalled duties being levied as long as 46 or 47 years previously. The names of former deputies were recalled by several witnesses, one of whom had paid the impost but never been satisfied that he ought to. For the defendants, an extant interrogatory suggests that it

---

(1) C.B. 25/57 (15th November).

(2) P.R.O. E134/35 and 36 Chas.II/ Hilary 19.

was to be attempted to show that stockings were not chargeable by reason of their ancient manufacture in Norwich and that duties had been paid only because of the alnagers' threats, but no depositions are available. Undoubtedly these goods should have paid subsidy<sup>(1)</sup> and this dispute probably ended as others had previously, with the alnagers' rights upheld.

#### VII.

The new draperies were brought within the payments of an export subsidy and custom in much the same way as they were subjected to the subsidy and alnage. When most English wool had been exported and was a large source of revenue, cloths were subject to the small export duty of 1s.2d. for English merchants and 1s.9d. for aliens; worsteds were chargeable to only 1d. and 1½d. respectively. Receipts from the export of wool dwindled as more and more was manufactured into cloth in this country and in 1555 the subsidy and custom on woollen cloth was reduced to that on wool: a payment of 2d. was imposed for every pound of wool converted into cloth. Although this would in fact have meant that 10s. was due for each short sorting cloth of 60 lbs., Mary and the Privy Council decided to take only 6s.8d.. Elizabeth was less generous, raising the custom on a sorting cloth of 60 lbs. to 7s.9½d. and on a

---

(1) Supra, p. 617, e.g., and Appendix Eight.

long cloth of 72 lbs. to 8s.10 $\frac{2}{3}$ d. in 1583-84. When a substantial production of new draperies began to consume large quantities of wool, they suffered the imposition of detailed export customs just as they did that of the subsidy and alnage. There was still a gap between the exactions of Elizabeth and the full payment of 10s., but this pretermitted custom as it was called was fully charged by James I and was imposed on all "woollen Cloathes woollen Commodities and new Draperies made of wooll or parte of woolle at what nature name or kynd so euer they or any of them may or shalbe..." in 1618. (1)

In 1578, the year of the first imposition of the subsidy and alnage on the new draperies, detailed rates were suggested for the export custom of the new cloths according to the wool content. (2) This complicated rating seems, however, to have been rejected and the usual rates for bays were 6s. for a treble, 4s. for a double and 2s. for a single bay. (3) Though they paid double duty compared with the

---

(1) On 4th November, 1618, the patent of the pretermitted custom was granted to Edmond Nicholson and Thomas Morgan for 31 years at the rent of £300 per annum. The patent contains a summary of the previous development of the custom on wool and cloth exported; P.R.O. C66/2167. An extract from the patent is printed in Friis, Astrid, "Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade" (1927), pp. 434-438.

(2) B.M., Lansdowne Mss., 26/60.

(3) Pilgrim, thesis cit., p.178; P.R.O. E122/196/7 (undated, but about 1590).



English merchants on broadcloths, the aliens were not at first more heavily charged for new draperies; but in 1605 an agitation was begun against the merchant strangers' monopoly of the bay trade and it was urged that they should pay double custom on all cloths.<sup>(1)</sup> This was carried out and with James' collection of the pretermitted custom, additional duties were imposed on 13 types of new drapery.<sup>(2)</sup>

- 
- (1) P.R.O. S.P. 14/26/1-4; 14/15/15. Reasons why bays should pay additional duties were, of course, put forward long before this agitation. In 1594, for example, it was argued that bays should pay customs after the same rate as kersies; P.R.O. S.P.12/250/47.
- (2) State Papers Domestic, James I, 113/100, printed in Friis, *op.cit.*, pp.438-440.

## I.

What were the cloths which, by the early seventeenth century, were coming under the heading of Norwich Stuffs? Sufficient has been said in Chapter Twelve of their similarity to and development from the varieties of new draperies made by the Walloons,<sup>(1)</sup> and in Chapter Thirteen consideration has been given to the worsted weavers' arguments that despite the wide variety of fashions and names these new devices were essentially similar to the old Norfolk worsteds.<sup>(2)</sup> By this time, some of the cloths introduced by the Strangers were no longer being made and others, having been modified and embellished, were going under different names; but a number of the Walloon caungeants were still there - tammetts, buffins, grograines of several kinds, a variety of says, and velures, for instance. Among the new names were some designed, like the cloths themselves, to catch the eye<sup>(3)</sup> - philip and cheney, callimanco, curle, durance,perpetuana, broketella, cattalone, element, fillisilla, messelina and abrosite. Among these exotic titles dornix stands out as the one reminder of the early sixteenth century industry.<sup>(4)</sup> The worsted weavers' wardens must have been sorely tested by the variety of cloths

---

(1) Supra, pp. 547-550.

(2) Supra, pp. 629-631.

(3) The worsted weavers themselves admitted to this practice; supra, p. 627.

(4) All these cloths were included in a list of "The Names & valewes of severall sorts of Norwch stuffs. 20 July, 1608"; P.R.O. S.P. 14/35/27.

which they had to search as the subtle variations multiplied; their presentments of faulty work<sup>(1)</sup> reveal many more names, among them paropus, novatus, serge de boyse, peramidie, jollyboy, jollymother, floramede, sydramede, delicate, serge of Athens, cathrage, momperilla, barragon, camelion, parammile water work, mohair, formadabila, floweramele, virgenato, serge debaracon, cross billett, presile, novillian, peccalama, odarato. The fine distinctions between some of the cloths, and even some straightforward changes of name, are well illustrated by the court's decision in 1639 that durance, duretto, damazine and damazella were all one and the same stuff with different names being used by merchants "as is conceyved that the same might vent or sell the better".<sup>(2)</sup> Qualities and prices were equally variable; in 1608, for example, 27-yard pieces of the various stuffs ranged from £1.6.8. to £4.0.0. each.<sup>(3)</sup>

While some of the Norwich Stuffs were still made wholly of wool, others contained admixtures of linen, silk or Turkey Hair. In 1637, the Privy Council learnt that yarns imported from Turkey were prejudicing the livelihood of the jersey yarn<sup>(4)</sup> spinners of Canterbury; they were made of

- 
- (1) In the Court Books.  
 (2) C.B. 20/235d.  
 (3) Supra, p. 652, f.n. (4).  
 (4) Supra, pp. 392-3.

"Cammells Haire" and were used in the manufacture of tammies, mohairs, grograines and other stuffs.<sup>(1)</sup> In Norwich, the virgenato was being made of a mixture of worsted yarn and Turkey Hair.<sup>(2)</sup>

As the new devices appeared in Norwich, orders were drawn up for their measurements and workmanship,<sup>(3)</sup> but in 1613, at the instruction of the Privy Council, comprehensive orders for Norwich Stuffs were set down for the first time.<sup>(4)</sup> They applied equally to Englishmen and Strangers, and covered stuffs made of both dry, coloured and wet, greasy yarn. With some exceptions, most of the stuffs were to be 27½ yards long but their breadths varied; and whenever a new stuff was

---

(1) To meet the spinners' complaint, the Council did not prohibit the import of Turkey yarns but gave permission for 1 ton of jersey or worsted yarn to be exported from Canterbury annually for three years, and promised to renew this licence if no inconvenience was caused; P.R.O.P.C. 2/48 p.578. In 1639, the Canterbury weavers complained against the London weavers who had procured a proclamation forbidding Turkey and worsted yarns to be woven in the same cloth, and also the admixture in cloths of thread with silk or Turkey yarn. When they were incorporated in 1676, the Walloon weavers of Canterbury wove with gold, silver and other wire or plate; silk, hair, jersey and worsted yarn; woollen, cotton and linen yarn and thread. After 1676, the silk manufacture of Canterbury expanded and the materials included Turkey raw silk and Italian thrown silk. Cross, op.cit., pp.195-6, 198, 202.

(2) C.B. 20/306 (1640)

(3) Supra, Chapter Eleven.

(4) To remedy the discredit occasioned by their faulty manufacture; A.B. 6/3d. New ordinances for Norwich Stuffs had long been under consideration; A.B. 5/248 (1601), 5/289 (1604). At one time it was hoped that the orders might have been given greater authority by Act of Parliament; A.B. 5/390d. (1610).

invented it was to be presented for ordering. The weavers were to insert their marks at one end of each cloth and there cut "a small skantlynge" which would hang out and be easily seen; to this the leaden seals were affixed. One side of the seal carried the word 'Norwich' "in Romaine Lres", and the other the city arms in the case of Englishmen's cloths or a ship for the Strangers' stuffs; for this sealing the English weavers paid  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for each double piece, but with the Strangers' cloths the charge of  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was payable by the merchants who bought them. And of course no cloths were to be put to sale until they had been sealed. Rates were set down for the fines to be paid for cloths lacking in length or breadth, but if the want was excessive then the word 'Norwich' on the seals was replaced by 'Remnant' or 'Narrow'; and if the fault was one of workmanship or of defective treatment of the yarn, the fines were accompanied by the cutting of the cloths. Cutting was also the penalty for faults in the colours of stuffs woven of ready-dyed yarn, and the fines were paid by the dyer unless the weaver had connived with him. Finally, different days and times were appointed for English and Strangers to bring their cloths to be searched, sealed and sold in the hall.

Two years later, in 1615, some modifications were made in the seals used. Good cloths made in the city were still to have the arms on the back of the seal but if made by country weavers they would have "onely the Castle without the Lion"; good Strangers' cloths would still bear a ship on their seals.

For faulty cloths, the seals of English citizens were to be stamped with "Norwich in the Ringe and the word Defectiue in the middest thereof"; 'Norfolk' replaced 'Norwich' for faulty country cloths and 'Alien' for those made by Strangers.<sup>(1)</sup>

Despite these great changes in the types of cloth made by the worsted weavers, there was no corresponding departure from the traditional manufacture of the dornix weavers. Their old beds and coverlets, as well as new types of draught and dornix beds, were in increased demand; and the market was not solely a home one, for "by reason of the p'sent occasion and Change of tymes much more sale and vent thereof to forren pts is had".<sup>(2)</sup> Moreover, this cloth was being increasingly used for hangings, and ell-broad dornix - the broadest type - was largely made for that purpose.<sup>(3)</sup> So great was the increased manufacture that the city dornix weavers were obliged to seek the extension of their regulations to "Darnix, Draught-workes, & Lincy-woolcies of divers kyndes" made in Norfolk and Suffolk, outside their jurisdiction.<sup>(4)</sup> With changes in the types of dornix made, amendment of their measurements became necessary and detailed orders were

- 
- (1) C.B. 15/48.  
 (2) A.B. 5/395d-397 (1610)  
 (3) A.B. 6/83 (1618)  
 (4) P.R.O. S.P. 14/157/34 (1621)

eventually made in 1631.<sup>(1)</sup> Dornix was reckoned as one of the Norwich Stuffs and the regulation of its manufacture will be considered with that of the whole industry.

The minor woollen cloth industry of Norwich continued to languish in the shade of the worsted industry and remained a personal trade in which individual weavers worked up the yarn provided by customers. As it is, the woollen weavers, fullers, shearmen and clothworkers almost disappear from the local records;<sup>(2)</sup> the thorough orders confirmed as by-laws in 1680,<sup>(3)</sup> and those enacted in 1683,<sup>(4)</sup> must have been applicable to a very small body of men, though they may have been applicable to the shearing and working of worsteds as well as woollens.

- 
- (1) In 1610, a committee had recommended measures for six kinds of dornix and the sizes of the two new types of beds were appointed (A.B. 5/395d-397). In 1618, a breadth was appointed for the ell-broad dornix being made for hangings (A.B. 6/83). The orders of 1631 were part of regulations for every aspect of the trade; they were based on those of 1610 and 1618 and set down measures for eight varieties of these cloths (P.R.O. P.C. 2/41, pp.265-272). Two additional types were later made and orders were made for them in 1654 (A.B. 7/152).
- (2) Tenters were still standing in Chapel Field in 1656; C.B. 23/28d. The only record available of the existence of a fulling mill in the city reveals that one was situated at the New Mills, the municipal corngrinding centre; C.B.16, 18th June, 1631, printed in Sachse, H.L., "Minutes of the Norwich Court of Mayoralty, 1630-1631", Norfolk Record Society, Vol.XV (1942), p.166. The cloth fullers may have used this mill, though they and the Dutch bay fullers seem also to have fullled by foot elsewhere on the river; supra, pp.505-7.
- (3) A.B. 8/85d.
- (4) N.C.M.R., Case 17, Shelf d.

Norwich Stuffs, then, were comprised of a very wide range of cloths, with innumerable variations of material and workmanship; though the manufacture of traditional worsteds was now quite dead, dornix was a notable reminder of the past in the new industry; and among the minor woollen goods made in Norwich, worsted and woollen stockings made a significant contribution to the city's trade. In the finishing of the Norwich Stuffs, some new techniques may have been necessary in the processes of calendering, dyeing and shearing. Both the old worsteds and the new draperies had been cleaned and given a smooth finish by the calenderers but with the development of high quality stuffs in the seventeenth century the hot press began to be used in this process. As early as 1551-2<sup>(1)</sup> hot-pressing of cloths was forbidden in the belief that it "did giue a false and deceitful lustre to them for the present, but when it shall come to the wearing, the falsitie thereof would appeare..". Some of the new draperies, however, were not considered vendible "vnlesse they haue a glosse put vpon them by the hot Presse", and in the reign of James I its use was legalised for worsted and woollen stockings as well as the new draperies.<sup>(2)</sup> Hot-pressing developed as a separate<sub>6</sub>

(1) Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI, c.6.

(2) A proclamation to this effect was made in James' reign and referred to in a petition from the drapers of London to the Privy Council in 1619 seeking a renewal of the order; P.R.O. S.P. 16/180/48.

craft in the Norwich Stuffs industry,<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1683 the hot-pressers became an incorporated company; their treatment of cloths was described as "watering, Chamletting, pressing or makeing of them vpp".<sup>(2)</sup>

The dyers too, may have been obliged to use new techniques for the great variety of colours into which Norwich Stuffs were put. The range of hues and dyestuffs was covered by the colourful orders of 1621<sup>(3)</sup> which are worth quoting at length; each colour might be achieved only with certain dyes:

Tawny with woad and madder,  
 Black with woad,  
 Russetts with woad,  
 Purple with woad,  
 "De Royes" with woad and madder,  
 Ash colours with grain,  
 Peach with grain,  
 Dove colours with grain,  
 "Gredelines" with grain,  
 Carnacions with madder or grain,  
 Crimson with grain,  
 "Gingerlynes" with madder and weld,  
 French green with woad and weld,  
 Murryes with grain,  
 Silver with grain,

- 
- (1) Occasional references are made to hot-pressers: one, for example, was discharged from the Bridewell in 1630 on condition that he would leave the city; C.B. 16, 2nd November, see Sachse, op.cit., p.97.
- (2) In these orders, the usual qualifications were demanded of hot-pressers: they must serve a seven-year apprenticeship, take up the freedom of the city and become members of the company; other clauses concerned the conditions under which apprentices and journeymen might be taken. N.C.M.R., Case 17, Shelfd. Wardens and Assistants were elected annually after 1683; C.B. 25/152d., 207d., etc..
- (3) A.B. 6/125d-126.

Orange tawny with weld and madder,  
 "Gold yellowes" with weld and madder,  
 Primrose colours with woad and weld,  
 "Blush" colours with grain,  
 Blues with woad and indigo.

To these may be added orders for the colouring of woollen and dornix yarn: it was dyed green with woad and weld, blue with woad and archil. (1) The series of orders for their better regulation and the complaints against them by merchants suggests that the dyers found difficulty in achieving the skill demanded by the intricate variety of stuffs and colours.

## II.

The craft organisation of Norwich did not survive the development of the new industry unaltered. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the renewed growth of the worsted industry had restored the city to a prosperous condition and immigration was prominent in a rapid increase in the population. This influx of foreigners greatly increased the difficulty of, as well as the need for, a strict enforcement of apprenticeship and admission to the freedom of the city. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that standards of craftsmanship should have declined and that craft control over artificers and tradesmen should have been loosened.

---

(1) A.B. 5/403 (1610)

In 1621 it was necessary to order that all crafts must have masters and wardens to enforce the regulations made by the city Assembly,<sup>(1)</sup> and in the following year the trades were completely re-organised with the division of 78 crafts, large and small, into twelve Grand Companies.<sup>(2)</sup> The worsted, dornix, silk and linen weavers, together with the slay makers, formed the seventh Grand Company; the hosiers, twisterers and combers, the eighth; and the worsted shearmen, dyers and calenderers found themselves in the second with the merchants, masons, tilers and lime-burners. With the grouping of allied trades, the smaller misteries were brought under the effective control of the more powerful crafts through the nominal authority of two aldermen as Masters of each Grand Company. The larger crafts - having at least 11 members - were to choose one headman, two wardens and a convenient number of searchers annually, but misteries with fewer than 11 members would have only a headman and one warden, or even one warden alone if the Masters thought fit. One important immediate duty of the Masters was to see that ordinances were drawn up for the regulation of those trades which had none, and such orders were to be enforced by searches, as frequently as was desired, in the shops, warehouses and rooms of any member of

---

(1) A.B. 6/121d.

(2) A.B. 6/133d. Also recorded in the Mercers' Book, N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf b; printed in H. and T., op.cit., II, 382-386.

A.B. 5/235 (1600); 6/261 (1615).

the trade; with respect to this matter, however, the worsted and russell weavers would continue to follow the provisions which they already had.

Apprenticeship and admission to the freedom were together to be the main bug-bear of industrial regulation in the seventeenth century, and the enactment of 1622 which brought the Grand Companies into being also amended the old orders concerning apprentices.<sup>(1)</sup> The seven-year term was retained as an essential qualification for master craftsmen but the apprentice was now favoured by a change in the ruling concerning the sum which he had to pay for admission to the freedom when he came out of his indentures. At that point he had previously submitted 13s.4d. in addition to various minor fees amounting to 4s.10d.; now the 13s.4d. was to be paid by the master as soon as the apprentice was bound to him and at the end of seven years the fully-fledged apprentice was left to meet only the minor fees. This change can have been made only to encourage the proper enrolment and registration of apprentices, but although the apprentice himself was no longer deterred by the expense of becoming a freeman his master might well have objected to the new imposition upon himself; the searchers who sought out and presented offenders for fining were destined to be kept very busy. A further check on the

---

(1) Attempts had been made earlier in this century to enforce the enrollment of apprenticeship indentures and the taking up of the freedom of the city under the old orders; A.B. 5/235 (1600); 6/26d.(1615).

growth and standards of particular crafts was imposed by the order that no more than four new freemen might be admitted in any one craft in one year without the consent of the officers of their trade; but to allow for the large numbers of foreigners already working in the city, and for the apprentices who were already bound, admissions above that number might be made until the back-log was accounted for.

These new regulations met with little success. Wardens were soon accepting large bribes for their consent to the admission of freemen above the number of four, and in 1627 this limitation was made void. Again, masters had been taking the 13s.4d. from their apprentices' parents and keeping it for themselves without enrolling the indentures; a return was accordingly ordered to the earlier situation in which this sum was paid at the end of the seven-year term of apprenticeship. (1)

The failure of existent regulations to enforce apprenticeship on weavers engaged in the growing Norwich Stuffs industry was keenly felt by those who had been, or were being, fully trained. In 1610, it was admitted that about 100 apprentices had decided to take the matter into their own hands; they planned to assemble on Mousehold so that neither the Mayor nor their masters could bring them to work until orders were made to suppress Stranger and English weavers who

---

(1) A. B. 6/222d.

had not been apprenticed to the trade. These "Creepers" prevented apprentices from getting employment "when they come out of their yeares". The strikers were to be led by four journeymen wardens, but the Mayor discovered the plot and four of the apprentices were sent before the Privy Council.<sup>(1)</sup> This attempted rising provoked some action by the city authorities, for the order of 1615 calling for the enrollment of apprenticeship indentures soon followed;<sup>(2)</sup> and in 1622, of course, the whole position was reviewed.

Subsequently, little is heard of the illegal employment of journeymen or of the non-enrollment of apprentices until the 1630's when the influx of country journeymen into the city was causing much anxiety. In 1630 the worsted weavers' wardens were asked for the names of all journeymen who had been apprenticed in the country,<sup>(3)</sup> and in 1631 the wardens of all crafts were instructed to inquire "what newcomers are lately come from out the Country & doe reside in this City & are likely to be chargeable to the same."<sup>(4)</sup> A number of such

---

(1) P.R.O. S.P.14/54/62, 62i-viii; this evidence was used by Nef, J.U., "Industry and Government in France and England, 1540-1640" (1940), p.40.

(2) A.B. 6/26d.

(3) C.B. 16/306d.

(4) C.B. 16/340.

(5) C.B. 19/Waste Book (22nd October, 1635).  
 (6) A similar order had been made for the Cornish weavers in 1610; they were to keep only 4 apprentices with 1 fully-apprenticed journeyman for each of the third and fourth apprentices.

journeymen weavers were discovered and ordered to leave Norwich,<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1633 the city weavers were told to take no more of these men "because the City is so filled wt them their wives & Children as the City is much ou'charged by them", and because city apprentices were deprived of work.<sup>(2)</sup> But when some of the guilty masters appeared in court they not only admitted to employing country journeymen but also to having additional looms and weavers working in the county and more apprentices and journeymen than was permitted.<sup>(3)</sup> The allegations of indignant city journeymen and the comments of their masters make interesting reading<sup>(4)</sup> (Table 27)

The result of these enquiries was to produce a comprehensive set of orders in 1636:-<sup>(5)</sup>

1. Journeymen were not to take apprentices.
2. Journeymen were not to be retained for less than one year (though they might take part in the harvest leave-of-work)
3. City weavers with only one apprentice need not keep journeymen unless they wished to do so; otherwise, journeymen must be taken at the rate of 3 for 2 apprentices, 5 for 3 and 8 for 4 apprentices.<sup>(6)</sup> Stuff, lace and gartering weavers

(1) C.B. 16/341; and C.B. 16, 23rd April and 16th November, 1631, printed in Sachse, op.cit., pp. 147-8, 201.

(2) C.B. 16/470d. The city tanners were experiencing similar difficulties at this time; e.g. C.B. 19/Waste Book, 28th November, 1634.

(3) C.B. 20/79 (1635), C.B. 19/Waste Book, 22nd October (1635). One had 4 damask looms in the country; another had 10 journeymen (2 of them from the country) and had 1 tammatt loom at Worstead and 1 damask loom at Swanton; journeymen weavers were themselves taking apprentices and even the wardens were said to offend in the number of apprentices taken. Also see C.B. 19/Waste Book (30th October, 1636).

(4) C.B. 19/Waste Book (22nd October, 1635).

(5) C.B. 19/Waste Book (16th June and 24th June, 1636).

(6) A similar order had been made for the dornix weavers in 1610; they were to keep only 4 apprentices with 1 fully-apprenticed journeyman for each of the third and fourth apprentices. A.B. 5/395d-397.

in the city were to have only four apprentices and apprenticeship in worsted weaving was necessary for makers of lace and gartering.

4. Apprentices were to be 14-year old males, native born subjects and bound for seven years; indentures were to be enrolled within 2 months of being sealed.

5. Country weavers might take only two apprentices and were obliged to have 1 journeyman for each apprentice, 3 for each 2 apprentices.

6. Every city master weaver might keep 1 apprentice but neither city nor country weavers might keep 2 unless they were worth £40; 3 - £80; and 4 - £120.

Later the same day, another order forbade city weavers to take country journeymen who did not bring a certificate from the minister and churchwardens of their parishes, and if the Mayor thought that country journeymen would be chargeable to the city then the employer would have to give a bond for their maintenance; a similar order was made for city weavers going into the country.<sup>(1)</sup> The six orders were designed to apply to the Walloons as well as to Englishmen.<sup>(2)</sup>

Henceforth, the authorities intended to keep a close check on numbers of apprentices and journeymen: the Mayor and country Justices required an annual certificate concerning weavers' apprentices,<sup>(3)</sup> and neither lace weavers nor twisterers

---

{1} C.B. 19/Waste Book {24th June, 1636}.

{2} C.B. 19/Waste Book (24th June, 1636). The complaints of their journeymen against the Walloon master combers in 1643 may have followed similar practices to those current among English masters; C.B. 20/382d.

{3} C.B. 19/Waste Book (24th June, 1636).

Journeyman	Cloth made with Master	Master's reason for dismissing him as alleged by the journeyman	Apprentices and Journeymen employed by the master as alleged by the journeyman	Comment of the master when told of the complaint
1.	Mohairs	He can't make damasks	-	-
2.	Russells	Master decreases his trade	-	Will do best to set him awork
3.	Mohairs	Master decreases his trade	4A (besides own son) 3J	Will give him work
4.	Coloured paropuses	Master decreases his trade	1A Has also had country journeymen and has had a man who was never apprenticed	Hasn't worked with me since last Easter - he's a bad workman
5.	Mohairs	Master decreases his trade	Last year 5J, now only 3J.	-
6.	Mohairs	"hath lessened his trade"	Last year 5J, now only 3J No A	Was bad workman - I've replaced him.
7.	Mohairs	"his mayster telleth him he hath wrought out his stocke"	3A. 3J - one newly taken	I'll set him awork till Xmas
8.	-	"his mayster tolde him that he coulde not sethim on worke for he hath not worke for his apprentices"	2A 2J.	Is bad workman, but I'll give him work.
9.	-	Unable to give him work (Has found work with another master)	3A No J	-
10.	Mohairs	Master can't sell goods made by 10.	1A 1J	I'll give him work
11.	Paropuses	Master can't sell goods made by 11.	2A 4J	I have no loom empty - I have as many journeymen as I formerly did.
12.	Cartheriges	Master has so much cloth unsold that he must decrease his staff	3A 3J	He worked with me 1 month and was not satisfactory
13.	Russells	Master has so much work unsold that he must decrease his staff	3A 3J. He also sends work into the country at Hainford. He employes a journeyman who has 2 apprentices and sets those 2 on work as well.	He refused to work for me but I'll have him and 2 more besides.
14.	-	Master is out of stock	2A 2J	-
15.	-	Master can't sell the goods	2A 2J - one said to be from the country. Last year he had 5J.	He is "a badd fellowe" but I'll give him work in the Bridewell. (Court order: replace country J. with city J.)
16.	Divers stuffs	Master doubted whether he could set anyone on work	-	He's a bad workman. But I'll take another Apprentice (I've got 2A already)
17.	"in fillinge, warpinge & skowringe"	Master took in his brother-in-law instead	2A 3 or 4 J	He's old and blind but I'll give him what he earns; "he will not followe his worke".
18.	Princillas and Paropuses	Master promised him work but at Michaelmas had no room for a damask loom so dismissed him.	No A 8 J (1 from the country)	-
19.	Peramides	Not able to set him awork	No A No J	-
20.	Flowers	Master's stock is small	-	He's a man of ill condition
21.	Mohairs and paropuses	He went to Magdalen Fair with Master's consent; when he got home another man had been put in his loom	-	He's idle and worked here only 3 weeks - I won't have him.
22.	Russells	Master hadn't enough stock	2A 1J	He's a bad worker - I've got enough men
23.	Mohairs	Master said he must dismiss him and other employees too	-	-
24.	Divers stuffs	Master has so much cloth unsold he can't set journeymen awork	3A No J	If Mr. Norrys won't have him then I will
25.	Peramides	Master hasn't enough stock	-	-
26.	Princillas	Master has put an apprentice into his loom	-	-

might employ servants who had not been legally retained with the consent of those officials.<sup>(1)</sup> The terms of journeymen's retainers set down both the length of service and the rate of remuneration.<sup>(2)</sup> Despite the apparent thoroughness of the regulations enacted, the co-operation of employers was not forthcoming and by 1639 city journeymen and apprentices were again losing work to their country rivals;<sup>(3)</sup> and in 1635, the dornix weavers' journeymen were proposing a meeting at the Unicorn which recalled the projected strike of 1610. They had intended to elect four feast makers to prepare a dinner among themselves and also to "consult howe they might drawe their seu'all maysters to geue greater wages" with 2d. a week more than the present rate as a minimum increase. It seems to have been the customary fate of such conspiracies to be discovered.<sup>(4)</sup>

With masters giving an unjustified preference to non-apprenticed journeymen and enforcing unemployment upon lawfully trained apprentices and journeymen in Norwich, it is likely that apprenticeship was increasingly ignored in the worsted industry. Certainly, large numbers of admissions were being made to the freedom of the city during the second half

---

(1) C.B. 19/Waste Book (24th June, 1636 and September, 1636).

(2) See, for example, C.B. 19/Waste Book (22nd April, 1637, 27th April, 1637); C.B. 20/307d. (1641).

(3) C.B. 20/240d.

(4) C.B. 19/Waste Book (11th July, 1635).

of the seventeenth century, but it must be remembered that apprenticeship was not the sole qualification for the freedom and many admissions were made by virtue of inheritance or the payment of a composition.<sup>(1)</sup> Almost certainly, the efforts of the city authorities to give preference to qualified workmen were not entirely successful; some country workers were being forced to return to their villages<sup>(2)</sup> but many others were tolerated in Norwich on the assurance that no charge would be incurred by the city.<sup>(3)</sup> These increasingly numerous exceptions were a clear admission that the rule could not be enforced. In the 1670's, unemployment was caused among city journeymen wool-combers by the retention of unqualified men<sup>(4)</sup> and attempts were made to rid the city of these strangers: some were sent back to such distant homes as Exeter and Taunton;<sup>(5)</sup> but again, others were allowed to stay on the assurance that they would not be a charge upon any parish in the city.<sup>(6)</sup> The widespread employment of untrained workmen must surely have been one of the chief causes of the faulty manufacture of Norwich Stuffs which increasingly troubled the trade as the century progressed.

---

(1) See Appendix Seven.

(2) C.B. 20/398d. (1642), 482r. and d. (1646), for example.

(3) C.B. 25/11d., 12d. (1677), for example.

(4) C.B. 24/340 (1675), 364d. (1676).

(5) C.B. 24/365d. (1676); also C.B. 24/366, 367 (1676).

(6) C.B. 24/366 (1676).

## III.

Despite the comprehensive code of regulations provided by the orders of 1613,<sup>(1)</sup> the government of the industry was a source of constant dispute. By 1618, the English worsted weavers so dominated the industry that they saw no reason why the trade should continue to be controlled by the Eight Men appointed to govern the Strangers' draperies,<sup>(2)</sup> and they debated "whether yt were fitt and necessary that there should be A Certenty of lengthes & breadthes of all Stuffes observed aswell by Strangers as Englishe".<sup>(3)</sup> Early in 1619, the city authorities made three proposals to the weavers: first, that the Mayor and Court should share in the weavers' choice of their wardens; second, that the city aldermen should choose 12 weavers to assist the wardens in revising the industry's ordinances; and third, that the aldermen should nominate 12 citizens to consider the regulations for the hallage and marketing of Norwich Stuffs.<sup>(4)</sup> In their reply, the weavers agreed that the Mayor and Court might choose two men to be added to the four wardens chosen by themselves, but if a committee were to be elected to help the wardens then they wanted it to be 18 strong, with six each chosen by the Court, the city weavers, and the country weavers.<sup>(5)</sup> A committee

- 
- (1) Supra, pp. 654-5.  
 (2) C. B. 15/179d.  
 (3) C. B. 15/181d.  
 (4) C. B. 15/228d.  
 (5) C. B. 15/229 (1619).

was subsequently appointed, and among the topics for consideration were the wardens' default in sealing defective stuffs, the maintenance of all previous "Courses of government" and what supplement to the city's orders should be made by the Privy Council.<sup>(1)</sup> In January 1620, the weavers secured the support of a large meeting of their city and country members in their attempts to retain control over their own affairs with only limited participation by the Mayor and his Court.<sup>(2)</sup>

The committee which had been considering marketing found the earlier laws compelling all cloths to be sold in a hall "somewhat obscure" and agreed that they should be revived and explained:<sup>(3)</sup> this is sure proof that by this time the receipts for hallage were failing to give a true reflection of the industry's production.<sup>(4)</sup> Now, in the last days of 1620, all parties were calling for the weavers' government to be considered in Parliament, and the weavers and merchants were accordingly instructed to devise laws for the reformation of abuses in the trade so that they might be set before Parliament; there were two main difficulties: "One Inconvenience ys that the Norwch Comodities are made in Canterbury & other places of lesse length and breadth whereby they

---

(1) C.B. 15/256d.-257 (1619)

(2) C.B. 15/274

(3) C.B. 15/304 (1620)

(4) Supra, pp. 580-1, 586.

vnder sell the Cytty", and the second that the yarn-men bought up falsely made wares and carried them into the country for sale. (1) A "more strict Course of governement" was still being considered in January 1622, when defective manufacture was stated to be the cause of poverty among the country workers. (2) The merchants alleged that the weavers were responsible for the abuses by reason of the "vnfittinge applyinge of materialls ffor although eu'y materiall be fitt for some cloth yet beinge vnduly sorted yt becometh vnprofitable & vnpleasant"; even when materials were "duly applyed" they were "vnduly & vnworkemanly wrought" and many stuffs were being made of inferior value to the extent of 3s. or 3s.4d. in the £. And false dyeing further decreased the quality of cloths. The weavers heard these allegations but "the gen'ality of theise defaults were not confessed but that such defaults there are was not by them denyed". (3) In the middle of 1622, the weavers and merchants were still considering orders to be set before the committee appointed by the Privy Council, (4) and the Mayor failed in an attempt to enforce the "ancient p'cident" of having defective cloths cut. (5) The matter was not helped by

---

(1) C.B. 15/327. Also C.B. 15/341 (1621)

(2) C.B. 15/380d.

(3) C.B. 15/392 (1622)

(4) C.B. 15/407d.

(5) C.B. 15/407d., 415.

(6) P.R.O. S.P. 14/121/36, undated but 1621 suggested.

(7) Acts of the Privy Council, calendar 1621-3, p.156

dissention between the city and country weavers concerning the fines imposed on faulty cloths. (1)

No doubt the Privy Council had long noticed the threat to an important and growing manufacture which the dissention at Norwich entailed; it will be remembered that the comprehensive orders of 1613 had been made at the Lords' instruction. Probably in 1621, the Council replied to certificates concerning the new draperies from Norwich, Colchester and Exeter with a set of instructions making three main points: one, that all stuffs should be of set dimensions and contain a minimum number of threads; two, that they should be carefully searched by reliable searchers; and three, that officers should be chosen with adequate powers to remedy abuses. (2) In the following March, the Justices of the Peace of Norfolk (together with those of Suffolk and Essex) were ordered to consider a complaint made to the Privy Council that many false stuffs were being made by unapprenticed workmen. (3) Further communication was had with Norwich on 8th January, 1623, when the commissioners for trade asked the Mayor and aldermen to compile suitable regulations for the government of Norwich Stuffs; this had been done, and on the commissioners' advice that orders must be "verie precisely and strictlie made" the

---

(1) C.B. 15/420.

(2) P.R.O. S.P. 14/121/36, undated but 1621 suggested.

(3) Acts of the Privy Council, calendar 1621-3, p.156

Privy Council approved of the suggested regulations on 25th June, 1623, and ordered the Mayor and aldermen of Norwich to enforce them.<sup>(1)</sup>

Before the orders were sent up for the Lords' approval they were read to the weavers;<sup>(2)</sup> two aldermen were then deputed to travel to London to further the business;<sup>(3)</sup> and on 30th August the weavers were ordered to abide by the Lords' enactment.<sup>(4)</sup> However, when the weavers' wardens were sworn in May, 1624, they refused to choose searchers according to the Council's orders and the choice was made instead by the Mayor and aldermen.<sup>(5)</sup> The Privy Council heard of the deferred execution of their orders and on 18th June, told the Mayor to carry them out "all excuses sett apart";<sup>(6)</sup> this instruction was passed on to the weavers<sup>(7)</sup> and a special meeting of the Court considered their answer.<sup>(8)</sup> The outcome was the appointment of six merchants and twelve weavers to consider their differences and to compile a book of orders to be presented to Parliament.<sup>(9)</sup> Orders drawn up by the weavers were then delivered to the merchants for their opinion<sup>(10)</sup> and after

---

(1) A.P.C., calendar 1623-5, pp.40-41.

(2) C.B. 15/459d. (1623)

(3) C.B. 15/469, 468d.

(4) C.B. 15/493d.

(5) C.B. 16/9~~z~~.

(6) A.P.C., calendar 1623-5, p.248.

(7) C.B. 16/9~~z~~, 11 (1624)

(8) C.B. 16/12~~z~~ (1624)

(9) C.B. 16/13d. (1624)

(10) C.B. 16/15 (1624).

various delays, both objected to each other's suggested books and the matter was referred to the aldermen. (1)

The Privy Council's orders of 1623 may have had the desired effect for in April, 1625, the weavers declared that the cloths made within the previous four or five years were of better quality than those made earlier, and during those years "there ys...as many Stuffes or more made then were made in fower or fiue yeares at any tyme before wthin their remembrance"; (2) at any rate, rather than considering a fresh book of orders the Court ordered the weavers to perform those enacted by the Council in 1623, (3) and there is little sign of controversy during the following eight years.

During those first 30 years of the seventeenth century developments in the regulation of dornix weaving eventually led to the petitioning of the Privy Council for the establishment of orders - much as in the case of the Norwich Stuffs manufacture. Orders for the dornix weavers were before the Assembly in 1609 (4) and were enacted in the following year; (5) it was complained that the previous orders of 1591 (6) had been disregarded and they were now replaced by provisions for

---

(1) C.B. 16/32d., 33d., 35 (1625).

(2) C.B. 16/42.

(3) C.B. 16/42, 46d.

(4) A.B. 5/387

(5) A.B. 5/395d.-397

(6) A.B. 5/86

measures, apprenticeship and loom numbers - there would no longer be any restriction on the number of ell-broad looms that one man might keep for weaving hangings. The 1591 orders had also confirmed the ancient custom of a one month harvest leave-of-work and it was the abuse of this clause by dornix weavers who left the city to work in the country that prompted the first petition from the trade to the Privy Council; the Lords ordered an enquiry and the enlistment of the county Justices' assistance.<sup>(1)</sup> When new orders were enacted in 1618, the leave-of-work was re-affirmed for the better "Innyng of Corne in the tyme of harvest" and to conserve supplies of yarn for the ensuing winter.<sup>(2)</sup>

Widespread faulty workmanship followed the extension of dornix weaving from Norwich to the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, for there the weavers were beyond the craft's jurisdiction. The Council apparently did not heed a petition from Norwich to remedy this in 1621<sup>(3)</sup> for a plea that the city orders might extend elsewhere was the chief reason for the petition of 1631.<sup>(4)</sup> The Privy Council replied by instructing the Justices of Norfolk and Suffolk and the aldermen and burgesses of Bury St. Edmunds to observe the orders current in

---

(1) Acts of the Privy Council, calendar 1615-16, p. 238

(2) A.B. 6/83

(3) P.R.O. S.P. 14/157/34

(4) P.R.O. S.P. 16/206/64

Norwich;<sup>(1)</sup> and later in 1631, the petition from the city, together with the Justices' observations, was referred to the Norfolk Justices of Assize.<sup>(2)</sup> After Mr. Justice Harvey had reported that he found the orders fit to be allowed, the Council enacted them to be observed in Norfolk, Suffolk, Thetford, King's Lynn and Bury St. Edmunds: measures were appointed for the various dornix stuffs;<sup>(3)</sup> no blockwood, logwood, indigo, "ffustick" or other illegal stuff was to be used in dyeing the yarn; the leave-of-work was to be observed; dornix or carsey yarn was to be wound on a reel "of a yarde about" and each dozen of yarn was to contain 12 reelstaves, each reelstave 14 lees and each lee 14 threads; copies of the orders, the assize of the reel, and a measure covering the different stuffs were to be sent to the three towns; and finally, these orders would apply to all places in which dornix was made.<sup>(4)</sup> No important additions were made to these regulations during the remainder of the seventeenth century.<sup>(5)</sup>

---

(1) P.R.O. P.C. 2/41/107-8.

(2) P.C. 2/41/232.

(3) Supra, pp. 656-7.

(4) P.C. 2/41/265-272.

(5) Orders concerning cloth dimensions were made in 1654 (A.B. 7/152) and the dornix weavers' orders were enacted in 1663 (A.B. 7/249d.)

(6) C.B. 20/21d. (1634).

(7) C.B. 20/23d. (1634).

(8) C.B. 20/24 (1634).

(9) C.B. 20/25d. (1634).

(10) C.B. 20/27 and 19/3rd November, 1634 (Waste Book).

A lull in the disputes between the worsted weavers on one side and the city authorities and the merchants on the other was broken in 1633. It was now the weavers' turn to accuse the merchants of practices prejudicial to the manufacture of high quality stuffs: they had willingly bought and found a market for faulty cloths.<sup>(1)</sup> James Rownce confessed to buying faulty paropuses and he gave evidence of other offenders;<sup>(2)</sup> and the Privy Council was immediately certified of his activities.<sup>(3)</sup> The merchants' defence was that existing laws were inadequate to prevent dealing in false and unsealed stuffs;<sup>(4)</sup> the Court wished to send this assertion, together with the weavers' comment upon it, to the Council<sup>(5)</sup> and the weavers felt that existing orders were sufficient for the prevention and punishment of abuses.<sup>(6)</sup> The weavers agreed to abide by the committee's recommendations<sup>(7)</sup> and a meeting was held in October, 1634. Though denying part of the merchants allegation, the weavers nevertheless agreed to take steps to prevent the manufacture of faulty and under-sized cloths.<sup>(8)</sup>

---

(1) P.R.O. P.C. 2/43/72.

(2) C.B. 20/11d., 13. Several weavers of three-thread paropuses gave evidence for the sale to merchants of cloths with only one or two threads in the warp; C.B. 20/25 (1634).

(3) C.B. 20/13d. (1634).

(4) C.B. 20/21d. (1634).

(5) C.B. 20/23d. (1634).

(6) C.B. 20/24 (1634).

(7) C.B. 20/25d. (1634).

(8) C.B. 20/27 and 19/3rd November, 1634 (Waste Book).

In the following month, a petition from the Mayor and aldermen to the Privy Council deplored the abuses prevalent in the trade and alleged that many points in the earlier orders needed amendment and that additions were needed to meet the present situation. The weavers were accused of considering only their own ends and refusing to join in the intended reformation. Their lordships referred the matter to the consideration of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Lord Maltravers and the Mayor and others of Norwich.<sup>(1)</sup> A year later, the weavers again promised to seal only adequately woven pieces<sup>(2)</sup> and no more is heard of the dispute until 1638.

But faulty manufacture apparently continued unabated. In that year, the Mayor informed the weavers' and dyers' wardens, and many merchants and buyers of Norwich Stuffs, that London tradesmen grievously complained of the quality of the cloths: yarn was insufficiently scoured so that the stuffs would not take a good colour; cloths became "spotted and not serviceable"; and they were badly dyed.<sup>(3)</sup> Soon after, the Mayor, Justices and aldermen examined representatives of the

---

(1) P.R.O. P.C. 2/44/219-220.

(2) C.B. 19/22nd October, 1635 (Waste Book)

(3) C.B. 20/229d.-230.

(4) C.B. 20/231a. and d. (1635-9).

(5) C.B. 20/255d.

(6) C.B. 20/262.

(7) C.B. 20/307.

merchants, weavers, dyers and woolcombers. (1) The combers admitted that one source of trouble was the combing of wool without same - "wch sayme was either oyle, marybone grease, whay butter or drayne butter" - because they could not get sufficient reasonably-priced soap to wash out the same when the wool was scoured. (2) Weavers, dyers and merchants were instructed to exchange their grievances (3) but what these were is not recorded.

An enquiry into the sealing of faulty goods was instituted in 1639 (4) when a certificate of all the city's proceedings in the matter was sent to Mr. Burch to be given to the commissioners at their meeting at Drapers' Hall in London. (5) Early in 1640, the Court was told that a bill had been prepared to be presented to Parliament and that the weavers wished to discuss it with the merchants. (6) This bill was destined to produce the important Act of Parliament of 1650, but before discussing that legislation, more careful attention must be given to the work of the dyers whose part in the lowering of the industry's standards has been touched upon several times in these pages.

- 
- (1) C.B. 20/233d. (1638).  
 (2) C.B. 20/234 (1638).  
 (3) C.B. 20/234r. and d. (1638-9).  
 (4) C.B. 20/255d.  
 (5) C.B. 20/265.  
 (6) C.B. 20/307.

Dyeing in the seventeenth century continued to be largely in the hands of native craftsmen, although while the alien congregations remained in Norwich a Stranger was occasionally admitted to the trade.<sup>(1)</sup> After the neglect and abuse of earlier regulations, new orders were set down in 1610 to cover the present conditions: the dyers' wardens were required to search strictly for defective workmanship, and fines were to be imposed for the abuse of several orders concerning the methods used.<sup>(2)</sup> But it was not until 1621 that standards of dyeing were subjected to more general criticism: brought into Court, the dyers could not deny the charges against them, and with the consent of both dyers and weavers the "skantlyngs" used in London were ordered to be sent for and a book of orders was to be compiled.<sup>(3)</sup> A month later these orders were enacted, detailing the dyestuffs to be used for various colours,<sup>(4)</sup> and the new skantlings were appointed; faulty work would incur fines of 1s.6d. for each pound of yarn, 10s. for each double and 5s. for each single piece of stuff.<sup>(5)</sup>

---

(1) In 1614, for example, William Clarke, Stranger, was admitted; C.B. 14/428. The number of dyers was never great; in 1605, ten Norwich dyers promised not to use logwood or blockwood as a dyestuff (contrary to statutes 23 Elizabeth c.9 and 39 Elizabeth, c.11); C.B. 14/78.

(2) A.B. 5/400, 403.

(3) C.B. 15/362.

(4) Supra, pp. 659-660.

(5) A.B. 6/125d.-126.

Six years later the court ordered the dyers to confer with the weavers' wardens and to take order for special care to be observed in dyeing stuffs and yarn;<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1628, amendment of the dyers' orders was thought necessary.<sup>(2)</sup> As a result their wardens were to provide some new skantlings and an able person was to join them to search stuffs after they had been woaded but before dyeing.<sup>(3)</sup> Within a year, the dornix weavers pressed their special complaint concerning the dyeing of yarn and the dyers' wardens presented "a patterne of Carsey yarne dyed into Grene" which all would copy.<sup>(4)</sup> The dyers had long been colouring the dornix weavers' yarn defectively,<sup>(5)</sup> and this present action followed the dornix weavers' presentment of dyed yarn before the Court in 1628.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1632, the dyers were dissatisfied with the orders for the dyestuffs and methods used in dyeing yarn and changes were accordingly made.<sup>(7)</sup>

The presentment of faulty work continued during the intervening years,<sup>(8)</sup> but widespread complaint of the dyers' workmanship apparently lapsed until 1639. In May, the dyers

---

(1) C.B. 16/133d. (1627).

(2) C.B. 16/181d.

(3) C.B. 16/201d. (1628).

(4) C.B. 16/240 (1629).

(5) For example, C.B. 9/414d. (1573); C.B. 10/40 (1576).

(6) C.B. 16/196.

(7) C.B. 16/Sachse, p. 233.

(8) For example, C.B. 20/234\*

were ordered to attend in Court as a result of their internal differences<sup>(1)</sup> which they later agreed should be referred to the Court for mediation.<sup>(2)</sup> Meanwhile, a committee had been appointed to consider the inconveniences in the dyers' orders,<sup>(3)</sup> and in December, 1639 five worsted weavers, nine merchants and the two dyers' wardens were present in Court; the merchants alleged that "the Dyers now in Norwich are so fewe and soe vnskilful as the m'chants are inforced to send their stuffs to fforeign parts to be dyed". One dyer, Mathew Marcon, stated that only three dyers in the city had served a seven-year apprenticeship and although he was not one of them himself, the weavers and merchants agreed that Marcon had dyed stuffs "very well and better then other dyers".<sup>(4)</sup> On the merchants' behalf, a note was delivered of 22 persons who had used the trade without serving an apprenticeship. In reply, the dyers alleged that 11 of their number had served a seven-year term and that four others named by the merchants were but poor men.

The merchants and weavers went on to assert that "there ys two of the Ancientest dying howses stand empty", that for twenty years the dyers had abused their laws, and that the

---

(1) C.B. 20/244.

(2) C.B. 20/267 (1639).

(3) C.B. 20/253 (1639).

(4) In 1640, Marcon alleged false dyeing by the warden, English; C.B. 20/277d.

wardens punished "whom they please". The weavers complained that as a result of bad dyeing "the trade of weaving ys much hindred and many men of that trade almost vndone & a great discredit brought vpon the Norwich stuffs". Following these exchanges, it was decided to propose that an act of Assembly might be passed to authorise the Mayor and Justices to admit whom they thought fit into the dyers' company.<sup>(1)</sup> But eight months later, the two dyers' wardens, Thomas Balls and Edmund English, were imprisoned for refusing to answer objections against them or to deliver up their "irons & the booke of their lawes";<sup>(2)</sup> freed to think it over, they failed to change their minds and with the Mayor's order for the wardens' servants to be sent to him for examination,<sup>(3)</sup> no more is heard of the dispute.

The tirade of criticism against the dyers brought one new law in 1646. Merchants and others had complained that Norwich Stuffs were much out of request in England, Spain and elsewhere because of "a great multitude of mouldy spotts in the said stuffles"; these spots and the failure of the cloths to take their colours was clearly the result of "the not cleane skouringe of the grease out of the yarnes whereof the said stuffles are made when the same are white and before the same

---

(1) C.B. 20/268-269

(2) C.B. 20/291d. (1640).

(3) C.B. 20/293 (1640).

be died". The order now made was that all worsted yarns - except "white spunne" - were to be scoured twice before being dyed.<sup>(1)</sup> Unfortunately, there is no record of the dyers' part in the industry for the remainder of the century.

In the preamble to the act of 1650,<sup>(2)</sup> Parliament declared that "divers Abuses and Deceits have of late years been had and used in the making of Worsted and other Stuffs, commonly called Norwich Stuffs, and in the Reeling of the Yarnes whereof the said Stuffs are either wholly or in part made; All which tends to the debasing of the said Manufacture, unto the prejudice of the Publique". The question of the yarn supply will be considered later, but it has been seen that weavers, dyers, combers and merchants had all played their part in the debasement. By this act the weavers of Norwich and Norfolk were incorporated with a governing body consisting of two presidents, twelve wardens and forty assistants, half of them to be chosen by the master weavers of the city and half by those of the county. The corporation was empowered to make new ordinances but these would have to be ratified by the Mayor and Justices; and its jurisdiction was to extend to all stuffs made wholly or partly of wool - with the exception of those under the regulation of the Russell Company.<sup>(3)</sup>

---

(1) A.B. 7/49.

(2) See Firth, C.H., and Rait, R.S., "Acts and Ordinances of the Inter-regnum, 1642-1660", Volume II, pp.451-455.

(3) The act was not, however, to deprive the weavers of Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn of liberties granted to them by statute 14 Henry VIII, c.3.

One important provision of this act was for the true making and reeling of yarn, and its seizure if found to be defective; the constant friction between the weavers and the spinners and yarnmen will be considered in connection with the industry's wool supply during the seventeenth century. All cloths made in the city and county were ordered to be searched and sealed by the wardens, tried and fined if defective, and not put to sale until sealing had been completed. The wardens were given extensive powers of search: they might enter the houses and workhouses of weavers, dyers, shearmen and calenderers; the shops, houses and warehouses of merchants, common buyers and retailers; in fact, all places where stuffs and yarn were made, dressed or sold.

This act was to last for three years from 1st November, 1650, but with several modifications of detail it was re-enacted in 1653,<sup>(1)</sup> and following a petition from the weavers to the Privy Council<sup>(2)</sup> it was confirmed in 1657.<sup>(3)</sup> When the term ran out again in 1659, a further renewal was sought by the city in a letter to Erasmus Earle, M.P.,<sup>(4)</sup> and in 1662 an extended act was passed.<sup>(5)</sup> The governing body was now changed to twelve wardens and thirty assistants, again elected half by the city and half by the county weavers, and they were given powers

- 
- (1) See Firth and Rait, *op.cit.*, II, pp.775-780.  
 (2) State Papers Domestic, calendar 1655-56, p.152.  
 (3) See Firth and Rait, *op.cit.*, II, p.1137.  
 (4) H.M.C., Volume 10, Part IV, p.222.  
 (5) Statute 14 Car.II, c.5.

similar to those set down in the earlier acts. Among the additional clauses were the enforcement of the seven-year apprenticeship; that no weaver was to keep more than two apprentices or to employ a week-boy; and that for each two apprentices, two journeymen were to be employed.

In accordance with these acts, wardens were annually sworn by the Mayor of Norwich:<sup>(1)</sup> in 1657, for instance, the twelve wardens "did take the declaracon appointed by the Act for regulating the making of stuffes in Norff. & Norwch" before the deputy Mayor.<sup>(2)</sup> King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth had been excluded from the jurisdiction of the new Company, and although there were never many weavers in the latter<sup>(3)</sup> it appears that one warden was usually elected for those of Lynn; at the oath-taking ceremony in 1673, Robert Hayward came forward with the claim that he had been chosen by 16 master weavers of Lynn, but having no legal testimony he was not sworn.<sup>(4)</sup> The governing body certainly exercised its right to

---

(1) See Court Books 23, 24, 25.

(2) C.B. 23/68d.

(3) Supra, p. 380.

(4) C.B. 24/243. The small sixteenth century worsted manufacture at Lynn (supra, p. 380) was apparently revived in the early seventeenth century. In 1622, the corporation arranged for the poor in the town to be employed in the spinning of worsted yarn (H.M.C., Vol. 18, p. 247); and early in 1623, Lynn petitioned the Privy Council to be allowed to set up "manufactures of woolle", a course which appealed to the Council provided that the city of Norwich was not prejudiced (AcBs of the Privy Council, calendar 1621-1623, p. 456).

formulate new laws for in 1675 two by-laws were signed by the Mayor and two Justices as the act required,<sup>(1)</sup> and all indications are that the searching of cloths was effectively carried out. Both city and county wardens annually certified the days, times and places for their searching and sealing,<sup>(2)</sup> and the space available for the city wardens in the New Hall was extended in 1652.<sup>(3)</sup>

#### IV.

The Norfolk sheep-farmers' quasi-monopoly of the worsted industry's wool supply had been broken by the introduction of the new draperies; during the last decades of the sixteenth century, greater quantities of wool were needed and the coarse, medium staple Norfolk variety was being replaced by finer, longer wools from other parts of England.<sup>(4)</sup> Medium staple Norfolk wool had at one time ideally suited the worsted weavers for whom the short wools of other counties were of little value; now, in the early seventeenth century, the position was reversed for the enclosure movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had gradually lengthened the

---

(1) C.B. 24/324d.

(2) In 1661, for instance, the Norwich wardens certified that they would seal in the New Hall on Tuesdays (2p.m. to 5 p.m. from Our Lady to harvest and 1p.m. to 4 p.m. for the rest of the year), Thursdays (at similar times) and Fridays (9 a.m. to 12 noon); the county wardens on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays at the Crown, Horsford, the George, Catton, the Dog, Easton and the "new signe", Coney.  
C.B. 23/148d.

(3) A.B. 7/105d., 109d., 132d..

(4) *Supra*, pp. 556 et seq.

Midland wools until a large proportion of them was going to the new drapers of the Eastern Counties and to the coarse woollen manufactures of Northern England.<sup>(1)</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century, the long wools of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, for instance, gradually ousted the Norfolk-grown wool from the Norwich market,<sup>(2)</sup> and Norfolk wool was being sent to the Yorkshire clothiers;<sup>(3)</sup> in the eighteenth century, this pattern was strengthened and even Irish yarn was added to the worsted industry's supply of raw material.<sup>(4)</sup> In spite of - or perhaps because of - the worsted weavers' abandonment of the Norfolk wool growers, a draft act was presented in the House of Lords in 1624 which aimed at restraining the worsted weavers from using other than Norfolk wool; but this echo of the past was discarded by their Lordships.<sup>(5)</sup>

While the worsted industry had used the characteristic Norfolk wool, wool useless for the fine broadcloth industry and for the staplers, this county had enjoyed special provisions exempting it from national legislation;<sup>(6)</sup> even when the Norwich

- 
- (1) Discussed by Bowden, thesis cit.; see also, p. 2.
- (2) Much wool from these Midland counties reached Norwich via Stourbridge Fair (V.C.H. Northamptonshire, Vol. II, p. 333), some was fetched by Norwich merchants (P.R.O. E159/442/Easter 180, 1612; 444/Easter 95d., 1613; 446/Easter 166, 1614) and much was shipped coastwise from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire ports into King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth (see Willan, T.S., "The English Coasting Trade, 1600-1750" (1938) pp. 88, 123-4, 128).
- (3) Willan, op.cit., pp. 87-9, 127-8, 130-1.
- (4) Willan, op.cit., pp. 93-4, 131. Young, A., "Tour through the East", 1771, p. 74.
- (5) House of Lords Mss., under date 17th April, 1624.
- (6) Supra, pp. 453-5.

aldermen were granted a licence to bring in non-Norfolk wool they were still accorded such exemption.<sup>(1)</sup> But as the worsted industry drew increasingly upon wool whose supply had long been subject to strict and continual regulation, so Norfolk began to experience the prohibition of wool broggers and the granting of restrictive licences; by the end of the sixteenth century, Bowyer's activities in Norfolk<sup>(2)</sup> gave warning of impending difficulties and when Sir Edward Hoby petitioned the Queen for a fresh licence the worsted industry was openly anxious about the maintenance of its wool supply. In 1601, the Mayor of Norwich conveyed his misgivings to Hoby: "I haue thought yt fytt hereby to signyfy my reasons of the necessarye vse of those fyne woolls & the buyinge & bringinge them to this Cittie of Norwich there to be wrought & for the settinge the poore to worke". He recalled the coming of the Strangers who "them selues founde meanes to trauell vnto other sheires for the buyinge of a more fyner staple wooll then our owne cuntry wooll more fytt for their vse and did imploye & conuerte greate quantities into fyne wares"; and he recalled that as a consequence, some of the "beste sorte of Cittizens" (the four aldermen) had procured a licence to bring those woolls to Norwich "And or owne woolls notwtstandinge were here sponne wouen

---

(1) Supra, p. 556.

(2) Supra, p. 560.

wrought & converted into A corser kynde of Draperies". Both Strangers and English, Alexander Thurston continued, "are not of habylitie to furnishe themselves wt woolls but doe buy in smale quantities for supplies as occasyon serve of suche as are of better habylitie who haue hetherto brought woolls notwithstandinge the danger of the statute": a good summary of the earlier situation. The Mayor finally expressed the hope that either under the licence for which Hoby was petitioning - if he got it - or by some other means, Norwich might "contynewe some honest & discrete men here to haue the buyinge & sellinge of those fyne woolls". (1)

Hoby in fact got his licence - in 1602 he was granted a patent for the purchase and sale of 500 sarplers of wool yearly for ten years. (2) Hoby employed local representatives to seek out offending, unlicensed broggers and to oblige them to take out sub-licences from him: in Lincolnshire, Suffolk and Norfolk this work was done by William Patrick - perhaps a relative of the Norfolk wool brogger of that name - (3) and of the offenders that he discovered there he wrote to Hoby "Thay be common brokers not vsing any other trade but this, chardge euery man with V<sup>c</sup> Toddes". (4) There is no record of any

---

(1) Ms. in Captain Hamond's possession.

(2) Bowden, thesis cit., p.150.

(3) See Appendix Four.

(4) Bowden, thesis cit., p.156.

special favour being granted by Hoby to Norwich, and it is possible that the merchants bringing wool into the city bought licences from him in the same way as the "common brokers".

After his licence had been extended in 1607, Hoby surrendered it in 1615, and the clothiers' clamour for stricter prosecution of the wool broggers brought the grant to five men in the same year of the right to all penalties incurred for offences against the 1429 and 1552 acts restraining broggers' activities. (1) The Staplers so protested against this grant that by the end of the year the Privy Council decided to investigate the legality of the position; the Council's decision, taken in 1616, effected a compromise between the clothiers and Staplers by allowing manufacturers the pre-emption of buying wool between shearing time and the following Michaelmas, and allowing Staplers and broggers to share in the trade after that date. (2) An important exception to this order allowed middlemen to be licensed to carry wool to the small manufacturers of the new draperies and on 30th June, 1616 letters were sent to the Justices of the Peace of Kent, Devon and Norfolk asking for details of the amount of wool used in those draperies. (3) Bowden was unable to find any trace of the desired reports but the authorities in Norfolk did get as

---

(1) Bowden, thesis cit., pp.161, 185-6.

(2) Thesis cit., pp.187-194.

(3) Acts of the Privy Council, calendar 1615-1616, pp.642-4.

far as making enquiries: the clerk of the Norwich Court of Mayoralty made the valuable entry that "Mr. John Norrys saith he supposeth ffiue Thowsand Todd of woolle ys yearely spent in makynge of Clothes, Stuffs & comoditie termed new manufactures in the County of Norff. & Citty of Norwch."<sup>(1)</sup>

Although the Norfolk industry had once again been granted a valuable exemption from national legislation, the Strangers in Norwich - together with those in similarly favoured counties - were suspected of illegally disposing of some of the wool carried to the city. Late in 1616, the Privy Council wrote to a number of town and county officials in areas where the new draperies were manufactured and congregations of aliens were settled, among them the Mayor of Norwich and the Norfolk Justices. The Council knew, they said, that much of the wool bought by the Strangers was too fine for their use, but that "culling it out, and severing it from the courser" they either re-sold it to the home clothier or exported it; the latter course was suspected, especially since a drapery was known to have been lately begun in the Netherlands. Information was required.<sup>(2)</sup>

The wool middlemen allowed by exemption to Norfolk and the other new drapery areas were soon to be tolerated in

---

(1) C.B. 15/79 (1616).

(2) Acts of the Privy Council, calendar 1616-17, pp.28-29.

the whole country. The Privy Council was realising - as the letter quoted in the previous paragraph clearly shows - that the broggers performed a valuable service, and in 1617 it was persuaded to grant control of the middlemen role in the wool trade to the Staplers' Company. The textile areas were to be served by twenty-three staple towns, Norwich among them. (1)

The control which the Staplers were now able to exert over the wool supply of the Norfolk worsted industry did not prevent the Strangers from continuing their illicit export. In 1623, the Council again wrote to Norwich having been informed that inhabitants of the city were suspected "dayly to buy kemmed woolles and worsted yarne and to packe the same verie closelie and cunningly and so send it over to marchantes strangers, which course is but a colorable transportation of woolle". (2)

But whatever the imperfection of the regulations, Norfolk now enjoyed the benefit of a middleman trade which was not dependant upon exemption from statutory legislation; for the remainder of the seventeenth century, the wool middleman enjoyed an unprecedented freedom from attack and the most important aspect of the Norfolk industry's wool supply was the spinning in and conveyance from Suffolk and Essex of a large

---

(1) Bowden, thesis cit., p. 212.

(2) Acts of the Privy Council, calendar 1623-1625, p. 44.

(1) *Reynolds, History of Suffolk (1518)*, edited by Sir F. Harvey, 1902, p. 26.

proportion of its yarn. Together with the abuses of the Norfolk and Norwich craftsmen, the defective work of these spinsters was a prime factor in the decline of the standards of Norwich Stuffs during the first half of the century.

Although much Norfolk and Midlands wool was still combed and spun in Norwich and Norfolk, an increasing supply of yarn was being drawn from the counties to the south - especially from Suffolk. Reyce spoke appraisingly of the Suffolk combers' trade in 1618: "This wool they sort into many severall purposes, being washed, scoured, kembed and trimmed, they putt it outt to spinning, of which they make a fine thread, according to the sort of the wools; of these spinners (for that the gaine of this worke is so advantageable and cleanly in respect of the clothing spinning, which is so unclean, so laboursome, and with so small earnings) they have more which offer themselves than there can att all times be provided for; now when their wooll is made into yarne, they weekly carry it to London, Norwich, and other such places, where it is ever readily sold to those who make hereof all sortes of fringies, stufes, and many other things which att this day are used and worne".<sup>(1)</sup> The carrying trade from Suffolk to Norwich was in the hands of the yarn-men. Despite

---

(1) Reyce, Breviary of Suffolk (1618), edited by Sir F. Harvey, 1902, p.26.

(3) A.P.C., Calendar 1616-17, pp.252-3 (26th May, 1617); 1618-19, p.316 (27th November, 1618).

(4) It is not clear to which statute this refers: possibly it was that of 1547, see supra, p.455.

the growing demand for yarn by the Norwich Stuffs industry, sectional interests in the city strongly objected to this trade in "foreign" spun yarn.

It was the yarn-sellers rather than the Suffolk spinners against whom the first criticism was directed in 1616: the Norfolk and Norwich worsted weavers complained to the Privy Council that the yarn-sellers made their reelstaves of yarn too short and containing too few threads,<sup>(1)</sup> and consequently the stuffs made from that yarn lacked their full size. In its reply, directed to the Mayor of Norwich and the Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Council expressed its concern for the new draperies manufacture and stated that there were "noe due meanes to be omitted for the furtherance thereof..."; those two men were to consult with the weavers' wardens and the judges at the next assizes, formulate a remedy, and put it into effect.<sup>(2)</sup> This they did<sup>(3)</sup> but the nature of the remedy is unknown; it did not, however, provide a lasting solution for in 1622 the Bishop of Norwich supported a complaint made on behalf of the Norfolk combers and spinners. Replying to the Bishop, the Privy Council recalled that by statute<sup>(4)</sup> the complainants had been favoured by a prohibition

- 
- (1) It had been customary to check the length of reelstaves in the markets of Norwich and the country towns by measurement against iron pins, 18 inches apart, driven into a post.  
 (2) Acts of the Privy Council, calendar 1616-17, p.49 (23rd October, 1616).  
 (3) A.P.C., calendar 1616-17, pp.252-3 (26th May, 1617); 1618-19, p.316 (27th November, 1618).  
 (4) It is not clear to which statute this refers: possibly it was that of 1547, see supra, p.453.

of the carrying of ready-combed wool into the country - a law which had been neglected; now no wool or yarn, ready-combed or -spun outside Norfolk, was to be sold in Norwich and men trading in the "foreign" wool were to be warned.<sup>(1)</sup> The warning was, in fact, given to 30 English and Strangers (15 combers, 11 hosiers, 2 weavers, 1 shopkeeper and 1 mercer and hosier)<sup>(2)</sup> "who haue lately vsed the trade in Norwch woolls"

The exclusion of foreign yarn was not welcomed in all quarters and objections were immediately raised against the Norfolk combers: "in ancient tyme the woolls of this Country & such as from other places were brought hether were comed by the huswives that did vsually spynne the same. And they did vsually take the best of that wooll to convert to yarne for Stuffs & Hose. And the refuse thereof called the nyle was converted to Dornix & Blankett. And nowe the Comers doe buy their wooll & doe drawe forth the same so farre so far (sic) as that they make almost no nyle at all. And so the yarne made naught & vnprofitable". At a meeting in the Court, agreement was reached that foreign yarn should be allowed to be sold in a common hall in Norwich.<sup>(3)</sup> The identity of these opponents of the combers is suggested by the Privy Council's

---

(1) A.P.C., calendar 1621-23, pp.295-6 (27th July, 1622).

(2) C.B. 15/418d. (30th August, 1622).

(3) Loc. cit..

acknowledgement later in 1622 of a petition from the Norwich hosiers "humble shewing that the bringing in of commed woolles from other counties is so farre from beinge any prejudice or grievance to the said commers, that the same is a great benifite and advantage to them in generall and that the forbidding thereof would take away the imployment of 6000 poore people...". The Earl Marshall and the Bishop were asked to report upon the matter to the Council. (1)

The Justices of Suffolk had written to Norwich concerning the dispute and in October, 1622, an answer was prepared. (2) The opinion of the Norfolk combers was now quite subordinated to that of the weavers who did not want the import of Suffolk yarn to be restrained; Norwich replied that the cause of complaint did not lie with the city or with the weavers, but that the yarn was often false and the yarn-men bought defective stuffs while in Norwich. (3) The Norwich Court also considered an answer to the Privy Council's recent letter, (4) but it was the Council who made the next move, in March, 1623. The inhabitants of Essex and Suffolk had petitioned the Council to be allowed to continue the trade with Norwich, and a meeting was called at which the different points of view might be expressed by representatives of Essex,

- 
- (1) A.P.C., calendar 1621-23, p. 329 (12th October, 1622).  
 (2) C.B. 15/427d. (23rd October, 1622).  
 (3) C.B. 15/428d. (29th October, 1622).  
 (4) C.B. 15/452 (4th February, 1623).

Suffolk and the two contending parties in Norwich.<sup>(1)</sup> The city appointed aldermen Browne and Gleane to attend this conference, held before the Privy Council on May 8th.<sup>(2)</sup>

On the following day, the Council reported that petitions had been received from both Norwich factions. The combers and spinners complained of the poor quality of wool and yarn from Suffolk, Essex and elsewhere, "the meane qualitie of the said forraine woolls and woollen yarne, being of farr courser and baser sort then those of Norfolk (as being much of it pelt wooll)...".<sup>(3)</sup> As a result, the quality of the Norwich Stuffs had fallen, "the said forraine woollen yarne being for the most parte wheele spunne yarne and nothing so proper for the Norwich stuffs and manufactures as the rock spun yarne is". On the other hand, the combers' and spinners' opponents believed that yarn spun in Norfolk "would not (if such restraint should be granted on the suddaine) suffice alone to sett the poore on worke, being many in nomber, or to supply the severall manufactures made within the said county and

---

(1) A.P.C., calendar 1621-23, pp.455-6 (28th March, 1623).

(2) C.B. 15/468d.-469 (1st May, 1623).

(3) Pelt wool was not used in Norwich Stuffs: writing from Norwich to Horatio Walpole in 1740, John Gurney stated that "we don't esteem that sort of wool so good when made into yarns as what is made from fleece wool,...nor do we use it in our sort of manufactures, unless the yarn maker deceives us, and sometimes they do, by mixing skin wool and fleece wool and working them together, but it is always a prejudice to the goods to be made of such materials"; Trevor Mss., H.M.C., Vol.38, pp.48-9.

citty of Norwich..."; this group thought the remedy should be the exclusion of poor quality foreign yarn and wool and the prevention of the exchange of such yarn and wool for defective stuffs in Norwich. The Council supported the latter, and undoubtedly the more realistic, view and ordered that foreign yarn must be sold in "a publique and common hall" in the city where it might be searched and where exchanges of yarn and cloth might be made. (1)

At first, three rooms were appointed for this hall with searchers nominated by both weavers and combers, (2) but in 1624 Little St. Mary's Church - previously used as a cloth hall for the Strangers and <sup>later to be</sup> a place of worship for the Walloons (3) - was converted into a yarn hall. (4) The Council's orders were read, in Norwich, to yarn-men of Suffolk, Essex and Cambridge-shire in an effort to bring them to the hall, and to an inn-keeper who was forbidden to allow yarn to be sold on his premises. (5) The yarn-men, from an extensive area in those counties, (6) were freely allowed into Norwich but temporary prohibition was necessary whenever there was any danger of their introducing the plague. (7)

---

(1) A.P.C., calendar 1621-23, pp. 486-8 (9th May, 1623).

(2) A.B. 6/157d. (4th July, 1623).

(3) Supra, p. 477, infra, p. 706.

(4) A.B. 6/158d. (8th August, 1623), 196d. (29th November, 1624).

(5) C.B. 16/41d., 43, 58d., 61d., 88 (April to July, 1625).

(6) See Map 16.

(7) C.B. 16/111; 19/27th June, 1637 (Waste Book)  
(1626)

MAP 16.

- Showing: (1) the location of Mattishall, the home of most of the Norfolk wool broggers (see Appendix Four), between the chief wool-producing and the worsted weaving areas of the county.
- (2) villages whence yarn-men came to Norwich in the seventeenth century (source: Court Books of the Norwich Court of Mayoralty).

They are:- in Suffolk -

Barton, Great	Horningsheath
Boxford	Ixworth
Boxted	Ixworth Thorpe
Bradfield St. George	Lavenham
Brettenham	Lawshall
Brockley	Mildenhall
Bury St. Edmunds	Needham Market
Chevington	Newmarket
Combs	Rattlesden
Cornard, Great	Stanfield
Felsham	Stanstead
Glemsford	Stanton
Hartest	Whepstead

in Essex -

Braintree	Sible Hedingham
Coggeshall	Witham
Colchester	

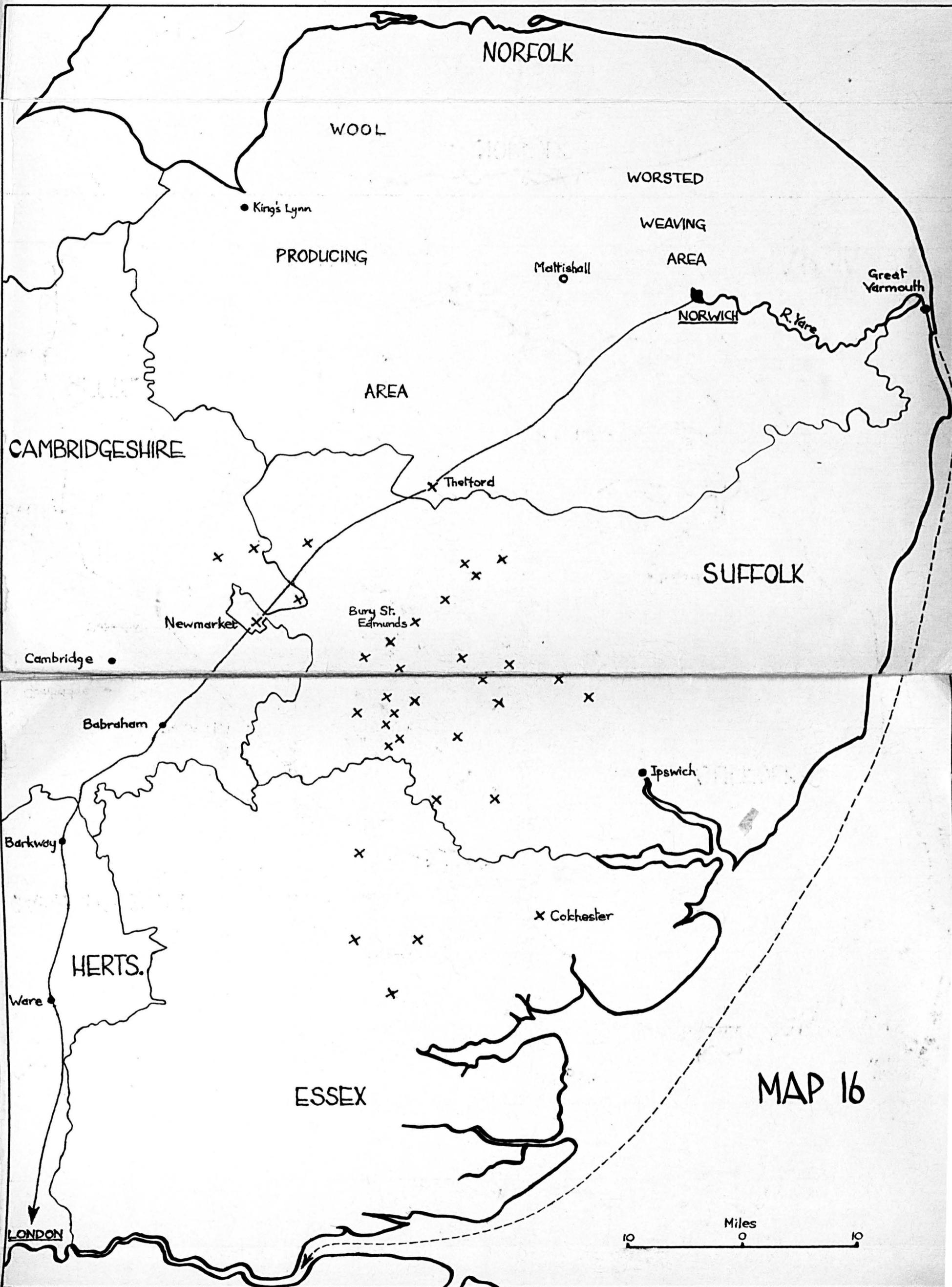
in Cambridgeshire -

Isleham	Soham
Kennett	

in Norfolk -

Thetford

- (3) the land and sea routes in use between Norwich and London.



Having secured the trade in foreign yarn, and having succeeded in bringing it to a hall to be searched, the Norwich authorities proceeded to subject <sup>it</sup> to thorough examination for quality and measure; similar searching was carried out by the country weavers' wardens. <sup>(1)</sup> Upon a complaint against the weavers' officers by the yarn-men, the Privy Council ordered an enquiry in June, 1629. <sup>(2)</sup> The Norfolk representatives failed to attend the ensuing meeting at Bury St. Edmunds, but the Suffolk Justices reported to the Council making the cause of the dispute quite clear. The Norwich and Norfolk weavers' wardens had always seized and held forfeit any yarn found to be defective, <sup>(3)</sup> and they were now adopting a similar procedure in the new yarn hall. The yarn-men felt that they were unjustly punished for the offences of a multitude of poor spinners who could not be forced to observe any set length of reelstave or number of threads: the yarn-men were caught between "the strictnes of this ordinance on the one side, and the libtie of the Spinner on the othr side". The wardens' attitude had been recently legalised by the Privy Council in 1617 <sup>(4)</sup> and subsequently the Suffolk Justices had

---

(1) See, for example, P.R.O. P.C. 2/39/230 (1629); S.P. 16/180/57 (1630); C.B. 16/231, 244 (1629), 480d. (1634). N.B. that in 1615 the wardens had been empowered to seize defective Norfolk yarn in the hands of the spinners only, and not after it had been sold to the worsted weaver who "hath bene already punished by the deceit & falsity of the spinster sellynge the same", C.B. 15/20d.

(2) P.R.O. P.C. 2/39/324 (26th June, 1629).

(3) Amply confirmed by the wardens' presentments to be found in the First and Second Worsted Weavers' Books, N.C.M.R., Case 17, Shelf d..

(4) *Supra*, p. 696. (order of 26th May).

been unable to bring the weavers to an agreement: while the latter wanted yarn to continue to be measured by the reelstave, with regulation of the length and number of threads, the yarn-men preferred that it should be sold by weight. (1) Apparently angered by the failure of Sir Anthony Drury and Sir Peter Gleane to attend the meeting in Bury, the Privy Council completely accepted the Suffolk Justices' report, reversed its confirmation of the weavers' right to seize yarn, and ordered sale to be made by weight. (2)

The Norwich weavers promptly complained that the Bury meeting had not been fully representative in the absence of Drury and Gleane and although the Privy Council felt that the absentees should be sharply reproved it agreed to the weavers' request for the matter to be re-heard. The order just made was, however, confirmed and the parties were ordered to hold another meeting without delay, again at Bury St. Edmunds. (3) The meeting took place early in December, 1629; no agreement was reached and the weavers' representatives would not join the other Justices in a common report to the Council. Instead, they alleged that for many years past only small amounts of yarn had been seized, and that the weavers suffered far greater losses than did the yarn-men who would not submit to penalties

---

(1) P. R. O. S. P. 16/147/50 (4th August, 1629).

(2) P. R. O. P. C. 2/39/415 (12th August, 1629).

(3) P. R. O. P. C. 2/39/461 (16th October, 1629).

for false yarn. The Suffolk Justices believed that the yarn-men could be persuaded to accept fair punishment, but re-asserted that the spinners' original fault was behind the whole dispute. (1) The minority report from the weavers' representatives reached the Council soon after that from the Suffolk Justices; in addition to their allegations, they maintained that sale by weight was quite unfitting for the trade and also queried the yarn-men's assertion that the spinners could not be regulated. The yarn-men, they said, "take advant of the Spinners fraud by there owne neclect out of supposed streight of tyme wch themselues may inlarge, and there diligence by tymely search easily prevent." (2)

The Privy Council made yet another attempt to break the deadlock in the last days of 1629: the parties were to attend before the Council to be heard. The Council also ordered that until the matter was determined, all suits between yarn-men and weavers' wardens for seizure of yarn begun before the Council's prohibition of such seizure should be stayed. (3) Before this meeting was held, the city authorities searched their records - which they said had been carefully kept since the reign of Henry VII - and found that

---

(1) P.R.O. S.P.16/153/11 (4th December, 1629).  
 (2) P.R.O. S.P.16/153/53 (14th December, 1629).  
 (3) P.R.O. P.C.2/39/566 (29th December, 1629).

yarn had always been sold by the gross, containing twelve dozens, the dozen, containing twelve reelstaves, the hespe, containing two reelstaves, the reelstaff, containing fourteen leys and measuring "a yard about", and by the ley, containing forty threads. Defective reelstaves had always been tried before a jury of worsted weavers. Norwich reported also that the trade had very much increased since its inception during the first decade of the century, 800 pounds of yarn being weekly brought to and sold in the city. And yet, since the Privy Council order in their favour in June 1617, the wardens had seized only 137 gross, three dozens and four reelstaves of Norfolk and Suffolk yarn;<sup>(1)</sup> at 12s. per gross, this amounted to only £82.7.4.-worth. Nevertheless, the yarn was often false and if it were sold by weight the weaver would buy sand, water, grease, oil and other rubbish mixed with it; the stuffs would necessarily be falsely made and craftsmen in the industry would be forced "to walke in a new and vncouth way".<sup>(2)</sup>

The researches of the Mayor and his colleagues apparently impressed the Privy Council for, after the dispute had been fully heard, their lordships decided that the old

---

(1) For examples of the quantities of yarn seized at the wardens' inquisitions see C.B.15/154 (1617) when 2 gross, 96 dozens, 4 reelstaves and 2 hespes were seized on October 8th; and C.B.16/205-6 (1628) when 276 dozens and 61 reelstaves were seized on 30th July.

(2) P.R.O. S.P.16/159/27 (27th January, 1630).

customs and orders - especially the one they had made on 26th May, 1617 - were just and indifferent to all parties; they were therefore re-established and the anti-weaver order of 12th August, 1629 was suspended. The Council was satisfied that the yarn-men's complaint was "rather clamorous than just" but if they had any cause to complain of the wardens' unfair seizure of yarn then they might have free access to the Privy Council itself.<sup>(1)</sup> The combers and spinners of Essex, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire had contributed towards a settlement of the dispute about this time; they believed that a constant reel must be used throughout the counties concerned and they appointed 18 of their chief traders (12 from Suffolk and 4 from Essex) to work for the orderly government of the industry and the oversight of the reel.<sup>(2)</sup>

The matter did not, however, rest there for the Privy Council had been won over by the yarn-men once again in 1631 and the weavers had again asked for a revision of the decision which allowed yarn to be sold by weight.<sup>(3)</sup> Whatever the outcome of this request, there was certainly no reversal of the order for all yarn to be taken to the yarn hall for sale. Late in 1631, the city authorities were trying to persuade yarn-men and weavers to use the hall as the Privy Council had

---

(1) P.R.O. P.C. 2/39/641 (12th February, 1630).

(2) P.R.O. S.P. 16/530/116 (1629, subsequent to the order of 12th August).

(3) State Papers Domestic, calendar Charles I addenda, 1625-49, pp. 422-3 (November, 1631).

directed;<sup>(1)</sup> in March, 1632, four aldermen went to the inns to acquaint the yarn and wool sellers with the Council's letters and to inform them there was "a spacious place" provided for a hall which they must resort to on their next visit.<sup>(2)</sup> The spacious place consisted of certain rooms at the New Hall, and such was the importance of supervision of the yarn supply that it was decided that the sealing hall would be moved elsewhere to accommodate the yarn-men.<sup>(3)</sup> The yarn presses were moved to the New Hall from Little St. Mary's church which was now considered fit for a workhouse but not to be let out.<sup>(4)</sup> Whatever the facilities of this new yarn hall, they are unlikely to have satisfied some of the yarn-men who refused to undergo the search with its attendant risk of seizure of their goods. On 13th March, 1631, 39 yarn-men (37 from Suffolk and 2 from Cambridgeshire) were instructed to use the hall; one of them would agree to do so only if his yarn might be 'conveniently prepared' there; another demanded a room with a lock and key; and a third wanted a private room.<sup>(5)</sup>

Despite the vacillation of the Privy Council and the active opposition of a minority of the yarn-men, it seems

- 
- (1) A.B. 6/266d. (22nd December, 1631).  
 (2) C.B. 16/Sachse (7th March, 1632).  
 (3) A.B. 6/270d. (23rd March, 1632).  
 (4) A.B. 23rd March and 8th June, 1632, quoted by Sachse, op. cit., p. 229. In 1637 the church was transferred to the religious use of the Walloons, Blomefield, op. cit., IV, pp. 118-9.  
 (5) C.B. 18/13th March, 1631 (Waste Book)

likely that the worsted weavers were able to keep a careful check on the yarn supply after 1630; the Court Books certainly confirm the continuance of the wardens' seizure of faulty yarn.<sup>(1)</sup> The weavers' rights in this direction were finally established by the act of 1650<sup>(2)</sup> which sought to correct the numerous abuses in the manufacture of Norwich Stuffs; prevention of the false reeling of yarn was, indeed, the central theme of the act. All yarns were to be spun without fraud, and reeled according to the customary measures;<sup>(3)</sup> defective yarn would be seized, tried and fined, but the owners would be amply compensated for unjustified seizure. With the provisions of the 1650 and 1662<sup>(4)</sup> acts, the weavers were provided with a firm basis for their actions, and the foreign combers and yarn-men with a deeper grievance.

Soon after the 1662 act had been passed, the wool combers petitioned the House of Commons requesting that the law should be changed in their favour.<sup>(5)</sup> They alleged that the weavers' wardens, "who are both Searcher, Seizer, Judge and Jury", had indulged in exorbitant extortions. The combers' proposed remedy was for they themselves to be empowered to punish the spinsters and for defective yarns to be destroyed rather than the owner fined. Far from exceeding the powers

---

(1) See Sachse, *op.cit.*, for the wardens' inquisitions of 1630 and 1631.

(2) *Supra*, pp. 685-6.

(3) *Supra*, p. 704.

(4) Statute 14 Car. II, c. 5.

(5) Commons Journals VIII, 497; the petition is recited in the weavers' reply, *infra*.

granted to them in 1662, the wardens replied that they had "rather been too remiss than severe" and that their powers should be widened to apprehend the secret sales of the combers. They agreed with the proposed punishment of spinsters but asked that combers who tolerated them should be punished too; and concerning the cutting rather than fining of false yarn, the weavers declared that the latter had been found to be the most convenient means of punishment - and that if the combers wished, they could themselves cut the yarn before their spinsters' faces.<sup>(1)</sup> Whatever the result of this exchange, the wardens appear to have retained greater powers than pleased the combers: a petition similar to the previous one was presented in Parliament in 1693<sup>(2)</sup> and in April, 1694, four Bury St. Edmunds men were trying to get a bill introduced into Parliament - a bill to redress the arbitrary and illegal actions of the wardens.<sup>(3)</sup> Throughout the second half of the century there seems little doubt that the Norfolk weavers retained their powers for maintaining the quality of the yarn supply<sup>(4)</sup> and that, - in part at least - the foreign combers and yarn-men suffered for the offences of the scattered and uncontrolled spinsters of Suffolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire.

---

(1) P.R.O. S.P.29/75/163 (? June, 1663).

(2) Commons Journals, XI, 22; and State Papers Domestic, Calendar 1700-1702, p.579 (in the appendix of undated Mss.)

(3) State Papers Domestic, calendar 1694-5, p.83.

(4) When the Norwich wool combers were incorporated in 1686 they were given powers to assist in the exclusion of faulty foreign-combed wool; N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf b; Case 17, Shelf d.

## V

As with the new draperies in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Norwich Stuffs found their chief foreign markets in France and Spain and their export was largely in the hands of the two Companies of merchants monopolising the trade to those countries; worsted stockings were, in addition, shipped by the Merchant Adventurers and the Merchants of the Levant. These are the outstanding relevant items in a list of the exports and imports of the chief Merchant Companies in the reign of James I;<sup>(1)</sup> among their imports is a number of raw materials for the English textile industry, some of which were certainly used in Norfolk. Special kinds of wool are represented by those from Austria and Polonia, brought in by the Eastland Merchants and Spanish wool by the Spanish Company, all used by, inter alia, the Norfolk **hatters**;<sup>(2)</sup> some of the silk imported by the Merchant Adventurers and the Merchants of the Levant must have found its way into the Norwich Stuffs; and among the dyes and mordants used in Norwich, madder was provided by the Merchant Adventurers, indigo and alum by the Merchants of the Levant, "sopeashes" by the Eastland Merchants, woad by the French Company and sumach and cork by the Spanish Merchants.

---

(1) P.R.O. S.P.14/189/34(42), undated but tempus James I;  
see Appendix Eleven.

(2) *Infra*, p. 76f.

Once again, no accurate assessment can be made of the relative importance of the home and foreign markets for Norwich Stuffs. The alnage officials had the opportunity to provide details of the manufacture, export and home consumption of woollen goods in 1695, but the return was falsified in the hope of preventing the passage in Parliament of a bill to transfer the alnage duty to the Customs House: the alnagers tried to show that export was less than home consumption, and asserted that few or no crapes, cambletts and Norwich Stuffs were exported. The falsity of the report was acknowledged and the general opinion of merchants was stated to be that export exceeded home consumption; as far as crapes, cambletts and Norwich Stuffs were concerned, it was generally computed that more than one-quarter of them were exported.<sup>(1)</sup>

It is probable that the bulk of the exported goods from Norwich were first sent by road or by coastal shipping to London, but the outports did have a small share in the export of new draperies. When the London Merchant Adventurers' charter was renewed in 1617, the new draperies were included among the goods which they might ship to Germany or the Low Countries and the outports were forced to send such wares to the capital for export.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1621, however, the outports were given the

---

(1) B.M., Lansdowne Mss. 846/84, fo. 284.

(2) Acts of the Privy Council, calendar 1619-1621, pp. 391-2. Also Lingelbach, W.E., "The Merchant Adventurers of England" (1902), pp. 134-5.

freedom of participation in this trade, provided that their merchants took the goods to the Company's mart towns abroad where they would be allowed to sell on equal terms with members of the Company.<sup>(1)</sup> Great Yarmouth was doubtless one of the provincial ports to benefit from this toleration, but it has been suggested<sup>(2)</sup> that of the Norfolk products only worsted stockings were shipped on any scale to the Merchant Adventurers' markets,<sup>(3)</sup> and it is unlikely that many of the Norwich Stuffs destined for France and Spain passed through any port other than London.

The land route to London was probably the more popular of the two, at least until the mid-seventeenth century, but the increasing safety and the relative cheapness of the sea route must have drawn larger and larger quantities of goods through Yarmouth in the ensuing years. The benefits of the sea route were being realised by 1631 when the abandonment of "Cariage by Carts" was proposed, "which motion was for the most part approved and well liked of";<sup>(4)</sup> but the carriers retained

---

(1) A.P.C., loc.cit.. See also, S.P.14/121/144, 128/59 (1621).

(2) Supra, p.709.

(3) Friis found that "The trade of the Merchant Adventurers of Norwich seems to have been just as insignificant as that of the Ipswich Adventurers, as far as we can learn from the customs accounts of Yarmouth"; Friis, Astrid, "Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade" (1927), p.117. For the shipment of worsted stockings to the Low Countries see Cecil Papers, H.M.C., Vol.9, Part 18, pp.127-8; Friis, op.cit., pp.452-3; State Papers Domestic, calendar 1635, p.10.

(4) C.B.16/29th December, 1631; and A.B., 18th November, 1631; see Sachse, p.213.

their place throughout the century. In a petition to the Privy Council in 1638, the merchants trading in Norwich Stuffs stressed the importance of the common carriers: they carried not only goods but the merchants' letters to buyers in London. Letters, bills of exchange, bills of lading, accounts and similar documents had always been carried by a carrier on horseback, "not in manner of postage by change of horses but in an ordinary way as is vsuall by comon Carriers"; and the carriers performed this service free in return for the numerous loadings given to them by the merchants. When Thomas Withering<sup>s</sup> was granted letters patent to become His Majesty's Postmaster, he ordered all letters to be taken on the carriers' slow cart journeys and not on horseback; this would have deprived both the Norwich merchants and their London customers of invaluable advance notice of the goods available and required, and without it the weavers' goods could not be assembled in time for the carriers' departure from Norwich which was strictly regulated by civic laws. The new postage charges were also unpopular with the merchants who would, on their own estimation, have to pay 5s.-8s. per week: they claimed that letters seized by Witherings in one week had been charged at about £28.<sup>(1)</sup> The Privy Council eventually allowed the merchants to continue their former practice but carriers were not to arrive with letters more than eight hours before the carts were due in London or Norwich.<sup>(2)</sup>

---

(1) P.R.O. S.P. 16/380/80, 80i, 81, 82, 83; 378/45 (1638).

(2) S.P. 16/379/37, 61 (1638).

This important trade was subject to careful regulation by the Norwich authorities as to the behaviour of the carriers. In the city itself, they often made the streets both dirty and dangerous and were obliged to use certain specified common watering places on the river for their horses,<sup>(1)</sup> to lead horses only two abreast so as not to take up the whole street,<sup>(2)</sup> and to have their animals' hooves shod only with "Rose nayles" and not "dice head nayles or bradd nayles".<sup>(3)</sup> The carriers stayed in inns while in the city, frequenting Miles Harborough's "St. John's Head" amongst others.<sup>(4)</sup> Their number is uncertain but in 1626 there appears to have been about 20 native to Norwich,<sup>(5)</sup> and several London carriers worked from that end of the route;<sup>(6)</sup> in addition, goods - including wool and yarn - were brought into Norwich by carriers of Colchester and Bury St. Edmunds.<sup>(7)</sup> Merchants assembled their goods at the carriers' inns where the wardens occasionally carried out a final search to see that all cloths were fully sealed.<sup>(8)</sup>

Orders were constantly made concerning the carriers' day of departure from Norwich (it was at different times Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday) and they were

- 
- (1) A.B. 5/290 (1604).  
 (2) A.B. 6/205d. (1625).  
 (3) C.B. 8/564d. (1568), 12/626, 645, 655 (1592); A.B. 5/356 (1590).  
 (4) C.B. 14/19d. (1603).  
 (5) C.B. 16/111d. (1626).  
 (6) C.B. 20/241d. (1641).  
 (7) C.B. 20/124d. (1636), 23/276d., 279 (1666).  
 (8) A.B. 5/242d. (1601); see supra, p. 621.

continually ordered to rest on the sabbath.<sup>(1)</sup> Penalties were imposed not only upon the carriers themselves but upon merchant and tradesmen for holding up the carts by the late delivery of goods,<sup>(2)</sup> and upon porters at the city gates for letting the carts out after the stated times and days.<sup>(3)</sup> The journey to London took four days - five if a rest on the sabbath was involved - and the round journey, allowing for two restful Sundays and three days in London, occupied 13 days.<sup>(4)</sup> The route taken from Norwich was through Thetford (Norfolk), Newmarket (Suffolk), Babraham (Cambridgeshire), Barkway and Ware (both in Hertfordshire).<sup>(5)</sup> Carriers from different parts of the country favoured a variety of lodgings in London and the Norwich men's choice was the Dolphin outside Bishopsgate.<sup>(6)</sup>

The carriers transported a wide variety of stuffs from Norwich: some idea of the size and contents of one man's load may be gained from details of the goods that Thomas

- 
- (1) A.B. 3/287d. (1580), 316d. (1584); 5/255 (1602), 390 (1610)  
 (2) A.B. 6/32d. (1616), for example.  
 (3) C.B. 10/15 (1575), 14/381d. (1612); A.B. 6/175 (1624), e.g.  
 (4) A.B. 5/390 (1610), 6/1 (1613), 6/267 (1632); C.B. 16/124 (1627), for example.  
 (5) C.B. 16/65 (1625), 20/409 (1644). When L'Strange of Hunstanton visited London he took this same route - Thetford, Newmarket, Babraham, Barkway, Ware, Waltham and so to London; *Archaeologia*, Vol. 25 (1834), p. 463. See Map 16.  
 (6) Taylor, J., "The Carriers' Cosmography" (1637).

Weavers was taking to London "this Journey" in 1580. (1)

Twelve men contributed:-

1 pack of bays	1 little truss of tufts
2 packs "in boords"	1 little truss of hose
1 pack "in Canwas"	1 little pack of thread
1 pack of tufts	1 little hamper
1 pack of lace	1 little "parquett"
2 hampers of lace	1 little truss

The normal rule seems to have been 1 carrier - 1 cart or waggon, (2) though in the later seventeenth century some men were employing servants and sending several carts to London at one time. (3) There are few details of the goods taken to Norwich on the return journey, but whenever there was any danger of plague being brought back to the city by carriers they were forbidden to carry wool - as well as, of course, passengers. (4)

Competition to the land route to London was provided by the River Yare to Great Yarmouth and coastwise shipping thence to the capital. In 1645 an assessment towards improving the river was supported by the statement that "a greate parte of the Manufactures, Wares, and other Comodities made in the City of Norwich haue bene vsually heretofore Conveyed in Keeles, Lightors, & other Boates in the Common Riuer runinge from the said City to Greate Yarmouth, in the

- 
- (1) C.B. 10/611 (1580).  
 (2) C.B. 14/17d. (1603), 19/Waste Book (1636).  
 (3) C.B. 23/254 (1665).  
 (4) C.B. 16/59,65 (1625), 20/107d., 124d., etc. (1636), 23/253d., 254-6, 259-60, 276d., 279, etc. (1665-6).

Countye of Norff., & their shipped, & from thence, either Carried to the Citty of London, or to Other Ports, in this Kingdome, or Transported into parts beyond the Seas"; in addition, food and other goods were carried up to Norwiche on the water.<sup>(1)</sup> The city was responsible for cleaning the river within Norwich, and as far downstream as its liberties extended where assistance was given by the riverside villages;<sup>(2)</sup> beyond that, the deepening of Breydon Water was the concern of Great Yarmouth.<sup>(3)</sup> In the port itself, great expense was involved in the maintenance of the haven; between 1549 and 1597, £31,873.14.4. was spent in "Makinge Two newe havens beinge Cutte into the Sea and the repar of them, wherof the ffirste haven Contynued not longe but did stoppe vppre agene beinge within Two furlongs of the South walles. But the other haven beinge the haven wch was Laste Cutte into the Sea right over agenste the personage of gorlestone Contyneweth god be thanked in good Case maynteyned agenste the fforce of the Seas".<sup>(4)</sup> Money was provided by the Town Treasury, and "haven doles" were collected as an assessment on herrings landed; in 1599, the total sum involved was £682, and by the

---

(1) A.B. 7/34.

(2) See River and Streets Books, N.C.M.R., Case 19, Shelf b. C.B. 16/156d.(1627), 404x (1632); 20/11d.(1634), 316(1640), 475 (1646); 19/Waste Book (1635) etc.. Reports of juries of the Commissioners of Sewers, Case 14, Shelf c.

(3) Great Yarmouth muniments, "The Haven Booke".

(4) Mss. cit..

last decade of the seventeenth century it amounted to between £1,000 and £2,000. (1)

The city of Norwich occasionally made a further contribution towards the charges of maintaining the haven. In 1567, 170 citizens contributed a total of £44.4.0.; and in 1573, a benevolence amounted to £87.12.7. - given by 703 citizens, together with £20 from the Dutch and £5 from the Walloon congregations. (2) A more general assessment was imposed on the inhabitants of Norwich in 1622 when a tax of 5d. in the £ was levied "accordinge to the last Subsedy". (3) Some reciprocal assistance was given by Yarmouth to Norwich for the improvement of the river; the Yarmouth engineer, for instance, built a "Water Ingen" for cleaning and deepening the river in the city; (4) and, following the Act of Parliament of 1670, (5) concerned with the raising of money for Yarmouth haven, provision was made for the annual allotment of £50 of the assessment for work on the River in Norwich. (6) In

- 
- (1) Mss.cit.. In 1581, fish were assessed for the herring doles at 4s. per "Cade"; Great Yarmouth muniments, A.B. 1579-98, fo.38.
- (2) N.C.M.R., Case 15, Shelf g.
- (3) A.B. 6/138.
- (4) C.B. 20/394d., 415d. (1643-4), etc..
- (5) Statute 22 Car.II, c.2.
- (6) C.B. 24/184d.(1671), 291 (1674); 25/5d., 13d.(1677), 99d.(1681). A.B. 8/38 (1673).

(1) N.C.M.R., Case 15, Shelf g.

(2) State Papers Domestic, calendar 1573, pp.130-1.

(3) For a list of ships of Yarmouth from Yarmouth to London, Poole and Newcastle, see Willan, op.cit., pp.93, 130 (1683, 1732-3).

pursuance of that act, it was agreed in December 1670, that £12,000 should be collected in impositions on goods imported and unloaded in the port, and a seven-year contract was to be placed for the repair and maintenance of the haven and piers.<sup>(1)</sup>

The expense involved in keeping open the haven was not the only drawback of the port of Yarmouth. In 1673, the well-known narrow lanes or "Rows" were criticised as inconvenient for trade - they meant that this was the only English port in which goods were still carried in barrows; again, the quay-side houses, though well built, were insufficient to entertain more than one-quarter of the merchants who might otherwise be attracted to Yarmouth; there was, moreover, little fresh water available, and the fishing industry - of complementary importance to the port's trading activities - was handicapped by a shortage of vessels. Nevertheless, the town was admirably situated for trade with the United Netherlands and Flanders and well-placed, too, for sending vessels to Hamburg, the Hanse towns, the Baltic and Norway; consequently, Yarmouth's trade was said to be more flourishing than that of any port except London and Bristol.<sup>(2)</sup> The great bulk of Norwich goods exported from local ports, passed through Yarmouth;<sup>(3)</sup> a few did find their way to

---

(1) N.C.M.R., Case 14, Shelf c.

(2) State Papers Domestic, calendar 1673, pp.150-1.

(3) For examples of shipments of Norwich Stuffs from Yarmouth to London, Poole and Newcastle, see Willan, op.cit., pp.93, 130 (1683, 1732-3).

King's Lynn<sup>(1)</sup> and Blakeney<sup>(2)</sup> (a member port of Yarmouth), but they were quantitatively of little significance. The Norwich authorities, incidentally, actively opposed the suggestion that the city should become a member of the Port of Great Yarmouth.<sup>(3)</sup>

Within the city, goods were permitted to be laden and unloaded only at the old and new common stathes,<sup>(4)</sup> though several minor stathes and quays were still in use in the seventeenth century - some for the washing of clothes, others for the sole use of adjacent householders;<sup>(5)</sup> moreover, the building of new stathes was forbidden.<sup>(6)</sup> The common stathes

- (1) For exports of Norwich Stuffs to Boston and London, see Willan, *op.cit.*, pp.125, 126, 128 (1620-1, 1685-6, 1734-5).  
 (2) For exports of Norwich cloths to Newcastle, Rotterdam and La Rochelle, see Cozens-Hardy, B., "The Maritime Trade of the Port of Blakeney, Norfolk, 1587-1590", Norfolk Record Society, Volume 8 (1936).  
 (3) C.B. 23/218d.(1664), 263d.(1665).  
 (4) C.B. 19/Waste Book (1636), etc..  
 (5) Stathes at St. Martin at Oak, C.B. 23/212d.(1664); Fybridge, A.B.5/416d.(1612); Coslany Bridge, A.B.6/5d.(1613); St. Anne's, C.B. 14/451d. (1614).  
 (6) A.B. 7/221d. (1661).

were usually leased to tenants at an annual rent,<sup>(1)</sup> the lessees enjoying the duties collected from merchants;<sup>(2)</sup> for short periods the stathe-keeper acted as the city's servant, rendering a monthly account of profits.<sup>(3)</sup> It was sometimes found necessary to bar certain lanes and alleys by which carts were taken to the river and goods loaded without the use of the common crane at the stathes,<sup>(4)</sup> and the illegal entry of boats and their avoidance of the stathes necessitated the raising of the boom or chain at the boom-towers.<sup>(5)</sup> At Great Yarmouth, too, only specified places were available for loading and unloading cargoes.<sup>(6)</sup>

Wherry-men plying between Norwich and Yarmouth were obliged to be licensed<sup>(7)</sup> and a check was kept on the numbers using the trade; in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there appear to have been fewer than ten wherry-men,<sup>(8)</sup> but in 1665 when orders were made to prevent wherry-men

---

(1) For example, £10 per annum for 7 yrs. in 1573; A. B. 3/226.
£12 " " " 14 " " 1581; A. B. 3/304.
£50 " " " 7 " " 1611; A. B. 5/411.
£70 " " " 7 " " 1619; A. B. 6/96d.
£52 " " " 7 " " 1622; A. B. 6/114.
£46 " " " 4 " " 1623; A. B. 6/167d.
£35 " " " 1 " " 1626; A. B. 6/215d.
£38 " " " 7 " " 1630; A. B. 6/255d.
£40 " " " 21 " " 1649; A. B. 7/93.
£40 or £41.4.0. " " - 1691; A. B. 8/167.

(2) For details of the duties, see A. B. 5/387 (1609), 416d. (1612); 421 (1612); 6/44 (1616); 7/221d. (1661); C. B. 16/407, 425d. (1632-3).

(3) C. B. 15/509 (1623).

(4) C. B. 15/421a. (1622)

(5) C. B. 20/454 (1645); 23/140d. (1661); 24/29 (1667).

(6) A. B. 3/171 (1570).

(7) Mss. cit..

(8) C. B. 13/215 (1598); 15/299 (1620).

from carrying the plague into the city, articles of agreement received 27 signatures.<sup>(1)</sup> Each wherryman was limited to two wherries in 1620<sup>(2)</sup> and frequently several men shared the ownership of a single boat.<sup>(3)</sup> Like the carriers on the road to London, wherryman were strictly forbidden to work on Sundays and they were consequently prohibited from setting out after mid-day on Saturdays.<sup>(4)</sup>

Just as enforcement of apprenticeship and of admission to the freedom of Norwich was one of the foremost aspects of regulation in the worsted industry, so the activities of non-freemen in buying and selling goods in the city were a constant source of anxiety to the city authorities throughout the seventeenth century. The great increase in the city's population and the growing prosperity of the worsted industry during the early decades of the century gave ample opportunity for foreigners to compete in the marketing of cloths and other goods, and frequent efforts were made in these years to prevent abuse of the citizenship regulations. Not only were foreigners directly participating in trade but they were employing freemen as factors or partners in an attempt to avoid taking up their own freedom;<sup>(5)</sup> in this way, citizens of

---

(1) C.B. 23/259d. (1665).

(2) C.B. 15/301 (1620).

(3) C.B. 23/160d. (1662); and see *infra*, p.770.

(4) A.B. 6/37 (1616); C.B. 20/454 (1645); 23/41 (1656); 15/301 (1620).

(5) A.B. 5/243 (1660), 290 (1604), 302d. (1604), 335 (1606).

Another form of factorship was that in which an English merchant exported goods on behalf of a Stranger and so avoided the higher customs payable by Strangers. For example, see P.R.O. E134/6 James I/Easter 38 (1608).

Norwich were acting on behalf of foreigners of London as well as those resident in this city.<sup>(1)</sup> Closely bound up with these practices was the sale and purchase of goods in private houses and inns, and both English and Strangers were constantly urged to bring all their goods to the common sale hall.<sup>(2)</sup> Orders were made for that hall in 1611 whereby foreigners would be forced to pay duties on goods brought to the city for sale.<sup>(3)</sup>

Enforcement of such instructions proved extremely difficult and the city Assembly continued to issue orders for "all m'chandizinge forreyners both Englishe & Strangers" to take up their freedom.<sup>(4)</sup> Likewise, in 1628 complaints were still being made against brokers "wch much annoyeth at this tyme this City" and a search was instituted for all factors and brokers with foreigners - "such men as neither deale wth their owne mony nor beare the adventure of their Trade".<sup>(5)</sup> So difficult did prevention of factorship prove to be, however, that the authorities eventually gave up the attempt. In 1641, a merchant completed his apprenticeship and applied for his freedom but he refused to take the freeman's oath with the

---

(1) A.B. 5/302d. (1604).

(2) A.B. 5/303d. (1604), 356 (1607), 367 (1608).

(3) A.B. 5/404, 421.

(4) C.B. 15/16 (1615). Also: A.B. 5/433 (1613); A.B. 6/1 (1613), 17d. (1614), 40d.-41 (1616), 127d. (1622), 244d. (1629); A.B. 7/57 (1647).

(5) C.B. 16/225d.-226. In 1627, the Norwich hosiers reported the names of 12 Strangers who used the trade and were not freemen; 3 of them were also alleged to be factors for foreigners. C.B. 16/159d.

inclusion of the words "you shall not be ptner nor factor wth a forreigner"; subsequently, the Mayor - without the consent of the rest of the Court - administered the oath without those words. (1) In later years, general agreement was reached on this matter for when a new city charter was sought in 1682, one of the provisions desired was that the factorship clause should be omitted from the freemen's oath. (2)

Orders for the enforcement of the freedom regulations continued to be made during the second half of the century; in 1663, for instance, a worsted weaver and a tailor were appointed to seize all goods that were foreign bought and sold, (3) and in 1675 the earlier law was re-enacted, with foreigners forbidden to buy and sell by retail or to practise any trade. (4) In 1676, it was even thought fit to send three men to London to seek an Act of Parliament to prevent non-freemen from trading in Norwich. (5) Further attempts in the 1680's (6) met with some success, (7) but in 1700 the city again sought an Act of Parliament to enforce their law. (8)

- 
- (1) C. B. 20/314.  
 (2) A. B. 8/100-101.  
 (3) C. B. 23/203.  
 (4) N. C. M. R., Case 10, Shelf d., and A. B. 8/48d.-49.  
 (5) A. B. 8/58.  
 (6) A. B. 8/119(1685); C. B. 25/185(1685). The authorities were now meeting with the resistance of some of the crafts in attempting to enforce freedom on their members. In 1681, the tailors' officers were alleged to have tolerated large numbers of foreigners in the trade without the Mayor's approval. C. B. 25/96d. (1681).  
 (7) See, for example, the list of 258 freemen admitted between November, 1682 and September, 1688; N. C. M. R., Case 10, Shelf d., (1688).  
 (8) A. B. 8/240d.

While many of the smaller chapmen and shopkeepers must have failed to take up their freedom, it is probable that the larger local cloth sellers - as well as those dealing with markets in London or abroad - found it necessary to become freemen; certainly, such men could afford the entrance fines and the various city charges to which freedom made them liable, and election to municipal offices, great and small, which freemen might gain would not be to them the irksome liability which prompted smaller men to refuse their freedom.<sup>(1)</sup> Even merchants, however, sometimes preferred to gain exemption from bearing civic offices.<sup>(2)</sup> The administration of the city remained largely in the hands of the grocers, drapers, mercers,<sup>(3)</sup> merchants and hosiers during the seventeenth century: of the Mayers whose occupations are known, 70 per cent. were in those trades and nearly 33 per cent. were grocers. Attaining considerable wealth from the manufacture of Norwich Stuffs,

- 
- (1) Even after admission to the freedom, small craftsmen often sought permanent exemption from office-bearing on account of poverty or indisposition; for example, see C.B. 23/34d. (1656).
- (2) In 1665, two London merchants were considered for the freedom of Norwich on the payment of £30 each; they would also be discharged from bearing any offices in the city. C.B. 23/246.
- (3) For some time the position of the mercers had been weakening (supra, pp. 433, 604-2). In 1623, they complained that their Company had been dissolved for many years past and the government of the trade relaxed; they were now incorporated, with the haberdashers of small wares and the milliners included within the Company. In their orders, acknowledgement was made of the existence of foreigners in the trade, but a 7-year apprenticeship and admission to the freedom were still to be necessary for a mercer to open a shop. N.C.M.R., Case 10, Shelf b, Mercers' Book, fos. 20-24.

the worsted weavers provided significant numbers of Mayors for the first time in the second half of this century.<sup>(1)</sup>

## VI

Despite the long struggle by the city to maintain the quality of its supply of raw material and the standard of workmanship of its artificers, a struggle greatly reduced in intensity after the Parliamentary enactment of 1650, the growing prosperity of the Norwich Stuffs industry was subjected to only temporary interruptions throughout the seventeenth century. While it is amply confirmed by the developments which have been discussed, the growth of the industry must unfortunately remain without any statistical basis: the accounts of receipts from the Strangers' cloth halls, though continuing until 1649, conceal the growing default of weavers and merchants in carrying out the regulations for the search and sale of cloths,<sup>(2)</sup> and there are no comparable accounts for the predominantly native manufacture of Norwich Stuffs. There remains, however, one further descriptive consideration - that of the sectional poverty and the ephemeral depressions underlying the predominant prosperity of the industry.

---

(1) In addition to the merchanting group, the mayoralty was occupied in this century by a worsted weaver (11 times), Ironmonger (7), beer-brewer (6), scrivener (4), apothecary (3), dyer (2), goldsmith, wine merchant, butcher, glover, baker, skinner, pin maker, magistrate and tin-man (once each). Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op.cit..

(2) See Chapter Twelve, Section V.

The city gave much increased attention to the problem of poor relief from the last quarter of the sixteenth century onwards; the census of the poor taken in 1570 was followed by the imposition of assessments upon all those capable of contributing to their relief.<sup>(1)</sup> Not un-naturally, increased attention brought complaints of poverty to the fore, and both the Court and the Assembly spent much time in the consideration of poor relief during the seventeenth century. Not only were assessments now being made to help the poor, but numerous benevolences were available - many of them given for the assistance of the poorer class of weavers and other artificers in the worsted industry. One of the most notable was the gift of Thomas Doughty, a draper, at his death in 1612; he left £100 to be lent to 10 worsted weavers for a period of seven years at a time, and the loans were still being made as late as 1688 at least.<sup>(2)</sup> Similarly, William Doughty left £250 to be lent to 10 poor worsted weavers for five-year periods and he made further loans available for other craftsmen including various cloth artisans, shopkeepers and bargemen working between Norwich and Yarmouth.<sup>(3)</sup> Money allotted by the city to the Bridewell was also augmented by benevolences, as

---

(1) See H. and T., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 339-358.

(2) See N.C.M.R., Case 20, Shelf d., Book No. 12. Also, A.B. 6/238d., 244d., 277 (1629, 1632, 1639).

(3) See N.C.M.R., Case 20, Shelf d., Book No. 14.

in 1608 when alderman Thomas Pettus left £20 towards the stock for setting poor people on work there, and £50 each to be lent to poor worsted and poor dornix weavers.<sup>(1)</sup> And there were many more gifts for the poor of the industry;<sup>(2)</sup> if they did not suffice, then special collections might be made: in 1672, for instance, it was agreed that a collection should be made for the relief of poor journeymen weavers and other indigent persons in the city.<sup>(3)</sup>

The needs of the poor were greatly increased in the years of plague and they occurred at regular intervals.<sup>(4)</sup> The outbreak of 1630<sup>(5)</sup> brought in its train a period of impoverishment for certain sections of the population. Stocks of corn dwindled as fresh supplies were withheld owing to the

---

(1) Blomefield, op.cit., III, 362.

(2) For example: 1619, alderman Henry Fawcett, (inter alia) £300 to be equally divided in loans to the 30 poorest worsted weavers in the city for 3-year periods; similarly £30 to 6 dornix weavers; property with which to maintain 2 poor old worsted weavers of Fybridge ward in St. Giles' Hospital; and £20 each to the Dutch and French poor. Blomefield, op.cit., III, 368-9.

1626, Augustine Scottow, £50 to be lent to 5 worsted weavers for 7-year periods. Op.cit., III, 373.

1628, Alderman Francis Cock, £50 to the poor; £50 to be lent to 5 young worsted weavers of West Wymer ward for 3-year periods. Op.cit., III, 374.

1666, John Vaughan, clerk of Saxthorpe, £300 to be lent to poor young tradesmen, free of the city, for 8-year periods; £260 to the Boys' Hospital, Norwich, to bind inmates as apprentices. Op.cit., III, 411.

1672, Nathaniel Cocke, London merchant, £100 to be lent to 5 honest poor weavers, householders and freemen of the city. Op.cit., III, 414.

1685, Bernard Church, (inter alia) £50 to be lent to 5 poor worsted weavers for 5-year periods. Op.cit., III, 422.

1697, John Man, £100 to be lent to 4 weavers for 5-year periods. Op.cit., III, 426.

(3) A.B. 8/32d.

(4) See Table 26, supra, p. 607.

(5) P.R.O. P.C. 2/40/p.13.

risk of introducing further infection, and its price rose sharply;<sup>(1)</sup> moreover, wages were denied to the spinners and the journeymen combers and weavers<sup>(2)</sup> as their employers found difficulty in transporting from the city and selling their goods. The hosiers anticipated having to discharge their knitters,<sup>(3)</sup> but the spinners' plight was relieved by the agreement of sixteen city combers to increase the number of poor spinners in their employment.<sup>(4)</sup> This situation can only have been worsened by the use of increasing quantities of Suffolk-spun yarn, though there is no doubt that local spinners using Norfolk wool could no longer meet the needs of the worsted industry; the plague merely brought this deeper-seated<sup>malady</sup> to the surface. The city's temporary remedy in 1630 was the appointment of a "knittinge Schooledame" in each parish (where there was not one already) so that hosiers and combers might have security for the re-delivery of their goods if they employed more poor spinners and knitters.<sup>(5)</sup> Further steps were taken to relieve the poor in this and the following years;

---

(1) See Sachse, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.

(2) P.R.O. P.C. 2/40/p. 114.

(3) C.B. 16/22nd February (Sachse, p. 132).

(4) C.B. 18/2nd November (Waste Book).

(5) C.B. 16/18th October (Sachse, p. 92).

the poor rates were increased;<sup>(1)</sup> a stock was provided to set poor spinners on work, and wage rates were drawn up for knitters, spinners and the like;<sup>(2)</sup> and the performance of stage plays was forbidden "by reason that the mainenance of the Inhabitants here doth Consist of worke & makeinge of manufactures".<sup>(3)</sup> The combination of difficulties experienced in these years eventually prompted the city to petition the Privy Council that Norwich might be discharged from contributing one-third of the cost of two ships which Great Yarmouth was providing for national service.<sup>(4)</sup>

Although poverty was greatly increased when trading difficulties and local conditions combined to hamper the city, Norwich was nevertheless fortunate that employment for the poor could normally be readily found in the preparatory stages of the worsted manufacture. At various times during the

- 
- (1) P.R.O. P.C. 2/40/p.281 (1630): it was difficult to prevent the Dutch from joining English churches to avoid the double payment of rates for both their own and the English poor. The same difficulty had been experienced with the Walloons in 1621: Liber Albus, fos.142d.-145.
- (2) C.B.16/472 (1633). An example of a wage assessment drawn up by Norfolk Justices of the Peace for workers in the worsted industry (and others) is to be found in English Historical Review, Vol.XIII (1898), pp.522-527.
- (3) C.B.16/472d.(1634). Orders to this effect were made at different times during the seventeenth century to prevent the neglect of work by the poorer inhabitants; for example, see Acts of the Privy Council, calendar 1621-23, pp.517-8 (1623); State Papers Domestic, calendar 1663-4, p.200, 1664-5, p.139, 1668-9, p.627.
- (4) State Papers Domestic, calendar 1625-49 (Addenda), p.521 (?1635).

seventeenth century, other towns attempted to set up this industry for this very reason: in 1601 three Strangers from Norwich were accepted as freemen of Edinburgh in order to teach the manufacture of new draperies there;<sup>(1)</sup> in 1619, York made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce worsted weaving under the tuition of a Norwich man;<sup>(2)</sup> and in 1674 a weaver and a wool comber left Norwich to instruct the poor of Chester.<sup>(3)</sup>

Norwich was ever ready to seek reduction in its taxation in years of high prices,<sup>(4)</sup> but unfavourable conditions comparable with those of the 1630's probably did not occur again until the 1660's. In 1660, the gentry of Norwich and Norfolk spoke of "the loud out-cryes of multitudes of undone and almost famished people, occasioned by a generall decay of Trade, which hath spread itself throughout the whole Nation, and these Counties in particular."<sup>(5)</sup> Unemployment among the poor spinners had been reported in the previous year when a number of them had been unable to find fresh work after taking part in the harvest leave-of-work.<sup>(6)</sup> Industry and trade in the city were further depressed by a severe visitation

---

(1) Mss. in the possession of W.J.C. Moens in 1868; see Moens, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

(2) Heaton, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

(3) Corporation of Chester Mss., H.M.C. reports, Vol. 7, p. 390.

(4) As in 1649; Blomefield, *op. cit.*, III, 399, quoted by James M., "Social Policy during the Puritan Revolution" (1930) p. 50

(5) James, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

(6) C.B. 23/108r. and d.

of the plague in 1666,<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1674 two grievances were voiced concerning the state of foreign trade. Norwich petitioned the Privy Council asking that the granting of a licence for the import of Flemish stuffs into England should be delayed until the worsted weavers' objections had been heard; a second petition certifying those objections was prepared in May, 1674 but its terms are not recorded.<sup>(2)</sup> While their home market was thus threatened, the worsted weavers were also keenly interested in the establishment of settled trade with France.<sup>(3)</sup>

While the allegations of the decayed state of the industry and of foreign trade in the later seventeenth century were doubtless exaggerated, it is clear that prosperity in Norwich was not universal. The failure of some participants in the trade is well illustrated by the bankruptcy of William Austin, a merchant trading in Norwich Stuffs.<sup>(4)</sup> He was alleged to be indebted to about 80 people, owing £6,000 and more, and witnesses for the complainants (including his sister) were unanimous that he was guilty of absconding from his creditors. They recalled debts owing by Austin: £100.13.0. to a worsted weaver; £208.11.10, including two bills of

---

(1) See C.B. 24. Also P.R.O. P.C. 2/59/pp. 125-6.

(2) C.B. 24/277d.

(3) P.R.O. P.C. 2/64/261.

(4) P.R.O. E134/7 William III/Trinity 14.

exchange, of £28 and £23 drawn on Londoners who had refused to pay them; £165.16.0. to a worsted weaver; £157.2.0. to a worsted weaver; an unstated sum for 39 pieces of Norwich Stuffs bought from a worsted weaver; £150.6.0. and £43.11.0. to two worsted weavers; and £815 to a Norwich merchant. One witness had been clerk to the Commissioners of Bankruptcy two years previously, in 1693, and he remembered that the proved debts had amounted to £4,498.

## VII

To conclude this account of Norwich and the worsted industry in the seventeenth century, some attempt may be made to assess the numbers and wealth of the city's inhabitants in the second half of the century. The numbers of baptisms recorded between 1582 and 1646 have suggested<sup>(1)</sup> that the development of the Norwich Stuffs industry brought about a great increase in the population of Norwich in the early decades of the century; and that by 1650 there were probably between 25,000 and 30,000 inhabitants. Evidence from the second half of the century confirms this estimate. In 1671 there were 11,614 hearths recorded in the city,<sup>(2)</sup> and a

---

(1) Supra, pp.603-608.

(2) There were reported by the receiver general of the hearth tax in Norfolk and Norwich to be 11,614 hearths in the city and 79,203 in the county. Of these, 24,729 were exempted from the tax but this number is unfortunately not broken down according to city and county. P.R.O. E179/154/717.

rough calculation assuming 2 hearths per household and 5 persons per household gives a population of about 29,000. When a census was taken in 1693 there were 28,911 people.<sup>(1)</sup> And finally, looking forward to the eighteenth century, another census in 1752 revealed 36,369 people living in 7,139 houses - that is, 5.09 in each household.<sup>(2)</sup>

A valuable picture of <sup>a</sup>the city's wealth, class by class and district by district, can often be obtained from documents connected with the hearth tax collected in the 1660's and 1670's.<sup>(3)</sup> Not only are the available returns for Norwich<sup>(4)</sup> far from complete as the result of opposition to

(1) H. and T., op.cit., II, cxxviii.

(2) Loc.cit.. The 1801 census revealed a population of 36,832 with 4.59 persons per inhabited house and a birth-rate of about 27 per 1,000. Applying that birth-rate to the baptism recorded during the eighteenth century (and given in the 1801 census report) the approximate decennial population of Norwich was:-

1700	42,000	1740	39,000	1780	46,000
1710	35,000	1750	44,000	1790	41,000
1720	35,000	1760	46,000	1800	36,832
1730	42,000	1770	55,000		

The 1801 census report, volumes 1 and 2 (1802).

(3) The most interesting example is the analysis of the hearth tax certificate of Exeter in Hoskins, W.G., "Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688-1800" (1935), pp.114 et seq. For the nature and utility of the tax returns, and their examination for certain areas, see Marshall, L., "The Rural Population of Bedfordshire, 1671-1921", Beds.Historical Record Society, vol.XVI (1934); Meekings, C.A.F., "an introductory note to the hearth tax returns of the Isle of Ely, in V.C.H. Cambridgeshire, Vol.IV (1953), pp.272-3; Tait, J., "Taxation in Salford Hundred, 1524-1802", Chetham Society publications, New Series, Vol.83 (1924).

(4) P.R.O. E179/253/43, 44 (1666); 154/717 (1671).

the tax,<sup>(1)</sup> but the certificate of the hearths in the city<sup>(2)</sup> is both incomplete and badly mutilated. By piecing together the figures available, however, it is possible to answer some at least of the outstanding questions.

The certificate includes only the taxable hearths, making no mention of those which were exempted by reason of their owners' poverty.<sup>(3)</sup> Allowing for the mutilated sections of the certificate, there were probably about 6,000 hearths (or about 1,700 houses) which were liable to the tax; but since there were 11,614 hearths recorded in 1671<sup>(4)</sup> - including both taxable and exempt - it is clear that between 40 and 50 per cent. of the city's hearths were in the houses of the poor who were absolved from payment of the tax. Even this approximate calculation reveals a large class of the very poor - the labouring population, including no doubt some of the employees of the worsted weavers (the poorest class of all

---

(1) Apart from the resistance indicated by arrears in the returns, see also N.C.M.R., Case 7, Shelf k, C.B. 24/64, 65d. (1667), 305, 307 (1674).

(2) P.R.O. E179/154/701 (date lost)

(3) The Hearth Tax was first imposed in Statute 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 10 (1662); 2s. was to be exacted for each hearth or stove, with these exemptions - (1) those whose poverty exempted them from church or poor rates, (2) those with houses or land worth less than 20s. per annum, (3) almshouses and special kinds of trade hearths. The Act was twice modified, by 15 Car. II, c. 13 and 16 Car. II, c. 3, to increase the revenue and to prevent evasion; and the exemptions were now limited to those with fewer than three hearths.

(4) Supra, p. 732, f.n. 2.

is not accounted for, of course, for its members had no permanent homes). Most of the exempt householders could probably be added to the group of taxable men and women with only one or two hearths in their houses, and they must have comprised about one-half of the city's householders.

Turning to the taxable inhabitants, one could give completely accurate figures if the certificate were in a better state of preservation; as it is, some interesting points emerge (see Table 28 ). Above the problematical number of labourers and journeymen exempted from this tax were people of the same class, slightly less poverty-stricken but still with only a single hearth in their houses: perhaps another 10 per cent. of the total number of householders. With two hearths were the more substantial workmen and the less wealthy masters, of whom there were many in the worsted industry,<sup>(1)</sup> comprising a further 15 per cent. or more. Master worsted weavers, shopkeepers and the less wealthy merchants must have been among those with from three to five hearths (15 per cent. or more) and the small class with from six to nine hearths (6 per cent.) included the prosperous shopkeepers and merchants. The wealthiest merchants and gentlemen, with houses sufficiently large to contain ten or

---

(1) See *infra*, pp. 754-5.

TABLE TWENTY-EIGHT. CERTIFICATE OF HEARTHES IN NORWICH.

Wards and Parishes	HEARTHES					TOTAL		Av-erage
	1	2	3-5	6-9	10 and more	House-holds	Hearths	
SOUTH CONESFORD (parishes not given)	20	24	18	3	2	67	180	2.68
NORTH CONESFORD (parishes not given)	15	41	29	8	3	96	291	3.13
BER STREET								
St. John Timberhill	16	24	18	3	1	62	162	2.61
All Saints	7	6	2	3	-	18	46	2.55
St. Michael at Thorn	15	16	8	1	1	41	104	2.53
St. John de Sepulchre	11	7	14	2	1	35(d)	97	2.77
Total	49	53	42	9	3	156	409	2.62
ST. STEPHENS (parishes not given)	8	10	17	3	3	41(e)	149	3.63
[MANCROFT] (Parishes not given)	48	70	79	43	20	260	1063	4.08
ST. GILES (parishes not given)	8	17	17	8	2	58(f)	192	3.31
WEST WYMER								
St. Lawrence	3	18	12	4	3	40	147	3.67
St. Margaret	5	9	10	2	-	26	79	3.03
St. Swithin	5	10	2	5	-	22	67	3.04
St. Benedict	6	5	7	3	-	21	59	2.81
St. Gregory	5	17	20	12	8	62	286	4.61
Total	24	59	51	26	11	171	638	3.73
MIDDLE WYMER								
St. John Madder-market	9	24	22	11	5	71	303	4.26
St. Andrew	23	20	24	15	4	86(g)	300	3.48
St. Michael at Plea	6	4	17	7	1	35(h)	138	3.94
Total	38	48	63	33	10	192	741	3.85
[EAST WYMER]								
[St. George Tombland]	3	5	5	3	-	16	52	3.25
S. S. Simon & Jude	4	10	16	8	2	40	177	4.42
St. Martin at Palace	9	24	17	4	1	55	167	3.03
Total	16	39	38	15	3	111	396	3.56
COSLANY								
St. Michael Coslany	3	11	25	5	1	45	160	3.55
[St. Mary, " ]	5	9	13	2	1	34	105	
St. Martin at Oak	2	9	18	4	-	33	118	3.
Total	10	29	56	11	2	112	383	3.4
FYBRIDGE (a)								
St. Clement	7	18	15	8	3	51	193	3.78
St. Saviour	10	6	10	6	1	51(j)	188	3.68
Total	17	24	25	14	4	102	381	3.73
[COLEGATE] (b)								
Uncertain (c)						136	-	
<b>TOTAL</b>	253	414	435	173	63	1366(k)	4823	3.53

FOOTNOTES TO TABLE TWENTY-EIGHT.

- (a) Incomplete, part being mutilated.
- (b) Mutilated.
- (c) Mutilated and cannot be assigned to a parish or a ward. Number approximate.
- (d) Excluding a probable 21 mutilated entries.
- (e) Excluding 12 mutilated entries. A probable 80 of the uncertain entries (see f.n. (c)) may have referred to this ward.
- (f) Including 6 mutilated entries since the total of hearths in them is known.
- (g) Excluding 8 mutilated entries. A probable 56 of the uncertain entries (see f.n. (c)), containing 76 hearths, may have referred to this parish.
- (h) Incomplete, remainder mutilated. At this point in the Ms. one mutilated column occurs and it is not clear to which parish or ward it refers.
- (i) Including 4 mutilated entries since the total of hearths in them is known.
- (j) Including 18 mutilated entries since the total of hearths in them is known.
- (k) Excluding the 136 uncertain entries. Including 28 mutilated entries since the total of hearths in them is known.

(1) B.C.M.S., Case 7, Shelf 2.

(2) Hoskins, op.cit., pp. 119-120.

more hearths were few in number (2 per cent.) and tended to be concentrated in certain sectors of the city.

The most outstanding feature of the distribution of wealth within the city is the opulence of Mancroft ward, small in size but lying around the market place and clearly the commercial heart of Norwich. The nearby industrial districts of West and Middle Wymer also contained quite a large number of the larger houses, but even in the absence of details of the hearths of exempted householders the predominance of small houses in the lower class wards of Conesford and Over the Water is well brought out. A similar picture is given by the payments of the window tax in 1695-6.<sup>(1)</sup>

This picture of the city, however imperfect, shows to what extent the social and economic stratification of Norwich - already well-marked in 1524 when the worsted industry was in decline - had been intensified by the development of the Norwich Stuffs manufacture. As Hoskins summarised his description of the class-structure of Exeter, "as the average wealth of a community rises, does it not appear that the inequality in the distribution of that wealth itself increases?"<sup>(2)</sup>

---

(1) N.C.M.R., Case 7, Shelf k.  
(2) Hoskins, op.cit., pp.119-120.

... gives us the description and details of the industry... attention devoted to the... in its various stages. In rectifying this... able to give upon the important details of the... inventories and to examine the houses and workshops, the... and raw materials, and the products of men and women in... every branch of the industry. There are, unfortunately, no inventories available for the sixteenth century prior to about 1590 so that

CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

THE PERSONNEL OF INDUSTRY & TRADE.

Most of the inventories which will be used here are from two periods - 1590-1624 and 1650-1693; a few date from the intervening years. The first group thus belongs to people who lived during the change-over from worsteds to the new draperies and during the first decades of the growing manufacture of Haverley Stuffs; the second group is from a period when the latter industry had reached an advanced stage of development. Inevitably, the inventories do not provide as detailed and valuable evidence for some crafts as for others, or for one period as for the other; in all cases an attempt may be made, however, to include every stage in the production and marketing of cloth and other woollen goods and to consider

In earlier chapters, prime consideration has been given to the organisation and regulation of the worsted industry and little attention devoted to the people concerned in its various stages. In rectifying this omission, we are able to draw upon the abundant details of the testamentary inventories and to examine the homes and workshops, the tools and raw materials, and the products of men and women in almost every branch of the industry. There are, unfortunately, no inventories available for the sixteenth century prior to about 1590 so that it is impossible to elaborate upon the generalisations of earlier chapters so far as the personnel of the traditional worsted industry are concerned. Most of the inventories which will be used here are from two periods - 1590-1621 and 1660-1693; a few date from the intervening years. The first group thus belongs to people who lived during the change-over from worsteds to the new draperies and during the first decades of the growing manufacture of Norwich Stuffs; the second group is from a period when the latter industry had reached an advanced stage of development. Inevitably, the inventories do not provide as detailed and valuable evidence for some crafts as for others, or for one period as for the other; in all cases an attempt may be made, however, to include every stage in the production and marketing of cloth and other woollen goods and to consider

craftsmen from both of the main periods. And wherever possible details from other sources will be added. (1)

## I

Norfolk and other wools have already been followed through the hands of the broggers to the city and country markets of the worsted weaving area. Before the introduction of the new draperies, Norfolk wool was combed by the women who spun it into yarn, (2) for wool combers as such do not seem to have been important until the late sixteenth century. Spinsters often bought the raw wool in the market, (3) sometimes took it from weavers and in many cases, of course, a weaver's spinning work was done by his own wife and children. (4) Although most of the medium-staple Norfolk wool was, indeed, combed and spun on the distaff (the rock), some was carded and then wheel-spun into woollen, as distinct from worsted, yarn. (5) With the introduction of the new draperies, the varieties of yarn used increased and in particular the Strangers used white warp or white yarn; nevertheless, with the continued use of

- 
- (1) A thorough search has been made through most of the sixteenth and seventeenth century inventories at the Bishop's Chapel, Norwich, including all those for the periods 1590-1621 and 1660-1693; it has not been possible to examine carefully all boxes of inventories of intermediate dates.
- (2) Supra, p. 697.
- (3) Supra, pp. 453-4. For wool stalls in Norwich market place see A.B. 2/125 (1526-7); C.B. 20/410 (1643).
- (4) See the 1571 census of the poor in Norwich, N.C.M.R., Case 20, Shelf c.
- (5) Supra, pp. 392-3. There was probably little advance on the traditional means of spinning during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1644, however, Nicholas Doughty informed the Norwich court that "he hath contrived an Ingen for the more speedy spinninge of yarne". He was allowed to use it for "his best benefitt" but its nature is not stated (C.B. 20/422).

medium- and long-staple varieties wool was still combed and most of the yarns were still worsted rather than woollen.

The appearance of wool combers as important craftsmen in the late sixteenth century was probably the result of the more careful preparation of wool that was needed for the yarns of the new draperies. Combing was still not entirely a specialist's operation, and wool combs were to be found side by side with wool cards and spinning wheels in the homes of farmers;<sup>(1)</sup> but a growing proportion of the wool received by spinsters had been prepared by wool combers.<sup>(2)</sup> Their equipment was simple: a pair of combs, an iron pot and spoon for the grease, and perhaps "a vice to drawe woole"; the various stages of their work are represented in Sexten's inventory by 11 stones of wool, 18 pounds of "greasd woole", 10 pounds of "white worke", and some nyles. The inventories make it clear that, not un-naturally, the wool was often spun by the comber's own family. Combers must often have given credit to spinners and weavers if Smith was at all typical, for debts amounted to about 70 per cent. of his total inventory.

- 
- (1) For example, George Goodred of Great Melton had goods valued at nearly £53 in 1611; most prominent were animals, crops and husbandry tools, but in his dairy house were a spinning wheel, wool cards and combs, wool and yarn worth 26s. 8d., Jedaine, 157.
- (2) The following details are from the inventories of Nicholas Smith of North Burlingham (Jedaine 266, 1609), Roger Sexten of Shipdham (Eades 106, 1597), Edmund Horne of East Dereham (Box 373, No. 362, 1612). Their approximate total inventories were £36, £10 and £25 respectively.

Little need be said of the women and children who spun the combed wool; many were doubtless as poverty-stricken as "the Widdow Chapling" whose goods - including wool and nyles, spinning wheel, reel and spindles - were worth only 15s.9d. at her death.<sup>(1)</sup> The spinners dealt with different types of wool and produced various kinds of yarn: widdow Chapling had wool and nyles for small uffe (i.e. weft) yarn, but Jeane Bygoots was using in her say looms small uffe, say uffe, white yarn, fine say uffe and say warp.<sup>(2)</sup> Preparation of different grades of wool for different types of yarn was the responsibility of the increasingly important wool combers.

In the late seventeenth century small country combers were still to be found,<sup>(3)</sup> but the trade was dominated by the wealthy wool combers, most of whom were working in Norwich. Thomas Numan was worth about £81 at his death,<sup>(4)</sup> Robert Ayers £178,<sup>(5)</sup> John Castell £188,<sup>(6)</sup> and Abraham Castell £826.<sup>(7)</sup> These men were dealing with large quantities of raw material and producing large amounts of combed wool; moreover, putting out wool to be spun had now become an important aspect of the

---

(1) Wickham 114B, 1621.

(2) Palmer 111, 1603.

(3) Such as Edward Linckorn of Bradfield (Daynes 59, 1681), John Esters of Brisley (Sussum 22, 1678) and Edmund Deemer of Mundford (Cupper 10, 1676). Their approximate total inventories were £11, £15 and £29.

(4) Place unstated; Daynes 88, 1681.

(5) Of Corpusty; Palgrave 102, 1684.

(6) Of Norwich; Burnell 34, 1666.

(7) Place unstated; Browne un-numbered, 1661.

comber's business. Numan had fleece wool, tops and yarn worth £46.10.0.; John Castell had "Combed wooll wth the Raw wooll and yarnes" worth £150.10.0.; Ayers had much yarn as well as wool; and Abraham Castell had immense quantities of wool, yarn and nyles. Middle, coarse, tammett, white, gray, coloured and twistered yarn to the value of over £90 lay in Castell's parlour; in the false roof was coarse, middle, fine, gray and coloured wool, some raw and some combed, worth £193; and in the nyle chamber lay nearly £3-worth of coarse, fine and gray nyles and some clothing wool - the latter presumably combed out from wool that was in the main suitable for use in the worsted stuffs. Ayers, living at Corpusty, had work in the spinners' hands at the time of his death; his yarn was partly at home and partly in Norwich so that he probably sent much of it in to the city weavers, but in addition to debts of £20.6.6. at Norwich he was owed £15 by debtors in the country. Abraham Castell's good and desperate debts amounted to as much as £442.4.10., presumably owing from weavers.<sup>(1)</sup>

The increased business of these combers involved the use of more elaborate equipment. Abraham Castell had a copper,

---

(1) Both John and Abraham Castell had enjoyed large legitimate and illegal trades. In 1627, the Norwich hosiers reported that 12 of their number were not freemen. Of the two Castells it was stated "theise be Comers & vse hosynge & send great quantities of yarne out of the Country, & also ffactors to fforiners". C.B.16/159d. Despite not being a freeman, Abraham (together with his wife) had paid £10 for freedom to buy and sell yarn. C.B.15/26 (1615)

wrings and scouring tubs in the wash-house, and a "leadin sistern" in the beating-house; his coal and charcoal, 2½ barells of soap and 10 gallons of oil were worth £13.10.0.. Ayers had two pairs of combs and other tools, a same kettle<sup>(1)</sup> and shop-boards in the combing-shop; oil and candle in the backhouse chamber; oil, tubs, kilns and wrings in the backhouse. But even for a comber with as large a trade as Ayers, living in the country meant that some corn was grown and some stock reared.

## II

Either the spinners or, increasingly during the seventeenth century, their employers, the woolcombers, sold the finished yarn to the weavers, often allowing them credit judging from the combers' inventories. Before it was ready for use, yarn had to be twistered into thread and, although some men gained their sole livelihood by this means,<sup>(2)</sup> a twistering mill or a winding wheel was to be found in many weavers' workshops.<sup>(3)</sup>

- 
- (1) Same was a kind of soap or grease; supra, p. 680.  
 (2) For example, Thomas Larke of Norfolk (place illegible); Box 103, 1662.  
 (3) twistering was one of the tasks of the weavers' servants, journeymen and apprentices; some servants were retained especially "to turne a twistering myll" (C.B. 20/205d., 1638).

(2) see Appendix Ten, Tables 1 and 2 for details of the inventories of this period.

With weavers as with no other craftsmen the inventories are sufficiently numerous to suggest a representative cross-section of the trade, but conclusions drawn from these samples cannot be regarded as completely reliable. The inventories are conveniently considered in the two date-groupings: for the period 1590-1621, there are 45 - 28 of city and 17 of country weavers; and for the period 1660-1693, there are 49 - 27 of city and 22 of country weavers. Additional details are supplied from 12 city and 2 country weavers' inventories of intermediate dates but this sample is certainly too small to be representative. (1)

The city weavers of 1590-1621<sup>(2)</sup> were almost all full-time craftsmen but many of those in the country took some interest in farming. It is perhaps surprising, however, that as many as one-third of the country weavers had neither crops nor animals (Table 29). The personal wealth of these weavers suggests that the predominant position of the small master weaver in the traditional worsted industry had not been fundamentally weakened by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Table 30): nearly three-quarters of the

---

(1) Many of these men are explicitly stated to have been worsted weavers and a few were dornix weavers; the contents of the inventories make the occupation of the others quite clear, and all linen weavers have been excluded. Full details of all the inventories are given in Appendix Ten, where the references of inventories mentioned in the text may be found.

(2) See Appendix Ten, Tables 1 and 2 for details of the inventories of this period.

TABLE 29. WORSTED WEAVERS: INTEREST IN HUSBANDRY, 1590-1621.

Crops and Animals as percentage of total inventory	City Weavers	Country Weavers	Total
Nil	26	6	32
1-10	1	1	2
11-20	-	1	1
21-30	1	2	3
31-40	-	1	1
41-50	-	1	1
51-60	-	1	1
61-70	-	-	-
71-80	-	3	3
81-90	-	1	1
Total	28	17	45

city weavers possessed goods worth less than £100 and a similar proportion of the country weavers, goods of only half that value. Most of the more wealthy weavers were city men, headed by Nicholas Beavis, a dornix weaver, with an inventory of £393, but the second wealthiest was a country weaver, James Kinge of Worstead, with £351. In examining these inventories two questions arise to throw doubt on this analysis as an accurate reflection of the size of the constituent units of the industry. First, how many of these men were still active weavers at their death and how many had retired and disposed of their equipment? And second, how many had stocks of yarn and finished cloth in their houses at that time, and how many had not?

An answer to the first question is provided by the numbers of looms recorded in the inventories (Table 31). Of the nine weavers having no looms at all, six certainly had no other

TABLE 30. WORSTED WEAVERS: PERSONAL WEALTH, 1590-1621.

Total personal wealth in £'s.	City Weavers		Country Weavers	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
0- 10	4	14.3	3	17.6
11- 20	3	10.7	2	11.7
21- 50	7	25.0	7	41.1
51-100	6	21.4	1	5.8
101-150	2	7.1	2	11.7
151-200	4	14.0	-	-
201-250	1	3.6	-	-
251-300	-	-	1	5.8
301-400	1	3.6	1	5.8
Total	28	99.7	17	99.5

TABLE 31. WORSTED WEAVERS: NUMBER OF LOOMS, 1590-1621.

	NUMBER OF LOOMS												
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	14	?
City weavers	6	4	2	2	4	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Country weavers	3	2	3	5	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	9	6	5	7	4	1	5	2	1	1	1	1	2

TABLE 32. WORSTED WEAVERS: YARN AND CLOTH, 1590-1621.

Yarn and cloth as percentage of total inventory	City Weavers	Country Weavers	Total
Nil	11	12	23
1-10	3	2	5
11-20	4	-	4
21-30	2	3	5
31-40	2	-	2
41-50	2	-	2
51-60	-	-	-
61-70	2	-	2
Uncertain	2	-	2
Total	28	17	45

weaving tools, no yarn and no finished cloth: either they were no longer active weavers or possibly they were journeymen. This was probably true also of two others, but the ninth, Thomas Pointer, although not possessing any looms was attributed with the value of the partially woven cloths in them and must presumably have rented them. Another example of such renting is provided by Robert Sadde who had one loom in his own house at Forncett St. Peter and another, apparently rented out, in Henry Denne's house at Moulton. Of the 36 working master weavers, with from one to fourteen looms, some were clearly contravening the regulations limiting the number that one man might keep; <sup>(1)</sup> but in some cases not all the looms were in working order - Robert Douglas, for instance, had eight cloth and one lace looms, but only four were "furnished". The extent to which this consideration affects the analysis of personal wealth may be gauged from the fact that most of the nine retired or journeymen weavers had goods valued at less than £20, and only considerable ~~and~~ credit raised the others above that level.

Turning to the question of stocks of yarn and cloth, it may be seen (Table 32) that exactly half of these weavers had none at all. Of the eleven city men with no yarn of cloth, six had no looms and have been suggested as either no longer active in the trade or journeymen; the remaining five were all

---

(1) Supra, pp. 419-420.

poor, though one was ~~owed many~~ debts. The city weavers with the largest stocks of yarn and cloth were also <sup>the</sup> almost wealthy. The position with regard to the country weavers is rather different; twelve had no yarn or cloth but only two of them have been suggested as no longer active workmen or journeymen. The other ten were poor men and probably able to deal in the market less freely than most city weavers: they could not afford to buy more yarn than there was immediate prospect of using and they were forced to sell their cloths as soon as they were finished. It is noticeable that the only large stocks of yarn and cloth were held by the two wealthiest weavers and also that crops and animals accounted for large proportions of the total inventories of the men without such stocks. It seems, therefore, that this consideration is more likely to affect the analysis of total wealth in the case of city than of country weavers.

Credit was commonly given by these weavers and in some cases debts formed a substantial proportion of their total inventories (Table 33). This was true of both poor and wealthy weavers but, although perhaps especially so of the latter, there is no definite pattern perceptible (See appendix Ten). Most of the weavers' debtors were presumably merchants and other cloth sellers; William Ashwell, for example, was owed £60 by Henry Paman, a Norwich grocer. The more wealthy country weavers probably made arrangements for storing cloths in Norwich before selling them: James Kinge of Worstead, for instance, had 17 cloths "Att wrighteshowse in Norwch".

TABLE 33. WORSTED WEAVERS: CREDIT, 1590-1621.

Debts as percentage of total inventory	City weavers	Country Weavers	Total
Nil	15	11	26
1-10	1	1	2
11-20	-	-	-
21-30	2	-	2
31-40	3	-	3
41-50	3	2	5
51-60	1	-	1
61-70	-	1	1
71-80	1(a)	-	1
81-90	1	2	3
91-100	1	-	1
Total	28	17	45

(a) = including money

In addition to selling cloths to merchants, some weavers retailed them themselves either in a shop or a stall in the market place.<sup>(1)</sup>

Aside from these general considerations, the inventories give much interesting detail of the weaver's trade. There is little evidence of weavers buying wool for spinning in their own houses, or of their employment of spinsters, but the alien, Peter de Gokelave, is noteworthy in this respect. He not only had £41-worth of wool in his possession but owed £31.17.0. to Jacob Bowde<sup>(2)</sup> for wool, a debt which his executors satisfied

(1) In 1644, John Harwood took over "the standeinge in the markett" formerly belonging to a fellow dornix weaver, Thomas Mollett. C.B. 20/442d.

(2) See Appendix Four.

soon after the inventory had been made. Many of the inventories include yarn of various kinds - worsted and woollen, jersey and kersey, linen and silk, hose and cruell, greasy, unscoured and scoured, white and coloured, coarse and fine. Few of the worsted weavers were using ready-dyed yarn, but it was used by all of the dornix weavers: James Stywardeson, for instance, had red and yellow yarn as well as some of mixed blue and green colour. In addition, the silk weaver, Ployer, was using coloured yarn and silk, and Le Martin appeared to be weaving dyed yarn and cruell in his philip and cheanies. The yarn was first cleaned in the coppers, tubs and wringers in the weavers' scouring houses and then wound, or twistered, into thread by the weavers' own apprentices or journeymen in many cases: twistering mills and winding or filling wheels are common and one man had "A windther withall that the yarne is wonde". The twistered warp and warp already on the looms figure in many inventories, as of course do unfinished cloths, together with weft already wound on to the bobbins. Looms were warped with a variety of implements - warping mills, stages, frames, their horns and bars.

In most cases the word "looms" is not elaborated upon, but it is clear they they differed slightly according to the type of cloth made on them: there are instances in the inventories of damask, lace, mockado, tuft mockado and velure looms, and the dornix weavers used woolsey, draft and dornix looms. The only indication of structural differences between the different looms is given in one inventory which includes five

"french lombs" and one "flatt lomb<sub>e</sub>", looms which had been used for the weaving of tammetts. Numerous implements and spare parts were littered about the weaving shops: slays and slay boards, shuttles, beams, trendles, traverses, swifts and swift blocks, shafts, bobbins and hornings. It is difficult to calculate the usual value of looms since it is often given embracing other implements and unfinished cloth; but the value of lace and silk looms was less than five shillings in several cases, and of cloth looms of various kinds between six and fifteen shillings in most cases. The upper limit is represented by three draft looms valued at 40 shillings each in 1606, and the five French looms valued at 18 shillings in 1615.

Some of these weavers apparently carried out work on their woven cloths that might more properly have been the concern of the finishing craftsmen: several had presses, press boards, pressing irons and shears; but others had this work done for them (Le Martin, for example, had one piece of cloth "at a pressin pressin") and no doubt most weavers sent their cloths to the shearmen. The types of cloth mentioned in these inventories illustrate the trend towards the new draperies and Norwich Stuffs; worsteds as such are completely absent, the stuffs being buffins, mockadoes, tuft mockadoes, velures, tammetts, says, philip and cheanies, pearls, russells, philizeles, paropuses and - most numerous of all - damasks. The dornix weavers were making dornix and draught beds,

coverlets and cushions and linsey wolsey. There is little information concerning the dyeing of these cloths, but De Gokelave's executors were obliged to pay his debt of £16.15.0. to Samuel Campeen "for daien some says".<sup>(1)</sup>

Before turning to the inventories of the later seventeenth century, some additional information may be drawn from those of 1630-1642:<sup>(2)</sup> they are insufficient to provide a representative cross-section of weavers, but it is clear that they include men of the several categories revealed by the inventories of 1590-1621. The types of cloth mentioned illustrate the increasing variety of Norwich Stuffs: damasks, paropuses, philip and cheanies, cheanies, laced and narrow russells, mohaires, rashes, cartharages, peramides, flowers, tammetts and grograines. Outstanding among these 14 weavers was John Le Febvre with goods valued at nearly £760; he had seven looms "abroad" as well as seven in his own workshop, and as many as 89 cloths were awaiting sale in addition to the unfinished stuffs on the looms.

- 
- (1) Similarly in 1640, Thomas Nicholls' executors satisfied his debt of £15.17.2. to "Edmund Inghish & his p'tners to dye out".
- (2) See Appendix Ten, Table 3 for details of these inventories.

The city weavers of 1660-1693<sup>(1)</sup> show the same complete dependence on the trade for their livelihood as those of the earlier period, and the country weavers again combined weaving with husbandry - of this sample, only about 14 per cent. possessed neither crops nor animals (Table 34). There are two striking features in the figures of total personal wealth for this period: the small-scale business still predominated, with about three-quarters of both city and country weavers possessing goods worth less than £150; and the flourishing trade in Norwich Stuffs had enabled a minority of weavers to achieve considerable wealth (Table 35).

TABLE 34. WORSTED WEAVERS: INTEREST IN HUSBANDRY, 1660-1693.

Crops and animals as percentage of total inventory	City Weavers	Country Weavers	Total
Nil	25	3	28
1-10	2	3	5
11-20	-	4	4
21-30	-	5	5
31-40	-	2	2
41-50	-	3	3
51-60	-	2	2
Total	27	22	49

(1) See Appendix Ten, Tables 4 and 5 for details of the inventories of this period.

TABLE 35. WORSTED WEAVERS: PERSONAL WEALTH, 1660-1693.

Total personal wealth in £'s	City Weavers		Country Weavers	
	Number	%	Number	%
0- 10	3	11.1	4	18.1
11- 20	1	3.7	3	13.6
21- 50	3	11.1	4	18.1
51- 100	10	37.0	4	18.1
101- 150	3	11.1	2	9.0
151- 200	-	-	1	4.5
201- 250	1	3.7	1	4.5
251- 300	2	7.4	1	4.5
301- 400	-	-	-	-
401- 500	1	3.7	-	-
501- 600	-	-	1	4.5
601- 700	-	-	1	4.5
701- 800	1	3.7	-	-
801- 900	-	-	-	-
901-1000	-	-	-	-
1001-1500	1	3.7	-	-
1501-2000	1	3.7	-	-
Total	27	99.9	22	99.4

Table 36. WORSTED WEAVERS: NUMBER OF LOOMS, 1660-1693.

	N u m b e r o f l o o m s									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
City weavers	2	6	6	10	2	-	-	-	1	
Country weavers	2	6	5	2	5	1	1	-	-	
Total	4	12	11	12	7	1	1	-	1	

TABLE 37. WORSTED WEAVERS: YARN AND CLOTH, 1660-1693.

Yarn and cloth as percentage of total inventory.	City Weavers	Country Weavers	Total
Nil	7	14	21
1-10	2	1	3
11-20	1	1	2
21-30	8	3	11
31-40	2	2	4
41-50	4	1	5
51-60	3	-	3
Total	27	22	49

The three outstanding men were Richard Curle (with goods worth about £1,675), Anthony Tubbing (£1,185) and Thomas Barker (£705), all of Norwich. The wealthy country weavers are represented by Robert Kirbye of Antingham (£621) and John Brady of Aylesham (£609).

In only four cases did these weavers not possess any looms, and since three of them also had no other equipment, no yarn and no cloth they were either inactive weavers or journeymen; the fourth, Miles Greenwood of Norwich, clearly was still an active workman and so perhaps worked on a master's loom(s)<sup>(1)</sup> (See Appendix Ten, Table 4). Most weavers had one, two or three looms and few exceeded the permitted number<sup>(2)</sup> (Table 36). The presence of retired or journeymen weavers in this sample can have little effect on the validity of conclusions concerning the personal wealth of master worsted weavers at this period.

With regard to yarn and cloth held by these weavers at their deaths, the position is very similar to that of the earlier period (Table 37). Nearly half of these men held no such stocks at all: of the seven in the city, one was either

- 
- (1) This practice is confirmed by the inventories of Barker, Taylor and Hodson which include cloths being made "on the looms abroad"; in Hodson's case the looms were specifically stated to be journeymen's and it is clear that journeymen did not always work under their master's roof. Taylor's executors found 14 shillings wages to be paid for two cloths that were being made abroad.
- (2) *Supra*, pp. 419, 748. But several of the more wealthy weavers had work done on looms "abroad" and only the cloths and not the looms are included in their inventories. Employing journeymen in their own houses was one means by which a master could evade the limitations on loom numbers.

retired or a journeyman, four were very poor and two were small scale workmen. The rest of the city weavers had varying stocks, very large in the cases of the more wealthy men. In the country, over 60 per cent. of the weavers had no stocks of yarn and cloth, and only two of them owned no looms either; as in 1590-1621, it appears that only the most substantial country weavers could afford to hold their cloths long before selling them, or to buy yarn in excess of their immediate needs.

Over 60 per cent. of the weavers in this sample were creditors (Table 38) and the wealthy weavers especially left many hopeful and desperate debts to be collected by their executors (See Appendix Ten, Tables 4 and 5). Many of the debts were stated to have been by bond or bill; some were book debts; and others had nothing to commend them. And when the inventories were drawn up, debts were described as good, "hoopfully good", hopeful, bad or desperate according to the chances of their being satisfied. The debtors are sometimes identified but their trade is rarely given; but Edward Taylor had allowed £27.10.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ -worth of credit to a merchant, William Gemy. The storage and marketing of cloth in the city by country weavers is again amply confirmed by the inventories; four of the country weavers had cloths in Norwich, and two of them stuff presses there as well.

TABLE 38. WORSTED WEAVERS: CREDIT, 1660-1693.

Debts as percentage of total inventory	City Weavers	Country Weavers	Total
Nil	10	8	18
1-10	1	4	5
11-20	2	1	3
21-30	4	3	7
31-40	2	1	3
41-50	3	-	3
51-60	1(a)	1	2
61-70	3(a)	2	5
71-80	-	1	1
81-90	1	-	1
91-100	-	1	1
Total	27	22	49

(a) = including money

The inventories of this period reveal a similar picture of the weaver's trade to that drawn from those of 1590-1621 but some confirmatory and additional details merit a brief account here. It again seems certain that most of the weavers bought their yarn ready-spun, but not un-naturally several of the country weavers possessed small amounts of wool. Amongst the great variety of yarns recorded, those specially prepared for such stuffs as tammetts and druggetts, that spun in Suffolk and large quantities of silk embodied in the new types of stuff are of special interest. After passing through the washing or scouring houses, the yarn was apparently twistered on the weavers' own mills and wheels in the majority of cases; but the survival of this as a specialised trade is indicated by John Brady's inventory - although he possessed his own twistering mill, he yet had some yarn out at the twisterer's when he died.

The only notable change in looms and other equipment as compared with 1590-1621 is an increase in the value of looms now generally between ten and twenty-five shillings. Among the types of stuff made, those wholly or partly of silk occupy a prominent position: silk and laced crapes, satins, silk barronets, silk russells, silk stiches, silk tammetts, and silk garetts. Others - some of which were doubtless not made wholly of wool - were: barronatts, deroyes, tamerines, druggetts peramides, mohairs, cambletts, prunelles, damasks, draughts, laces, monks, dymonds, phillizees, "rightvpps", grograines, barragons and stich barragons, "royall riggs", anserrines, callimancoes, bombazines and cheanies; though some of these cloths had been made, in some form or other, as early as the late sixteenth century, this list is illustrative of the ever-widening variety of the Norwich Stuffs. The part played by the weavers themselves in preparing the cloths for sale is again exemplified by dressing boards, stuff presses and boards, pressing irons and shears. Some of the new varieties of stuffs required hot-pressing (William Otter had 20 pieces of hot-pressed ware) but this was almost certainly a job for specialised craftsmen. One weaver had further encroached upon the shearmen's territory by possessing a pair of tenters.

Finally, the size of some of the larger weavers' trades is shown by the cloths awaiting sale in their warehouses and unfinished on their looms. Richard Curle had 146 cloths valued at £420.2.0.; Thomas Barker, 130 worth £266.10.0.; and James Birde, 45 worth £45.15.0.. Of the more wealthy

country weavers, John Hodson had 69 pieces valued at £105; Robert Kirbye, 50 worth £97.16.0.; Francis Bubbin, 43 (£83.10.0.); James Ward, 42 (£121.16.0.); and Christopher Rix, 23 (£69.1.0.).

### III

Before considering the cloth finishing trades, some attention may be given to the wool-using occupations outside the cloth industry: hat making and hose making. Eight inventories of hatters, of various dates between 1597 and 1631<sup>(1)</sup> are not especially informative - three giving no details whatever relating to the trade. Raw material was "a lyttle coney wooll" and "certye woll to make hattes" and Robts had 13 hats made of Spanish wool. There are no details of tools although all those belonging to Pynne were valued at ten shillings; other equipment was, a shop chest, presses, working planks and hat blocks. In addition to wool certain other materials went into the hats: taffeta, velure, French "Ciprons" and ribbon. Only one of the eight men had a significant stock

---

(1) Henry Pynne, East Dereham feltmaker (Eades 151, 1597; total inventory about £14); Robert Condley, Norwich hatter (Palmer 104, 1603, c.£31); Thomas Robts, Norwich (Palmer 186, 1604, c.£6); John White, Norwich feltmaker (Jeg 48, 1613, c.£42); John Baxter, Harleston (Johnson 10, 1616, c.£72); Walter Rusham, Norwich hatbandmaker (Stamfer 262, 1618, c.£23); John Cate, Norwich feltmaker (Wickham 126, 1622, c.£45); Henry Pitcher, Norwich feltmaker (Gillingwater 71, 1631, c.£9).

of finished goods: knit caps and a great many hats, as well as unused materials, accounted for nearly three-quarters of Baxter's inventory.

One inventory of 1661, however, gives some interesting data of the wool used by hatters - in this case, John Sheltrum, a Great Yarmouth feltmaker.<sup>(1)</sup> Sheltrum's wool chamber contained wool of various types and prices: Segovia at 5s.4d. per pound, Polonia at 1s.6d., Spanish at 2s.6d., black lambs at 6d., grey lambs at 8d., coarse carded lambs at 6d., fine white lambs at 6d., white lambs at 6d., boiled white lambs at about 5½d., Welsh black at nearly 11d. and glovers' at 6d.. His tools are not detailed, but Sheltrum had £40.5.10.-worth of hats in his rooms.

In the case of hosiers, too, only scanty information is available for the earlier period: one inventory<sup>(2)</sup> provides no details at all, but a second is of some value. William Vandercam<sup>(3)</sup> must at times have had 100 pairs of stockings in the making for he possessed that number of leg boards; the hose were at some stage treated with his 'best soap' and were finished in the hose press for which he had 50 press boards.

---

(1) Smith 40, 1661; total inventory £64.18.2.

(2) Roger Kilham, Norwich hosier (Myles 372, 1593; total inventory about £4).

(3) Probably an alien of Norwich; Box 124, 1606; mss. mutilated.

110 pounds of yarn were ready to be knitted and 414 pairs of hose ready to be sold.

For the later period, five informative inventories are available.<sup>(1)</sup> Like many country craftsmen, Lubbock and Rye took a considerable interest in farming but Hogg and the two Norwich men were full-time hosiers. All five had become comparatively wealthy from the trade but they were owed considerable sums by debtors - around half of the total inventory in three cases. Most of these debts were presumably owing from merchants and shopkeepers but the inventories do not give names; Rye had given credit to "several Norfolk men".

If these men were typical, the putting-out system was extensively used by hosiers. Hogg, for instance, was paying 8d. per pound of wool for "carding worke att Debenham", tops were "att spinning", yarn "att Dieing" and "att knitting". Lubbock had £36.7.8. "In the dett booke for woll & yarne delyuered oute. And in monyes lent them". The wool used was of several kinds: tops of fine and coarse white wool, fine bay wool, grey wool, nyles and coloured wool were all in Hogg's ware chambers. Some of the wool was dyed before spinning: Hogg paid 2s.6d. for the dyeing of three packs of grey wool, and 17s.4d. for that of nine packs of fine wool. Yarn of many

---

(1) Thomas Lubbock, Aylesham hosier (Smith 12, 1662, total inventory about £900); William Rye, North Walsham hosier (Sussum 106, 1678, c.£407); Samuel Duncon, Norwich hosier (Cartwright 36, 1679, c. £750); John Hogg, Diss hosier (Cartwright 58, 1679, c.£372); Henry Branton, Norwich hosier (Gawdye 9, 1681, c.£90).

kinds came back from the spinners: white and coarse white, grey, "Ingrayn'd Jersey" and "ordinary Jersey", "ingrayn'd wheelspunn", "mixt Jersey" and wheel-spun were all being used by Hogg; Lubbock's was simply raw and hose yarn; Rye's greasy, white and coloured; Duncon's "stockings yarne". While some yarn was put out to be twistered, Hogg for one had a twistering mill of his own; and like Hogg, the other hosiers probably put their yarn out to be dyed.

A wide variety of stockings were knitted, either at home or abroad: Lubbock had long white, long grey, middling grey, women's white, short and coarse grey hose in stock, and these stocks were of considerable value. Lubbock's stockings were valued at about £217, Rye's about £74, Duncon's about £102, Hogg's about £39 and Branton's about £44. Finally, hose presses were used in preparing the stockings for sale.

#### IV

Although the cloth finishing trades were concentrated in Norwich, some workmen were to be found in country villages: John Clerke of Hingham was a shearman,<sup>(1)</sup> and Robert Warden of New Buckenham could accomplish at least two finishing processes - he possessed five pairs of shearman's shears and a dyeing copper.<sup>(2)</sup> City craftsmen are represented in the inventories

---

(1) Eldred 47, 1615; total inventory about £23.

(2) Taylor 33, 1591; about £20.

by John Sherman, a clothworker,<sup>(1)</sup> John Wilkinsonn,<sup>(2)</sup>  
George Raymer, a shearman<sup>(3)</sup> and John Addams, a clothworker.<sup>(4)</sup>

The equipment in Wilkinsonn's shop (its purpose not clear in every case) included eight pairs of shearman's shears, a great press with 24 parchment skins, two courses of handles, two shearing boards, two cottoning boards and brushes; and he had a pair of tenters, 26 yards long, standing in Mr. Breyertone's ground in Ber Street. Addams' tools were similar: 28 pairs of shears, three shearing boards, 19 cottoning boards, 20 courses of handles - with 40 in each course, 4 burling irons, two pairs of small shears, a cloth press with four dozen parchments, a pair of broad tenters and the irons belonging to them, and various small implements such as hammers, pincers and files. From Raymer's inventory fuller's earth may be added to the materials and he must therefore have worked on woollen cloths or perhaps bays.<sup>(5)</sup>

The only informative dyer's inventory<sup>(6)</sup> for the earlier period is badly mutilated but some interesting details

---

(1) Jedaine 296, 1611; about £52.

(2) Stamfer 264, 1618; about £25.

(3) Browne, 1631; about £26.

(4) Feveryear 48, 1614; about £27.

(5) Fuller's earth was little used in Norwich since worsted stuffs were not fulled. When potter's earth dug from two pits in Alington and Apton was found to be suitable for use as fuller's earth, it was sent for trial, not to Norwich but to Colchester and London. See Acts of the Privy Council, calendar 1623-1625, pp. 285, 366-7, 389; 1625-1626, pp. 183-4.

(6) Thomas Allen, Norwich dyer (Goodwin 94, 1628; about £39) had neither equipment nor materials.

may be rescued from the remaining portion.<sup>(1)</sup> Like most citizens of this trade, this man (his name is lost) was wealthy, with a total inventory of £689.17.0.; he had given credit perhaps to weavers and merchants and debts totalling £420 were owing to him at his death. Fortunately, the contents of his dyehouse and warehouse have not been lost; in the former, three vats, three coppers, hand barrows, tubs and other things were valued at £55 and £6-worth of sea coals lay there.<sup>(2)</sup> The dyestuffs and mordants in the warehouse were "scoutchinelle" (cochineal), woad, "orchell" (archil or orchil) alum, madder, "shumake" (sumach), "coperose" (copperas), "Winegree" (verdigris) and weld.

With the need to hot-press some of the Norwich Stuffs,<sup>(3)</sup> an additional process was undertaken by the clothworkers and hot presses make their appearance in the late seventeenth century inventories. Ann Watts<sup>(4)</sup> had both a hot and a cold press; Mary Gibson's<sup>(5)</sup> press-house contained two hot presses; and Thomas Browne, junior, a calenderer,<sup>(6)</sup>

---

(1) Jedaine 182, 1611.

(2) Dyers also burnt wood, furze, broom and brushwood under their coppers; C.B.11/306-7 (1584); C.B.20/393d.(1646).

(3) Supra, pp. 658-9.

(4) Burnell 27, 1666; total inventory about £55.

(5) Daynes 85, 1681; about £132.

(6) Palgrave 39, 1681; about £110.

had an iron screw press in the hot press house. More conventional and less valuable were the wooden screw presses, and other equipment included press boards, frames on which stuffs were 'made up', press cubberds, working boards, and tenters - Gibson's two pairs were 30 yards long.

Browne's inventory includes the exclusive equipment of the calenderer. His cloths were cleaned in the wash-house where he had a copper, a lead and some irons. They then passed to two calendering leads, a calendering stage, and 50 staves on which the cloths were dried;<sup>(1)</sup> the leads were heated with coal and charcoal. In the "Capstall house" were a capstall with 59 "rolls", a gloseing stage and the other tools belonging to the capstall; this equipment was clearly used in giving the cloths a surface gloss.<sup>(2)</sup>

Browne had £24-worth of stuffs on which he was working before his death, but no details of them are given. Mary Gibson, however, had silk crapes, druggetts, silk laced pieces, mixed satins, deroyes, a laced colour deroy, a silk tamine, a piece of worsted stuff, and several remnants in the working shop. Finally, the debts owing to Gibson and Browne may reflect credit given to weavers whose cloths they finished.

---

(1) Supra, p. 533.

(2) Supra, pp. 530, 533.

(3) For example, Edward Stile of Norwich, State 229c., 1592; about 544.

(4) Taylor 154, 1591; about 530.

(5) Calmer 75, 1589; about 275.

Among the great variety of men who marketed the finished cloths, the lowest class was that of the travelling chapmen. The petty chapman, peddling goods from door to door,<sup>(1)</sup> did not deal in whole cloths but his wares no doubt included some of the smaller products of the weavers, hosiers and hatters; one petty chapman was Richard Myddleton of Norwich:<sup>(2)</sup> his box of chapman's ware - pins, leather laces and other small commodities - were valued at £3, and his total inventory was only £6.17.8.. But the chapmen travelling between the country fairs pursued a more substantial trade: Richard Trendell of Lyng<sup>(3)</sup> had nearly £6-worth of thread, silk, lace and cloth - including sackcloth, canvas, Holland cloth, cambrick, lawn, mockado and carrell. Trêdell both gave and took extensive credit in his trading: 26 men owed him over £341 in 'doubtful' debts and 15 men owed over £57 in 'desperate' debts - he does not seem to have had any trustworthy debtors at all; and Trêdell himself owed nearly £396.

Although some small grocers appear to have taken little interest in the selling of cloth,<sup>(4)</sup> others like Robert Canham of Swaffham<sup>(5)</sup> and John Beare of Ludham<sup>(6)</sup> had

- 
- (1) At certain times, petty chapmen were allowed to set up "boothe, stalle, Bordes or tables" in the market place. A. B. 3/254 (1577).
- (2) Stamfer, 280, 1618.
- (3) Lyston 210, 1595; total inventory about £13 excluding the debts.
- (4) For example, Edmond Stile of Norwich, Skete 229c., 1592; about £44.
- (5) Taylor 154, 1591; about £390.
- (6) Crickmer 75, 1589; about £78.

an extensive trade in textile goods. Canham's stock included Hampshire, Northern and Suffolk kerseys of various kinds worth about £25; various kinds of cottons valued at about £9; bays at about £6; Devonshire kerseys at about £4; broadcloths at about £67; "Brode remnants" at about £11; friezes at about £36; and about £11-worth of stockings: in all, cloth and stockings worth £169.1.3. Beare's stock of cloths was smaller, though equally varied and again including cloths from distant counties as well as some probably made in Norfolk; and he had a large stock of food and other goods. Only £30 or so was recorded in Beare's debt book, but Canham had £100 in debts there and a further £20 owing by bond.

Other grocers of this first period followed a similar trade in woollen goods,<sup>(1)</sup> but none on the large scale of the late seventeenth century grocers. Humphrey Prattant of Norwich, for example, had a total inventory of nearly £1,609;<sup>(2)</sup> in addition to goods in his shop, others were still at sea, on the way to Norwich in Mr. Southgate's waggons, in the warehouse and warehouse chamber, in the cellar and at the "Stathe-house" by the river, at Pedham (Near Norwich) and at the "Com'ity house".

---

(1) Thomas Mace of Norwich, Johnson 76, 1617; total inventory about £15. Henry Sheardley (place unstated), Johnson 131, 1617; about £445. Robert Wattson of Norwich, Box 373, No. 82, 1637; about £176. John Casebourne of Norwich, Johnson 113, 1617; about £81. John Framingham of Norwich, Johnson 8, 1616; about £107.

(2) Hacon 82, 1692. Others were Edmund Bungay of North Walsham (Browne, 1661) and William Batcheldour, senior, of Loddon (Browne, 1662) - in neither case is the total value of the inventory given.

The small town and country drapers appear to have traded in cloth on much the same scale as the grocers of the earlier period,<sup>(1)</sup> but no late seventeenth century drapers' inventories are available. At first a more wealthy class than the grocers, the mercers had probably been superceded by them in the later seventeenth century; but only one mercer's inventory is available, dating from 1630. Robert Palgrave of Norwich<sup>(2)</sup> had an extensive and varied stock of cloths, none patently imported from other counties and many distinctly Norwich Stuffs. His cloths were valued at over £95, ribbons at over £20, and lace at over £29. His debt book recorded over £45 owing, and he held a bond of £20 for the payment of £10.

Turning to the wealthiest class of cloth sellers, the merchants, the inventories are most disappointing. None of the men concerned was really wealthy. In no instance are details of goods given, and debts are the only relevant item in most cases.<sup>(3)</sup>

- 
- (1) Henry Jenkenson of Long Stratton, Pecke 190, 1599; about £142. Thomas Rudd of Wood Dalling, Jedaine 273, 1611; about £29. Robert Francklin of Norwich (woollen draper) Stamfer 239, 1618; about £148.
- (2) Humberston 263, 1630; about £507.
- (3) Robert Raly of Norwich, Myles 384, 1593; about £253, debts £185. William Lownd of Norwich, Pecke 195B, 1599; mutilated. Henry Jackson of Great Yarmouth, Snowden 94, 1602; 15s. John Weld of Norwich Jeg 253, 1611; about £97, debts about £43. Robert Feveryeare of King's Lynn, Feveryear 1, 1613; about £23, debts £20. John Skelton of Norwich, Jedaine 348, 1611; about £116, debts £62. Robert Taylor of King's Lynn, Box 153, 1629; about £184, debts and money £160. Henry Barrish of Great Yarmouth, Cobb 55, 1665, about £25.

Robert Elwyn's inventory<sup>(1)</sup> is of slightly greater interest for he had five barrels of soap in the warehouse and three chalders of fuller's earth in the yard; and at the time of his death he was holding a lease of the common stathes from the city<sup>(2)</sup> and another from the cathedral authorities at a combined rent of £40. Finally, one inventory illustrates those merchants who owned, or shared in the ownership of, the ships in which their goods were carried. James Mighells of Great Yarmouth<sup>(3)</sup> had one old vessel worth £185, a fourth part of a pink (£65), an eighth part of a pink (£40), a three-sixteenth part of a pink (£100), a fourth part of a flyboat (£90) and a second part of a keel (£20).

To complete this picture of the men engaged in marketing the products of the worsted industry, the names of three men carrying goods on the road to London and on the river to the sea may be added. The carrier, Thomas Garrod of Norwich,<sup>(4)</sup> provides no interesting details of his occupation, but each of the wherry men owned his own boats. Oliver Phillips of Norwich<sup>(5)</sup> had a second part of a wherry with half her tackling, an old wherry and her tackling, an old sculler with her equipment, one boat, one pair of oars and other tackle valued, in all, at £9.4.0. William Phillips of Norwich<sup>(6)</sup> had

- 
- (1) Jedaine 18, 1606; about £464, debts £200.  
 (2) In 1590, Elwyn was allowed a lease of the stathes for 21 years; A.B. 5/79.  
 (3) Palgrave 42, 1683; total inventory about £1,228.  
 (4) Eldred 77, 1615; about £39.  
 (5) Gillingwater 141, 1631; about £17.  
 (6) Gawdye 43, 1682; about £16.

a wherry at the stathe, a boat, mast, oars and other equipment of the total value of £11.5.0.

## VI

The inventories are useful in one further direction - in indicating the uses to which the products of the worsted industry were put when marketed locally in Norwich and Norfolk.

In considering the manufacture of clothes from worsted stuffs, some attention must be given to the inventories of tailors. Whether of city or country, the tailors were in general poor, small-scale craftsmen, the majority of them possessing goods valued at less than £30 (Table 39).<sup>(1)</sup>

TABLE 39. TAILORS: PERSONAL WEALTH, 1587-1682.

Total personal wealth in £'s	1587-1619	1630-1640	1662-1682
1- 10	7	-	-
11- 20	6	2	1
21- 30	4	2	1
31- 40	-	-	1
41- 50	-	1	-
51- 60	3	-	-
61- 90	-	-	-
91-100	1	-	-
101-150	-	-	1
151-200	-	-	-
201-250	1	-	1
Total	22	5	5

(1) The inventories used in this section and in Table 39 are not the total number of tailors' inventories to be found in the boxes of inventories examined for the purposes of this Chapter; but they are certainly representative of the whole number. The references for Table 39 are: 1587-1619 - Skete 293, 283, 282; Myles 22, 329; Pecke 128; Palmer 150, 183; Box 124; Belowes 32; Eades 41; Daniels 29, 120, 72; Mason 105, 201; Box 137; Stamfer 279, 248; Feveryear 166; Johnson 122, 154; 1630-1640 - Box 124 (3 inventories); Gillingwater 76; Humberston 190; 1662-1682 - Cobb 13; Gawdye 16; Smith 70; Wales 76; Cupper 105.

A small number of men gained greater wealth from the trade and it is their inventories which provide most details of the materials used. Equipment mentioned includes pairs of tailor's shears; pressing irons and boards; files; cutting boards, planks and leads; yardwands (probably measures) and vices. Small quantities of cloth were included in a number of the inventories but those of Giles Cozen of Norwich<sup>(1)</sup> and Francis Tolvers of Diss<sup>(2)</sup> are more informative; Cozen's cloth, worth over £93, included several kinds made in Norwich (grograines, sciетts, bombazines, says, worsteds, philip and cheanies, phillizellis, bustians) as well as various types of taffety, velvet, fringe, lace, ribbon and thread. Tolvers' cloth and other materials were valued at £143.

The widespread use of the industry's products for clothing, as well as for carpets, curtains, coverings and so on, is attested by items occurring in many of the inventories of country and city people used in this and other chapters. Two examples will be sufficient here - those of Jeffrey Cobb of Norwich, gentleman,<sup>(3)</sup> and a Norwich alderman and citizen, George Downinge.<sup>(4)</sup> Cobb's clothes included a Flanders grograine gown, "garded" with velvet, faced with black coney wool, and lined with bays; a black tuft mockado gown, similarly faced and lined; another black cloak lined with bays, a satin doublet and a pair of black jersey stockings. His first

---

(1) Daniels 72, 1609; total inventory about £227.

(2) Frary 66, 1673; about £244.

(3) Skete 45, 1591.

(4) Johnson 130, 1617.

wife's clothes included a gown and a skirt of grograine, and amongst the household goods were tuft mockado and tapestry cushions and dornix coverings. Downinge had damask and stuff jackets and a satin doublet among his clothes and the household goods included dornix, draught, say and turkey work curtains, coverlets and carpets, and stools covered with turkey work and mockado.

POSTSCRIPT

POSTSCRIPT

In closing this study of 1720, the student cannot but be struck by the fact that in a period of profound peace and plenty the industry of Norfolk was still in a period of profound depression. It was already beginning to experience the competition of other products, such as the home and the overseas markets. The former was certainly the more important market for Norwich Stuffs,<sup>(1)</sup> but it was very similar in type to the being made by the large industry of Levenshire, for example, and the worsted industry of the West Riding of Yorkshire - Norfolk's future arch-enemy - grew rapidly in the first half of the eighteenth century. The increasing consumption of calicoes and printed linens imported from India provided a POSTSCRIPT Norwich Stuffs, and these new goods were, moreover, beginning to be manufactured in Levenshire. In the first decades of the century, calicoes were regarded as the chief competitor and their import was bitterly opposed in Norwich;<sup>(2)</sup> the Act of 1721<sup>(3)</sup> gave some relief by prohibiting such goods but it imposed no brake upon the cotton industry of Levenshire whose continued growth, together with that of Yorkshire, constituted an increasing threat to Norfolk's home market.

(1) See, for example, supra, p. 70.

(2) Norwich's opposition to calicoes is described in Wadsworth, A.P., and Carr, J. de L., "The Cotton Trade and Industrial Levenshire, 1600-1720" (1951) pp. 131-132. The riot in Norwich in 1720 is one instance of the widespread destruction of calicoes; Mansfield, op.cit., III, 257.

(3) Statute 7 George I, c. 7.

POSTSCRIPT.

In closing this study at 1700, the Norwich worsted industry is left in a period of predominant prosperity but it was already beginning to experience the competition of other products in both the home and the overseas markets. The former was certainly the more important market for Norwich Stuffs,<sup>(1)</sup> but cloths very similar in type were being made by the serge industry of Devonshire, for example, and the worsted industry of the West Riding of Yorkshire - Norfolk's future arch-enemy - grew rapidly in the first half of the eighteenth century. The increasing consumption of calicoes and printed linens imported from India provided a further challenge to Norwich Stuffs, and these new goods were, moreover, beginning to be manufactured in Lancashire. In the first decades of the century, calicoes were regarded as the chief competitor and their import was bitterly opposed in Norwich;<sup>(2)</sup> the Act of 1721<sup>(3)</sup> gave some relief by prohibiting such goods but it imposed no brake upon the cotton industry of Lancashire whose continued growth, together with that of Yorkshire, constituted an increasing threat to Norfolk's home market.

---

(1) See, for example, *supra*, p. 710.

(2) Norwich's opposition to calicoes is described in Wadsworth, A.P., and Mann, J. de L., "The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780" (1931) pp. 131-134. The riot in Norwich in 1720 is one instance of the widespread destruction of calicoes; Blomefield, *op. cit.*, III, 437.

(3) Statute 7 George I, c. 7.

In the later seventeenth century Norwich suffered from the interruption of its foreign markets as trade fluctuated hand-in-hand with Britain's relations with the countries of Western and Southern Europe. The sudden and disastrous closure of Norfolk's export markets was later to be illustrated by the effects of the American War of Independence. It is somewhat surprising to find that at the end of the seventeenth century Devon serges<sup>(1)</sup> were far more valuable than Norwich Stuffs among the woollen goods exported to Southern Europe, but the recent war with Spain had been a much greater setback to Norwich than to Exeter. However, Norwich Stuffs gradually gained ground in the markets of Spain, Portugal, Holland and Germany and had ousted the Devon serges from all four by the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>(2)</sup> But the export market was both unreliable and of far less importance to Norwich than home consumption; it added one more disadvantage to those experienced by Norwich in competition with the worsted industry of the West Riding.

Though Norwich maintained some degree of prosperity during the eighteenth century by concentrating on luxury goods

- 
- (1) Generally of worsted type, using both long and short wool; most were milled but some, like duroys and sagathies, were not and these two cloths were among the stuffs made in Norwich (supra, pp. 759, 766). The perpetuana was the most popular of the Devon serges, and it was not among the more important of the Norwich Stuffs. Hoskins, W.G., "Trade, Industry and People in Exeter, 1688-1800" (1935), pp. 39-40.
- (2) Op. cit., pp. 68-75.

while Yorkshire manufactured the lower grades of worsted cloths, the West Riding possessed too many advantages for the ancient seat of the industry to sustain its pre-eminence or indeed its existence. Clapham speaks<sup>(1)</sup> of the proximity of wool, water, iron and coal to the West Riding; of the corporate conservatism, the party animosity and the slowness in giving machinery its chance in Norwich; the easy closure of Norfolk's foreign market for luxury goods, and the competition of cotton in the home market. "The transference of the industry was really complete in or about 1850"<sup>(2)</sup> Lloyd Pritchard concludes that Norwich, "handicapped as it was by severe competition at home, loss of markets abroad, changing tastes, dear fuel and out-of-date production techniques, was effectively surpassed by Yorkshire by the opening of the nineteenth century."<sup>(3)</sup>

There is no need to enter here into the argument concerning the exact timing of the relative and absolute decline and extinction of the Norwich industry. The statistical and literary evidence has not yet been conclusively analysed, and insufficient attention has been given to the local evidence available in Norwich; the eighteenth and nineteenth century history of the Norwich worsted industry is deserving of

---

(1) Clapham, J.H., "The Transference of the Worsted Industry from Norfolk to the West Riding", in *Economic Journal*, Volume XX (1910).

(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

(3) Pritchard, M.F. Lloyd, "The Decline of Norwich", in *Economic History Review*, Second Series, Volume III, Number 3 (1951), p. 377.

a careful study. Suffice it to say now that having lost its old unique advantages in this branch of the textile industry, Norwich had finally succumbed to the competition of the West Riding by 1800 or perhaps 1850.

APPENDIX

SOURCES OF DATA USED IN MAP FOUR.

References are given to manuscripts and printed sources deposited at home, in contrast to the printed sources on the map. The references only are listed unless the printed sources are more than one source is mentioned in the Appendix. The source is given in brackets when the reference is given.

In some the township to be identified, they are grouped according to the kinship sources of the National and which are also indicated on the map.

A P P E N D I X O N E

- Square 47 Branston E.S. Stock 775 (2)
- Claxby Homefield, Norfolk, I. 289.
- Great Dingsted Waterhouse Rec. 28.
- Halpe-vest-the-sea E.S. Stock Mas. 70-1.
- Thornham E.S. O. 01/1518/50-51.

SOURCES OF DATA USED IN MAP FOUR.

- Square 48 Barnham Norton Holkham Rec., Titledull books, 19
- Barnham Overy ditto
- Barnham George ditto
- Barnham Westgate N.P.L. S.S.B. 11510, 2811.
- Balkham Holkham Rec., Page 1. (4)

- Square 49 Binham N.P.L. MS. 9162, 802
- Stiffrey N.P.L. MS. 1572 (2)
- Wanham Homefield, II, 284.

- Square 49 Clay-vest-the-sea N.C.P. Mas., Grouped Manors 2, roll 11.
- Devfield N.P.L. MS. 1513, 10A.
- Kelling E.S. O. St. Ch. 3/142.
- Salthouse ditto
- Norston N.P.L. MS. 1572.

APPENDIX ONESOURCES OF DATA USED IN MAP FOUR.

References to manuscripts and printed sources describing or naming foldcourses in the townships shown on the map. One reference only has been selected for each township; if more than one course is mentioned in the manuscript, the number is given in brackets after the reference.

To enable the townships to be identified, they are grouped according to the kilometre squares of the National Grid which are also indicated on Map Four.

Square 47	Brancaster Choseley Great Ringstead Holme-next-the-sea Thornham	B.M. Stowe 775 (2) Blomefield, "Norfolk", X, 349. L'Strange Mss. NR. L'Strange Mss. FQ 1. P.R.O. C1/1518/50-51.
Square 48	Burnham Norton Burnham Overy Burnham Thorpe Burnham Westgate Holkham	Holkham Mss., Tittleshall Books, 19 ditto ditto N.P.L. N.R.S. 11310, 26B3. Holkham Mss., Maps 1. (4)
Square 49	Binham Stiffkey Warham	N.P.L. MS. 9152, 8C2 N.P.L. MS. 1572 (2) Blomefield, IX, 264.
Square 40	Cley-next-the-sea Bayfield Kelling Salthouse Morston	N.C.P.Mss., Grouped Manors 2, roll 11. N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4. P.R.O. St.Ch. 3/342. ditto N.P.L. MS. 1572.

- Square 41 Beeston Regis P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster  
Pleadings, Calender, part IV, p.448.  
Sheringham Rye, "North Erpingham", I, 178.  
Weybourne P.R.O. S.C. 12/13/5.
- Square 42 Cromer N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4.
- Square 36 Dersingham P.R.O. C78/75  
Heacham N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4.  
Little Ringstead L'Strange Mss. NR.  
Snettisham P.R.O. D.L.1/44
- Square 37 Bircham Newton Cholmondeley Mss., Account Book  
No.13.  
Bircham Tofts N.P.L. N.R.S. 11310, 26B3.  
Great Bircham ditto  
Docking P.R.O. C2/H11/45  
Fring P.R.O. C2/S8/41.  
Gnatingdon N.C.P. Grouped Manors 2, roll 19.  
Sedgeford ditto (2)  
Shernborne N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4.
- Square 38 Barmer N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F.  
Great Barwick N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4.  
North Creake N.P.L. N.R.S. 3503, 13E (4)  
South Creake British Library of Political and  
Economic Science, R(SR) 1032.  
Dunton N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F (2)  
Sculthorpe N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F  
Egmere Historical Manuscripts Commission  
Vol.31, p.429.  
Stanhoe N.P.L. MS. 1481.  
Waterden N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4

- Square 39 Alethorpe Norfolk Archaeology, Vol.10,  
pp. 150-151.  
Barney N.C.P. Grouped Manors, 1, roll 8.  
East Barsham N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4.  
West Barsham ditto  
Fulmodeston N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F.  
Hindringham P.R.O. D.L. 3/39.  
Houghton St.Giles C.U.L. Mm. 2/19.  
Thorpland N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4.  
Great Walsingham N.P.L. N.R.S. 11310, 26B3.  
Little Walsingham P.R.O. L.R. 2/220/327-333  
Wighton P.R.O. D.L. 1/140.
- Square 30 Bale P.R.O. C78/75  
Brinton P.R.O. C2/P17/49  
Edgefield P.R.O. C2/S4/44  
Hunworth B.M. Addit. 39221  
Stody H.M.C. Vol.31, p.417.
- Square 31 East Beckham N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F.  
Little Barningham N.P.L. N.R.S. 3135, 13B4.  
Town Barningham N.P.L. N.R.S. 3066, 13A6.  
Gresham Rye, "North Erpingham", I, 77.  
Hempstead N.P.L. N.R.S. 10176, 22F8.  
Plumstead N.P.L. MS. 9277, 8D4.  
Itteringham Parsons, W.L.E., "Salle" (1937)  
p.171.
- Square 32 Antingham N.P.L. MS. 6027e, 16B7.  
Gimingham P.R.O. D. of L. Pleadings,  
Calendar, part IV, p. 26.  
Roughton P.R.O. D.L. 3/81.  
Thorpe Market N.C.P. Grouped Manors 2, roll 13.  
Trunch P.R.O. D. of L. Pleadings,  
Calendar, part IV, p. 101.  
North Walsham C.U.L. Mm. 2/19.

- Square 33 Happisburgh King's College, Cambridge,  
Mss., P.37.
- Square 26 Babingley P.R.O. C78/75  
Sandingham ditto  
Castle Rising P.R.O. E164/46  
Gaywood N.P.L. MS. 4848, 5A.  
Wolferton B.M. Stowe 765.
- Square 27 Anmer Rye, "State Papers", pp.70-71 (2)  
Congham P.R.O. E134/40 Eliz./Easter 3.  
Flitcham P.R.O. E164/46 (4)  
Grimston Blomefield VIII, 444.  
Hillington P.R.O. C1/903/5-6  
Houghton Cholmondeley Mss., Account Book  
13  
Harpley Holkham Mss., Creak Deeds, 7/117  
Great Massingham B.M. Addit. 6034 (3)  
Little Massingham Blomefield IX, 17.  
Appleton N.P.L. Flitcham Mss., 14/481.
- Square 28 Coxford N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F.  
Helhoughton ditto  
Toftrees ditto  
West Rainham ditto  
Rougham ditto  
East Rainham N.P.L. MS. 1598, 1D4 (2)  
Kipton Brit.Lib. of Pol. and Econ. Sc.,  
R(SR) 1032.  
Tittleshall N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4 (3)  
Tatterford ditto  
Tattersett ditto  
East Rudham N.P.L. MS. 1481.  
West Rudham N.P.L. N.R.S. 11310, 26B3.  
Weasenham ditto (3)  
Shereford B.L. of P. & E. Sc., R(SR) 1032.  
Wellingham Holkham Mss., Tittleshall Books  
19.

- Square 29 Colkirk Blomefield, IX, 474.  
 Fakenham N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4.  
 Hempton ditto  
 Godwick Blomefield, IX, 509.  
 North Elmham Carthew, "Launditch", II, 560.  
 Stibberd N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F.  
 Little Riburgh H.M.C., Vol.31, p.414.  
 Stanfield Carthew, "Launditch", II, 474.
- Square 20 Billingham N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4.  
 Bintree Holkham Mss., Billingham Deeds,  
 13/932.  
 Foxley ditto 12/846.  
 Hindolveston N.C.P., Grouped Manors 1, roll 4.  
 Wood Norton N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F.
- Square 21 Blickling N.P.L. N.R.S. 12399, 27D1.  
 Brandiston P.R.O. C1/1370/6-9.  
 Aylesham N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F.  
 Cawston N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4.  
 Irmingland ditto  
 Oulton N.P.L. N.R.S. 13324, 28A4.  
 Great Witchingham P.R.O. D.L. 1/144.
- Square 22 Burgh-next-Aylesham Mosby, "Norfolk", pp.123-4.  
 Felmingham P.R.O. E133/10/1599.  
 Hevingham N.C.M.R. A.B. 9/561.  
 Stratton Strawless P.R.O. D.L. 1/166.
- Square 23 Ashmanhaugh P.R.O. C1/1295/10.  
 Neatishead C.U.L. Mm. 2/19.
- Square 24 Hickling P.R.O. E134/8 Chas.I/Easter 4.

- Square 16 Blackborough  
Middleton  
East Winch  
Wormegay  
P.R.O. S.C. 12/12/21.  
P.R.O. Requ. 2/39/23.  
C.U.L. Mm. 2/19.  
P.R.O. E134/21 Eliz./Hilary 4.
- Square 17 Marham  
Narford  
Pentney  
East Walton  
P.R.O. E315/398/12.  
Blomefield, VI, 232.  
Blomefield, IX, 40.  
C.U.L. Mm. 2, 19 (3)
- Square 18 Castle Acre  
South Acre  
Newton  
East Lexham  
West Lexham  
Great Dunham  
Little Dunham  
Litcham  
Great Palgrave  
Sporle  
P.R.O. L.R. 2/255/35-49.  
Blomefield, VI, 80.  
N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4.  
N.P.L. N.R.S. 12831, 31E5.  
Holkham Mss., Maps 5/87A.  
P.R.O. Requ. 2/252/20.  
Carthew, "Launditch", II, 679.  
N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F.  
Blomefield, VI, 126.  
Blomefield, VI, 124.
- Square 19 Beeston  
Beetley  
Little Bittering  
Gressenhall  
Hoo  
Stanfield  
Longham  
Mileham  
Carthew, "Launditch", II, 625.  
ditto II, 585.  
ditto II, 625.  
ditto II, 461.  
ditto II, 738.  
ditto II, 474.  
Holkham Mss., Longham Deeds,  
9/437a (2)  
N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F.
- Square 10 Sparham  
P.R.O. C2/D3/31
- Square 07  
Caldbeck  
Oxborough  
Shingay

- Square 11 Felthorpe Blomefield, X, 414.  
 Hellesdon C.U.L. Mm. 2, 19 (2)  
 Morton N.P.L. N.R.S. 11310, 26B3.  
 Ringland ditto  
 Taverham P.R.O. C1/1219/16-19.  
 Weston Mosby, "Norfolk", pp.151-3.
- Square 12 Catton N.C.P. Grouped Manors, 1, roll 14  
 Horstead King's College, Cambridge, Mss.  
 N3-5.  
 Stanninghall ditto  
 Rackheath N.P.L. N.R.S. 11313, 26B3.  
 Horsham St. Faiths N.P.L. N.R.S. 11310, 26B3.  
 Spixworth ditto  
 Great Plumstead N.C.P. Grouped Manors 2, roll 12  
 Sprowston N.P.L. N.R.S. 11313, 26B3 (2)  
 Wroxham Blomefield, X, 475.
- Square 13 Salhouse N.P.L. N.R.S. 11313, 26B3.  
 Woodbastwick ditto
- Square 14 Martham P.R.O. E134/17 Eliz./Trinity 9.  
 Ormesby P.R.O. E134/29 and 30 Eliz./  
 Michaelmas 8.  
 West Somerton Blomefield, XI, 190.
- Square 06 Crimplesham P.R.O. E315/201/55-59.  
 Fincham N.P.L. N.R.S. 7674, 23E2.  
 Shouldham B.M. Addit. 5947.
- Square 07 Cley Bedingfeld sheep accounts.  
 Caldecote ditto  
 Oxborough ditto  
 Shingham ditto

Square 08	Ashill Panworth Hilborough Little Crëssingham Necton North Pickenham Saham Toney Swaffham Threxton	Holkham Mss., Maps 5/104 (2) ditto P.R.O. C78/75. B.M. Stowe 775. Blomefield, VI, 47. Blomefield, VI, 66. N.P.L. MS. 1583, 1D4. P.R.O. Requ. 2/187/11. B.M. Stowe 775.
Square 09	Carbrooke Ovington Watton Woodrising	B.M. Stowe 775. Blomefield, II, 298. P.R.O. S.C. 11/482. B.M. Addit. 5947.
Square 00	Hardingham	Blomefield, X, 224.
Square 01	Cringleford Earlham East Carleton Great Melton Hethersett Intwood Wymondham	N.C.P. Grouped Manors 2, roll 12. N.P.L. N.R.S. 11313, 26B3. P.R.O. Wards 9/129. Blomefield, V, 13. N.C.P. Grouped Manors 2, roll 12. ditto P.R.O. E134/17 Eliz./Trinity 9.
Square 02	Eaton Caistor St. Edmunds Heigham Newton Thorpe Stoke Holy Cross Trowse	B.M. Stowe 775. P.R.O. E123/23. N.C.P. Grouped Manors 1, roll 8. N.C.P. Grouped Manors 3, roll 19. ditto (2) N.C.P. Grouped Manors 2, roll 14. N.C.M.R. C.B. 19 (unfoliated)
Square 03	Blofield Langley Thurton	P.R.O. E178/7153. N.P.L. N.R.S. 11313, 26B3. N.C.P. Grouped Manors 3, roll 18.

- Square 96 Roxham P.R.O. E134/1653-4/Hilary 7.
- Square 97 Feltwell N.P.L. N.R.S. 10030.  
 Foulden Blomefield, VI, 28.  
 Methwold P.R.O. E.315/419/58-9.  
 Northwold P.R.O. St.Ch. 2/8/158.
- Square 98 Ickburgh P.R.O. C1/1121/1  
 Sturston P.R.O. E134/38-39 Eliz./  
 Michaelmas 9. (3)  
 Tottington N.P.L. N.R.S. 11310, 26B3 (3)  
 West Wretham B.M. Addit.36990 (2)
- Square 99 Great Beckles P.R.O. C1/1399/61-63.  
 Merton Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany,  
 III, 61.  
 Thompson ditto  
 Little Hockham Blomefield, I, 465.  
 Shropham N.C.M.R. C.B. 23/16.  
 Stow Bedon Blomefield, II, 280.
- Square 90 Hargham B.M. Hargreaves 249.  
 Old Buckenham Blomefield, I, 382.
- Square 87 Hockwold N.P.L. MS. 1475, 1F.
- Square 88 Kilverstone P.R.O. E134/35 Eliz./Easter 24  
 (2)  
 Santon N.P.L. MS. 6852, 6F7.  
 Thetford P.R.O. E164/46 (2)

Square 89	Brettenham	H.M.C., Vol. 11, p. 220	(3)
	Bridgeham	ditto	(3)
	Gasthorpe	ditto	
	West Harling	B.M. Addit. 36990.	
	Harling Thorpe	ditto	
	Middle Harling	ditto	
	Roudham	P.R.O. St. Ch. 2/6/13-16.	
	Rushford	P.R.O. E164/46.	

Square 80	Bressingham	P.R.O. E164/46
	Garboldisham	H.M.C., Vol. 11, p. 1211.
	Kenninghall	Blomefield, I, 220.
	Quidenham	Blomefield, I, 337.

APPENDIX TWO

TESTAMENTARY INVENTORIES: Rising Personal Wealth

These three tables are discussed in Chapter Three.

In considering the figures expressed in the tables based on the inventories, and especially in Table Three which has personal wealth, care must be taken to see how far the apparent increase can be explained by the rise in prices.

The steep upward trend in prices during the sixteenth century explains to a considerable extent the apparent increase in personal wealth during that century. Dr. Hoskins, relying on Vishe's figures

APPENDIX TWO.

between 1500-50 and 1588-90, shows that the value of a Leicestershire farmer's goods increased roughly three-fold in the same period. The first available inventories for Norfolk are from the last decade of the century, by which time the great rise in prices had reached its peak.

Between the 1590's and about 1620, prices increased by less than 50% (2).

TESTAMENTARY INVENTORIES.

Tables for those two periods show a similar increase in the value of personal estates. There was probably little change in the real wealth of Norfolk farmers during this period, but a number of factors came definite conclusions regarding the habit of will-making

(1) With the average for 1451-1500 as base (100): 1531-50 - 105; 1551-80 - 133; 1583-92 - 152. Hoskins, H.C. "The Leicestershire Farmer in the Sixteenth Century", in "Essays in Leicestershire History" (1906) p. 63.

(2) With 1540 as base (100): 1540 - 100; 1572 - 111; 1607 - 121; 1635 - 121; 1669 - 124; 1698 - 119. E.P. Hamilton's figures adapted by E.H. Harley, "Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, 1550-1725", Economic History Review, 2nd Series, Vol. VII, No. 3 (April 1956), p. 234. Also the index of wheat prices compiled by Harold Rogers and expressed graphically by Morgan, B.V., "The Study of Prices and the Value of Money", Historical Association (Helps for Students of History, No. 52) (1920).

APPENDIX TWO.

TESTAMENTARY INVENTORIES: Total Personal Wealth

These three tables are discussed in Chapter Three, 13.

In considering the figures expressed in the tables based on the inventories, and especially in these three tables for personal wealth, care must be taken to see how far the apparent increases can be explained by the rise in prices.

The steep upward trend in prices during the sixteenth century explains to a considerable extent the apparent increases in personal wealth during that century. Dr. Hoskins, relying on Wiebe's figures,<sup>(1)</sup> speaks of a doubling of prices between 1500-31 and 1588 but finds that the average value of a Leicestershire farmer's goods increased roughly three-fold in the same period. The first available inventories for Norfolk are from the last decade of the century, by which time the great rise in prices had reached its peak.

Between the 1590's and about 1620, prices increased by less than 30%<sup>(2)</sup> and the Norfolk inventories for those two periods show a similar increase in the median value of personal estates. There was probably little change in the real wealth of Norfolk farmers during this period, but a number of factors make definite conclusions hazardous: the habit of will-making

- (1) With the average for 1451-1500 as base (100):  
1531-40 - 105; 1551-60 - 132; 1583-92 - 198. Hoskins, W.G., "The Leicestershire Farmer in the Sixteenth Century", in "Essays in Leicestershire History" (1950) p. 135.
- (2) With 1540 as base (100): 1540 - 100; 1572 - 171; 1605 - 251; 1635 - 291; 1669 - 324; 1690 - 319. E.J. Hamilton's figures adapted by M.W. Barley, "Farmhouses and Cottages, 1550-1725", Economic History Review, 2nd Series, Vol. VII, No. 3 (April 1955), p. 294. Also the index of wheat prices compiled by Thorold Rogers and expressed graphically by Morgan, E.V., "The Study of Prices and the Value of Money", Historical Association (Helps for Students of History No. 53) (1950).

was being extended more and more to the poorer classes, the more highly-priced manufactured goods would be scarce among these countrymen (and weavers have been omitted for treatment elsewhere) and there may well have been a lag between the prices in Norfolk and those for the country as a whole.

Price trends during the seventeenth century were variable; a rise to about the mid-century was followed by some decline.<sup>(1)</sup> The price level for the period of the inventories in Table 3 was perhaps a little above that for the period covered by Table 2 and the apparent increase in personal wealth between 1614-22 and 1668-78 was to some extent a real one.

---

(1) As for footnote (2) on previous page.

TABLE 1. Total Personal Wealth, 1589-1596.

Amount of personal estate, in £'s	Sheep-Corn Region		Wood-Pasture Region		Total	
1- 10	7	7.4%	5	10.0%	12	8.3%
11- 20	9	9.5	4	8.0	13	9.0
21- 30	5	5.3	5	10.0	10	6.9
31- 40	9	9.5	6	12.0	15	10.4
41- 50	7	7.4	3	6.0	10	6.9
51- 60	13	13.7	6	12.0	19	13.1
61- 70	4	4.2	2	4.0	6	4.1
71- 80	4	4.2	2	4.0	6	4.1
81- 90	5	5.3	6	12.0	11	7.6
91-100	2	2.1	-	-	2	1.4
101-150	13	13.7	5	10.0	18	12.4
151-200	4	4.2	1	2.0	5	3.4
201-300	5	5.3	1	2.0	6	4.1
301-400	4	4.2	2	4.0	6	4.1
401-500	2	2.1	2	4.0	4	2.8
501-600	1	1.0	-	-	1	0.7
601-700	-	-	-	-	-	-
701-800	1	1.0	-	-	1	0.7
Total	95	100.1%	50	100.0%	145	100.0%
Median		£59		£58-59		£58-59
Average		£104		£87		£98

N.B. The sample is the same as in Tables 2 and 3 in the text.

TABLE 2. Total Personal Wealth, 1614-1622.

Amount of personal estate, in £'s	Sheep-Corn Region	Wood-Pasture Region	Total
1- 10	5 7.1%	1 3.1%	6 5.9%
11- 20	7 10.0	3 9.4	10 9.8
21- 30	6 8.6	3 9.4	9 8.8
31- 40	8 11.4	1 3.1	9 8.8
41- 50	4 5.7	4 12.5	8 7.8
51- 60	3 4.3	- -	3 2.9
61- 70	3 4.3	- -	3 2.9
71- 80	4 5.7	1 3.1	5 4.9
81- 90	2 2.9	2 6.2	4 3.9
91- 100	3 4.3	2 6.2	5 4.9
101- 150	11 15.7	4 12.5	15 14.7
151- 200	4 5.7	2 6.2	6 5.9
201-300	4 5.7	3 9.4	7 6.9
301- 400	2 2.9	3 9.4	5 4.9
401- 500	1 1.4	- -	1 0.9
501- 600	1 1.4	1 3.1	2 1.9
601- 700	- -	1 3.1	1 0.9
701- 800	- -	1 3.1	1 0.9
801-1000	- -	- -	- -
1001-1500	2 2.9	- -	2 1.9
<b>Total</b>	70 100.0%	32 99.8%	102 99.5%
<b>Median</b>	£65	£89	£74-75
<b>Average</b>	£133	£156-7	£141

N.B. The sample is the same as in Tables 7 and 8 in the text.

TABLE 3. Total Personal Wealth, 1668-1678.

Amount of personal estate, in £'s	Sheep-Corn Region	Wood-Pasture Region	Total
1- 10	6 6.5%	4 8.3%	10 7.1%
11- 20	13 14.1	- -	13 9.3
21- 30	8 8.7	4 8.3	12 8.6
31- 40	4 4.3	3 6.2	7 5.0
41- 50	6 6.5	2 4.2	8 5.7
51- 60	2 2.2	3 6.2	5 3.6
61- 70	3 3.3	1 2.1	4 2.9
71- 80	4 4.3	1 2.1	5 3.6
81- 90	1 1.1	3 6.2	4 2.9
91- 100	2 2.2	2 4.2	4 2.9
101- 150	12 13.0	4 8.3	16 11.4
151- 200	8 8.7	2 4.2	10 7.1
201- 300	10 10.9	7 14.6	17 12.1
301- 400	4 4.3	1 2.1	5 3.6
401- 500	4 4.3	5 10.4	9 6.4
501- 600	3 3.3	3 6.2	6 4.3
601- 700	- -	1 2.1	1 0.7
701- 800	1 1.1	- -	1 0.7
801-1000	- -	- -	- -
1001-2000	1 1.1	2 4.2	3 2.1
Total	92 99.9%	48 99.9%	140 100.0%
Median	£80	£107	£95
Average	£147	£212	£169

N.B. The sample is the same as in Tables 12 and 13 in the text.

A P P E N D I X   T H R E E .

THE SHEEP ACCOUNTS: TABLES.

APPENDIX THREE.THE SHEEP ACCOUNTS: Tables. (Discussed in Chapter Six.)

Tables 1-15	Sir Roger Townshend, 1479-1493.
Tables 16-25	Sir Roger Townshend, 1545-1549.
Tables 26-29	Sir Roger Townshend, 1565-1567.
Table 30	Sir Roger Townshend, 1626.
Tables 31-32	Sir Roger Townshend, 1637.
Table 33	Henry Fermor, 1521-1522.
Tables 34-38	Norwich Cathedral Priory, 1471-1531.
Tables 39-47	Sir Richard Southwell, 1544-1562.
Table 48	John Corbett, 1554-1557.
Tables 48A-48F	Henry Bedingfeld, 1553-1557.
Table 49	Framlingham Gawdy, 1635-1666.
Tables 50-51	Sir Robert Walpole, 1658-1667.
Tables 52-53	Sir Roger L'Strange, 1693-1704.

Individual flocks.

TABLE ONE. LUCHAM - ewes.

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Fleeces less tithes	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone <sup>(1)</sup>	Pelts
1479-80	1485 <sup>(2)</sup>	1447	1134	0.76	1182	89	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	172
1480-81	1447 <sup>(2)</sup>	1449	736	0.51	1173	72	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	133
1481-82	1449 <sup>(2)</sup>	1431	651	0.45	910	66	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	577
1482-83	1431 <sup>(3)</sup>	1376 <sup>(4)</sup>	594	0.68	1302 <sup>(5)</sup>	108	12	149
1485-86	849 <sup>(6)</sup>	1488 <sup>(7)</sup>	389	0.46	947	-	-	444
1489-90	1475 <sup>(9)</sup>	1448 <sup>(10)</sup>	1082	0.76	-	-	-	29
1493	-	-	-	-	1325 <sup>(8)</sup>	139	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-

- (1) To the nearest quarter of a fleece.  
 (2) All ewes.  
 (3) Ewes 626, gimmers 240, lambs 504, hoggs 60.  
 (4) Ewes 639, gimmers 52, lambs 261, hoggs 424.  
 (5) Including tithes.  
 (6) Ewes 839, hoggs 10.  
 (7) Ewes 1234, lambs 254.  
 (8) All ewe fleeces.  
 (9) Ewes 1415, hoggs 60.  
 (10) Ewes 1326, lambs 122.

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Fleeces less tithes	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone <sup>(1)</sup>	Pelts
1479-80	-	964 <sup>(2)</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-
1480-81	964 <sup>(2)</sup>	841 <sup>(3)</sup>	469	0.56	728	52	14	33
1481-82	841 <sup>(3)</sup>	1015 <sup>(4)</sup>	489	0.58	495	43	11½	51
1482-83	1015 <sup>(4)</sup>	989 <sup>(5)</sup>	490	0.79	840 <sup>(6)</sup>	76	11	30
1485-86	1455	1534 <sup>(7)</sup>	953	0.65	979	-	-	40
1489-90	1021 <sup>(2)</sup>	972	762	0.75	-	-	-	24
1493 <sup>(8)</sup>	-	-	-	-	1456 <sup>(2)</sup>	122	12	-

(1) To the nearest quarter of a fleece.

(2) All ewes.

(3) Ewes with 1 ram.

(4) Ewes 499, gimmers 122, lambs 393, wether 1.

(5) Ewes 559, hoggs 211, lambs 219.

(6) Including tithes.

(7) Ewes 967, lambs 567.

(8) Combined with Helloughton.

TABLE THREE. HELLIOUGHTON - ewes (on left)  
 TABLE FOUR. SCULTHORPE - ewes (on right).

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Fleeces less tithes	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone <sup>(1)</sup>	Pelts
1479-80	1142 <sup>(2)</sup>	683 <sup>(3)</sup>	903	0.79	998	88	11½	33
1480-81	683 <sup>(3)</sup>	664 <sup>(4)</sup>	nil	-	248 <sup>(5)</sup>	7	35½	409
1481-82	664 <sup>(4)</sup>	nil	16 <sup>(5)</sup>	0.21	550	40	13¾	76
1489-90 <sup>(6)</sup>	918 <sup>(7)</sup>	898 <sup>(7)</sup>	542	0.59	-	-	-	20

- (1) To the nearest quarter of a fleece. (5) From 76 ewes.  
 (2) Ewes 1141, ram 1. (6) No flock mentioned in 1482-83 and 1485-86; combined with West Rainham in 1493.  
 (3) Lambs 682, ram 1.  
 (4) Gimmers 76, lambs 588. (7) All ewes.

1479-80	587 <sup>(1)</sup>	637 <sup>(2)</sup>	287 <sup>(3)</sup>	0.49	504	50	10	27
1480-81	637 <sup>(2)</sup>	680 <sup>(4)</sup>	49 <sup>(5)</sup>	0.08	341	19	18	256
1481-82	680 <sup>(4)</sup>	664 <sup>(6)</sup>	302 <sup>(7)</sup>	0.47	505	48	10½	136
1482-83 <sup>(10)</sup>	664 <sup>(6)</sup>	nil	422 <sup>(8)</sup>	0.77	617 <sup>(9)</sup>	55	11	35

- (1) Ewes 55, gimmers 532. (6) Ewes 521, gimmers 25, lambs 118.  
 (2) Ewes 64, gimmers 573. (7) From 636 ewes.  
 (3) From 587 ewes. (8) From 546 ewes.  
 (4) Ewes 376, gimmers 260, lambs 44. (9) Including tithes.  
 (5) From 637 ewes; bad weather recorded (10) No flock recorded in 1485-86, 1489-90 and 1493.

TABLE FIVE. DUNTON - ewes. (on left)  
TABLE SIX. DUNTON - wethers. (on right)

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Fleeces less tithes	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone <sup>(1)</sup>	Pelts
1479-80	210 <sup>(2)</sup>	nil	112	0.53	180	8½	21	10
1489-90	nil	484 <sup>(3)</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-

- (1) To the nearest quarter of a fleece.  
 (2) Ewes 209, wether 1.  
 (3) Ewes 274, lambs 210; "a new beginning".

1479-80	1096 <sup>(1)</sup>	1088			933	124	7½	14
1480-81	1088	1086			1059	110	9½	10
1481-82	1086	1106			933	109	8½	19
1482-83	1106	786			695 <sup>(2)</sup>	75	9¼	8
1485-86	981	1000			866	-	-	11
1489-90	1081	1131			-	-	-	9
1493	-	-			1060 <sup>(2)</sup>	149	7	-

- (1) All wethers in all years.  
 (2) Including tithes.

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Fleeces less tithes	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone <sup>(1)</sup>	Pelts
1479-80	126 <sup>(2)</sup>	125	113	11	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	1
1480-81	125	120	108	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	5
1481-82	120	114	108	12	9	nil
1482-83	114	112	112 <sup>(3)</sup>	14	8	2
1485-86	130	130	117	-	-	nil
1489-90	1058	1258	-	-	-	20
1493	-	-	1487 <sup>(2)</sup>	203	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	-

- (1) All wethers in all years.  
(2) To the nearest quarter of a fleece.  
(3) Including tithes.

1479-80	242 <sup>(1)</sup>	240	214	29	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4
1480-81	240	236	213	22	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	4
1481-82	236	251	210	28	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2
1482-83	251	138	96	15	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7
1489-90 <sup>(2)</sup>	nil	888 <sup>(3)</sup>	-	-	-	-
1493	-	-	857	99	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	-

- (1) All wethers until 1489-90.  
(2) No flock recorded in 1485-86; a new beginning in 1489-90.  
(3) Gimmers 868, wethers 20.

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Fleeces less tithes	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone	Pelts
1479-80	715 <sup>(1)</sup>	767 <sup>(2)</sup>	71 <sup>(3)</sup>	0.81	546	56	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	102
1480-81	766 <sup>(4)</sup>	622 <sup>(5)</sup>	171 <sup>(6)</sup>	0.67	330	21	19 $\frac{3}{4}$ <sup>(7)</sup>	412
1481-82	622 <sup>(5)</sup>	693 <sup>(8)</sup>	299 <sup>(9)</sup>	0.56	424 <sup>(10)</sup>	37	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	63
1482-83	693 <sup>(8)</sup>	611 <sup>(11)</sup>	167 <sup>(12)</sup>	0.46	502 <sup>(10)</sup>	46	11	30
1485-86	883	690 <sup>(2)</sup>	nil	-	648	-	-	39
1489-90	950 <sup>(2)</sup>	782 <sup>(2)</sup>	nil	-	-	-	-	21
1493	-	-	-	-	621 <sup>(2)</sup>	101	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	-

- (1) Wethers and hustards.  
(2) All wethers.  
(3) From 88 ewes. rds.  
(4) One missing at end last account.  
(5) Ewes 529; hustards 33; wethers 20; lambs 40.  
(6) From 256 ewes.  
(7) This figure allows for an additional 86 stones from Tittleshall.  
(8) Ewes about 360; hustards 9; wethers about 86; lambs about 238.  
(9) From 529 ewes (assumed).  
(10) Including tithes.  
(11) Wethers 340; ewes 100; hogs 21; lambs 150.  
(12) From 360 ewes (assumed).

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Fleeces less tithes	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone <sup>(1)</sup>	Pelts
1479-80	nil	308 <sup>(2)</sup>	nil	-	nil	nil	-	nil
1480-81	308 <sup>(2)</sup>	nil	40	0.13	86	- <sup>(3)</sup>	-	120
1481-82	nil	168 <sup>(4)</sup>	nil	-	nil	nil	-	nil
1482-83	168 <sup>(4)</sup>	723 <sup>(5)</sup>	nil	-	43	10	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>(6)</sup>	3
1485-86	811	805 <sup>(7)</sup>	nil	-	913	-	-	193
1489-90	773	747 <sup>(8)</sup>	38	? <sup>(9)</sup>	-	-	-	104
1493	-	-	-	-	605 <sup>(10)</sup>	51	12	-

- (1) To the nearest quarter of a fleece  
 (2) All crones  
 (3) Included with East Rainham - see Table 9.  
 (4) Ewes 123; lambs 44; hustard 1.  
 (5) Ewes 492; hoggs 72; lambs 158.  
 (10) All wethers  
 (6) Unreliable: the sheep-reeve must have mistrusted the figures for he left a blank here.  
 (7) Hoggs 354; lambs 451.  
 (8) Wethers 328; ewes 120; lambs 358.  
 (9) Uncertain from how many ewes.

1479-80	1084 <sup>(1)</sup>	1098 <sup>(2)</sup>	29	? <sup>(3)</sup>	938	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	52
1480-81	1098 <sup>(2)</sup>	836 <sup>(4)</sup>	nil	-	531	23	23	516
1481-82 <sup>(5)</sup>	836 <sup>(4)</sup>	nil	nil	-	nil	nil	-	697

- (1) Lambs 1034; hoggs 50.  
 (2) Lambs 1082; ewes 12; wethers 4.  
 (3) Uncertain from how many ewe hoggs.  
 (4) Lambs 725; hoggs 111.  
 (5) This flock is not mentioned in 1482-83, 1485-86, 1489-90 and 1493.

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Fleeces less tithes	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone(1)	Pelts
1479-80	1071 <sup>(2)</sup>	1018 <sup>(3)</sup>	nil	-	908	84	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	68
1480-81	1018 <sup>(4)</sup>	841 <sup>(5)</sup>	10	? <sup>(9)</sup>	757	56	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	177
1481-82	841 <sup>(5)</sup>	792 <sup>(6)</sup>	19 <sup>(7)</sup>	0.47	689	68	10	162
1482-83	792 <sup>(6)</sup>	810 <sup>(8)</sup>	32	? <sup>(9)</sup>	835 <sup>(10)</sup>	96	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	22
1485-86	889 <sup>(11)</sup>	815 <sup>(12)</sup>	4	? <sup>(9)</sup>	619	-	-	65
1489-90	909 <sup>(13)</sup>	866 <sup>(14)</sup>	4	? <sup>(9)</sup>	-	-	-	49
1493	-	-	-	-	654	69	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-

- (1) To the nearest quarter of a fleece.  
 (2) Hogs 391; ewes 10; lambs 670.  
 (3) All hogs  
 (4) Hogs and gimmers.  
 (5) Wethers 470; hogs 371.  
 (6) Wethers 555; hogs 232; lambs 5.  
 (7) From 40 gimmers.

- (8) Wethers 254; two-shear hogs 226; one-shear hogs 310.  
 (9) Uncertain from how many ewes or gimmers.  
 (10) Including tithes.  
 (11) Two-shear hogs 615; one-shear hogs 274.  
 (12) Two-shear hogs 370; one-shear hogs 441; lambs 4.  
 (13) Hogs and gimmers.  
 (14) Gimmers 22; lambs 844.

Some fleece weights in the smaller flocks:-

- (1) Rougham, 1482-83: 230 fleeces, 24 stones, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  fleeces per stone - hogs.  
 (2) East Beckham, 1489-90: 710 fleeces, 81 stones, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  fleeces per stone - wethers.  
 (3) Aylsham, 1489-90: 385 fleeces, 35 stones, 11 fleeces per stone - hogs.  
 (4) Coxford, 1493: 356 fleeces, 32 $\frac{1}{2}$  stones, 11 fleeces per stone - ewes.

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Fleeces less tithes	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone	Pelts
1479-80	7911	8374	2536	0.72	6456	621	10.4	517
1480-81	8374	7375	1475	0.56	5574	393½	14.09	2075
1481-82	7375	6477	1776	0.50	5824	451	10.7	1783
1482-83	6477	6035	1705	0.72	5282	519	10.18	299
1485-86	6678	6551	1346	0.59	5179	-	-	783
1488-89	-	-	-	-	-	630	-	-
1489-90	9335	11627	2598	0.72	-	878	-	351
1490-91	-	-	-	-	-	827	-	-
1491-92	-	-	-	-	-	944	-	-
1492-93	-	-	-	-	9546	1081	8.81	-

The number of ewes at the beginning of the year were:-

1479-80 - approximately 3510.  
 1480-81 - " 2612  
 1481-82 - 3570  
 1482-83 - approximately 2368  
 1485-86 - " 2294  
 1489-90 - 3582

	Two-year old wool		One-Year old wool		Present year's wool		Total		Sold this year		Remaining un-sold	
	st.	lbs.	st.	lbs.	st.	lbs.	st.	lbs.	st.	lbs.	st.	lbs.
1479-80	183	12½	641	-	666	7	1492	5	416	7	1075	7
1480-81	436	-	639	7	425	9	1500	9	221	-	1279	9½
1481-82	886	-	393	9½	451	-	1730	9½	886	-	844	7
1482-83	393	7	542	7	519	-	1455	5	937	-	518	-

N.B. (a) All figures are as given in the accounts; there are slight discrepancies.

(b) In addition to Townshend's own wool, small amounts of bought wool are included and there was an "increase in weight" added in some years. In the figure of wool sold are included small amounts of wool sent to the lord's household for cloth-making (see text, pp. )

	Arrears from previous year	This year's receipts(1)	This year's expenses(1)	This year's net profit	Paid in	Arrears
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1479-80	215. 4. 11½	90.12. 9½(2)	2. 9.10.	88. 2.11½	61.12. 8.	241.15. 3. (3)
1480-81	240.16. 0.	45.12. 2. (2)	8.14.11.	36.17. 3.	61.16.10½	215.16. 4½(4)
1481-82	215.16. 3½	31.19. 7½(5)	4. 8. 7.	27.11. 0½	186.12. 9½(6)	56.14. 6½(7)
1482-83	52. 5. 8½	67.19.10½(8)	2.19.11.	64.19.11½	74.16. 6½(9)	42. 9. 1½
1485-86	43. 9.10½	16.15. 3. (10)	1.16. 1.	14.19. 2.	13. 5. 9.	45. 3. 3½

- (1) See text for incompleteness of both receipts and expenses.  
(2) Including wool sales.  
(3) As detailed, the arrears total £240.16.0.  
(4) This is given in the accounts incorrectly as £215.16.3½  
(5) Excluding wool sales, but 830 stones were sold this year (see text)  
(6) Of this sum, only £51.4.11. was actually paid in; the rest  
- £135.7.10½ - was in allowances (see text).  
(7) This is given in the accounts incorrectly as £52.5.8½  
(8) Excluding wool sales, but 930 stones were sold for £146 (see text).  
(9) Of this sum, only £54.17.11. was actually paid in; the rest  
- £19.18.7½ - was in allowances.  
(10) Excluding wool sales, and no information regarding wool this year  
is given in the accounts.

Individual flocks.

TABLE SIXTEEN. HELLLOUGHTON WITH KIPTON - ewes (on left)  
TABLE SEVENTEEN. BARMER - ewes (centre)  
TABLE EIGHTEEN. SOUTH CREAKE - hogs (on right)

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Number of sheep shorn(1)	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone	Pelts
1545-46	600	1320	1050 <sup>(2)</sup>	0.76	1370	100	13.7	15
1546-47	1320	1320	960 <sup>(3)</sup>	0.67	1260	80	15.75	60
1547-48	1320	1320	970 <sup>(4)</sup>	0.67	1320	120	11.0	60
1548-49	1320	1560 <sup>(5)</sup>	960 <sup>(6)</sup>	0.67	1380	100	13.8	55

(1) For all the flocks this number has been calculated as:- the number of sheep at the beginning of the year + any added before shearing - any dead or sent to the kitchen - any sales before shearing.

(2) From 1385 ewes.

(3) From 1440 ewes.

(4) From 1440 ewes.

(5) Comprising 960 at Helloughton and 600 at Kipton.

(6) From 1435 ewes.

1545-46 Wound up.	840	nil	nil	-	nil	nil	-	8
----------------------	-----	-----	-----	---	-----	-----	---	---

1545-46	1200	1200	nil	-	1180	80	14.75	20
1546-47	1200	1200	nil	-	1117	80	13.96	83
1547-48	1200	1200	nil	-	1203	100	12.03	88
1548-49	1200	1200	nil	-	1220	107	11.4	100

TABLE NINETEEN. SHREFFORD - wethers (on left)  
 TABLE TWENTY. EAST RAINHAM - wethers (centre)  
 TABLE TWENTY-ONE. SUMMARY OF ALL FLOCKS (on right)

	Number of sheep at Beginning	Number of sheep at end	Number of sheep shorn	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone	Pelts
1545-46	nil	720	nil	nil	-	nil
1546-47	720	720	770	62	12.43	70
1547-48	720	720	740	60	12.33	40
1548-49	720	720	780	60	13.0	34

1545-46	360	720	380	60	6.33	104
1546-47	720	720	740	62	11.93	142
1547-48	720	720	720	62	11.61	137
1548-49	720	720	688	70	9.83	112

1545-46	3000	3960	2930	240	12.21	147
1546-47	3960	3960	3887	284	13.69	355
1547-48	3960	3960	3983	342	11.65	325
1548-49	3960	4200	4068	341 <sup>(1)</sup>	11.96	301

(1) But flock clips total only 337.

N.B. Lamb figures for all flocks are as in the Helloughton flock; see Table 16.

TABLE TWENTY-TWO. THOMAS TOWNSHEND'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS  
AND EXPENSES, 1545-1546.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u> Stock sold	264.	18.	4.
Wool sold	36.	13.	4.
Skins sold	1.	16.	9.
Hurdles sold		3.	5.
Tathing payments	1.	1.	0.
Cullet payments	2.	0.	0.
Sheep and lambs used in the kitchen		23.	17.
			<u>8.</u>
Total:	330.	10.	6.
 <u>Expenses:</u> Stock bought	193.	15.	4.
Rent of pasture hired (foldcourses)	25.	5.	2.
Shepherds' wages	8.	10.	0.
For washing and clipping	1.	6.	8.
Labour charges		10.	0.
Tar, pitch, etc. bought	19.		4.
Hurdles bought	1.	3.	4.
			<u>4.</u>
Total:	231.	9.	10.
Surplus:	99.	0.	8.

THE BILL OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS, 1st October.

	£.	s.	d.
Receipts	166.	12.	10.
Payments	221.	4.	4.
			<u>4.</u>
Deficit:	54.	11.	6.

TABLE TWENTY-THREE. THOMAS TOWNSHEND'S ACCOUNT OF  
RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES, 1546-1547.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u> Stock sold	172.	3.	4.
Wool sold	47.	0.	0.
Skins sold	4.	8.	9.
Hurdles sold			8.
Tathing and cullet payments		nil	
Sheep and lambs used in the kitchen		23.	17. 8.
Total:	247.	10.	5.
 <u>Expenses:</u> Stock bought	85.	12.	8.
Rent of pasture hired (foldcourses)	31.	5.	2.
Shepherds' wages	10.	10.	0.
For washing and clipping	1.	17.	4.
Labour charges		10.	0.
Tar, pitch, etc. bought	1.	7.	0.
Hurdles bought		4.	0.
Total:	131.	6.	2.
Surplus:	116.	4.	3.

THE BILL OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS, 2nd October.

	£.	s.	d.
Receipts	223.	12.	9.
Payments	112.	7.	8.
Surplus:	111.	5.	1.

Of which £110 has already been paid to Sir Roger T.

TABLE TWENTY-FOUR. THOMAS TOWNSHEND'S ACCOUNT OF  
RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES, 1547-1548.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u> Stock sold	172.	0.	0.
Wool sold	57.	0.	0.
Skins sold	4.	1.	3.
Hurdles sold		1.	6.
Tathing and cullet payments			nil
Sheep and lambs used in the kitchen			
			<u>23.17. 8.</u>
Total:	257.	0.	5.
 <u>Expenses:</u> Stock bought	83.	18.	0.
Rent of pasture hired (foldcourses)	31.	5.	2.
Shepherds' wages	10.	10.	0.
For washing and clipping	1.	17.	4.
Labour charges		10.	0.
Tar, pitch, etc. bought	2.	5.	0.
Hurdles bought		18.	8.
			<u>131. 4. 2.</u>
Total:	131.	4.	2.
Surplus:	125.	16.	3.

THE BILL OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS, 24th September.

	£.	s.	d.
Receipts	233.	2.	9.
Payments			
			<u>112. 5. 4.</u>
Surplus:	120.	17.	5. (1)

Of which £110 has already been paid to Sir Roger T.

All paid to Sir Roger T. by 10th November.

(1) The accountant omitted this item; as a result, he gives the initial surplus as £119.9.5. and this figure is quoted as correct.

(1) Wrongly totalled by the accountant as £119.18.5. and wrongly quoted at that figure by Hammond.

TABLE TWENTY-FIVE. THOMAS TOWNSHEND'S ACCOUNT OF  
RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES, 1548-1549.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u> Stock sold	154.	11.	8.
Wool sold	113.	13.	4.
Skins sold	3.	15.	2.
Hurdles sold		1.	2.
Tathing and cullet payments			nil
Sheep and lambs used in the kitchen		23.	17. 8.
Total:	295.	19.	0.
 <u>Expenses:</u> Stock bought	105.	2.	0.
Rent of pasture hired (foldcourses)	31.	5.	2.
Shepherds' wages	10.	10.	0.
For washing and clipping	1.	17.	4.
Labour charges		10.	0.
Tar, pitch, etc. bought	2.	5.	0.
Hurdles bought	1.	2.	2. (1)
Total:	152.	11.	8.
Surplus:	143.	7.	4.

THE BILL OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS, 15th September.

	£.	s.	d.
Receipts	273.	2.	2.
Payments	135.	14.	10.
Surplus:	137.	7.	4.
Less for Thomas's stipend	13.	6.	8.
	124.	0.	8.

All paid to Sir Roger T. by 10th November.

(1) The accountant omitted this item; as a result, he gives the initial surplus as £144.9.6. and this figure is quoted by Hammond.

TABLE TWENTY-SIX. SUMMARY OF ALL THE FLOCKS, 1565-1566.

TABLE TWENTY-SEVEN. SUMMARY OF ALL THE FLOCKS, 1566-1567.

	Number of sheep at beginning	Number of sheep at end	Number of sheep shorn	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Pelts
E. Rainham, Robinhoods, various.	441	666	-	20	-(1)	12
Kipton, ewes.	1411	1456	-	630	0.45	20
E. Rainham, Normansborough, ewes.	340	496	-	127	0.37	85
Barmer, ewes.	734	899	-	481	0.65	14
South Creake, various.	899	1046	-	110	-(1)	20
TOTAL	3825	4563	-	1368	-(1)	151

(1) Number of ewes cannot be estimated.

E. Rainham, Robinhoods, various.	666	736	642	nil	-	34
Kipton, ewes.	1456	1622	1432	691	0.47	30
E. Rainham, Normansborough, various.	496	437	402	100	-(1)	78
Barmer, ewes.	899	939	882	627	0.70	26
South Creake, various.	1046	1289	963	75	-(1)	45
TOTAL	4563	5023	4321	1483	-(1)	192

(1) Number of ewes cannot be estimated.

TABLE TWENTY-EIGHT. SHEEP-REEVE'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES, 1565-1566.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u>			
Sheep, lambs and skins sold	43.	15.	1.
Tathe payments		1.	5. 0.
			<hr/>
Total: (1)	45.	0.	1.
<u>Expenses:</u>			
Paid to the lord	24.	0.	0.
Shepherds' wages	22.	16.	8.
Sheep bought	16.	15.	4.
Pitch, redding, grease and hurdles bought		6.	12. 4.
For shearing and washing sheep	4.	3.	10.
Loss on last account		5.	6. 2.
			<hr/>
Total:	79.	14.	4. (2)
Deficit:	34.	14.	3. (3)
Less £5.13.4. for one shepherd's wages, accounted by the bailiff			29. 0. 11. (4)

- (1) Excluding sales of wool which brought in £139.6.8. this year.
- (2) Accountant gives this as £85.7.8.
- (3) Accountant gives this as £40.7.7.
- (4) Accountant gives this as £34.13.9. If the wool sales are included, this becomes a surplus of £110.5.9. But at least £50 must be allowed for the rent of the foldcourses, which is not mentioned in the accounts.

TABLE TWENTY-NINE. SHEEP-REEVE'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES, 1566-1567.

	£.	s.	d.	
<u>Receipts:</u>				
Stock sold	54.	8.	8.	
Cullet payments	4.	7.	0.	
Tathe payments	1.	13.	0.	
Skins sold	2.	12.	2.	
Total: (1)	63.	0.	10.	(2)
 <u>Expenses:</u>				
Paid to 3 men	24.	10.	0.	
Shepherds' wages	14.	5.	0.	
Stock bought			nil	
Grease and hurdles bought	6.	1.	4.	
For shearing and washing sheep	3.	18.	4.	
Total:	48.	14.	8.	(3)
Surplus:	14.	6.	2.	(4)

- (1) Excluding sales of wool which brought in £171 this year.  
 (2) Accountant gives £54.19.6., excluding one of the items detailed.  
 (3) Accountant gives £49.9.4.  
 (4) Accountant gives £5.10.2. If the wool sales are included, this becomes a surplus of £185.6.2. But at least £50 must be allowed for the rent of the foldcourses, which is not mentioned in the accounts.

THE SHEEP ACCOUNTS OF SIR ROGER TOWNSHEND, 1626.

## TABLE THIRTY. SHEEP-REEVE'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u>			
Sheep sold	101.	8.	6.
Skins sold	13.	1.	4.
Wool sold	<u>112.</u>	<u>12.</u>	<u>4.</u>
Total:	227.	2.	2.
<u>Expenses:</u>			
Lambs bought	8.	6.	8.
Shepherds' wages	13.	8.	0.
Various labour charges	2.	12.	6.
Shearing-time charges	4.	9.	8.
Cost and carriage of hurdles	2.	0.	0.
Pitch, tar, oil, redding.	1.	10.	10.
Sheep-reeve's stipend	<u>2.</u>	<u>13.</u>	<u>4.</u>
Total:	35.	1.	0.
Surplus:	192.	1.	2. <sup>(1)</sup>
Paid to the lord's receiver:	170.	2.	4.
Arrears:	21.	18.	10.

(1) Some allowance must be made for the rent of the foldcourses, which is not mentioned in the accounts.

	Number of sheep at beginning (1)	Increase of lambs (2)	Lambs per ewe (1)	Number of sheep shorn (3)	Stones of wool (2)	Fleeces per stone	Pelts	Number of sheep at winding-up
Kipton, ewes.	1638	811	0.49	1466	124	11.82	186	1402 <sup>(4)</sup>
E. Rainham, ewes?	-	47	-	-	72½	-	11	not stated
W. Rudham, ewes.	775	549	0.71	764	74	10.32	12	666
E. Rudham, ewes.	823	589	0.71	799	?	-	24	797
Shereford, ewes.	641	410	0.64	628	50	12.56	13	628
S. Creake, ewes.	1003	747	0.74	993	100	9.93	10	1079 <sup>(6)</sup>
Easthall, wethers.	553	-	-	543	40	13.57	10	540
TOTAL	5433	3153	0.64 <sup>(5)</sup>	5193	460½	11.32 <sup>(8)</sup>	266	4855 <sup>(7)</sup>

(1) This figure has been calculated thus:- the number of sheep at the winding-up + ewes (or wethers) sold during the year + sick sheep and those which died before clipping. This is thus not strictly an estimate of the number at the beginning of the year but an attempt to discover how many ewes provided the increase of lambs.

(2) Including tithes, but excluding the shepherds' "p'tes" (profits?).

(3) Calculated thus:- the number given in column one + rams and rigsies sold - sheep dead before clipping.

(4) Including 150 lambs.

(5) Excluding the 47 lambs at East Rainham.

(6) Including 107 lambs.

(7) Including 257 lambs.

(8) Excluding the incomplete figures for East Rainham and East Rudham.

TABLE THIRTY-TWO. SHEEP-REEVE'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND  
EXPENSES, 1637.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u> Lambs sold <sup>(1)</sup>	461.	15.	11.
Ewes sold	62.	12.	8.
Wethers sold	5.	19.	6.
Rams and rigsies sold	7.	2.	0.
"Doozie" sheep sold	12.	11.	10.
Skins sold (2)	11.	1.	8.
Whins sold	4.	6.	
Respited from the last account	4.	0.	0.
Total:	565.	8.	1. <sup>(3)</sup>
Respited For 20 ewes sold	4.	0.	0.
For debt of Raphe Stringer	7.	4.	10.
So remains:	554.	3.	3.
<u>Expenses:</u> Shepherds' wages	31.	13.	4.
Shepherds' covenants	3.	3.	0.
For labour services	9.	0.	
For washing and clipping sheep	14.	8.	1.
Pitch, tar and redding	3.	9.	0.
Hurdles bought	6.	17.	8.
For greasing sheep, with cost of grease and soap	4.	12.	0.
Expenses at fairs	4.	15.	10.
Feed of closes for sheep	4.	1.	0.
Town Charges for three years	85.	16.	9.
Sheep-reeve's stipend	13.	6.	8.
Total:	172.	12.	4.
Surplus:	381.	10.	11. <sup>(4)</sup>

All paid in by October 18th 1638.

- (1) Excluding the winding-up sales, since the executors received the money.
- (2) Excluding skins of slaughtered sheep and of those dying after clipping.
- (3) Excluding receipts for wool sold: they amounted to about £241.10.0.
- (4) Wool sales would bring this figure up to over £620. But some allowance must be made for the rent of the foldcourses which is not mentioned in the accounts.

THE SHEEP ACCOUNTS OF HENRY FERMOR OF EAST BARSHAM, 1521-1522.  
TABLE THIRTY-THREE. SUMMARY OF ALL THE FLOCKS.

Flock	Sheep in March, 1521.	Lambs born.	Lambs per ewe	Sheep in March, 1522.
Saham Toney, various.	673	5	-	677
Shernborne, wethers.	966	-	-	1,026
Tattersett, ewes.	1,073	851	0.79	1,352
Cawston, wethers.	690	-	-	31
Cromer, wethers.	-	-	-	860
Barwick, ewes.	850	595	0.70	741
West Barsham, ewes.	898	512	0.57	34
Toftrees, ewes.	199	77	0.39	719
Hempton, ewes.	94	33	0.35	100
Thorpland, various.	-	-	-	482
Sculthorpe, various.	830	54	-	560
East Barsham, ewes.	1,000	754	0.75	1,023
Bayfield, various.	1,524	-	-	1,517
Houghton, ewes.	356	234	0.66	368
Heacham, wethers.	186	-	-	-
Fakenham, ewes.	1,312	553	0.42	826
Irmingham, various.	588	-	-	626
Tittleshall Burland, various.	-	-	-	230
Tittleshall Waite, ewes.	994	416	0.42	944
Tittleshall Newhall, wethers.	662	-	-	683
Newton, ewes.	845	628	0.74	899
Tatterford, ewes.	1,149	506	0.44	1,106
Waterden, ewes.	679	452	0.66	1,042
Billingsford, wethers	-	-	-	131
TOTAL	15,568	5,670	0.60	15,977

THE FLOCKS OF NORWICH CATHEDRAL PRIORY.  
TABLE THIRTY-FOUR. SUMMARY OF ALL THE FLOCKS.

	Lathes	Eton	Newton	Sedge- ford	Hindr- ingham	Lumn- ours	Gnati- ngdon	Thorpe (1)	Thorpe (2)	Fring	Others	Total
1471	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3442
1472	753	707	381	812	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3063
1475	1225	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	410	1225
1476	994	567	458	477	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3048
1483	933	655	302	458	-	-	-	-	-	-	552	2348
1484	978	597	231	738	-	-	-	-	-	-	nil	2544
1485	791	779	431	574	7	889	-	-	-	-	nil	4091
1486	785	755	589	486	-	720	-	-	-	-	620	4808
1487	769	736	573	433	-	780	-	-	-	-	1473	4303
1488	769	720	582	373	845	746	-	-	-	-	1012	4900
1489	-	-	679	632	-	720	-	-	-	-	865	2760
1490	846	769	548	860	691	760	-	-	-	-	729	5884
1491	893	919	614	1236	962	941	-	-	-	-	1410	5811
1493	947	1045	567	1129	936	793	-	-	-	-	246	6419
1494	856	1022	584	1062	874	781	-	-	-	-	1002	6727
1495	788	1056	453	1370	831	860	-	-	-	-	1548	7163
1496	775	1014	608	1327	820	811	-	-	-	-	1442	6779
1497	842	1012	494	1420	989	828	-	-	-	-	1424	6668
1499	781	819	453	1456	903	626	-	-	-	1023	60	6503
1500	826	938	383	1355	1074	-	-	-	-	1405	60	5955
1501	832	1309	335	1311	948	-	-	-	-	1319	60	5925
1503	880	955	715	1129	1005	-	-	-	-	1130	60	5840
1504	810	813	428	-	762	-	1261	620	526	1156	nil	5220
1505	803	515	362	1167	700	-	1198	632	427	-	nil	5804
1508	-	632	621	1023	-	-	1198	-	1087	-	nil	4561
1509	954	969	511	1305	903	-	1222	725	1012	-	288	7889
1510	910	1144	540	957	877	-	1283	784	1089	-	507	8091
1511	-	831	489	985	634	-	1284	769	934	-	240	6166
1515	988	947	565	1089	926	-	1316	990	1380	-	220	8421
1517	991	840	553	1028	964	-	1378	979	1215	-	688	8636
1523	1085	-	964	400	1023	-	1395	860	1235	-	1193	8155
1530	-	-	-	-	922	-	-	-	-	-	nil	922
1531	-	-	-	-	788	-	-	-	-	-	nil	788

	Stones of wool sold	Price per stone	Receipts	Skins sold	Receipts	Sheep sold	Receipts	Total Receipts	Total Expenses (1)	Net Profit
		s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1453	240	1. 8.	22.14. 0.	-	1.13. 4.	140	5. 0. 0.	29. 7. 4.	15. 1. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	14. 5. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	36	1. 6.								
1454	120	1. 8.	24.15. 0.	-	0. 5. 0.	240	6. 0. 0.	31. 0. 0.	15.19. 8.	15. 0. 4.
	186	1. 6.								
	12	1. 4.								
1461	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1463	180	2. 8.	25. 4. 0.	222	1.13. 0.	180	9. 0. 0.	35.17. 0.	5. 3. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	19.12. 6.
	9	2. 4.								
1469	176	2. 2.	19. 1. 4.	346	1. 8.10.	-	-	20.10. 2.	8. 8. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	12. 1. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1474	-	-	22. 0. 0.	-	0.18. 0.	185	12. 9.11.	35. 7.11.	12. 9. 7.	22.18. 4.
1484	-	-	33.12. 0.	-	0.12. 3.	-	18. 1. 8.	52. 5.11.	15.16. 9.	36. 9. 2.
1491	396	2. 4.	46. 4. 0.	-	2.13. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	20. 3. 8.	75. 5. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	67. 1.10.	8. 3. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1493	554 $\frac{1}{2}$	10.	46. 4. 2.	-	1. 3.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	32.15. 0.	83. 4. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	52. 2. 0.	31. 2. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1494	478	2. 0.	47.16. 0.	-	0.19. 7.	-	17. 6. 0.	69. 2. 7.	70. 8.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1. 6. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
										(loss)
1496	441 $\frac{1}{2}$	2. 4.	51.10. 2.	-	0.17. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	24. 7. 1.	76.14. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	69.16. 4.	6.10. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1502	318	1. 8.	26.10. 0.	-	0. 8. 3.	-	50. 0. 2.	79. 8. 4.	40. 9. 8.	38.18. 8.
1519	609	divers	87.11. 8.	-	4. 3. 0.	-	59.18. 1.	152.16.10.	51. 9. 1.	101. 7. 9.
1529	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	94.19. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1531	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75.16. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1533	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	74.17. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1535	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	72. 6. 3.
1536	263	3. 6.	46. 0. 6.	516	4. 6. 0.	-	47. 6. 4.	102.6. 3.	45.15.11.	56.10. 4.

(1) The rent of the foldcourses is inconsistently and incompletely recorded in these accounts.

TABLE THIRTY-SIX. EXTRACTS FROM THE CELLARER'S ACCOUNTS.

	<u>Sheep and lambs bought</u>			<u>Sheep and lambs sent</u>	
		£.	s.	d.	<u>from the flocks</u>
1451-52	269	12.	18.	7.	
1455-56	281	15.	5.	5.	
1456-57	261	13.	15.	3.	
1458-59	214	13.	12.	0.	
1464-65	125	9.	5.	3.	
1465-66	115	6.	13.	10.	
1468-69	-	8.	6.	10.	
1469-70	-	7.	4.	2.	
1470-71	-	7.	15.	4.	
1471-72	-	11.	10.	6.	
1474-75	194	10.	11.	4.	
1475-76	-	13.	10.	5.	
1476-77	230	10.	7.	4.	
1478-79	238	10.	16.	0.	
1481-82	242	16.	0.	2.	
1483-84	224	20.	2.	7.	
1484-85	148	11.	17.	8.	40
1485-86	-	4.	2.		80
1487-88	297 (2)	18.	0.	7.	
1488-89	242 (3)	13.	15.	4.	
1490-91	143 (4)	9.	12.	6.	
1495-96	-	-	-	-	100 (5)
1497-98	243 (6)	10.	15.	6.	
1499-1500	239 (4)	12.	1.	8.	
1500-01	371 (7)	23.	17.	1.	
1502-03	290 (4)	11.	4.	9.	
1503-04	252 (4)	9.	14.	6.	
1504-05	-	-	-	-	330 (8)
1507-08	248 (4)	14.	3.	0.	
1508-09	-	-	-	-	556 (9)
1509-10	-	-	-	-	240 (10)
1510-11	-	-	-	-	240 (10)
1511-12	260 (4)	25.	3.	8.	
1512-13	290 (4)	21.	5.	11.	
1513-14	304 (4)	20.	7.	8.	
1514-15	-	-	-	-	240 (10)
1516-17	-	-	-	-	240 (10)
1518-19	216 (4)	13.	5.	8.	
1525-26	382 (4)	25.	11.	2.	
1526-27	360 (4)	30.	0.	0.	
1530-31	360 (4)	37.	7.	8.	

(1) Lambs only; no sheep because of stock given by the prior "ad relevamen. officii".

(2) 197 to the kitchen, 100 for stock.

(3) 232 to the kitchen, 10 for stock.

(4) All to the kitchen.

(5) Sold to the Cellarer.

(6) 233 to the kitchen, 10 for stock.

(7) 251 to the kitchen, 120 for stock

(footnotes continued overleaf)

(7) 251 to the kitchen, 120 for stock  
 (6) 255 to the kitchen, 10 for stock  
 (5) Sold to the Cellarer.  
 (4) All to the kitchen.  
 (3) 232 to the kitchen, 10 for stock.  
 (2) 197 to the kitchen, 100 for stock.  
 "ed relevamen officii".  
 (1) Lams only; no sheep because of stock given by the prior

1530-31	360 (1)	37. 7. 8.		
1526-27	360 (1)	30. 0. 0.		
1525-26	332 (1)	25. 11. 2.		
1518-19	218 (1)	13. 5. 8.		
1516-17	-	-		
1511-12	-	-		
1511-12	260 (1)	25. 2. 8.		
1512-13	230 (1)	21. 5. 11.		
1513-14	304 (1)	20. 7. 8.		
1514-15	-	-		
1515-16	-	-		
1517-18	218 (1)	14. 3. 0.		
1501-02	-	-		
1502-03	252 (1)	9. 11. 6.		
1503-04	252 (1)	9. 11. 6.		
1504-05	230 (1)	11. 4. 9.		
1500-01	371 (7)	23. 17. 1.		
1499-1500	239 (4)	12. 4. 8.		
1497-98	213 (6)	10. 12. 6.		
1492-95	-	-		
1490-91	143 (1)	9. 12. 6.		
1488-89	242 (3)	13. 12. 11.		
1487-88	297 (2)	18. 0. 7.		
1485-86	-	-		
1481-82	148 (1)	11. 17. 8.		
1483-84	224 (2)	20. 2. 7.		
1481-82	242 (2)	18. 0. 2.		
1473-79	238 (8)	10. 18. 0.		
1478-77	230 (1)	10. 7. 11.		
1475-76	-	13. 10. 2.		
1474-75	194 (1)	10. 11. 11.		
1471-72	-	11. 10. 6.		
1470-71	-	7. 12. 11.		
1469-70	-	7. 4. 2.		
1468-69	-	8. 8. 10.		
1451-52	182 (1)			
1455-56	281 (1)			
1451-52	182 (1)			
1455-56	281 (1)			
1451-52	182 (1)			
1455-56	281 (1)			

- (8) 120 to the Cellarer, 140 to the monastery kitchen, 70 to the monastery.  
 (9) 220 to the monastery kitchen, 94 to the conventual kitchen, and 240 still in the flocks at Newton and Eton belonging to the cellarer.  
 (10) All in those two flocks and belonging to the cellarer.

Sheep and Lams bought from the flocks

TABLE THIRTY-SEVEN. WOOL SHORN IN 1494.

	Sheep at beginning of account	Stones of wool sold	Fleeces per stone
Newton - wethers	396	38	10.42
Lathes - ewes	908	61	14.88
Lumnours - wethers	793	64	12.39
Sedgeford - mixed	1129	114	9.90
Eton - ewes	972	82	11.85
Hindringham - lambs	896	52	17.23
Hethersett - lambs	647	36	17.97
Cringleford - wethers	325	31	10.48
Prior's sheep in 5 flocks - mainly wethers	<u>353</u>	<u>31½</u>	<u>11.21</u>
TOTAL	6419	509½	12.60

TABLE THIRTY-EIGHT. WOOL SHORN IN 1502.

Newton - wethers	335	25	13.40
Lathes - ewes	832	79	10.53
Eton - wethers	1309	55	23.80
Hindringham - mostly lambs	948	66	14.36
Sedgeford - ewes	1311	93	14.09
Fring - most ewes	<u>1130</u>	<u>166</u>	<u>6.81</u>
TOTAL	5865	484	12.11

THE SHEEP ACCOUNTS OF SIR RICHARD SOUTHWELL.

TABLE THIRTY-NINE. SUMMARY OF ALL THE FLOCKS, 1544-1545.

	Number at beginning	Number at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Number shorn	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone	Pelts
Bircham Tofts, ewes.	1649	1634	1126 <sup>(1)</sup>	0.79	1393	135	10.32	33
Great Bircham, wethers.	718	721	-	-	589	86	6.85	18
Burnham Ewes, ewes.	1572	nil	-	-	-	-	-	16
Burnham Hoggs, ewes.	842	nil	-	-	-	-	-	6
Walsingham, wethers.	1217	1113	-	-	1039	132	7.87	69
Weasenham, ewes.	1217	1165	781 <sup>(2)</sup>	0.65	1010	109	9.27	41
Shouldham, hoggs.	1178	720	5 <sup>(3)</sup>	-	1081	111	9.74	81
Morton, mixed.	828	950	-	-	736	66	11.15	72
Ringland, wethers.	894	889	-	-	648	76	8.53	25
Tottington Cal-crosse, hoggs.	979	1108	-	-	713	65	10.97	57
Tottington South Ground, mixed.	717	923	63 <sup>(4)</sup>	0.26	636	75	8.48	9
Tottington Lodge Ground, ewes.	1148	1194	536 <sup>(5)</sup>	0.47	1091	126	8.66	56
Rudham, ewes.	1175	1092	812 <sup>(6)</sup>	0.69	988	102½	9.64	23
Threxton, ewes.	1346	1351	1074 <sup>(7)</sup>	0.80	1210	106½	11.36	16
Spixworth, Wood Rising and Horsham flocks all leased out.								
TOTAL	15,480	12,860	4397 <sup>(8)</sup>	0.67	11,134	1190	9.36	522

For footnotes see following page.

Footnotes to Table 39.

- (1) From 1431 ewes.
- (2) From 1199 ewes.
- (3) From unknown number of ewes.
- (4) From 240 ewes.
- (5) From 1148 ewes.
- (6) From 1175 ewes.
- (7) From 1346 ewes.
- (8) From 6539 ewes.

	Lambs sold	Number of sheep shorn	Wool sold (stones)	Wool sold (lbs)
Mitchell, TeCoe	228	1321	49	10,814
Wright	-	713	89	8,011
Leach, Buchanan	641	941	60	15,118
Wright	518	514	58	15,211
Wright, North	194	356	21	18,888
Wright, West	-	848	42	20,118
Wright, West	-	670	46	13,711
Wright, West	-	717	61	11,318
Wright, West	216	859	68	13,011
Wright, West	968	1172	91	12,601
Wright, West	-	875	92	9,118
Wright, West	369	934	72	13,011

N.B. Types of sheep in the tables not shown from the records; and the types of 1941-1945 are given here. The data suggest the possibility that there had been a large change.

	Lambs sold	Number of sheep shorn	Wool sold (stones)	Fleeces per stone	Pelts	Wool in the un-dated account.
Bircham Tofts, ewes.	828	1321	89	14.84	85	100
Great Bircham, wethers.	-	713	89	8.01	16	69
Rudham, ewes.	641	911	60	15.18	89	80
Weasenham, ewes.	518	944	58	16.21	116	71
Weasenham North Hall, ewes.	194	396	21	18.86	83	-
Walsingham, wethers.	-	848	42	20.18	261	100½
Morton, mixed.	-	658	48	13.71	91	64
Ringland, wethers.	-	717	63	11.38	47	76
Tottington Cal-crosse, hoggs	216	859	66	13.01	167	70
Tottington Lodge Ground, ewes.	968	1172	93	12.60	26	120
Tottington South Ground, mixed.	-	845	92	9.18	39	108½
TOTAL	3365	9384	721	13.01	1020	859

N.B. Types of sheep in the flocks not clear from the accounts, and so the types of 1544-1545 are given here; the data support the supposition that there had been little change.

	Number at beginning	Number at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Number shorn	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone	Pelts
Bircham Tofts, ewes.	1287	1292	970 <sup>(1)</sup>	0.80	1211	77	15.72	95
Great Bircham, wethers.	643	704	-	-	632	79	8.0	14
West Rudham, ewes.	956	926	636	0.75	847	55	15.40	77
Weasenham, ewes.	1438	1549	1057	0.79	1332	84	15.86	124
Walsingham, lambs.	31	1053	-	-	610	25	24.4	450
Morton, various.	243	538	-	-	499	29	17.21	261
Ringland, wethers.	256	630	-	-	607	50	12.14	37
Tottington Calcrosse, various.	26	896	-	-	758	64	11.84	148
Tottington Lodge Ground, ewes.	1106	1138	853	0.80	1060	72	14.72	49
Tottington South Ground, wethers	419	812	64 <sup>(2)</sup>	0.22	743	65	11.43	42
Burnham Ewes, ewes.	1333	1292	987	0.79	1249	88	14.08	108
Burnham Hoggs, ewes.	651	612	467	0.81	576	40	14.40	37
Horsham, ewes.	639	711	200	0.32	616	32	19.25	126
Spixworth, wethers.	852	?	-	-	584	34½	16.91	77
TOTAL	9880	12153	5234 <sup>(3)</sup>	0.73	11324	794½	14.25	1645

(1) Except where stated, lambs from the number of ewes that were shorn (Col.5)  
 (2) From 292 ewes.  
 (3) From 7183 ewes.

	Number at beginning	Number at end	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Number shorn	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone	Pelts
Walsingham, wethers.	1095	nil	-	-	892	95	9.39	203
Burnham Ewes, ewes.	1386	1450	928 <sup>(1)</sup>	0.82	1246	120	10.38	28
Burnham Hoggs, ewes.	715	755	483 <sup>(2)</sup>	0.69	640	66	9.70	17
Brancaster Marsh, hustards.	892	900	-	-	681	75	9.08	71
Brancaster West Ground, various.	1040	1216	54 <sup>(3)</sup>	-	1024	130	7.88	16
Bircham Tofts, various.	1309	1386	694 <sup>(4)</sup>	?	954	85	11.22	38
Great Bircham, wethers.	729	776	6 <sup>(5)</sup>	?	491	68	7.22	8
Rudham, various.	1030	1026	709 <sup>(6)</sup>	?	922	86	10.72	18
Weasenham, ewes.	1659	1766	1161 <sup>(7)</sup>	0.70	1538	130	11.83	29
Tottington South Ground, hoggs.	613	681	-	-	430	55	7.82	25
Tottington Cal-crosse, ewes.	925	974	571 <sup>(8)</sup>	0.62	794	56	14.18	36
Threxton, hoggs.	910	1110	-	-	241	20	12.05	27
Tottington Lodge Ground, ewes.	844	954	645 <sup>(9)</sup>	0.77	834	71	11.75	10
Cressingham, wethers.	932	868	-	-	875	113	7.74	17
Morton, hustards.	889	724	-	-	748	78	9.59	94
Ringland, wethers.	720	684	-	-	515	62	8.31	25
Horsham, wethers.	863	659	34 <sup>(10)</sup>	?	649	77	8.43	10
Spixworth, wethers.	1220	? <sup>(11)</sup>	-	-	1003	118	8.50	75
TOTAL	17771	15929	5585 <sup>(12)</sup>	? <sup>(12)</sup>	14477	1505	9.62	747

Footnotes to Table 42.

- (1) From 1126 ewes.
- (2) From 702 ewes.
- (3) From unknown number of ewes.
- (4) From unknown number of ewes.
- (5) From unknown number of ewes.
- (6) From unknown number of ewes.
- (7) From 1659 ewes.
- (8) From 923 ewes.
- (9) From 840 ewes.
- (10) From unknown number of ewes.
- (11) Folio of manuscript missing.
- (12) Total number of ewes unknown;  
5129 are accounted for.

TABLE FORTY-THREE. SHEEP-REEVE'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS  
AND EXPENSES, 1544-1545.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u>			
Sheep sold (partly to own flocks)	448.	18.	10.
Lambs sold (partly to own flocks)	216.	10.	3.
Wool sold	227.	2.	0.
Deficits of sheep in the flocks.	8.	2.	8.
Pelts sold	5.	6.	0.
Cullet Payments	3.	11.	0.
Tathing payments	4.	0.	9.
Heath sold	1.	1.	4.
Total:	914.	12.	10.
<u>Expenses:</u>			
Sheep bought (from own flocks)	229.	0.	0.
Rent of pastures (foldcourses)	110.	3.	0.
Recompense for damage in foldcourses	25.	3.	5.
Shepherds' wages and livery	40.	6.	8.
For washing and shearing	8.	19.	10.
Hurdles bought	4.	10.	9.
Tar, pitch and redding bought	9.	1.	4.
Repairs at foldcourses	1.	3.	8.
Foreign payments	1.	0.	0.
Plus allowances of	106.	9.	2.
Total:	535.	17.	10.
Surplus:	378.	15.	0.
Adding for 33 stones of wool sold	6.	14.	0.
Subtracting for the sheep-reeve's stipend and the sheep-reeve's, accountants' and shepherds' expenses	12.	19.	6.
Surplus:	372.	9.	6.

In the receiver's account, the sheep-reeve's profit is given as £328.8.10., thus deducting from the surplus above allowances of £44.0.8. to Mary Leche and others. The £328.8.10. is comprised of £193.1.10. due from the sheep-reeve and £135.7.0. due from John Warner for wool sold to him.

TABLE FORTY-FOUR. THE RECEIVER'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS  
AND EXPENSES, 1544-1545.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u>			
Arrears	294.	3.	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Hereditaments	546.	17.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
From indentured and leased land	26.	0.	11.
For pasture	23.	12.	0.
SHEEP-REEVE'S PROFIT	328.	8.	10.
Foreign receipts	184.	5.	8.
Total:	1403.	8.	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
<u>Expenses:</u>			
Total allowances and payments	608.	16.	6.
Adding £218.18.0. for sale of last year's wool			
Subtracting £10 for accountant's expenses and £13 respited			
Surplus:	990.	10.	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Less "Super a." (1)	322.	2.	8.
Remainder paid by 26th Nov., 1545	668.	7.	9 $\frac{1}{4}$

(1) Query that this is an abbreviation of superabundantia or of a form of superaccumulo, and therefore means the excess or arrears corresponding to the £294.3.10 $\frac{3}{4}$  arrears in this year's receipts.

TABLE FORTY-FIVE. SHEEP-REEVE'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS  
AND EXPENSES, 1548-1549.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u> Sheep sold (partly to own flocks)	239.	12.	0.
Lambs sold (partly to own flocks)	247.	1.	0.
Wool sold	264.	7.	4.
Rents of two flocks	62.	10.	0.
Pelts sold	25.	10.	0.
Tathing payments	6.	12.	2.
Cullet payments	2.	0.	0.
Heath sold	1.	0.	11.
Rent for lands	1.	4.	4.
Arrears from previous year	45.	19.	3.
Total:	895.	17.	0.
<u>Expenses:</u> Sheep bought (from own flocks)	177.	1.	0.
Lambs bought (from own flocks)	176.	18.	10.
Rent of pastures (foldcourses)	111.	5.	8.
Recompense for damage in foldcourses	19.	19.	3.
Shepherds' wages	36.	15.	0.
For washing and shearing	6.	16.	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hurdles bought	2.	12.	0.
Tar, pitch and redding bought	6.	0.	0.
Hire of labour	9.	0.	0.
Foreign payments	1.	0.	0.
Total:	538.	17.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Surplus:	356.	19.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Adding for 43 stones of wool sold	15.	15.	4.
and for miscellaneous items	19.	10.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Subtracting for sheep-reeve's stipend	5.	0.	0.
and for his expenses	7.	16.	0.
Surplus:	379.	9.	1.
Paid in to the receiver	325.	2.	8.
Arrears	54.	6.	5.

(1) Some allowance must be made for the rent of the foldcourse which is not included in the accounts. But the bailiff's accounts show that it was nearly 5282.

TABLE FORTY-SIX. SHEEP-REEVE'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES, 1561-1562.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u> Sheep sold	331.	13.	0.
Lambs sold (partly to own flocks)	524.	18.	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wool sold	501.	6.	8.
Pelts sold	11.	8.	8.
Tathing payments	7.	1.	2.
Heath sold		19.	8.
Rent for lands	1.	0.	0.
			<hr/>
Total:	1378.	7.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
<u>Expenses:</u> Lambs bought (from own flocks)	294.	10.	0.
Shepherds' wages	62.	7.	4.
Recompense for damage in foldcourses	40.	8.	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
For washing and shearing	22.	17.	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tar, pitch and redding bought	13.	5.	4.
Hurdles bought	10.	19.	0.
For driving sheep	7.	4.	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
For greasing hoggs	5.	11.	4.
Rent of two houses for storing wool	12.	0.	
Sheep and lambs used in the household	150.	6.	0.
For the Tenths and Fifteenths of the flocks at Cressingham		10.	0.
			<hr/>
Total:	608.	11.	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Surplus:	769.	15.	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ (1)

In the receiver's account, the sheep-reeve's profit is given as £760.0.11 $\frac{1}{4}$

- (1) Some allowance must be made for the rent of the foldcourses which is not included in the accounts. But the bailiff's accounts show that it was nearly £282.

TABLE FORTY-SEVEN. THE RECEIVER'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS  
AND EXPENSES, 1561-1562.

	£.	s.	d.
<u>Receipts:</u> Arrears	434.	6.	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Hereditaments	1111.	6.	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Indentured lands	114.	14.	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
SHEEP-REEVE'S PROFITS	760.	0.	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Foreign receipts	647.	11.	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Annuities	140.	11.	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
	<hr/>		
Total:	3208.	12.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
 <u>Expenses:</u> Total allowances and payments <sup>(1)</sup>	2609.	5.	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Surplus:	599.	7.	0 $\frac{3}{4}$

(1) The allowances and payments were in two parts: ten items listed account for £1591.19.8.; and other payments to Southwell, which presumably were to be repaid, amounted to £1017.5.10 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Among the ten items was the abnormal one of £226.10.9. spent on Lady Mary Southwell's funeral.

TABLE FORTY-EIGHT. SUMMARY OF ALL THE FLOCKS, 1554-1557.

	1554-5		1555-6		1556-7	
	Number at beginning	Number at end	Number at beginning	Number at end	Number at beginning	Number at end
Salhouse, hoggs.	934	906	906	621	648	394
Earlham, ewes.	511	515	515	530	530	622
Mawdelyn, ewes.	797	1437	1443	1311	1338	1435
Lumnours, wethers.	2400	1159	1167	1192	1192	1172
Woodbastwick, wethers.	860	703	668	629	632	585
Sprowston, wethers.	-	-	420	609	610	772
Langley, lambs.	-	534	-	482	482	542
TOTAL	5502	5254 <sup>(1)</sup>	5119	5374 <sup>(1)</sup>	5432	5522 <sup>(1)</sup>

(1) The number remaining at the end of the year according to the accounts; when the shepherds and the sheep-reeve counted the sheep they found that in some of the flocks the numbers exceeded those given in the accounts. According to their counts, these three totals were: 5268, 5431 and 5648 respectively.

TABLE FORTY-EIGHT A. SUMMARY OF ALL THE FLOCKS, 1553-4.  
(29th September-29th September)

	Beginning	Lambs born	Lambs per ewe	Shorn	Wool (stones)	Fleeces per stone	Pelts	End
Oxborough, Hoggs	683	-	-	628	40	15.7	51	600
Ickburgh, Ewes	1080	639	0.59	1056	78	13.5	25	1033
Shingham, Wethers	451	-	-	430	36	11.9	18	467
Caldecote, Ewes	721 <sup>a</sup>	430	0.60	699	57	12.3	13	660 <sup>b</sup>
Cley, Easthall, Wethers	562	-	-	418	41½	10.2	6	480
Cley, Westhall, Ewes	661	382	0.58	646	50	12.9	15	626 <sup>c</sup>
Cley, Hogling, Wethers	664	-	-	582	57	10.2	26	660
Cley, Saundereves, cum Bokenhams, Wethers	505 <sup>d</sup>	-	-	245	23½	10.6	7	516
<b>Total</b>	<b>5327</b>	<b>1451</b>	<b>0.62</b>	<b>4704</b>	<b>383</b>	<b>12.3</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>5042</b>

a = 601 ewes, 120 hoggs

c = 566 ewes, 60 hoggs

b = 632 ewes, 28 hoggs

d = Including 2 ewes

	Beginning	Lambs born	Lambs per ewe	Shorn	Wool (stones)	Fleeces per stone	Pelts	End
Oxborough, Hoggs	696 <sup>a</sup>	-	-	374	43	8.7	322	722
Ickburgh, Ewes	1044 <sup>b</sup>	712	0.69	999	86	11.6	15	1044 <sup>c</sup>
Shingham, Wethers	488	-	-	475	47	10.1	12	488
Caldecote, Ewes	733 <sup>d</sup>	491	0.68	716	61	11.7	16	733 <sup>e</sup>
Cley, Easthall, Wethers	501	-	-	411	45	9.1	8	492
Cley, Westhall, Ewes	702 <sup>f</sup>	474	0.69	672	54	12.4	9	682 <sup>g</sup>
Cley, Hogling, Wethers	798	-	-	756	85	8.9	11	789 <sup>h</sup>
Cley, Saundereves, cum Bokenhams, Wethers	482	-	-	389	43	9.0	13	484
Total	5444	1677	0.69	4792	464	10.3	406	5434

a = 456 male, 240 female.

b = 995 ewes, 19 wethers, 30 hoggs.

c = 945 ewes, 19 wethers,

d = 720 ewes, 13 wethers

50 hoggs (& deficit of 30)

e = 720 ewes, 13 wethers. The details of the account do not tally with this figure for the number of sheep remaining at the end of the year.

f = 628 ewes, 60 ewe hoggs, 14 wethers. The total is incorrectly stated by the accountant as 682.

g = 608 ewes, 60 ewe hoggs, 13 wethers (and deficit of 1)

h = given as 799 elsewhere in the accounts.

	Beginning	Lambs born	Lambs per ewe	Shorn	Wool (stones)	Fleeces per stone	Pelts	End
Oxborough, Hoggs	722 <sup>a</sup>	-	-	695	-	-	28	722
Ickburgh, Ewes	1044 <sup>b</sup>	748	0.73	1020	-	-	18	1083
Shingham, Wethers	488	-	-	465	-	-	24	439 <sup>c</sup>
Caldecote, Ewes	733 <sup>d</sup>	590	0.82	651	-	-	18	772
Cley, Easthall, Wethers	492	-	-	374	-	-	4	487
Cley, Westhall, Ewes	682	479 <sup>e</sup>	0.78 <sup>f</sup>	601	-	-	17	718
Cley, Hogling, Wethers	799	-	-	642	-	-	17	801
Cley, Sandereves cum Bokenhams, Wethers	484	-	-	438	-	-	8	475
Total	5444	1817	0.75	4886	438 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>g</sup>	11.2	134	5497

a = 479 male, 243 female

c = 430 wethers, 9 ewes

e = Tithes deducted

g = No figures are given for the clips of individual flocks.

b = 1021 ewes, 23 wethers

d = 720 ewes, 13 wethers

f = Including the deducted tithes.

TABLE FORTY-EIGHT C.

SUMMARY OF ALL THE FLOCKS, (24th June-24th June) 1556-7.

TABLE FORTY-EIGHT D. SHEEP-REEVE'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS  
AND EXPENSES, 1553-4.

<u>Receipts</u>		£.	s.	d.	
Sheep sold		79.	3.	0.	
Lambs sold		21.	19.	11.	
Wool sold		78.	18.	6.	
Pelts sold		1.	6.	4.	
Tathing payments		2.	19.	6.	
Cullet payments			3.	6.	
Foreign receipts		26.	10.	0.	
	Total	210.	11.	7.	(1)
<u>Expenses</u>					
Rent of foldcourses		26.	11.	1½	
Shepherds' wages and liveries		18.	10.	10.	
Hurdles bought		1.	12.	0.	
Tar, pitch, grease, redding bought		2.	15.	9.	
Sheep-reeve's stipend		2.	13.	4.	
Washing and shearing		3.	6.	10.	
Various necessary payments			8.	7.	
	Total	55.	18.	5½	
	Net profit	154.	13.	1½	

(1) Given by the accountant as £210.11.7., failing to allow for an alteration to one of the preceding items.

TABLE FORTY-EIGHT E. SHEEP-REEVE'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS  
AND EXPENSES, 1555-6.

<u>Receipts</u>		£.	s.	d.
Arrears		7.	9.	4½
Sheep sold		215.	11.	2.
Lambs sold		72.	11.	8.
Wool sold		175.	0.	0.
Pelts sold		10.	3.	0.
Tathing payments		3.	8.	0.
Foreign receipts		80.	7.	3.
	Total	564.	10.	5½
<hr/>				
<u>Expenses</u>				
Shepherds' wages and liveries		21.	15.	10.
Hurdles bought		2.	9.	10.
Tar, pitch, grease, redding bought		7.	6.	2.
Sheep-reeve's stipend		2.	13.	4.
Washing and shearing		4.	19.	8.
Allowance to seneschal and auditor		1.	0.	0.
Various necessary payments		2.	10.	5.
Sheep bought		120.	0.	0.
	Total	162.	15.	3.
		401.	15.	2½ (1)

- (1) Allowance must be made for the rent of the foldcourses; this amounted to over £26 in 1553-4.

TABLE FORTY-EIGHT F. SHEEP-REEVE'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS  
AND EXPENSES, 1556-7.

<u>Receipts</u>	£. s. d.
Arrears	28. 0. 0.
Sheep sold	119. 6. 0.
Lambs sold	88. 2. 0.
Wool sold	17. 6. (1)
Pelts sold	2.12. 6.
Tathing payments	3.14.11.
Foreign receipts	<u>14.19. 5.</u>
Total	<u>257.12. 4. (2)</u>
<u>Expenses</u>	
Shepherds' wages and liveries	21.19. 2.
Tar, pitch, oil, redding bought	1.13. 4.
Hurdles bought	1. 8. 0.
Washing and shearing	4.14. 6.
Sheep-reeve's stipend	2.13. 4.
Allowance to auditor	1. 0. 0.
Various necessary payments	<u>2.16. 3.</u>
Total	<u>36. 4. 7.</u>
Surplus	221. 7. 9. (3)

- (1) This was the increase in the wool of the previous year's clip, sold for 7s. per stone. At that price this year's clip would have fetched £153.9.6.
- (2) Had the year's wool clip been sold, this must have been over £410.
- (3) Allowance must be made for the rent of the foldcourses; this amounted to over £26 in 1553-4.

	Estimated number of ewes. (1)	Number at end (ewes and hoggs)	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe	Number shorn (2)	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone	Pelts
1635	-	1000	-	-	-	-	-	-
1650	-	1566	-	-	-	117	-	-
1651	-	1568	-	-	1498	81	-	91
1652	-	1592 <sup>(3)</sup>	-	-	1523	-	-	60
1653	-	1570	-	-	-	-	-	-
1654	-	1558	1037	-	1510	118	12.80	79
1655	1347	1585	1124	0.83	1558	132	11.80	?
1656	1422	1587	1108	0.78	1524	110	13.85	81
1657	1353	1599	1061	0.78	1536	115	13.36	68
1658	1353	1575	981	0.72	1528	110 $\frac{1}{2}$	13.83	94
1659	1349	1563	997	0.74	1488	93 $\frac{1}{2}$	15.91	115
1660	1327	1576	972	0.73	1489	103	14.46	98
1661	1331	1598	1072	0.80	1526	140	10.90	66
1662	1382	1621	1212	0.88	1570	145	10.83	37
1663	1433	1606	1184	0.83	1575	140	11.25	61
1664	1438	1593	1183	0.82	1606	112	14.34	?
1665	1401	1568	976	0.70	1593	94	16.95	?
1666	1371	1555	961	0.70	1568	83	18.89	?

- (1) This was the number of sheep remaining at the end of the previous year, less 3 as the probable number of rams in the flocks.
- (2) The total number of sheep remaining at the end of the previous year, less three-quarters of the sheep dying in the present year.
- (3) This was the number at the beginning of 1654.

## THE SHEEP ACCOUNTS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, 1658-1667.

TABLE FIFTY. SUMMARY OF THREE FLOCKS.

Year	Number at end	Increase of lambs (1)	Lambs per ewe (2)	Number shorn	Stones of wool (3)	Fleeces per stone
<u>Flock 1.</u>						
1658	-	504	-	900	56	16.1
1659	810	543	-	842	52	16.2
1660	860	604	0.74	800	52	15.4
1661	874	711	0.83	849	78	10.9
1662	896	723	0.83	847	88	9.6
1663	840	698	0.78	860	64	13.4
1664	899	620	0.74	842	81	10.4
1665	886	-	-	-	-	-
1666	885	570(4)	0.64	843	51(4)	16.5
1667	904	609(4)	-	700	56(4)	22.3
<u>Flock 2.</u>						
1658	-	334	-	726	-	-
1659	681	424	-	741	47	15.8
1660	713	464	0.68	629	41	15.3
1661	766	544	0.77	700	62	11.3
1662	754	552	0.72	702	70	10.0
1663	759	384	0.51	719	51	14.1
1664	787	564	0.74	723	61	11.9
1665	849	-	-	-	-	-
1666	-	420(5)	0.49	724	30(5)	24.1
1667	798	-	-	552	-	-
<u>Flock 3.</u>						
1658	-	-	-	960	-	-
1659	831	454	-	914	51	17.9
1660	861	469	0.56	720	58	12.4
1661	-	-	-	-	-	-
1662	920	479	-	820	70	11.7
1663	959	476	0.52	920	56	16.4
1664	1000	639	0.65	913	72	12.7
1665	1066	-	-	-	-	-
1666	-	369	0.35	859	51	16.8
1667	-	500	-	843	56	15.1

- (1) Allowance has been made for tithe which was not included in the figures in the accounts.
- (2) Calculated as the lambs of one year from the ewes remaining at the end of the previous year.
- (3) Allowance made for tithe.
- (4) This was the increase of Flocks 1 and 2 together.
- (5) See footnote (4).

TABLE FIFTY-ONE. THE HOUGHTON FLOCK, 1673-1726.

Year	Number at beginning	Increase of lambs (1)	Lambs per ewe	Number shorn (2)	Stones of wool (3)	Fleeces per stone
1673	-	272	-	527	38	13.86
1674	556	-	-	-	-	-
1675	656	570	0.87	-	-	-
1676	802	680	0.85	784	-	-
1677	784	598	0.76	860	67	12.83
1678	769	-	-	885	90	9.83
1679	795	724	0.91	941	105	8.96
1680	776	724	0.93	-	-	-
1681	808	-	-	-	91	-
1682	853	-	-	-	-	-
1683	814	-	-	-	-	-
1684	943	-	-	-	-	-
1685	839	689	0.82	-	-	-
1686	833	-	-	980	115	8.52
1687	825	695	0.84	-	-	-
1688	891	-	-	-	-	-
1689	854	-	-	-	-	(about 9.0)
1690	-	-	-	-	-	-
1691	849	-	-	-	-	-
1692	878	-	-	856	-	-
1693	856	684	0.80	-	-	-
1694	848	668	0.79	-	-	-
1695	796	452	0.57	-	-	-
1696	830	629	0.76	-	-	-
1697	804	543	0.67	-	-	-
1698	762	436	0.57	-	-	-
1699	805	498	0.62	-	-	-
1700	827	635	0.77	-	-	-
1701	752	368	0.49	-	-	-
1702	769	526	0.68	-	-	-
1703	811	593	0.73	-	-	-
1719	822 (4)	-	-	-	-	-
1720	791	-	-	-	-	-
1721	833	-	-	-	-	-
1722	810	-	-	-	-	-
1723	806	-	-	-	-	-
1724	1712 (5)	-	-	-	-	-
1725	1240 (5)	-	-	-	-	-

- (1) Allowances made for tithes in some cases.  
(2) Uncertain in some cases.  
(3) Allowances made for tithes in some cases.  
(4) Henceforth the flock was composed of wethers.  
(5) Including the flock at New Close.

THE SHEEP ACCOUNTS OF SIR ROGER L'STRANGE, 1693-1704.

TABLE FIFTY-TWO. SUMMARY OF ALL THE FLOCKS.

	Number at beginning	Number shorn	Number of ewes	Increase of lambs	Lambs per ewe
1693	2146	2523	1436	1092	0.76
1694	2525	2721	1888	1488	0.79
1695	2702	2544	1769	1008	0.57
1696	2540	1602	1881	1449	0.77
1697	1540	1555	716	475	0.66
1698	1555	1447	729	474	0.65
1699	1447	1456	653	431	0.66
1700	1392	1370	685	512	0.75
1701	1368	1296	613	337	0.55
1702	1321	1125	674	367	0.57
1703	1125	1321	586	380	0.65

TABLE FIFTY-THREE. SOME FLEECE WEIGHTS.

Flock	Year	Number shorn	Stones of wool	Fleeces per stone
Ringstead North Flock, wethers.	1693	407	55½	7.4
	1695	517	87	5.7
Ringstead South Flock, mainly wethers.	1693	231	22	10.5
	1695	142	33	4.3
Barrett Ringstead Flock, ewes	1693	617	51	12.1
	1694	565	52	10.9
Heacham Flock, ewes	1693	774	68	11.4
Sedgeford South Flock, ewes.	1694	471	43½	10.7
Sedgeford North Flock, wethers (cullet)	1694	219	31¾	6.8

APPENDIX FOUR.

NORFOLK WOOL MIDDLEMEN, 1500-1700.

A list of the Norfolk men who are known to have bought and sold wool, both in Norfolk and elsewhere. Their activities are discussed in:

- Chapter Seven, pp. 369-377.
- Chapter Nine, pp. 449-458.
- Chapter Twelve, pp. 533-547.
- Chapter Four APPENDIX FOUR.

Key to the columns:

1. The 7 NORFOLK WOOL MIDDLEMEN, 1500-1700. the Norfolk S.P.'s and the 47 listed in their reply, in 1577. See text, pp. 558-9.
2. Broggers presented for various offences in the Norwich Court of Mayoralty.
3. 11 broggers of Mattishall whose names were certified to the Court in 1567. See text, pp. 553-4.
4. Recipients of the patent for bringing non-Norfolk wool to Norwich, 1570. See text, p. 556.
5. The 5 city middlemen complaining against an alien wool comber in 1598. See text, p. 563.
6. Broggers named by the Staplers as being important dealers in non-Norfolk wool in 1577. See text, p. 559.
7. Middlemen informed against in the Court of Exchequer, 1558-1619. See text, p. 363.
8. Miscellaneous references. See Chapters 6 and 7.

APPENDIX FOUR.NORFOLK WOOL MIDDLEMEN, 1500-1700.

A list of the Norfolk men who are known to have bought and sold wool, both in Norfolk and elsewhere. Their activities are discussed in:-

- Chapter Seven, pp. 359-375.
- Chapter Nine , pp. 449-458.
- Chapter Twelve, pp. 553-567.
- Chapter Fourteen, pp. 688-694.

Key to the columns:

1. The 7 broggers named in instructions to the Norfolk J.P.'s and the 47 listed in their reply, in 1577. See text, pp. 558-9.
2. Broggers presented for various offences in the Norwich Court of Mayoralty.
3. 11 broggers of Mattishall whose names were certified to the Court in 1567. See text, pp. 553-4.
4. Receipts of the patent for bringing non-Norfolk wool to Norwich, 1570. See text, p. 556.
5. The 5 city middlemen complaining against an alien wool comber in 1598. See text, p. 563.
6. Broggers named by the Staplers as being important dealers in non-Norfolk wool in 1577. See text, p. 559.
7. Middlemen informed against in the Court of Exchequer, 1558-1619. See text, p. 363.
8. Miscellaneous references. See Chapters 6 and 7.

GROUP A.  
The chief county middlemen.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Richard Baldwin	Mattishall	x	x	x				x	x
Firmin Neve	Mattishall	x	x	x			x		
Arthur Crossoll (Croshold, Cressolde, "		x		x				x	x
Thomas Crossoll (Cresswell)	Mattishall	x	x	x					
Edward Crossoll	Mattishall	x						x	
Gregory Allen	Mattishall							x	
Thomas Allen	-		x						
Nicholas Allen	Mattishall	x	x					x	
George Allen	-	x							
Robert Hall	Mattishall	x						x	
Edward Hall	Mattishall	x						x	
Simon Hall	Mattishall							x	
John Hall	-	x							
Thomas Reynold	Mattishall	x						x	
Richard Reynold	Mattishall							x	
Peter Boote	Mattishall & Thuxton							x	
John Boote	-	x							
Robert Howlett	Mattishall	x						x	
John Howlett, sen.	Mattishall & Hockering	x	x	x				x	
John Howlett, jun.	-	x							
Nicholas Howlett	-	x							
Thomas Howlett	Hockering							x	
Thomas Watts, sen.	Mattishall & Hockwold	x	x	x			x	x	
Thomas Watts, jun.	Mattishall		x	x					
William Watts	Mattishall								x
Edward Watts	Mattishall		x	x				x	
Roger Watts	Mattishall		x					x	
John Watts	Mattishall & Hockwold	x	x	x				x	
John Croche	Mattishall			x					
William Croche	-	x							
Peter Gage	Mattishall							x	
Godfridus Spylman	Mattishall							x	
Richard Starkye	Mattishall							x	
Thomas Elvey	Mattishall							x	
Richard Haiward	Mattishall							x	
William Patrick	Mattishall							x	x
Thomas Hall	Mattishall Burgh	x						x	
Alice Peeres	Mattishall Burgh		x						
Robert Tylney	Mattishall Burgh		x	x					
Thomas Baldwyn	Mattishall Burgh							x	
Thomas Harlestone	Mattishall Burgh							x	
Richard Cooke	Little Barningham	x						x	
William Cooke	Little Barningham	x	x				x		
Thomas Cooke	Little Barningham	x					x		

GROUP B  
Minor county middlemen

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

George Blome	Coston							X
Simon Blome	Coston							X
Peter Starkye	Hindolveston							X
George Ellmer	Hockwold							X
Thomas Howlinge	North Tuddenham							X
John Tilney	East Tuddenham							X
Isaac Pitcher	Hingham							X
William Taylor	Hingham							X
Richard Sparke	East Harling							X
John Lane	Hoe, Kempston & Norwich							X
William Ockley	Hellesdon							X
John Ringwood	Hale							X
Gerald Fell	East Dereham							X
Edward Dack	-							X
Robert Constable	Rockland							X
Robert Hyllary	Woolpit							X
Medcalfe	(Norfolk)							X
William Wynne, glover	Litcham							X
John Cannon, draper	Swaffham							X
Nicholas Smyth	Westnam(?)							X
Richard Wilsey, glover	Hempton							X
Roger Richardson	Kenninghall							X
John Petite	Braiston (Braydeston?)							X
Thomas Drake	Haveringland							X
Carolus Raye	Thetford							X
John Skepper	Watlington							X
Gregory Aylemer	Wilton							X
Henry James	Briston							X
Francis Aylemer	Buxton							X
Edward Shepheard	Hempstead							X
Richard Rayner	Hevingham					X		X
Henry Pitt	Walpole							X
Thomas Wursley	Walsoken							X
William Feke	Thorpe Market							X
William Mathewe	Thorpe Market							X
Richard Odde	Thorpe Market							X

Great Yarmouth  
 Henry Easthorpe



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

GROUP E.Others - origin uncertain.

Robert Gibson	X						
George Collyson	X						
Robert Bennett	X						
Thomas Oxeborough	X						
John Smith	X						
George Waller	X						
Lawrence Entisle	X						
John Benton	X						
John Bright	X						
William Rytippe	X						
John Edwards	X						
Richard Graye	X						
Robert Comnante	X						
Richard Wilson	X						
Edmund Harrison	X						
John Humbletofte	X						
Peter Purs	X						
Christopher Fuller	X						
Peter Duggen	X						
Walter Hardingham							X

The accounts from the various districts are not uniform in their details. Some districts give the price of wool only, while others give the price of both wool and mutton. In some cases the price is given for a certain quantity, while in others it is given for a certain weight. The accounts also vary in the way they are organized, with some giving a list of prices for each year and others giving a summary of the prices for each year.

APPENDIX FIVE.

WOOL AND SHEEP PRICES, 1450-1700.

There is no necessity to make allowances for different types of wool and mutton since the great majority of the prices refer to Upland Norfolk and to the Norfolk breed; a few refer to the Marshland district but they are not sufficiently divergent from those for the rest of the county to warrant adjustment. Again, the complete uncertainty concerning conditions of sale in most cases precludes any adjustment of prices to allow for credit transactions.

It has been impossible to include all the types of sheep mentioned in the accounts. A few Fingone have been included with the wethers, cranes with the wethers, and ewes with the lambs; although cranes and ewes generally fetched rather lower prices than wethers and lambs, the divergence is in neither case sufficiently consistent or marked to invalidate an index comprising the prices of both types.

Prices from several sheep accounts are available for some years; in the tables the average price is given together with the amount of wool or the number of animals concerned. In dealing with a single county there are inevitably many gaps in these price series, and consequently it is impossible to apply a moving average in order to remove some of the insignificant year-to-year variations. In all cases, the index numbers have been calculated with the average price of

APPENDIX FIVE: WOOL AND SHEEP PRICES, 1450-1700.

These indices of Norfolk wool and sheep prices have been constructed from data taken from three sources:-

- (1). The sheep accounts (See Chapter Six).
- (2). The testamentary inventories (at the Bishop's Chapel, Norwich).
- (3). Informations in the Court of Exchequer (P.R.O. E159) alleging infringement of statutes 1 Edw.VI, c. 6, and 5 Edw.VI, c. 14

The sheep accounts provide the most reliable as well as the most numerous data since the prices recorded are rarely single quotations and there is no reason to doubt their accuracy. For the prices given in inventories one relies on the judgement of a dead man's neighbours who may or may not have attempted to give, still less have succeeded in giving, the current market prices. The reliability of data from the informations has been decreased by an informer's natural inclination to inflate his allegations. Nevertheless, prices from the two minor sources appear to be comparable with those from the sheep accounts; they are, however, given separately in the tables and distinguished by different symbols on the graphs. A mere handful of prices from such sources as Early Chancery Proceedings and Court of Requests Proceedings has been ignored.

There is no necessity to make allowances for different types of wool and sheep since the great majority of the prices refer to Upland Norfolk and to the Norfolk breed; a few refer to the Marshland district but they are not sufficiently divergent from those for the rest of the county to warrant adjustment. Again, the complete uncertainty concerning conditions of sale in most cases precludes any adjustment of prices to allow for credit transactions.

It has been impossible to include all the types of sheep mentioned in the accounts. A few riggons have been included with the wethers, crones with the ewes, and pocks with the lambs; although crones and pocks generally fetched rather lower prices than ewes and lambs, the divergence is in neither case sufficiently consistent or marked to invalidate an index comprising the prices of both types.

Prices from several sheep accounts are available for some years; in the tables, the average price is given together with the amount of wool or the number of animals concerned. In dealing with a single county there are inevitably many gaps in these price series, and consequently it is impossible to apply a moving average in order to remove some of the insignificant year-to-year variations. In all cases, the index numbers have been calculated with the average price of

1482 as the base. This gives a base prior to the price-rise of the sixteenth century, and prices for wool, wethers, ewes and lambs were all available for that particular year. To enable some comparison with corn prices and with the effects of the general price revolution, an index of wheat prices (again with 1482 as base) has been calculated from Thorold Rogers' figures (a) and is included in the tables.

The index of wool prices (Graph 1) reveals an almost continuous rise from 1450 until the early seventeenth century, with a peak in 1615 nearly 1000 per cent. higher than the lowest price of 1453. A decline followed in the seventeenth century but more numerous data are needed here: prices from the accounts suggest that the trend was reversed after about 1660, those from the inventories suggest a continued decline.

Part of this upward trend in wool prices during the sixteenth century was, of course, due to the monetary factors causing the general price-revolution, but what other factors were there? Clearly, the decline of the worsted industry during the sixteenth century did not have a depressing effect on the price of Norfolk wool; the fall-off in the local demand may have produced the trough in both wool and sheep prices around 1500, but thereafter much Norfolk wool was "exported" to Suffolk and Essex and variations in its price must to some extent reflect the fluctuating export of the coarse broadcloth made in those counties. In view of the divergent markets for Norfolk wool and the incompleteness of the price index, it is not possible to seek a close correlation of the kind which Bowden(b) has suggested between English wool prices in general and cloth exports.

The index suggests that Norfolk wool prices continued to rise during the last quarter of the sixteenth century at a time when the declining export of broadcloth was producing great fluctuations in the price of English wool in general (Bowden, op.cit.). These high prices must be explained by the revival of the worsted industry and the growth in the production of new draperies elsewhere. But as the new industry prospered, Norfolk wool was continually replaced by

- 
- (a) Rogers, J.E.T., "A History of Agriculture and Prices in England", Volumes IV and V.
- (b) Bowden, P.J., "Movements in Wool Prices, 1490-1610", in Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, Volume 4, Number 2 (1952).

better quality wool from the Midland counties, and not only in the Norwich market but in the other new drapery centres of East Anglia. Consequently, the price of Norfolk wool was falling in the seventeenth century, and the possible upward trend after about 1660 can be explained only by the increasing demand for such wool by the coarse cloth manufacture of the north of England.

It would be dangerous to make a careful comparison between Norfolk wool prices and Thorold Rogers' miscellaneous figures for wheat prices, but some broad conclusions may be suggested. The price of Norfolk wool appears to have risen more sharply than that of wheat throughout the sixteenth century and therefore provided one incentive for the stress which landlords were giving to the sheep rearing aspect of the sheep-corn husbandry. Landlord oppression in Norfolk decreased in the seventeenth century and so, too, did this price incentive for wool production; as the century progressed the emphasis was upon real improvements in husbandry with the value of large flocks and sheep tathing decreasing, and the sheep farmer's most valuable product was no longer wool but mutton.

From 1450 and throughout the sixteenth century, the prices of sheep followed an upward trend very similar to that in wool prices, a trend reflecting the sheep farmer's demand for stock and as yet little affected by the growth of a mutton market. Using wheat prices as a basis for comparison the prices of ewes and lambs rose more sharply than those of corn, but wether prices lagged behind - a divergence almost certainly to be explained by the maintenance of large wool-producing flocks as against the production of high quality wether mutton. The demand for mutton from the rapidly-growing city of Norwich and from more distant markets was greatly increased in the early seventeenth century and, especially after 1650, all sheep prices constantly exceeded those of wheat: in the new Norfolk husbandry, the sheep farmer aimed to produce mutton rather than wool and dung, and an increase in sheep prices was complementary to a fall in those of wool.

TABLE ONE. WOOL PRICES.

S H E E P A C C O U N T S				Inform- ations	Invent- ories	Wheat Index No. 1482=100
Wool, Stones	Year	Yearly Average Price	Index No. 1482= 100	Index 1482 = 100	Number = 100	
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	1450					64
	1451					63
276	1452	1. 8.	54			56
318	1453	1. 7.	51			49
	1454-1461					
189	1462	2. 8.	86			42
	1463-1467					
176	1468	2. 2.	70			55
	1469-1476					
720	1477	2. 2.	70			65
	1478					64
396	1479	2. 2.	70			56
212	1480	2. 2.	70			56
	1481					83
935	1482	3. 1.	100			100
	1483					70
	1484					52
-	1485	2.10.	92			44
-	1486	2. 9.	89			52
-	1487	2. 9.	89			52
630	1488	3. 4.	108			53
878	1489	2. 8.	86			57
396	1490	2. 4.	76			48
	1491					64
555	1492	1. 8.	54			41
478	1493	2. 0.	65			40
	1494					47
442	1495	2. 4.	76			40
	1496-1500					
484	1501	1. 8.	54			81
	1502-1508					
566	1509	2. 8.	86			29
	1510-1518					
609	1519	2.11.	89			69
98	1520	3. 3.	105			91
	1521-1534					
263	1535	3. 6.	113			100
	1536-1543					
2387	1544	3. 9.	121			87
-	1545	3. 4.	108			151
-	1546	3. 4.	108			81
-	1547	3. 4.	108			48
-	1548	7. 0.	227			78
	1549					158
116	1550	9. 0.	293			174
	1551					197
	1552					102
	1553					115
383	1554	3. 8.	119	151		181
	1555				144	214

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
464	1556	7. 0.	227			276
3	1557	7. 0.	227	211		81
50	1558	3. 4.	108	162		90
	1559			162		107
	1560			140		138
-	1561	6. 8.	216	216		152
	1562			173		106
	1563			162		192
	1564			197		106
-	1565	6. 8.	216	200		102
	1566			216		159
17	1567	7. 0.	227	203		107
	1568			218		110
	1569			200		114
	1570			195		95
	1571					121
	1572			216		131
	1573			162		255
	1574					138
	1575					154
	1576					215
33	1577					195
	1578	7. 0.	227			168
	1579					169
	1580					194
	1581					207
	1582					185
-	1583	7. 6.	243			194
-	1584	7. 6.	243			182
-	1585	9. 0.	293			300
-	1586	9. 0.	293			443
-	1587	9. 0.	293		154	156
-	1588	9. 0.	293			145
-	1589	9. 0.	293			261
-	1590	9. 0.	293			245
	1591				259	175
	1592			362	259	202
-	1593	10. 0.	324		324	239
-	1594	10. 0.	324			364
-	1595	10. 0.	324	343	278	395
-	1596	10. 0.	324			547
-	1597	10. 0.	324	454	259	507
	1598			324		302
	1599			324	203	288
	1600			324		336
	1601					234
	1602					259
	1603			322	293	257
	1604-1610					
	1611				227	360
	1612				249	405
	1613			322		432
	1614					340
	1615			486	324	331
	1616					412
	1617				324	436
	1618				432	316
	1619				259	251
	1620					246
	1621				303	396
	1622					494
	1623					364
	1624					417
167	1625					468
	1626	11.11.	386			319

TABLE ONE (continued)

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	1627-1636					
-	1637	10. 6.	340			463
	1638					381
	1639					341
14	1640	10. 0.	324			426
	1641-1646					
	1647				459	605
	1648-1654					
-	1655	6. 6.	211			321
	1656					360
	1657					450
-	1658	6. 1.	197			560
-	1659	5. 8.	184			504
-	1660	7. 0.	227			419
	1661					685
	1662				224	443
62	1663	7. 6.	243			451
118	1664	10. 0.	324			381
	1665					345
	1666					443
-	1667	10. 0.	324			302
84	1668	8. 10.	286		227	366
93	1669	10. 0.	324			321
	1670					346
	1671					330
	1672				162	532
	1673					501
	1674				130	345
	1675					298
	1676				162	454
	1677-1700					

GRAPH 1 WOOL PRICES, 1450-1700 BASE: 1482=100

DATA FROM SHEEP ACCOUNTS ~ ●  
 INFORMATIONS ~ x  
 INVENTORIES ~ ○

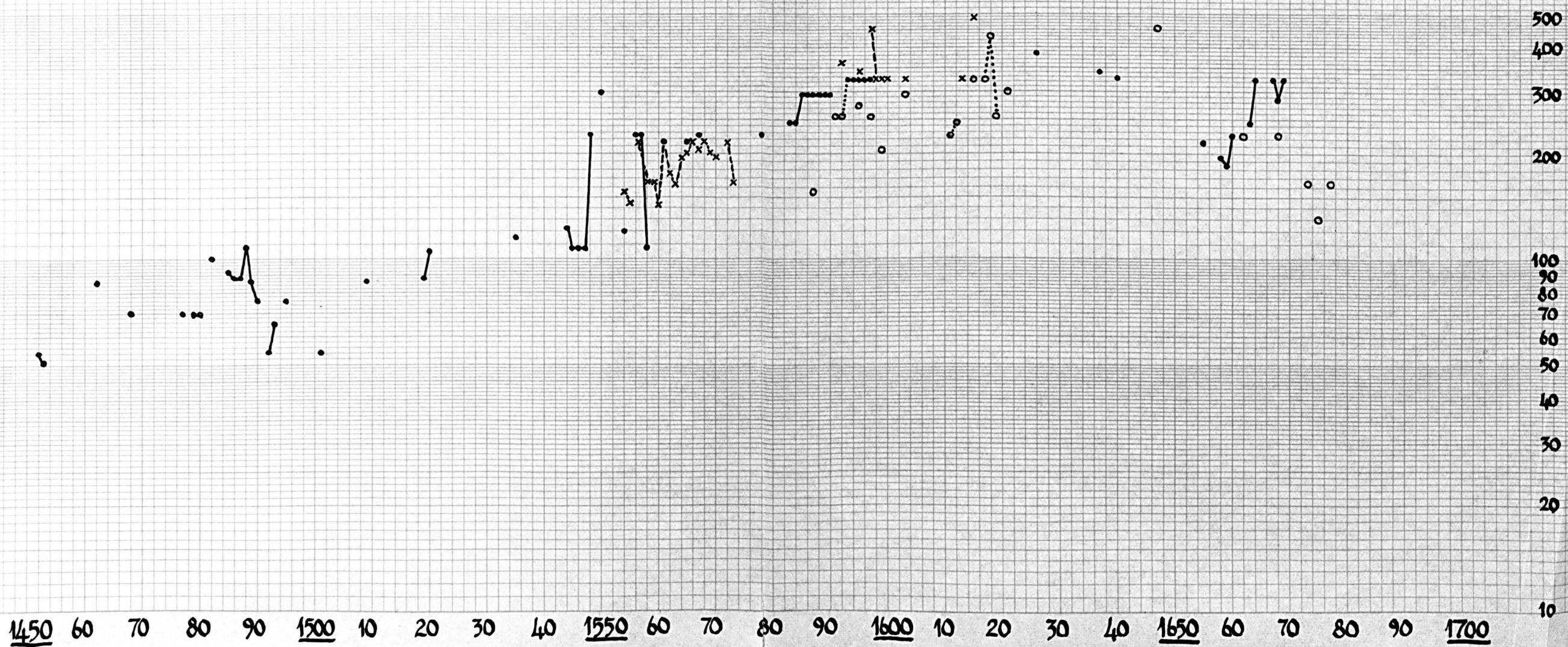


TABLE TWO. WETHER PRICES.

S H E E P   A C C O U N T S				Inform- ations	Invent- ories	Wheat Index No. 1482=100
Number of Animals	Year	Yearly Average Price s. d.	Index No. 1482= 100	Index Number 1482=100		
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	1450					64
269	1451	11.	37			63
20	1452	1. 0.	40			56
60	1453	8.	27			49
	1454					37
284	1455	1. 1.	43			53
261	1456	1. 0.	40			48
	1457					56
165	1458	1. 3.	50			55
	1459					50
	1460					68
	1461					72
300	1462	1. 0.	40			42
	1463					38
125	1464	1. 6.	60			41
115	1465	1. 2.	47			45
	1466-1472					
115	1473	1. 7.	63			37
240	1474	1. 1.	43			44
46	1475	1. 3.	50			52
316	1476	1. 0.	40			50
6	1477	1. 0.	40			65
238	1478	11.	37			64
26	1479	2. 0.	80			56
141	1480	9.	30			56
242	1481	1. 4.	53			83
530	1482	2. 6.	100			100
293	1483	1. 9.	70			70
350	1484	1. 6.	60			52
82	1485	1. 2.	47			44
	1486					52
287	1487	1. 4.	53			52
237	1488	1. 2.	47			53
370	1489	2. 0.	80			57
140	1490	1. 4.	53			48
	1491					64
	1492					41
	1493					40
	1494					47
104	1495	1. 3.	50			40
585	1496	1. 3.	50			53
243	1497	10.	33			49
	1498					53
240	1499	1. 0.	40			46
371	1500	1. 3.	50			60
300	1501	11.	37			81
290	1502	9.	30			78
252	1503	9.	30			61
431	1504	1. 4.	53			48
	1505					47
	1506					52
248	1507	1. 1.	43			54
287	1508	1. 7.	63			38
	1509					29
	1510					39

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
134	1511	1. 8.	67			55
178	1512	1. 8.	67			88
222	1513	1. 6.	60			59
	1514					52
	1515					66
	1516					52
	1517					62
136	1518	1. 4.	53			58
81	1519	1.11.	77			69
	1520					91
	1521					75
52	1522	1. 7.	63			58
	1523					53
	1524					50
382	1525	1. 4.	53			52
360	1526	1. 8.	67			60
	1527					125
	1528					85
	1529					85
540	1530	2. 1.	83			81
	1531-1544					
1490	1545	2. 6.	100			151
1618	1546	2. 5.	97			81
448	1547	3.11.	157			48
1801	1548	2. 8.	107			78
	1549					158
1955	1550	3. 9.	150			174
	1551					197
	1552					102
	1553					115
360	1554	3. 1.	123			181
	1555					214
660	1556	5.10.	233			276
370	1557	4.11.	197			81
	1558					90
	1559					107
	1560					138
1230	1561	3.10.	153			152
	1562			210		106
	1563					192
	1564			240		106
13	1565	2. 6.	100			102
	1566-1571					
	1572			200		131
	1573-1588					
	1589				220	261
	1590					245
	1591				250	175
	1592				223	202
	1593					239
	1594					364
	1595				267	395
	1596					547
	1597					507
	1598					302
	1599				240	288
60	1600	7. 0.	280			336
	1601-1606					
	1607			800		363
	1608				173	514
	1609					356
	1610				333	315
	1611-1616					

TABLE TWO (continued)

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	1617				350	436
	1618-1636					
551	1637	8. 1.	323			463
	1638-1642					
48	1643	9. 4.	373			327
25	1644	9. 5.	377			338
10	1645	14. 2.	567			337
	1646-1663					
484	1664	5. 9.	230			381
229	1665	6. 7.	263			345
	1666					443
100	1667	9. 0.	360	267		302
485	1668	10. 9.	430			366
	1669					321
	1670					346
129	1671	13. 0.	520			330
	1672					345
	1673				320	532
	1674					501
	1675					345
	1676				333	298
	1677				287	454
	1678					514
	1679				320	292
	1680-1685					
124	1686	9. 8.	387			313
	1687-1700					
-	1701	12. 0.	480			257
-	1702	12. 8.	507			273

GRAPH 2 WETHER PRICES, 1450-1700 BASE: 1482 = 100

DATA FROM SHEEP ACCOUNTS ~ ●  
 INFORMATIONS ~ x  
 INVENTORIES ~ ○

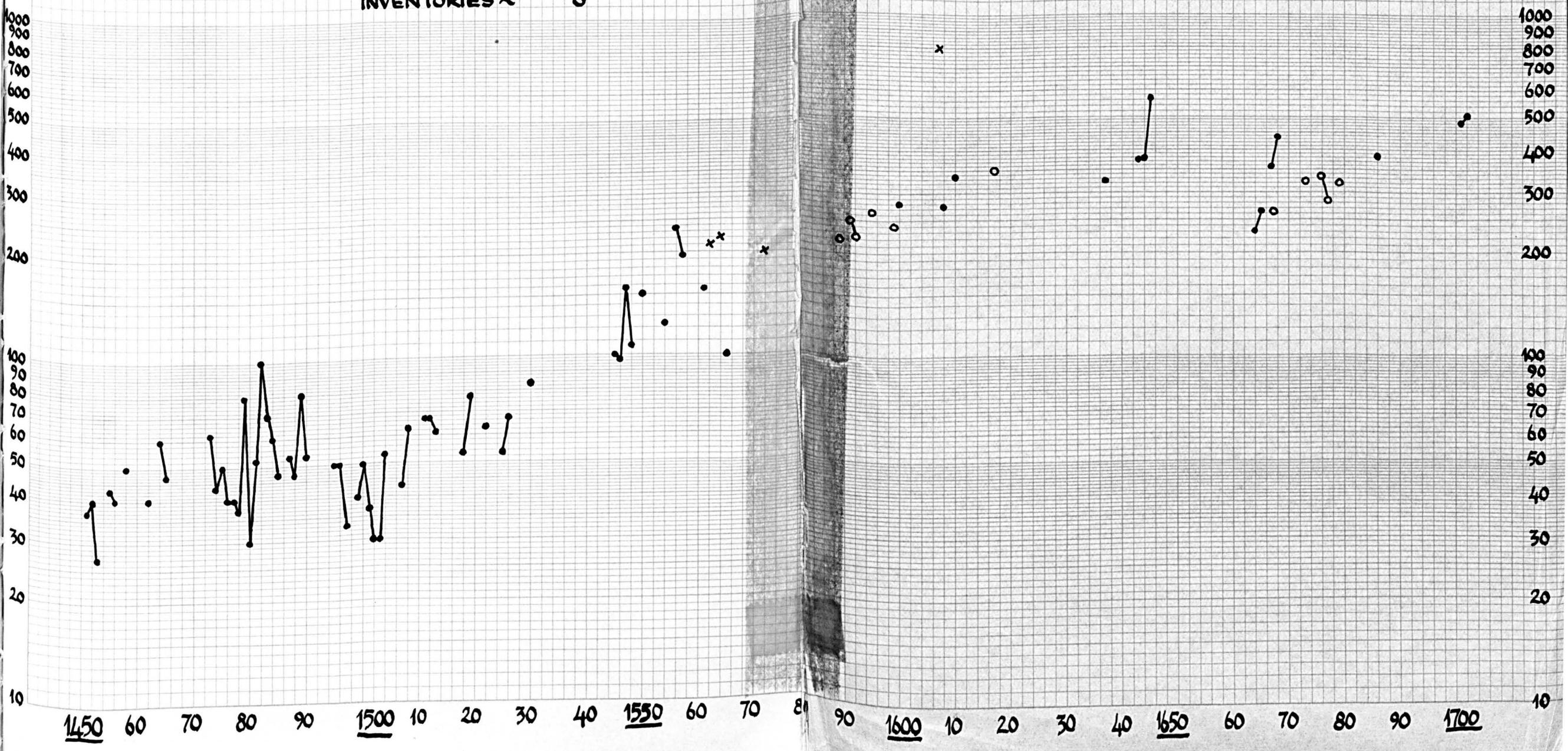


TABLE THREE. EWE PRICES.

S H E E P   A C C O U N T S				Inform- ations	Invent- ories	Wheat Index No. 1482=100
Number of Animals	Year	Yearly Average Price s. d. 3.	Index No. 1482= 100 4.	Index 1482 = 100 5.	Number = 100 6.	7.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	1450					64
	1451					63
120	1452	8.	53			56
180	1453	5.	33			49
	1454					37
20	1455	8.	53			53
	1456					48
	1457					56
42	1458	11.	73			55
	1459-1472					
70	1473	11.	73			37.
	1474					44
	1475					52
	1476					50
40	1477	1. 0.	80			65
	1478					64
557	1479	10.	67			56
28	1480	8.	53			56
330	1481	1. 0.	80			83
312	1482	1. 3.	100			100
190	1483	1. 3.	100			70
100	1484	1. 3.	100			52
	1485					44
	1486					52
	1487					52
28	1488	8.	53			53
132	1489	11.	73			57
	1490-1494					
339	1495	11.	73			40
175	1496	10.	67			53
	1497					49
	1498					53
65	1499	9.	60			46
	1500					60
	1501					81
	1502					78
	1503					61
25	1504	9.	60.			48
	1505-1510					
126	1511	1. 2.	93			55
100	1512	1. 2.	93			88
49	1513	1. 2.	93			59
	1514-1519					
87	1520	1. 0.	80			91
	1521-1529					
482	1530	1. 7.	127			81
	1531-1544					
1680	1545	2. 8.	213			151
250	1546	1. 9.	140			81
210	1547	1. 9.	140			48
2262	1548	2. 4.	186			78

TABLE THREE (continued)

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
7793	1549					158
	1550	3. 4.	266			174
	1551					197
	1552					102
	1553					115
-	1554	1. 4.	107			181
	1555					214
198	1556	2. 2.	173			276
249	1557	2. 3.	180			81
	1558					90
	1559					107
	1560					138
620	1561	3. 0.	240			152
	1562					106
	1563					192
	1564					106
72	1565	2. 6.	200	186		102
	1566-1578					
29	1579	4. 0.	320			169
	1580-1590					
	1591				240	175
	1592				400	202
	1593				400	240
	1594					365
	1595				360	390
	1596					547
	1597					507
	1598					302
	1599				400	288
	1600-1606					
	1607			800		363
	1608				493	514
	1609					340
	1610				480	315
	1611-1616					
	1617				420	436
	1618-1625					
171	1626	11. 0.	880			319
	1627-1636					
2373	1637	6. 4.	507			463
	1638					381
	1639					341
	1640					426
	1641					351

TABLE THREE (continued)

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
160	1642	4. 1.	323			340
339	1643	4. 3.	340			327
	1644					338
	1645					337
	1646					502
240	1647	7. 0.	560			605
344	1648	7. 0.	560			657
	1649-1653					
130	1654	3. 8.	293			210
	1655					321
	1656					360
41	1657	2. 10.	227			450
136	1658	3. 7.	287			560
	1659					504
2	1660	6. 9.	540			419
	1661					685
121	1662	4. 8.	373		640	443
115	1663	4. 6.	360			451
1238	1664	8. 2.	653			381
235	1665	4. 2.	333			345
	1666					443
88	1667	10. 9.	860		400	302
78	1668	9. 6.	760			366
	1669-1672					
-	1673	12. 6.	1000			532
	1674					501
	1675					345
	1676				627	298
	1677				640	454
	1678-1700					

GRAPH 3 EWE PRICES, 1450-1700 BASE: 1482=100

DATA FROM SHEEP ACCOUNTS ~ ●  
 INFORMATIONS ~ X  
 INVENTORIES ~ ○

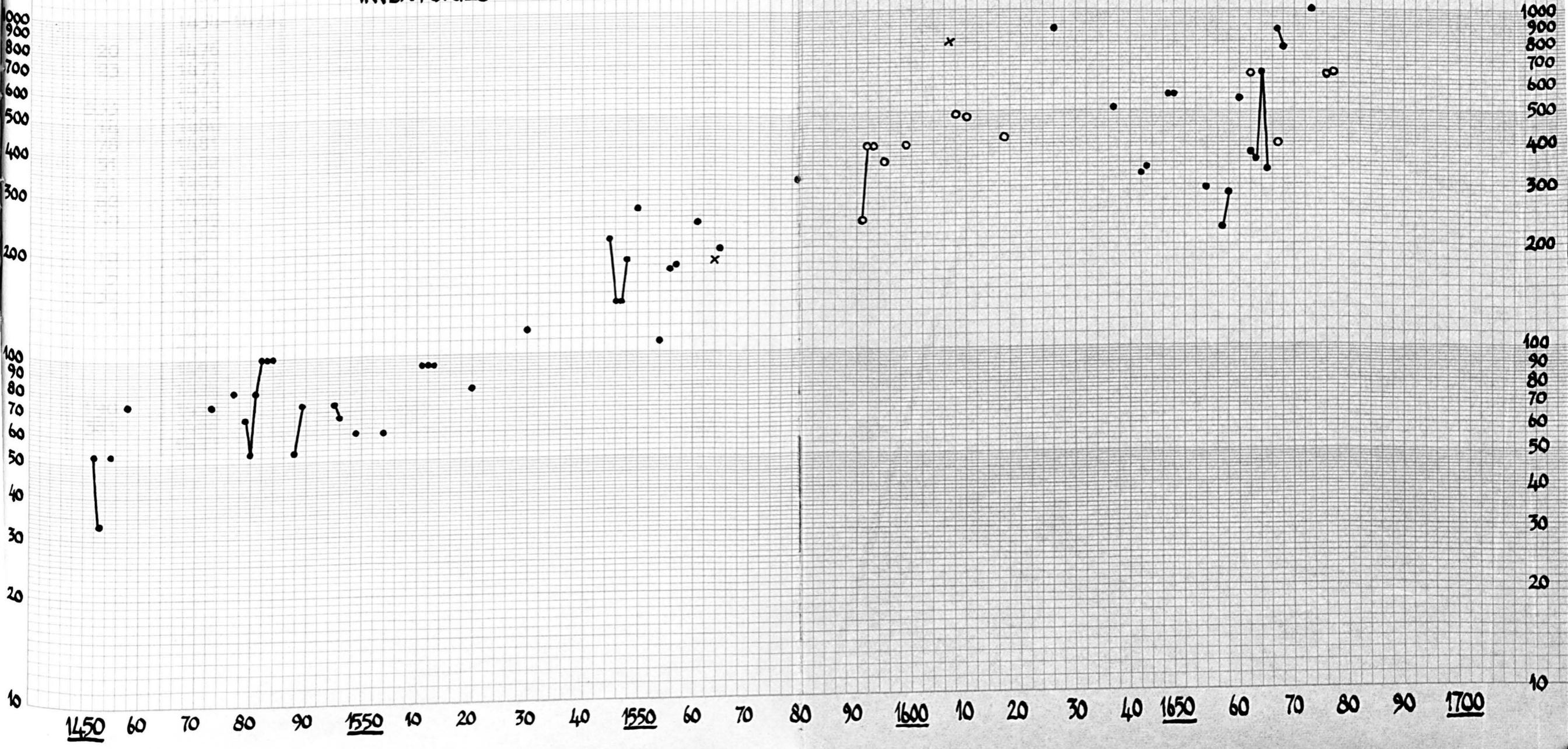


TABLE FOUR. LAMB PRICES.

S H E E P   A C C O U N T S				Inform- ations	Invent- ories	Wheat Index No. 1482=100
Number of Animals	Year	Yearly Average Price s. d.	Index No. 1482= 100	Index Number 1482 = 100		
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	1450					64
	1451					63
	1452					56
120	1453	9.	90			49
	1454-1475					
20	1476	8.	80			50
23	1477	3.	30			65
	1478					64
533	1479	3.	30			56
14	1480	4.	40			56
78	1481	7.	70			83
51	1482	10.	100			100
41	1483	6.	60			70
62	1484	6.	60			52
60	1485	6.	60			44
	1486					52
10	1487	1. 0.	120			52
5	1488	1. 0.	120			53
132	1489	6.	60			57
3	1490	1. 2.	140			48
	1491					64
	1492					41
	1493					40
	1494					47
190	1495	4.	40			40
361	1496	5.	50			53
	1497					49
	1498					53
900	1499	4.	40			46
	1500-1511					
12	1512	1. 0.	120			88
33	1513	6.	60			59
	1514-1519					
120	1520	1. 0.	120			91
	1521					75
1	1522	1. 6.	180			58
	1523-1532					
20	1533	1. 4.	160			74
	1534-1544					
580	1545	1. 2.	140			151
651	1546	1. 3.	150			81
630	1547	1. 3.	150			48
4208	1548	1. 6.	180			78
	1549					158
4435	1550	1. 11.	230			174
	1551					197
	1552					102
	1553					115
-	1554	8.	80			181
	1555					214
871	1556	1. 8.	200			276
1020	1557	1. 9.	210			81
	1558					90
	1559					107
	1560					138
5362	1561	1. 8.	200			152
	1562					106

TABLE FOUR (continued)

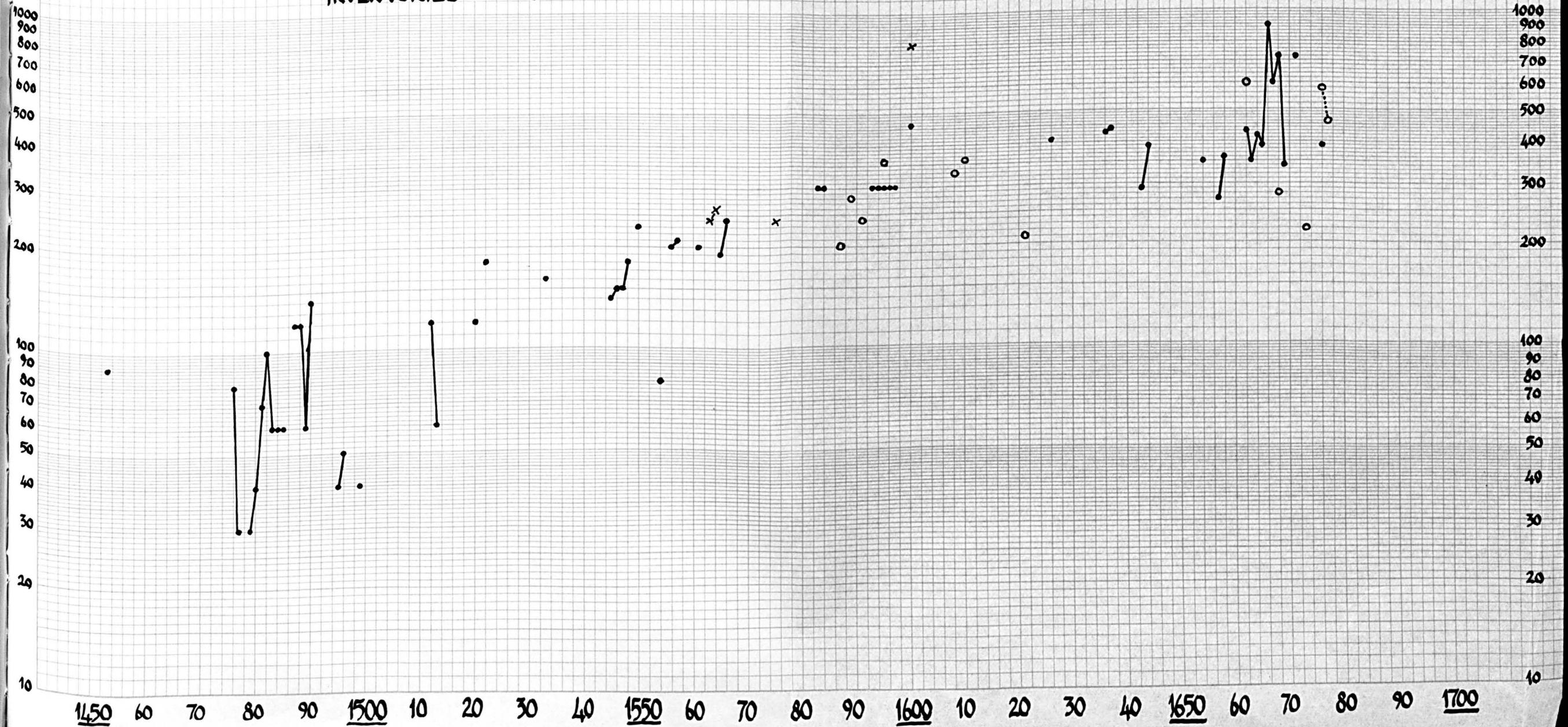
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	1563			240		192
	1564			260		106
372	1565	1. 7.	190			102
511	1566	2. 0.	240			159
	1567-1574					
	1575			240		154
	1576-1582					
-	1583	2. 6.	300			194
-	1584	2. 6.	300			182
	1585					300
	1586					443
	1587				200	156
	1588					145
	1589				280	261
	1590					245
	1591				240	175
	1592					202
-	1593	2. 6.	300			239
-	1594	2. 6.	300			364
-	1595	2. 6.	300		360	395
-	1596	2. 6.	300			547
-	1597	2. 6.	300			507
	1598					302
	1599					288
245	1600	3. 10.	460	800		336
	1601-1607					
	1608				330	514
	1609					356
	1610				360	315
	1611-1620					
	1621				210	396
	1622-1625					
94	1626	3. 4.	400			319
	1627-1635					
416	1636	3. 7.	430			423
2513	1637	3. 8.	440			463
	1638-1642					
502	1643	2. 5.	290			327
990	1644	3. 5.	390			338
	1645-1653					
720	1654	2. 11.	350			210

TABLE FOUR (continued)

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	1655					321
	1656					360
810	1657	2. 3.	270			450
660	1658	3. 0.	360			560
	1659					504
	1660					419
	1661					685
1061	1662	3. 7.	430		600	443
1023	1663	2. 11.	350			451
985	1664	3. 6.	420			381
1023	1665	3. 3.	390			345
15	1666	7. 6.	900			443
15	1667	5. 0.	600			302
133	1668	6. 0.	720		280	366
52	1669	2. 10.	340			321
	1670					346
30	1671	6. 0.	720			330
	1672					345
	1673				220	532
	1674					501
	1675					345
380	1676	3. 3.	390		580	298
	1677				460	454
	1678-1700					

GRAPH 4 LAMB PRICES, 1450-1700 BASE: 1482=100

DATA FROM SHEEP ACCOUNTS ~ ●  
 INFORMATIONS ~ X  
 INVENTORIES ~ ○



APPENDIX SIX.

THE BOOK OF ORDERS FOR THE  
STRANGERS IN NORWICH

1571.

- Article Three No Stranger shall harbour or lodge any Stranger newly come to the city without informing the Mayor within two nights; new-comers shall stay in the common inn. Strangers coming to live in the city shall present their names and faculty to the Mayor within ten days, with a certificate from the ministers, and shall be admitted or denied according to the nature here competent; abiding as to the Mayor's order shall seem most convenient.
- Article Four Strangers shall pay parish dues according to the value of their "houses or tenements" - i.e. 1d. for every dwelling per annum; and also 3d. for night watch money. No Stranger shall be found walking in the street an hour after the curfew bell rung from St. Peter's church "without reasonable cause and reasonable cause".
- Article Five Officers chosen for the "views and searches" of the Strangers' conditions shall be annually presented before the Mayor to take oath.
- Article Six Eight persons shall be chosen for the Dutch and four for the Wallcock's "which shall be arbitrators to the whole company of the Dutch (Wallcock's) church" they shall enforce these and other articles of the laws of the church and shall be sworn before the Mayor.

APPENDIX SIXTHE BOOK OF ORDERS FOR THE STRANGERS IN NORWICH, 1571.

S.P.D. Elizabeth, 77/58; B.M. Lansdowne Mss., 155/65;  
 N.C.M.R., Strangers Book, fos. 31-38d.  
 Printed in Moens, op.cit., pp.255-261.

"The booke of orders for the straungers of the cite of Norwiche, perysed, oversene, allowed and orderid by the right honorable Sir Wallter Mydlemaye, Knight, and Sir Thomas Smythe, Knight, of her Majestes most honorable privi counsell; and Sir Wylliam Cordell, Knight, master of the rolles, the xxti daie of Aprell, 1571."

Article One. The Mayor and two aldermen (one a J.P.) shall hear and determine all matters arising between Strangers and Englishmen, provided that religious controversies be reserved to the Bishop and his "ordenarie" and to the ministers and Consistory of the Strangers Companies, and that "petie qwarrelles" be also reserved to the latter.

Article Two. All Strangers householders shall present themselves before the Mayor and two aldermen, with a certificate on their behalf from the ministers of their companies.

Article Three No Stranger shall harbour or lodge any Stranger newly come to the city without informing the Mayor within two nights; newcomers shall stay in the common inns. Strangers coming to live in the city shall present their name and faculty to the Mayor within ten days, with a certificate from the ministers, and shall be "admitted or demissed, accordinge to the nombre here competente abidinge, as to the seyde maior shall seme most conveniente"

Article Four Strangers shall pay parish dues according to the value of their "howserente or ferme" - i.e. 1d. for every shilling per annum; and also 3d. per night watch money. No Stranger shall be found walking in the street an hour after the curfew bell rung from St. Peter Mancroft "withowte urgente and reasonable cawse".

Article Five Officers chosen for the "viewe and searche" of the Strangers commodities shall be annually presented before the Mayor to take oath.

Article Six Eight persons shall be named for the Dutch and four for the Walloons "which shalbe arbitrators to the whole companye of the Duche (Walloone) churche"; they shall enforce these and other articles thought "mete and necessarie" and shall themselves be presented before the Mayor.



(4) If fewer sale days shall hereafter be thought convenient, new ones shall be appointed.

(5) These orders shall remain inviolate for one year, and then be renewed annually until the Privy Council thinks fit to alter them.

Article Twelve. Strangers shall not pack any commodities made in Norwich except in the presence of the searchers and viewers; each pack shall be sealed and the viewer paid 2d. for his work. Searchers must present any unlawful things packed.

Article Thirteen All London carriers shall enter into bond before the Mayor not to receive any goods after leaving the city if he suspects them to include any rock spun yarn.

Article Fourteen Strangers shall not buy from butchers in the city and suburbs any sheep, calf or lamb skins unless licenced by the Mayor to do so and unless the skins are to be made into leather within the city.

Article Fifteen Bay making has been "attempted and practized" by "dyvers of ovr citezins", but the cloths have been imperfect for want of being searched and the defaulters corrected; so no Englishman or Stranger shall put to sale any bays, stametts, kersies, hounscott says, carrels, mockadoes, fustian of Naples or other like cloths, either white or coloured, unless searched for true making and dyeing and sealed accordingly.

Article Sixteen All Stranger tailors, butchers, shoemakers and cobblers shall not keep an open shop, nor hang out their wares openly to sell, unless they have a lattice a yard deep in front of the windows of the shop; they shall sell their wares only to other Strangers and not to Englishmen; they shall not work with any gentleman or yeoman in the country.

#### THE ORDERS FOR THE HALLS.

Article One The hall for searching and sealing bays, Flemish cloths, stametts, kersies, Flanders freseados, Spanish blanketts, hounscott says, and similar cloths for the nether lead or the raw perch shall be kept in the same place as previously (church of St. Mary the Less), whether the cloths are made by Strangers or Englishmen; the over lead (or white perch) shall be kept in the New Hall, "in the howsse on the right hande, that is on the sowthesyde".

Article Two Those cloths shall be sold at the sale hall, "in the longehowsse on the lefte hande, at the enterance into the sale haies, and nott elles wher, vnlesse they have bene fyrst brought to the hawle, and ther remayned accordinge to order, and receyved the token of the hawlladge".

Article Three The searching and sealing of "all mockados or cangeauntrie", carrells, grograines, velures, curtains, sacking and similar cloths made in the city and suburbs shall be carried out in "one of the smalle howses, of the northsyde of the sqare yarde..." (of the New Hall). The knape of the hall shall have the twentieth penny of the fines for keeping the accounts and the rest shall go to the city.

Article Four The knape shall keep a book of all fines levied at the nether and upper leads; he shall have the fifth penny and the rest shall be equally divided between the city and the company concerned; the knape shall make and submit his account quarterly the governers being present to reform any faults.

Article Five The cloths listed in Article Three shall be put to sale in another hall there provided (in the New Hall), unless first brought to the hall, sealed, and the hallage paid.

The rates of hallage:-

for each double bay	1d.
" " single "	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " half piece of bay	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " whole "Flemyshe brodeclothe"	1d.
" " half " "	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " stamett kersey	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " half " "	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " Flanders freseado	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " broad say	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " narrow "	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " velure	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " half velure	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " mockado	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
" " carrell	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.

Article Six The clerk of the hall shall keep an account of the "petiesommes" and render it quarterly; he shall take charge of all goods committed to his keeping, and seal all goods for which the hallage has been paid; he shall have 20 shillings quarterly for his work and his dwelling there so that he may be "attendaunte upon his offyce"; he shall open and bar the doors at the appropriate times.

Article Seven The Strangers' consistories and other meetings of the "politique gouernaunce" shall not be held in any place in the city other than that appointed - i.e. "in the over lofte on the sowth cloyster"; but they may have "pryvate conference, wher yt shall seme to you most conveniente".

Article Eight Cloths shall not be received in the sale halls before they are sealed "for trewe makyng and trewe coullering". If a maker shows his wares in the sale halls for one, two or three days and cannot sell them (hallage being paid and the goods sealed), he may carry them away at the end of each sale day and bring them back as often as he likes until they are sold, but may sell them elsewhere only according to the other orders in this book.

APPENDIX SEVEN.

**ADMISSIONS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE WORSTED  
INDUSTRY TO THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF  
NORWICH.**

There were four conditions of admission to the Freedom of the City (1288, 1292, 1294, 1295).

1. Patrimony. The Freeman, legitimate son of a Norwich Freeman was entitled to admission at the minimum age of sixteen years and, if not already apprenticed in some other craft, was enrolled in that of his father.

2. Service. An apprentice who had served a Norwich Freeman for a term of at least seven years, and had proved himself to be a competent workman and who had received a formal notice, in whole or in part, was expected to take up his Freedom.

3. Purchase. "Whomever", living within or without the city, could purchase their Freedom or admission that they were exercising and were enrolled in their respective crafts and that the Masters of these crafts assented to their

APPENDIX SEVEN.ADMISSIONS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE WORSTED INDUSTRY TO THE  
FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF NORWICH.

The data have been extracted from three printed calendars of the Freemen of Norwich:-

1. "Calendar of the Freemen of Norwich from 1317 to 1603", compiled by John L'Estrange and edited by Walter Rye (1888).
2. "The Register of the Freemen of Norwich, 1548-1713", a transcript by Percy Millican (1934).
3. "The Freemen of Norwich, 1714-1752", a transcript of the Third Register by Percy Millican (1952).

A valuable summary of the regulations governing freedom and apprenticeship is contained in the Introduction to the second of these volumes. Without taking up his freedom, no man might pursue a trade and employ apprentices, or engage in retail trade. The most important liabilities of a freeman were that he should pay all municipal charges and bear any offices in city or craft government to which he might be elected.

There were four conditions of admission to the freedom: (Millican (1934), pp.xiv-xv).

1. Patrimony. The freeborn, legitimate son of a Norwich freeman was entitled to admission at the minimum age of sixteen years and, if not already apprenticed in some other craft, was enrolled in that of his father.

2. Service. An apprentice who had served a Norwich freeman for a term of at least seven years, who had proved himself to be a competent workman and who had become a householder, in whole or in part, was expected to take up his freedom.

3. Purchase. "Foreigners", living within or without the city, could purchase their freedom on condition that they were exercising and were enrolled in their respective crafts and that the Masters of those crafts assented to their

enfranchisement. (1) This means of entry was temporarily prohibited in 1554.

4. Order of the Assembly. The Assembly had power to grant admission to the freedom to any person who, by virtue of his rank, learning or great technical skill, would be likely to benefit the community.

Since some relationship would be expected between the number of admissions to the freedom and the prosperity of the city and the industry, the numbers of admissions of men and women connected with the worsted industry (and other wool-using occupations) have been extracted from the three calendars. The annual figures of such admissions were converted to quinquennial ones and a three-year moving average applied; the resultant figures are plotted on the graph.

It is clear from the graph that Rye's early calendar of admissions was inaccurate (he edited L'Estrange's ms. without reference to the original roll, and warns readers that there may be some errors of transcription; there appear also to be omissions). For the short period when the graphs from Rye's and Millican's lists overlap, the latter must be considered as the reliable one; satisfactory conclusions cannot, therefore, be drawn from the former graph but, if roughly accurate, it would illustrate the prosperity of the worsted industry in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the depression of the late fifteenth, and the temporary improvement at the beginning of the sixteenth century, followed by the permanent decline of the traditional worsted industry.

---

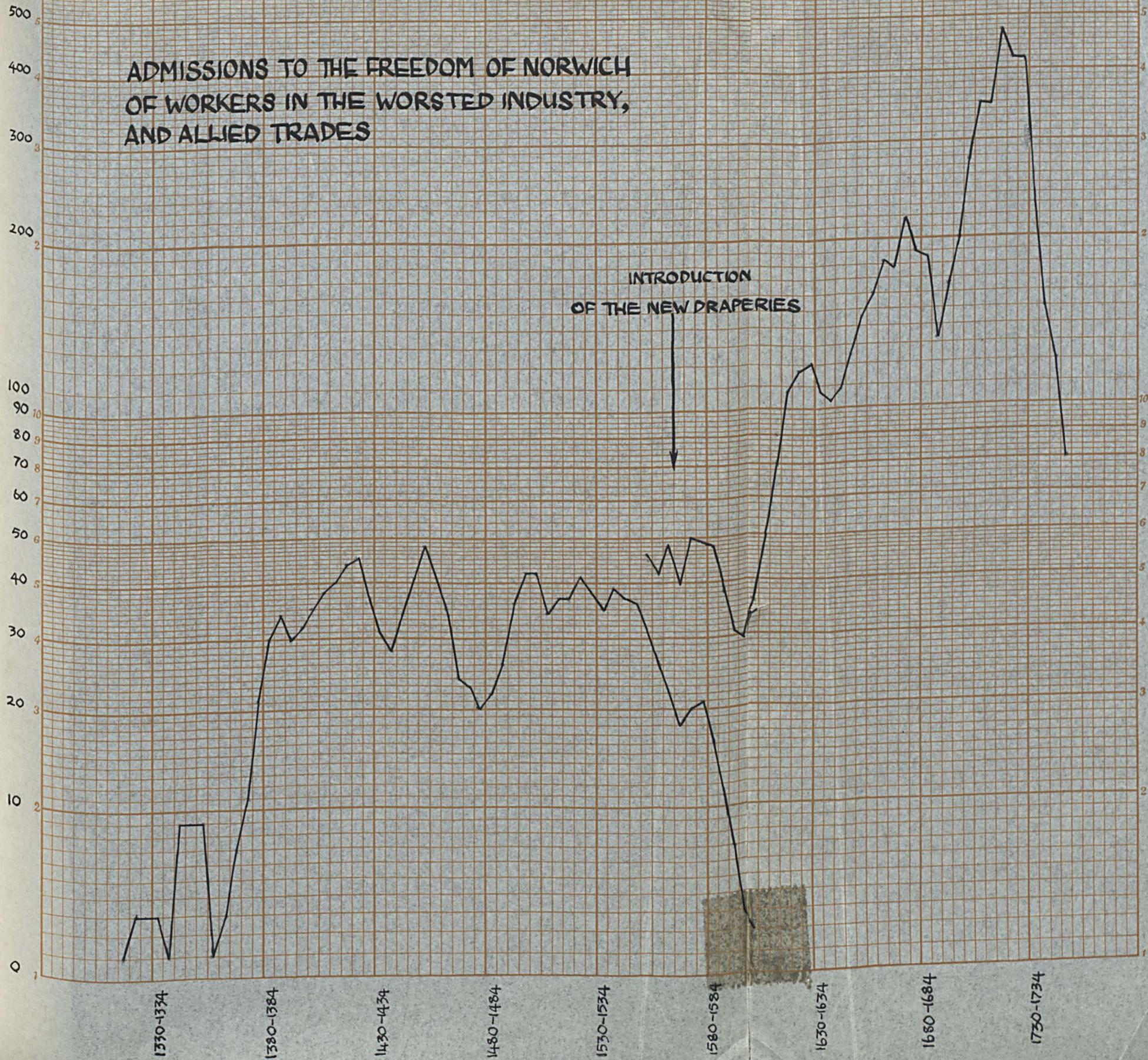
(1) In the seventeenth century, "The fines to be paid by the several persons admitted to their freedoms as Forreignrs" were: linen and woollen drapers, mercers, haberdashers of hats - £25; hosiers, haberdashers of small wares - £20; glovers, fellmongers - £10; dornix and worsted weavers - £5; hotpressers and shearmen - £3 (n.b. these are the trades of interest here, others are included in the Ms. too). Book of the By-laws of Trades, N.C.M.R., Case 17, Shelf d., undated. In 1665, two London merchants were considered for their freedom on payment of £30 each (they were also discharged from bearing offices in Norwich). C.B.23/246.

The graph drawn from Millican's two transcriptions illustrates the delayed recovery after the introduction of the new draperies, the greatly increased numbers of admissions in these trades after the turn of the sixteenth century, and the great prosperity of the Norwich Stuffs industry, not permanently retarded until the early eighteenth century when numbers of admissions fall off rapidly.

N.B. If the graph drawn from Rye's calendar had been accurate, it would have been possible to seek detailed correlation with a number of fourteenth century statutes which may have discouraged intending freemen,<sup>(1)</sup> and with developments in the Norwich craft regulations.<sup>(2)</sup> There is, in fact, need for another published transcription to replace the L'Estrange-Rye calendar.

- (1) For example, the statutes of 1335 (Statute of York), giving all persons liberty to trade with whom they liked; 1351, opening retail trade to all native and alien merchants; 1378-9 (Statute of Gloucester), restricting retail trade to citizens and burgesses only in the case of some large wares.
- (2) For example, the Composition of 1415, and the Ordinances for Crafts of 1449.

# ADMISSIONS TO THE FREEDOM OF NORWICH OF WORKERS IN THE WORSTED INDUSTRY, AND ALLIED TRADES





APPENDIX EIGHT

Rates for the subsidy of the new draperies, 1578.

( see text p. 613 )

<u>Cloth</u>	<u>Weight in lbs.</u>	<u>Subsidy in pence</u>
Double bays	29-30	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Middle bays	25-26	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Single bays	19 $\frac{1}{2}$ -20	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Freseados made of Penystones	28	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Freseados of Hastings making (1)	38	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Freseados of Worceters	60	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Fustian of Naples, the half piece	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Fustian of Naples, the whole piece	9	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Narrow grograines called buffins	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
the same	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Carrells	4	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Knit hose, knit stocks	the dozen	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Knit hose, long stocks	the dozen	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Mockadoes	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ -2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Pomettes or Plomettes, single piece	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ -3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Rashe of Stamell of Florence	25 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Broad Russells	7	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Narrow Russells	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ -5 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Serge of French sort	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ -11 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Silk says	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ -2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Broad says	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Half ell broad worsteds	7	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ell broad worsteds	17	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Valures	9	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Turtes or Tukes	6	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Spannish rugs	9-10	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
English rugs	6-6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Grograine chambletts	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Coxsall bays (2)	42	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

All other types of manufactures, such as bombasines and ollietts, were charged on an equivalent basis.

- (1) A type of freseado introduced into England by Mr. John Hastings; he had a grant of monopoly of its manufacture. Williams, art.cit., p. 354.
- (2) Coggeshall bays.

THE NORFOLK WORSTED WEAVING AREA

The identity of the worsted weaving area is defined by the following list of parishes, which are defined as those parishes in which the principal occupation of the population is the weaving of worsted cloth. The list is based on the information furnished by the parishes themselves, and is subject to change as the parishes themselves may alter their boundaries or their principal occupation.

The chief sources of reference are:-

1. The First and Second General Reports of the Board of Agriculture, 1862 and 1869, respectively.

2. The Report of the Deputy Surveyor in 1862, 1869, and 1873.

3. The Parliamentary Returns of the County of Norfolk, 1862, 1869, and 1873.

APPENDIX NINE.

THE NORFOLK WORSTED WEAVING AREA.

Parish 10	St. Andrew	Parish 11	St. Andrew
Parish 11	St. Andrew	Parish 12	St. Andrew
Parish 12	St. Andrew	Parish 13	St. Andrew
Parish 13	St. Andrew	Parish 14	St. Andrew
Parish 14	St. Andrew	Parish 15	St. Andrew
Parish 15	St. Andrew	Parish 16	St. Andrew
Parish 16	St. Andrew	Parish 17	St. Andrew
Parish 17	St. Andrew	Parish 18	St. Andrew
Parish 18	St. Andrew	Parish 19	St. Andrew
Parish 19	St. Andrew	Parish 20	St. Andrew
Parish 20	St. Andrew	Parish 21	St. Andrew
Parish 21	St. Andrew	Parish 22	St. Andrew
Parish 22	St. Andrew	Parish 23	St. Andrew
Parish 23	St. Andrew	Parish 24	St. Andrew
Parish 24	St. Andrew	Parish 25	St. Andrew
Parish 25	St. Andrew	Parish 26	St. Andrew
Parish 26	St. Andrew	Parish 27	St. Andrew
Parish 27	St. Andrew	Parish 28	St. Andrew
Parish 28	St. Andrew	Parish 29	St. Andrew
Parish 29	St. Andrew	Parish 30	St. Andrew
Parish 30	St. Andrew	Parish 31	St. Andrew
Parish 31	St. Andrew	Parish 32	St. Andrew
Parish 32	St. Andrew	Parish 33	St. Andrew
Parish 33	St. Andrew	Parish 34	St. Andrew
Parish 34	St. Andrew	Parish 35	St. Andrew
Parish 35	St. Andrew	Parish 36	St. Andrew
Parish 36	St. Andrew	Parish 37	St. Andrew
Parish 37	St. Andrew	Parish 38	St. Andrew
Parish 38	St. Andrew	Parish 39	St. Andrew
Parish 39	St. Andrew	Parish 40	St. Andrew
Parish 40	St. Andrew	Parish 41	St. Andrew
Parish 41	St. Andrew	Parish 42	St. Andrew
Parish 42	St. Andrew	Parish 43	St. Andrew
Parish 43	St. Andrew	Parish 44	St. Andrew
Parish 44	St. Andrew	Parish 45	St. Andrew
Parish 45	St. Andrew	Parish 46	St. Andrew
Parish 46	St. Andrew	Parish 47	St. Andrew
Parish 47	St. Andrew	Parish 48	St. Andrew
Parish 48	St. Andrew	Parish 49	St. Andrew
Parish 49	St. Andrew	Parish 50	St. Andrew
Parish 50	St. Andrew	Parish 51	St. Andrew
Parish 51	St. Andrew	Parish 52	St. Andrew
Parish 52	St. Andrew	Parish 53	St. Andrew
Parish 53	St. Andrew	Parish 54	St. Andrew
Parish 54	St. Andrew	Parish 55	St. Andrew
Parish 55	St. Andrew	Parish 56	St. Andrew
Parish 56	St. Andrew	Parish 57	St. Andrew
Parish 57	St. Andrew	Parish 58	St. Andrew
Parish 58	St. Andrew	Parish 59	St. Andrew
Parish 59	St. Andrew	Parish 60	St. Andrew
Parish 60	St. Andrew	Parish 61	St. Andrew
Parish 61	St. Andrew	Parish 62	St. Andrew
Parish 62	St. Andrew	Parish 63	St. Andrew
Parish 63	St. Andrew	Parish 64	St. Andrew
Parish 64	St. Andrew	Parish 65	St. Andrew
Parish 65	St. Andrew	Parish 66	St. Andrew
Parish 66	St. Andrew	Parish 67	St. Andrew
Parish 67	St. Andrew	Parish 68	St. Andrew
Parish 68	St. Andrew	Parish 69	St. Andrew
Parish 69	St. Andrew	Parish 70	St. Andrew
Parish 70	St. Andrew	Parish 71	St. Andrew
Parish 71	St. Andrew	Parish 72	St. Andrew
Parish 72	St. Andrew	Parish 73	St. Andrew
Parish 73	St. Andrew	Parish 74	St. Andrew
Parish 74	St. Andrew	Parish 75	St. Andrew
Parish 75	St. Andrew	Parish 76	St. Andrew
Parish 76	St. Andrew	Parish 77	St. Andrew
Parish 77	St. Andrew	Parish 78	St. Andrew
Parish 78	St. Andrew	Parish 79	St. Andrew
Parish 79	St. Andrew	Parish 80	St. Andrew
Parish 80	St. Andrew	Parish 81	St. Andrew
Parish 81	St. Andrew	Parish 82	St. Andrew
Parish 82	St. Andrew	Parish 83	St. Andrew
Parish 83	St. Andrew	Parish 84	St. Andrew
Parish 84	St. Andrew	Parish 85	St. Andrew
Parish 85	St. Andrew	Parish 86	St. Andrew
Parish 86	St. Andrew	Parish 87	St. Andrew
Parish 87	St. Andrew	Parish 88	St. Andrew
Parish 88	St. Andrew	Parish 89	St. Andrew
Parish 89	St. Andrew	Parish 90	St. Andrew
Parish 90	St. Andrew	Parish 91	St. Andrew
Parish 91	St. Andrew	Parish 92	St. Andrew
Parish 92	St. Andrew	Parish 93	St. Andrew
Parish 93	St. Andrew	Parish 94	St. Andrew
Parish 94	St. Andrew	Parish 95	St. Andrew
Parish 95	St. Andrew	Parish 96	St. Andrew
Parish 96	St. Andrew	Parish 97	St. Andrew
Parish 97	St. Andrew	Parish 98	St. Andrew
Parish 98	St. Andrew	Parish 99	St. Andrew
Parish 99	St. Andrew	Parish 100	St. Andrew

APPENDIX NINE. THE NORFOLK WORSTED WEAVING AREA.

The identity of the villages shown on Map 15. The larger centres are Norwich, King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth.

To enable the villages to be identified on the Map, they are grouped according to the kilometre squares of the National Grid.

The chief sources of reference are:-

- 1) The First and Second Worsted Weavers' Books, in the Norwich Corporation Muniment Room.
- 2) A note of money owing to the deputy alnager in 1602, see text, p. 625.
- 3) The testamentary inventories at the Bishop's Chapel, Norwich.

Square 40	Salthouse	Square 21	Aylesham Booton Cawston Heydon Ingworth Marsham Oulton Witchingham, Great
Square 30	Holt Hunworth		
Square 31	Baconsthorpe Hempstead Plumstead		
Square 32	Antingham Bradfield Colby Repps, North Suffield Swafield Walsham, North	Square 22	Banningham Burgh-next-Aylesham Buxton Felmingham Hevingham Lammas Ruston, Sco Scottow Sloley Skeyton Stratton Strawless Swanton Abbot Tuttington Westwick
Square 33	Walcott Witton		
Square 29	Elmham, North		
Square 20	Bawdswell Billingford Dalling, Wood Foulsham Foxley Reepham	Square 23	Barton Turf Brumstead Catfield Honing Neatishead Ruston, East Smallburgh Stalham Tunstead Worstead

Square 19	Dereham, East Scarning	Square 91	Carleton Rode Tacolneston
Square 10	Mattishall Burgh Yaxham	Square 93	Chedgrave Loddon
Square 11	Alderford Attlebridge Drayton Easton Felthorpe Horsford	Square 88	Thetford
		Square 82	Starston
		Square 85	Gisleham (Suffolk)
Square 12	Belaugh Catton Coltishall Hainford Hellesdon Horsham St. Faith Horstead Sprowston		
Square 13	Hoveton St. John Ludham Walsham, South		
Square 09	Shipdham		
Square 00	Barnham Broom Carleton Forhoe Crownthorpe Deopham Hingham		
Square 01	Wymondham		
Square 02	Heigham Pockthorpe		
Square 90	Attleborough		

The linen weavers' villages shown on the map are:-

Aldeby	Hempnall
Attleborough	Methwold
Aylesham	Mundford
Bressingham	Pulham St. Mary Magdalene
Burston	Pulham St. Mary the Virgin
Deopham	Redenhall
Dickleburgh	Rockland Tofts
Eccles	Shropham
Ellingham, Great	Skeyton
Hargham	Snettisham
	Winfarthing
	Wymondham

APPENDIX III.  
WORSTED WEAVERS' INVENTORIES.

APPENDIX TEN.

WORSTED WEAVERS' INVENTORIES.

APPENDIX TEN. WORSTED WEAVERS' INVENTORIES.

TABLE ONE. CITY WORSTED WEAVERS, 1590-1620.

The values are all in shillings.

Aliens are indicated thus \*

The trade abbreviations are: W.W. = Worsted weaver

D.W. = Dornix weaver

S.W. = Silk weaver

W. = Weaver

Where the trade has been inferred from the contents of the inventory, the abbreviation is given in brackets.

Name	Reference	Date	Trade	Total	Number of Looms	Weaving Equip-ment	Yarn & Cloth	Debts	Rest
Allen, Richard	Eades 71	1597	W.W.	59	1	21	-	-	38
Arnold, Richard	Eldred 30	1615	W.W.	2600	4	22	-	1200	1378
Ashwell, William	Daniels 18	1610	W.W.	1241	-	-	-	1200	41
Baker, William	Johnson 7	1617	(W.W.)	2592	8	135	600	-	1857
Barker, Edmund	Skete 16	1592	W.W.	460	-	(Illeg)	(Illeg)	-	?
Beavis, Nicholas	Box 124	1606	D.W.	7860	10	220	3920	2780	940
Bigger, Elizabeth	Palmer 121	1603	(W)	80	1	12	-	-	68
Bingham, Richard	Feveryear 167	1612	W.	506	-	-	-	300	206
Barnie, John	Box 138	1598	W.	92	1	20	-	-	72
Carter, John	Eldred 52	1615	(D.W)	1148	2	34	174	840	100
* De Gokelave, Pieter	Daniels 97	1610	(W.W.)	3032	3	40	1286	1100	606
Duglas, Robert	Johnson 87	1617	W.W.	3090	9	191	537	58	2244
Geyton, Paul	Johnson 157	1617	W.W.	4670	7	199	1747	2000	724
* Le Martin, Jhon	Mason 137	1619	(W.W.)	1429	4	65	978	-	386
Mathew, William	Snowden 239	1602	D.W.	3315	4	98	49	-	2253
* Mortellette, Abraham	Wickham 104	1621	(W.W.)	277	2	42	-	-	235
Neckoll, John	Jeg 179	1613	W.W.	1340	-	-	-	1210	130
* Ployer, Mathew	Palmer 117	1603	S.W.	3127	14	1925	763	-	439
Pointer, Thomas	Box 373, No. 88	1584	W.W.	1063	-	2	347	385	329
Procketer, Christopher	Skete 62	1592	(W.W.)	637	5	43	89	309	196
* Resteloot, Charles	Daniels 135	1610	W.	306	-	-	-	-	306
Spurforth, William	Palmer 160	1603	(W.W.)	567	6	40	370	-	157
* Van Sarra, Garrad	Mason 120	1619	(W.W.)	404	1	36	-	-	368
* Van Vectricke, Charles	Skete 100	1592	(W.W.)	466	4	9	14	-	443
Ward, William	Palmer 249	1601	(W.W.)	150	3	4	14	-	132
(Illegible)	Johnson 51	1617	(W.W.)	1500	7	172	272	360	696
(Illegible)	Palmer 113	1603	(W.W.)	731	6	?	?	-	569
(Illegible)	Box 373, No. 192	1598	W.W.	394	-	-	-	100	294

TABLE TWO. COUNTRY WORSTED WEAVERS, 1590-1620.

The values are all in shillings.

The trade abbreviations are: W.W. = Worsted weaver

D.W. = Dornix weaver

W. = Weaver.

Where the trade has been inferred from the contents of the inventory, the abbreviation is given in brackets.

Name	Reference	Date	Trade	Total	Crops & Animals	Number of Looms	Weav- ing Equip- ment	Yarn & Cloth	Debts	Rest
Brettingham, Edmund of Baconsthorpe	Jedaine 152	1611	W.W.	5683	310	-	-	-	4800	563
Foxe, Thomas, senior of Great Melton	Jedaine 304	1611	(W)	467	235	1	10	-	-	222
Fryer, William of Moulton	Eades 52	1597	W.	307	80	-	16	-	-	211
Heringes, Henry of Beetley	Taylor 131	1591	(W)	529	374	1	20	7	-	128
Kinge, James of Worstead	Johnson 115	1617	(W.W.)	7032 <sup>(a)</sup>	-	6	177	2136	4432	287
Leame, John of Ingham	Stamfer 174	1618	W.	180	-	2	13	-	-	167
Marten, Edmund of Welbourne	Pecke 51	1598	(W)	334	268	?	27	-	-	39
Richman, Robert of North Walsham	Palmer 119	1603	W.W.	955	375	3	33	-	-	547
Sadde, Robert of Forncett St. Peter	Box 138, No. 138.	1605	W.	440	4	2	70	-	240	126
Scottowe, John of Catton	Eldred 162	1615	W.W.	2742	-	-	-	-	2360	382
Skorles, John of Mundham	Skete 114	1592	(W)	700	586	2	15	-	-	99
Stywardeson, James of Aylesham	Box 153	1611	(D.W.)	2246	263	6	140	516	1045	282
Tracye, Geoffrey of East Ruston	Johnson 45	1617	W.	1368	738	3	140	6	17	467
Usher, Nicholas (place unstated)	Daniels 110	1610	W.	174	-	6	65	-	-	109
Waker, John of Blofield	Box 124	1606	(W)	173	-	3	21	-	-	152
Wignall, Robert of Trunch	Snowden 52	1602	(W)	415	303	3	10	-	-	102
Write, Edward of Stratton	Myles 375	1593	(W.W.)	458	112	3	30	100	-	216

(a) Kinge's inventory does not include household goods, plate, corn and cattle, all of which had been bequeathed in his will.

TABLE THREE. CITY AND COUNTRY WEAVERS, 1630-1642.

The values are all in shillings.

Aliens are indicated thus: †

The trade abbreviations are: W.W. = Worsted Weaver D.W. = Dornix weaver W. = Weaver

Where the trade has been inferred from the contents of the inventory, the abbreviation is given in brackets.

Name	Reference	Date	Trade	Total	Number of Looms	Weaving Equipment	Yarn & Cloth	Debts	Rest	
Allen, Edmund	Parker 195	1640	(W)	207	1	15	-	-	192	
Blomefield, Augustine	Box 109	1637	(W.W.)	1211	3	158	217	-	836	
Cooper, Thomas	Browne	1636	W.W.	69	-	-	-	-	69	
Farrar, James	Sandon 98	1632	W.W.	79	-	-	-	-	79	
Goodwyng, Richard	Goodram 56	1632	(W.W.)	4398	6	210	760	2514	914	
† Le Febvre, John	Sayer 92	1642	(W.W.)	15196	14	420	5293	5800	3683	
Nicholls, Thomas	Parker 143	1640	(W.W.)	4915	7	210	1560	1978	1167	
Ollie, George	Parker 107	1640	D.W.	225	-	-	-	-	225	
Pleasants, John	Parker 136	1640	(W.W.)	11542	7	249	3112	6922	1259	
Robartes, John	Gillingwater 6	1630	W.W.	474	-	-	10	-	464	
Sowth, Thomas	Goodram 295	1632	(D.W.)	4000	8	221	831	2020	928	
Woolnough, Anthony	Sayer 15	1641	W.W.	1319	-	-	-	-	1319	
<u>Country:</u>										
Rame, Henry of Costessey	Box 124	1637	(W)	345	3	40	-	-	222	Crops & Animals 83
(Illegible) of Norfolk	Box 153	1637	W.W.	4780	?	230	1104	400	1601	1445

TABLE FOUR. CITY WORSTED WEAVERS, 1660-1693.

The values are all in shillings.

The trade abbreviations are:- W.W. = Worsted weaver W. = Weaver

Where the trade has been inferred from the contents of the inventory, the abbreviation is given in brackets.

Name	Reference	Date	Trade	Total	Number of Looms	Weaving Equipment	Yarn & Cloth	Debts	Rest
Baker, John, senior	Hacon 115	1693	W.W.	1072	2	70	280	477	245
Barker, Adam	Terrold 10	1671	W.W.	210	1	15	-	-	195
Barker, Thomas	Browne	1662	W.W.	14100	3	222	6122	6400	1356
Barnard, Thomas	Adams 19	1682	(W.W.)	1737	3	107	894	444	292
Birde, James	Hacon 64	1692	(W.W.)	5061	3	116	1205	3180	560
Brathwait, John	Burnell 77	1666	W.W.	5446	3	100	1057	2254	2035
Browne, William	Daynes 41	1681	W.W.	2356	4	70	1380	520	386
Burlingham, John	Daynes 67	1673	(W.W.)	1548	2	70	540	28	902
Cockman, Thomas	Adams 49	1684	(W.W.)	300	2	16	76	120	88
Crom, George	Gawdye 39	1682	(W)	516	1	45	-	-	471
Curle, Richard	Cobb 52	1665	W.W.	33497	8	454	11188	19253	2602
Dawson, Benjamin	Terrold 47	1671	W.W.	4732	1	72	1419	3000	241
Edgely, Richard	Burnell 41	1666	W.W.	8961	3	79	540	7261	1081
Gilbird, Thomas	Daynes 50	1681	(W.W.)	1576	3	125	660	-	791
Greenwood, Miles	Daynes 66	1681	(W.W.)	2141	-	54	1006	760	321
Hall, Henry	Burnell 10	1666	W.W.	186	2	25	55	30	76
Harper, John	Adams 27	1683	W.W.	980	-	-	-	-	980
Moly, Clement	Adams 14	1682	(W)	150	1	10	-	-	140
Otber, William	Adams 23	1683	(W.W.)	1337	3	115	680	-	542
Sharpe, William	Frary 16	1673	(W)	1119	1	37	-	-	1082
Smith, Lionel	Wales 62	1675	(W.W.)	1835	3	65	408	-	1362
Taylor, Edward	Palgrave 80	1685	(W.W.)	2050	3	93	938	550	469
Tubbing, Anthony	Adams 12	1682	(W.W.)	23701	4	271	5460	14535	3435
Watts, John	Adams 21	1683	(W)	1128	1	51	-	200	877
Watts, William	Gawdye 12	1681	(W.W.)	1897	2	254	577	-	1066
Wythe, John	Hacon 92	1693	W.W.	676	2	30	-	-	646
(Illegible)	Cartwright 52	1678	W.W.	1095	3	67	86	333	609

TABLE FIVE. COUNTRY WORSTED WEAVERS, 1660-1693.

The values are all in shillings.

The trade abbreviations are:- W.W. = Worsted weaver W. = Weaver D.W. = Dornix Weaver  
Where the trade has been inferred from the contents of the inventory,  
the abbreviation is given in brackets.

Name	Reference	Date	Trade	Total	Crops & Animals	Number of Looms	Weaving Equipment	Yarn & Cloth	Debts	Rest
Brady, John of Aylesham	Baley 14	1664	W.W.	12180	340	4	200	510	9280	1850
Bubbin, Francis of Hingham	Smith 4	1662	(W.W.)	10450	1736	5	290	3117	2781	2526
Carter, John of Carleton Rode	Box 137	1663	(W.W.)	1216	400	1	25	-	-	791
Claydon, Edward of North Walsham	Stapelton 11	1662	W.W.	351	104	1	20	-	29	198
Collingham, Thomas of Weston	Reynolds 33	1662	(W)	2748	1475	3	120	-	120	1033
Coulson, William of Swanton Abbott	Browne	1661	W.W.	4246	1880	6	210	-	480	1676
Ellis, James of Smallburgh	Cupper 68	1677	(W)	646	57	1	12	-	400	177
Hodson, John of North Walsham	Box 103	1663	W.W.	5373	1556	3	114	2538	405	760
Howse, Robert of Attleborough	Cupper 162	1677	(W)	428	153	1	15	-	-	260
Hudson, Robert of Shipdham	Cupper 119	1677	W.W.	4648	2465	4	180	-	-	2003
Kirbye, Robert of Antingham	Terrold 65	1671	W.W.	12430	1548	4	185	2380	7162	1155
Lowgars, Thomas of Hunworth	Cupper 117	1677	W.W.	129	16	2	13	-	-	100
Rivett, James of Starston	Cupper 78	1677	W.W.	2405	-	-	-	-	2365	40
Rix, Christopher of Carleton Forhoe	Reynolds 71	1663	(W.W.)	8088	1756	4	152	1873	2782	1525
Rogger, Nicholas of Gisleham, Suffolk	Box 138	1665	W.W.	3306	140	2	40	-	2000	1126
Secker, Francis of Scarning	Cupper 53	1677	W.W.	3990	878	2	80	1026	1100	906
Selke, John of Bawdeswell	Smith 82	1662	W.W.	65	-	-	-	-	-	65
Stone, John of Toft Monks	Cupper 170	1677	(W)	551	-	1	20	200	20	311
Taylor, Richard of Felthorpe	Palgrave 144	1685	W.W.	555	240	2	40	-	-	275
Ward, John, Junior of Tacolneston	Abell 84	1669	W.W.	10128	2571	4	219	3669	2318	1351
Williams, Thomas of Yaxham	Withers 83	1668	W.W.	715	143	1	24	-	-	548
(Illegible) of Westwick	Palgrave 56	1683	D.W.	910	387	2	20	-	-	503



APPENDIX ELEVEN.ENGLISH EXPORTS AND IMPORTS, tempus James I.

(P.R.O. S.P. 14/189/34(42) - undated) (My underlining)

<u>Company</u>	<u>Commodities shipped outwards</u>	<u>Commodities brought in</u>
Marchant Adven- turers.	Clothes vndrest Kentish and Reedinge (cloths) drest Northern Clothes & Nor(thern) dozens drest Hampshire & Nor(thern) kerseys Devonshire dozens Bayes of all sortes Saffron <u>Worsted stockings</u> Tyn and Leade	Silkes of all sortes venice gould Lynnen cloth of all sortes ffustians of all makings Steele Battrie Iremongers ware of all sorts Mather
Marchants of the Levant	Clothes of all sortes Hampshire kersies Bridgwaters Bayes Pewter, Tyn & Lead Iron <u>Worsted stockings</u> Black Coniskyns Sheepeskyns tawed Red heringes Mather Tallow of Muskovie Hydes Cavyarie	Currants Muskadyne Raw silke Grograines & chambletts Indico Galles Cotton wull Annysseeds Druggs of all sortes sweett oyles Brimstone & allome
Eastland Marchants	Clothes of all sortes drest Hampshire & Nor(thern) kerseys Conyskins stage & seasoned Black Conyskyns tawed Tyn & Pewter Sheepe skyns tawed	Cordage Hempe fflax Pitch and Tarr Waynskott & Clapboards Masts and Deales Sopeashes Eastridge & Polonia wull Wax Iron and Copper Sturgion

<u>Company</u>	<u>Commodities shipped outwards</u>	<u>Commodities brought in</u>
Muskovye Marchants	Clothes of all sortes drest Cottons Pewter Tyn & Leade Paper	Cordage fflax Wax Tallow Hydes Caviarie Trayne oyle ffurres of manie sortes Salted salmon
Barbary Marchants	Clothes of all sortes drest Pewter & Tyn Iron & Lead Lawnes & Cambricks Holland Cloth & all sortes of Lynen cloth	Sugars & Pannels Melasses Anneale Goatskyns Eastridge ffethers Almonds Dates Succatts wett & drie
To France by or Marchants	Clothes of all sortes drest Northern kerseys Devonshire dosens <u>Bayes</u> Cottons <u>Worsted stockings</u> <u>Sayes &amp; all sortes of Norwich stuffs</u> Leadd Wax Copprose Millen & Holmes ffust(ian)s	Gaskoyn wyne Tholose (Toulouse) woad Prunes ffethers Rozen Baie salte Normandy Canvas Paper & cards Buckroms Milstones and diuse sortes of haberdasher wares

It is yett vnknown, what comodities are vendible in the East Indies, They bringe from thence Spyces of all sortes.

<u>Company</u>	<u>Commodities shipped outwards</u>	<u>Commodities brought in</u>
...by oure Marchants for Spayne	Western & suff(olk) Clothes <u>Bayes</u> Devonshire Dozens <u>Saies, &amp; all sortes of</u> <u>Norwch stuffs</u> <u>Worsted stockings</u> Pewter Tyn & Lead Lynen Cloth of all sorts All eastland Comodities Wax	Sacks & Bastards Reysones ffiggs Cyvell (Seville) Oyle shumack Iron Spanish wull Almonds Corke



B I B L I O G R A P H Y.1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES.a. Public Record Office.

- C.1. Early Chancery Proceedings.
- C.2. Chancery Proceedings, Elizabeth.
- C.47. Chancery Miscellanea.
- C.66 Patent Rolls.
- C.78 Chancery Decree Rolls.
- C.134 Chancery Surveys.
- D.L.1 Duchy of Lancaster, Pleadings.
- D.L.3 Duchy of Lancaster, Depositions.
- D.L.43 Duchy of Lancaster, Rentals and Surveys.
- D.L.44 Duchy of Lancaster, Special Commissions.
- E.36 Treasury of the Receipt, Miscellaneous Books.
- E.101 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Accounts Various.
- E.111 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Bills, Answers and  
Depositions (Early).
- E.112 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Bills and Answers.
- E122 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Customs Accounts.
- E.123 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Decrees and Orders.
- E.133 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Depositions, Barons'.
- E.134 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Depositions taken  
by Commission
- E.159 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Memoranda Rolls.
- E.163 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Miscellanea.
- E.164 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Miscellaneous Books.
- E.178 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Special Commissions.
- E.179 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Lay Subsidy Returns.
- E.190 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Port Books.

- E.207 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Bills.
- E.315 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Augmentation Office,  
Miscellaneous Books.
- E.317 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Parliamentary Surveys,  
Norfolk.
- L.R.2 Land Revenue, Miscellaneous Books.
- M.R. Map Room.
- P.C.2 Privy Council Registers.
- Requ.2 Court of Requests Proceedings.
- S.C.11,12 Rentals and Surveys, General Series.
- S.P.10 State Papers (Domestic), Edward VI.
- S.P.12 State Papers (Domestic), Elizabeth.
- S.P.14 State Papers (Domestic), James I.
- S.P.15 State Papers (Domestic), Addenda, Elizabeth and  
James I.
- S.P.16 State Papers (Domestic), Charles I.
- S.P.18 State Papers (Domestic), Interregnum.
- S.P.29 State Papers (Domestic), Charles II.
- St.Ch. Court of Star Chamber Proceedings.
- Wards. Court of Wards Surveys.

b. British Museum.

Additional, Davy, Hargreaves, Harleian, Lansdowne and  
Stowe Mss; and Maps.

c. Other Collections.

- Archives of the Bishop of Norwich, inventories, in the Bishop's  
Chapel, Norwich.
- Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, temporalities, in  
the Cathedral Muniment Room, Norwich.
- Bedingfeld Mss., Oxborough Hall.
- Bodleian Library, Oxford, Mss. Collection.
- Cholmondeley (Houghton Mss.), in University Library,  
Cambridge.

City of Norwich Archives, in the City Muniment Room (N.C.M.R.)  
 Abbreviations used in the text are: A.B. - Assembly  
 Books; C.B. - Court Books.

Fritcham Mss., deposited in the Public Library, Norwich.

Great Yarmouth Corporation Archives, in the Town Hall.

King's College, Cambridge, Mss.. (K.C.C.)

Library of Political and Economic Science Mss. Collection,  
 in the London School of Economics.

L'Strange Mss., in the Shire Hall, Norwich.

Mss. in the private possession of Captain Hamond, Mousehold  
 House, Norwich.

Mss. of the Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall, Norfolk.

Public Library, Norwich, Mss. Collection. (N.P.L.)

University Library, Cambridge, Mss. Collection. (C.U.L.)

## 2. PRINTED SOURCES.

- Allison, K.J., "The Lost Villages of Norfolk", in Norfolk  
 Archaeology, Vol.31 (1955).
- Beloe, E.M., "Freebridge Marshland Hundred and the Making of  
 Lynn", in Norfolk Archaeology, Vol.12 (1895).
- Beresford, M.W., "The Poll Tax and Census of Sheep, 1549",  
 parts I and II, in Agricultural History Review,  
 Vols. 1 and 2 (1953, 1954).
- Beresford, M.W., "The Lost Villages of England" (1954).
- Bindoff, S.T., "Ket's Rebellion, 1549", Historical Association  
 Pamphlet (1949).
- Bindoff, S.T., "Tudor England", Penguin Books (1952).
- Bland, A.E., Brown, P.A., Tawney, R.H., "English Economic  
 History, Select Documents" (1914).
- Blomefield, F., "An Essay Towards a Topographical History of  
 the County of Norfolk" (1805-1810).
- Bowden, P.J., "The Internal Wool Trade in England during the  
 Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", unpublished  
 Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1952).
- Bowden, P.J., "Movements in Wool Prices, 1490-1610", in  
 Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research,  
 Vol.4, Number 2 (1952).
- Bradfer-Lawrence, H.L., "Gaywood Dragge, 1486-7", in Norfolk  
 Archaeology, Vol.24, (1932).

- Brown, P.A., Bland and Tawney; supra, under Bland.
- Calendars: Acts of the Privy Council.  
Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.  
State Papers, Domestic.
- Carthew, G.A., "The Hundred of Launditch", 3 parts (1878).
- Carus-Wilson, E.M., "The Aulnage Accounts: a Criticism", in  
Economic History Review, Vol.II, Number 1 (1929).
- Carus-Wilson, E.M., "Mediaeval Merchant Venturers" (1954).
- Carus-Wilson, E.M., "Essays in Economic History" (1954).
- Census Return of 1801, 2 volumes (1802).
- Chambers, J., "Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century" (1932)
- Christy, Miller, "Woollen Industry" in Victoria County History,  
Essex, Vol.II (1907).
- Clapham, J.H., "The Transference of the Worsted Industry from  
Norfolk to the West Riding", in Economic Journal,  
Vol.XX (1910).
- Clapham, J.H., "An Economic History of Modern Britain" (1926).
- Corbett, W.J., "Elizabethan Village Surveys", in Transactions  
of the Royal Historical Society, New Series,  
Vol.XI (1897).
- Cornwall, J., "Farming in Sussex, 1540-1640", in Sussex  
Archaeological Collections, Vol.92 (1954).
- Cozens-Hardy, B., "The Maritime Trade of the Port of Blakeney,  
Norfolk, 1587-1590", in Norfolk Record Society,  
Vol.VIII (1936).
- Cozens-Hardy, B., and Kent, E.A., "The Mayors of Norwich,  
1403 to 1835" (1938).
- Crabbe, Rev.G., "Report of the Muniments at Merton Hall,  
Norfolk", in Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany,  
Vol.III (1887).
- Cross, F.W., "History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church,  
Canterbury", Huguenot Society Publications, Vol.XV  
(1898).
- Crump, W.B. and Ghorbal, G., "History of the Huddersfield  
Woollen Industry", Tolson Memorial Museum  
(Huddersfield) Publications, Handbook No.IX (1935).
- Darby, H.C., "The Domesday Geography of Norfolk and Suffolk",  
in Geographical Journal, Vol.85 (1935).
- Darby, H.C., "The Domesday Geography of Eastern England" (1952).
- Darby, H.C., "An Historical Geography of England before  
A.D.1800" (1951).
- Darby, H.C., and Saltmarsh, J., "The Infield-Outfield System  
on a Norfolk Manor", in Economic History,  
Vol.3 (1937).
- Davenport, F.G., "The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor,  
1086-1565" (1906).
- Defoe, D., "A Tour through England and Wales", 1724-6, Vol.1  
of the edition in the Everyman Library, No.820(1948)
- Dictionary of National Biography.

- Douglas, D.C., "The Social Structure of Mediaeval East Anglia" (1927).
- Firth, C.H., and Rait, R.S., ed. "Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660" (1911).
- Fisher, F.J., "Commercial Trends and Policy in Sixteenth-Century England", in *Economic History Review*, Vol.10, Number 12 (1940).
- Fisher, F.J., "The Development of the London Food Market, 1540-1640", in *Economic History Review*, Vol.5, Number 2 (1935).
- Fisher, F.J., "London's Export Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century", in *Economic History Review*, Second Series Vol.III, Number 2 (1950).
- Fraser, "Sheep Farming" (1937).
- Friis, A., "Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade" (1927).
- Fussell, G.E., "Robert Loder's Farm Accounts, 1610-1620", *Camden Society*, Third Series, Vol.53 (1936).
- Gairdner, J., ed. "The Paston Letters, 1422-1509" (1904).
- Ghorbal, G., and Crump; *supra*, under Crump.
- Gray, H.L., "English Field Systems" (1915).
- Gurney, D., "Extracts from the Household and Privy Purse Accounts of the Lestranges of Hunstanton, from A.D.1519 to A.D.1578", *Archaeologia*, Vol.25 (1834).
- Haigh, H., and Newton, B.A., "The Wools of Britain" (1952).
- Hall, H., "A Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents" (1908-9).
- Hallam, H.E., "The New Lands of Elloe", University College of Leicester, Department of English Local History, Occasional Paper Number 6 (1954).
- Hammond, R.J., "The Social and Economic Circumstances of Ket's Rebellion", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London; briefly summarised in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol.12-13 (1934-6).
- Harris, "Pre-Enclosure Agricultural Systems in the East Riding of Yorkshire", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, (Hull University College) (1951).
- Harrod, H., "Some Details of a Murrain of the Fourteenth Century; from the Court Rolls of a Norfolk Manor", in *Archaeologia*, Vol.41 (1866).
- Harvey, Sir F., ed. Reyce's "Breviary of Suffolk" of 1618 (1902)
- Heaton, H., "The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries" (1920).
- Hewitt, E.M., "Cloth Making", in *Victoria County History*, Kent, Vol. III (1932).
- Hilton, R.H., "The Social Structure of Rural Warwickshire", *Dugdale Society*, Occasional Paper Number 9 (1950).

- Hilton, R.H., "Mediaeval Agrarian History", in Victoria County History, Leicestershire, Vol.II, (1954).
- Historical Manuscripts Commission, Reports on the Boycott, Chester Corporation, Duke of Marlborough, Gawdy, Gurney, House of Lords, King's Lynn Corporation, Lothian, L'Strange, Marquis of Lothian, Salisbury, Stafford, Townshend, Thetford Corporation, Tresham, Trevor, Various, and Wodehouse Mss..
- Hoare, C.M., "Records of a Norfolk Village" (Sidestrand) (1914)
- Hoskins, W.G., "The Leicestershire Farmer in the Sixteenth Century", in Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, Vol.22 (1941-5).
- Hoskins, W.G., "Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688-1800" (1935).
- Hoskins, W.G., ed. "Studies in Leicestershire Agrarian History" (1949).
- House of Commons Journals.
- House of Lords Journals.
- Hudson, W., ed. John Kirkpatrick's "The Streets and Lanes of the City of Norwich" (1889).
- Hudson, W., "The Wards of the City of Norwich" (1891).
- Hudson, W., "The Assessment of the Townships of the County of Norfolk for the King's Tenths and Fifteenths, as settled in 1334", in Norfolk Archaeology, Vol.12 (1895).
- Hudson, W., "Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich", Selden Society, Vol.5 (1891).
- Hudson, W., and Tingey, J.C., compiled, "Revised Catalogue of the Records of the City of Norwich" (1898).
- Hudson, W., and Tingey, J.C., ed. and comp. "The Records of the City of Norwich", 2 volumes (1906, 1910).
- Huguenot Society of London, Vol.V (1898), anonymous notes.
- James, J., "History of the Worsted Manufacture in England from the earliest times" (1857).
- James, M., "Social Policy during the Puritan Revolution" (1930)
- Jessopp Rev.A., "The Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich, 1492-1532", Camden Society, Vol.43 (1888).
- Kent, E.A. and Cozens-Hardy; supra, under Cozens-Hardy.
- Kent, N., "On Norfolk Sheep", in Annals of Agriculture, Vol.22 (1793).
- Kerridge, E., "The Agrarian Development of Wiltshire, 1540-1640", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, briefly summarised in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. 25 (1952)

- Kerridge, E., "The Sheepfold in Wiltshire and the Floating of the Watermeadows", in *Economic History Review*, Second Series, Vol.VI, Number 3 (1954).
- Leadam, I.S., "The Inquisition of 1517", in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, Vols.VI and VII (1892, 1893)
- Le Parquier, M.E., "Le Commerce Maritime de Rouen dans la Seconde Moitie du XVIIe Siecle", in the *Bulletin de la Societe Libre D'Emulation du Commerce et de L'Industrie de la Seine-Inferieure* (1928).
- Lingelbach, W.E., "The Merchant Adventurers of England" (1902)
- Lipson, E., "Economic History of England", Vol.I (seventh edition, 1937).
- Lyell, L., "Acts of Court of the Mercers Company" (1936)
- Mann, J. de L., and Wadsworth; *infra*, under Wadsworth.
- Marshall, "The Rural Economy of Norfolk", 2 volumes (1795).
- Marshall, L., "The Rural Population of Bedfordshire, 1671-1921" *Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, Vol.XVI, (1934).
- Martin, A., "Index to repertories, books of orders, and decrees and other records preserved in the Court of Exchequer" (1819).
- Mascall, L., "The Gouvernement of Cattell" (1596).
- Meekings, C.A.F., A note on the hearth tax, in *Victoria County History, Cambridgeshire*, Vol.IV (1953).
- Mendenhall, J.C., "The Shrewsbury Drapers and the Welsh Wool Trade in the XVith and XVIIth Centuries" (1953).
- Millican, P., "The Register of the Freemen of Norwich, 1548-1713" (1934).
- Millican, P., "A History of Horstead and Stanninghall, Norfolk" (1937).
- Millican, P., "The Freemen of Norwich, 1714-1752" (1952).
- Moens, W.J.C., "The Walloons and their Church at Norwich, 1565-1832" (1888).
- Morey, G., "East Anglian Society in the Fifteenth Century", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (1951)
- Morgan, E.V., "The Study of Prices and the Value of Money", *Historical Association* (1950).
- Morgan, M., "Select Documents of the English lands of the Abbey of Bec", *Camden Society*, Third Series, Vol.LXXIII (1951).
- Mosby, J.E.G., "The Land of Britain", Part 70, *Norfolk* (1938).
- Nef, J.U., "Industry and Government in France and England, 1540-1640" (1940).
- Notestein, W., Relf, F.H., and Simpson, H., eds. "Commons Debates, 1621". (1935).
- Pilgrim, J.E., "The Cloth Industry in Essex and Suffolk, 1558-1640", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, briefly summarised in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol.16-17 (1938-40)

- Plumb, J.H., "Sir Robert Walpole and Norfolk Husbandry", in *Economic History Review*, Second Series, Vol.V, Number 1 (1952).
- Power, E., and Tawney, R.H.; *infra*, under Tawney.
- Pritchard, M.F.Lloyd, "The Decline of Norwich", in *Economic History Review*, Vol.III, Number 3 (1951).
- Rait, R.S., and Firth; *supra*, under Firth.
- Ramsay, G.D., "The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (1943).
- Relf, F.H., Notestein and Simpson, *supra*, under Notestein.
- Riches, N., "The Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk" (1937).
- Robinson, C.B., ed. "The Farming and Account Books of Henry Best", *Surtees Society*, Vol.33 (1857).
- Rochefoucauld, F.de la, "A Frenchman in England, 1784" (ed. J. Marchand, translated S.C. Roberts) (1933).
- Rogers, J.E.T., "A History of Agriculture and Prices in England", Vol.IV, 1401-1582 (1882), and Vol.V, 1583-1702 (1887).
- Rye, W., "Some Rough Materials for a History of the Hundred of North Erpingham", 3 parts (1883).
- Rye, W., ed., "Calendar of the Freemen of Norwich from 1317 to 1603" (1888).
- Rye, W., comp., "Notes from the Court Books of the City of Norwich from 1666 to 1688" (1903).
- Rye, W., "State Papers relating to Norfolk" (1907).
- Sachse, W.L., ed., "Minutes of the Norwich Court of Mayoralty, 1630-1631", *Norfolk Record Society*, Vol.VV (1942).
- Saltmarsh, J., and Darby; *supra*, under Darby.
- Saunders, H.W., "Murrain among cattle at Sechford, Norfolk in 1279", in *History Teachers' Miscellany*, Vol. I (1922).
- Saunders, H.W., "An Introduction to the Obedientiary and Manor Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory" (1930).
- Saunders, H.W., ed., "The Official Papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Norfolk", *Camden Society*, Third Series, Vol.XXVI (1915).
- Sellers, M., ed., "The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers" *Surtees Society*, Vol.129 (1918).
- Simpson, H., Notestein and Relf; *supra*, under Notestein.
- Skeat, W.W., ed., Fitzherbert's "The Book of Husbandry" of 1534, *English Dialect Society* (1882).
- Spratt, J., "Agrarian Conditions in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1600-1650", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London (1935).

- Statutes of the Realm, Record Commission (1810-1828).
- Steele, R., ed., "Tudor and Stuart Proclamations" (1910).
- Stone, L., "State Control in Sixteenth Century England", in *Economic History Review*, Vol.17, Number 2 (1947).
- Stone, L., "Elizabethan Overseas Trade", in *Economic History Review*, Vol.II, Number 1 (1949).
- Tait, J., "Taxation in Salford Hundred, 1524-1802", Chetham Society Publications, New Series, Vol.83 (1924).
- Taylor, J., "The Carriers' Cosmography" (1637).
- Tawney, R.H., "The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century" (1912).
- Tawney, R.H., Bland and Brown; *supra*, under Bland.
- Tawney, R.H., and Power, E., "Tudor Economic Documents" (1924).
- Thirsk, J., "Fenland Farming in the Sixteenth Century", University College of Leicester, Department of English Local History, Occasional Paper Number 3 (1953).
- Thirsk, J., "Agrarian History, 1540-1950", in *Victoria County History, Leicestershire*, Vol.II (1954).
- Thornton, G.A., "A History of Clare, Suffolk" (1928).
- Thrupp, S., "The Grocers of London. A Study of Distributive Trade", in Power, E., and Postan, M.M., "Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century" (1933).
- Tingey, J.C., and Hudson, *supra*, under Hudson.
- Topsell, E., "The Historie of Fovre-Footed Beastes" (1607).
- Unwin, G., "Industrial Organisation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (1904).
- Unwin, G., "Woollen Cloth - the Old Draperies", in *Victoria County History, Suffolk*, Vol.II (1907).
- Vellacott, C.H., "Textiles", in *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, Vol.V (1912).
- Victoria County History of England: Essex, Cambridgeshire, Hampshire, Kent, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Suffolk.
- Wadsworth, A.P., and Mann, J.de L., "The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780" (1931).
- Willan, T.S., "The English Coasting Trade, 1600-1750" (1938).
- Williams, N.J., "Francis Shaxton and the Elizabethan Port Books" in *English Historical Review*, Vol.66 (1951).
- Williams, N.J., "Two Documents Concerning the New Draperies", in *Economic History Review*, Second Series, Vol.IV, Number 3 (1952).

- Willson, D.H., "The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer,  
1606-1607" (1931).
- Young, A., "Tour Through the East" (1771).
- Young, A., "A General View of the Agriculture of the County  
of Norfolk" (1804)