Notes and Documents

THE GRIMSBY LAY SUBSIDY ROLL OF 1297

S. H. Rigby

South Humberside Area Record Office is fortunate in possessing a fragment of a local taxavers' roll for the taxation (or 'subsidy') of a 'ninth' of 1297. Few of these rolls have survived but those that have, offer valuable information to the historian. Not only are they of use to the administrative and local historian but can also help those wishing to use such taxes as statistical indicators of late medieval economic trends. By 1297 the principle of taxing personal property in the form of moveable wealth was well established. In both rural and urban districts animals and grain were valued for taxation. Many medieval towns were at least part-time agricultural interests. In addition a variety of household goods were valued and taxed in urban areas such as the silver spoons and mazer cups belonging to William Welburne in Grimsby.

Individual tax renders were calculated as a fraction of the total value of these goods. (In this case a 'ninth'). Assessment was by local men who prepared a detailed roll listing individuals taxed, their possessions and values and the tax due from them. A duplicate of this local roll was passed on to the chief taxers of the area. In 1297 chief taxers were appointed for the whole of Lincolnshire while from 1313 onwards Lindsey, Holland and Kesteven were separately assessed and administered.

These chief taxers in turn produced a roll containing only the minimum information needed for tax collection, that is to say the names of individual taxpayers and the tax due from them. A duplicate of this less detailed roll was sent to the Exchequer and it is in this form that the bulk of lay subsidy rolls have survived. The local rolls were rarely needed by the central administration and so few now remain even in borough archives. Even the Grimsby roll is only a fragment of the original. The document (translated below) is a single membrane containing on one side the usual list of taxpayers, the values of their goods and their tax payments. It also contains a total value of assessed goods (£151 5s 8½d) and the total tax due from Grimsby (£16 1s 2½d). The tax total is repeated on the other side of the roll. Of the £151 of goods originally assessed the surviving fragment includes only £39. As this is only the final section of the roll there is no heading or date. The roll can however be dated from the rate of taxation. A 'ninth' was only used as the fraction of taxation twice, in 1297 and 1340. The 1340 roll survives at the Public Record Office in the form of a chief taxers' roll containing £10 15s of tax.

Thus the roll translated below must be that of 1297.

1297 was the fourth consecutive year of taxation and the 'ninth' was received with 'war weariness and impatience' by the taxpayers. Their mood and the increased regularity of taxation resulted in large scale tax evasion. In 1294 in the first of the four years of taxation Lincolnshire (excluding the boroughs and ancient demesne) paid £5,978 3s 3d. In 1297 when the tax rate had been increased from one tenth to one ninth and when we have information for the boroughs and demesne the county yielded only a total of £3,145 17s 3d. Grimsby may well have escaped lightly in 1297 but by 1334 the town was even more undervalued. After this latter year the variable assessments of previous taxes were abandoned and the 1334 tax quotas remained in use for the next three hundred years. In 1334 Lincolnshire's taxable value had risen by over sixty per cent since 1297. Grimsby's taxable value however had fallen by over thirty per cent from 1297 and the borough may have been considerably undervalued. This was not so dramatic however in terms of tax actually paid. By 1334 the county's tax render had risen by less than 1% while Grimsby's had fallen by over 40%.

Space does not allow extensive comment on the roll but it remains to point out some of its more local aspects. Trade in corn and herrings seems to have been an important feature of Grimsby's economic life and both of these commodities feature strongly in the roll. John Trane's 3,600 herrings were a surplus for sale not for private consumption. Robert le Porter on the other hand was taxed on food meant for personal consumption, 'in the larder'. A number of crafts are identifiable. Three men were taxed on tanned leather including Osmund the Tanner. Hugh the Oyer was assessed on wool while William de Waltham the pedlar was taxed on his merchandise. William de Grosale's ship valued at 25s must have been very small. In the following year we learn of a ship sold by the king to a Winchelsea man for £25. Grosale's vessel was perhaps a small fishing boat in which he caught his last of herring. Elias the Baker was one of a number of men taxed on grain.

Grimsby's taxpayers were left lightly in the valuations of their goods by their fellow townsman. The prices below should be compared with those of Thorold Rogers and the local taxers' rolls of Bedfordshire and the West Riding which are in print. The Grimsby roll is translated in full. Figures in brackets are illegible and are calculated from totals given.

John Trane had three thousands of herrings and they were worth 9s. One ninth 12d. William de Wykeham had goods to the value of 9s. One ninth 12d. William de Lekeburne had three thousands of herrings and they were worth 9s. One ninth 12d. William Couper had in silver 13s 6d. One ninth 18d. Alexander de Cave had cloth to the value of 18s. One ninth 2s.

Peter de Wyum has canvas to the value of 13s 6d. One ninth 18d. Agnes Benning had goods to the value of 9s. One ninth 12d.

Robert Threulet had three thousands of herrings 9s and four quarters of malt 10s and one barell of 5. 4s and three pigs 4s 6d and linen and wool 3s. Sum 30s 6d. One ninth 3s 4½d.

Thomas de Usbye had two thousands of herrings priced 6s and four quarters of dredge 1. 1s and 2s 1d. Sum 16s 1½d. One ninth (21½d).

Richard de Bouteur had four quarters of dredge 8s and utensils 12d. One ninth 12d. William de Waltham, pedlar, had in merchandise 18s. One ninth 2s.

William de Hollande had four quarters of barley 10s and four quarters of dredge 8s and one horse 5s and one cart 2s and linen and wool 2s. Sum 27s. One ninth 3s.

William de Tameworth had in merchandise 18s. One ninth 2s.

Jurdan Arnold had four quarters of dredge 8s and linen and wool 20d. Sum 9s (8d). One ninth 13d.
John Baldewyn had four quarters of malt 10s and linen and wool 15d. One ninth 1½d.
Isodia de Holderness had goods to the value of 9s. One ninth 1½d.
William de Donecastre had woode 10s and utterlens, linen and wool 3s 6d. Sum 13s 6d. One ninth 1½d.
Peter de Houton had goods to the value of 9s. One ninth 1½d.
William de Waltham had merchandis 25s and one horse 6s and utterlens, linen and wool 5s. Sum 36s. One ninth 4s.
Hugh Tinctor (Dyer) had two quarters of wheat 6s and woode 5s 9d and two oxes 10s and one ox outerlens, linen and wool 3s 9d. Sum 31s 6d. One ninth 3s 6d. Aldissa Dalnesshe had one quarter of wheate 3s and six quarters of barley 15s and two pigs 3s and utterlens, linen and wool 6s. Sum 27s. One ninth 3s.
Osmond Tanator (Tanner) had tanned leathers 13s 6d. One ninth 1½d.
Robert le Porter had two quarters of wheat 6s and eight quarters of barley 20s and nine quarters of malt 22s 6d and in the larder 5s 3d and one mazer 14d priced 3s and utterlens linen and wool 7s. Sum 63s 9d. One ninth 7½d. John de Thornton had tanned leather 11s 3d. One ninth 1½d.
Ralph de Len had tanned leather 30s and two quarters of wheat 6s. Sum 36s. Sum (sic) 4s.
William Werberne had in silver 12s and two mazers 5s and twelve silver spoons 9s and one cow 5s and nine sheep 9s and utterlens, linen and wool 5s 6d. Sum 45s 6d. One ninth 5s 3¼d.
Reginald de Alesby had in silver 16s and three quarters of wheat 9s and six quarters of barley 15s and utterlens, linen and wool 5s. Sum 45s 6d. One ninth 5s.
Philip Clericus had four quarters of barley 10s and four quarters of drège 8s. Sum 18s. One ninth 2s.
Elias Pistor (Baker) had four quarters of wheat 12s and eight quarters of barley 20s and four quarters of drège 8s and utterlens 2s and linen and wool 3s. Sum 45s. One ninth 5s.
Gilbert de Wyum had five quarters of barley 12s 6d and four quarters of malt 10s and one ass 5s and one ox 6s and linen 3s. Sum 36s 6d. One ninth 4s 3¼d.
William de Grosale had one ship 22s and one last of herettings 30s and one mazer 2s and linen and wool 6s. Sum 63s. One ninth 7s.
Adam de Yarnham had four quarters of drège 8s and two quarters of barley 5s and utterlens, linen and wool 5s. Sum 18s. One ninth 2s.
Thomas de Wather had two quarters of barley 5s and three quarters of drège 6s and utterlens, linen and wool 2s 6d. Sum 13s 6d. One ninth 18d.
Milsan Palmer had goods to the value of 9s. One ninth 12d.
Henry de Wah . . . had in . . . and in nails 6s. Sum 18s. One ninth 2s.
Simon Commderling (?) had goods to the value of 9s. One ninth 12d.
Sum total £15 1s 5s 8½d
One ninth £16 1s 6½d
FOOTNOTES
4 Lay Subsidy 135/25. Printed in Nonarum Inquisitiones in curia Scaccarium, Record Commission, 1807.
9 Calendar of Close Rolls, 1296-1302, p. 151.
11 A 'thousand' of herettings was in fact twelve hundred fish.
12 A mixture of barley and oats.
13 9s total omitted.
14 11s 3d total omitted.
15 An after was a draught animal, probably a small horse. J. E. T. Rogers, op. cit., Vol. I, Oxford, 1866, p. 36.
16 A valuable drinking cup without a foot.
17 A last contained ten thousands of herettings. See note 11.

CROP MARK EVIDENCE AND THE RECLAMATION OF BLYTON AND LAUGHTON COMMONS
Paul Everson

Despite a certain popular notion that cropmarks observed and recorded by aerial photography are automatically traces of Roman and prehistoric remains, those engaged in flying for archaeological objectives or in the regular study of aerial photographs will be aware that the great majority of cropmarks which are readily visible are attributable either to geological causes or to man’s increasing impact on the landscape over the last two hundred years. This is true of Lincolnshire as of anywhere, for agricultural drainage, removal of hedges and woodlands, modern cultivation techniques, traditional rural industries (like flax processing), the restitution of wartime airfields and similar military installations, levelling of disused railways and the plethora of underground pipelines commonly produce cropmarks in otherwise isolated rural locations.

Such indications tend to be more or less automatically filtered out by those who deal with archaeological aerial photography. The purpose of this note is to illustrate a very extensive group of such cropmarks of recent origin, which nevertheless have some intrinsic interest. Two ends are in view: first to make clear to archaeologists what these features are, since they either have been or have the potential to be misinterpreted as elements of a landscape of greater antiquity than is actually the case. Secondly to point out a source of information likely to be of some interest to industrial archaeologists and agricultural historians.

The cropmarks in question occur in large numbers in differential crop growth every summer in the low lying Trentside areas of the former Blyton, Laughton, Scorton and Scotter commons (the parishes involved are Blyton, Morton, Walkethor, East Stockwith, Laughton, Wildsworth, East Ferry and Scotter, Fig. 1). Precisely similar features can be observed readily in all the low lying land on either side of the lower Trent from Gainsborough northwards. They appear as almost exclusively straight linear marks with changes of direction marked by definite angles. They occur in networks, with main feeders and side branches, and often cross-branches linking two parallel mains. A characteristic network at Wildsworth is illustrated in Figure 2. The features vary in width from approximately 35-40m (measured from vertical air
banks above the bottom of the ditch varies from about one metre to rather more than two. A measured section appears as Figure 3b.


The cropmarks are most conveniently and comprehensively recorded on RAF vertical photographs taken on 31 July 1963 (Pl. I). This information can be supplemented by other military and commercial vertical coverage. Specialist archaeological low level oblique photographs have been taken of small sections of these features, especially at Wildsworth and on the boundary of

Plate II  Cropmark of warping drain on the boundary between Laughton and Blyton; low level oblique air photograph. The drain shows as four parallel light toned marks in the right hand side of the picture. It turns at a sharp angle through the belt of woodland centre picture, where a section of earthwork survives at NGR SK 82759280 (see Fig. 3).

Blyton and Laughton (Pl. II); but in general such photography is hardly justified in view of the limited cover it gives, the extra inconvenience of plotting oblique photographs, the existence already of reasonable vertical coverage, and the readiness with which the cropmarks appear year after year, which makes them easy to record (if desired) from further vertical cover taken for other than archaeological purposes.

Even viewed simply as field archaeological remains, these linear cropmarks are clearly disused man made water channels of relatively recent date. Although they run across the middle of fields and are generally at an angle to much of the present pattern of hedgerows (which is what allows them to appear as cropmarks), their linear and angular form and configuration in networks affirm their function as related to drainage. Frequently they can be seen running into one of the main drains which remain in use today, such as Jenny Hurn Drain, Swanser Sewer or Cross Drain, and stopping, or running end on into other hedgeline drains that still function. Furthermore the marks can be seen to relate to soil and local topography in a way

Fig. 1  The Trentside Commons north of Gainsborough with the main warping drains.

---- indicates the limit of the fields of various townships and boundary of the common.

Fig. 2  Cropmarks at Wildsworth. The cropmarks are shown schematically in heavy lines against a background of modern field boundaries.

photographs) for the main feeders, which are effectively duplicated adjacent marks, lessening, according to position in the branch system of the network. A short section of a main feeder survives as an earthwork near Owlet Plantation at Blyton (at NGR SK 82759280) and is shown on printed Ordnance Survey sheets of 2½ to 1 mile and larger as a generalised bank or ditch. It is commonly used by local youths to exercise their prowess on motor bikes. Despite considerable erosion, and infilling with dumped rubbish, it can be seen clearly on the ground as a broad channel flanked on either side by spread banks; the overall width is some 24m and the height of the top of the
which would make them suitable for carrying water. Before enclosure, this was an area of low hills and ridges of wind-blown sand and wet peaty hollows. The cropmarks can be seen to fill the hollows with tight networks (the one at Wildsworth is an excellent example), while their linear extensions skirt the sandy rises on which farms such as Greenhill, Redhill and Whooper, in Wildsworth and Blyton parishes, stand.

No map has been found in the major public archives showing this whole network of channels in existence, though relevant material may exist in private estate papers. No search has been made for the latter, and no serious attempt to research documentary sources, since this lies beyond the strict scope of the archaeological survey which caused the identification of the cropmarks. There is, however, a very full account of the form of these channels, and of their function for warping land and previously the poorest quality, in Arthur Young’s General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincolnshire.

Warping was a means of agricultural improvement which worked by engineering the deposition of a fresh topsoil of river-borne silt. At high tide, channels carried the river water to flood the land which was to be improved; the water’s loss of momentum as it spread over open land caused its alluvial burden to settle and the channels then carried the water away again leaving behind a deposit of rich, finely-sorted soil. Containing banks were built around the parcels for warping: parcels of as much as 400 acres were attempted but the most satisfactory results were achieved with smaller areas of about 50 acres. The operation was controlled by sluices in the river bank. Summer was the best time of the year for successful warping, when the river was comparatively sluggish in flow and heavily laden with alluvium. It mattered little whether the original ground was uneven or what the subsoil was, the result was flat highly fertile land, equally rewarding for arable or pasture. The channels were from the beginning drains in form and function, since the water was simply a means of carriage. A number were therefore retained without alteration after the completion of warping to function as permanent surface drains, or to be available for re-warping.

The technique of warping was much used from the end of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth in those areas (of which the north-western part of the former county of Lincolnshire is perhaps the most notable) where it could be profitably employed. In 1852, J. A. Clarke estimated that 9000 acres in Axholme and 7000 east of the Trent had been warped since 1800, and perhaps 1000-1500 before that date. In the same area, where warping by water was impracticable cart warping was undertaken. The whole undertaking was one of the most striking aspects of the extension of cultivated land by the efforts of landowners and agricultural entrepreneurs of this period.

Young’s observations match the cropmarks in such detail that there is little doubt that they are precisely the sort of warping drains whose effects he reported with such enthusiasm. He describes how, ‘the canal which takes the water, and which, as in irrigation, might be called the grand carrier, may be several miles long: the terminations join in four, so as to warp the lands on each side the whole way; and lateral curts made in any direction for the same purpose’ and comments on the use of, ‘a double canal, cut under the idea that the water should come in by one and turn by another’. The proposals and estimates for warping Blyton Common, dated 1796, specify the original form and dimensions, ‘warping drains to be 18 feet wide at bottom, 26 feet wide at top and four feet deep; and to have a foreland at four feet, with banks on each side of 14 feet base, six feet top, and five feet high each . . .’. A scale section is drawn out as Figure 3a. This makes the total width of a single drain 62 feet (c. 20m) and of a double drain 110-120 feet (35-40m), which compares closely with the field evidence recorded above. The cost of construction of a single drain like these was approximately £2.18s. per chain in 1796, without the associated expenses of sluices, bridges, culverts, etc.; but the expenditure was amply repaid if one is to believe the claims of an immediate increase in land value of at least £47 per acre, or upwards of 500%. The rate of deposition of warped silt could be very rapid. Young quotes rates varying from an exceptional ‘10 inches in eight hours’ to a more normal range of ‘six to sixteen inches in one summer’; the sober average reported by a commissioner employed on warping was ‘one eighth of an inch every tide’. While sluices, drains and banks might be kept to refresh the land periodically, the essential improvement was clearly achieved within only a few years. As Mr. Nicholson of Rawcliffe commented, ‘as good corn will grow in six inches as six feet . . .’. This led to the abandonment of all of the warping network which was not serviceable for normal permanent drainage and the laying out of hedged fields across it, and has enabled the remains to be readily detectable by modern aerial photography.

‘The husbandry of the Nile in England’, as Young termed it, created the characteristic landscape of flat arable land of the Trentside of north-west Lincolnshire, where previously there had been sand blown hummocks and deep peaty hollows and mires. It is remarkable, and appropriate, that these relatively short lived constructions should be so persistently intrusive in the landscape they were instrumental in forming. Much further detailed study could be undertaken in this field, which is the legitimate concern of industrial archaeologists and agricultural historians, and the cropmark evidence might form one illuminating dimension.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The advice and knowledge of Mr. C. Whiteman of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (Land Drainage Division, Lincoln) and Mr. C. C. Taylor have contributed materially to the preparation of this note. My special thanks are due to Mr. M. Feeley for making freely available the oblique aerial photographs which demanded explanation and stimulated work on this topic. The work forms part of an archaeological survey of Lincolnshire sponsored by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). I am grateful to the Commissioners for permission to publish this note. The opinions expressed remain mine, and are not necessarily those of the Commissioners.
LEISURE AND CLASS IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND
Rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885

The enterprise of the Barton on Humber branch of the WEA in embarking on the publication of a series of reports on their researches into the town in the eighteen fifties is warmly to be commended. The books will surely generate much interest in the locality, demonstrating that the educational consequences of adult education activities, like ripples from a stone thrown into a pool, extend far beyond the circle of the enrolled students, and far outside the hours of class meetings. The two books published so far show a keen awareness of the questions which social historians are currently asking about mid-nineteenth century England, and they will be of interest to historians of market towns far beyond the bounds of Lincolnshire.

The volume *The Town and the People*, dealing with the local economy, demands first consideration. It is based largely on the 1851 census, but the statistics from the enumerators' returns are reinforced with material from newspapers, directories and other sources to give a lively and credible picture of the way the townspeople earned their livings. The size and extent of the town's carriers' networks are increasingly being recognised as keys to the understanding of nineteenth century market towns, and it is interesting to observe the effects on the Barton carriers of the opening of railways and changes in ferry services. There are perceptive chapters on the agricultural workers, who frequented Barton's statute fairs, on brick and tile makers, and on the occupations of women, particularly domestic service. If there is a criticism to be made of this volume it is that the obvious social and religious divisions of Barton are not sufficiently related to the local economy. Barton was of the same order of size as the archetypal Cowfold, in Mark Rutherford's novel *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane*, with which it makes a fascinating comparison, and this study is altogether a most useful addition to the rather sparse literature on the Victorian market town.

Social and religious division feature prominently in the volume on Leisure and Pleasure. As in most Victorian towns, there was in Barton strict class segregation at most social functions. New buildings, like those of the various parishes, which could be used for recreational purposes, appeared in the mid-nineteenth century, along with new institutions like brass bands and horticultural societies. This volume has much to interest the historian of recreation outside as well as within Lincolnshire, but the authors would have done well, for the sake of their local readers, to have said more about some of the nationally celebrated entertainers who visited Barton, and they have severely misinterpreted parts of the career of Henry Deval, 'Professor' of music.

There are some inconsistencies between the two volumes. *Leisure and Pleasure* is, unforgivably, unpaginated. It also lacks footnotes, but since most of the information clearly comes from the *Stamford Mercury* this is not too grave an omission. The references in *The Town and the People* are excellent.

James Walvin's *Leisure and Society 1830-1950* can be enthusiastically recommended to any Lincolnshire historian who has read the Barton volume on Leisure and Pleasure and wants to explore further some of the wider issues involved. It is an excellent digest of the published literature on the history of recreation, full of valuable insights, like the reminder that although railways helped to foster 'rational recreation', they also, for a time, boosted and sustained traditional violent pastimes. There is a serious misprint on p.34, where the date of the Beer Act