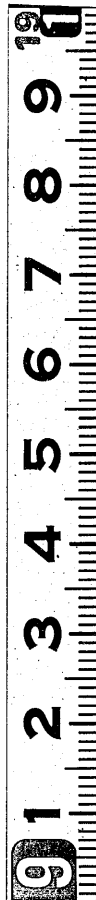


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Chronicon Preciosum:
OR, AN
ACCOUNT
OF
ENGLISH GOLD and SILVER MONEY;
The Price of CORN and other COMMODITIES;
AND OF
Stipends, Salaries, Wages, Jointures, Portions,
Day-labour, &c. in ENGLAND,
FOR
Six hundred Years last past:

SHewing
From the *Decrease* of the Value of MONEY, and
from the *Increase* of the Value of CORN and
other COMMODITIES, &c.

THAT
A FELLOW, who has an Estate in Land of Inheritance,
or a perpetual Pension of Five Pounds *per Annum*, may
conscientiously keep his *Fellowship*, and ought not to
be compelled to leave the same; tho' the Statutes of his
College (founded between the Years 1440 and 1460)
did then vacate his *Fellowship* on such Condition.

By BISHOP *FLEETWOOD*.

To which is added,
An HISTORICAL Account of COINS,
Illustrated with several Plates of Gold and Silver COINS.

LONDON:
Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*.
M.DCC.XLV.

Bishop *FLEETWOOD*'s
P R E F A C E
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

*W*HEN I had set down, in the first Chapter, the Reason and Occasion of writing this little Book; and, in the following ones had given the Proofs of my Determination; and, in the last, had shewn the Use and Application of them, I thought I had made an End of my Business.

But the Bookseller, it seems, is of the Opinion, that I should not shew myself respectful enough to you, unless I introduced you, by the way of Preface. To comply, therefore, with his Desires, I must needs think of saying something, tho' it be but to discover some of the Imperfections of this Book.

The Chapters then, of Money, might have been much more compleat, by the Addition of 5 or 6 Plates of the several Coins we have had
A since

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since the Conquest.* Of the Golden Ones, I despair of ever seeing a Collection, of any tolerable Antiquity; since they who are best, as I hear, provided of these Treasures, can rise no higher than Edward III.† And for my own Part, I have never seen any one Piece, older than H. VI. and that was, I believe, a French one too: And I am confident, that to a common Curiosity, a Piece of Gold, older than the last Edward, will appear a very great Rarity. And yet, for full Five Hundred Years since the Conquest, one may well imagine, that most of the great Payments must have been made in Gold; since (as I think, I have made appear) for 300 Years after that Time, there were no other Silver Pieces coined, than Pence, Half-Pence, and Farthings: and for 150 Years next after, there were no other than a Groat and Half Groat, Henry VII. being the first that ever coin'd a Shilling, and that too at the latter End of his Reign, and but a very few of them: So that when you read (out of that Passage of Gervase of Tilbury, cited at large by Mr. Lowndes,|| and whom I have, by Mistake, in Page 56, cited as writing in the Time of H. I. instead of H. II.) sub omnium Oculis effundit in Scaccario xxiiii Solidos, quos de Acervo sumptos prius signaverit. And a little after, Reliquos vero xxiiii Solidos mittit in Loculum. When, I say, you read

* This Imperfection is in this Edition supplied.

† Because he was the first King of England that coined Gold into Current Money. See the *Historical Account* at the End of this *Chronicon*.

|| In his Essay.

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read these Passages, and others like them, in ancient Writers of the English Affairs, you are not to conclude that there was then any such Piece as a Shilling coined, no more than you would conclude there was such a Coin as a Pound, tho' you often meet with the word *Libra*. Upon the whole Matter, till about 1544, the Silver Money of England consisted of Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-Pence (called, of old, *Mails*) and Farthings: In any, or all, of which Pieces, it must have been very troublesome to have paid 5 or 10 thousand Pounds: which makes it somewhat strange, that no more Gold of Ancient Kings should be preserved among us. But so, the Antiquaries tell us, it is with Grecian and with Roman Pieces, there being 40 Medals preserved, for one Piece of Current Coin, that we can be sure of. So that the best Reason, why we have so few old Gold Coins remaining with us, seems to be, because they were (as we call them) Current, i. e. they might be easily spent.

But this, that has been said, makes it appear, that a small Plate or two* would hold the Coins of Silver, of 500 Years. For the Coins of W. Conq. W. II. H. I. Stephen, H. II. R. I. John, H. III. Ed. I. Ed. II. were only Pence, Half-Pence, and Farthings. The Coins of Ed. III. R. II. H. IV. H. V. H. VI. Ed. IV. R. III. were only Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-Pence, and Farthings. H. VII. (as is above-
A 2 said)

* See the Plates at the End of this Edition.

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said) added to this Number the Shilling, which is, I believe, hard to meet with. H. VIII. added no new Species, but, in his later Life, debased all the old ones. Edward VI. debased them yet more, but in his last Year made great Amends, and added Crowns, Half-Crowns, Six-Pences, and Three-Pences, (so that I have mistaken, Page 33. - in saying Three-pences were first coined by Q. Elizab.) As to the Coins of the Princes following, they have been in almost every Bodies Hands; but yet the Memory of their Weight, Fineness, and Compass, ought to be preserved to Posterity, much better than 'tis like to be. And we see the Necessity of the late new Coinage hath almost obliterated the Names of E. VI. Q. Mary I, Q. Eliz. Jac. I. and C. I. already. So that an 100 Years hence, it will be hard to know, what Sort of Money was coined by Them; which would be great Pity, since they coined excellent Money, both for Weight and Fineness, which is both to the Advantage and Honour of a Nation. This Evil, † I once thought to have remedied; but the Trouble of procuring, rather than the Charge of cutting a single Piece of each Prince, since the Conquest, was, I found, too great for such a One as I am; and whoever attempts it, must be obliged to abundance of curious Persons, who have these Coins in their private Cabinets. And I here bespeak their Favour, if I should ever have Time and Power to undertake it.

I have

† Is remedied in this Edition.

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I have also, in the Second Chapter, omitted all Quarter-Pieces of Gold, of whatever Denomination, because they will be easily known, by knowing the whole: as also the 5l. and the 2l. Pieces of Gold of Ch. II. and the 3l. Pieces of Ch. I. and some other such like, because they rather seem to have been Medals, than Current Coin.

As to the Chapter of Prices, it will be in every Body's Power to make it more compleat, by reading the old Computus's, that he shall chance to light upon, and inserting what he finds wanting, or differing from the Accounts, that I have given: but most especially the Gentlemen of each Univerfity will have it in their Hands, to make what Amendments they shall see good, out of their old Rolls and Burfars Accounts; which I look upon as the most sure Guides, in Enquiries of this Nature; because our General Histories do mostly give us the Prices of Things, which are extraordinary, either for Cheapness, or for Dearness; whereas the College-Accounts deliver faithfully the ordinary and common Price of most Commodities and Provisions.

One Thing more I must observe to you; that the Nature of the Work obliged me, I thought, to set down the Names of the Authors, out of which I collected the Materials of this Book; as well to justify myself, as that you may recur to the Originals, whenever you please, in the particular Years;

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Years; as also to avert, a little, that Scorn, with which some, in their supercilious Gravity, may pursue the Collectors of such light and trivial Matters; when they shall find, that no English Historian, of any tolerable Esteem among us, hath failed to make Observations of the like Nature. Nay, some considerable Ones have made it so much their Business, that they seldom conclude a Year without informing us, whether it were a dear or a cheap one.

This Remark will also help to remove the Ostentation of much Reading, because there is no need of reading an Author throughout, to find what I have here discovered; the Method of many of them making it easier to do so, by setting down (as I said) the Price of Corn, and other Provisions, at the End of every Year. But so far I must needs ostentate my Reading, as to assure you, that I have viewed with my own Eyes, and transcribed from all the Originals, whatever I have set down; even many Particulars, which I have been content to give you very often in honest Mr. Stow's English.

But, after all the Care I could take, I am sensible, there must needs be many Faults, and many Mistakes, in a Work of this Nature; and One I have already found, which I think myself obliged to retract, in this Place, because it is too late to do it in its proper One; and that is, a Censure I passed on Mr. Speed's giving us so many Two-pences and Three-pences of Saxon Kings,

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Kings, and some others, since the Conquest. I was led into it, (as others have been) by thinking he intended to mark Two Pences and Three Pences by the Figures of 2 and 3, which I am now sensible he intended for another Purpose. And therefore, as it would be an Error in any One, to think those Pieces were coin'd so early, so I must needs acquit Mr. Speed, either of being in that Error himself, or of leading any others into it by Design, altho' those Figures are placed over the Coins I there mention in Page 34. I have made some sort of Amends, however, for these Errors, by taking more than usual Care, that you should have as few Errata's of the Printer, as is possible in a Work of this sort.

THE

T H E
C O N T E N T S.

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See also the *Appendix* and *Plates*

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Commodities, for 600 Years last past,* p. 48.

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The APPENDIX.

Chronicon

Chronicon Preciosum:
OR, AN
A C C O U N T
O F
English Money, Corn, &c.

C H A P. I.

The C A S E.

THE Statutes of a certain College (to the Observation of which, every one is sworn, when admitted Fellow) vacating a Fellowship, if the Fellow has an Estate in *Land of Inheritance*, or a *perpetual Pension*, of *Five Pounds per Annum*, I desire you would be pleased, to give me your Answer to these following Questions; when I have first told you, that the College was founded between the Years 1440, and 1460.

B

I. Whe-

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- I. Whether He, who is possessed of an Estate, of that, or greater Value, may make it over *in trust* to his Friend, and then safely swear to the Observation of such Statute, amongst the rest?
- II. Whether He, who has not an Estate of that Value, when admitted Fellow, may keep his Fellowship; tho' he *afterwards* come to an Estate of that, or much greater Value?
- III. Whether He, who is actually possessed of an Estate, of *Six Pounds per Annum*, as Money and Things go *now*, may safely take that Oath, upon Presumption, that *VI. l.* now, is not worth what *V. l.* was, when that Statute was made.

The Answer to your First Question may be easily had, by your asking yourself another, *viz.* Whether that Estate, tho' made over to another, be not still *your's*, as to the Profits of it, for the present, and as to the Disposal of it, for the future? If it be, How can you safely swear it is not your's, when you have it to all Intents and Purposes? A Man may have a legal Title to an Estate, and yet not be Possessor of it, nor receive any Fruits of it; he may be outed by Violence; it may be entirely mortgaged; or sequestred for Payment of Debts; and during such Violence, Mortgage, or Sequestration, he may safely swear, he is worth but so much as
he

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he truly and indeed receives, and nothing more, let the Estate be never so great in itself. And such an Oath as your's has not Respect to the *Title* alone, but to the *Title* with the *Profits* of an Estate. And since the making over your Estate does not (nor do you intend it should) defeat you of either, How can you save your Oath, by making over the Title of it, and that, it may be, only for the present? No Man, but He who has a mind to it, can be deceived by such Collusion. If an *Act of Parliament* should discharge all Debtors, who would swear they were not worth five Pounds, would you believe your Debtor an honest Man, who should take such an Oath, when you knew he had an Estate sufficient to discharge his Obligations to you, but had made it over to another, only to defeat his Creditors? Assure yourself, such making over your Estate, would not preserve you from the Guilt of Perjury, neither before God, nor good Men, tho' you would swear true *according to the Letter*. We lately heard of a Man, who, to save himself from paying a certain Sum, assess'd by *Act of Parliament*, made over a great Treasure to his Neighbour (ignorant of the Matter) and locked him safely up in his Closet, till he came into the Court, and took his Oath he had not so much Money in the World; and then came back, set his Neighbour at Liberty, and took his Treasure again into his own Possession. All who heard it, said he was a *perjured Villain*, and tho' he had eluded the Law, yet he remain'd a Debtor to God's Justice, which would certainly

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find him out. This was the extremest Impudence that could be practised; but assure your self, all Collusions of this kind are as great Prophanations of an Oath as his was. They who make over the Titles of an Estate, and yet reserve the Profits, are, in the sight of God (as well as their own) as much Masters of those Estates, as if they had the *Titles* of them also in their Cabinets.

Your *Second* Question seems to require more Pains to answer it, than the First. But it only *seems so*, for there is, in Truth, but little Difficulty in it, if you consider never so little the plain and visible Intention of your Founder; which was, No-body worth five Pounds *per Annum* should be Fellow of his College: Why else should he require you to declare, under an Oath, you would obey that Statute? It is manifest, that if you had an Estate above that determined Value, you could not take that Oath; and, if you could not take that Oath, you could not be admitted Fellow. The having that Estate therefore must of necessity hinder you, by the Founder's visible Intention, from being *admitted* Fellow; will not the same Intention therefore hinder you from *continuing* Fellow? I do not, however, directly charge with Perjury, such Continuation, unless you deny, or do industriously conceal, your having such an Estate; because I am not sure you are obliged (by Virtue of your general Oath) to vacate, of your own Accord, your Fellowship, but to submit to the Directions or Injunctions of your lawful Superiors, and

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and the Judges appointed in such Cases. But yet I think it such a Violation of that Statute, as I would not counsel you to venture on. And, it may be, another Case, not so much removed from this, may better clear up this Question. Suppose it appeared to be the Purpose of your Founder, that no married Man should be Fellow of his College, and that before Admission, every one were required to swear he was not married; might one be married *after* such an Oath, and continue Fellow, honestly, and with a good Conscience? I believe you will not think he might; but will rather conclude, that the Force of that Oath was, by the Founder, intended to secure his main Purpose, of having none but single Men Fellows of that Society; and that That Circumstance which would have *prevented* his Admission, would also, at any time after, *exclude* him. Thus, I believe, you would determine in any other's Case, and without any Bias on your Mind; and yet such Oath does not, in Terms, directly take in future Time; but only says, *I am not married: I am not worth so much, &c.*

Your *Third* and last Question will cost me more Pains, and you more Patience, before we come to the Conclusion; if we can come to any satisfactory one at last. The Question would certainly need no Answer, if it were asked in gross, *Whether he who has VI Pounds per An. may safely swear he has not V?* When a Pound is in both Places (and has been so for more than 600 Years) XXs. But as you have qualified it,

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by distinguishing the Times, it will require both a good Casuist, and a pretty good Historian, to answer it absolutely, and to your Purpose; which is (as I take it) to know, of what Value you may now hold an Estate, with Safety to your Conscience, which is charged with the Observation of that Statute, which vacates the Fellowship of One who has an Estate of Inheritance, or a perpetual Pension of *Cs. or VI. per An.* A better Casuist, I own, you might easily have found. But, it may be, you could not so easily have found One, who hath in his Readings made more Observations on the Price of Corn, and other Commodities, at different Times, than I have done, as you will perceive by reading this long Letter. So that, for aught I know, my Diligence may make you Amends for what Want of Judgment may be found in me. And I do not say this in Vanity and Ostentation of my Labour, but because without a good Share of Knowledge in these Matters, the best Casuist in the World can never answer your Question satisfactorily. And indeed, as the World now goes, the greatest (tho' I will not think the best) Part of Readers will be rather apt to despise, than to commend the Pains that are taken in making Collections of so mean Things, as the Price of Wheat, and Oats, of Poultry, and such like Provisions: Tho' I hope, before I have done, to shew you, that the Observation of these little Things may be of good Use, in the Consideration of great Affairs. And when you shall find, that many a single Line
of

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of this Letter has cost me the looking over a great Book, you will rather think fit to commend my Industry, than to disparage so many good Authors, out of whom I have gathered these Materials: At least, you will think I wanted no Good-will to do you Service, who have taken such Pains to satisfy your Question, that if any ancient *Greek* or *Latin* Writer had taken the like, and left us such a Collection, you would have had the *Salmasius's*, the *Grævius's*, and the *Gronovii* almost out of their Wits for very Joy. But I am now come to your Question, and must premise, before I speak to it, that whereas you say your Statutes were made betwixt the Years 1440, and 1460, I must, to save Labour, call this Space *the Reign of H. VI.* tho' his Reign began 18 Years sooner.

I do affirm then, with the best Judgment I have, that I am seriously persuaded, that, altho' you are actually possessed of an Estate of VI Pounds *per An.* as Money and Things go *now*, you may safely take that Oath, upon Presumption that *VI. now*, is not worth what *VI. was then*, when that Statute was first made. Because whoever swears, swears to *Things* that are signified by Words, and not to *mere Words*. When a Word signifies the same Thing *now* in Effect, which it signified 260 Years ago, then he who swears to *Words*, swears to the Things they signify; but when different Things are signified by the same Word, then he who knows *that* Difference of Things, cannot help giving such Word its proper and intended Signification. A
B 4 Pound

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Pound (for Instance) will buy either more, or less Corn (take it which way you will) *now*, than it would in *H. VI.* Time. A *Pound* is therefore of more or less Value *now*, than it was *then*; and the *Value* of a *Pound* is truly a *Pound*, and not its mere *Name*. It is not therefore the same Thing *now*, that it was in *H. VI.* Time.

I wish, I confess, with all my Heart, that all Oaths were so contrived and so worded, that they might be taken with the utmost Plainness and Simplicity; and that no Room or Occasion could be left for any mental Reservation, or Exception in the Mind: But I think it can never be; almost all Words are Equivocal: And it is impossible to fix a determined Sense on the Denominations of Coin, when all Things purchasable with Money are so changeable and uncertain. I do not mean, that a *Pound*, a *Mark*, and a *Shilling*, might not be always fix'd, so as to signify *XX s.* *XIII s.* *IV d.* and *XII d.* but that it never can be so ordered, in this World, that a Man should always, 200 Years ago, and now, and 200 Years hence, purchase the same Quantity of Corn, the same Number of Chickens, and as many Yards of Cloth, at one Time as another, with a *Pound*, a *Mark*, or a *Shilling*. And if this cannot be, then I maintain, that a *Pound*, a *Mark*, and a *Shilling*, is not *now* the same Thing with a *Pound*, a *Mark*, and a *Shilling*, 200 Years ago. And therefore I may safely take my Oath, that, altho' I am worth *VI l.* as Money and Things go now, yet I am not worth *VI l.* as Money and Things went 260
Years

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Years ago, in the Days of *H. VI.* And if it be said, that I must needs take the Words of my Oath in their *Plain*, *Literal*, and *Grammatical Sense*; I answer, That so I must, wherever I can; but in this Case, the *Plain*, *Literal*, and *Grammatical Sense* of *Five Pounds*, is not the same, with what it was 260 Years ago. What shall I do then? Shall I prefer the *Plain*, *Literal*, and *Grammatical Sense* of Words at this present, before the *Plain*, *Literal*, and *Grammatical Sense* of the same Words as it stood 260 Years ago; which, I am sure, was the Sense of the Founder? I grant, that if it were a *Case in Law*, I should be determined by the Sense which the Words do bear at present; but as it is a *Case of Conscience*, I do roundly affirm, that *V Pound* is not the same Thing at present, that *VI l.* was in the Reign of *H. VI.*

And that I may very honestly have Regard to the Value of *VI l.* 260 Years ago, will, I believe, appear evident from what I am going to say; That the Founder intended the same Ease and Favour to Those who should live in his College 260 Years after his Decease, as to Those who lived in his own Time. Now, they who lived in his Time, might, with *V Pounds*, purchase so much Bread, so much Drink, Meat, Cloth, Firing, Books, and other Necessaries, or Conveniencies: I know not exactly how much, nor is it Material: I only say, the Founder intended I might keep such an Estate, as would suffice to procure the same Bread, Drink, Meat, Cloth, Books, &c. as the other might have pro-
cured

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cured for V Pounds, 260 Years ago. But this I cannot possibly do with VI Pounds, as Things go *now*, nor it may be, with four times as much. I may therefore have Regard (tho' in an Oath) to the Value of *Pounds* at that Time; and, unless I have, I shall be in a much harder Condition, than he, who lived so long ago; which is what the Founder neither did, nor could intend. This Argument in general seems, to me, unanswerable; and if you apply it to Particulars, you will see its Force more clearly. Use it, for Example, in the Business of *taking Degrees* in the *University*, to which you know you are obliged, and without which a Fellowship must needs be vacated. A *Degree* might be taken 260 Years ago, at five times less Charge, than it can be at this Day; and if a Fellow must lose his Fellowship for Want of a Degree, may it not very easily come to pass, that he shall not be able to pay for that *Degree*, if he may not be worth more than V Pounds *per An.* as Money goes *now*? Some *Founders* have, in Cases of extream Poverty, made Allowances for indigent and virtuous Scholars, towards the taking their Degrees: But if you look into those Statutes, you will find that those Allowances are (as Money and Degrees go now) so very inconsiderable, that they signify little or nothing towards it, which yet in those early Days would (with a little Help of Friends) have been sufficient to the intended Purpose. This is a clear Proof, that Regard both may and must be had, to the different Value of Money, at different Times; and that the Founder's

visible

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visible Intention is better answered by such Regard, than it would be by a strict and obstinate Adherence to the bare Letter of the Statute.

This Inconvenience (you may possibly object) will follow, from departing from the present Value of a *Pound*, and having Regard to what it was formerly; namely, That hereby too great a Liberty will be taken in Oaths of this Nature; Some will be apt to run the Matter too high, and (by reason of the Uncertainty we are in, what Proportion a *Pound* at present bears to a *Pound* in *H. VI.* Time) may pretend to keep their Fellowship, with an Estate of great Value. And to this I answer, That, for aught I know, it will now and then happen, as you surmise; nor is there any one Rule that is not subject to Abuse. And therefore I do not presume to set out, with any Exactness, or Certainty, and much less to determine Positively, how great an Estate is, at present, equivalent to an Estate, of the same Denomination 260 Years ago. I leave that to Others, to gather from the particular Accounts of Things that I shall give them, from our Historians. And they who are concern'd, ought seriously to consider, that altho' a *Pound* in *H. VI.* Time, might be worth 4 or 5, or more, in our own Times, yet it was not worth 20 or 30. And therefore the Uncertainty of its Value cannot encourage any reasonable Man, to advance it to an extravagant height. They who are the Guardians of your College-Statutes cannot (I believe) tell you exactly, how much

Land

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Land of Inheritance, or how great a yearly *perpetual Pension*, will now-a-days answer to V Pounds in H. VI. Reign: but yet they can tell you that 60 or 70*l. per An.* will be too much to keep together with a Fellowship, if it be *Land of Inheritance*, or a *perpetual Pension*. And furthermore (which is an Answer to all Objections of this Kind, and a sufficient Restraint to all Exorbitance) these Guardians of your Statutes have it in their Power (if it be fit to have it in their Will) to judge according to the *Letter*, and to determine that V Pounds, as Pounds do *now* go, shall be the limited Sum, which shall not be exceeded. For the *Letter* is the Judge's Rule; and the Sense he pleases to put on that *Letter*, is that by which you are to be determined, without Appeal or Remedy, unless he say that *Vl.* is any thing less than an *Cs.* And tho' I believe they never *will* determine, in any such Case, without regard to Equity, and Reason, and comparing of Times, yet if they *should*, you would be obliged to abide by their Judgment. And therefore all I have said, or can say on this Head, is only to shew you, what I think may be safely done with respect to Equity, and a good Conscience: Not to exempt you from the Jurisdiction of your lawful Superiours, but to shew you what you may do as an honest Man, tho' what you do, does not agree exactly with the *Letter* of the Statutes, to which you are obliged; nay (if you will) to shew you, what you may innocently do, even when you may be punished for so doing. But

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But since I have said, that great Regard is to be had to the *Founder's Intention*, where, and as far as it appears; you may perhaps desire to know, from whence it comes to pass, that a Fellow is, without Dispute, allowed to enjoy the *Interest* of Money, or the Profits of a *Lease* to a much greater Value, than that of V Pounds *per An.* when the Intention of the Founder seems to be plainly defeated by so doing? I answer you, That the *Intention of the Founder* does not seem plainly to be defeated, by holding a *Lease*, or by receiving the *Interest* of Money; because of the *Uncertainty* of this Provision: Your Money may be lost by many Accidents; and if it should, then you are quite destitute, and undone: And a *Lease* is generally for a Term of Years, which you may chance to outlive, and then you may be in as ill a Condition: But *Land of Inheritance*, and a *perpetual Pension*, are as certain a Provision for Futurity, as the State of human Affairs will allow of. This, you see, makes a great Difference. But moreover, I do not say, that you are to seek for the *Founder's Intention* any farther than it plainly appears in his Statutes; nor that you are obliged, in many Cases, to argue from a *Parity of Reason*. Money was put out to *Interest*, and *Leases* were made, in the Time of H. VI. and your Founder, who lived in his Reign, knew this very well, and therefore had it in his Power to have mentioned, and excepted *Interest* and *Leases*, in his Statutes, had he so pleased; and not having made any such Exceptions,

Exceptions, you have no Reason to presume, that his Intention was to except them, but to enjoy the Liberty he leaves you at. Where Law-givers are at Liberty to oblige and bind their Subjects, and may use what Terms and Words they please, to signify such Obligation, their Words are presumed to include no more than they express: Their Silence neither profits nor hurts any one, 'tis their express Words that do both.

Supposing, therefore, that you are convinced, that you may innocently swear to the Observation of the Statutes, and yet intend to keep your Fellowship, altho' you have an Estate of VI Pounds *per An.* upon Presumption that VI. Pounds now-a-days, are not equal to V Pounds 260 Years ago.

Supposing, I say, this; I am now at Liberty to proceed to an Historical Account of Money, and of the different Price of Corn, and other Commodities; that by Understanding both, and Comparing one with the other, you may be the better able to determine what Proportion a *Pound*, a *Mark*, a *Shilling*, or a *Penny*, now, bears to the same Denominations many Years ago. For this Account of Money, you will be obliged to *Fabian*, and to *Stow's Chronicle*, to *Sir H. Spelman*, and others, but especially to *Mr. Lownden's Essay*; I have only taken Leave and Pains to put Things into a Method which I thought better for my Purpose, and more for the Reader's Satisfaction, than any of theirs would be. And first,

first, of the several Names that you will often find in reading over our Histories, both *Latin* and *English*. The *Gold* I have put *Alphabetically*, that Recourse may be had more easily to them; the *Silver*, as better known, I speak of gradually, beginning at the highest, which is a *Pound*, and coming to a *Farthing*, which is the lowest English Coin we have; and of which we have had none made of Silver (that I can find) since the 36 *H. VIII. i. e.* since 1542; and those were certainly very bad, since out of 6 Ounces of fine Silver, (together with 6 Ounces of Allay) there were made 2304 Farthings, the Pound (as then most abusively called) going at 48 s. All the Denominations of Gold were actually coined, at the Times I have set down (and not sooner, that we can find.) But for the Silver, most of them were mere Names, and were never coin'd; which they were, I observe as I go along.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

An Account of the Gold Coins.

ANGELS were doubtless so called at first, from an Angel impressed on one Side of the Piece. And their Value was, at different Times :

		l.	s.	d.
Angels.	1 H. 6.	00	VI	VIII
	1 H. 8.	00	VII	VI
	34 H. 8.	00	VIII	00
Half-Angels.	6 E. 6.	00	X	00
	5 E. 4.	00	III	IV
	1 H. 8.	00	III	IX
	34 H. 8.	00	IV	00
	6 E. 6.	00	V	00

The Reader may perceive by this, that when he meets, in History, with the Word Angels, Half-Angels, Farthing-Angels, or with any other Coin, he must observe what King's Reign he is in, to understand exactly what the Sum amounts to: for otherwise he will mistake. This I observe to him, once for all, and go on.

		l.	s.	d.
Angelets.	1 H. 6.	00	III	IV
	34 H. 8.	00	IV	00
	6 E. 6.	00	V	00

From

From hence it appears that Angelets were the same with Half-Angels.

		l.	s.	d.
Crowns of the } Double Rose.	1 H. 8.	00	V	00
	Britain Crowns.	1 Jac. I.	00	V 00
		9 Jac. I.	00	V VI
Double Crowns.	1 Jac. I.	00	X	00
		9 Jac. I.	00	XI 00
Thistle Crowns.	1 Jac. I.	00	IV	00
		9 Jac. I.	00	IV IV ob. q.
Florens.	18 E. 3.	00	VI	00

They were so called, because first made by Florentines, as Mr. Camden says. Fabian says, that these were not of so fine Gold as his Nobles, and Half-Nobles were. But that which is more observable is, that he calls the Floren, a Penny, value VI s. VIII d. The Half-Floren he calls a Half-Penny, value III s. IV d. The Quarter-Floren he calls a Farthing, val. I s. VIII d. And these Words you will often meet with, in old Histories and Accompts, applied to several Coins, as Rials, Angels: Where you are to understand, by Denarius, the whole; by Obolus, the half; and by Quadrans, the fourth Part, or Farthing.

Thus, 1344, about this time, the Noble, Obolus, and Farthing of Gold, began to go about, saith H. Knyton.

		l.	s.	d.
Forty Pence } Pieces.	1 H. 8.	00	III	IV
	Guineas.	22 C. 2.	01 00	00 tho' they

[now pass for 1 l. 1 s.
Moton,

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		l.	s.	d.
<i>Moton</i> , 1358, a <i>French</i>	}	00	0v	00
Piece of Gold, at				
Noble. So call'd, because made of the noblest and purest Gold.		l.	s.	d.
<i>Noble.</i>	18 E. 3.	00	vi	viii
	5 E. 4.	00	x	00
	26 Eliz.	00	xv	00
<i>George Nobles.</i>	1 H. 8.	00	vi	00
<i>Double Nobles.</i>	26 Eliz.	0i	x	00
Rials, or	}	1 H. 6.	00	x 00
Royals.		1 H. 8.	00	xi iii
	2 Eliz.	00	xv 00	
<i>Rose Rials.</i>	3 Jac. I.	0i	x 00	
<i>Spur Rials.</i>		00	xv 00	

There is, in Dr. Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities*, mention made of *Spurarium Aureum*, in An. 1292, or *Spur Royal*; but whether it were an *English* Coin or not, does not appear.

		l.	s.	d.
<i>Scute</i> , a <i>French</i>	}	1427.	00	iii iv
Coin of Gold				
Soubereigns.	1 H. 8.	0i	ii vi	
	34 H. 8.	0i	00 00	
	4 E. 6.	0i	iv 00	
	6 E. 6.	0i	x 00	
		0i	00 00	
			22 Car.	
			[fine. 2 Car. Alloy.]	
	2 Eliz.	the same in both Cases.		
Unites.	1 Jac. I.	0i	00 00	
	10 Jac. I.	0i	ii 00	

Note,

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Note, In 9 Jac. I. by a Proclamation, Gold was raised 2 s. per Pound. Ch. the First brought it again to the Standard of 1 Jac. I.

The following Table is collected out of Mr. Lowndes's Accounts, which, though they differ in some Points from Mr. Stow's, who also cites *Records* for some of them, I cannot chuse but prefer, because of his Abilities and Opportunities of giving them most perfect. Premising first, that a Pound of Gold, *Troy Weight*, was divided into 24 *Carats*; and each *Carat* into 4 *Grains*: And that the Old Standard of *England* was, 23 Car. 1. 3 Grains and a half of fine Gold, and half a *Grain* of Alloy, which might be Silver or Copper.

Fineness. Alloy. Make in Silver.						
Years.	car. gr.	ca. gr.	l.	s.	d.	
18 E. 3.	23 3 1/2	1/2	15	00	00	} The same Year.
	23 3 1/2	1/2	13	03	04	
20 E. 3.	23 3 1/2	1/2	14	00	00	
27, 30, 37.	}	}	}	}	}	}
46 E. 3.						
18 R. 2.	}	}	}	}	}	}
3 H. 4.						
9 H. 5.	}	}	}	}	}	}
1 H. 6.						
4 H. 6.	}	}	}	}	}	}
49* H. 6.						
5 E. 4.	}	}	}	}	}	}
			C 2			Fineness.

* It should be 39 H. 6.

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Years.	Fineness. Alloy. Make in Silver.					
	ca.gr.	l.	s.	d.		
8, 11, 16, 22 of E. 4. } 1 R. 3. } 9 H. 7. }	23	3 1/2	1/2	22	10 00	} The same Year.
1 H. 8.	23	3 1/2	1/2	27	00 00	
	22	00	2 0	25	02 06	
34 H. 8.	23	00	1 0	28	16 00	
36 H. 8.	22	00	2 0	30	00 00	
37 H. 8.	20	00	4 0	30	00 00	
1 E. 6.	20	00	4 0	30	00 00	
3 E. 6.	22	00	2 0	34	00 00	
4 E. 6.	23	3 1/2	0 1/2	28	16 00	
6 E. 6.	23	3 1/2	0 1/2	36	00 00	
6 E. 6.	22	00	2 0	33	00 00	
1 Mary	23	3 1/2	0 1/2	36	00 00	
2 Eliz.	23	3 1/2	0 1/2	36	00 00	
2 Eliz.	22	00	2 0	33	00 00	
19 Eliz.	23	3 1/2	0 1/2	36	00 00	
43 Eliz.	23	3 1/2	0 1/2	36	10 00	
43 Eliz.	22	00	2 0	33	10 00	
1 Jac. I.	22	00	2 0	37	10 00	
3 Jac. I.	23	3 1/2	0 1/2	40	10 00	
10 Jac. I.	23	3 1/2	0 1/2	44	00 00	
10 Jac. I.	22	00	2 0	40	18 04	
2 Car. I.	23	3 1/2	0 1/2	44	10 00	
2 Car. I.	22	00	2 0	41	00 00	
12 Car. 2.	22	00	2 0	44	10 00	
1 Jac. 2 } W. & Mar. } Q. Anne. }	22	00	2 0	44	10 00	

So

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So that the same Pound of Gold which in 18 E. 3. 1344, was worth 13, or 14, or 15 Pound in Silver, is risen, by degrees, to go for 44 l. 10 s. and the Gold not quite so fine neither. But if a Penny then, was worth our 3 Pence, and XX s. worth our LX s. then Gold and Silver have kept, pretty near, the same Proportion to each other; for three times 15 l. make 45 l. which is but X s. more than a Pound of Gold now goes at.

CHAP. III.

An Account of Silver Money.

A Pound, *Libra*, contains 12 Ounces; and tho' now it signifies XX s. (when applied to Money) which is but the 3d. Part of a Pound in Weight, yet it is because XX s. did heretofore weigh a full Pound, or 12 Ounces. Each of these Ounces contained so many *Solidi* or Shillings, and so many *Denarii* or Pence, as they who governed the Money-Matters thought fit; sometimes more, and sometimes fewer. Dr. Hicks, in his most learned, useful, and laborious Work (much to his own, and to the Nation's Honour) tells us, pag. 111. *Dissert. Epistol.* that the Saxon Pound contain'd LX Shillings. For this, he cites a Passage out of the

the *Textus Roffensis*; *Georles Wergylde* is *Myrc-nalage CC Scill.* *Thegenes Wergylde* is *six swa micel*; that byth *XII hundred Scill.* *Thonne biþ Cyninges anfeald Wergylde*, *six Thegena Wergylde*, be *Myrcanalage*; that is *XXX þusend Sceata*; that *biþ ealles CXX Punda.* The English of which is, A Churle's Wergylde is, by Mercian-Law, 200 Shillings. A Thaine's Wergylde is six times as much, *i. e.* 1200*s.* And the King's single Wergylde is as much as the Wergylde of six Thains; that is 30000 Sceata; which is in all 120 Pound.

The very same Words we find at the End of King *Ætbelstane's* Laws, put out by Mr. *Lambard*; and afterwards by Mr. *Whelock* at Cambridge, 1644. pag. 56. excepting that it is said here, that a *Georles Wergylde* is 266 *Thrimscæ*, which make 200 Shillings, and then goes on, as above; now if a Churle's Wergylde be 200*s.* and a Thain's 1200*s.* and a King's six times as much, *i. e.* 7200*s.* and this last Sum make but CXX Pound, it will follow, that there must go LX*s.* to the Pound, because 120 multiplied by 60, produces 7200*s.* But if, as it is here said, 266 *Thrimscæ* make 200 Shillings, and (as is said in the same place, pag. 55.) that a King's Wergylde is among the English 30 Thousand *Thrimscæ*: then there will be found in 30000 *Thrimscæ*, just 22400*s.* and 208 *Thrimscæ* remaining, which will make above 373*l.* tho' you should allow 60*s.* to the Pound; which is near to 3 times the Sum it ought to be. And if *Thrimscæ* be (as that learned Person concludes) 4*d.* of Saxon Money, then thirty thousand
Thrimscæ

Thrimscæ will make 400*l.* allowing 60*s.* to each Pound, which is more than 3 times 120*l.* so that nothing can be done with *Thrimscæ*, if 266 of them make 200*s.* Now if we will allow but of a Mistake (not great in itself) of CXX for CL, all things will go well, and the Saxon Pound will continue, as it has all along been counted, to be made up of 48 Shillings: for 150 multiplied by 48, makes just 7200*s.* which is the King's *Wergylde.* There is also Reason to believe, that in King *Cnute's* Time (who reign'd from 1017, to 1035,) the Saxon Pound continued at 48*s.* because in his 3*d.* Law, it is said, that he who breaks the King's Peace in a *Head Church*, is to forfeit VI. If in a *Second Rate Church*, 120*s.* If in a *less Church*, (but where there is a Church-Yard or Burying-Place) 60*s.* If in a *Country Church (Feld Cyric)* where there is no Church-Yard, 30*s.* Here you see there is a gradual Diminution of the Mulct, VI. 120, 60, 30*s.* from whence I conclude that VI. was just double to 120*s.* that is, it was 240*s.* which will make VI. at 48*s.* the Pound; and it will not be double to 120*s.* by any other Reckoning. To this, let me add, that Mr. *Camden*, Sir *H. Spelman.* in his *Glossary*, and Mr. *Lambard* in his, do all of them agree, that the Saxon Pound was made up of 48*s.* and give no Intimation that it was ever otherwise, either more or less. I do not pretend, however, that Dr. *Hicks* has not other Authorities, besides what is above-cited, for what he affirms; for he is so well
C 4 skilled

skilled in these Matters, and has taken so much Pains in them, that he is not likely to say a Thing that seems so new, without good Reason. Let it then be said, that a Saxon Pound did *sometimes* contain LX s. but generally 48 s. and each Shilling contained 5 d. so that a Pound, or *Libra Anglo-Saxonica*, contained 240 d. How long it continued thus, I cannot tell exactly, but in the Laws, which are called King *Edward's*, 31. it is said, *In Denelega*: the Forfeiture for Breach of Peace, was VIII l. which was raised by the *Hundred*. Of this VIII l. the King received 100 s. the Sheriff 50 s. and the Bishop's *Decanus* (in whose Deanry the Peace was broken) the other 10 s. From whence it is clear, that VIII l. contained 160 s. which is 20 s. per Pound. But because 'tis manifest, from the 3d Law, that this Collection of *Edward's* Laws was made after *W. Rufus's* Time (since there is mention made of him, by Name, in it) it will be better to say, that the Pound contain'd XX s. in *William the Conqueror's* Time; because in the IVth of his Laws, *In Lege Danorum, foris factura est VIII lib. XX Solidi pro Capite, & VII libræ Regi*. In *Danelagh*, the Forfeiture is 8 l. 20 s. for the Head, and 7 l. for the King. And in 79 of *H. 1. Infractio Pacis Regis V lib. in Anglorum Lege. Media L s. & adhuc minoris, ubi parva Parochia est, & Atrium cum sit XXV s. & Campestris Capellæ, ubi non sit Atrium, XII s. VI d.* which is King *Cnute's* Law (above-recited) turn'd into *Latin*, and the Rates reduced to
the

the Money then current: which confirms my Conjecture, that VI l. was, *there*, double to 120 s. because it is *here* double to 50 s. And whoever looks into the Laws of King *Ina*, *Alfred*, and others, and finds the same Proportions of 120, 60, and 30 s. so oft observed in the Fines or Forfeitures of Offenders, will be apt to conclude that the Pound was then 48 s.

There is also some Dispute, whether the Pound was made up of 12, or of 15 Ounces. In the 30th of King *Ethelred's* Laws (as they are in *f. Brompton*) you will find these Words; *Let those who overlook the Ports, see, that every Weight at the Market, be the Weight by which my Money is received, and let each of them be marked, so that 15 Orae make a Pound*. And in *Sir H. Spelman's Glossary*, you will find that *Ora* signifies *Uncia*, and so in other learned Authors. But the same most learned Knight tells us, that *Ora* was also a Piece of Money, valued at 16 d. for which he cites this Passage. *Plac. coram Rege T. Mich. 37 H. 3. Rot. 4. The Men of Berkeholt, Com. Suffol. say, that in the time of King Henry, the Grand Father of our present Lord the King, they had a Custom that when they would marry out their Daughters, they were wont to pay, for Leave so to do, 2 Orae, which are valued at 32 d.* Now 15 *Orae* make just a Saxon Pound, 48 s. or 15 times 16 *Orae* make 240 d. There is therefore no need of saying that *Ora* signifies an Ounce in King *Ethelred's* Law, nor in the same Law renewed by King *Cnute*, (but which ought to
be

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be corrected by the Law of *Ethelred*, for instead of *ad Mercatum*, it is corruptly written *admetatum*) Mr. *Sommer* indeed [to whose Judgment great regard is to be had in all these Matters] is of the Opinion, that there was never any such Piece of Money as an *Ora*, but that it always signifies an *Ounce*, of which he says there were two sorts, the one containing 16 *Den.* the other 20, [of which there is so frequent mention made in the *Dooms-day Book*] which was called *the greater Ounce*. But then he agrees that there were but 12 Ounces in the Pound, which can hardly be reconciled to *Ethelred's Law*. For if 15 *Oræ* are to make a Pound, and *Ora* be an Ounce, there will unavoidably be 15 Ounces in the Pound. And besides, he afterwards observes [from Mr. *Camden*, out of *Registr. Burton*] that 20 *Oræ* are said to be of equal Value with 2 *Marks* of Silver. Now a *Mark* is 8 Ounces, [when XX s. make a Pound in weight] and 2 *Marks* are 16 Ounces [which he values at XXVI s. VIII d.] and if 20 *Oræ* be 20 Ounces [as they must, if *Ora* be necessarily an Ounce] then 20 Ounces are of equal Value with 16 Ounces; which may be true of the *Pence* that are made of an Ounce, but can hardly be true of the Name or Denomination of an Ounce. 12 Ounces, indeed, of 20 d. are equal to 15 Ounces of 16 d. But he who says that 12 Ounces are equal to 15 Ounces, must understand something which his Words do neither express nor imply. It will never therefore be true, that *Ora* should always signify

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signify an Ounce; that there should be 15 *Oræ* in a Pound, and yet that there should be but 12 Ounces in the Pound. Whenever therefore it is said, that there are 12 *Oræ* in a Pound, *there Ora* is 20 d. Whenever there are 15 *Oræ* in a Pound, then *Ora* is 16 d. *Verelius*, in his *Lexicon Scandicum*, says, *Ore, Solidus, & tertia pars Solidi*. And *Dolmerus* (as he is cited by *Du Fresne*) says, *Ora, vernacula Aura, Danis Ore, fuit olim genus monetæ, valens 15 Minuta*. Which would make one think it a Denomination of *Money*, rather than of *Weight*.

It was a good Law of King *Edgar*, that there should be the same *Money*, the same *Weight*, and the same *Measures*, throughout the Kingdom: but it was never well observed. What can be more vexatious and unprofitable, both to Men of Reading and Practice, than to find, that when they go out of one Country into another, they must learn a new Language, or cannot buy or sell any Thing? An *Acre* is not an *Acre*; nor a *Busbel* a *Busbel*, if you travel but ten Miles. A *Pound* is not a *Pound*, if you go from a *Goldsmith* to a *Grocer*; nor a *Gallon* a *Gallon*, if you go from the *Alehouse* to the *Tavern*. What Purpose does this Variety serve, or what Necessity is there, which the Difference of *Price* would not better answer and supply? 'Tis impossible to fix the Price of an *Acre* of Land, or of a *Quarter* of Wheat, because Land is much better in one Country than another, and because the Price of Corn will depend upon the Plenty or the Scarcity of it,

it, and that upon the Goodness or the Badness of the Soil and Seasons. But it is possible to determine how many *Feet*, or *Yards*, Length and Breadth, an *Acre* shall contain, in all Places alike; and possible to determine how many *Quarts* a *Bushel*, and how many *Bushels* a *Quarter* shall contain, so that every Body shall know these Things alike, and neither be mistaken nor imposed upon. These things, I know, have (some of them) been determin'd by Laws; but Custom and Folly have made those Laws useless. And the Trouble that such Variety hath often given to me, as well as others, will justify this Digression. From which I now return to speak of *Libra Anglo-Normanica*; which contained XX s. and each Shilling contain'd, sometimes 16 d. but generally 20 d. made out of an Ounce. The *Libra Denariorum*, and the *Libra Sterlingorum* are the same; their Ounce containing 20 d. and in that they agree with the *Saxon* Pound, tho' they differ in the Number of Shillings. *M. Du Fresne* (not to be named without Honour) in *Libra Gallica*, says, a Penny is the 20th Part of an Ounce; and that 12 d. make a Shilling, and 3 Ounces make 5 s. 'tis therefore the same with *Libra Anglo-Normanica*. You will see hereafter in the *Table*, how the Pound differed, by being divided into more or fewer Shillings. I need not observe to you, I think, that there was never any coined Piece of Silver, that either weighed, or was called a *Pound*.

The

The next Denomination of Money, you will often meet with, is a *Mark*, which the *Saxons* call *Mancus*, *Mancusa*, *Mearc*, &c. and amongst them it came to XXX d. which was, of their Money, VI s. Thus in the Laws of *H. 1. c. 35.* it is said, *XX Manca quæ faciunt Solidos L.* Now you will wonder that 20 times 6 s. (*i. e.* 120 s.) should make but 50 s. unless you remember that the 120 are *Anglo-Saxonic* Shillings, and the 50 are *Anglo-Norman* ones, and that each of them contain alike 600 Pence. Thus *c. 69. Debent reddi, secundum Legem, XXX s. ad manbotam; idem bodie quinque Marca.* Here both the XXX s. and the *quinque Marca* are *Saxonic*; for these are 5 times 6 in 30. And so again, *De Twelfbindo, i. e. Thaino, 120 s. qui faciunt 20 Marcas.* In *c. 34. Erga Hundredum XXX s. & V Denar. qui faciunt V Mancas, ut Solidus den. XII. computetur.* Which brings the Mark to VI s. 1 d. In *c. 76.* a *Mark* is but 4 s. 6 d. but I doubt not but it is a Mistake; and, indeed, those Laws, as we have them now, are full of Mistakes: It is great pity Mr. *Sommer's* Corrections, Annotations, and Glossary upon them, are not published, but lie obscurely in a private Library: the Labours of so faithful and judicious an Antiquary are well worth the Cost that any noble Lover of this sort of Learning would be at in making them publick, and would pay him with ample Praise and Honour. When a *Mark* came to be valued at XIII s. IV d. I cannot

not

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not tell with any Exactness, but *M. Paris* in the Life of *Guarinus Abb.* of *St. Albans*, in *An.* 1194, and in 1235, tells us that a *Mark* was then (1194) 13 s. 4 d. and so it has continued to this Day, without any Variation: how long before that, appears not. I must also observe here, that there never was any such Piece of *Silver* as a *Mark* coin'd; and I cannot find any mention made of any such Piece of *Gold*, since the *Norman Conquest*; tho' probably there was, before, among the *Saxons*, with some *Mark* or *Signature* upon it, for the English Word to *mark*, does probably come from it, or that from the Verb.

Angel. There was never any such Piece of *Silver* coined; but because the *Golden Piece* of that Name, was valued at *Xs.* therefore *Xs.* is called an *Angel*. And so it is with the Word

Noble. Which goes for *VI s. VIII d.* in Accounts: but there has not been any such Piece of *Gold* coined, at that Price, since the *9 H. 5.* and when they were first coined by *E. 3.* 1345, they seem not to have been very acceptable to the Nation, for thus *H. Knyton*, pag. 2484. represents the Matter. *About this Time the Noble, Obolus, and Farthing of Gold, began to go about in the Kingdom; upon which the Parliament ordained, that none of the Commons should be compelled, in any Payments, to take above XXs. of this new Money.* This was not, because the *Gold* was not good (for it was very fine, and of the *Old Standard*) but because, as I imagine, poor People could

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could not get it easily changed into *Silver*, and so would be distressed; for at this Time there were no *Silver Coins*, but *Pence*, and *Half-pence*, and *Qrs.* it being, at the soonest, 5 Years before there were any *Groats* or *Half-Groats* coined: which was about 1349. I shall lose half a dozen Lines of my *Common-Place-Book*, if I may not under this Head tell you, that in *An.* 1389, there were seven Coiners condemned and hanged, for bringing a *Noble* (not to 9 Pence, but) to *Xs.* making thence 6 *Quadrantes*, or *Farthings*. A *Noble* of right contained 80 d. the *Obolus* or *Half* contained 40 d. and the *Quadrans* or *Farthing* contained 20 d. But by these false Coiners, a *Noble* was brought to 120 d. the *Obol.* to 60 d. and the *Qu.* to 30 d. so that there were 2 *Quadrantes*, above the 4 good ones; which was their Profit. *Ed. 4.* raised the *Noble* from *VI s. VIII d.* to *Xs.* which, tho' it was good *Gold*, and called by another Name (a *Rial*) yet was not well accepted, but thought to be to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth, but for what Reason I know not.

A Crown. The first *Silver Coin* of the Value of *Vs.* (that I can observe) was in *Ed. 6.* Days; the Name is old, but then it was always *Gold*.

Half-Crowns. Of the same Date with *Crowns*, and never before.

Shillings, Solidus. The *Latin Word* is of most uncertain Signification, and to be determined by every particular Nation: but the Word *Scylling* or *Shilling*, never signified in *England* but

but 5 Pence, with the Saxons, and 12 *d.* ever since: when it went for 12 *d.* at first, is hard to say. But, as common as this Word is, in all Books, and all Accounts, yet there was never, that appears, any Piece of Silver of that Denomination coined in *England* till the Year 1504, when *Fabian* says, *A new Coin of Silver Groats, and Half-Groats, and Shillings with half-faces, was made.* *Stow* says, in the same Year, *A new Coin was by Parliament appointed, i. e. Groat and Half-Groat, which bare but half-faces. The same Time also was coined a Groat, which was in Value 12d. but of these but a few were coined.* He does not call them *Shillings*, but *Fabian* does, and he lived at that very Time, and was an observing Citizen. However, the Name does not appear, in *Mr. Lowndes's* Accounts, till a great while after. But *Stow* says, 6 *E. 6.* there were coin'd, a Piece of Silver of *Vs.* a 2*d* Piece of *II.* *VI*d, a third Piece of a Shilling; a 4*th* *VI*d. and of smaller Money, a Penny of the Double Rose, not Sterling but base; a Half-Penny of the Single Rose; and a Farthing with a Portcrose. Also in 34 *H. 8.* there were coin'd *Testons* of 12 *d.* but not called *Shillings*. 13 *d.* ob. 9 *d.* and 4 *d.* ob. were all Pieces that came from *Scotland* in the Reign of *Jac. 1.* (tho' some of them were coin'd in *England*) and therefore I meddle not with them.

Testons, Or, as we commonly call them, *Testers*, from a Head that was upon them, were coin'd (as is before said) 34 *H. 8.* *Sir H. Spelman* says, they are a *French* Coin, of the Value

Value of 18 *d.* and he does not know, but they might have gone for as much in *England.* He says it was *Brass*, and covered over with *Silver*, and went in *H. 8th's* Days for 12 *d.* but 1 *Ed. 6.* it was brought down to 9 *d.* and then to 6 *d.* (which still retains the Name) and in *An. 1559* to 4 *d.* ob. *Stow* says there was a second sort of *Testons*, which in 1559 was cried down to 2 *d.* q. And a third sort that was made unpassable at any Rate. 'Tis certain there were very good ones coined in *E. 6th's* Time; and they have still continued under all Princes, under the same Name, and are the usefullest Pieces we have.

Groats. See of them, under a Penny. *Grossus* signifies great; and a Groat was a great Piece with respect to a Penny, which was but a 4*th* Part, and the greatest Piece (in all likelihood) then coin'd.

Three-Pence. No mention made of them till 1561, when *Queen Elizabeth* coin'd them, with 6 *d.* 4 *d.* 2 *d.* 1 *d.* 1 ob. and ob. q. Pieces, and called in all the base Money in the Kingdom; and set our Coin upon that noble Foot on which it now stands; which, because it was of the greatest Benefit to the Nation, is one of the greatest Glories of her Reign; for those are the truest and most lasting Honours, that are built upon the Publick Good, procured or preserved by Princes.

Penny, *Denarius*, was the first coined Piece of Silver we have notice of, and, for many Years, the only one; in *H. 1st's* Days 'tis certain
D there

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there were *Half-Pence*; and 9 *Ed. 3. cap. 3.* 'tis enacted, That no *Sterling* (i. e. Penny) *Half-Penny*, nor *Farthing*, should be melted down by the Goldsmiths; which is a good Proof, that there were, at that time (which was *An. 1335*) no other Pieces of Silver coined. And 4 *H. 4.* it was enacted, That one *Third* of the Silver coined, should be coined into *Half-Pence* and *Farthings*. A *Penny* was indeed so much the Whole of the current Coin of the Kingdom, that *Denarius* was the same thing with *Nummus*, or Money: And therefore *Simeon Dunelm.* 1126, says, the Men that were found to have made false *Money*, i. e. *Denarii* not of pure Silver, were hanged. And (when it is any determined Sum that is spoken of) *Nummus* does generally signify a *Penny*. So *M. Westm. An. 1095*, says, that tho' there were more than 300000 Men marching to the *Holy Land*, yet Provision was so plentiful that a *Ram* was sold at a *Penny* (*uno Nummo*) and an *Ox* at (*12 Nummis*) 12 *d.* *Dr. Hicks* (in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 109.) says, that the *Anglo-Saxons* had but one Silver Coin among them, and that was a *Penny*. So says *Mr. Camden*, *Sir H. Spelman*, and most of our good Antiquaries. And therefore when we find the honest and industrious *Mr. Speed*, in his *Chronicle*, gives us the *Three-Pences* of so many *Saxon Kings*, from *Cheuline* and *Egbert*, *An. 562*, down to *Ed. the Confessor*; the *Two-Pence* of *Harold*; and again, the *Three-Pences* of *W. Con. W. 2. H. 1. Stephen, H. 2. John, H. 3.* and a *Two-Pence* of *R. 1.* and that

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that from the Treasury of that noble Antiquary *Sir R. Cotton*; we have Leave [for many Reasons] to think him mistaken; since in our Histories we find no Mention of any such Pieces as *Three-Pences*, before the Beginning of *Eliz.* The *Present State of England* (which is an excellent Book, and to whose Perfection every One should contribute, because it gives an Account of all our Affairs, both to Foreigners, and Natives) is also to be corrected in this Particular, when it says, that in *Ed. the 1st's Time* 4 *d.* 3 *d.* and 2 *d.* were coin'd, which certainly is not true. But all the Observations I shall make on the *Penny*, will be bestowed, in some few Notes, upon a Passage, which I have transcribed from *Mr. Stow* in the Year 1279, as follows.

Whereas, before this Time, the *Penny* was wont to have a double Cross with a Crest, in such sort that the same might be easily broken in the midst, or into four Quarters, and so to be made into *Half-pence*, or *Farthings*; which Order was taken in the Year of Christ 1106, the 7 *H. 1.* It was now (a) ordained, that *Pence*, *Half-Pence*, and *Farthings*, should be made Round; whereupon were made these Verses following:

Edward did smite Round Penny, Half-Penny, Farthing,
The Crosse passes the bond of all, throughout the Ring:

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- ' The King's side, was his head and his Name
' written (b)
- ' The Crosse side, what City it was in coyned
' and smitten.
- ' To Poor man, ne to Priest, the Penny frayses
' nothing,
- ' Men give God, ay, the least; they feast him
' with a farthing.
- ' A thousand, two hundred, fourscore years
' and mo,
- ' On this Money men wondred, when it first
' began to goe.

' And besides these Moneys, there was coined
' Groats (c) containing 4 d. the Piece (for what
' follows, he quotes Registr. of Bury) the
' Pound of Esterling Money, at this time, con-
' taining 12 Ounces; to wit, fine Silver (such
' as Men make into Foyle or Leaves, and is
' commonly called Silver of Gutherom Lane)
' 11 Ounces, 2 Esterlings (d) and one Ferling
' (e) and the other 17 d. ob. q. to be Allay.
' Also the Pound ought to weigh of Money
' XX s. and III d. by Accompt: so that no
' Pound ought to be above 20 s. 4 d. nor less
' than 20 s. 2 d. by Accompt. The Ounce
' is to weigh 20 d. the Penny to weigh 24
' Grains (f).

Thus far Mr. Stow; to which let me add
to the Passages that are mark'd, as follows.

(a) It should seem by these Words, that
Pence and Half-Pence were not Round, be-
fore

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fore this Year 1279, but they were certainly
Round in H. the 1st's Time. For in 1108,
Sim. Dunelm says, the King appointed the Pence
and Half-Pence should be all Round. And in
1180, Philip Aymary of Tours was sent for,
to new coin the Money; which was done, and
made all Round, as saith Radulf de Diceto. But,
it may be, that Ed. 1. was the first that ap-
pointed Farthings should be coin'd (like Pence
and Half-Pence) Round. Tho. Walsingham
1280, and H. Knyghton, p. 2678, agree with
M. Westm. in 1279, to say the same thing;
that because the Penny was broken in half, to
make 2 Oboli, and the Oboli again broken in
halves, to make 4 Quadrantes or Farthings, it
was ordained to coin the Oboli, and Quadrantes,
Round; so that the Opportunity of cutting
from each Ob. or Quadr. was taken away. And
yet the same T. Walsingham, in 1278, repre-
sents Matters as if the Obolus had been distinct-
ly coined before this, in the Shape of a Semi-
circle. Obolus qui prius formam habebat Semi-
circuli, tanquam pars Denarii in medio divisi, fit
rotundus. Whereas, in truth, whenever it
was in this Shape, it was certainly one half of
a Penny, broken in sunder.

(b) Name written. The Name of the King
was indeed written, whether Will. Henricus,
Ricardus, or Edvardus: But no Body, from
thence, can tell whether it were W. I. or II.
Hen. I, II, III, IV, V, VI. or, Ed. I, II, III,
IV. and, as far as I could ever find, H. VII.
was the first that was to be certainly known

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by that Distinction, whose Name I have seen mark'd on a Silver Groat, Henric. VII. But in this I may be mistaken, having not seen all Coins, and yet enow to venture this Remark.

(c) Groats. This is the first Time, that I have seen Groats mentioned to be coin'd, in 1279. And tho' I never suspect Mr. Stow's Faithfulness, or Industry, yet I believe he was here mistaken; as well, because in 9 E. 3. no mention is made of them, when Pence and Half-Pence are forbidden to be melted by the Goldsmith, since the same Reason would have forbidden the melting down Groats (as afterwards was done 17 R. 2.) which forbad the melting the others; as also because that Coin appears not in Mr. Lowndes's Accounts, before the 27 E. 3. which was in 1353, tho' Tho. Walsingham mentions them in 1351, but he seems not to have known there were ever any such Pieces before that Year: For in that Year, he says, that, Wm. Edington, Bp. of Winton, and L. Treasurer, a Man of great Prudence, but one who consulted more the King's Profit than that of the Kingdom, found out and coin'd new Pieces; i. e. Grossum & dimidium Grossi. Groats and Half-Groats, but of less Weight than they ought to have been. i. e. I suppose, they weighed not as much as 4 Penny's. After this, we meet with the Name often, and most commonly applied to 4 d. tho' (as I think) sometimes to more than 4 d. You may also see that 2 d. was not called by the Name Two Pence, but a Half-Groat, or Half-Groz. And

in

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in 19 H. 7. Half-Groats are called Pence of Two-Pence. H. Knyton mentions Grossa in 1378, and says it was 4 d. and so much was given to the King for every Man and Woman.

(d) Esterlings. Here Sterling signifies a Penny-weight, because it signifies a Penny of fine Silver, which is now called Standard. And I have never, but once, seen Sterling (when it signifies a Piece of Money) stand for any thing but a Penny, and that is, in Monasticon Angl. 2 Vol. p. 471. where it signifies a Half-Penny: For there it is said, that Hens were a Sterling a-piece; not in expres Words, but by Consequence; for it is there said, that Wheat was 2 s. the Quarter; and that the 6th Part of a Bushel of Wheat was valued at a Sterling; now the Bushel is valued at 3 d. (when the Quarter is at 2 s.) and the 6th Part of 3 d. is a Half-Penny; and so Sterling must be there a Half-Penny. This was occasioned by Ed. 1. calling in Pollards. Crocards, or Cocodones, and Rosary's; all which were coined, and brought into England by Foreigners, and underhand went for Sterlings, (i. e. for Pence,) but in the Year 1301, were suffered to go but for Oboli, or Half-Pence; and that not long neither: for at Christmas they were called in, and made Oboli; and at Easter following they were cried down quite: But Corruptions are not so easily parted with; they went current among the People longer, and retained still the Name of Sterlings, tho' they went for but Half-Pence. H. Knyghton, p. 2493.

D 4

(e) Ferling.

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(e) Ferling, is a Farthing, or the 4th Part of a Sterling.

(f) The Penny-weight is here said to contain 24 Grains; and so it does to this Day. Yet Tho. Rudborn, in Hist. Maj. Winton Anglia Sacra, V. I. p. 257. says it was determined by W. Conq. 1083, that a Penny Sterling, round and unclip'd, was to weigh 32 Grains. However, we are sure it was so determined by Act of Parl. 51 H. 3. and so again, 12 H. 7. That every Sterling shall weigh 32 Grains of Wheat, that grew in the midst of the Ear of Wheat; and a Standard for the King's Treasury is to be made according to this Assize. To reconcile this Difference, 'tis probable, that 24 Grains, as they are Weights to weigh by, may be truly as heavy as 32 Grains of Wheat; which is as much as the Acts of Parliament require; and it would have been troublesome to have made a Brass Weight no heavier than the 32d Part of a Penny.

Obolus signifies an Half-Penny, or (as you have seen before) the half of any Thing. And as Denariatus Terræ signifies a Perch of Land (or let it be any other Measure, or Quantity) so Obolatus Terræ signifies half that Land; and a Farthing (called also Fardella, Fardingdela, Farundel, and other Names, which you may see in S. H. Spelman's Gloss.) signifies a Quarter of it. So Acra, an Acre of Land, contains (like a Mark in Money) 160 Den. 320 Ob. and 640 Quadrantes. I cannot find when Obolus, Half-Penny, was first coined: but

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but we may imagine it was coined as early as ever we can find it mentioned, because it is not a Denomination, which may be answered by other Money (as a Pound by 20 s. if there had been any Shillings, or a Mark, by 13 s. 4 d. or a Shilling by 12 Pence) but it must be a distinct coin'd Piece. And so for

Ferlingus, or Farthing. I shall make an end when I have observed to you, that when you meet, in old Donations, with such Words as Librata Terræ, Marcata, Solidata, or Denariata, and the like, you are to understand as much Land as will yield the Rent of a Pound, a Mark, a Shilling, or a Penny, by the Year.

Here follows a TABLE, by which you will perceive into how many Shillings a Pound-weight of Silver has, at several Times, been coin'd; together with its Allay, and what the Ounce was worth in common Estimation.

Years.	Finen.		Allay.		Shillings.		Ounce worth.		
	oz. dw.	oz. dw.	oz. dw.	oz. dw.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
28 E. 1.	11	20	18	XX	111	0	1	8	$\frac{1}{4}$
20 E. 3.	11	20	18	XXII	VI	0	1	10	$\frac{1}{2}$
27 E. 3.	11	20	18	XXV		0	2	1	
9 H. 5.	11	20	18	XXX		0	2	6	
1 H. 6.	11	20	18	XXXVII	VI	0	3	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
4 H. 6.	11	20	18	XXX		0	2	6	
24 H. 6.	11	20	18	XXX		0	2	6	

And thus it continued all the Reign of E. 3. R. 2 H. 4. till 9 H. 5.

Fabian

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Fabian says, 23 *E. 3.* that he coin'd Groats and Half-Groats that wanted 2 *s. 6 d.* of the Old Standard, in a Pound *Troy.* This was in 1349, or 1350, but it is a Year, or two, too soon.

Years.	Finen.	Alloy.	Shillings.	Ounce worth.
49 (39) <i>H. 6.</i>	oz. dw. 11 20	oz. dw. 18	s. d. XXXVII VI	3 1½
5, 8, 11, 16, 24, } <i>E. 4</i>	11 20	18	XXXVII VI	3 1½
1 <i>R. 3.</i>				
9 <i>H. 7.</i>	11 20	18	XXXVII VI	3 1½
1 <i>H. 8.</i>	11 20	18	XXXXV	3 9
34 <i>H. 8.</i>	10 02	0	XXXXVII I	4 0
36 <i>H. 8.</i>	6 06	0	XXXXVII I	4 0
37 <i>H. 8.</i>	4 08	0	XXXXVII I	4 0
1 <i>E. 6.</i>	4 08	0	XXXXVII I	4 0
3 <i>E. 6.</i>	6 06	0	LXXI I	6 0
5 <i>E. 6.</i>	3 09	0	LXXI I	6 0
6 <i>E. 6.</i>	11 10	19	LX	5 0
<i>Q. Mary</i>	11 01	0	LX	5 0
2 <i>Eliz.</i>	11 20	18	LX	5 0
19 <i>Eliz.</i>	11 20	18	LX	5 0

In reality fine Silver 4s. 9d. ½ the Ounce.
 In reality to 8s. the Oz.
 In reality to 12s. the Oz.
 In reality to 12s. the Oz.
 In reality to 1l. 4s. the Oz.

Years.

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Years.	Finen.	Alloy.	Shillings.	Ounce worth.
43 <i>Eliz.</i>	oz. dw. 11 20	oz. dw. 18	s. d. LXII	l. s. d. 0 5 2
<i>Jac. 1.</i>	11 20	18	LXII	0 5 2
<i>Car. 1.</i>				
<i>Car. 2.</i>	11 20	18	LXII	0 5 2
<i>Jac. 2.</i>				
<i>W. & M.</i>	11 20	18	LXII	0 5 2
<i>Q. Anne.</i>				

I cannot leave this Head, till I have taken notice of one or two Specialties relating to Coin. The first is, that when Sir *Rob. Cotton* was called to deliver his Opinion, touching the *Alteration of the Coin*, before the Lords of the Privy-Council in 2 *Car. 1.* he lays great load on the Reign of *H. 6.* for Mismanagement of this Affair of Money, as if it had suffered some extraordinary Debasement in his Time, and done him great Dishonour, and great Mischief in the Minds of his Subjects, and afforded his Rival (*Rich. D. of York*) an Occasion of high Complaint. And that when my Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, were called upon by Queen *Elizabeth*, to deliver their Opinions about the Change of Money, they advised her to reduce the Standard to the ancient Parity

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Parity and Purity of her Great-Grand-Father King *Ed. 4.* Upon this, I cannot but observe, that *H. 5.* in the 9th of his Reign (according to Mr. *Lowndes's Accounts*) had raised the Money to XXX*s.* the Pound; and that *H. 6.* in the first of his Reign, advanced it to XXXVII*s.* VI*d.* but keeping still to the *Old Standard* of Fineness (without a Change of which, all other Changes seem to be but merely *nominal*; for 37*s.* and 6*d.* will buy no more Wheat, than 30*s.* will do when once People come to know there is no more fine Silver in 37*s.* 6*d.* than in 30*s.*) but even this Change continued not long, for 2 *H. 6. c. 13.* upon Complaint made in *Parliament*, that there was a Scarcity of *white Money*, by reason that Silver uncoined was bought and sold at XXXII*s.* the *Pound Troy*; whereas it was of no more Value, when coin'd, than XXXII*s.* (12*d.* abated for the Coinage) it was enacted that none should buy or sell any Silver uncoined for above XXX*s.* the *Pound Troy*, besides the Fashion. I will not answer for the Reasonableness of this Act; but it proves clearly that the *Pound* did not long contain 37*s.* 6*d.* and it appears evidently, that 4 *H. 6.* it came again to XXX*s.* and so continued to the very last Year of his Reign, when it was again advanced to 37*s.* 6*d.* and so continued for near 50 Years. So that the greatest *Debasement* of King *H. 6.* was just equal to, and indeed the same with, the *Parity and Purity* of King *Ed. 4.*

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The greatest *Debasement* of Money, is the greatest *Allay*, or Mixture of baser Metal with Silver (and that is only bad, because People are deceived by its Looks, and know not how much fine Silver there is in such or such a Piece) and that was in 5 *Ed. 6.* when 9 Ounces of *Allay* were added to 3 Ounces of *fine Silver*, and coin'd into 72 Shillings; so that a Pound of fine Silver, at that rate of Mixture, was coin'd into 288*s.* or 14*l.* 8*s.* and the Ounce into 24*s.* which was intolerable; and when in the Year following, this *Base Money* was called down, the People suffered extremely by it. I have by me now, an Account of that Time, wherein, by the *first Proclamation* (dated *July 9.*) a *College* lost (out of an 118*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*) 29*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* ob. 9. And by the *second Proclamation* (dated *Aug. 17.* immediately following) out of 45*l.* 3*s.* the *College* lost 15*l.* 1*s.* which was a 4th and a 3d Part of every One's Cash, in the Space of two Months. It will be much for the Honour of *the late Reign*, to have remedied the greatest Abuse of Money, that was ever known in *England*, at a Time of the greatest Danger and Expence, with very little Grievance of the People. But, sure, 'tis better to prevent a moderate Mischief, than redress a very great one; and, perhaps, a *Proclamation* of three or four Lines, forbidding any *clipped Money* to be received in the King's Exchequer, in 1690, would have prevented the clipping and spoiling 5 Millions. The *second* Thing I would observe, is, That an Historian

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rian who lived in the Days of H. 6. and E. 4. tells us, that such was the Enmity of the House of York, to that of Lancaster, that when Ed. 4. came to the Crown, not only all that was given and gotten, under the three foregoing Reigns of Henry 4, 5, 6. was taken away; but that the Money also, as well Gold, as Silver, was changed and coined a-new, that the Name of Henry might be no more remembered. Sed & Moneta tam in Auro, quam Argento, ut Nomen in ea prorsus deleatur Henrici, similiter mutata est, & denuo fabricata. Continuatio Hist. Croyland, An. 1461. But Time hath made all even again, and left us as many Coins of the Henry's, as of Edward the 4th.

The last Thing I would observe to you is, That tho' (as you see in the Table) the Pound was sometimes 22 s. 6 d. 25 s. 30 s. 37 s. 6 d. 45 s. 48 s. 72 s. 60 s. and 62 s. as it now stands: Yet, in Accompts, it always signified 20 s. just, and neither more nor less. When the Pound contain'd (for Example) 30 s. he who owed another Man Five Pounds, did not pay him 150 s. but an 100. And 'tis as certain that an 100 s. signified five Pounds at that time, and no less, as it does now. This must have been ever since XX s. came to weigh, and to be called, a Pound. And so it was with the Saxon Pound, that was always 48 s. And he who owed five Pounds, before the Norman Times, did certainly pay 240 s. which was, both in Weight and Denomination, five Pounds: Whereas five Pounds are now only so in Name, and

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and not in Weight. Let me end this Chapter, with giving you the Names (from Mr. Camden) of several false and small Pieces, that were heretofore in use among our Fathers. In the Time of E. 3. Crocards, Pollards, Rosaries, Cocodones, Stepings, and Staldings, were cried down. Gally-Half-Pence, which were brought hither by the Genoese Gallies, cried down by H. 4. Suskins and Dodkins by H. 5. and Blanks by H. 6. There were also little Pieces coined by H. 7. called Dandypratts, which, I suppose, were little and contemptible Things, because that Word has since been used to signify small and worthless People.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Price of Corn, and other Commodities, for 600 Years last past.

HAVING dispatch'd, with what *Exactness* I could, the Chapters of *Monies*, I am now come to speak to the Price of *Corn* and other *Commodities*; which is (whether you know it or not) the readiest way to the Solution of your *Third*, and most material *Question*. For, your *Business* is to know (as near as you can) what *Estate* or *Sum* of *Money* will *now-a-days* be equal or equivalent to *five Pounds* (let that be the supposed *Sum* in this *Discourse*) in the *Reign H. VI.* and to this *End*, your *Care* will be, to find out how much *Meat*, *Drink*, or *Cloth*, might be purchased in *H. VI.* *Reign*, with *5 l.* and then to find out, how much of the *Money* now current, will be required to purchase the same *Quantity* of *Meat*, *Drink*, and *Cloth*. For, since *Money* is of no other *Use*, than as it is the *Thing* with which we purchase

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the *Necessaries* and *Conveniencies* of *Life*, 'tis evident, that if *5 l.* in *H. VI.* *Days*, would purchase *5 Quarter of Wheat*, *4 Hogsheads of Beer*, and *6 Yards of Cloth*, he who then had *5 l.* in his *Pocket*, was full as rich a *Man* as he who has now *XX l.* if with that *XX l.* he can purchase no more *Wheat*, *Beer*, or *Cloth*, than the other. I do not mean hereby to pre-judge this to be the *Proportion*; but use this *Instance* to let you see, that this is the *propereft* way of coming to know, what *Estate* is *now* most answerable to an *Estate* of *5 l. per. An. 250 Years* ago. And tho' the comparing the *Reign* of *H. VI.* with your own *Times*, would be sufficient for your particular *Purpose*; yet since I have made the same *Collections*, for the *Years* foregoing, and for those which follow the *Reign* of *H. VI.* it will be (I believe) neither ungrateful nor unprofitable, to give them to the *Reader*; especially since other *Colleges*, which may be under the like *Obligations*, were founded, some *before*, and some *since*, the *Reign* of *H. VI.* It will be most for the *Reader's Use*, and *Ease*,

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that

that I set down the Particulars in *Order of Time*; and if he shall chance to judge many of them to be trivial (as some perhaps will judge them all to be) as standing by themselves, I desire him to consider, that, in Conjunction with the rest, they may be of some Moment; and that others may like to see those very Particulars which he so little esteems. As to the *Year of our Lord*, (into which I change the *Years of the Kings Reigns*) I will not pretend to be most exact; as well because I think it not much to the Purpose to be so, as also because each Year of a King's Reign does unavoidably fall into two Years of *our Lord*, and if I hit either of them, or come very near them, it answers my Intention.

In King *Ina's* Laws, which were made betwixt 712, and 727, it is said, *Ovis cum Agno suo valet unum Solidum, usque ad XIII Noctes post Pascha.* An Ewe, with her Lamb, is worth one Shilling, till 13 Nights after Easter. *Bromton. Chr. 766.* but instead of 13, it should be 14, as it is in the *Saxon* of Mr. *Lambard.*

Between

Between the Years 900, and 1000, *Ednoth* bought 2 Hydes of Land at *Stapleford* (in *Bedfordshire*) for C. Shil. of the best Silver, and gave them to *Ramsfey Abby.* *D. Gale's Hist. Ramsf. 415.* and *p. 471. Hist. Eliensf. a Palfry* was at Xs. which was about the Year 966. And *p. 473.* an Acre of Land was purchased at 1s. and a Hyde at C. s. from whence one might think, that a Hyde contained an 100 Acres, but it contained 120 Acres. And, once for all, you will do well to remember, that a *Hyde*, a *Yard-Land*, and a *Knight's Fee*, contains no certain Number of Acres, but differs according to different Places; as you may see in the *Glossaries.*

In the *Senatus Consulta de Monticulis*, in the Time of King *Ethelred*, about the Year 1000, if a Horse be lost, the Compensation must be 30s. A Mare, or Colt of a Year old, 20s. A Mule or young Ass at 12s. An Ox at 30d. A Cow 24d. A Swine 8d. A Man one Pound. A Sheep 1s. A Goat at 11d. *Note*, That this is Saxon Money,

E 2

5d.

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5 d. to the Shill. and 48 s. to the Pound. *Whelock*, p. 96.

In 1043, *Chron. Saxon.* Corn was so dear, as no One ever remembered it; inso-much that a *Sester* of Wheat was sold for LX d. *H. of Huntingdon* explains this *Sextarius*, by saying it was as much as would load a Horse; and so does *Rob. de Monte*, in 1041. and both of them say it was sold for V Sol. And both of them lived about the Year 1140. A *Sester* or *Sextarius* was what we now call a *Quarter*, or a *Seam*, containing 8 Bushels. So Sir *H. Spelman*. And, in Confirmation of it, cites *Huntington*, L. 6. *Circa hoc tempus (scil. Ed. Confess.) tanta fames Angliam invasit, quod Sextarius Frumenti, qui Equo uni solet esse oneri, venundaretur V. Solidis, & etiam plus.* These two Authors, that wrote in *Latin*, and lived an 100 Years after, in the *Norman* Times, translated LX d. into V Sol. because in *their* Days the Shilling contained 12 d. But in the *Saxon* Times, i. e. when this Famine or Scarcity happened, 1043, the Shilling contained but 5 d. so that

LX d.

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LX d. with the *Saxons* was XII Sol. So the Fragment of *Ælfric Grammaticus* (cited by Mr. *Sommer*) who died, as Mr. *Wharton* thinks, in An. 1051, *Anglia Sacr.* P. I. *Libra on Leden is Pund on Englisc, Fif Penegas gemacigath æne Scillinge, & XXX Penega æne Mancs.* i. e. *Libra* in *Latin* is a *Pound* in *English*, *Five Pennies* make *one* *Schilling*, and 30 *Pennies* a *Mark*. A *Mark* was therefore VI Sol. as I have before observed, because there are 6 times 5 in 30.

And it will not be amiss, to hint to you, on this Occasion, the Necessity there is of remembering how near your *Author* lived to the Times he writes of; because most Men are apt to speak of Ages past, according to the Ways and Customs of their own. Thus, in the *Laws of King Athelstan*, as they are translated by *John Brompton* (*inter X Scriptores*) pag. 847. an Offender is to forfeit for his *first* Fault, XXX d. for his *second*, LX d. and for his *third*, X s. Now this could not possibly be in King *Athelstan's* Time, when LX d. made XII s. but in *John Brompton's* Time,

E 3

(who

(who lived under *Ed. III.*) X s. was double (as it still is) to LX d. and was a *treble* Mult for a *third* Offence; as reason required. And thus in L. 59, of King *Ina*, He who wounds or maims the *Horn* of an Ox, is to pay X d. [*Brompton* says V d.] of a Cow, 2 d. [*B.* says V d.] Who cuts off the *Tail* of an Ox, is to pay IV d. [*B.* says V d.] of a Cow, V d. Who puts out the *Eye* of an Ox, is to pay V d. of a Cow, a *Shilling*. [*Brompton* says 12 d.] Now, tho' a *Shilling* in *Brompton's* Time had in it 12 d. yet in *Ina's* Time, it had but 5 d. I could give you many Instances of this Nature, if it were useful; but these (which are not alien from my Design) may suffice to justify the Caution I gave you, of minding your Author's Age. But, leaving you to take part, either with my Conjectures or with the two above-named Authors, *Rob. de Monte*, and *H. Huntington*, I set down the Price of a Quarter of Wheat, in 1043, at _____

In 1125, a *Sextar* or Quarter of Wheat, at _____

l. s. d.
00 00 60
01 00 00

So

So say *Annales de Margan* (put out by *Dr. Gale*) there was so great a Famine. But *H. Huntington* in the same Year says, p. 382. *Vendebatur Onus equi frumentarium VI s.* And *Rob. de Monte*, in the same Year, says it was the dearest Year in *England*, that was ever known; for a Horse-load of Wheat was sold at VI Sol. This, upon the Credit of these two Writers, seems more likely than the Price set by the *Annalist*, of 20 s. If the *Liber niger Schaccarii* were written in the Time of *H. I.* as some affirm, it ought to be noted down, in the next place, (since he began 1100, and ended 1135.)

	l.	s.	d.
1. <i>Pro Mensura Tritici ad Panem Centum Hominum.</i> _____	00	01	00
2. <i>Pro Corpore Bovis Pascualis.</i> _____	00	01	00
<i>Pro Præbenda XX Equorum.</i>	00	00	04
3. <i>Pro Ariete vel Ove</i> _____	00	00	04

1. This was the Exchange made by the King; that instead of *Provisions* for his Household, he might have some ready *Money* to defray the Expences of his Court, and pay his Soldiers. Instead, therefore, of *Bread* for a

E 4

100

100 Men (for one Meal, I suppose) the Tenant was to pay a Shilling.

2. Instead of a stalled Ox, the Tenant was to pay a Shilling. Mr. Selden, in his Notes on Eadmer, says it was five Shillings. But Sir H. Spelman (in v. Firma) who saw the Book, and transcrib'd this Passage, puts it down Solidum unum; and him I follow. He says, it is a Book on which the Sun does seldom shine; meaning, that it is rarely seen and hard to come at. He had the Opportunity of transcribing many Pieces of it, which he has given, in several Places of his Glossary; and so has Mr. Lownds transcrib'd a good deal of it, in his Essay. But this is all that I could find to my present Purpose.

3. By Provender of Horses is always meant Oats. And instead of bringing Oats for XX Horses (for a Night, I imagine) the Tenant was to allow 4 Pence.

In the Laws of H. I. cap. 76. Forty Sheep are valued at

l. s. d.
01 00 00

About the Year 1145, the Tenant of a Place was to pay yearly XXs. or VII Oxen, each worth IIIs. M. Paris, p. 1013.

In 1185, the Tenants of Shireborn, are, by Custom, to pay either 2d. or 4 Hens, which they will. And by the Custom of Belesball, they are to have a Ram, or VIII d. (and in the Preface to King Athelstan's Laws, a Ram was at 4d. Vel unus Aries, qui valeat III Denarios.) Monast. V. II. p. 528.

In 1196, so great a Scarcity of Corn that, at Salisbury, a Sema of Wheat was sold at

l. s. d.
00 13 04

In 1197, a Sema of Wheat (i. e. a Quarter) at

00 18 08

Tbo. Wikes, Chron. Dr. Gale (to whom we are obliged for the Edition of this, and other Historians) puts his Note under the Word Sema, quatuor modios. Which surely is not so; for Sema is a Quarter, or 8 Bushel. And so Sir H. Spelman, Seam VIII modiorum mensura; sic de Frumento dictum, quod unius Equi fit Sauma, i. e. Sarcina. So that, with him, a Quarter of Wheat is a Horse-load. And, doubtless, a Quarter is a quarter or fourth Part of some Load or Weight; for so quarta, quartalis, and quartarium, signifies a Peck, or the fourth Part of a Bushel: and a

Quart

Quart is the fourth Part of a Gallon.

In 1199, King John ordered that a Tun of Poictou Wine should be sold for no more than—

A Tun of Anjou Wine at —

No French Wine above —

Unless so very good, that One would be glad to give, per Tun —

No Sextarium, of Poictou Wine, to be sold above —

Nor any White, dearen than

But the Merchants could not bear this Assize, and sold the Red for 6 d. and the White for 8 d. the Gallon. And the Land (as the Historian observes) was filled with Drink and Drunkards. Annales Burtonenses. An. 1199.

Mr. Stow mentions no Measure but a Gallon, for Sextarius. And Sir H. Spelman says, that at Paris, a Modius Vini holds 36 Sextarios, and that a Sextar is 8 Pints. At this rate Tonellus Vini will hold but about 60 Gallons, which is the nearest to our Hogf-head. Mr. Stow calls the Poictou Wine, Wine of Rochel: And for the French Wine he says the Assize was 1 l. 6 s. and 4 d. by the Tun. And says, p. 165, that

they

they

they

they

they

they

they

they

	l.	s.	d.
A Tun of Anjou Wine at —	01	00	00
No French Wine above —	01	04	00
Unless so very good, that One would be glad to give, per Tun —	01	05	00
No Sextarium, of Poictou Wine, to be sold above —	01	06	08
Nor any White, dearen than	00	00	04
	00	00	06

they who sold by the Tun, Hogf-head, or otherwise, contrary to this Assize, were to be punished. But, if we are to understand, in this place, a Tun of English Measure (which is 252 Gallons) by the Word Tonellus, then cannot a Gallon of Poictou Wine come to 4 d. no, nor to 1 d. since in XXs. there are but 240d. I suspect that Sextarius is more than a Gallon: for I do not think, that so long ago as 1199, Red Wine at 1 d. ob. and White at 2 d. the Quart, would have filled the Land either with Drink or Drunkards; especially when Anjou and Poictou were in the English Hands; it must be cheaper much, to make that Observation good. And tho' the Rochel Hoghead be but 46 Gallons, yet it will not do.

In 1202, so great a Scarcity (occasioned by continual Rains) that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for more than (Annales, Waverl.)

l.	s.	d.
00	12	00

In 1205, there was so great a Frost, lasting from January 14. to March 19. that Wheat was (M. Paris) the Quarter,—

00	12	00
----	----	----

Mr.

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Mr. Stow says the Ground was so hard, that it could not be tilled, and a Quarter of Wheat was sold the Summer following for a Marc; which, in H. II. Days, had usually been at 1 s. Beans and Pease, by the Quarter, 6 s. 8 d. And Oats, that were wont to be at 4 d. the Quarter, were now at 3 s. 4 d. Fabian puts Wheat, now, at 15 s.

In or about 1217, when the King came to Redbourn, the Camerarius of St. Albans lost three good Horses, two Asses, and a good new Cart: all which were worth, at least, 50 s.

When Fulco de Brent came to Langley, the Camerarius lost three Houses, that were burnt, and 35 Hogs, which all came to at least X l. and a Plow that cost X s. (which is a Mistake for X d.) And when the King of France's Mareschal came, he lost many Oxen, Cows, Sheep, and other Things, and 24 Horses, valued, at least, at 40 Marks, i. e. 26 l. 13 s. 4 d. Matth. Paris, page 1059. The Camerarius was the Receiver of the Rents, and who

provided

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provided Clothes for the Monks.

In 1123, Wheat was very dear, and sold per Quarter, at (Stow, in 7 H. III.)

l. s. d.
00 12 00

About 1232, the Abbot of St. Albans, going a Journey, and attended with six Esquires on Horseback, agrees, that if the Horses die on the Way, he will give for each Horse X s. and the Horses are to be strong and handsome; decentes, & fortes ad portandum. M. Paris, p. 1051.

In 1237, Wheat was by the

Quarter, ———
Barley, ———
Oats, ———

00 03 04
00 02 00
00 01 00

Antiq. Peterborough, p. 304. Where I must observe, that I reduce all Measures to a Quarter, for Uniformity's sake. Here I meet with the Word Sceppe, which the Glossaries forget; but it signifies a Bushel, as appears, by casting up the Sum here mentioned, where XXVIII Quarter and one Sceppe of Wheat are valued at 4 l. 13 s. 9 d. which is just 5 d. the Bushel.

If you chance to meet with any young Companions of yours, who slight these sort of Studies, you may acquaint them, that the

present

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present excellent, most learned, and most useful Bishop of Ely, put out, with no small Labour of his own, the Antiquities, out of which I have told you, what Price, Wheat and Barley, and Oats bare, in or about 1237. Or (as Dr. Kennet) 1240.

In 1243, and 1244, Corn so plentiful, that Wheat and Pease were each of them by the Quarter (M. Paris in Annis.)

l. s. d.
00 02 00

In 1246, a Quarter of Wheat (so dear) at (Tho. Wikes.)

00 16 00

In 1247, a Quarter of Wheat (still dear) at (Tho. Wikes.)

00 13 04

In 1257, a Quarter of Wheat (excessively dear) at (Fabian)

01 04 00

In 1258, so great a Famine, that many People were starved, so that a Quarter of Wheat was sold at

00 16 00

v. Spelman. So Walter Hemingford. Which makes me suspect, that Fabian was mistaken in his Accounts of the foregoing Year, which make Wheat one third dearer. Mr. Stow says, it was XV s. nay XX s. the Quarter.

In 1270, Wheat was so dear, that it was sold at, the Quarter,

4 16 00

And sometimes at 16 s. the Bush, which makes it at 6 l. 8 s.

So

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So the Author of Antiq. Britan. in Vita Job. Peckam. who says that Provisions were so scarce, that Parents did eat their own Children. But, I hope, we need not believe him; 'tis only an Expression of the greatest Want imaginable.

In 1286, Wheat was at, the Quarter,

l. s. d.
00 02 08

But such a Storm of Rain, Thunder, and Lightning, fell on St. Margaret's Night, that Wheat came by degrees to the Quarter,

00 16 00

And this Dearness continued off, and on for about 40 Years, so that sometimes it sold at London for 4 l. the Quarter. H. Knyghton, p. 2468.

In 1287, Wheat was so cheap, that it was sold at, the Quarter,

00 03 04

1288, So great the Plenty of Corn, and Scarcity of Money, that Wheat was sold, by the Quarter, at

00 01 06

So Angl. Sacr. Annales Wigorn. The Waverly Annals say at 2 s. Mr. Stow says, that Wheat was sold (tho' the hottest Summer that was remembred) at London for 3 s. 4 d. in other Parts of England, at 1 s. 8 d. and 1 s. 4 d.

and

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and 1 s. nay, in the North and West Parts, at 8 d. the Quarter. Barley at 6 d. and Oats at 4 d. and Pease and Beans very cheap. And yet Fabian sets it down this Year at 9 s. 4 d. which is very dear. But it is easy to be mistaken in setting down one Year for another. And therefore when H. Knyghton says, that great Dearnels continued off and on, for 40 Years, we must understand him candidly; for now and then, it was, in that Space of Time, exceedingly cheap.

In 1289, Walsingham says Wheat was so cheap, that in some Places it was sold, the Quarter at 1 s. 8 d. in others at 1 s. 4 d. and in others at 1 s. which does certainly belong to the Year foregoing. Fabian makes this a dear Year, and says Wheat was by the Quarter at 12 s. and says it went on increasing till it came in Ed. II. Time to 2 l. the Quarter.

It may be, Mr. Dugdale's Account, in his Warwickshire Antiq. may be the more likely, as being between the Extrems of Walsingham and Fabian, as follows:

Wheat,

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	l.	s.	d.
Wheat, the Quarter, at —	00	06	00
Rye — — — —	00	05	00
Barley — — — —	00	03	00
Beans and Pease — — —	00	02	08
Oats — — — —	00	02	00
A Swan at — — — —	00	03	04
A Duck at — — — —	00	00	01
Mr. Stow's Account of this Year is, that by reason of great Hail, and Rains, Wheat rose from 2 s. the Quarter, to X s. 8 d. and, by degrees, came to XX s. the Quarter.			
In 1290, Tho. Walsingham, and from him the Author of Antiq. Britan. in Vita Job. Pecham, says, that Wheat, which had been at 2 s. the Quarter, rose (by reason of great Rains and Storms) to — — — —	00	16	00
Which Scarcity continued, off and on, for many Years.			
In 1294, Wheat (dear) by the Quarter, (Fabian) — — —	00	16	00
And sometime XX s. as H. Knyghton.			
In 1298, at Scarborough in Yorkshire, the Price of an Ox	00	06	08
A Cow, at — — — —	00	05	00
A Heifer, at — — — —	00	02	00
A Sheep, at — — — —	00	00	01

Monasticon, Vol. 2. p. 403.

F

In

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In 1299, This Year, was made an Act of *Common-Council*, for Prices of Victuals to be sold at *London*, by Consent of the King and Nobility: And as to Poultry, it was as follows. *Stow.*

	l.	s.	d.
A fat Cock	00	00	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
Two Pullets	00	00	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
A fat Capon	00	00	02 $\frac{1}{2}$
A Goose	00	00	04
A Mallard	00	00	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
A Partrich	00	00	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
A Pheasant	00	00	04
A Heron	00	00	06
A Plover	00	00	01
A Swan	00	03	00
A Crane	00	01	00
Two Woodcocks	00	00	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
A fat Lamb, from <i>Christmase</i> to <i>Shrovetide</i>	00	01	04
The same, for all the Year after	00	00	04
In 1302, in <i>Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's</i> , page 32. Wheat, by the Quarter, at	00	04	00
Malt ground, at	00	03	04
Pease, at	00	02	06
Oats, at	00	02	00
A Bull, at	00	07	04
A Cow, at	00	06	00
A fat Mutton, at	00	01	00
An Ewe Sheep, at	00	00	08

A Capon,

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	l.	s.	d.
A Capon, at	00	00	02
A Cock or Hen,	00	00	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
In 1309, <i>Will. Thorn</i> (<i>inter X. Scriptores</i>) in his <i>Chron. p. 2010.</i> gives us an Account of the Feast which <i>Ralf de Born</i> , Prior of <i>St. Augustine's, Cant.</i> made on his Installation-Day: In which it appears that he paid very great Rates for many Particulars of his Bill of Fare, considering the Times. I have given the Whole, but computed the Price of each Particular, that the Reader may see a little of the Spirit of that Age, and also what Proportion Commodities then bore, to what they do at this Day. And it will not be amiss to give him the Preface which <i>William Thorn</i> makes to this Bill of Fare. <i>Because</i> (says he) <i>the present Times</i> (1380) <i>may not, by any Means, be compared with the foregoing ones, for Plenty and Abundance of all sorts of Things, I have thought it convenient to give the following Account of this Feast, not that Posterity might imitate this Costliness, but rather might admire it.</i> And thus it was:			

F 2

Of

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Of Wheat, 53 Quarters, Price XIXl. [So that a Quarter came to — — — — —]	l. s. d.
Of Malt, 58 Quart. Price XVIIl. Xs. [A Quarter at — — — — —]	00 07 02
Of Wine, 11 Tun, Price XXIIIl. [A Tun at or about — — — — —]	00 06 00
Oats for the Guests, as well within as without the Gates of the City, 20 Quarters, Price IVl. [So that a Quarter came to — — — — —]	02 03 07½
For Spice (pro Speciebus) XXVIIIl.	00 04 00
For CCCl. of Wax, Price VIIIl. [So that a Pound came to near — — — — —]	00 00 06½
Almonds, Dl. Price IIIl. XVIII s. [So that a Pound came to above — — — — —]	00 00 01½
XXX Ox Carcaffes (pro Carcoifis Boum) Pr. XXVIIl. [Each came to — — — — —]	00 18 00
Of Hogs, C. Price XVIIl. [So that each Hog came to about — — — — —]	00 03 02¼
Of Muttons, [de Multonibus] CC. Price XXXl. [Each came to — — — — —]	00 03 00
Of Geefe, [de Aucis] M. Price XVIl. [Each Goose about — — — — —]	00 00 03¾
Of Capons and Hens, D. Price VIIl. V s. [Each Fowl came to — — — — —]	00 00 03

Of

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Of Pullets, [de Pulonibus] CCCCLXXIII. Price IIIl.	l. s. d.
XIV s. [Each — — — — —]	00 00 01½
Of Pigs, [de Porcellis] CC. Price Vl. [Each Pig at — — — — —]	00 00 06
Of Swans, 24. Price VIIIl. [Each Swan came to — — — — —]	00 05 10
Of Rabbits, 600. Pr. XVIl. [Each Rabbit came to — — — — —]	00 00 06
De Scentis de Braun, 16. Price IIIl. V s. Each Shield of Brawn (and therefore Mr. Somner guesfes right, that it should be read Scutis) came to — — — — —	00 04 00¾
Of Partrich, Mallards, Bitterns (Butores) and Larks, XVIIIl.	
Of Earthen Pots, M. Price XV s.	
Of Salt, 9 Quart. Price X s. 'tis 9 Summas. But 'tis, without doubt, a Mistake; for Salt was never so low as Three-Half-Pence the Bushel.	
De Scipbis, M. CCCC Mugs, I believe, or Wooden Cans to drink in, or it may be Black Jacks.	
Dishes and Platters, [Platellis] or Trenchers, M.M.M.CCC.	
De Scopis & Gachis. Price VIIIl. IV s. Scopa is a Broom or Beesom, and, by its Use, a Penitentiary Discipline. But what	

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it is here, or what *Gachis* signifies, I know not.

Of Fish, Cheefe, Milk, Onions, &c. Price III. X s.

Eggs, 9600, Pr. IV. X s. l. s. d.
Which are about 9 for — — 00 00 01

Of Saffron [*Crocus*] and Pepper. Price II. XIV s.

In Coals, and [*Doleis*] setting up Furnaces. Price III. VIII s.

In CCC Ells of Caneum, Canvas, or Flax. Pr. IV l.

In making up Tables, Trestles, and Dressers. Price II. XIV s.

Given to the Cooks and their Boys, VII.

To the Minstrels, or Musick, III l. X s.

The Sum total is, CCLXXXVII l. VII s. taking in the Presents and Gratuities. At this Feast there were 6000 Guests that sat down at the Tables, and they had 3000 Messes. And therefore instead of *quo respondentes* (at the End of this Account) I would read *Correspondentes*: answering to, or setting *Opposite* to each other. And so there was a Mess to each Couple. I observ'd above, that this *Prior* paid dear for many Particulars; and if you will compare this

Account

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Account with the foregoing ones, you will find his *Corn* of each kind, his *Beef*, and *Mutton*, and *Swans*, to be at a high Rate: and as for the Article of *Rabbits*, I am almost sure there must be some Mistake in it, for they could never be so dear (so long ago) as 6 d. a piece.

In 1309, a pair of Shoes, (*Spel. Gl. v. Vatarius*) at — l. s. d.
00 00 04

In 1314, *Antiq. Oxon.* Upon the Chancellors and Proctors Complaints to the King, (*E. II.*) that the Market of *Oxford* ran unreasonably high, so that poor Scholars could hardly live, the King sent down his *Mandate*, to regulate this Affair. But since the *Parliament* took the same Thing (with respect to the whole Nation) into Consideration, it will be better to give the Rates they thought fit to set upon Provisions, especially since there is no Difference, or but a little, betwixt these two Accounts. Thus therefore Mr. *Stow* sets it down.

A stalled or Corn-fed Ox, at	01	04	00
A Grass-fed Ox, — —	00	16	00
A fat stall'd Cow, — —	00	12	00
An ordinary Cow, — —	00	10	00

F 4

A fat

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	l.	s.	d.
A fat Mutton, unshorn (Cornfed, the <i>Oxford Antiq.</i> say) —	00	01	08
A fat Mutton, shorn —	00	01	02
A fat Hog of two Years old (the <i>Antiq.</i> say it should be <i>ovis bima</i> . But, I think, the Price does not so well agree with that) at — — — —	00	03	04
A fat Goose in the City, 3 d. but every where else, at —	00	00	02½
A fat Capon, in the City, 2 d. ½, elsewhere, at —	00	00	02
A fat Hen, in the City, 1 d. ½, elsewhere, at — — —	00	00	01
2 Chickens, in the City 1 d. ½, elsewhere, at — —	00	00	01
4 Pigeons (in the City but 3 Pigeons) for — — —	00	00	01
24 Eggs (in the City but 20) for	00	00	01
But notwithstanding this <i>Act of Parliament</i> , Things could not be purchased at these Rates, for People would not bring them to Market, (and that is a thing Parliaments cannot remedy) and so the King was fain to revoke the former <i>Act</i> , and leave People to sell as they could (for a Trade will do as it can, and never be forced, one way or other) and (as <i>Walsingham</i> tells us, in 1315; and 1316,) the Price of Pease			

and

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	l.	s.	d.
and Beans, and of Wheat, was, by the Quarter, at — — —	01	00	00
Malt, at — — — —	00	13	04
Salt, at — — — —	01	15	00
Nay (by the Rains in Harvest) the Dearth was such, that Wheat came to 30, and 40 s. the Quarter. And Good Ale was at the Gallon (<i>per Lagenam</i> , from whence the Word <i>Flaggon</i> , which used heretofore to hold 4 Quarts, is derived) — — — —	00	00	02
The better sort, at — — —	00	00	03
And the best of all, at — —	00	00	04
So that a Proclamation was fain to be issued out, that a <i>Lagena</i> of Ale should be sold at — — —	00	00	01
And that no Wheat should be malted (<i>imbrasiatum</i>) which the <i>Londoners</i> had usually done, to the great Consumption of Corn, and sold it at (the <i>Flaggon</i>)	00	00	01½
And the viler Ale, at — — —	00	00	01
In 1316, Wheat exceeding dear (<i>Fabian</i>) at the Quarter, — — —	01	12	00
In 1317, so great a Scarcity of Corn, that at <i>Leicester</i> , on a <i>Saturday</i> , Wheat was sold at (<i>per Quarter</i>) — — —	02	04	00
And the <i>Friday</i> following, at the same Place, at 14 s. the Quarter.			

So

In 1315 *Quarta* *Antiq.* *procurator* *de* *Walsingham* *lib.* *1315*
Solid *de* *at* *et* *tra.* *Walsingham* *lib.* *49*
per *Drumpe* *per* *Cooke* *lib.* *377*

of. p. 1315
see page
Walsingham

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So H. Knyghton; but there is a Mistake in his saying, the Scarcity continued for two Years, and was general throughout all England. Fabian puts it this Year, — — — —

l. s. d.
02 13 04

And yet of this very Year 1317, Stow tells us, that the Harvest was in so early, that all was housed before St. Giles's Day, which is Septemb. 1, and Wheat, that was before at IV l. the Quarter, was now at VI s. VIII d. and Oats, that was before III l. IV d. now at V s. IV d. which makes what Knyghton says probable; for what he says, was but a Decrease of two thirds: Whereas Mr. Stow's Decrease is eleven in twelve.

In 1326, 1 Ed. III. at Tunbridge in Kent, Inquisitio unum Capitale Messuagium LXX Acres of Arable Land, worth per An. XXXV s.

Twelve Hens, at ———	00 01 06
One Cock and 13 Hens, at —	00 01 07
Eight Porkers and a half, at	00 15 00
80 Acres of Arable, at XX s.	
l. e. per Acre ———	00 00 03
20 Acres of Pasture, each	
Acre at ———	00 00 01
14 Acres of Meadow, each at	00 00 04
18 Acres	

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18 Acres of Arable, each	l. s. d.
Acre at ———	00 00 03
27 Acres of Arable, each at	00 00 04
Two Acres of Meadow, each	
Acre at ———	00 00 10
A Cock — — — —	00 00 01
Three Hens — — — —	00 00 04 1/2

Mr. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 541. You may see from hence, that you can make no certain Computation, from the Rates of Acres, because of the Difference of the Grounds.

In 1336, such Plenty of Corn, and Scarcity of Money, that Wheat was, at London, by the Quarter — — — —

00 02 00

A fat Ox, at ———

00 06 08

So H. Knyghton. And Fabian adds,

For a fat Sheep VI d. and at most ———

00 00 08

VI Pigeons for ———

00 00 01

A fat Goose, at ———

00 00 02

A Pig ———

00 00 01

And says it was occasioned by King E. III. gathering up all the Money he could get, to carry on his Wars in France and Scotland.

In 1338, Wheat, the Quarter, at ———

00 03 04

Barley, at ———

00 00 10

Pease

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	l.	s.	d.
Peafe and Beans, the Quarter, at	00	01	00
Oats, the Quarter, at	00	00	10
In 1339, several Undertakers promise to deliver at the Town of Berwick, and in Leith-Road, 10000 Quarters of Wheat and Malt, each Quarter at	00	09	00
Oats, Beans, and Peafe, each Quarter at	00	05	00
Sir R. Cotton's Abridgm. Records. This was a high Price.			
In 1343, Two Oxen, Price of each	00	08	00
In 1344, One Cow, at	00	05	00
Dr. Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.			
In 1348, H. Knyghton says, that in the Pestilence, Things were sold almost for nothing. A Horse worth 40s. was sold for	00	06	08
A good fat Ox, at	00	04	00
A Cow, at	00	01	00
An Heifer, or Steer, at	00	00	06
A fat Mutton, at	00	00	04
An Ewe, at	00	00	03
A Lamb, at	00	00	02
A Hog, at	00	00	05
A Stone of Wooll, at	00	00	09

The Historian says upon this Matter, *Er at leve precium cunctis, præ mortis timore*, p. 2599, they were not only afraid of the Cattles dying, but of their own, for,

otherwise,

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otherwise, *Wooll* need not have been so cheap.

	l.	s.	d.
In 1349, Corn so plentiful, and other Provisions, that Wheat was, by the Quarter, at	00	02	00

A fat Ox at London, for	00	06	08
-------------------------	----	----	----

Antiquit. Britann.

In 1359, Wheat, very dear, a Quarter, at (<i>Fabian</i>)	01	06	08
--	----	----	----

In 1361, Wheat so cheap, that a Quarter was at (<i>Monast. V. 2.</i>)	00	02	00
---	----	----	----

Two Hens for	00	00	01
--------------	----	----	----

In 1363, a Widow is to pay 4 Hens, or in Money	00	00	04
--	----	----	----

XII Hogs at XVIII ^s . each Hog at	00	01	06
--	----	----	----

Dr. Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. Yet Wheat so dear, that *Walsingham* says a Quarter was at

	00	15	00
--	----	----	----

In 1369, <i>Walsingham</i> says there was such a Dearth, that Wheat was sold, by the Quarter, at 1 l. 4 s. according to <i>Stow</i>	01	00	00
---	----	----	----

Barley, at	00	16	04
------------	----	----	----

Oats, at	00	08	00
----------	----	----	----

In 1379, Wheat so cheap, that the Quarter was at	00	04	00
--	----	----	----

White Wine was sold by the Gallon, for	00	00	06
--	----	----	----

Red Wine by the Gallon, at (<i>Stow</i>)	00	00	04
--	----	----	----

In

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In 1382, a Tun of Wine not to exceed (<i>Stow</i>) — —	l. s. d.
	04 00 00
<i>Heam</i> In 1387, Barley, at <i>Leicester</i> , <i>Neuhig.</i> fold by the Quarter, at — —	00 01 00
Wheat, by the Quarter, at — —	00 02 00
<i>2/10-7/84.</i> Barley, in the same Year, by the Quarter, at — —	00 02 00
Pease, by the Quarter, at — —	00 01 00
<i>Siliginis</i> , (which, what it is, I know not) per Quarter, at — —	00 01 00
In 1390, Wheat at <i>Leicester</i> , by the Quarter, at — —	00 16 08
and 14s. and 13s. 4d. And Wooll was so cheap (by reason of a Law that forbad Men to carry it but to such and such Places, for Stranger-Merchants to fetch it, and might not export it themselves) that it was sold, by the Stone, at — —	00 03 00
and at 2s. and 1s. 8d. (<i>H. Knyghton</i> , who lived at <i>Leicester</i> .)	
In 1401, Wheat very dear, the Quarter at (<i>Fabian</i>) — —	00 16 00
In 1407, in a <i>Computus</i> , relating to the <i>Prior</i> and <i>Canons</i> of <i>Burcester Oxf.</i> are found these following Particulars, to our present Purpose, which I have transcribed out of <i>Dr. Kennet's Parochial Antiquities</i> ; which Book, if you will read it, will pay you for your Time and Pains,	

being

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being full of many curious, learned, and useful Observations, in this way of Learning.	l. s. d.
For a Cow, — — — —	00 07 00
For the Calf of that Cow, — — — —	00 01 08
For a Calf of a Cow that was somewhat weak, <i>debilis</i> , — — — —	00 01 00
For 5 Calves (each at 2s. 1d. $\frac{1}{2}$, very near) — — — —	00 10 08
For 5 Bushels and a half of Salt, — — — —	00 03 04 $\frac{1}{2}$
For a Cowele or Cooler, in Brewing, — — — —	00 00 09
For a Cow and her Calf, — — — —	00 07 06
For 2 Bushels of Wheat, — — — —	00 00 10
For a Man threshing for V Days — — — —	00 00 10
For 2 Oxen — — — —	01 06 08
For one Ox — — — —	00 11 06
For a new Plow, — — — —	00 00 10
For XI Bushel of Sowing-Wheat (the Quarter near 4s. 4d. $\frac{1}{2}$.) — — — —	00 05 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
For XVIII Bush. of Sowing-Oats, (the Quart. at 2s.) — — — —	00 04 06
For a Dung-Cart, and all that belong'd to it, — — — —	00 01 02
For a Pair of Cart-wheels, — — — —	00 03 02
For R. P. working XII Days (3d. per Day) — — — —	00 03 00
For J. B. working one Day — — — —	00 00 03
For a Calf — — — —	00 01 07
In 1416, Wheat very dear, the Quarter at (<i>Fabian</i>) — — — —	00 16 00

In

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	l.	s.	d.
In 1423, Wheat cheap, the Quarter at (<i>Fabian</i>) ———	00	08	00
Malt, at ———	00	05	00
Wheat at 8 s. the Quarter, was not, for those Times, <i>cheap</i> ; but it was cheap, with respect to some dear Years foregoing.			
A Ram, at ———	00	00	08
A Cheefe, at ———	00	00	04
From such Articles as this last foregoing one, where neither <i>Weight</i> nor <i>Goodness</i> is expressed, nothing can be concluded.			
In 1425, in another <i>Computus</i> of the <i>Prior</i> and a <i>Canon</i> of <i>Burcester Oxf.</i> in <i>Dr. Kennet's Par. Ant.</i>			
For a Colt fold, ———	00	08	00
For X Quarter of Pease, (each Quarter at 2 s. 2 d.) at ———	01	01	08
For XVIII Quarters and 2 Bush. of Pease (about 3 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per Bush.) at ———	01	17	07
For V Ox-Hides ———	00	12	00
For II Cow-Hides ———	00	02	07
For III Cow-Hides ———	00	04	08
For XVI Calves-Skins ———	00	02	00
For XXI Lambs ———	00	04	00
For XXXVI Sheep-Skins, of 2 Years old ———	00	09	00
For XXIII Tod of pure Wooll (at 9 s. 6 d. the Tod) ———	10	18	06

For

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	l.	s.	d.
For XIX Ells of Cloth for Napkins ———	00	05	00
For CXXXII Flaggons and an half of Ale, at ———	00	04	10
I have observ'd before, that <i>Lagena</i> , (a Flaggon) holds 4 Quarts. Now an 132 Flaggons must, at that Rate make 528 Quarts, for which there was paid but 58 Pence: which will bring it to 9 Quarts a Penny, and 6 will remain besides. Now this cannot be allowed; there is therefore a Mistake either in setting down the Number of the Flaggons, or of the Money paid for them. And such Mistakes are very easy. A Flaggon of Ale, or a Gallon, was (at or near this time) valued at 1 d. or 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, or 1 d. $\frac{1}{4}$. And if you compute at this last Rate, and reckon XV s. for IV, it will come pretty near the Matter.			
For XXXII Flaggons of Red Wine, at 8 d. the Flaggon, ———	01	01	04
For III Flaggons and III Quarts of Sweet Wine, at 1 s. 4 d. the Flaggon ———	00	05	00
This is a manifest Proof, that <i>Lagena</i> holds 4 Quarts; for if it had held 3, there had been 4			

G

Lagena

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<i>Lagenæ</i> ; if it held 2, there had been 4 <i>Lagenæ</i> and 1 Quart. A Quart came to 4 <i>d.</i>			
To <i>W. H.</i> a Stone-cutter, for 4 Days work (4 <i>d.</i> the Day) —	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To <i>J. C.</i> and 2 Servants, Tyl- ing for 4 Days (between 3 <i>d.</i> and 4 <i>d.</i>) — — — —	00	01	04
To two Sawyers working X Days (4 <i>d.</i> the Day) — — — —	00	03	04
For XX Pullets — — — —	00	06	08
For a Quarter of an Ox to salt	00	01	08
For a Cade of Red Herrings (720 the Cade) — — — —	00	01	04
For a Frail of Figs — — — —	00	08	00
For 12 Pound of Raifins — — — —	00	03	04
For a great Flesh-Ax — — — —	00	01	01
For 2 Yards of Ruffet Cloth for the Shepherd — — — —	00	01	04
For 4 Quarters of Wheat to be malted, ('tis <i>pro 4 quarteriis Frumenti pro Brasio faciendo</i>) each Quarter at — — — —	00	02	02
For a Bay-Horse, for the Prior's Stable — — — —	00	16	00
For 2 Colts — — — —	00	04	00
For 30 Pair of Autumnal (Winter) Gloves for the Ser- vants — — — —	01	06	08
To the Baker's Servant for X Days — — — —	00	09	00
For threshing a Quarter of Wheat — — — —	00	04	00
	00	01	00
	00	00	03 ¹ / ₂
			For

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For 8 Woodcocks, for a Pre- sent — — — —	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For XII Pair of Gloves to the Bp. of <i>Worcester's</i> Servants — — — —	00	01	00
For one Man plowing and harrowing 12 Days — — — —	00	05	00
<i>Vaccæ Pretium</i> , (<i>Maddox Formul. p. 144.</i>) at — — — —	00	01	00
In 1426, V Oxen, each ap- prais'd at — — — —	00	08	00
VI Cows, each at — — — —	00	03	04
III Horses, each at — — — —	00	02	08
Sir <i>H. Spelman, Glossary V. Graile.</i>	00	03	00
In 1434, the Autumn was fo wet, that for almost two Years following, in many Places of the Kingdom, Wheat was sold, the Quarter, at — — — —	01	06	08
And yet at the End of the Year following it came again to (<i>Hist. Croyland Continuatio</i>) 5 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> therefore seems to have been the usual common Price of a Quarter, about that time.	00	05	04
In 1439, <i>Stow</i> says, there was such Scarcity, that Wheat was sold at 1 <i>l.</i> the Quarter: <i>Fabian</i> , at — — — —	01	06	08
In 1440, The Scarcity con- tinued, Wheat was, the Quar- ter, at — — — —	01	06	08
Malt, the Quarter, at — — — —	01	04	00
	00	13	00
			Oats

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	l. s. d.
Oats, the Quarter ———	00 05 04
Wine, by the Gallon ———	00 01 00
Bay Salt, by the Bushel ———	00 01 00

If I am not misinformed, the Statutes of a *College*, that was founded much about the same Time with yours, say, that the weekly Allowance, for every *Fellow, Chaplain, and Scholar*, shall be 1 s. 4 d. and in Times of Scarcity, 1 s. 5 d. and 1 s. 6 d. But if Corn should be (and continue for 20 Days) above 2 s. the Bushel, then their Allowance shall be 1 s. 8 d. the Week, and no farther. Wheat therefore at XVI s. the Quarter, must be accounted exceedingly dear. And yet in *An. 1440*, it was, at the lowest reckoning of *Mr. Stow*, at 20 s. the Quarter. But, indeed, from that Year, to 1460, I have never found Wheat at above 8 s. the Quarter, and therefore 2 s. the Bushel might well be accounted a very high Price. And here, if it would avail me any thing, I might justly bemoan our want of History for these last 250 Years, and upwards, (I mean of Latin Writers) there having been very few, that

have

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have transmitted any thing (as of their own knowledge) of the Reigns of *H. IV, V, VI, Ed. IV, V, Ricb. III.* except what *Sir Thomas More* has left us of the two last. But, as to the Purpose in Hand, I have had the good Fortune to meet with the *Computus's* of 9 or 10 Years, that will exactly fit you, in this Inquiry, and they are of very great Credit, and shall go under the Name of *E. C.* but I will first give you an Account of the Price of Things, which I received from a private, but a very creditable hand, of the Year 1444.

	l. s. d.
For an 100 Quarters of Wheat 21 l. 13 s. 4 d. each Quarter at	00 04 04
For 2 Bushels of Wheat, (I suppose for Seed) ——— ———	00 01 00
For 2 Bushels of Pease (for Seed also) ——— ——— ———	00 01 00
For 5 Quarters of Pease, 15 s. each Quarter at ——— ——— ———	00 03 00
For 50 Quarter of Malt, 10 l. each Quarter at ——— ——— ———	00 04 00
For 6 Calves, 12 s. each Calf at ——— ——— ——— ———	00 02 00

G 3

For

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	l.	s.	d.
For 8 Porkers, 1 l. 4 s. each	00	03	00
at ————			
besides (<i>i. e.</i> without) the Head.			
For 40 Geese, 10 s. each	00	00	03
at ————			
For 31 Dozen of Pigeons,	00	00	04 $\frac{1}{2}$
10 s. 8 d each Dozen at about			
For 15 Doz. of Pigeons, 7 s.	00	00	06
6 d. each Doz. at ————			
For 100 Dozen of Pidgeons,	00	00	05 $\frac{1}{2}$
each Doz. at ————			
For an Ox ————	01	11	08
For 8 Cignets, or young	00	03	00
Swans, each ————			
For a Flich of Bacon ————	00	01	08
For 4 Oxen (young I sup-	00	13	00
pose, and lean) 52 s. each at ————			
For 26 Warp of Ling ————	01	10	04
For 100 Stock-Fish ————	00	17	06
For a Barrel of Herrings, (<i>i. e.</i>	01	00	00
30 Gallons fully packed) ————			
For 2 Plough-Oxen ————	01	03	00
For a Quarter of Oats ————	00	01	08
For three Bushel of Green	00	02	03
Pease (for Seed) ————			

At this Time it appears that Master Traders wrought by the Day at 3 d. and their Labourers or Servants at 1 d. But then, I believe, they had their Meat and Drink. The yearly Wages were, some 1 l. 6 s. 8 d. others 1 l. For this, see hereafter, Chap. 5.

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In 1445, VII Quarter and an half of Wheat came to XXX s.	l.	s.	d.
which is, each Quarter, at —	00	04	06
Oats, by the Quarter, at —	00	02	00
XII Flaggons, or Gallons of Ale 1 s. VI d. each Gallon at —	00	00	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hay, by the Load ————	00	03	06 $\frac{1}{2}$
For 3000 Red Herrings ————	01	11	00
XXIV Bullocks and Heifers, VII. each Head at ————	00	05	00
Cloth for Surplices for Scholars, the Ell, at ————	00	00	08
And, that you may not think this Cloth to be very coarse, I assure you it was the same with the <i>Napkins</i> used at the <i>Altar</i> ; and that, if you know the Religion of those Days, was certainly fine. <i>E. C.</i>			
In 1447, Wheat, by the Quarter, <i>E. C.</i> ————	00	08	00
Oats, the Quarter ————	00	02	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
In 1448, Wheat, by the Quarter ————	00	06	08
Oats, the Quarter ————	00	02	00
A Cade of Red Herrings —	00	05	08
A Barrel of White Herrings, <i>E. C.</i> ————	00	09	03
In 1449, Wheat, by the Quarter, <i>E. C.</i> ————	00	05	00
Cade of Red Herrings ————	00	06	00
Barrel of White Herrings —	00	10	03

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	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
XV Sheep, at <i>l. XVI s. X d.</i>			
each Sheep at (within $\frac{1}{2}$.)	00	02	05 $\frac{1}{2}$
VII Hogs, at <i>XIII s. VIII d.</i>			
each Hog at (within $\frac{1}{2}$.)	00	01	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
In 1450, Oats, the Quarter	00	01	10
Beans, the Quarter	00	02	06
In 1451, Wheat, by the Quarter, at	00	08	00
Oats, the Quarter	00	10	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
XXVI Gallons of Ale, (here the Word <i>Galo</i> is used for <i>Lagena</i>) 3 <i>s.</i> each Gallon at	00	00	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
Beans, the Quarter	00	03	04
For a Cade of Red Herrings	00	07	04
For a Barrel of White Herrings, <i>E. C.</i>	00	13	07
In 1453, Wheat, by the Quarter	00	05	04
Ale, <i>per</i> Gallon	00	00	01 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cade of Red Herrings	00	07	06
Fourscore White Herrings, <i>E. C.</i>	00	01	00
In 1454, Oats, by the Quarter	00	01	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
In 1455, Wheat, very cheap, the Quarter at	00	01	02
Malt, the Quarter (<i>Mr. Stow</i>) at	00	01	05
In 1457, Wheat by the Quart.	00	07	08
Oats, the Quarter	00	01	09 $\frac{1}{2}$
A Gallon of Ale	00	00	01
A Cade of Red Herrings, at	00	06	08
92 White Herrings, <i>E. C.</i>	00	01	00

In

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In 51 *H. III.* it was determined by *Authority*, that when a Quarter of Barley was sold at 2 *s.* then *Ale* might be afforded 4 Quarts for 1 *d.* And when Barley was at 2 *s. 6 d.* the Quarter, then *Ale* was to be 7 Quarts for 2 *d.* and so to increase and decrease, after the Rate of 6 *d.* the Quarter. But no Rules can always hold for Trade: as you may see, by comparing the Price of Barley and *Ale*, in these and other Accompts.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
In 1459, Wheat, by the Quarter	00	05	00
Oats, the Quarter	00	08	10
A Gallon of Ale, at	00	00	01
A Cade of Red Herrings, at	00	07	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
92 White Herrings, at <i>E. C.</i>	00	01	00
In 1460, Wheat the Quarter, at	00	08	00
Oats, the Quarter	00	02	00
A Gallon of Ale, at	00	00	01
Cade of Herrings, at	00	07	00
192 White Herrings, at, <i>E. C.</i>	00	02	00

Here my private Guide, for a while, leaves me; but not before it has made my Observation good, that from 1440, to 1460 (the Time you inquire after) Wheat was never above 8 *s.* the

Quarter,

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Quarter, notwithstanding the Sword was drawn betwixt the Houses of York, and Lancaster, which usually cuts down Corn, as well as Men.

In 1463, It was enacted in Parliament, that no Corn should be imported, if Wheat were not above 6s. 8d. Rye 4s. Barley 3s. the Quarter; which signifies those Prices to be high.

	l.	s.	d.
In 1463, At London, Wheat was, by the Quarter	00	02	00
Barley, the Quarter	00	01	10
Pease, the Quarter	00	03	04
Oats, the Quarter	00	01	02
At Norfolk the same Year,			
Wheat, the Quarter	00	01	08
Barley	00	01	00
Malt	00	01	08
Oats, Mr. Stow	00	01	00

In 1464, White Wheat was sold by the Quarter (Sir R. Cotton's Records)

In 1475, Oats, the Quarter, at	00	01	10
Load of Hay, at	00	06	08

This is from a private Computus, P. C.

In 1486, Wheat, very dear; and Bay-Salt the same Price. Fabian.	01	04	00
---	----	----	----

In

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	l.	s.	d.
In 1489, Oats, the Quarter, P. C.	00	02	00
In 1491, Wheat, the Quarter, Fabian	00	14	08
In 1493, Oats, the Quarter Beans, P. C.	00	02	00
In 1494, Wheat (cheap and Bay-Salt the same) Fabian	00	03	04
In 1495, Wheat, Fabian — White Herrings, the Barrel, Fabian	00	04	00
In 1497, Wheat (very dear) Fabian	00	03	04
Oats, the Quarter, P. C.	01	00	00
In 1498, Load of Hay, P. C.	00	02	00
Mr. Stow says Hay was usually at 5s. but now it was 10s. or 12s.	00	08	02
In 1499, Wheat, per Quart. Bay-Salt, the Quarter	00	04	00
A Tun of Gascoign Wine, at, Mr. Stow	00	02	08
	02	00	00

See Stowe's Summary fol 366.

It is not for want of Pains, that you have no fuller Accounts of these foregoing 40 Years; for, I think, few publick Books have escaped my Diligence; and my private Ones have proved as barren. And so it will be for the 40 Years and more that follow; our Chroniclers wanted the Care and Observation of their Predecessors; and setting up for

Politicians,

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Politicians, quite neglected (as they thought them) lesser Matters. And, by a strange Fortune I have read the Computus's, or Accompts, of a Publick Body, where there was always good House-keeping, and have not yet been able, for the Space of 40 Years, to find what Price a Quarter of Wheat bore, tho' they spent a great many every Month. Your College-Books may supply these Wants, if you will now and then relax from Studies of more Attention, to inspect these lighter Matters, which will not make you a less useful Member of your Society.

In 1504. Antiq. Canterb. Appendix, p. 27. Wheat, the Quarter, at

	l.	s.	d.
Red Wine, per Dolium	04	00	00
Claret Wine, per Dolium	03	13	04
White Wine, elect	03	06	08
Malvesy, a Butt	04	00	00
Ale of London, per Dol.	01	10	00
Ale of Canterbury per Dol.	01	05	00
Beer, per Dol.	01	03	04

Dolium, I believe, does here signify a Pipe, or Butt, which contains an 126 Gallons. So that the Ale of London comes to

very

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very near 3 d. the Gallon. The Red Wine at 7 d. 1/2.

	l.	s.	d.
In 1505, A Load of Hay, at	00	06	00
Oats, by the Quarter, at	00	03	00
In 1506, Oats, by the Quarter, at	00	02	00
Beans, the Quarter, at	00	03	08
In 1507, Oats, the Quarter	00	02	00
Beans, the Quarter	00	03	06
A Hoghead of Red Wine	01	06	08
In 1508, Oats, the Quarter	00	01	10
In 1510, Oats	00	02	00
Load of Hay	00	09	00
In 1511, Load of Hay	00	05	00
Beans, the Quarter, at	00	03	04
Oats	00	02	00
In 1512, Oats, the Quarter	00	02	00
Beans	00	04	00
In 1513, Oats	00	02	04
In 1515, Beans, P. C.	00	04	02
In 1521, A Dearth. Wheat was by the Quarter. (Mr Stow)	01	00	00
In 1526, Oats, the Quarter	00	03	00
Beans, at	00	04	02
In 1530, Oats, the Quarter	00	04	00
Beans, the Quarter	00	05	04
In 1532, Oats, the Quarter	00	02	08 1/4
Beans	00	05	04

In 1533, it will not be amiss, to insert a little Piece of History, out of honest Mr. Stow, to our present Purpose, under this present Year.

It

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It was this Year enacted,
 That Butchers should sell their
 Beef, and Mutton, by Weight:
 Beef for a Half-Penny the
 Pound, and Mutton for Three
 Farthings: Which being de-
 vised for the great Commodity
 of the Realm(as it was thought)
 hath proved far otherwise.
 For at that time, (i. e. 1533.)
 fat Oxen were sold for XXVI s.
 VIII d. fat Weathers for III s.
 IV d. fat Calves of the like
 Price. A fat Lamb for XII d.
 The Butchers of London sold
 Penny Pieces of Beef, for the
 Relief of the Poor; every
 Piece two Pound and an-half:
 sometimes 3 Pound for a Pen-
 ny. And 13, sometimes 14
 of these Pieces for XII d. Mut-
 ton VIII d. the Quarter. And
 an 100 Weight of Beef for
 IV s. VIII d. What Price it
 hath grown to since, it need-
 eth not to be set down. At
 this Time also, and not before,
 were foreign Butchers permit-
 ted to sell their Flesh in Lea-
 den-Hall Market of London.
 I suppose by Foreign Butchers,
 he means such as lived not, or

had

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had not served their Apprentice-
 ship, in London.

	l.	s.	d.
In 1535, Oats, by the Quar- ter, at	00	02	08
In 1537, Oats the Quarter	00	03	04
Beans, the Quarter	00	06	00
In 1543, Oats	00	03	04
Beans	00	06	08
In 1551, Wheat, by the Quarter	00	08	00
Malt, at	00	05	01
Two Quarts of Malmsey	00	00	08
Oats the Quarter	00	08	00
A Load of Straw	00	05	00
A Load of Coals	00	12	00

Herbert.
401.

Whenever you meet with
 Coals, in old Accounts, you are
 to understand thereby Charcoal,
 not Seacoal; which has not been
 in common (as well as I can
 guess) 150 Years; at least not
 in London: Tho' I find them,
 in M. Paris under the Name of
 Carbo Marinus, in the Time of
 H. III. in Additament.

In 1552, Barley, the Quart.	00	05	00
In 1553, Wheat	00	08	00
Malt	00	05	00
A Tun of Wine	05	00	00
Muscadel the Quart, at	00	00	06
Malvesy, the Quart	00	00	05
Red Wine the Quart	00	00	03

In

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	l.	s.	d.
In 1554, Wheat the Quarter,	00	08	00
at _____	00	08	00
Rye, the Quarter, at _____	00	06	08
Malt, at _____	00	05	00
In 1555, Wheat, the Quarter,	00	08	00
at _____	00	08	00
Rye, the Quarter, at _____	00	16	00
Malt the Quarter, at _____	00	05	00
In 1556, Wheat, the Quart.	00	08	00
Malt, the Quarter _____	00	05	00
Beans, the Quarter _____	00	06	08
In 1557, Wheat, the Quart.	00	08	00
Rye, the Quarter _____	00	08	00
Malt, the Quarter _____	00	05	00
Oats, the Quarter _____	00	10	00
For threshing a Quarter of			
Wheat _____	00	01	01
For threshing a Quarter of			
Rye _____	00	00	10
For threshing a Quarter of			
Barley _____	00	00	05
Mr. Stow, says that in this			
Year, before Harvest, Wheat			
was, per Quarter _____	02	13	04
Malt, per Quarter _____	02	04	00
Beans and Rye, per Quarter	02	00	00
Pease, per Quarter _____	02	06	08
But after Harvest, Wheat was			
at London, per Quarter _____	00	05	00
Malt, per Quarter _____	00	06	08
Rye, per Quarter _____	00	03	04

631.

But

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	l.	s.	d.
But in the Country Wheat			
was, per Quarter _____	00	04	00
Malt, per Quarter _____	00	04	08
Rye _____	00	02	08
So that a Penny-Wheat-Loaf,			
which before Harvest was 11			
Ounces, was after Harvest 56			
Ounces. My Private Computus			
takes no Notice of these Ad-			
vances and Falls, to which I re-			
turn, and shall only insert, now			
and then, what Mr. Stow says.			
In 1558, Wheat the Quarter	00	08	00
Rye _____	00	08	00
Barley _____	00	05	00
A good Sheep _____	00	02	10
In 1559, Wheat _____	00	08	00
Rye _____	00	08	00
In 1560, Wheat _____	00	08	00
Rye _____	00	08	00
Barley, at _____	00	05	02
For a Load of old Hay _____	00	12	06
For a Load of (I suppose			
New) Hay _____	00	06	08
Oats, the Quarter _____	00	05	00
In 1561, Wheat the Quarter	00	08	00
Rye _____	00	08	00
Malt, the Quarter _____	00	05	00
Oats, the Quarter _____	00	05	00
In 1562, Wheat _____	00	08	00
Barley _____	00	05	00
For a Load of Hay _____	00	13	04
For a Load of Straw _____	00	06	00

H

For

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For a Hoghead of Claret- Wine	l. s. d.
In 1563, Rye, the Quarter	02 10 00
Oats, the Quarter	00 13 04
	00 05 00

I would not have been weary of transcribing such Accounts as these, if I had judged the Knowledge of them any thing to your Purpose; but I perceive the Way was now, and had been so for some Years before, as well as many that follow, to settle the Price of Corn betwixt the *Landlord* and *Tenant*, without Regard to what it *truly* was. *Wheat* was generally fix'd to 8 s. the Quarter, and *Malt* and *Oats* at 5. But finding it so for 20, 30, or 40 Years together, you may reasonably conclude, That was not the true Market-Price, because it is not in the nature of the Thing possible, that Corn should be so long at the same stand. But yet if you take Things for 20 Years together, 'tis likely that such a Price might be equal enough, betwixt the Landlord and the Tenant, and therefore well agreed upon. When, therefore, I have given you an Observation or two, of Mr. *Stow's*, relating

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to the Publick, I will shut up this long Chapter, with an Account of the Price of Corn for these last 60 Years, such as was indeed the *real* Price, and not of *Composition* or Agreement; of which you are to make the best Use you can, in order to the Satisfaction you require.

In 1574, Such a Dearth at *London*, that *Wheat* was, the Quarter, at

v. Stowe. 678.

	l. s. d.
	02 16 00
Beef (at <i>Lammas</i>) so dear, that a Stone came to	00 01 10
And 5 Herrings (so dear)	00 00 02
Bay Salt (never so dear) the Bushel sold at	00 06 00

After Harvest *Wheat* was the Quarter

01 04 00

and so continued about a Year.

See page 60 for the fall

In 1587, *Wheat* was, at *London*, by the Quarter, and in other Places at 10 s. 12 s. and 13 s. the Bushel. This was occasioned by excessive Transportation.

03 04 00

In 1594, *Wheat*, the Quarter, at

02 16 00

Rye

02 00 00

In 1595, *Wheat* (by much Transportation) the Quarter, at

02 13 04

A Hen's Egg, at

00 00 01

Or, at best, 3 Eggs for

00 00 02

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	l.	s.	d.
A Pound of sweet Butter —	00	00	07
Our Sins (as Mr. Stow says) deserving it.			
In 1596, Wheat (by reason of great Rains) the Quarter, at Rye —	04	00	00
Oat-meal, by the Bushel —	00	08	00
In 1597, Wheat fell from 5 l. 4 s. the Quarter, to —	04	00	00
Rye, from 9 s. the Bushel to 6 s. and then to 3 s. 2 d. and then rose again to the greatest Price. Bishop Goodwin in his Annals, 1557, says, that in this Year, 1597, Wheat was 13 s. 4 d. the Bushel X			
In 1598, Pepper so dear as that a Pound was sold at —	00	08	00
Raisins, at —	00	00	06
Gascoign Wine, the Gallon, at —	00	02	08
Sweet-Wine, the Gallon, at —	00	04	00

In 1628, wheat sold at 10^s 4^d per bushel in Cambridge Market. *Trinities History of 165.*
 X 1597. This yeare wheat was sold for 12^s 4^d per bushell in Salisbury; & barley at 7^s per bushell. Tho. Elliott Mayor. Now
 1641. The yeare wheat was sold at 10^s 4^d per bushell. Tho. Elliott Mayor.

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Now follows the Account, I promised you, of the true Market-Price of *Wheat*, and *Malt*, for 60 Years last past.

Years.	Wheat, Qu ^r .	Malt, Qu ^r .
1646	02 08 00	01 09 00
47	03 13 08	01 17 00
48	04 05 00	02 00 00
49	04 00 00	02 02 00
1650	03 16 08	01 18 06
51	03 13 04	01 09 00
52	02 09 06	01 08 00
53	01 15 06	01 08 00
54	01 06 00	01 00 08
55	01 13 04	01 00 00
56	02 03 00	01 04 00
57	02 06 08	01 08 04
58	03 05 00	01 09 04
59	03 06 00	02 08 08

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<u>Years.</u>	<u>Wheat, Qu^r.</u>	<u>Malt, Qu^r.</u>
1660	02 16 06	01 12 08
61	03 10 00	01 13 04
62	03 14 00	02 02 00
63	02 17 00	01 12 08
64	02 00 06	01 10 00
65	02 09 04	01 08 04
66	01 16 00	01 06 00
67	01 16 00	01 02 08
68	02 00 00	01 04 00
69	02 04 04	01 07 04
1670	02 01 08	01 06 06
71	02 02 00	01 05 04
72	02 01 00	01 02 00
73	02 06 08	01 04 00
74	03 08 08	01 14 00
75	03 04 08	01 14 00
76	01 18 00	01 06 00

Years.

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<u>Years.</u>	<u>Wheat, Qu^r.</u>	<u>Malt, Qu^r.</u>
1677	02 02 00	01 08 00
78	02 19 00	01 08 08
79	03 00 00	01 06 08
1680	02 05 00	01 02 08
81	02 06 08	01 04 08
82	02 04 00	01 08 00
83	02 00 00	01 08 08
84	02 04 00	01 05 04
85	02 06 08	01 08 00
86	01 14 00	01 05 04
87	01 05 02	01 04 00
88	02 06 00	01 02 00
89	01 10 00	01 00 00
1690	01 14 08	00 19 04
91	01 14 00	00 17 04
92	02 06 08	01 04 04
93	03 07 08	01 10 00

H 4

Years.

Years.	Wheat, Qu ^r .	Malt, Qu ^r .
1694	03 04 00	01 12 00
95	02 13 00	01 12 00
96	03 11 00	01 08 00
97	03 00 00	01 08 00
98	03 08 04	01 12 00
99	03 04 00	01 19 04
1700	02 00 00	01 11 04
1701	01 17 08	01 04 00
1702	01 09 06	01 08 00
1703	01 16 00	01 03 04
1704	02 06 06	01 08 00
1705	01 10 00	01 06 00

In

In this Computation, you are to know, that in every Year there are two Prices of Corn, the one of *Lady-Day*, the other of *Michaelmas*; both which I put together, and take the half, for the common Price of that whole Year. Of the first 20 Years of these last 60, the common Price of Wheat was 2*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$, the Quarter.

Malt was 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$, the Quarter.

The common Price of the second Score of Years was,

Wheat at 2*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$, the Quarter.

Malt at 1*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$, the Quarter.

The common Price for these last 20 Years past was,

Wheat at 2*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$, the Quarter.

Malt at 1*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$, the Quarter.

From whence it appears, that, one Year with another, for these last sixty, Wheat has been, the Quarter, at

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
02	09	10 $\frac{1}{2}$

And

And Malt (abating the Fractions) at	— — —	l.	s.	d.
		01	07	07 $\frac{1}{4}$

Which is, 6s. 2d. ob. q. the Bushel of Wheat, and 3s. 5d. q. the Bushel of Malt, and somewhat above.

Though I ought to acquaint the Reader, that the Market I have computed by, is somewhat higher than those at a very great distance from London; in which, if we allow Wheat to have been at 40s. and Malt at 24s. the Quarter, we shall come nearer to the Truth, in general.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

Of Stipends, Salaries, Wages, Joindures, Portions, Day-labour, &c.

IN the Council held at Oxford, 1222, it was decreed, That where the Churches had no greater Revenues than V Marks per An. they should be conferred on none, but such as should constantly reside in Person, on the Place. Spelman, Conc. Angl. Tom. 2.

A single Priest might therefore subsist on V Marks, but he could not afford to keep a Curate.

Accordingly Ste. Langton, A. B. Cant. in the same Year decrees, That the Perpetual Vicar shall have V Marks assign'd him, i. e. as much as may be farmed out for V Marks: Except in Wales, where by reason of the Smallness of the Livings (and Plenty, I suppose, of Provisions) the Vicars are contented with less Stipends. Ibid.

In 1287, Peter Quivil, B. of Exon, in Synodo Exoniensi, decrees, That in every Parochial Church, the Perpetual Vicarage should be endowed with, at least, V Marks per An. that he may, in some Measure, keep Hospitality; and in case he grow old, sickly, or impotent, may be thereby sustained. This must be done, if the Living be really worth XL Marks per An. But

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But if it be of better Value, the Vicar's Portion must be increased.

And as for a Curate (whom he here calls (a) Parochialis Sacerdos) he decrees the Rector shall pay him 40 s. per An. for his Stipend: and says, if the Rectors think themselves aggrieved by this, they may do their Work themselves, and save that Money. He also mentions Sacerdotes Auxiliarii, (b) and decrees, that they shall have 50 s. per An. at least; and if they have agreed for less, (c) such Agreement to be void. Concil. Ang.

(a) I should have thought, that Sacerdos (join'd especially with Parochialis) should have signified a Parish-Priest, Rector, or Vicar, as distinguish'd from his Capellanus, or Curate; but he seems to be here, a mere Stipendiary Curate, and removeable, whenever the Rector will do his Business himself. (b) Why an Auxiliary, or Assistant Priest, should have 50 s. per An. when the Curate had but 40, I cannot see: But there is very good Reason, why such under-hand Bargains (c) should be made void, which were so much to the Prejudice of poor Curates. And therefore (before this Constitution) in 1253, among the Articles of Inquiry, for all the Dioceses of England, one was, Whether any Rectors had made a Bargain with their Curates, that besides the Stipends they received from the Rectors, they might receive from others Annualia & Tricennalia; because this permitting of the Curate to be a Mass Priest, and to perform Annualia &

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& Tricennalia, was to save the Rector from giving so fair and reasonable a Stipend, as he ought. Annal. Burton, in 1253. Note, That Annualia were such Oblations, as were made by the Relations of the Deceased, upon the Day the Party died, every Year: which Day, our Fathers called the Year's-Day, or Year's-Mind, and, upon it, Mass was celebrated with great Solemnity, by one of the most considerable Clergymen, that could be procured, according to the Quality of the Deceased. Tricennalia were called Trentals, from Trigintalia, and in English, a Month's-Mind, because the Service lasted a Month, or 30 Days, in which they said so many Masses. As M. Du Fresne observes on the Word Tricenarium, Officium XXX Missarum, quod totidem diebus peragitur, pro Defunctis, vel Obventiones quæ obveniunt Sacerdotibus, ratione ejusdem Officii.

In 1289, Gilb. Cicestr. decrees, The Curates, in poor Churches, must have V Marks, for their Stipend; in richer Churches, they must have more.

In 1306, W. Grenefeld, A. B. Ebor. decrees the same thing. Concil. Ang.

In 1308, Rob. de Winchelsea, A. B. Cant. decrees, That no Curate shall serve under V Marks per An. Idem, ibid.

In 1348, H. Knyghton says, that the great Pestilence had swept away so many Priests, among other People, that a Chaplain could hardly be gotten to serve a Church, under X Marks, or X Pounds per An. whereas before,

they
P. Walsingham. 1327.
1327.

had 100
in a month
his income
is 100

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they might be had at V, or IV Marks, nay at II, together with their Diet: and Men would hardly accept of a Vicarage of 20 Marks or 20 l. per An. pag. 2600. This, I suppose, was, because Vicars were thought to be obliged to stricter Residence, which, in Pestilential Seasons, was, doubtless, hazardous.

In 1360, J. Thoresby, A. B. York, decrees the same thing with his Predecessor Grenesfeld in 1306, Concil. Ang. V. 2.

In 1362, Simon Iselip, A. B. Cant. decrees, That Chaplains Annualia celebrantes, and having no Cure of Souls, shall be content with V Marks per An. and they who have Cure of Souls, with VI Marks, unless the Diocesan, for good Cause, shall order more. But Mr. Stow observes upon it, that it occasion'd many of them to turn Robbers, p. 265.

The same A. B. the Month after, complains that the Priests grew wanton, and were not content with reasonable Stipends, for serving Parish Cures; but went about, rather chusing to say Masses, for the Living and the Dead, and get what they could that way, than fix in any certain Place: and therefore orders and appoints the same Salaries above-named; and if any One took any more, under any Pretence whatever, they should be punished. Concil. Ang. This had been highly unreasonable, unless V or VI Marks had been, at that Time, thought a sufficient Maintenance for a single Person. And so accordingly, about that Time, we find it was the usual Salary.

In

Chronicon Preciosum. 111

In 1371, In Stipendiis unius Capellani, 2 l. 13 s. 4 d. Burton Ant. Leicest. 87.

In 1378, Simon Sudbury, A. B. Cant. repeats the Decrees of his Predecessor Simon Iselip, and makes the same Complaints. And decrees, That every such unfix'd Mass-Priest should content himself with VII Marks per An. either all in Money; or with Diet and III Marks in Money. And he that takes a Cure, to content himself with VIII Marks, or with IV Marks and his Diet. And all this, under Pain of Excommunication. Concil. Angl.

This Matter seem'd to be of such Importance, that the Parliament, in 39 E. III. made Rules about it, in these Terms, c. 8. ' If any Secular Man in the Realm pay any more than V Marks, to any Priest yearly, in Money, or in other Things, to the Value; or if he pay to such Priest retained to abide at his Table, above two Marks for his Gown, and his other Necessaries, (his Table accounted to 40 Shillings) and thereof be attainted, He shall pay to the King fully as much as he paid to the said Priest.' And this was renewed in 1414, 2 H. V. St. 2. c. 2. in the following Manner:

' No yearly Chaplain, within the Realm, shall take, from henceforth, more for his whole Wages, by Year (that is to say, for his Board, Apparel, and other Necessaries) but VII Marks. Nor the Parish-Priests which be, or shall be retain'd to serve Cures, shall take, from henceforth, for their whole Wages,

Wages, by Year (that is to say, for the Things aforefaid) but VIII Marks: unless it be by Licenſe of the Ordinary. So that the whole Sum paſs not IX Marks.' And in 27 H. VI. a Pardon was paſſed for ſuch Priests as had offended againſt theſe Acts.

In 1421, H. Chicheley, A. B. Cant. at the very importunate Inſtance of his Clergy in Convocation, does, with the Conſent and Advice of his Suffragans, confirm and ratify the Decree of his Predeceſſor, S. Sudbury, in 1378, repeating the very Words of it. *Idem, ibid.*

And in 1439, (which is very near to the Time you are inquiring after) the ſame A. B. Chicheley, in Convocation alſo, decrees, That Vicarages ſhall be augmented (by the Rectors, or Appropriators) to XII Marks per An. if the whole Benefice be worth ſo much, to ſupport the Burthens incident to Vicarages. *Id. ibid.*

Vicarages were at firſt free from all Incumbrances and Burthens; but by the Artifice of the Monks, and Religious, the Favour they found at Rome, the Compliance of the Biſhops, and by other Means, they came, by degrees, to bear almoſt equal Charges with the Rectors, though much leſs able to do it. And therefore, though it was very well, and wiſely done by this Archbiſhop to augment Vicarages to XII Marks, yet conſidering the Charges and Burthens incident to Vicarages, they were not much advantaged by it; for a Vicarage of XII Marks, with its Burthens, may not

not be ſo good as a Curacy with VII or VIII Marks, without Incumbrance.

And therefore, even in 1439, (which is very near to the Time of the Foundation of your College) a ſingle Man was thought to be provided for, by a Stipend of VIII Marks, which is but VI s. VIII d. above the Sum you are inquiring about. You may therefore very reaſonably conclude, that, about that Time, a ſingle Man might live cleanly and decently, with good Management, with VI. per. An. becauſe it is not to be preſumed, that an Archbiſhop, at the Head of his Clergy, and at their Requeſt too, ſhould decree ſuch an Allowance for officiating Clergymen, as would not keep them (if virtuous Men and ſober) decently and cleanly.

Let us ſee alſo, a little, to the Allowance of Chantry Priests, and ſuch like.

In 1237, H. III. gives VIII l. out of the Exchequer for 3 Chaplains, to do Duty daily in the Temple-Church, London, which is IV Marks per Ann. each. In *Monastiſicon Anglican.* V. 2. p. 521.

In 1242, Alexander B. Cov. and Lichf. erected an Office of Chanter in that Church, and allowed for his Salary VII. X s. *Ang. Sac. P. I.* p. 446.

In 1313, E. II. ordained and commanded, that his Chapel of St. Edward, in the Caſtle of Windſor, ſhould be kept and ſerved in the Manner following:

I

1. To

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1. To the honour of God, of our Lady, and Saint Edward, for him and his Ancestors, it is ordain'd there be four Chaplains, who shall be Men of good Condition, and discreet; of which one shall be Head-Chaplain of the Chapel, and the other three shall be his Seconds, or Assistants.

2. Also two Clerks, of good Condition, and that chant well, and in all Points attendant on the Head-Chaplain, and on the others, as oft as there shall be Occasion for the Service of the Chapel.

3. Each of the aforesaid Chaplains shall sing Mass every Day, without some good Cause to the contrary; so that every Morning there be two Masses, by Note, the one of our Lady, the other of the Day: the other two of Requiem, for the Souls of the Ancestors of our Lord the King.

4. The Head-Chaplain, to defray his whole Expence, is to receive X Marks per An. Each of the other Three an Cs. the two Clerks, each of them Ls.

5. And the King's Chancellor, whoever he be, because he is the Head of the King's Chapel, shall make, once every Year, a Journey thither, if he can be dispensed with by the King, to see that the said Chapel be served with Ornaments, Library, and Chantry, in the above-appointed Manner; and make out his Breve de Liberata, for the said Ministers to be paid their Wages, duly, twice a Year.

6. And

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6. And if any of the above-said six Chaplains or Clerks shall die, or be removed, the said Chancellor shall put a sufficient Person in his Place. The Title of this Record is, De Providentiis pro Capella Windesora: and it is in Mr. Rymer's 3d Vol. of Foedera, &c.

It appears (5.) that the Chancellor was the Head of the King's Chapel, and in the Life of Thomas Becket (Chancellor to H. II.) written by one who lived at the same Time with him, that it was Part of the Chancellor's Office, ut Capella Regia illius sit dispositione & Cura. This seems to be the Reason of the Lord Chancellor's being (altho' no Clergyman) the Visitor of the College of Dean and Canons of St. George in Windsor-Castle, founded by Ed. III. his Son, which is the King's Free Chapel, who was also born at that Place, of which there is this Memorandum, in the same Vol. 3. 1312. which, it will not be much out of my Way to transcribe in this Place.

Memorand. Isabella the Queen was brought to Bed, in Windsor-Castle, on Monday the next after the Feast of St. Martin, in Winter, in the Year of Grace 1312. the 6 E. II. of her first-born Son; and in St. Edward's Chapel in the same Castle, he was christned the Thursday following, by the Cardinal S. Prisca. His God-fathers were A. Pictaviensis, Chamberlain to the Pope; J. Bp. of Bath and Wells; W. Bp. of Worcester; Lewis Count d'Eureux; John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond;

Richmond; Aymary de Valence, E. of Pembroke, and Hugh le Despenser.

In 1315, two Chanters were appointed in the Church of *Lichfield*, and had, each for his Salary, VI. XV s. *Angl. Sac. P. I.*

In 1332, *Elizabeth de Burgh* makes an Agreement with the Prior and Convent of *Anglesey* in *Cambridgesh.* for XXI. *per Ann.* which she gives that two Chaplains shall be maintain'd, with each a convenient *Mansie*, or Dwelling-house, and Diet, and XX s. for Robes and other Necessaries: or else to allow them XII *Marks*, to find themselves in all Things; unless the Prior and Convent can agree with them for less. And in 1335, she discharges the Prior and Convent of one of those Chaplains, upon their paying to *Rob. de Spalding*, an Annual Pension of an Cs. and gives them moreover a Rent-Charge of XI s. XI d. *Monast. Vol. 2. p. 259.*

These Chaplains therefore were thought able to live, each upon VI *Marks*, i. e. 4 Pounds *per An.*

Between 1345, and 1381, *Thom. of Hatfield*, B. of *Durham*, founded a College for 8 Monks, and 7 young Men, to study the Liberal Sciences; and allowed to each Monk IV l. and to each Student V *Marks*. *Angl. Sacra.*

In 1350, two Priests, to officiate alternately, during the whole Year, every Day, at the Church of *Sherifborton* in the Diocese of *York*; to pray for the Souls of *R. Nevil*, *Ld. Raby*, &c. for VII *Marks* between them. In *Mr. Maddox's Formulae*, p. 450.

In

In 1373, the Master of the Hospital of *Fosse-gate* in *Yorksh.* is to be a Clergyman of good Fame and Discretion; and is to have, for his whole Maintenance, the Sum of X *Marks per Ann.* And if the Revenues increase upon his Management, he is to get another Chaplain to assist him, who, for his Pains, is to have VII *Marks per Ann.* And they must, both of them, constantly *reside*, and constantly officiate, on the Place. *Monast. V. 3. p. 99.*

In 1400, *John Plumtree* of *Nottingham*, erected two Chauntries, with two Chaplains to attend daily; to each of whom he allowed Cs. or VI. *per An.* *Monast. V. 2. p. 448.*

In 1408, *Fabian* sets it down, that the Stipend of a Mass-Priest was VII *Marks*.

And, not to multiply Instances of this kind, of which you cannot fail of meeting many, in all our Histories; there is a College in the University of *Cambridge*, founded about the Year 1450, in which the statuteable Allowance to each Fellow is VI. *per Ann.* to find him in Diet, Clothes, and all other Necessaries.

You must now be content with *Miscellanies*, the Order of Time however being observed.

Betwixt 871, and 900, King *Alfred* left, by Will, to each of his Daughters, an Hundred Pounds in Money. *Mr. Camden* (in his *Remains*) says 400 l. But it appears by the Will, printed at the end of *Alfred's Life* at *Oxford*, that the 400 l. was divided betwixt his 3 Daughters, and one *Alswith*: But the Reader must not think that this was the whole

I 3 of

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of their Portion, for he had settled Lands on each of them before; but this was all he left them in Money.

In 1087, when W. Rufus came to inquire into the Treasure his Father had laid up at Winchester, he found it by Weight 60000 l. of Silver, besides Gold and Jewels. He gave by his Father's Order, and for the Good of his Soul, to each Great Church (i. e. Abbey, Convent, or Cathedral) X Marks. To each less one V Marks, to every Parish Church V s. and to the Poor of every County an Cl. Thus Ingulfus, who lived at the same Time.

In 1101, the Composition betwixt H. I. and Robert his elder Brother, was, that Robert should have 3000 l. per Ann. in Weight. Pet. Blæsenf. Contin. The Words, in Weight, are put in, to signify that the Money should not be clipped, for a Pound by Tale was at this Time, and long after, most certainly a Pound in Weight.

In 1135, when King Stephen was crowned, he seized the Treasure which H. I. had left, which came to 100000 l. besides Gold and Silver Vessels, with other Jewels inestimable. Tho. Rudborn; Hist. Winton. p. 284.

So says
Hoveden p.
414.

In 1193, the Ransom of R. I. was an 100000 Marks in Silver. Rad. de Diceto says they were Pounds. But Mr. Rymer's Volumes are of greater Authority than any private Writer's Works, being made up of Records.

In 1201, K. John agreed to pay Berengaria, the Dowager Queen of R. I. a 1000 Marks per

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per Ann. for her Dowry, which he increased, in 1215, to a 1000 Pounds per An. M. Rymer, in Anno.

In 1207, Amph. Till, being taken Prisoner by K. John, was put to Ransom at 10000 Marks, in part of which he is to pay X Horses, at the rate of 30 Marks a-piece, or in lieu of them 300 Marks. Who this Man was, I cannot find, but his Horses were certainly as high-prized as they could well be.

In 1221, Joan, eldest Daughter to K. John, married to Alexander K. of Scotland, had a Dowry of 1000 l. per An. Rymer.

In 1226, H. III. confirms the Dowry of Isabella his Mother, and says it was the same that Elianor his Grandmother had, and makes the same to Elianor his own Wife, the E. of Provence's Daughter, in 1235, with whom he was to have 20000 Marks for Portion. But the private Instructions were, to accept of 15000, or 10000, or 7000, or 5000, or 3000. Nay, she was to be brought away, tho' they could get nothing at all with her. Rymer.

In 1236, Isabella, Sister to H. III. was contracted to the Emperor Frederic, with 30000 Marks. Idem.

In 1254, Edward, the Son of H. III. promises a Dowry of 1000 l. per An. to Elianor the K. of Castile's Daughter, whilst he is Prince; but says, when she comes to be Queen, he will add 500 Marks per An. more. And upon this Marriage, H. III. settles 15000 Marks per An. on the Prince. Idem.

In 1278, E. I. gives, with his Daughter *Joan*, contracted to *Hartman*, Son to the K. of the *Romans*, 10000 Marks Sterling; which are to be return'd in case that *Hartman* die before her, together with what Presents the said Husband shall ever make to her. *Idem.*

In 1294, E. I. took into his Hands all the Estates of the *Priories-alien*, allowing to every Monk 1s. 6d. per Week, which comes to 3l. 18s. by the Year. And therefore, I suppose, a Monk might live tolerably well on that Allowance. For the King was not angry with the Monks; but these *Priories* were *Cells* to Monasteries in *France*, (with which Nation the King was now at open War) and whatever Surplufage there was, after the Charges of the *Cells* at home were defray'd, it was sent to the Monasteries or principal Houses abroad; which was indeed feeding the King's Enemies.

In 1299, Ed. I. contracts with *Margaret* Daughter to the K. of *France*: 18000l. *Turonens*, (four of which make one Pound Sterling) being agreed upon for her Dowry. This in English Money came to 4500l. per An. But in 1315, he increased it to 5000l. per An. *Rymer.*

In 1301, the Widow of *Edmund E.* of *Cornwal* (Son to the K. of the *Romans*, and Nephew to *H. III.*) was, at the Request of several Lords in Parliament, endowed with a Jointure of 500 l. per An. by E. I. *Tho. Walsingham.*

In

In 1302, E. I. promises, to *Ifabella* Daughter to the K. of *France*, contracted to his Son *Edward*, 4500l. per An. *Rymer.*

In 1306, E. I. leaves to his Son *Thomas* 10000 Marks, to his Son *Edmond* 7000 Marks, per An. and to *Elianor* his Daughter, for her Portion, 10000 Marks, and 5000 to buy her Apparel. *Idem.*

In 1307, E. II. confirms the Grant his Father E. I. had made to his Sister *Mary*, a Nun at *Ambrosbury*, of 200 l. per An. 40 Oak-Trees for Firing in her Chamber, and 20 *Dolia* (or Hogsheads) of Wine, as long as she continued in the Nunnery, and lived in *England*. And the Reader will not, I believe, be displeas'd, to see the Care that was taken in those Days, for the Sustainment of the Daughter and the Sister of a King of *England*, in 1313. *Rymer.*

The King, to the Sberiff of *Wiltes*, greeting.

FOR as much as We are indebted to our dearest Sister *Mary*, a Nun of *Ambrosbury*, in the Summ of 12 l. 7 s. 3 d. as well for Hay, Oats, Litter, and Shooing, as for her Servants Wages, whilst she tarried at *Windsor*, in the Month of *December* last past, as also for her Expences in travailling from *Windsor* to *Ambrosbury*, as in a Bill of our *Warderobe*, delivered by our Sister into our Chancery, appears more at large.—We willing to satisfy our Sister, in this Particular, with all the Speed we may, Do hereby command you, to pay to our said Sister, or her lawful

lawful Attorney, the said Summe, out of the Issues of your Bailifry, without Delay; and We, in your Accounts at our Exchecquer, shall make all due Allowance for the same.

Witnesse, the King, at Windfor,
Jan. the 1st,
By a Bill of the Warderobe.

In 1309, the Pensions allowed by the King to the Cardinals, and great Officers of the Pope, who were, as it were, retained by the Court of England, were, to some, an 100, but to most of them 50 Marks per An.

In 1310, William de Morene of Saunford, Kt. being taken Prisoner by the Scots, had allowed him by E. II. for his Wages, 4 d. the Day; and for his Robe, XX s. the Year. The better sort of Prisoners had 3 d. ordinary ones 2 d. the Day.

In this same Year, a Man at Arms was allowed 10 d. a Balistarius (a Crosse-bow-man) 3 d. an Archer or Bow-man, 2 d. the Day. And the Price the King paid for a Balista, was 3 s. 8 d. Mr. Rymer's Collections in Annis.

In 1311, when the Order of Knights Templars was to be destroyed, their Persons imprisoned, and their Estates confiscated; many of their Servants, Chaplains, and Dependants, were, to be sure, utterly destitute, and undone: The King, E. II. thought himself obliged to make some Provision for them. Some of the Knights were committed to Monasteries, there

to do Penance for their Offences; and to them the King allowed 4 d. a Day, which seems to have been their usual Allowance, because in the Mandate to the B. of Bath and Wells, to make this Allowance to 4 Knights, it is there said, Sicut prius percipere consueverunt. To the Great Master, William de la More, 2 s. To several of their Chaplains, the King allows (as the Knights did formerly) 3 d. a Day, for their Diet, and XX s. for their Stipend, which is, by the Year, VI. XI s. III d. To other Servants, 2 d. and to inferior ones, 1 d. and V, or X s. for their Stipend, or Livery. And for this, they were to do the same Service, they had done to the Knights, whilst the Lands were in their keeping. Rymer's Collection.

In 1314, Elizab. Wife of Rob. Bruce (King of Scotland) being Prisoner in England, is allowed, for herself and Family, 20 s. by the Week. To Rob. Wychard, Bp. of Glasgow, and Will. de Lamberton, Bp. of St. Andrews, Prisoners, is allowed each of them 6 d. a Day, to a Valet 3 d. to a Chaplain 1 d. ob. and to their ordinary Servants 1 d. ob. Idem.

In 1316, Ed. II. gives to Theophania, a French Lady, a yearly Estate of 500 l. for ever, because she had been Nurse to Isabella his Queen. Idem.

In 1330, Joan of Oxford, Nurse to the Black Prince, had a Pension of 10 l. per An. and Maud Plumpton, a Rocker, had 10 Marks. Dr. Kennet, Paroch. Antiq.

In 1326, Ed. II. being deposed, had an 100 Marks by the Month allowed to maintain

tain him: which is at the rate of 800 *l.* per An. *Walsingham.*

In 1495, when the Lady *Anne*, Daughter to *Ed. IV.* and Sister to *Q. Elizab.* Wife of *H. VII.* was married to *Tho. L. Haward*, eldest Son to the E. of *Surry*, it was agreed, that she should be allowed, for her Sustainment, and convenient Diet, of Meat and Drink, 20 *s.* by the Week. And for two Gentlewomen, a Woman Child (*i. e.* a Servant) a Gentleman, a Yoman, and three Grooms, (in all 8 People) 51 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year. And for Sustainment of 7 Horses, 16 *l.* 9 *s.* 4 *d.* *i. e.* for each Horse 2 *l.* 7 *s.* $\frac{1}{2}$. *M. Maddox Formul.* p. 109.

In 1091, all the Men of *Croyland*, that will have any Turf out of the *Abbot's Morsh*, must either work a Day's Work, or give Three Half-Pence for one to cut Turves for *Croyland Court.* *Ingulfus,*

The Serjeant of the Infirmary shall, for his looking after the Sick, receive for his Reward (if the Party die) a Coat, or 4 *s.* and every one that watched with the Deceased shall have 2 *d.* for every Night. *Idem. ibid.*

A Coat is reasonably valued at 4 *s.* but 2 *d.* a Night for watching, was an extraordinary Recompence. This Serjeant of the Infirmary was to have his Livery of Meat, Drink and Bread, and 4 *s.* per An. for Stipend. *Idem.*

In 1225, *Magna Charta*, C. 22. No Sheriff or Bailiff of ours, shall take the Horses and Carts of any Man, for Carriage, except he pay the old Price limited, *i. e.* for Carriage with
2 Horses

2 Horses 10 *d.* by the Day: and for 3 Horses 14 *d.*

In *Antiq. Constitut. Admiralitatis* (but of what Age it appears not) it is thus appointed: *Si l' Admiral soit Bachelier, il prendra la jour, pour lui meme, sur la Mer, IVs. Si soit Baron, VI. VIII. d. & s' il soit Count, XIII. IV. d. Bachelier, is here a Knight.* And I guess, as well by the Language, as the Wages, that this Constitution is not very ancient. *S. H. Spelman* in *V. Admiral.*

In 1329, also they shall harrow for 3 Days, or shall pay 3 Pence, *i. e.* a Penny for a Day's Work. It must not however, I think, be always concluded, from such Passages as these, that Men worked for a Penny by the Day: because it seems to have been the Custom, in some Places, for some sort of Holders, to be obliged to perform such and such Works, for the Chief Lord, at such and such a Price. So in the Word *Sesonis*, in *S. H. Spelman's Glossary.* *Extenta Manerii de Garinges.* He is to work a Day's Work every Week, from Michaelmas to the First of August, and for it he is to receive for each Day, 3 Farthings. And from the First of August to Michaelmas, he is to receive a Penny Half-Penny; excepting the Winter Season. *Excepta Seseone hiemali.* See also the Word *Lanceta*, where you will find much such another Custom.

In 1293, the *Parcarii* of the *Earl of Cornwall* were to have 2 Meals, or 2 *d.* by the Day, but the *Earl* would needs have 3 *d.* which
the

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the Inhabitants complain of. S. H. Spelman, in V Putura.

I will, in the next Place, give you (out of S. W. Dugdale's Origines Juridicales) some Account of the Judges Fees or stated Salaries, but it is very imperfect, and only better than none at all.

In 1226, The Fee of a Justice was, per An. — — —	X Marks.
1239, A Justice of the Common Pleas had — — —	XX Lib.
1243, A Baron of the Exchequer had — — —	XL M.
And in the same Year, a Bar. of the Exchequer had but — — —	XX M.
1259, A Justice of the King's-Bench had — — —	XL L.
1260, A Justice of the Common Pleas had — — —	C M.
And in the same Year a Just. of the Common Pleas had — — —	XL L.
1262, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas had — — —	C L.
A Justice of the Com. Pleas — — —	XL L.
1265, A Baron of the Exchequer had — — —	XL L.
1269, Chief Justice of the King's-Bench had — — —	C M.
1281, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas had — — —	XL L.
A Just. of the Com. Pleas had — — —	XL M.

1299,

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1299, Chief Justice of the King's-Bench had — — —	L Marks.
Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas had — — —	C M.
Chief Baron of the Exchequer had — — —	XL Lib.
The Justices of both Benches and Barons of Exchequer had each — — —	XX L.
1302, A Justice of the King's Bench had — — —	LXXX M.
1364, Chief Bar. and the other Barons of Exch. had each — — —	XL L.
1367, A Justice of the Common Pleas had — — —	XL L.
Chief Justice of King's Bench had — — —	C M.
A Justice of King's Bench had — — —	XL L.
1382, A Justice of Common Pleas had — — —	XL M.
1399, Chief Baron of Exch. and other Barons had — — —	XL M.
Chief Justice of Com. Pl. had — — —	XL L.
A Justice of Common Pl. had — — —	XL M.
1402, Chief Justice of King's Bench had — — —	XL L.
1408, A Justice of Common Pleas had — — —	LV M.

In 1440, upon a general Complaint of all the Benches, and of the Attorney General, of the ill Payment of their Fees, there was an Inquiry made, what they had usually received, for

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for the last ten Years past, and what the Crown was indebted to them; by which, and by the Answer that was made to it, it appears, that the standing Fee of each Chief Justice was 40 l. per An. but that by private Letters Patent, the Ch. Just. of the Com. Pleas was allowed 180 Marks per An. And the Ch. Just. of the K. Bench was allowed 140 Marks per An. besides their Fees. And for their Winter Robes, 5 l. 6 s. 11 d. 1/4. And for Summer Robes 3 l. 6 s. 6 d. The Fee of the Justices of both Benches was 40 Marks per An. their other Allowance was 110 Marks. The Fee of a Justice of Assise was 20 l. the Fee of the Attorney General was X l. per An. and what their other Allowance was, does not appear. The Allowance to the King's Serjeants, and the Attorney, for Robes, was 1 l. 6 s. 11 d.

In 1545, the Chief Just. of the K. Bench had an Addition of 30 l. to his Fee: and each Just. of the same Bench, and of the C. Pl. had an Addition of 20 l. And indeed, at the very best, their Rewards seem to have been far from equal to the faithful Discharge of their most painful and most useful Office: and yet it hath so pleased God to bless their Labours, that I do not think I mis-reckon, when I say, That the Law hath laid the Foundation of Two Thirds of all the Honours and great Estates in all England.

Let us now see a little to the Wages of Workmen and Servants, which has ever been accounted of such Importance, that the Parliaments

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liaments themselves have thought fit to take cognizance of it, and to regulate it according to the Rules following; tho', I think, with no great Success.

In 1351, Workmen were to take their Wages in Wheat, at the Rate of Xd. the Bushel, which is 6 s. 8 d. the Quarter.—

	l.	s.	d.
Sarclers (that is, Weeders) and Hay-makers, by the Day, —	00	00	01
Mowing Meadows, 5 d. the Acre, or by the Day, —	00	00	05
Reapers of Corn, in the first Week of August, by the Day, —	00	00	02
In the second Week, and third, and so on to the End of it, — — — —	00	00	03
Without Meat, Drink, or other Courtesy demanded.			
For threshing a Quarter of Wheat and Rye, — — — —	00	00	02 1/2
For threshing a Quarter of Barley, Beans, Pease, and Oats, — — — —	00	00	01 1/2
A Master-Carpenter, Mason, or Tyler, by the Day — —	00	00	03
Other Carpenters, Masons, or Tylers, — — — —	00	00	02
Their Servants, or Boys, — — — —	00	00	01 1/2
Plasterers, Workers of Mud-walls, and their Knaves, or Servants, at the same Rate, without Meat, or Drink, demanded.			

K

In

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	l.	s.	d.
In 1360, Master-Carpenters,	00	00	04
Others, — — — — —	00	00	03
Their Servants, — — — — —	00	00	02
In 1389, the Bailiff for Husbandry's yearly Wages, together with his Cloathing, once by Year at most, and his Diet, which is supposed in the following Cases:	00	13	04
The Master Hind, or Chief Husbandman labouring — — — — —	00	10	00
The Carter, and the Shepherd, each by the Year — — — — —	00	10	00
The Oxherd — — — — —	00	06	08
The Cowherd — — — — —	00	06	08
The Swineherd — — — — —	00	10	00
A Woman Labourer — — — — —	00	06	00
The Dairy-Woman — — — — —	00	06	00
The Plough-Driver, at most	00	07	00
In 1446, the Wages of a Bailiff of Husbandry — — — — —	01	03	04
His Cloathing (Diet still supposed) — — — — —	00	05	00
The chief Carter, and chief Shepherd — — — — —	01	00	00
Their Cloathing, each — — — — —	00	04	00
A common Servant of Husbandry — — — — —	00	15	00
His Cloathing — — — — —	00	03	04
A Woman-Servant — — — — —	00	10	00
Cloathing — — — — —	00	04	00
An Infant (<i>i. e.</i> one under 14 Years of Age) — — — — —	00	06	00

Cloathing

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	l.	s.	d.
Cloathing (with Diet) — — — — —	00	03	00
The Servants of Hostlers (<i>i. e.</i> Innkeepers) Victuallers, and Artificers, at the same Rates.			
From <i>Easter</i> , till <i>Michaelmas</i> ,			
A Free-Mason, or Master-Carpenter, with Diet, by the Day — — — — —	00	00	04
Without Diet — — — — —	00	00	05 $\frac{1}{2}$
A Master-Tyler, Slater, Rough-Mason, a mean Carpenter, and other Artificers, building by the Day, with Diet — — — — —	00	00	03
Without Diet — — — — —	00	00	04 $\frac{1}{2}$
Other Labourers, with Diet, 2 <i>d.</i> without Diet — — — — —	00	00	03 $\frac{1}{2}$
From <i>Michaelmas</i> to <i>Easter</i> they had a Penny by the Day less, the Days being then shorter.			
But in time of Harvest a Mower had, with Diet — — — — —	00	00	04
Without Diet — — — — —	00	00	06
A Reaper, and Carter, with Diet, 3 <i>d.</i> without Diet — — — — —	00	00	05
A Woman Labourer, and other Labourers, with Diet — — — — —	00	00	02 $\frac{1}{2}$
Without Diet, by the Day — — — — —	00	00	04 $\frac{1}{2}$
In 1514, a Bailiff of Husbandry's yearly Wages — — — — —	01	06	08
His Cloathing (Diet supposed) — — — — —	00	05	00

K 2

Chief

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	l.	s.	d.
Chief Hind, Carter, and Shepherd, each	01	00	00
Cloathing (with Diet)	00	05	00
Common Servant of Husbandry	00	16	08
Cloathing	00	04	00
Women Servants yearly Wages	00	10	00
Cloathing	00	04	00
A Child (i. e. a Servant) within 14 Years of Age	00	06	08
Cloathing	00	04	00
From <i>Easter</i> to <i>Michaelmas</i> , the daily Wages of			
A Free Mason, with Diet, 4d. without Diet was	00	00	06
A Master Carpenter, with Diet, 4d. without Diet was	00	00	06
A Rough Mason, with Diet, 4d. without Diet was	00	00	06
A Bricklayer, with Diet, 4d. without Diet was	00	00	06
A Tyler, with Diet, 4d. without Diet was	00	00	06
A Plummer, with Diet, 4d. without Diet was	00	00	06
A Glazier, with Diet, 4d. without Diet was	00	00	06
A Carver, with Diet, 4d. without Diet was	00	00	06
A Joiner, with Diet, 4d. without Diet was	00	00	06
From <i>Michaelmas</i> to <i>Easter</i> , with Diet, 3d. without Diet	00	00	05
A Ship-			

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A Shipwright's Wages was from *Candlemas* to *Michaelmas*,

1. A Master Carpenter, with Diet, 5d. without Diet	00	00	07
2. A Hewer, with Diet 4d. without Diet	00	00	06
3. An able Clincher, with Diet 3d. without Diet	00	00	05
4. A Holder, with Diet, 2d. without Diet	00	00	04
5. A Master Calker, with Diet, 4d. without Diet	00	00	06
6. A mean Calker, with Diet, 3d. without Diet	00	00	05
A Calker labouring by the Tide, with Diet	00	00	04

From *Michaelmas* to *Candlemas*, their Wages were,

	With Diet,	Without Diet,
	d.	d.
1.	4	6
2.	3	5
3.	2½	4½
4.	1½	3
5.	3	5
6.	2½	4½

Other Labourers, from *Easter* to *Michaelmas*, except in Harvest-time, had by the Day allowed, with Diet, 2d. without it

	00	00	04
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From

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	l.	s.	d.
From Michaelmas to Easter, with Diet, 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, without it—	00	00	03
In Harvest-time, a Mower, with Diet, 4 d. without it—	00	00	06
A Reaper, and a Carter, with Diet, 3 d. without it—	00	00	05
A Woman Labourer and other Labourers, with Diet, 2 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, without it—	00	00	04 $\frac{1}{2}$

The Reader is not to think that these Rules were every where observed; but no Body could demand, or sue (I suppose) for greater Wages, than were here allowed: and yet the different Cheapness or Dearness of Provisions in several Countries, must be allowed to make amends for different Wages; and therefore these Rules could not be universally reasonable.

C H A P.

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C H A P. VI.

The Conclusion.

TO apply the Chapter of Corn, and make it useful to your present Purpose, you must, in the first place, remember, that, during the whole Reign of Henry VI. excepting the first and last Years of it (which contains 17 Years above the Time of your Enquiry, which is from 1440 to 1460,) there were XXXs. in the Pound; whereas there are now (and have been for above an 100 Years) LXII s. The Ounce of Silver was then at II s. 6 d. 'tis now at V s. II d. So that the Vl. (which is the Sum you are concerned about) did then contain 40 Ounces; and Vl. now, does not contain above 19 Ounces $\frac{1}{3}$. From whence you may safely conclude, that Vl. in the Reign of H. VI. was of somewhat better Value, than Xl. now-a-days is. In the next place, to know somewhat more distinctly whereabouts an Equivalent to your ancient Vl. will come, you are (as I before hinted) to observe how much Corn, Meat, Drink, or Cloth, might have been purchased 250 Years ago, with Vl. and to see how much of the modern Money will be requisite to purchase the same Quantity of Corn, Meat, Drink, or Cloth, now-a-days. To this End, you must neither take a very dear Year, to your Prejudice, nor a very cheap

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one, in your own Favour; nor indeed any single Year, to be your Rule; but you must take the Price of every particular Commodity, for as many Years as you can (20, if you have them) and put them all together; and then find out the common Price; and afterwards take the same Course with the Price of Things, for these last 20 Years; and see what Proportion they will bear to one another; for that Proportion is to be your Rule and Guide.

Thus, if for 20 Years together (from 1440, to 1460,) the common Price of *Wheat* were VI s. VIII d. the Quarter; and if from 1686, to 1706, the common Price of *Wheat* were 40 s. the Quarter; 'tis plain that VI l. in H. VI. Time, would have purchased 15 Quarters of *Wheat*; for which you must have paid, for these last 20 Years, 30 Pound. So that 30 Pound *now*, would be no more than equivalent to VI l. in the Reign of H. VI. Thus if *Oats*, from 1440, to 1460, were generally at 2 s. the Quarter, and from 1686 to 1706, were at 12 s. the Quarter, 'tis manifest that 12 s. *now*, would be no more than equivalent to 2 s. *then*, which is but a sixth Part of it. Thus if *Beans* were *then* 5 s. and *now* 30 s. the Quarter, the same Proportion would be found betwixt 5 l. and 30 l. But you must not expect that every Thing will answer thus exactly. *Ale*, for Instance, was, during the Time of your Founder, at Three-half-pence the Gallon; but it has been, ever since you were born, at 8 d. at the least; which is but 5 times more, and a little

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a little over. So that 5 l. heretofore (betwixt 1440, and 1460,) would purchase no more *Ale*, than somewhat above 25 l. would *now*. Again, good *Cloth*, such as was to serve the best *Doctor* in your *University*, for his *Gown*, was (between 1440, and 1460,) at 3 s. 7 d. ob. the Yard; at which Rate, VI l. would have purchased 27 Yards, or thereabouts. *Now*, you may purchase that Quantity of fine *Cloth*, at somewhat less, I think, than 25 l. So that 25 l. *now*, would be an Equivalent to your 5 l. *then*, 250 Years since, if you pay about 18 s. the Yard, for your *Cloth*. I think I have good Reason to believe, that *Beef*, *Mutton*, *Bacon*, and other common Provisions of Life, were six times as cheap in H. VI. Reign, as they have been, for these last 20 Years. And therefore I can see no Cause, why 28, or 30 l. *per An.* should *now* be accounted a greater Estate, than VI l. was heretofore, betwixt 1440, and 1460.

Sir H. Spelman (a very competent Judge and Estimator of these Matters) complains, That the Laws have not sufficient Regard to the different Price of Things, when they condemn People to death, for stealing Things to the Value of *twelve Pence*; for tho' that is according to Law, yet that Law was made when *twelve Pence* would have purchased as much as you must now-a-days give 20, 30, nay 40 s. for. And he instances in a Quarter of *Wheat*, which in the *Assise of Bread*, 51 H. III, was rated at *twelve Pence*, but, in his Time, was often sold for 40 s. and upwards. 'Tis certain, the Laws do never condemn any One

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One to death, for stealing to the Value of *one*, no, nor *three*, or *four* Shillings: But 'tis certain that many die for stealing Things of less Value than 20 *Shillings*. And therefore, I think, I have very sufficient Reason (not to *determine*, but) to *conjecture*, that 5*l.* 260 Years ago, was equivalent to 28, or 30*l.* now. And consequently, that he who has an *Estate of Inheritance*, or a *perpetual Pension*, of that Value, now-a-days, may as honestly hold a *Fellowship* with it, as he, who lived 260 Years ago, might have held it, with 99*s. per Ann.* Nor does my Kindness and Concern for you, bias my Judgment in this Affair; for I have thought the same Thing, long before your Question was put; and, indeed, ever since I could consider the Difference of Times, and the different Prices of Corn and all other Commodities. And I had rather put your Conscience on this Bottom, whose Reason is clear, and founded upon Matter of Fact, and History not to be controul'd; than upon the common Presumption, that your Founder did certainly intend, *his Scholars* should live like *other Scholars* of the University; and that the Way of living being *now* much changed (do not offer to say improved) from what it was so long ago, you must needs be at liberty to live in the same Manner; for I dare say, that neither your Founder, nor any other Founder, if he were now alive, would admit of many expensive Articles, which the corrupt Customs of the Times, and multitude of Examples, have made young People think necessary;

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necessary; and which, I am persuaded, must some time or other be reformed, as Things neither useful nor creditable to the Life of a Student. But of this, you will think I have said at least enough.

The Application of the Chapter of *Stipends* to your Purpose is this; That if, about your Founder's Time, 7 or 8 Marks was judged a competent Provision for a single Clergyman, and 8 Marks do not much exceed 5*l.* then 5*l.* was a tolerable Maintenance for a single Student. And if so, then if 28, or 30*l.* be now-a-days but a sufficient Maintenance for a single Student (sober and virtuous) it can be presumed to be no more *now*, than 7 or 8 Marks *heretofore* was, and therefore may be enjoyed with the same Innocence and Honesty, together with a *Fellowship*, according to the Founder's Will.

I have now discharged my Engagement, and given such Answer to your Question, as I think is reasonable and honest; and might here take my leave of you, if I did not think it would be acceptable enough, both to you and other Readers, to acquaint you, that since I was employed in writing an Answer to your Question, I had another put to me, concerning the *Oath* which the *Sheriff* of a County puts to such as are *Electors* of Parliament-Men, if he thinks fit; *viz.* Whether they have Lands or Tenements to the yearly Value of 40*s. ultra Reprisas?* *i. e.* Whether they have 40*s. per Ann. clear*; all certain and necessary Charges being abated and deducted: for tho' a Man

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Man may receive 8l. a Year for his Estate, yet if his Quit-Rent, or any other certain Payment, be 13s. 4d. that Man has not an Estate of 8l. ultra Reprisas, because there is 13s. 4d. to be reprised, or taken back again, which is, I think, the Meaning of the Word. Now this Act of Parliament was made, 8 H. VI. when 40s. per Ann. clear of all Incumbrance, was at least equal to 8l. per Ann. now-a-days. (I put it so low to avoid all Cavil and Dispute.) When a Freeholder therefore, does now take his Oath, that he has an Estate of 40s. per Ann. 'tis manifest he does not mean 40s. as it was valued when that Act of Parliament was made (1430,) but as 40s. go now (in 1706.) Is it not therefore manifest, that he does not swear to the Purpose and Intention of the Law-givers, and only swears true to the Denomination of 40s. per Annum? To this I answered, That doubtless the Purpose and Intention of the Legislators, in 1430, was defeated by such an Oath, when he who swears has really but 40s. per Ann. as Money and Things go now. But yet that such an Oath was honestly taken, and without any perjurious Fraud, or Reservation, because taken according to the literal Sense of the Words of it, and because taken in the Sense of those who administer it, and (as is most reasonably presumed, tho' not declared) in the Sense of the Legislative Power, which accepts, and justifies such Proceedings, and which has equal Power and Authority, to put what Signification it pleases on Words, with the Parliament that made

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made that Act, in 1430. These Things, when put together, may look, at first sight, somewhat odly; that one Man may swear he is not worth Vl. per Ann. according to the Statute that requires such Oath, when he is really worth more than X, or XXI. per Ann. and another may swear he is worth 40s. per Ann. when he is really not worth 10s. per Ann. according to the Statute that first imposed that Oath. You see then how necessary it is to distinguish Times.

Whether the Legislative Power, in 1430, did well, and wisely, in reducing the Number of Electors to such as were worth 40s. per Annum, (which cut off many hundred thousand Voices, and consequently many Occasions of Tumults and Disorders) is not to be doubted overmuch; nor yet is to be over-confidently affirmed, because if it had been so wise and useful an Ordinance, it would have still been kept up, in its due Proportion, according to the Difference of Times; altho' the Changes of such Moment are not to be frequently and lightly made. But in these Affairs, it is not fit for private People to meddle.

I have but one Thing more to offer to your Consideration, from the Accounts I have given of the different Price of Corn, and other Commodities, and then I will put an end to this long Letter: And that is, That if ever you design to take Orders, and obtain any Rectory, Vicarage, or higher Dignity in the Church, you be, above all Things, careful, how you make any

any Composition or Agreement, for any long Space of Years, to receive a certain Price of Money, for the Corn that is due to you, altho' for the present it may seem a tempting Bargain, and a profitable Exchange, and rid you of some Trouble. You know not what Time may bring forth, nor what great Alterations may happen, nor what great Mischiefs you, unwittingly, may do your Successors. But I cannot better represent my Meaning, nor shew you the ill Consequence of such Agreements, than in the Words of Dr. Kennet, in his *Parochial Antiquities*; out of which, I will, with his Leave, and for your Sake, and for the common Benefit, transcribe a Page or two, to our present Purpose, p. 604. ' For the Mischiefe of
 ' a dead and unimproved Allowance in Money,
 ' there is a good Instance cited in a Charter to
 ' the Church of *Peterborough* (see *Gunton's Hist.*
 ' put out with great Additions by Bp. *Patrick*)
 ' by *Walter de St. Edmundo* about 1240, where
 ' the Abbot does grant, for God's Sake, and in
 ' respect to Peace, that instead of the Affize
 ' for Corn, which the *Cellerarius* paid him out
 ' of *Belassise*, he would hereafter accept of an
 ' Equivalent in Money, viz. for 28 Quarter
 ' and one Schepe (*i. e.* a Bushel) of Wheat, he
 ' should receive IV l. XIII s. IX d. by which
 ' Computation each Quarter was then valued
 ' at 3 s. 4 d. Had the Abbey continued, what
 ' an unhappy Bargain had it proved by this
 ' Time, when the Rent must have kept
 ' standing at 4 l. 13 s. 9 d. whereas the present
 ' Value

' Value of the Corn would have been seldom,
 ' less than *Fifty Pounds*. Such like Prejudice
 ' was done to the Church of *Sulthorn* (now
 ' *Souldern*) *Com. Oxon.* the Rector whereof used
 ' to receive from the Abbot and Convent of
 ' *Osene*, one Acre of Bread-Corn, growing on
 ' their Demesne of *Mixbury*, and four Pence
 ' from their Demesne of *Fulewell*, till about the
 ' latter End of *Hen. III.* *Robert de Hay*, Rector
 ' of that Church, agreed to receive One hun-
 ' dred Shillings from the said Abbey, to pur-
 ' chase to himself and Successors, the Annual
 ' Rent of *five Shillings*, in full Compensation
 ' for the said Acre of Corn. So when *Maud*
 ' *de Chesny* had given to the Prior and Canons
 ' of *Burcester* 5 Quarters of Bread-Corn, out
 ' of her Manor of *Heyford* (now *Heyford*,
 ' *Warine*) *Com. Oxon.* to be delivered yearly to
 ' them, on Condition they should find Hosts,
 ' or consecrated Bread, at the said Church of
 ' *Heyford*; when this Manor and Church were
 ' conveyed to *New College in Oxf.* *Tho. Ban-*
 ' *bury* (Prior of *Burcester*) and his Convent did,
 ' in 2 *H. VII. Ann.* 1486, release the said Rent-
 ' Charge of Corn, for the Consideration of *six*
 ' *Shillings and eight Pence*, yearly in Money;
 ' which, by this Time, would have borne no
 ' greater Proportion to that Quantity of Wheat,
 ' than 1 does to 30. When Parish-Churches
 ' were first appropriated to Religious Houses,
 ' they were supplied by secular Priests, who
 ' were stipendiary Curates, with the Salary of
 ' V, or at best, but X Marks; and when by
 ' the

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the Ordination of Vicarages, the Stipend was
 exchanged into a standing Portion of Tithe
 and Glebe, and Manse, such Endowment
 was generally proportioned to the Pecuniary
 Rate of V or X Marks; so that the Al-
 teration at that Time, was no Benefit to
 the Priest, only as it better'd his Title,
 and made him a perpetual Vicar, instead of
 an Arbitrary Curate. But consider, if the
 Portion of the Vicar had been allotted in such
 a certain Sum of Money, what Mendicants
 must our Country-Vicars now have been!
 Whereas the Assignation being made in im-
 proveable Land and Tithes, by this Means
 (the Value of Money abating, and the Rate
 of Land and Commodities advancing) some
 Vicarages, which at the first Ordination had
 no greater Endowment than what was equi-
 valent to V Marks, do now afford the Main-
 tenance of 50 l. per. Ann. Hence the Me-
 mory of Sir Thomas Smith is highly to be
 honoured, for promoting the Act in 18 Eliz.
 whereby it was provided, That a third Part
 of the Rent upon Leases made by Colleges,
 should be reserved in Corn, payable either in
 Kind or Money, after the Rate of the best
 Prices in Oxford or Cambridge Markets, on
 the next Market-Day before Michaelmas and
 Lady-Day. This worthy Knight is said to
 have been engaged in this Service, by the
 Advice of Mr. Henry Robinson, soon after
 Provost of Queen's-College, Oxon. and from
 that Station advanced to the See of Carlisle.

And

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And Tradition goes, that the Bill passed the
 Houses, before they were sensible of the
 good Consequences of it. We know, in
 the latter Times of our Confusion, a Project
 was carried on, of destroying the ancient
 Right of Tithes, and converting that pious
 Maintenance of the Clergy into settled Por-
 tions of Money. How fatal this Innovation
 would have been in Time, is ingeniously
 urged by two ingenious and learned Writers;
 (Mr. Stephens's Preface to Sir H. Spelman of
 Tithes; and Dr. Comber, Histor. Vindication
 of Tithes, p. 2. c. 10.) We have had some
 Benefices in England, altered by such Me-
 thod by Decrees in Chancery, with a certain
 Sum in Money, allotted in Compensation of
 all Tithes: This may seem an Ease, and
 perhaps an Advantage, upon the first Estab-
 lishment of it. But, unless the Incumbent
 be invested with a Power of Revocation;
 and, as the Reason alters, can assume his Right
 of Tithing, I am sure, in an Age or two,
 the Successors will suffer extremely by such
 a Bargain. For a Living now, of one hun-
 dred Pounds per Annum, in Composition-Mo-
 ney, will, in a future Generation, by the
 stinted Revenue, not exceed another Living
 that is not, at present, of half the Value in
 Glebe and Tithe. And it will then (too late)
 appear, that the Predecessor, who complied
 with such a Change, did not consult the In-
 terest of the Church; and that such a De-
 cree did not become a Court of Equity. It

L is

is very obvious to consider, That nothing has been a more unjust Diminution of small Tithes, than the Custom of a Rate *in Money*, instead of the titheable Thing in Kind; tho' such Rate, no Doubt, when first imposed, was equivalent to the Things remitted for it, whereas they now bear but small, or no Proportion to it. As for Instance, in one of the old *Saxon* Laws (confirmed by the *Conqueror*) it is provided, That if a Man have one or two *Colts*, he shall pay for the Fall of each *one Penny*, and the like for *Calves*; which was a just Proportion, when the best Colt or Calf was not valued above 10 *d.* But the Iniquity is, that this Custom does *still* obtain in many Parishes; and the like minute Consideration, for *Wool* and *Lambs*, where, for Custom Sake, the Tithe must be taken, without any Allowance for the much advanced Value of them; by which Means, the *Modus Decimandi* is a growing Injury, and calls for a Relief by Law, when it shall please the Wisdom and the Justice of our *Governors*. Those eight Men of *Quality* and *Learning*, who were appointed, at the Beginning of the Reformation, to collect such Ecclesiastical Canons, as ought to remain in Force, did freely declare their Judgment, *That* these Customs ought to be abrogated. And the learned *Dr. Cowell* has professed the same Opinion, that it is reasonable to take away all such Customs, as do lessen the Tenth Part, due to the Church of God. (The *Interpreter* in the Word *Tithes*.)

Thus

Thus far that learned and experienced Person, to whose Authority I can add nothing, since what he says is plain, reasonable, and confirmed by Matter of Fact. And I do heartily concur with him, in wishing the Gentlemen of the Clergy would seriously consider these Matters, whenever they have Occasion. And thus you see, that the Consideration of these small Matters may be of Use, in Things of great Importance. I have only to add, That I shall think myself well paid for my Pains, if I have given you the Satisfaction you desire, and any little Encouragement to look yourself into the *Antiquities* of your Native Country, according to the very laudable Example of many excellent Persons of your *Famous University*.

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