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ACCOUNTS OF THE MANOR AND  
HUNDRED OF MACCLESFIELD,  
CHESHIRE, MICHAELMAS 1361 TO  
MICHAELMAS 1362

Edited by  
P. H. W. Booth

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*In Memory of Dorothea Oschinsky  
(1910 to 1995)*

## GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

This volume is the second to have its origin in a proposal submitted to the Record Society by Paul Booth in 1977. In it he noted the pioneering work of Ronald Stewart-Brown on medieval Cheshire history and the shortcomings of his edition of the *Accounts of the Chamberlain and Other Officers of the County of Chester, 1301–60*, which the Society published in 1910. In response to its uneven and sometimes inaccurate coverage, Paul proposed that the Society publish full transcripts of Cheshire documents for a specific year, with introductions and annotations. The publication of the *Account of Master John de Burnham the Younger, Chamberlain of Chester, of the Revenues of the Counties of Chester and Flint, Michaelmas 1361 to Michaelmas 1362* by Paul Booth and A.D. Carr in 1991 represented the first fruits of this project. With the present work and a forthcoming volume on the lordship of Longdendale, edited by John Harrop with Paul Booth and Sylvia Harrop, a 'series' is now coming into being.

Over twenty categories of fourteenth-century Cheshire records survive in the Public Record Office. It is hoped that these new publications may encourage other researchers to contribute to the printed resources available to the student of medieval Cheshire history.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My first thanks go to Philip Morgan, former general editor of this society, whose encouragement helped to keep this project alive during a crucial period. For guidance with information about modern animal husbandry, I should like to thank my son-in-law, Simon Graham, of the International Livestock Research Institute, Nairobi, and Dennis Fielding, of Edinburgh University. John Harrop's friendly, critical intelligence has been a great support, and Andrew Tonkinson's important work on Macclesfield forest and borough has provided helpful background information. David Crook, Rachel Kemsley and Nigel Tringham assisted with points of detail, and Austen Widdows of the Chillingham Wild Cattle Association kindly gave me some useful comparative data. I am grateful to Sandra Mather, of the Geography Department of Liverpool University, for drawing the maps for this volume. It is a special pleasure to be able to thank, for a second time, Peter McNiven, the current general editor of the society, for his help, encouragement and critical assessment of the work. Mistakes will remain, but they are many fewer as a result of Peter's generous scrutiny.

Finally, I should like to acknowledge my debt to my parents (Peggy and Bill Booth) and my two sisters (Pat Green and Sheila Williams) in whose company I lived on a small Cheshire mixed farm in the 1950s. When I carried water in a large bucket called an 'eshin' to the dairy as a thirteen-year-old, little did I know that I would find the same word in a fourteenth-century Macclesfield account in the Public Record Office ten years later. (85).

Paul Booth



## EDITORIAL NOTE

This published text of the Macclesfield accounts for 1361–62 is based on a transcript of Public Record Office SC 6/803/5, the more complete of the two surviving copies of the account. It was this version that was retained at Chester after the Black Prince's auditors had left the city in March 1363, and was kept at Chester castle until it was removed to the Public Record Office in the mid-1850s. It has been corrected and supplemented, as appropriate, by SC 6/803/6, the copy which the auditors took back with them, presumably for deposit in the prince's central exchequer in Westminster. Later this formed part of the collection known as the 'Ancient Miscellanea of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer' until reclassification brought the two copies together in the artificially created 'Special Collection' called 'Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts' (now SC 6) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Both copies (subsequently referred to here as 803/5 and 803/6) contain six accounts written on both sides of a number of parchment membranes (803/5 has three, 803/6 four), sewn exchequer fashion. The individual membranes were not numbered by the medieval clerks, but in this edition the beginning of each membrane is marked in the text with a membrane number in roman type, in angle brackets for 803/5 – <m 1d> – in chain brackets for 803/6 – {m 3}.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently each membrane number is placed at the beginning of each page in italics. Those parts of 803/6 that are not readable in the original document are printed in italics in the text. Marginal notes are also printed in italics, but placed in round brackets at the head of the section or entry to which they refer.

Other conventions of transcription and translation are as set out in the edition of the chamberlain's account for 1361–62 by P.H.W. Booth and A.D. Carr (Record Society, 125, 1991) pp. xi–xii, to which reference should be made.

- 1 The listing of the Special Collection called 'Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts' began in 1887 and was completed in 1910. The modern form of reference, made up of group letters and class number – SC 6 – was officially adopted in 1929. (Information from Dr David Crook, Public Record Office, for which many thanks.)
- 2 803/5 was both annotated, and the membranes numbered, at a later stage, and both copies of the account have been given ink-stamp membrane numbers by the Public Record Office.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND WORKS CITED BY SHORT TITLE

<i>Bull. JRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> (now <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i> )
<i>B.P.R.</i>	M.C.B. Dawes, ed., <i>Register of Edward the Black Prince</i> , 4 vols (London, 1930–33)
Barraclough, <i>Charters</i>	G. Barraclough, ed., <i>The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071–1237</i> , R.S.L.C., cxxxvi (1988)
Booth, “Farming for Profit”	P.H.W. Booth, “Farming for Profit” in the Fourteenth Century: the Cheshire Estates of the Earldom of Chester’, <i>J.C.A.S.</i> , 62 (1979)
Booth, <i>Financial Administration</i>	P.H.W. Booth, <i>The Financial Administration of the Lordship and County of Chester, 1272–1377</i> , Chetham Society, Third Series, 28 (1981)
<i>C.C.R.</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
<i>C.I.P.M.</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
<i>C.P.R.</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
<i>ChAcc2</i>	P.H.W. Booth and A.D. Carr, eds., <i>Account of Master John de Burnham the Younger, Chamberlain of Chester, of the Revenues of the Counties of Chester and Flint, Michaelmas 1361 to Michaelmas 1362</i> , R.S.L.C., cxxv (1991)
CHES	Public Record Office reference
<i>Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls</i>	R. Stewart-Brown, ed., <i>Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls, 1158–1301</i> , R.S.L.C., xcii (1938)
del.	deleted
Dodgson, <i>Place-names</i>	J.McN. Dodgson, <i>The Place-names of Cheshire</i> , 4 vols (Cambridge, 1970–72)
E 372 [etc]	Public Record Office reference
Hewitt, <i>Mediaeval Cheshire</i>	H.J. Hewitt, <i>Mediaeval Cheshire: an Economic and Social History of Cheshire in the Reigns of the Three Edwards</i> , Chetham Society, New Series, 88 (1929)
intl.	interlineated
<i>J.C.A.S.</i>	<i>Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society</i>
<i>J.R.U.L.M.</i>	John Rylands University Library of Manchester
King, <i>Animal Husbandry</i>	J.O.L. King, <i>An Introduction to Animal Husbandry</i> (Oxford, 1978)
Miller, <i>Agrarian History</i>	E. Miller, ed., <i>The Agrarian History of England and Wales, iii, 1348–1500</i> (Cambridge, 1991)
<i>North. Hist.</i>	<i>Northern History</i>
om.	omitted

Oschinsky, <i>Walter</i>	D. Oschinsky, <i>Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting</i> (Oxford, 1970)
R.S.L.C.	Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
SC 6 [etc]	Public Record Office references
Sharp, 'Contributions'	M. Sharp, 'Contributions to the History of the Earldom and County of Chester, 1237–1399', Manchester University Ph.D. thesis (1925)
Stewart-Brown, <i>County Court</i>	R. Stewart-Brown, ed., <i>Calendars of County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1259–1297</i> , Chetham Society, New Series, 84 (1925)
<i>T.H.S.L.C.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire</i>
Tonkinson, <i>Macclesfield</i>	A.M. Tonkinson, <i>Macclesfield in the Later Fourteenth Century: Communities of Town and Forest</i> , Chetham Society, Third Series, 42 (1999)
<i>V.C.H. Cheshire/Staffordshire</i>	<i>Victoria County History of Cheshire/Staffordshire</i>

# MANOR-HUNDRED OF MACCLESFIELD



- Vaccaries
- Townships from which rent is paid to the Hundred bailiff
- Other places mentioned
- ▨ Demesne townships of Macclesfield Manor, 1361-62
- ▩ Demesne township granted to William Soty by 1347
- ▧ Demesne townships subinfeudated remaining within the criminal jurisdiction of the Macclesfield Halmote

----- Township boundaries (early 19th century)  
 ▬ Boundary of Macclesfield Hundred

(Map based on the boundaries in  
*Ancient Parishes and Townships of Cheshire*,  
 Cheshire Record Office, 1987)

# INTRODUCTION

## I. THE LORDSHIP OF MACCLESFIELD AND ITS ACCOUNTS

No fourteenth-century accounts of the lordship of Macclesfield have yet appeared in print, largely because Ronald Stewart-Brown decided not to include any in his *Cheshire Chamberlains' Accounts* edition of 1910 (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, lix).<sup>1</sup> The first substantial use of the accounts for historical research was by H.J. Hewitt, who used selected material from the accounts for 1347–48, 1348–49, 1353–54 and 1356–57 in his seriously flawed analysis of cattle farming in fourteenth-century Cheshire.<sup>2</sup> The editor of the current volume published 'Profit and Loss: the Lordship of Macclesfield' as chapter four of *The Financial Administration of the Lordship and County of Chester, 1272–1377* (Chetham Society, Third Series, 28, 1981), pp. 86–115. This was the first study to employ all the unpublished Macclesfield accounts up to 1376 in the Public Record Office, together with other material such as court rolls and rentals. For the detailed background to the administrative history of Macclesfield lordship in the fourteenth century reference should be made to this work and to the sources cited within it. The Macclesfield accounts are important not just for local and regional history, but also for the history of cattle farming in general, partly because of the unusually large size of the herd that the Black Prince's officials built up in the manor in the 1350s and 1360s, and partly because the financial record is so complete. Only two stock accounts are missing (for 1355–56 and 1357–58) out of the 22 years between 1353 and 1375, and one (for 1370–71) is so badly decayed as to be all but unusable.<sup>3</sup> Part Two of this introduction consists of an analysis of the data in the accounts.

Macclesfield manor and Hundred was a complex of lands and jurisdictions that had had an organic unity from before the Norman conquest. Domesday Book records that Earl Edwin of Mercia had held *Maclesfeld* in 1066, and was succeeded by Earl Hugh of Chester, and that 'the third penny of the hundred [of *Hamestan*] belongs to the manor'.<sup>4</sup> This association between an important manor – usually belonging to the king – and the subdivision of a county called a Hundred

1 For a critique of this edition, see *ChAcc2*, pp. xvii–xxii and pp. 196–209.

2 H.J. Hewitt, *Mediaeval Cheshire: an Economic and Social History of Cheshire in the Reigns of the Three Edwards* in 1929 (Chetham Society, New Series, 88), pp. 49–56. For a discussion of Hewitt's conclusions, see below, pp. xxiv–xxvi. Margaret Sharp, in 'Contributions to the History of the Earldom and County of Chester, 1237–1399', Manchester Univ. Ph.D. thesis (1925), Appendix, pp. 165–70, presented data from some of the accounts in tabular form.

3 For a list of the accounts, see *ChAcc2*, pp. 155–61.

4 *V.C.H. Cheshire*, i. 347.

was not uncommon in England,<sup>5</sup> and Domesday Cheshire had another such linked pair, namely Frodsham (another manor in which Hugh succeeded Edwin) and Ruloe Hundred.<sup>6</sup> Both Macclesfield and Frodsham continued as demesne manors of the earldom of Chester, but only Macclesfield preserved the link between the manor and the Hundred, and in the long period between 1270 and 1347 this organic unity was reinforced because of two main factors. The first is that for a substantial part of that time the lordship was all but detached from the rest of Cheshire to be given to two queens of England as their dower. Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I, held Macclesfield from 1270 until her death in 1290, and Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II, held it, with interruptions, between 1309 and 1347.<sup>7</sup> The two queens were also endowed with extensive privileges in the manor-Hundred, which in effect excluded the officials of the earldom from interfering in the government of the Hundred, except on rare occasions.<sup>8</sup> In 1347 Isabella agreed to transfer Macclesfield lordship to her grandson, the Black Prince, in return for compensation in lands in Wiltshire, and the reintegration of the lordship into the earldom's system of government and administration that ensued was not an easy task.<sup>9</sup> A legacy of independence remained in the government of what came to be known, appropriately, as 'the liberty of the Hundred of Macclesfield', reinforced by a social and tenurial separateness which led the community of the lordship to become unusually prone to factional disputes in the later fourteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

The history of Macclesfield between 1066 and 1347 is also a history of the community: of the growth of its population, expansion of the area under cultivation and the development of trade and industry. Macclesfield became a borough by grant of Earl Ranulf III of Chester, probably very early in the thirteenth century. By that time, part of the Hundred, much of which had been extensively wooded at the time of Domesday, had been placed under forest law.<sup>11</sup> Iron-smelting and coal-mining were both well established in the forest by the fourteenth century and the lack of any reference to these activities at an earlier date may not be significant.<sup>12</sup> The evidence for growth of population and development of agriculture in the area between 1066 and the outbreak of the Black Death in 1349 is indirect, but nonetheless compelling. The charged rents for the manor and borough,

5 H.M. Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo: the Hundred and the Hundredal Manor' in *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1944), pp. 64–90.

6 *V.C.H. Cheshire*, i. 346.

7 See Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 86–7.

8 In 1316 Isabella was granted cognisance of all felonies and trespasses in the manor of Macclesfield, and the justiciar of Chester was forbidden to interfere (*C.C.R.*, 1313–18, p. 373). In 1318 she was granted wardships and marriages in all her dower lands (*C.P.R.*, 1317–21, p. 202). A further grant to her in 1345 seems only to have confirmed her independent position in Macclesfield (*C.P.R.*, 1343–45, p. 447).

9 Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 86–9.

10 *ChAcc2*, pp. lxi–lxv.

11 G. Barraclough, *Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester c. 1071–1237*, R.S.L.C., cxxvi (1988), p. 342; *V.C.H. Cheshire*, i. 332, and 347 (the *Maclesfeld* of Domesday had woodland six leagues long and four leagues wide).

12 *ChAcc2*, p. xlv; Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 98, 113.

which were just over £16 a year in 1240/41,<sup>13</sup> had risen to nearly £60 by 1296–97,<sup>14</sup> and had exceeded £86 by 1350–51.<sup>15</sup> The charged revenue for the whole of the lordship of Macclesfield, which was between £52 and £53 in the mid thirteenth century, had risen to nearly £175 by 1329–30,<sup>16</sup> and to over £200 in 1348–49.<sup>17</sup> Although it is clearly a mistake to draw hasty conclusions from the omission of place-names from the Domesday Survey, it may be significant that more than half the demesne townships of Macclesfield manor are not recorded at all before the middle of the thirteenth century, and in most cases not before 1270.<sup>18</sup> This is not to suggest that they did not exist until the times at which they were recorded, but that either they were new settlements after Domesday or remained places of very small significance until well on into the thirteenth century.<sup>19</sup> In the manorial account for the first part of 1348, all the rents of Macclesfield manor (except for Bollington and part of Sutton township) are collectively described as ‘Assarts in the forest, in the townships of Upton, Hurdsfield, Sutton, Rainow, Pott Shrigley, Disley, Yeardsley-Whaley and Kettleshulme’.<sup>20</sup>

It is most likely, therefore, that the most vigorous period for taking woodland and waste into cultivation in this area was between the middle and the end of the thirteenth century. The stray survival of a set of Macclesfield forest proceedings held in Queen Eleanor’s time, which record regards of the forest made in 1285 and 1286, are some direct evidence of this. In 1285, for example, it was stated that 207½ acres of land had been assarted in the manor of Bosley, approximately 14.25% of its area.<sup>21</sup> Although this township is on the north bank of the river Dane, six miles south of Macclesfield itself, its territory rises steeply eastwards to over 1,200 feet at Bosley Minn and similarly northwards towards Sutton common. Consequently, only a relatively small part of the 3,000 or so acres of the township would have been suitable for arable farming. How long before 1285 these assarts had been made cannot be known, but it is unlikely to have been before 1270, when Queen Eleanor took possession of the lordship. The regard of the

13 *Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls*, pp. 65–6.

14 E 372/146, rot. 34, m. 2.

15 SC 6/802/6 and 802/7.

16 SC 6/802/1.

17 SC 6/802/4. The very high sum of £139 9s. 3d. for fines has been deducted to calculate this figure.

18 Stanley (later part of Disley-Stanley township) is first recorded in c. 1200, Whaley (later part of Yeardsley cum Whaley township) in c. 1211, and *Dounes* (later part of Sutton Downes township) and Upton in the early thirteenth century. Disley is first recorded in c. 1251, Yeardsley and Kettleshulme in 1285, Upton and Hurdsfield in 1286 (Dodgson, *Place-names*, i. 106, 110, 148, 176, 216, 269, 270).

19 See P.H. Sawyer for a warning against assuming that places not mentioned in Domesday did not exist at the time of the survey (‘Medieval Settlement: New Interpretations’ in *English Medieval Settlement*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1979), pp.1–3).

20 SC 6/802/2.

21 Assuming that the acres referred to are Cheshire customary acres, and have to be multiplied by 2.12 to convert them to statute measure, and that the area of the township is as it was in the nineteenth century. Stewart-Brown, *County Court*, p. 212.

following year, 1286, records few assarts, as might be expected because of the short interval since the previous one, and may well indicate that the main campaign to take new land into cultivation had begun to slacken off by then.<sup>22</sup> Some assarting did continue in Macclesfield forest up to as late as the 1340s, and in some places, such as Adlington, could be of considerable extent.<sup>23</sup>

After the Black Prince's take-over of the manor in 1347, and the completion of the administrative reorganization in 1351, Macclesfield was given a structure of administration and financial responsibility which lasted, in essentials, until the prince's death in 1376.<sup>24</sup> The officials with local responsibility for the lordship's governance were the justiciar of Chester (or his lieutenant after 1353) and the chamberlain of Chester, both of whom were based in Chester castle. They operated under the general supervision and control of the prince's central government in London and Westminster, led by his business-managers (Sir John Wingfield from 1351 to 1361 and Sir John Delves from 1361 to 1369<sup>25</sup>), who could call upon judges and other experts who, with them, formed the prince's council. The prince's great council, a more solemn and public meeting of his councillors, was normally held four times a year, to promulgate administrative ordinances of the highest import and to act, through the hearing of petitions, as an administrative court of appeal for his lands in England and Wales.<sup>26</sup> For example, it was at the great council held at Berkhamsted castle in the first few days of December 1361, that a complaint was presented about the negligent and careless behaviour of the hereditary foresters of Macclesfield, which led to them being warned that they might lose both their offices and the associated lands should they not improve.<sup>27</sup>

The main, regular link between the prince's central government and Macclesfield was through the annual visit of his auditors. The audit of this account took place in the exchequer room of Chester castle in March 1363, when the auditors were Richard Stokes and William Cranewell, both of whom had been appointed fairly recently.<sup>28</sup> They may have not acquired sufficient seniority by that time to be

22 Ibid., pp. 223–8.

23 *ChAcc2*, p. xliv. An edition of the Cheshire forest eyre roll for 1357, which includes a regard of Macclesfield forest for 1353, is being prepared for publication by the members of the Ranulf Higden Society, most of whom are former members of the Liverpool University Latin for Local History course. See also A.M. Tonkinson, *Macclesfield in the Later Fourteenth Century: Communities of Town and Forest*, Chetham Society, Third Series, 42 (1999).

24 Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 89–93.

25 Wingfield and Delves feature largely in Volumes II to IV of *The Black Prince's Register*. Because the *Register* comes to an end in 1365, and because of the lack of other records of the prince's central government in the last ten years of his principate, it is not clear whether this system of management by a single person survived Delves's death. See Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 70–9.

26 Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 75–6.

27 *B.P.R.*, iii, 428. The usual time for holding the great council would have been Michaelmas. The outbreak of the Black Death in the summer of that year, the 'second pestilence', was very likely the reason for the postponement until early December.

28 Cranewell seems to have held office as auditor until c. 1370, following which he was appointed steward and sheriff of Cornwall. Stokes continued to audit until the prince's death, and was then appointed a baron of the royal exchequer with special responsibility for the audit of Wales and Cheshire accounts (*ChAcc2*, pp. xxvi–xxvii, 131, 177).



members of the prince's council as their recently retired colleague, William Spridlington, had been, but they certainly acted as conduits from the centre to Chester to convey the council's decisions. For example, it was the auditors and the chamberlain together who leased out the in-milk cows of Macclesfield to the stock-keeper for two years in 1366.<sup>29</sup> It was to them that the various 'ministers', or local accounting officials, rendered their accounts.

Another important official employed in Macclesfield lordship was Robert Legh of Adlington, who held the twin posts of deputy steward and deputy master forester (also called 'riding forester') of Macclesfield. It was his task to preside over the local courts of the manor-Hundred, and to supervise the activities of the foresters. He had no direct control over the accounting officials of the lordship, but his offices did have administrative and financial aspects, and he certainly had substantial influence, of both an official and a private kind, in the lordship's governance.<sup>30</sup>

The somewhat complex structure of Macclesfield lordship can best be considered as a series of concentric circles, each of the smaller being a liberty within the larger. The outer circle was the 'Liberty of the Hundred', namely that part of the Hundred proper that was not in the manor or the borough. It consisted of the 18 townships which paid 'revegeld' (40.3), together with another 27 which did not.<sup>31</sup> Revegeld was most likely an ancient communal due paid towards the wages of the earl's aboriginal official, or reeve, of the manor-Hundred, and was possibly cognate with the customary payment collected in the other six Hundreds of the county called 'sheriff's stuth'. The accounting officer of the Liberty of the Hundred in 1361–62 was William le Poker, hereditary Hundred-bailiff and Hundred bedell, and his account can be found in sections 39–47, on pages 34–41 below. He also collected rents from properties situated within the Liberty (and, therefore, outside the manor) such as the manors of Chelford and Mottram St Andrew (40.2, 40.4), which had been forfeited by the elder Hugh Despenser in 1326, as well as some other rents (40.1, 40.5, 40.7). He was also responsible for collecting the fines and amercements of the Hundred court and the bailiff's tourn, both of which were presided over by the deputy steward of the manor-Hundred, and which had jurisdiction over the Liberty of the Hundred only. Also, the collection of the monetary penalties imposed upon residents of that area whose beasts had strayed into the manorial demesne within the forest, or who had committed other minor offences within the forest, was his responsibility (41.1–41.4). The

29 SC 6/803/15, m. 3.

30 As deputy steward Legh acted for Sir Thomas Ferrers (the justiciar of Chester) from 1350 (and possibly from 1347) to 1353, and for Sir John Chandos from 1353 to 1369 (*ChAcc2*, pp. 155–6).

31 (Great) Warford, Chelford, Marton, Somerford (Booths), (North) Rode, Mottram (St Andrew), Butley, Adlington, Poynton with Woodford, Bramhall with Dukinfield, Bredbury with Brinnington, Cheadle, Hyde, Tintwistle and Etchells. Six of the townships are grouped in twos (SC 11/899, m. 1). The list of townships as given in the 1405 mise book affords the names of the other 27 townships, and they may have paid their revegeld through the previously listed townships (J.R.U.L.M., Tatton MS 345). Other townships, in Longdendale lordship, were also liable for revegeld, namely Mottram in Longdendale, Hattersley, Hollingworth and Matley (see below, pp. 24–7).

only courts which had jurisdiction over the whole geographical Hundred of Macclesfield were the annual eyre of the justiciar of Chester, held during the period of this account by his lieutenant on 18 July 1362,<sup>32</sup> and the three special sessions of the Hundred court held after the eyre (in August and September 1362) which were presided over not by the steward, but by specially commissioned justices.<sup>33</sup> Thomas le Poker was charged to collect the issues of these courts, but once again only from those people who lived in the 'Liberty' itself (42.1–42.8). Specially commissioned justices were also appointed in Macclesfield Hundred to try offences against the statute of labourers, because Cheshire did not have justices of the peace until after the end of the Middle Ages, but their sessions had yielded no revenue in 1361–62 (42.8).

Within the Hundred of Macclesfield was the manor, itself a privileged area and consequently exempt from the authority of the Hundred-bailiff. In the rental of 1352 it consisted of nine townships situated to the north and east of Macclesfield town, which were under the direct lordship of the earl of Chester, and might, therefore, be called the 'demesne townships' of the manor<sup>34</sup> (2.2, 2.5, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.10, 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 2.14). Bollington had once been such a demesne township but was granted to William Soty for life in 1350 or 1351 (2.04), as had Wincle, granted to Combermere abbey probably in the late twelfth century, leaving only an annual rent payable to the lord of Macclesfield (2.3).<sup>35</sup> There were some other, smaller pieces of land which yielded rent to the manor, such as the estates of Thornset and Eddisbury (in Rainow) and Hollinset and Foe Lee (in Sutton) (2.1, 2.6, 3.1), and the lands in various townships, the rents of which were added to the 1352 rental at various times (2.15–2.24). The vaccary of Midgley, which lay in Wincle and Wildboardclough townships, had also belonged to Hugh Despenser, and was in the earl's hands because of his forfeiture (3.2). As will be seen, this was one of the places which was used for the prince's cattle enterprise after it was set up in 1354.<sup>36</sup>

32 Sir Bartholomew Burgherssh, the justiciar of Chester from 1353 to 1369, never carried out the duties of the office in person (*ChAcc2*, pp. 123–4). His lieutenant from 1353 to some time in 1362 was Sir John Delves, who succeeded Sir John Wingfield as the prince's business-manager some time after Wingfield's death in the autumn of 1361. It is not likely that Delves still had the time to hold a court in Macclesfield in the summer of 1362, and possible that it was held by John de la Pole, who had succeeded Delves as lieutenant by 1364 (*ChAcc2*, pp. 134–7; Sharp, 'Contributions', Appendix, p. 7).

33 See below, p. 39.

34 Sutton (Downes), Rainow, Upton, Hurdsfield, Shrigley, Stanley, Disley, Yeadsley cum Whaley and Kettlethulme (SC 11/899). As the account shows, Shrigley was also known as Pott Shrigley, and in the 1405 mise book Downes had been separated from Sutton (to be reunited later), and Disley had been combined with Stanley (J.R.U.L.M., Tatton MS 345).

35 See above, p. xv. Bollington had previously been granted away to William Shirebourn by Queen Isabella, some time before her surrender of the manor in 1347 (SC 6/802/2, m. 1), and the prince regranted it to him for life in either 1350 or 1351 (SC 6/802/6), which was the reason for this township not being listed in the rental of 1352. Similarly, Adlington and Tytherington and, possibly, Stockport and Cheadle, were parts of the manor which had been subinfeudated, but which were held by their lords from the earl of Chester 'as of the manor of Macclesfield' (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, iii. 99; *B.P.R.*, iii. 66; J.P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire* (London, 1877–80), i. 341–2 and ii. 335).

36 See below, 42.5–42.7.

Robert Worth of Tytherington was the official responsible for accounting for the revenues of the manor in this account, as deputy to John Somerford, hereditary gaoler of Macclesfield and 'bailiff of the forest of Macclesfield in alternate years'.<sup>37</sup> (See sections 1 to 22 for his account). There is a problem of nomenclature here, as there is with the term 'Hundred' of Macclesfield. Somerford was not a forester nor, strictly speaking, a forest official. There were substantial parts of the forest that were not under his financial jurisdiction,<sup>38</sup> and although some of the money he was charged to collect was forest revenue (that is, penalties for breaches of the forest law), most of it was not, and some Macclesfield forest revenue was collected by other officials (see 41.3, 41.4, and 53.2, 53.3). The type of account that Worth rendered as his deputy differed in no significant way from the normal type of manorial account; Macclesfield was just a large manor with a complex structure, where forest revenue was an added bonus. Section 4 of the account lists the leases of the five manorial water-mills and the single windmill, and section 5 the revenue from, and associated with, the halmote, or manor court. The halmote, held by Robert Legh as deputy-steward, had jurisdiction over the demesne townships of the manor, together with the four others that were counted as part of the manor for some purposes, and are listed as part of the 'forest of Macclesfield' in the 1405 mise book.<sup>39</sup> This confirms that the term 'forest' had come to be used here by the second half of the fourteenth century in a restricted sense to mean the manor of Macclesfield, while still retaining its larger application to the whole area under forest law. It is important to be aware of this distinction, since normally only the context will make it clear which sense is being used. For example, when we are told that the Black Prince's officials had striven unsuccessfully to compel the men of Macclesfield forest to make a common fine following the 1357 forest eyre, and subsequently read in the chamberlain's account for 1361–62 that the men of Macclesfield forest were, in fact, paying such a common fine, it is not because the community had changed its mind. The community of the entire forest had resisted, and could not be compelled, while the tenants of the demesne townships (the 'forest' in the restricted sense) had had to agree.<sup>40</sup>

As well as the revenue arising from pleas in the Hundred eyre and the three Hundred-courts after the eyre arising from residents of the manor (section 6), there

37 For the complicated history of this office, see *ChAcc2*, pp. 160–3, 173.

38 Such as the four townships of Bosley, Marple, Taxal and Tytherington which were listed, together with the demesne townships, under the heading 'Foresta de Macclesfeld' in the 1405 mise book (J.R.U.L.M., Tatton MS 345) or the seven townships of Torkington, Poynton with Worth, Adlington, Gawsworth, North Rode, Prestbury and Gawsworth which were not included in the list, but were clearly wholly or partially situated within the bounds of the forest (*ChAcc2*, pp. xliii–xliv).

39 Information from A.M. Tonkinson, for which I am most grateful, whose major study of the Macclesfield courts (*Macclesfield in the Later Fourteenth Century*) was published by the Chetham Society in 1999. He makes it clear that Bosley, Marple, Taxal and Tytherington were, in effect, sub-manors of Macclesfield. They had their own lords and manorial courts (in which land transfers were executed), but were subject to the jurisdiction of the Macclesfield halmote for the purposes of criminal justice.

40 *ChAcc2*, pp. xliii–xliv, 23.

were other sources of revenue within this bailiwick. Although the earl of Chester no longer had any demesne arable in Macclesfield, there were demesne pastures (including Macclesfield park), woods and wastes, which produced revenue from pannage (5.4), licences to mine coal (5.5), pasture-rights (5.6), leases of the pastures themselves (7) and, at least potentially, the right to work forges for iron-smelting (9).

This is the only account that has a discharge side of significance, which consists of repayment and fall (or 'decay') of rent<sup>41</sup> (12, 13), minor expenses (14) and the lord's contribution to repairs to the mills (15). This was the bailiwick that yielded the largest amount of revenue in 1361–62, and which also exhibited the most serious problems with getting that revenue in, for reasons which have been discussed elsewhere.<sup>42</sup> At the end of the account over £35 still remained uncollected (22), partly because rents were beginning to fall through loss and non-replacement of tenants (see 20.1, for example), and partly because decline in other revenues was being made up by increasing judicial revenue, which was inherently difficult to collect.

In the innermost circle of this nest of jurisdictions was the borough of Macclesfield itself, with its own courts and officials which excluded the bailiffs of the Hundred and manor-forest (see sections 48 to 59). Its accounting officers were the reeve and the catchpoll of the borough, who were elected by the inquisition jury at the great portmote held on the Tuesday after Michaelmas each year.<sup>43</sup> The reeve was responsible for collecting the burgage-rents, the catchpoll for the remainder of the revenue. Unfortunately the court rolls no longer record the election by the time of our account, but there is no reason to think that the procedure was any different. Thomas Oselcok had been chosen borough-reeve after Michaelmas 1360,<sup>44</sup> and as his term of office did not expire until after Michaelmas 1361, he was charged for the instalment of the burgage-rents, 41s. 0d., payable at that term (49.3). Richard Kenworthey, his successor as reeve, was responsible for the remaining terms of Hilary and Trinity, and then the term of Michaelmas 1362 (which fell in the 1362–63 account).<sup>45</sup> The same is true of the catchpoll, but for some reason the clerk who wrote the account omitted the name of Ranulf Whitlof, who served as catchpoll during the first part of the financial year<sup>46</sup> (see 59).

The structure of this account is similar to that of the bailiff of the forest, and it begins with rents (49, 50, 51), followed by various leases and tolls (52), and concludes with the judicial revenue. In what has now become a familiar pattern,

41 For the significance of this term, see Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 20, 89–91, 97.

42 Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 97–8.

43 The power *faciant sibi prepositos per semet ipsos* was given by the Lord Edward's charter of 1261 (see C. Stella Davies, *A History of Macclesfield* (Manchester, 1961), pp. 8–9; unfortunately this book is very weak on the history of the medieval town). For such an election on 6 October 1349, see SC 2/252/2, m. 3.

44 He acted, therefore, as the second-named of the two reeves in the 1360–61 account (SC 6/803/3, m. 1).

45 Richard Kenworthey duly appears as the first-named reeve in the 1362–63 account (SC 6/803/7, m. 2d).

46 See below, 48.

this last is divided between the perquisites of the local court, the portmote, together with fines for offences committed by residents of the borough in the forest (53), followed by the revenue from the Hundred eyre and the three Hundred courts which followed arising from the townsfolk (54). The borough revenues contributed a modest, but reliable income to the prince's exchequer, and there were no serious signs in the early 1360s of any real decline.<sup>47</sup>

The three accounts which remain include those of a valuable escheat (Longdendale), and of two specialist officials of the lordship – the parker and the stock-keeper of Macclesfield manor. Longdendale lordship, which consisted of the two manors of Tintwistle and Mottram in Longdendale, together with dependent estates, formed the 'panhandle' of medieval Cheshire (see sections 23 to 32). It had come into the hands of the Black Prince not long before the time of this account, in the early autumn of 1357, on the grounds that the former owner, Robert Holland, had taken possession of it from his father in 1327 or 1328 without the earl of Chester's licence. Longdendale remained in the prince's possession until November 1374 when it was restored to Holland's granddaughter, Lady Lovell of Titchmarsh.<sup>48</sup> Because this lordship was situated physically within Macclesfield Hundred, its accounts were clerked for convenience with those of Macclesfield lordship. From Lady Day 1361 Longdendale was leased in its entirety for a ten-year term to Sir William Carrington, a Cheshire landowner with property on the Mersey bank east of Lymm, who was an indentured retainer of the Black Prince. Carrington had served on the Poitiers campaign, and also on the Rheims expedition of 1359/60, two good reasons for him to be granted the lease on what turned out to be unusually favourable terms. The existence of the lease explains the distinctive form of the Longdendale account, in that the revenue which would have been collected had Longdendale been directly managed (as was the case from 1357 to 1361) is first set out in detail (24, 25), to be followed by the farm of £40 itself (26). It was clearly difficult for the administration to exercise proper financial control over one of the prince's retainers, and by 1366 Carrington was so far behind in his payments that the lease was temporarily taken away from him.<sup>49</sup>

A similar act of patronage had led to the appointment of William Chorley, who served as an archer on the Poitiers campaign, as keeper of Macclesfield park in May 1357, with special responsibility for the custody of Macclesfield manor-house and of the prince's stud-farm which had been re-established in the park in the autumn of 1353.<sup>50</sup> The office was made a life-appointment in 1359, which meant that when the stud was transferred to Denbigh after the summer of 1361,<sup>51</sup> the park-keeper was more or less redundant but had to be kept in post for a further eight years. His account (33 to 38) shows that there was little income accruing to

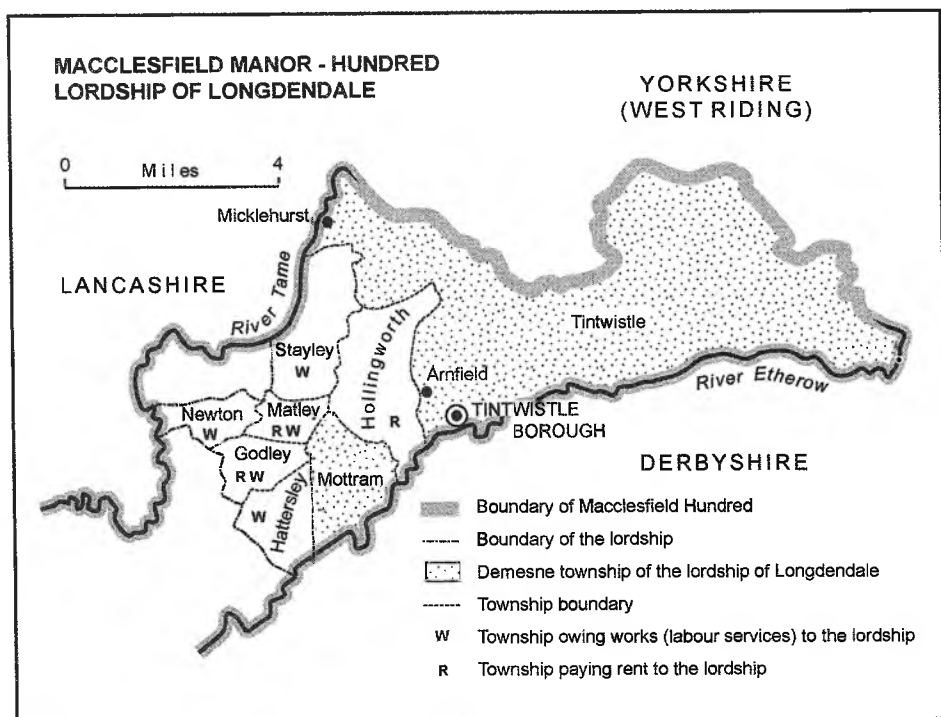
47 Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 98–9, 162.

48 Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 136–7.

49 *ChAcc2*, pp. 126–7.

50 *ChAcc2*, p. 129; SC 6/802/9, m. 4.

51 The account for 1360–61 records the transfer of the horses to Denbigh, without giving a date, but the black stallion had summer grazing at Macclesfield bought for him (SC 6/803/3, mm. 2, 2d).



him, largely because most of the pasturage in the park was used for the prince's cattle, and as what there was was insufficient to pay his wages he had to receive a prest (or advance) from the chamberlain (35).

The final account in the bundle is that of the prince's stock-keeper, John Alcock (for his money account see sections 60 to 73, his stock account sections 74 to 86).<sup>52</sup> He took over the responsibility for the prince's livestock (both horses and cattle) in Michaelmas 1356 from Alexander Crosse, who had been appointed in January 1354, following Sir John Wingfield's decision to re-establish the stud in the park and to build up a cattle enterprise from scratch on the demesne pastures and meadows.<sup>53</sup> As has been seen, Alcock lost responsibility for the stud and the custody of the manor-house and park following the appointment of William Chorley in May 1357, but he remained in charge of the only section of the lordship of Macclesfield's activities that can be called an 'enterprise' until May 1373. Unlike the park-keeper, Alcock was in a position to raise substantial amounts of revenue in 1361–62, mostly from the sale of mature beasts (oxen and cows) (61), a lesser amount from milk (62), and small sums from sale of hides and agistment

52 *ChAcc2*, pp. 118–19. Alcock's own letters of appointment do not survive.

53 Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 94–7.

(63, 64). His expenses were substantial, and included labour-costs (68,<sup>54</sup> 69), maintenance of waggons, buildings and enclosures (66), and the purchase of fodder for the cattle (67). The running of this important enterprise will be examined in detail in Part Two of this introduction.

The form of these accounts is discussed in detail elsewhere; they are all level-three type transfer-livery accounts, and so the various payments of cash (or 'liveries of money') to the chamberlain appear as charges in the chamberlain's account for 1361–62.<sup>55</sup> What requires explanation in some detail here is the structure of the stock side of the Macclesfield stock-keeper's account (74 to 86), which can be broken down into five sub-accounts: those of cattle (74 to 82), hides (83), food-liveries (84), deadstock (85) and forage (86). Their structure is straightforward, as can be seen from the sections of the cattle account which deal with three-year-old bullocks (*bovetti*, 77). The stock-keeper was charged to account for 90 three-year-olds, 37 of which were the remainder of the 1360–61 account (77.1), 26 had been transferred from the bailiff of Ashford during the time of the 1361–62 account (77.2),<sup>56</sup> 23 were those two-year-old bullocks that had become three-year-olds during the time of the 1361–62 account (77.3),<sup>57</sup> and four were two-year-olds transferred from Ashford that had 'graduated' in the same way (77.4). On the discharge side, 37 became oxen (that is, four-year-olds) during the period of the account, and 26 of the Ashford animals likewise (77.5, 77.6). There were no deaths or sales of cattle in this category, so the remainder at the end of the accounting year was 27. Each of the stock accounts of this type has to relate to the accounts for the year-groups below and above (when they exist), and if animals are sold then their sale has also to appear in the money account (see 76.4 and the corresponding sales in 61.6 to 61.12), or if they die then their hides need to appear in the hide account (see 78.5, 83.2). As with the money accounts these stock accounts operate on the charge-discharge principle, and represent primarily the stock-keeper's liability. For example, if a cow were to wander away from the prince's pastures, and not be recovered, then it was open to the auditors to hold Alcock responsible for its loss by insisting that it remain on the charge of the stock account. It could then have been recorded in the money account as a fictitious *venditio super compotum* (sale upon the account), which meant, in effect, that Alcock would have to pay the cost of its replacement. In fact there is no hint in the Macclesfield stock accounts of any such irregularities, and so it seems that Alcock did his job to his employer's satisfaction.

54 The corn was bought to pay as food-liveries to the stock-keeper and his assistants (84).

55 Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 14–42; *ChAcc2*, pp. xxiii–xxxviii. For the charges of the arrears from Macclesfield see *ChAcc2* (2.12, 2.13, 2.14) and 6 for the liveries. The prest, or money advanced to William Chorley for payment of his wages, appears on the discharge side of the chamberlain's account (38).

56 For the reason for the transfers from Ashford, see below p. xxvi.

57 They appear as the remainder charged at the beginning of the account of the two-year-old oxen (78.1).

## II. THE MACCLESFIELD CATTLE ENTERPRISE

The establishment of a cattle-rearing business on the prince's demesnes in Macclesfield manor in the mid-1350s is very well documented, both through the accounts and the *acta* of the *Black Prince's Register*. Although Volume Three of the *Register* provides more information about the governance of Cheshire in the 1350s than at any other period of the county's medieval history, we have to be aware of its silences as well as of its riches. It contains over 2,000 letters and related documents generated by the prince's central government, at London and Westminster, between 1351 and 1365, most of which are concentrated in the first ten years, and sent to the officials of the earldom based in Chester castle. We know in very great detail, therefore, about what has been decided and, because of the notes of warrant attached to most of the letters, who authorised the decisions. The role of Sir John Wingfield as the prince's business manager in devising and executing the details of policy would not be known to us had not volumes II to IV of the *Register* survived.<sup>58</sup>

On the other hand, we know next to nothing about the actual formulation of policy, as there are no extant minutes of the prince's council, or communications between the prince and his central officials. Consequently, we know how and when the Macclesfield herd was set up, how much money was allocated for its development, and what the problems were of managing such an enterprise. What is lacking is any information about why Wingfield and the council decided to establish and invest in the herd in the first place, why Macclesfield was chosen, and what the cattle were to be used for. Inferences from the extant sources have to be drawn with caution, and, for all we know, there may have been several changes of plan, apart from the three there is actual evidence for. H.J. Hewitt, in his study of the Macclesfield cattle, asserted uncritically that there was a policy to 'rear and fatten' cattle by combining the animals at Macclesfield with those of three of the other manors of the earldom (Frodsham, Shotwick and Drakelow), which he called 'the association of distant manors ... for the purpose of stock-raising'.<sup>59</sup> Hewitt's approach was based on a theoretical foundation of geographical determinism: Cheshire was the sort of place, he asserted, that could never have been suitable for arable husbandry and must always have been favourable for cattle farming, although not, somewhat surprisingly, for sheep. The absence of any real evidence for this point of view was pointed out long ago,<sup>60</sup> and it might be thought to be labouring the point here if Hewitt's thesis had not received the *imprimatur* of the

58 For Wingfield's approach to management, see P.H.W. Booth, "'Farming for Profit' in the Fourteenth Century: the Cheshire Estates of the Earldom of Chester", *J.C.A.S.*, 62 (1979), pp. 83-6 and *B.P.R.*, iii. 4.

59 H.J. Hewitt, *Mediaeval Cheshire*, p. 52; idem, *Cheshire under the Three Edwards* (Chester, 1967), pp. 32-3.

60 Booth, "Farming for Profit", pp. 75-81.



*Cambridge Agrarian History of England and Wales*, in a volume published as recently as 1991.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, Hewitt's conclusions on the subject of Cheshire cattle farming in the fourteenth century were based on a detailed study of only two out of the 20 extant Macclesfield stock-keepers' accounts (those for 1353–54 and 1356–57), a fact which alone should make his views, at the very least, questionable. Furthermore, another account that he did use was, he thought, of the manor of 'Eaton by Tarporley' for 1372–73, despite the fact that, as he pointed out himself, it contains references to 'the parson of Bletchley', and to a saddler from the same place. It is, of course, not a Cheshire record at all, but an account of the Grey of Wilton manor of Water Eaton, which is situated in Buckinghamshire, near Bletchley.<sup>62</sup>

The appointment of Alexander Crosse, the first stock-keeper, early in 1354 was followed by the establishment of a financial plan in May of that year, which authorised the spending of up to £20 annually for the purchase of cattle, until the herd had reached its optimum size. This did not last long. In January 1355, Wingfield replied to Crosse's request that money should be allocated to building more shippons in the forest by saying that although the prince (in this context this means Wingfield himself) felt that this was very desirable, money was too tight. The expenses of the prince's household, vastly increased by the 1355/56 Poitiers campaign, together with the construction costs of the prince's palace at Kennington, made the use of Cheshire revenues impossible, at least on a regular basis. Consequently, Wingfield urged the Chester officials to try to find some windfalls of money that could be used to buy cattle.<sup>63</sup> Figure 1 shows that the herd was built up in nine years to its maximum size of 707 head, to be followed by a reduction over the following thirteen years to a little under half that number (see also Appendix 1 for a summary of the cattle accounts in tabular form, pp. 76–86). Some stock were bought in, it is true: ten heifers and two oxen in 1356–57 (for under £3 in all),<sup>64</sup> a bull, two cows, eighteen heifers and three oxen in 1358–59 (for £9 6s. 6d.),<sup>65</sup> and the missing accounts for 1355–56 and 1357–58 might have recorded more purchases in those years. Then there was a pause; except for oxen for the prince's waggon, no cattle were bought between 1359 and 1362. The great expense of funding the prince's involvement in the Rheims campaign (1359/60) was undoubtedly the reason for this hiatus, and there was another gap between

61 Edward Miller, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, iii 1348–1500 (Cambridge, 1991), p. 240. Cheshire is included in the section on 'Wales and the Marches', the chapters of which were written by D. Huw Owen, whose contributions, we are told, were submitted for publication in 'the late seventies' [1970s] and not revised subsequently (p. xxi).

62 Hewitt, *Mediaeval Cheshire*, pp. 51, 165. The fact that the account was in the duke of Westminster's estate office, at Eaton Hall (Cheshire), is little excuse for the misidentification. Interestingly, other accounts of Water Eaton survive for the same period in Buckinghamshire Record Office (D/BASM/9–21), and include those for 1370–71 and 1373–74. Perhaps the one for 1372–73, used by Hewitt, was spirited away by an early antiquary, who also thought it had a Cheshire provenance.

63 Booth, *Financial Administration*, p. 94.

64 SC 6/802/13, m. 4.

65 SC 6/802/15, m. 3.

1367 and 1372,<sup>66</sup> corresponding with the even more desperate financial straits the prince found himself in after the battle of Nájera (April 1367).<sup>67</sup> Purchases had begun again with the acquisition of ten cows in 1362–63 (£6 5s. 11d.),<sup>68</sup> followed by four more in 1366–67 (66s. 0d.),<sup>69</sup> 18 beasts, including 11 heifers, in 1372–73<sup>70</sup> (£6 19s. 11d.), and finally a single cow in 1374–75<sup>71</sup> (10s. 6d.). What might be called ‘plan 2’ was also overtaken by severe financial strain, and revenue windfalls proved difficult to find.

In the end it was one of the best-known love-affairs of the later fourteenth century that allowed the Macclesfield herd to be brought to its full complement. Most of the Macclesfield cattle were not bought, but transferred from other places on the prince’s estates. One major source at the beginning was the other manors of the earldom in Cheshire as cattle farming was wound up in them, mostly from Frodsham and some from Drakelow and Shotwick.<sup>72</sup> It is this process of winding-up that Hewitt misinterpreted as ‘the association of distant manors ... for the purpose of stock-raising’. The second main source was the manor of Ashford in Derbyshire, which belonged to the prince’s wife, Joan,<sup>73</sup> and which came under his control after their marriage on 10 October 1361. The Ashford officials were ordered on 15 February 1362 to drive all the prince’s ‘great beasts’ there to Macclesfield forest,<sup>74</sup> and the account makes it clear that this was done early in the following month when 125 cattle were sent to Macclesfield.<sup>75</sup> Such major transfers (which amounted to at least 366 head in all – again, there may have been more in the missing accounts for 1355–56 and 1357–58) then finished, and growth in the following year, 1362–63, was through natural increase only. After that, the pattern was one of reduction, for reasons set out above. Part of the difficulty of estimating the profitability of the Macclesfield cattle herd, apart from the three missing accounts, is caused by the fact that the transferred cattle are not valued (at least, not in the stock-keeper’s account – they may well have been elsewhere),

66 See Booth, *Financial Administration*, p. 136 for the strains that raising money to finance the campaign imposed upon the prince’s administration.

67 *ChAcc2*, p. lvi; Booth, *Financial Administration*, p. 136.

68 SC 6/803/7, m. 3.

69 SC 6/803/13, m. 5.

70 SC 6/804/5, m. 3.

71 SC 6/804/7, m. 4.

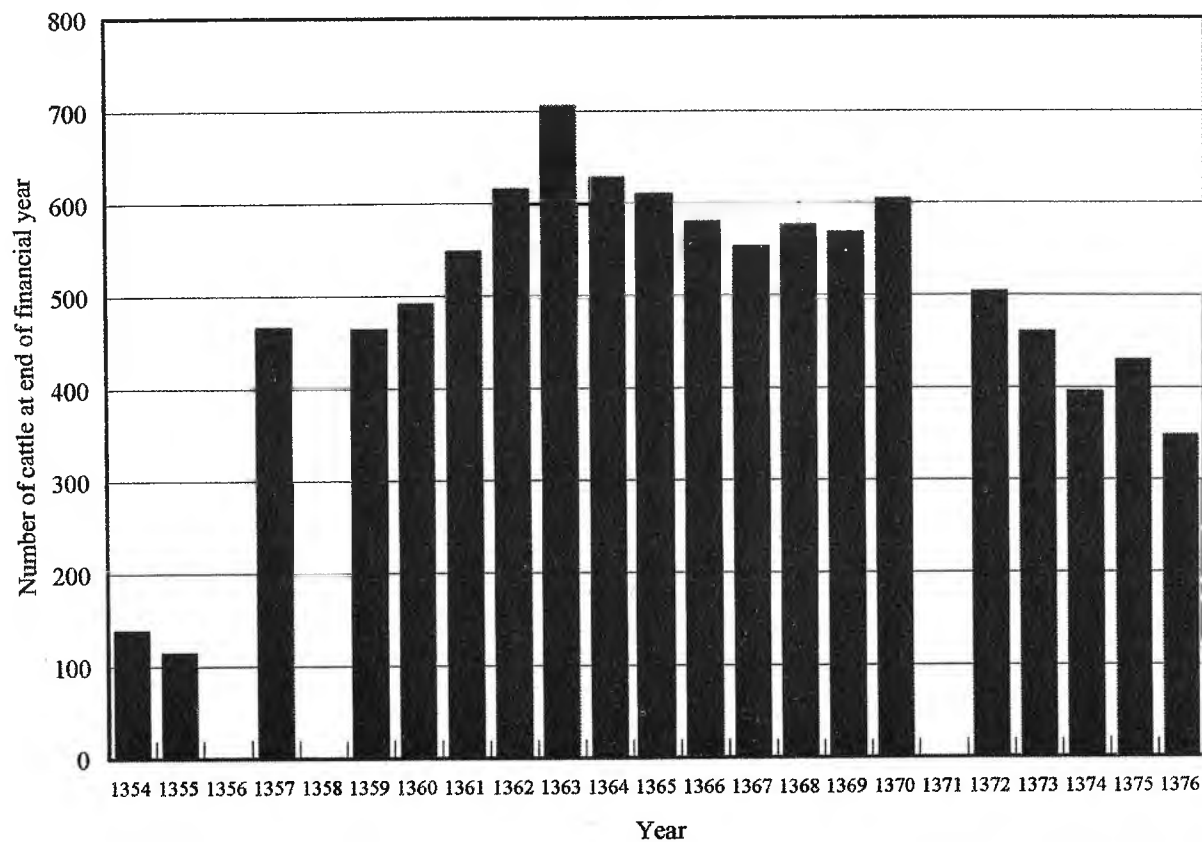
72 Frodsham contributed 185 (1354/57), Drakelow 19 in 1354, Shotwick 19 in 1354 and 16 (purchased locally for use in Macclesfield) in 1358–59. In 1355–56, when the Macclesfield account is missing, eight cattle had been transferred from Drakelow and 35 from Shotwick (SC 6/784/6, mm. 9d, 10d), which have to be added to the numbers given in the Macclesfield tables.

73 Joan, who was countess of Kent in her own right, had inherited Ashford, which had been granted to her father in 1315, on her brother’s death in 1352 (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, x. 43). As with the three Cheshire manors, the prince’s officials were planning to give up cattle-farming in Ashford, and its demesne lands, meadows and pastures were farmed to a consortium of tenants from Michaelmas 1363 (*B.P.R.*, iv. 518).

74 *B.P.R.*, iv. 420.

75 SC 6/803/5, m. 3d. The keeper of the Ashford cattle was paid on the Macclesfield stock-keeper’s account from 6 March 1362 (69.3). Small numbers of cattle came from other sources, such as unclaimed strays, heriots and eight from the herd of the deceased bishop of St Asaph.

**FIGURE 1**  
**Macclesfield cattle enterprise, 1353/76**



and so it is not possible to produce a figure for the cost of setting up the business.

The data in Appendix 1 also make it clear that the Macclesfield enterprise's function was to breed and rear cattle to be sold as mature beasts, primarily oxen but also cows (fig. 2). Oxen were used as both plough-beasts and draught-animals for pulling waggons, as the purchase of oxen for that purpose by the stock-keeper himself shows. It has been demonstrated that at the end of the fourteenth century in England, oxen still greatly outnumbered horses as demesne plough-beasts.<sup>76</sup> Cows could be sold after they had come to the end of their useful breeding life, or at a younger age, and presumably a higher price, should the prince need the money.<sup>77</sup> Few young stock were either sold or bought in; milk, as we shall see, was only a by-product of the herd's main function. The only reference to fattening of cattle was in 1363–64, when 11 calves were sold so that their dams could be fattened for sale.<sup>78</sup> This was during a period, from 1361 to 1366, when large numbers of cows were sold (fig. 2), clearly because of pressures on the prince's finances. It may originally have been the plan – we have no way of knowing – to make the herd available to feed an army sent to Scotland; it could not have been foreseen in 1354 that the prince would have no involvement in Scottish wars. What is surprising is that although cattle (that is, oxen) were regularly bought in Cheshire for the prince's larder, none of them seems to have come from the Macclesfield herd.<sup>79</sup> The possibility was considered on at least two occasions: in September 1357 Delves and Burnham were told to consider taking some of the 100 beasts required for the household from the prince's own stock in Cheshire, unless they should be 'let alone a while longer' (presumably while the herd was still being built up to its full size).<sup>80</sup> In September 1360, the prince's purveyor was ordered to buy 100 cattle in Cheshire, which had to be 'large and vigorous' to survive the journey, in readiness for the return of the prince and his household from the siege of Calais.<sup>81</sup> Burnham was told that some of the number could be taken from the prince's own stock in the county, if they were suitable for his larder. As they turned out not to be, this confirms that the oxen at Macclesfield

76 D.L. Farmer in Miller, *Agrarian History*, p. 457, and J. Langdon in *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 170, 203–4, 252.

77 At the present day, a cow might be allowed to have up to eight calves, if she is a good milker (inf. Dr D. Fielding, Edinburgh University).

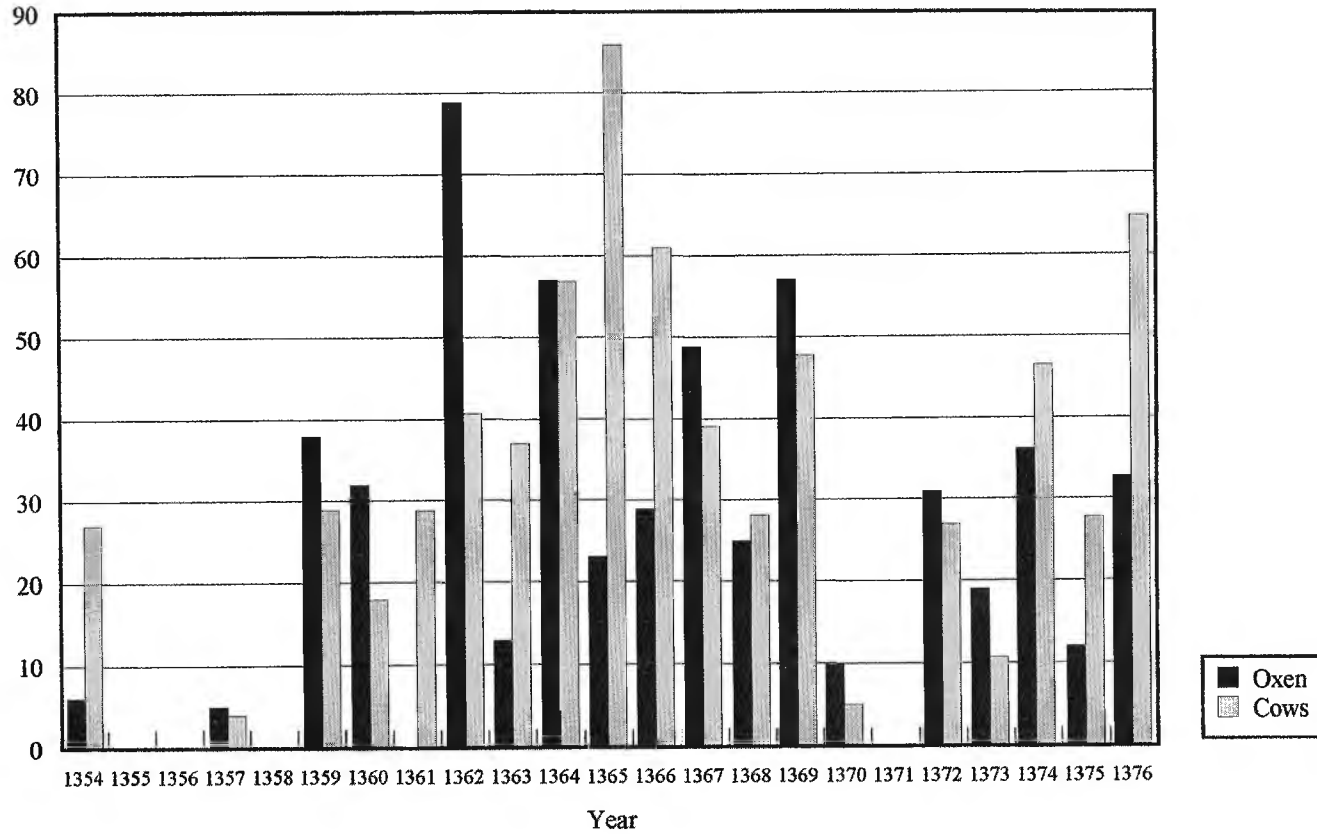
78 SC 6/803/9, m. 4.

79 Thomas Dover, the purveyor of the prince's household, was ordered to buy for the larder 100 cattle in Cheshire and Flintshire on 19 Sept. 1352; 100 cattle in Cheshire and Flintshire (plus 100 in North Wales) on 15 Sept. 1357; 60 cattle at the fairs of Cheshire and Flintshire on 4 Sept. 1358 (plus 100 or 120 in North Wales); 160 cattle in Cheshire on 16 June 1359; 100 cattle in Cheshire (plus 100 in North Wales) on 12 Sept. 1360; 100 oxen from Cheshire on 20 June 1361; 200 cattle from Cheshire on 20 Sept. 1361 (*B.P.R.*, iii. 76, 279, 307, 349, 393, 418 and 423). We might suspect some transfers from Macclesfield to the prince's household being concealed as fictitious 'sales' on the market in the stock-keeper's account, but there is no hint that there were any.

80 *B.P.R.*, iii. 279. The following year's account, 1357–58, is missing, so we cannot rule out the possibility that they did take some.

81 *B.P.R.*, iii. 393.

**FIGURE 2**  
Sale of oxen and cows, 1354/76



were being bred as draught beasts, and that none were available as fattened beasts for what wholesale butchers term 'killing out percentage', or what their retail colleagues call 'eating quality'. The only recorded gift from the prince's stock in Macclesfield was that of 24 bullocks to Sir John Chandos, on 13 September 1358.<sup>82</sup>

The sales and purchases of the Macclesfield cattle were transacted either publicly, in fairs, or by private contract. The fairs of Macclesfield itself, and of its immediate region, were the usual places chosen. The seasons for sales normally ranged from June to early November, beginning with the Macclesfield Barnaby fair on 11 June, and ending with the town's All Saints fair on 1 November. On some occasions cattle were driven south into Staffordshire to be sold: to Leek (13 miles away) in 1362, 1363 and 1366, and to Newcastle under Lyme (more than 20 miles away) in 1366.<sup>83</sup> Leek fair was held for seven days round about 20 June,<sup>84</sup> and Newcastle fair was held in 1366 from 30 May to 1 June.<sup>85</sup> Cattle were bought for the Macclesfield stock in 'Wales' (presumably North Wales), Knutsford and Wigan in 1358–59, and waggon-oxen were bought in Altrincham in 1366. As most transactions do not indicate either the time or the place of sale or purchase, it would be wrong to draw too firm conclusions from the evidence. As far as private sales and purchases were concerned, William Vernon and William Dounes both sold cattle to the prince in 1358–59, and in 1366–67 20 oxen were sold to James Legh, and four to Thomas Swettenham. Substantial sales of cattle from the herd began in 1359, and in the first two years more oxen than cows were sold (fig. 2). The summer of 1361 saw the second outbreak of the Black Death, which disrupted the normal running of the herd. It was not possible to sell the lactage of all the cows that year, because of shortage of buyers 'on account of the pestilence', and although 29 cows were sold – eight of them in July, presumably when the epidemic was at its height – there were no sales of oxen.<sup>86</sup> The following summer, 1362, saw 79 oxen sold,<sup>87</sup> roughly double the normal number, which suggests that the stock-keeper had decided to hold over the sales that would have normally been made the previous summer, until the market had recovered when people were willing to travel distances again.

Oxen that were being reared for sale as plough or waggon beasts were only a burden to the enterprise once they had reached maturity, and so the only good reason for keeping them beyond three years of age was to await an improvement in their sale-price. In the early years of the Macclesfield herd, some oxen were hired out, presumably to local farmers; in 1356–57 for the Lenten sowing, and in

82 *B.P.R.*, iii. 314. No such gift is recorded in the account for 1358–59 (SC 6/802/15, m. 3d), but as the order was repeated on 14 Sept., warranted by Wingfield, (*ibid.*, p. 316) it is likely that it was made during the time of the missing account for 1357–58.

83 For references, see Appendix 1.

84 The sale of 11 cows at Leek in 1363 took place in August, however (SC 6/803/7, m. 3).

85 *V.C.H. Staffordshire*, viii. 47, 105. I am grateful to Dr Nigel Tringham for helping me with these references.

86 SC 6/803/3, m. 3.

87 SC 6/803/5, m. 3.

1359–60 ‘in wintertime’.<sup>88</sup> This confirms that the Macclesfield oxen were being bred as the cheaper plough-beasts, rather than the more expensive waggon-oxen (and that is why the latter had to be bought in for the Macclesfield waggon). This hiring out seems to have been discontinued after 1360, possibly because of slack demand, but more likely because it could lower the sale price of the animals (see 62.3 for the standard explanation, which became common form). In contrast, the sales of cows had to be controlled to maintain the size of the herd, particularly when the level of mortality amongst certain stock and the proportion of barren among the adult cow population are taken into account. Both of these factors are considered in detail below. Fig. 2 shows that substantial numbers of cows were sold in most years between 1362 and 1376, and in six out of the thirteen years (1363, 1365, 1366, 1368, 1374 and 1376) they outnumbered the sale of oxen. Obviously this was not just the culling of animals that were past their useful breeding life, since the result of the sales was that the size of the herd was halved. Financial pressure, as has already been argued, must have been the reason for drawing on what has elsewhere been called this ‘savings account’, and the sums of money yielded from the cattle sales must have been a useful component of the prince’s income from Cheshire (fig. 3).<sup>89</sup>

The reason for the low sales figure in 1370 is that the account that year was audited early (before the quindene of Michaelmas, i.e. 13 November), and so it seems that sales which took place between 29 September and 13 November were credited to the financial year that had just finished (as the audit was not normally due until the following spring).<sup>90</sup> Unfortunately the following year’s account, that for 1370–71, is so badly damaged as to be all but illegible, even under ultra-violet light.<sup>91</sup>

As the 1361–62 account shows, the stock-keeper had a substantial staff at his disposal, consisting of five *garçiones* (or assistants) to look after the stock throughout the year, one of whom had come with the animals brought from Ashford, as well as two dairywomen, who were employed for twelve weeks, from 3 May to 29 September.<sup>92</sup> The use of hired dairywomen, and the consequent sale of surplus milk (62), was an unusual procedure in England during this period, in that it was all but universal for the lactage of cows to be leased. When the Macclesfield herd was first established, the greater part of the milk had been sold to outsiders, who presumably came and milked those cows themselves. This

88 SC 6/802/13, m. 4d; SC 6/802/17, m. 4d.

89 Booth, *Financial Administration*, p. 97.

90 SC 6/804/2, m. 3.

91 SC 6/804/3, m. 3.

92 On his appointment, in 1354, Alexander Crosse had a staff of two: Hamo Wyntergrome, the ‘keeper of the animals’ and Hamo’s assistant (SC 6/802/11, m. 4). Alcock had 3 assistants for a larger stock of both horses and cattle from 1356–57, to whom were added the two dairywomen, a part-time assistant and a boy to look after the calves in the park in 1358–59 (SC 6/802/13, m. 4; 802/15, m. 3). The regular staff of five assistants, plus the two dairywomen (when required) was established in 1359–60, Alcock having lost the charge of both the stud and park to William Chorley in 1357 (SC 6/802/17, m. 4).

**FIGURE 3**  
**Charged income from Macclesfield cattle sales, 1353/76**

	£	s.	d.
1354	12	10	0
1355	0	0	0
1357	4	0	10
1359	32	12	5
1360	28	14	4
1361	10	19	5
1362	70	2	9
1363	22	17	9
1364	70	11	4
1365	58	10	4
1366	57	4	0
1367	54	5	4
1368	29	6	0
1369	50	4	6
1370	8	15	0
1372	40	10	6
1373	27	6	3
1374	49	6	10
1375	22	8	8
1376	57	15	1

practice persisted until 1358–59, when dairywomen were first employed;<sup>93</sup> the second outbreak of the plague, in the summer of 1361, meant that, as we have seen, few buyers of milk came forward that year.<sup>94</sup> The dairywomen continued to be employed until 1363–64 when the stock-keeper himself took a lease of the in-milk cows, which he retained for six years until 1369–70, when dairywomen had to be taken on once again.<sup>95</sup> The fifth assistant was dispensed with after 1361–62, and four continued to be employed for the Macclesfield cattle up to the prince's death.

All these employees were paid both in money and food-liveries. The stock-keeper himself was paid 'salary and shoe-money' of 26s. 8d. (that is, two marks) a year (**69.1**), plus a livery of over 4 quarters of wheat which had been bought for 8s. 0d. a quarter in 1361–62 (**68.1**), which gave him a total emolument of over £3 a year (or just over 2d. a day).<sup>96</sup> All five assistants, and the dairywomen, were paid a stipend at the rate of 6s. 0d. a year (**69**), to which was added a

93 SC 6/802/13, m. 4; 802/15, m. 3; 802/17, m. 4.

94 SC 6/803/3, m. 3.

95 SC 6/803/9, m. 4; 803/10, m. 4; 803/12, m. 4; 803/13, m. 5; 803/15, m. 3; 804/1, m. 2d; 804/2, m. 3.

96 The details of Alcock's contract are set out at the beginning of his account for 1356–57 (SC 6/802/13, m. 4).



food-livery of 1 quarter of oat-flour every twelve weeks, bought for 6s. 0d. a quarter in 1361–62 (68.2). Those of them who worked a whole year, therefore, were paid an annual sum worth nearly £1 6s. 0d., which provided them with a total income of a little over 1d. a day. This appears to be low compared with the 2d. a day, with food, that three women were paid for reaping in Elton (Cheshire) in 1368, or the 3d. a day, again with food, that a carpenter could earn in nearby Stanney in 1365.<sup>97</sup> The difference, of course, is that reapers could only earn money during harvest-time, and a carpenter was very unlikely to have worked every day – in fact he would have been forbidden to work on Sundays and feast days, as well as the three weeks following Christmas, Easter and Whitsun. Also, the stock-keeper was allowed to pasture 24 of his own bullocks on the demesne pastures, as well as a mare in the park, without payment, and there may have been other, unrecorded perks for his staff.<sup>98</sup> For example, in Alcock's account for 1356–57 there is a reference to the muck produced by the cattle and horses, for which he did not have to answer at that time because it had still not been sold.<sup>99</sup> There was no demesne arable in Macclesfield that it could be used on, so we have to assume that the lack of any subsequent reference in the accounts to the sale of muck means that the prince's employees took it as part of their wages. Consequently, the wage-bill of over £11 in 1361–62 was probably not ungenerous by the standards of the time, but it was unpredictable because the wheat and oat-flour for the liveries had to be bought in, and so depended on the fluctuating price of corn (fig. 4).

The cattle were kept in three enclosed demesne pastures throughout the period of the enterprise's existence. The first was Macclesfield park, situated to the west of the town, under the control of one of the stock-keeper's assistants, where grazing, and very occasionally hay,<sup>100</sup> were available, and the farm buildings of the manor-house could be used to house the stock in the winter, provide shelter for cows when they were having their calves and they were still suckling, and serve as one of the two dairies.<sup>101</sup> The great stable, a slated stone building, was used for housing the cattle after the stud was removed to Denbigh in 1361, but following the reduction of the size of the herd in the 1370s, this dairy was moved to Harrop.<sup>102</sup> The second place was Midgley, about four miles south-east of Macclesfield, on the north bank of the river Dane.

This was an area of meadow and enclosed pasture in Wildboardclough township, together with a detached part of Winkle township, and had probably been the site of a vaccary since at least the first half of the thirteenth

97 CHES 19/1, mm. 39, 91. They were all fined for breaches of the Statute of Labourers.

98 SC 6/802/13, m. 4. Alcock was then also responsible for keeping the stud. His contract also specified the payment of food-liveries of one quarter of oat-flour every 12 weeks to the assistants.

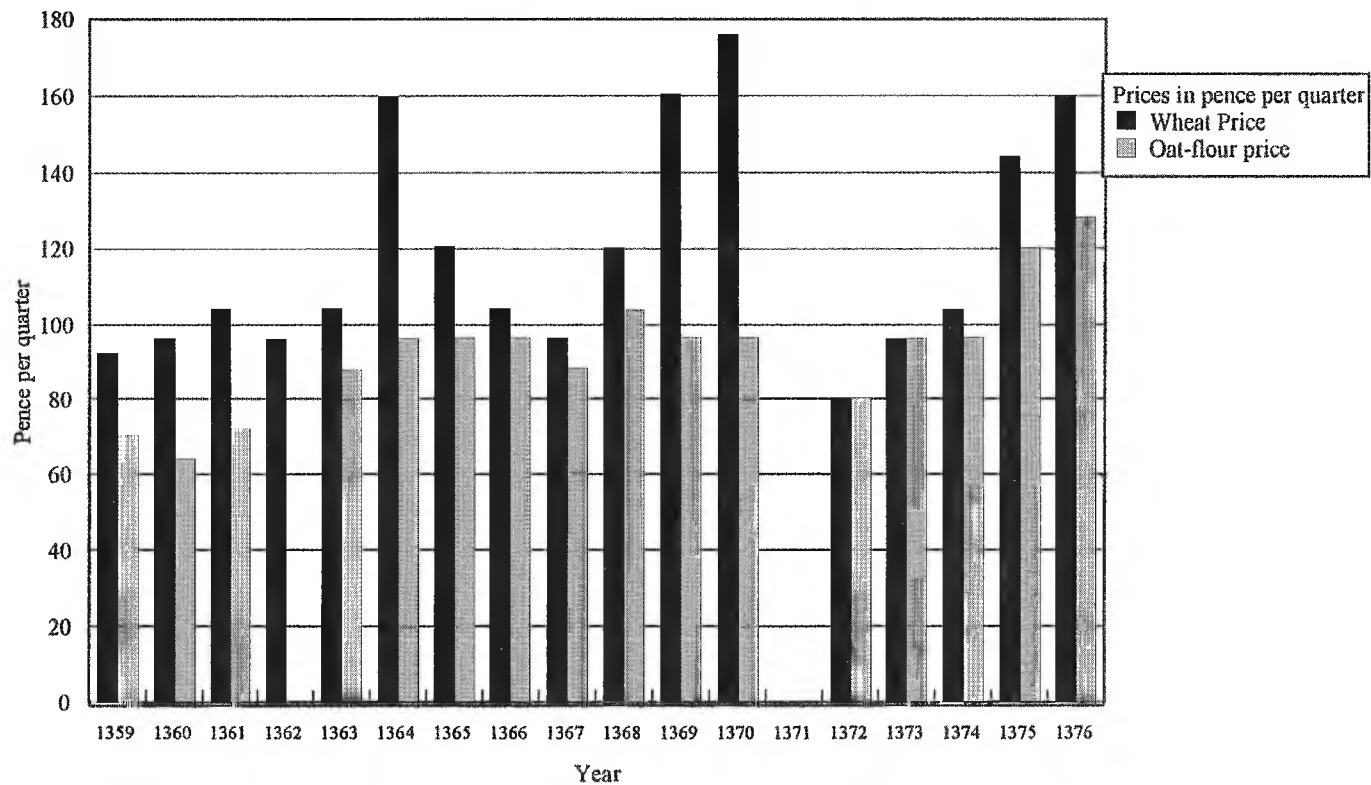
99 SC 6/802/13, m. 4.

100 Mowing hay in the park is only referred to once, in 1368–69 (SC 6/804/1, m. 2d).

101 Oats were bought for calves at Macclesfield 1359–60 (SC 6/802/17, m. 4). The great stable at Macclesfield had its roof repaired in 1361–62, and again (by a slater) in 1372–73, and was repaired by a slater and plastered in 1375–76 (SC 6/803/4, m. 3).

102 SC 6/804/6, m. 3. In addition *Ernesholt* (lost place-name) and Shutlingsloe crofts were used for pasture (7.2).

FIGURE 4  
Purchase price of corn liversies (pence per quarter)



century.<sup>103</sup> In 1358–59 one of the buildings forfeited by Robert Foxwist, the forester who had fled justice after killing one of the prince's officials in 1354,<sup>104</sup> was dismantled and moved to Midgley for use of the cattle.<sup>105</sup> The second of the dairies was then established there: the buildings were repaired in 1361–62, and substantially rebuilt (in timber and thatch) in 1363–64,<sup>106</sup> when the herd reached its maximum size. In 1376 yet another building was erected, of timber on a stone plinth, by six carpenters working for 16 weeks.<sup>107</sup> From 1359 onwards two of the stock-keeper's four assistants were based there, which implies that the largest number of cattle were kept at that centre. Midgley was also an important source of hay for the cattle in the 1360s and 1370s, probably from the water meadows on the northern side of the river bank, which may have stretched for two miles and more. The terrain of Midgley rises steeply from the river to a wide ledge, which could have been used for winter pasture, and then rises steeply again to the moorland plateau of 1,200 to 1,300 feet. In 1999 the area provided grazing for cattle on the lower slopes, sheep nearer the summit. Part of Midgley was enclosed with a ditch, both for stock management and the protection of the vitally important meadows.<sup>108</sup> This was probably the detached part of Winkle next to Midgleygate farm. It was also an important area for pasturing sheep, and Adam Kingsley, escheator of Cheshire in the 1360s and subsequently receiver of the lordship of Denbigh,<sup>109</sup> paid the prince to be allowed to graze his flock of up to 700 ewes in the enclosed pasture there, next to the river Dane, probably in the summer months, in the 1360s and 1370s.<sup>110</sup>

The third place, Harrop, where the fourth of Alcock's assistants was based, is now a hamlet in Rainow township, over two miles north-east of Macclesfield, and, like the park, was surrounded by a palisade.<sup>111</sup> In 1366–67, before the substantial running down of the herd began, the large sum of over £5 was spent by order of the prince's council on building a complex of three new buildings there,<sup>112</sup> a fold was erected in 1373–74 (probably to house 'escapes' in the forest),<sup>113</sup> and a further building was bought second-hand and re-erected there at considerable expense in 1374–75.<sup>114</sup> The dairy that had originally been sited in Macclesfield park was removed to Harrop in 1373–74,<sup>115</sup> which was probably the reason for

103 See below, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

104 *ChAcc2*, pp. 143–4.

105 SC 6/802/15, m. 4; 802/17, m. 4.

106 SC 6/803/5, m. 3; 803/9, m. 4.

107 SC 6/804/8, m. 5.

108 SC 6/803/5, m. 3. In 1358–59, 107 perches of ditch were said to enclose a hay at Midgley (that is 856 yards on the assumption that Cheshire perches of 24 feet are used), SC 6/802/15, m. 3.

109 SC 6/785/10, m. 8; 786/5, m. 4; 772/7, m. 5; *B.P.R.*, iii. 480.

110 SC 6/803/15, m. 3; 804/1, m. 2d; 804/2, m. 3; 804/5, m. 3; 804/6, m. 3; 804/7, m. 4.

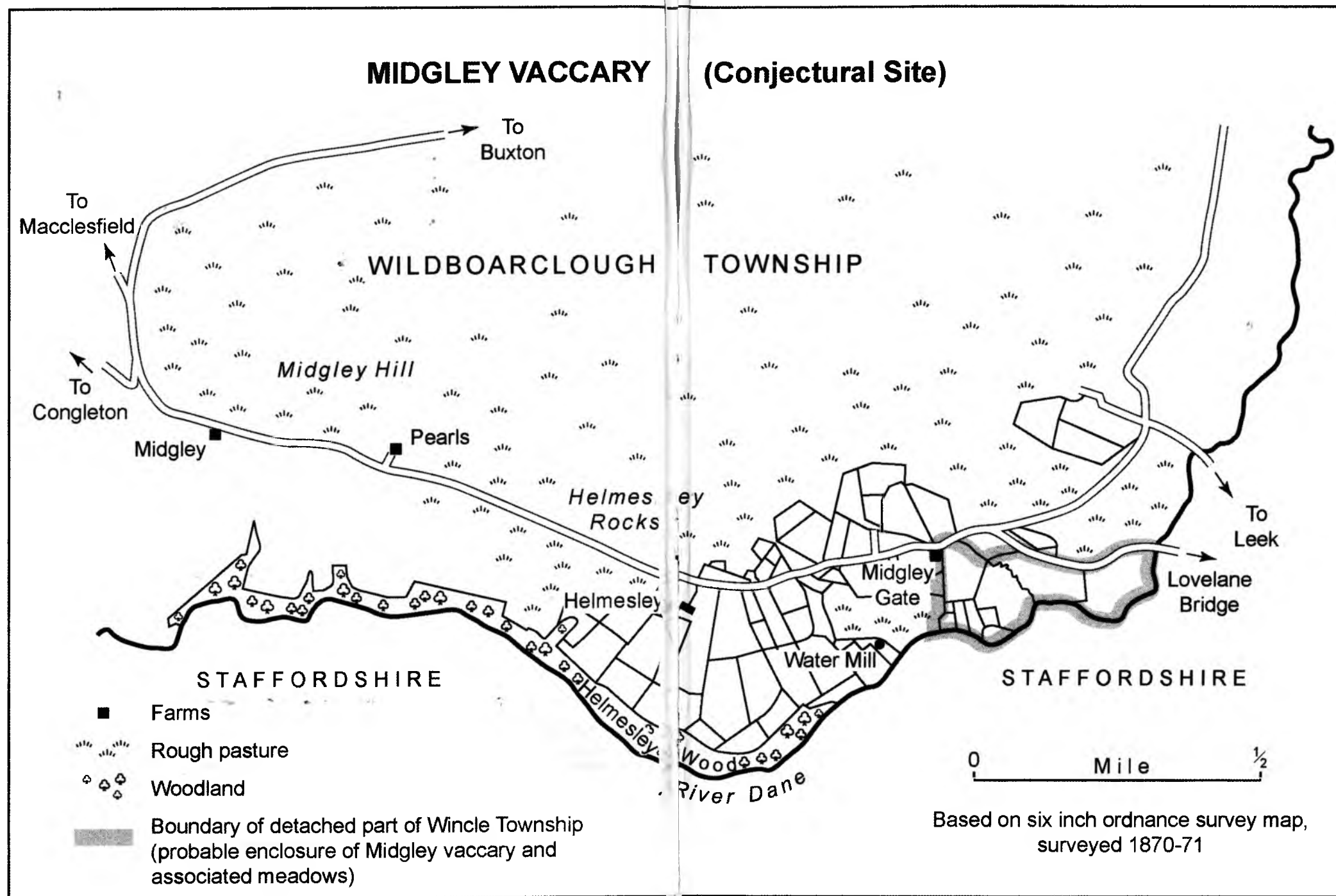
111 Men were indicted in the great halmote in 1361 for breaking the palisade of Harrop, SC 2/252/13, m. 3.

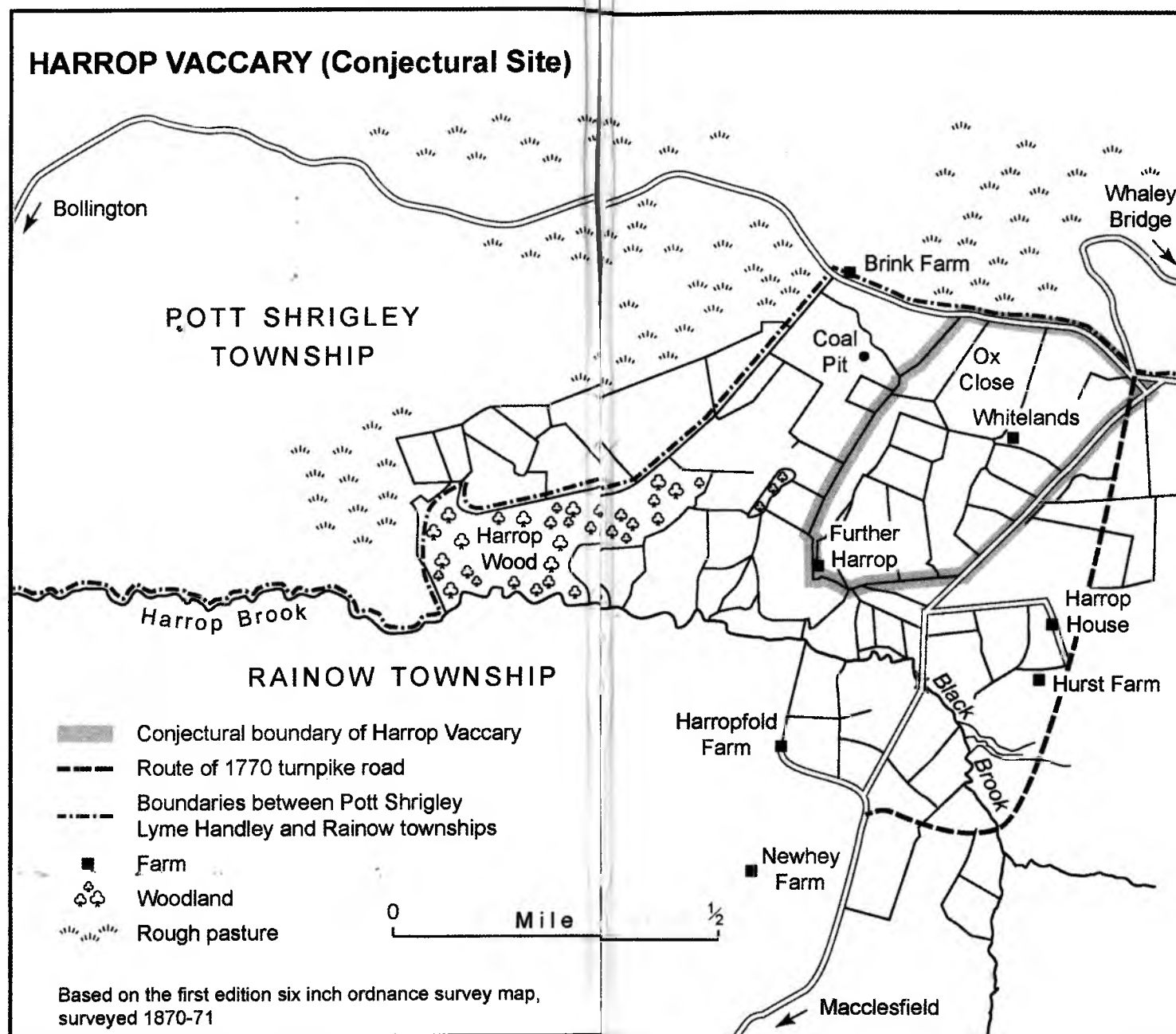
112 SC 6/803/13, m. 5.

113 SC 6/804/6, m. 3.

114 SC 6/804/7, m. 4.

115 SC 6/804/6, m. 3.





this expenditure on building works in Macclesfield lordship not long before the end of the cattle enterprise. As with the park, Harrop had some grass that could be mown for hay at a pinch, as was the case in the period of cold weather from 1373 to 1376, but not before, so it appears.<sup>116</sup>

Another source of hay for the cattle was 'the Coombs of the forest'. This was an area just under a mile and a half in circuit, situated in the modern plantation called 'Macclesfield forest', over two miles to the south-east of the town. It consisted of a lodge for the foresters and an embanked enclosure for hunting deer that the inhabitants of townships in the locality were tenurially bound to repair.<sup>117</sup> The enclosure was repaired cheaply in 1356–57,<sup>118</sup> and from 1356 to 1361, hay was mown there every year and put in stacks for the Macclesfield cattle by the customary service of local tenants, who received half the crop in return for their labour.<sup>119</sup> After that date, hay from the Coombs was used only occasionally, in 1364–65, 1367–68 and 1373–75,<sup>120</sup> despite the fact that supply of winter fodder was probably the most difficult problem that the stock-keeper had to face, since the resources of the prince's demesne meadows were never adequate, and extra supplies had to be bought in every year.

The hay accounts, which survive from 1358–59 onwards, make it clear that it was the normal practice for hay to be kept for over a year after mowing before being used. The exception was the winter of 1363/64, which was so long, according to the stock-keeper, that all the available hay, both that purchased and that from the harvests of 1362 and 1363, had been eaten by the end of the 1363–64 financial year, except for a single waggon-load. This explains why a man was paid to crop holly in Harrop for 25 days that winter, to provide extra feed for the animals.<sup>121</sup> There are similar references in 1358–59, when four men were employed for a day at Midgley and the Coombs to cut holly, again in 1369–70, and in the two winters in the accounts for 1373–75.<sup>122</sup> Unfortunately the hay accounts for the two later periods are partly or wholly illegible, and the accounts themselves, so garrulous in their contemporary annotations in the 1350s, had become terse and to the point by the late 1360s, so there are no reflections on the bad weather. Also the use of boughs cut from trees to feed livestock was a common practice

116 SC 6/804/6, m. 3; 804/7, m. 4; 804/8, m. 5.

117 Booth, *Financial Administration*, p. 96; *B.P.R.*, i. 158; the tenants were from the vills of Adlington, Butley, Cheadle, Bollin (Fee), Etchells, Bramhall and Mottram St Andrew whose obligation to make 315 perches of hedge (nearly 1½ miles) round the Coombs was recorded in the 1383–84 rental (SC 11/898). Those townships had petitioned the king in 1345 to be discharged of their obligation to make hays there, as the wood was destroyed (*C.P.R.*, 1343–45, p. 514). Coombs means 'the valleys', and it is situated in the modern civil parish of Macclesfield forest, to the east of Macclesfield town (Dodgson, *Place-names*, i. 126). In the account for 1356–57, it is called the 'park in le Coumbes' (SC 6/802/13, m. 4).

118 *B.P.R.*, iii. 194; SC 6/802/13, m. 4.

119 SC 6/802/15, m. 3d.

120 SC 6/803/10, m. 4; 803/15, m. 3; 804/6, m. 3; 804/7, m. 4.

121 SC 6/803/9, m. 4d.

122 SC 6/802/15, m. 3; 803/9, m. 4; 804/6, m. 3; 804/7, m. 4. The 1373–75 accounts do not mention holly specifically.

among the tenants of Macclesfield manor,<sup>123</sup> yet expenditure by the stock-keeper of considerable sums for this purpose (25 man-days in 1363–64, 42 in 1369–70, 37 in 1373–74, and 36 in 1374–75), over and above any help the four assistants could give with this work, is an indication of crisis conditions which were most likely brought about by the length and/or the severity of the winter. This is confirmed by the prices that were paid for the stock-keeper's wheat livery, which were at very high levels in 1363–64, 1368–70 and 1374–76 (fig. 4, p. xxxiv).

The stock accounts give little detail of the day-to-day running of the cattle enterprise, and we lack basic information about the business's fixed capital, such as the acreages of the demesne pastures. It is likely that the buildings at Macclesfield, Harrop and Midgley were used for overwintering at least some of the stock, and that the higher pastures were used for summer grazing, which explains the making of folds at Long Lee and Harrop in 1373–74, a practice recommended by the didactic treatises on husbandry so that the stockman could protect the cattle by sleeping in the folds at night.<sup>124</sup> The references to one of the prince's oxen being found dead at Tod's Cliff in 1364–65 might refer to a stray, or imply the possibility that other parts of the forest, as well as the three enclosed pastures, were used for pasture.<sup>125</sup> The death of four three-year-old heifers 'in the forest *next to* Midgley' in June 1366 probably confirms the practice of using the common hill pastures for lord's stock, at least in summer.<sup>126</sup>

The sequence of 'graduation' of livestock as set out in the accounts (74 to 82) does allow some inferences to be made about the running and purpose of the enterprise. 'Calves of issue' were born probably in late February or early March, since the dairywomen were employed from 3 May (69.4), and the recommended time for weaning calves was about two months.<sup>127</sup> One of the treatises implies that calves born before Candlemas (2 February) should be kept, as being of more use

123 Tonkinson, *Macclesfield*, pp. 17–20, 22, 24–6, 66.

124 From the treatise called the *Seneschaucy*, in Dorothea Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 284–5.

125 SC 6/803/1, m. 4d.

126 SC 6/803/12, m. 4d. See also the branding of the cattle in May 1365 (SC 6/803/10, m. 4).

127 See Walter of Henley in Oschinsky, *Walter*, pp. 331–2. The treatises recommend that the bulls should have free access to the cows, but also stated that the gestation period for a cow was 40 weeks (280 days) from conception (*Seneschaucy*, *Anonymous Husbandry*, in Oschinsky, *Walter*, pp. 284–5, 427). In modern cattle, the gestation period is very similar, about 283 days (J.O.L. King, *An Introduction to Animal Husbandry*, Oxford, 1978, p. 126). It was perfectly possible, therefore, for stockmen to plan the calving of their herds, an important point at times when winters were long and cold. It was presumably the difficulty of keeping cows in milk during the autumn and winter, on a diet consisting largely of hay, that precluded the modern practice of bringing cows to calf in September or October. The unmanaged herd of wild cattle at Chillingham, Northumberland, produce their calves the whole year round, with a slight peak between January and March, and a corresponding slight trough in November. The only feed supplement they are given is hay in winter (inf. from Mr Austen Widdows, Warden, Chillingham Wild Cattle Association). Although it is dangerous to make comparisons with the Macclesfield herd, which was not, of course, made up of wild animals, this confirms that the bulling of the Macclesfield cows was managed.

to the herd than those born after, which should be sold.<sup>128</sup> For three days after her calf is born, a cow suckles it with colostrum (also known as 'beastings'), which is rich in protein and vitamin A, but most important of all contains antibodies which fortify the calf's resistance to disease present in the environment.<sup>129</sup> Calves born early also had sufficient time to grow and put on weight before the onset of their first winter, which proved to be the biggest cause of mortality of all. By the Michaelmas at the end of the accounting year in which they were born these calves were only six or seven months old, when they were charged as part of the remainder in the account for the year following (see 82.1, which were the calves born in February or March 1361). During the course of the year, the account does not tell us when precisely, these 'calves of issue' became yearlings (81.2 and 82.3). All we can be sure of is that the transition took place between Michaelmas and the time the next calving took place. It could have been a theoretical date of graduation (such as 1 January, when modern thoroughbred foals become 'yearlings', whatever their date of birth) or the actual date when the calves were born.

Fig. 5 shows that the deaths of yearlings far outweighed those of 'calves of issue'.<sup>130</sup> The peak years for loss of yearlings were, in absolute terms, 1363–64, 1365–66, 1366–67, 1369–70, 1371–72, and 1373–74. Assuming, therefore, that the bulk of these deaths probably took place at the end of the winter or in early spring, partly because of shortage of fodder (at times at least), and partly because of the wide range of diseases that young cattle are prone to, and assuming that these young beasts were most likely housed in the buildings of the three 'vacaries' in winter, mortality could have been exacerbated by the respiratory conditions and stress caused by intensive housing that are still the major cause of loss of young in modern commercial cattle-units.<sup>131</sup> The calves after birth, in contrast, were given a good start. In addition to colostrum and their dam's milk, they were normally provided with supplementary feed in the form of sheaves of oats.<sup>132</sup> Milking finished at Michaelmas, when the employment contracts of the

128 Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 470. Although this treatise is found in a legal textbook compiled in the early fifteenth century, it is Oschinsky's view that it was written 'considerably earlier'. If it was composed, say, in the later thirteenth century, then favourable climatic conditions, particularly in the lowland areas of England, might have enabled calving to take place in January. This is unlikely to have been the case in Macclesfield forest in the later fourteenth century.

129 King, *Animal Husbandry*, pp. 25–6.

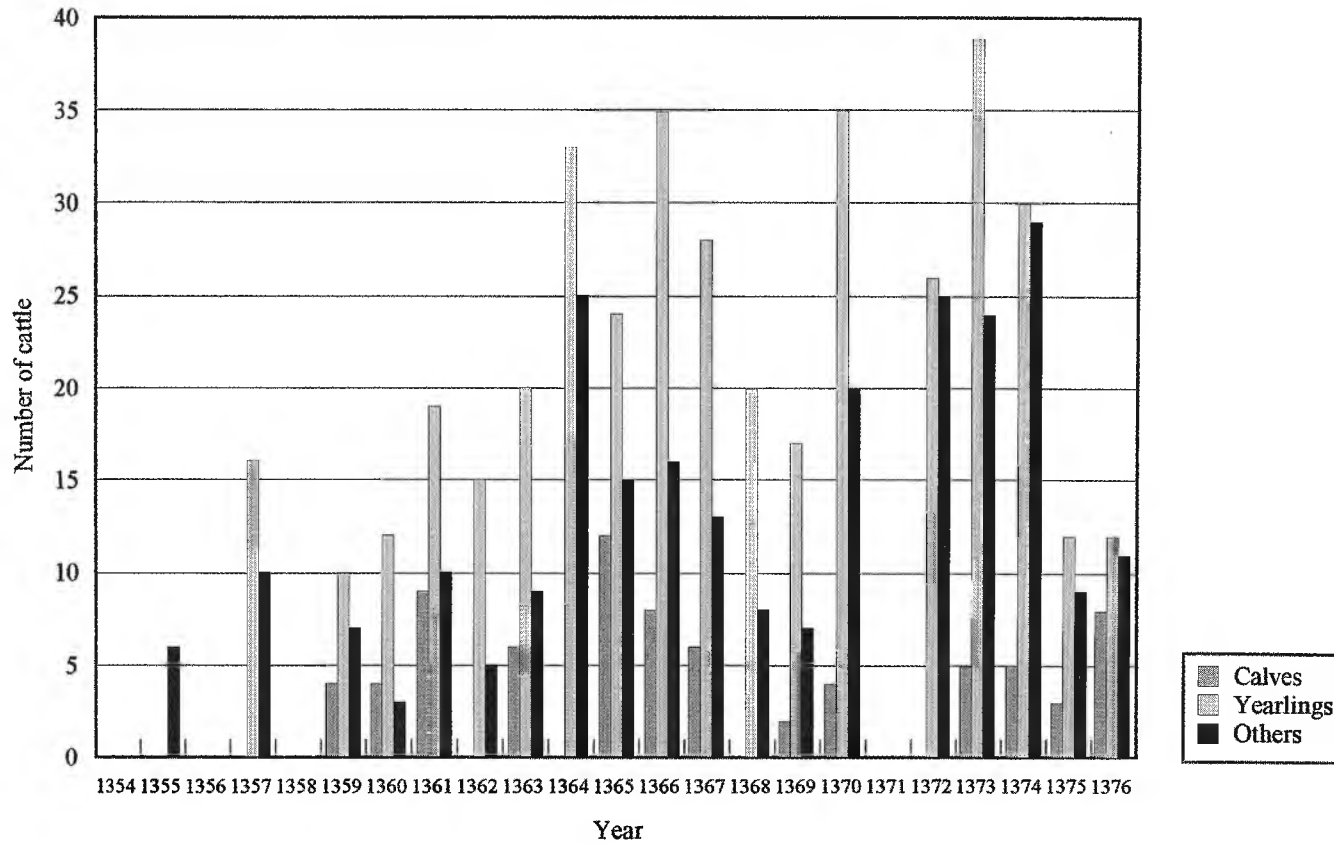
130 The death-rate of Chillingham young stock is also high, between one in eight and three in ten. Again, the cattle of a year old are most vulnerable since the calves are suckled for a year, and if they fail to thrive after weaning can fall prey to cold, wet weather or to bullying by the remainder of the herd. This vulnerability, although striking, is clearly for a different reason compared with the Macclesfield beasts, who were suckled for a much shorter period of time, and were positively managed (e.g. were not allowed to die because they could not get out of a frozen stream).

131 Inf. from Dr D. Fielding, Edinburgh University.

132 Most accounts contain purchase of such fodder, which is usually said to be for 'weak calves' (see Appendix 1 for references). In 1362–63, exceptionally, 20 thraves of *wheat*-sheaves were bought for the calves. Although modern calves do not become effective grazers until they are about three months old, they are presented with unmilled roughage from the end of their second week (King, *Animal Husbandry*, p. 146).



**FIGURE 5**  
**Mortality of cattle, 1354/76**



dairywomen came to an end, and this meant that the cows were able to build up their strength to be in a good position to have strong calves the following year, and to suckle them with a good supply of milk. As the medieval text-books warned, it was both possible and tempting to allow a cow's lactation to continue throughout the winter, when the milk prices were at their height, but a price had to be paid.<sup>133</sup> By the time the Macclesfield calves were born, the better weather was in prospect, and they could be placed in more healthy conditions in the open in the summer and autumn, thus accounting for their relatively low death-rate. The fact that the lactation of the Macclesfield cows was limited to about 29 weeks<sup>134</sup> demonstrates that the prime function of the enterprise was to breed and raise cattle for sale, and that dairying was a secondary activity.

It is not possible to construct a graph of mortality rates of any age cohort of the Macclesfield cattle, largely because the population at risk is not known. Numbers of deaths of the various age-groups are given in the stock accounts (76.5, 78.5, 80.6, 81.6) but we are not normally told the time of the year when the cattle died nor, in the case of new-born calves, how long after birth tithe was taken. Let us examine the yearling account for 1361–62: the first item is for the 83 animals that were charged to the stock-keeper 'from the remainder' (81.1). If the assumptions made above are correct, then these were calves that had been born in February or March 1360, and so were 18 to 19 months old at Michaelmas 1361. At some time in the three months following that date, these 83 'graduated' from the yearling account: 38 became two-year-old bullocks, 45 two-year-old heifers (81.3, 81.4). Also charged on the yearling account for 1361–62 were 110 'calves of issue' that graduated from that account (82.1, 82.3) to become yearlings at some time in the financial year 1361–62 (81.2). They had been born, we assume, in February or March 1361, and so were six or seven months old at Michaelmas 1361. The fifteen yearlings that died of disease in 1361–62 (81.6) could have come from two groups. As all 83 yearlings charged as remainder (81.1) graduated to two-year-olds (81.3, 81.4), it might seem obvious that all the deaths occurred in the 110 which were promoted to yearling status during the year 1361–62 (81.2).

This is not as straightforward as it seems, unfortunately. Appendix 1 shows, from 1359 onwards, that in the years when the picture is not complicated by purchase of stock or the transfer to Macclesfield from other manors, all the beasts charged as 'remainder' at the beginning of the yearling account graduated to the older age-groups. One year is an exception to this, namely 1372–73, during which John Alcock retired as stock-keeper (on 7 May 1373) and was succeeded by a

133 According to the *Anonymous Husbandry*, milk sold in the winter could fetch up to three times the price it realised in the summer, but despite this dairyworkers were advised to stop cheese and butter-making on 11 November (according to one MS) or at Christmas (according to another). The *Seneschaucy* prohibited either the suckling of calves or the milking of cows after Michaelmas, because that would lead them to mate later, and so produce inferior calves and poor milk (Oschinsky, *Walter*, pp. 208, 284–5).

134 Assuming about eight weeks suckling, plus the 21 weeks that the dairywomen were employed. Compare this with a standard lactation of 43½ weeks in a modern commercial dairy unit (King, *Animal Husbandry*, p. 125), or the natural annual lactation of Chillingham cows of 52 weeks.

forester, Alexander Jayler. There are no graduations of younger stock on Alcock's account, although deaths of seventeen cows, five three-year-old heifers, four yearlings and 42 calves of issue are discharged from it. In addition, sales of eight three-year-old bullocks are recorded on it. On the face of it, this appears to show, conclusively, that the graduation from one age-group to another took place after 7 May each year. This is unlikely to have been the case, since it would have placed the graduation of all or some of the young stock in the period after the birth of their successors. Also, the very large number of calves that died is quite the reverse of what had happened during the previous two decades, and for no obvious reason. It appears, therefore, that the auditors of the two accounts for 1372–73 decided to record all the graduations on Jayler's account, and of course the balance overall worked out correctly.

In the case of the other years, it is hard to believe that no young stock at all died in the period between Michaelmas at the opening of the account and graduation. Either the latter date was very shortly after Michaelmas (which would mean that some *vituli superannati* were only six months old or less when they attained that status) or, much more likely in my view, the accounting rules determined that all deaths were to be attributed to the age-groups in the period after graduation, and not before. A similar arbitrary rule is set out in a mid-thirteenth-century treatise on accounting from the abbey of Bury St Edmunds, which stated that all sheepskins charged on the account between shearing and Michaelmas were to be classified as 'good', while those charged between Michaelmas and the shearing of the following year were to be ranked as 'poor' (whatever their actual condition).<sup>135</sup>

Some of the accounts give a time of year (normally a particular month) when deaths of cattle occurred. March was overwhelmingly the worst month for cattle dying of disease (132 deaths recorded for that month, compared with 50 for the other five months mentioned).<sup>136</sup> Over 70% of the deaths of yearlings that can be tied to a particular month also occurred in March. Apart from the case of cows, 74% of which whose deaths are recorded died in March, it seems to have been the case that the younger the stock the more likely they were to have died at that time of the year. At first glance, therefore, we might suggest that the mortality of cows could be associated with poor feeding followed by the stress of calving and, possibly, the occurrence of the then untreatable milk-fever after calving.<sup>137</sup> The massive mortality of yearlings is more likely to have been the result of poor nutrition, coupled with diseases caused by confinement, both of which are likely to have been at their worst at the end of the winter period.

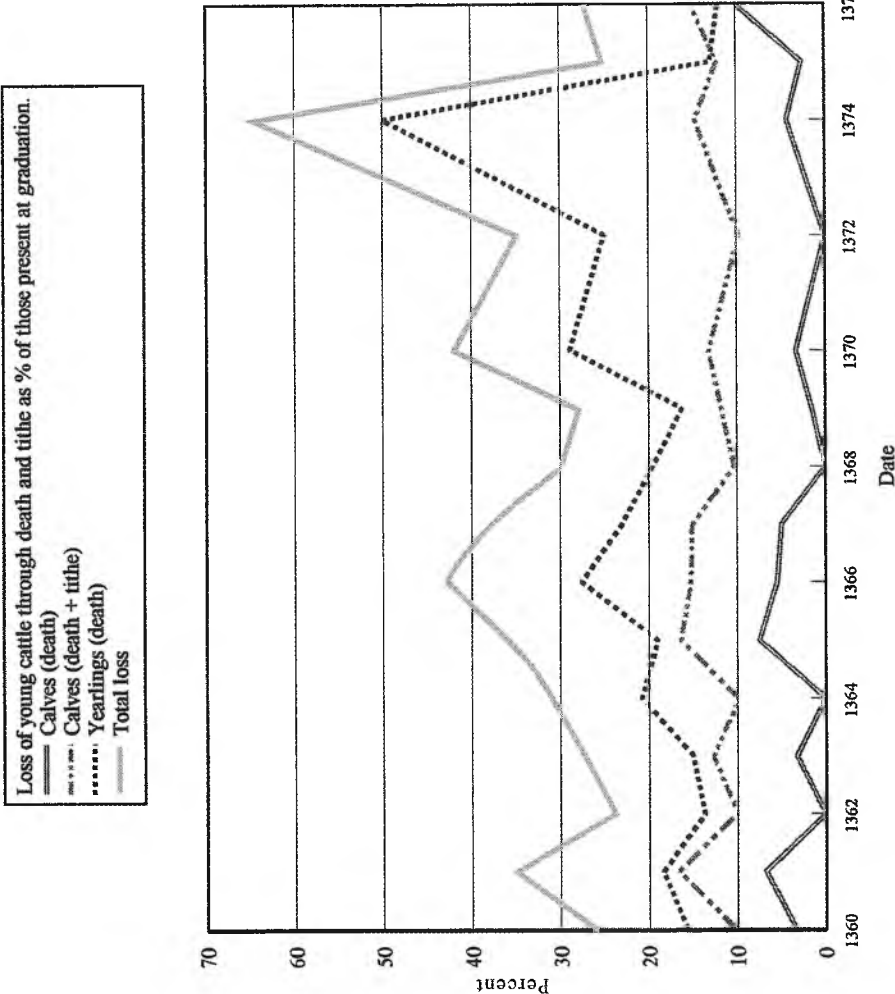
Fig. 6 is constructed by calculating the loss of calves and yearlings through

135 Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 460.

136 See Appendix 1 for references. These figures have to be treated with caution, because the majority of deaths either have no months assigned to them, or are said to have occurred 'in divers months'. Where deaths of animals are recorded as having happened in two months, without differentiation, they have been split between the two.

137 This disease, also called hypocalcaemia, normally occurs immediately after birth, and is the result of a physiological dysfunction (King, *Animal Husbandry*, p. 130).

**FIGURE 6**  
**Loss of young cattle, 1359 to 1376**



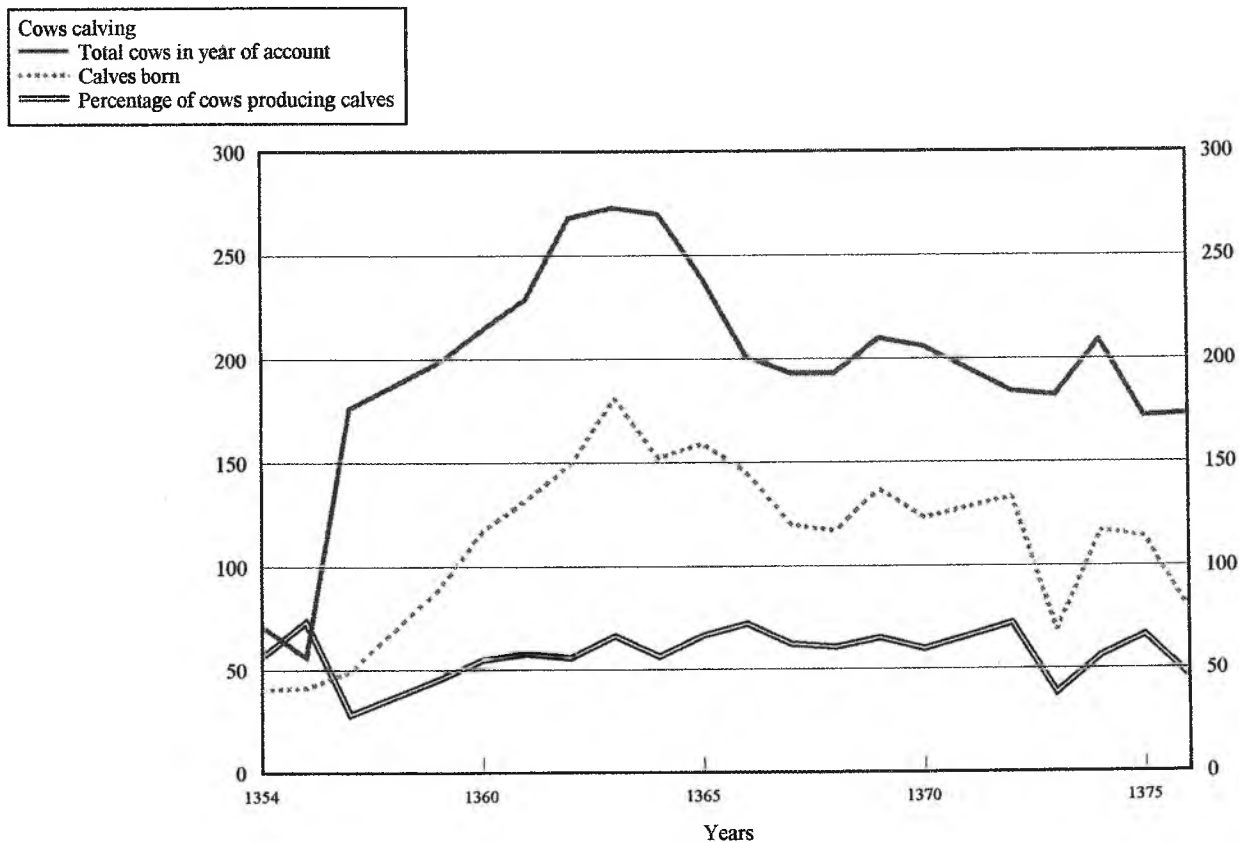
death and tithe as a percentage of those charged at the beginning of the account. If it is the case that the deaths of calves of issue were all added to the deaths of yearlings, then this will exaggerate the proportion of yearlings that died as a proportion of the young stock as a whole, but probably not to an outrageous extent. What is clear beyond doubt is that the loss of all young stock was high, as much as 30 to 40% in normal years. In 1373–74 it reached the enormous figure of nearly 65%. This meant that out of every group of ten calves that were born, the stock-keeper could expect about six to survive to become two-year-olds in a good year, but in bad years it might be as few as four, or even two. For a business that was rearing cattle to sell as mature animals – oxen and cows – this presented a very grave difficulty.

Take 1362–63 as an example of a normal year. 149 calves were born early in 1362, of which none had died before September, although 15 of them (10%) had been paid in tithe to the abbot of Chester. So, 134 became yearlings in the period of the 1362–63 account, at some time between Michaelmas 1362 and February 1363. Of that 134, twenty (nearly 15%) died in 1362–63, which meant that just over a quarter of the animals had been lost to the herd within about eighteen months of their birth.<sup>138</sup> One of this group of yearlings was sold, presumably culled from the herd as being of poor quality or ‘debilis’. Of the 114 which graduated in 1363–64, four were sold and 24 died, leaving 50 to become two-year-old heifers and 43 bullocks. Because of further losses, only 44 survived to mature as cows in 1364–65, just under 30% of the calves born three and a half years previously. This was a normal expectation – that ten calves had to be born to ensure that three cows matured. In bad times, such as 1373–74, only 30 out of the 60 calves born in early 1373 became yearlings by the spring of 1374, and there were only thirteen two-year-old heifers left by 1375.

Another major difficulty that the stock-keeper had to contend with was the large proportion of cows that did not calve successfully (fig. 7). Again, it is not possible to calculate a precise figure, since the accounts do not record when in the financial year cows moved in and out of the herd. Consequently, we have to take the total number of cows in the year of the account, and calculate the percentage of those that produced calves. This shows that despite the growth in the number of cows from 56 in 1354–55 to 273 at the peak in 1362–63, the normal ‘productivity’ range was between about 55 and 65%. There were exceptionally poor years, though: 1356–57 (27.8%), 1358–59 (44.9%), 1372–73 (37.5%) and 1375–76 (45.7%). In contrast, in three years the calves born were over 70% of the cows in the account: 1354–55, 1365–66, and 1371–72. The mean percentage of calves born of cows recorded is just under 58%. This was an obvious problem for a rearing unit, in which cows that did not produce calves were a drain on its financial

138 This compares with the loss of up to one third of their calves that the Chillingham wild cattle suffer. The difficulty here is that the Chillingham cows do not show pregnancy, and so the death of a calf can only be assumed when a cow disappears for a time and returns without one. On the other hand these wild cattle do not suffer from the diseases caused by being kept in close confinement. (Ex inf. Mr Austen Widdows).

FIGURE 7  
Percentage of cows calving, 1354/1376



resources in every sense, since they did not produce milk either. Contemporaries would have regarded this as a problem, since the auditors would expect every mature cow to produce one calf a year. Some animals were barren, of course, because they had reached the end of their breeding life, and these would be fattened for sale. On the other hand, in a year such as 1356–57, when more than seven out of ten cows recorded did not drop calves, the loss cannot be accounted for by any ageing process.<sup>139</sup> The other reason for a low calving rate is disease amongst the dams, such as contagious abortion (brucellosis) as is found in modern dairy cattle.<sup>140</sup> Abortion was mentioned as a reason for failure to produce in only one account (1364–65), but no numbers are given of the cows afflicted in this way.<sup>141</sup> In modern herds, shortage of vitamin A in a cow's diet – which she normally acquires through summer grazing – can lead to the birth of calves which are weak, blind or still-born.<sup>142</sup>

When the auditors questioned the low calving-rate of cows, an explanation might be entered on the account. For example, when 81 cows were barren (over 70% of the cow complement) in 1356–57, there is a note which says it was: *propter debilitatem earum et frigiditatem quam habuerunt in yeme*. Two years later (1358–59), when just under 45% of the cows produced calves, the account explains that there were no more *propter frigiditatem et intemperiem quam habuerunt*. Similar general explanations were used in 1359–60 and 1363–64, when the production rate was not particularly low (fig. 7). In 1364–65, when the proportion of cows successfully calving was the second highest recorded in the accounts, we have the explanation that the rest either did not calve at all or aborted. A number of reasonably good years then followed (although the account for 1370–71 is missing), when no comments were made, until 1372–73, when only just under 38% of the cows calved successfully. This was also the year when John Alcock was succeeded by Alexander Jayler as stock-keeper, who was questioned by the auditors about this disastrous performance. He replied, on oath, and said there were no more calves, because the rest of the cows were barren, on account of their weakness in winter.<sup>143</sup> If it were not for the phrase 'in yeme', it could be that the terms used imply sexual unreceptiveness on the cows' part, coupled with temperamental instability.

So, it seems that contemporary views were that there were three main reasons why cows did not calve successfully: first, some were naturally barren, secondly some carried calves but aborted them, and, thirdly, the condition of some in the winter was weakened by cold weather to the point that they could not carry their

139 Even allowing for the fact that the number of productive cows has to be reduced, since not all were in the account at the time of calving, and that cattle which had been transferred from other Cheshire manors might have been older than would normally have been the case.

140 King, *Animal Husbandry*, p. 133. If the cows had to be kept inside to calve, because of cold weather in late winter/early spring, then any such contagious or infectious diseases would be very serious.

141 SC 6/803/10, m. 4d.

142 King, *Animal Husbandry*, p. 123.

143 SC 6/804/5, m. 3d.

calves successfully.<sup>144</sup> The two words used in this last context are *frigiditas*, which presumably means coldness, and *intemperiem*, which in classical Latin means very severe, stormy weather, but in our context probably has the secondary meaning of 'unseasonal'. Contemporaries might also have thought that bad weather, at the wrong time, could lead to problems with inseminating of cows, which in the case of the Macclesfield herd must have taken place in May or June each year, about 80 days after their last calving. It is not known whether the mating took place by allowing the bulls to run free with the cows, or whether the stock-keeper and his staff confined them to a yard or building. It is known that, as with most mammals, the serviced cow has to be kept quiet for a time, since if she is disturbed then semen can be expelled from the genital tract.<sup>145</sup> Unseasonably bad weather might prevent a cow grazing successfully in the summer, and lead to vitamin A deficiency, or a shortage of fodder over the winter could lead the cow to be in an unfit state to carry a calf to term. Of course, a later fourteenth-century stock-keeper, lacking modern scientific knowledge, might have blamed bad weather simply because that was the common wisdom of the time. Such wisdom may have been firmly grounded in empirical observation; the massive losses of cattle which occurred in eighteenth-century England came about, after all, because of the coincidence of epidemic disease (such as the rinderpest of 1745/58) and very bad weather.<sup>146</sup>

Appendix 1 shows that only one bull was bought for the Macclesfield herd during its whole history (in 1358–59). The remainder had either been transferred from the other manorial estates during the period of its establishment, or were bred from its own cows. At the herd's maximum size, in 1362–63, there were six bulls to service about 230 cows, a proportion of well below the 60 cows per bull that a modern stock manager would allow,<sup>147</sup> so the low production rate of calves cannot have been the result of the use of too few sires. It could have been the case that servicing of cows by bulls that were their close relatives – assuming that the stock-keepers and their assistants, if they were controlling the bulling, would not allow a cow to be serviced by her own offspring – might have resulted in genetically transmitted problems that would result in a high rate of barrenness among the cows. The manuals of husbandry say little about any aspect of the detailed management of cattle servicing. The *Seneschaucy*, for example, only advises the keeper of a vaccary to have *tors beaus e grants* (fine big bulls), and states that they should be kept near to the calves to mate 'when they will'.<sup>148</sup> There is no doubt, though, that thirteenth- and fourteenth-century estate administrators knew that it was not a good idea to breed from the same stock without changing it.<sup>149</sup> It may be, therefore, that the inability of the Black Prince's central admin-

144 Walter of Henley states that the reasons for a cow failing to calve were bad supervision by the estate workers, lack of food or neglect in mating (Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 427).

145 King, *Animal Husbandry*, pp. 23–4.

146 R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry, 1700–1900* (London, 1959), p. 34.

147 King, *Animal Husbandry*, p. 124.

148 Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 283.

149 Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 174.



istration to invest sufficient money in the Macclesfield enterprise meant that savings had to be made by not buying in new bulls, and that that also contributed to the low fertility of the herd's cattle.

Milk-production was the main by-product of this enterprise's activities; fig. 8 shows that the sums charged as revenue from lactage were a relatively small part of the herd's financial yield. The actual yield of milk throws even more light on the difficulties of managing a large cattle farm in North-West England during the second half of the fourteenth century. As has already been seen, the 'lactage' – or milk-yield of the cow when its calf had been weaned – could be leased out (the normal procedure), or the milk sold or processed into butter and cheese.

Fig. 8 shows that apart from the six years, from 1364 to 1369, when he leased it himself, the lactage of the cows was sold by the stock-keeper. The mean percentage of cows able to give milk over and above that used for suckling their calves was 47.6 (with a range of 24.6 to 68.4%). That figure seems low enough, in that it suggests that not much more than a quarter of all adult cows produced milk for sale. In fact it is rather inflated by what is clearly the nominal figure of

**FIGURE 8**  
**Lactage of cows**

Year	(a) Calves Born	(b) Cows producing lactage	(b) as % of (a)	Financial yield (charge)		
				£	s.	d.
1357	49	26	53.1	2	2	0
1359	89	50	56.2	3	9	0
1360	117	59	50.4	4	12	0
1361	132	53	40.1	2	10	8
1362	149	61	41	4	11	6
1363	181	65	36	4	17	6
1364	152	80F	52.6	6	13	4
1365	159	80F	50.3	6	13	4
1366	145	80F	55.2	6	13	4
1367	120	80F	66.7	6	13	4
1368	117	80F	68.4	6	13	4
1369	137	80F	58.4	6	13	4
1370	123	52	42.3	3	18	0
1372	133	(50) <sup>150</sup>	(37.6)	1	18	0
1373	69	17	24.6	1	3	0
1374	117	48	41	3	13	4
1375	114	50	43.9	3	13	4
1376	79	32	40.5	2	8	0

F = farmed (i.e. leased to the stock-keeper).

<sup>150</sup> No figure was given for the cows producing lactage, but it can be calculated from the tithe of milk, 4s. 4d., which seems at this period to have been calculated at the rate of 1d. a cow.

**FIGURE 9**  
**Yield of lactage as pence per cow**

Year	Yield of lactage
1357	19.4
1359	16.6
1360	18.7
1361	11.5
1362	18
1363	18
1364	20
1365	20
1366	20
1367	20
1368	20
1369	20
1370	18
1372	9.12
1373	16.23
1374	18.3
1375	17.6
1376	18

80 cows given when the lactage was leased to the stock-keeper between 1363 and 1369; the highest percentage when the lactage was not farmed was 56.2 in 1358–59. Consequently, if we remove the figures for the years when the lactage was leased then 42.6% of the cows calving produced milk for sale. When Alcock took his first lease of the lactage, in Michaelmas 1363, a nominal 80 cows (52.6%) seemed reasonable, if a little on the high side. On the other hand, the cost of his lease, namely £6 13s. 4d. a year, was markedly high, bearing in mind that the charged sum for the lactage had been only £4 17s. 6d. the year before he took on the lease of all the cows. Fig. 9 expresses the charged yield of the lactage through the period as pence per cow.

This shows, in fact, that the financial yield of the cows was not usually the problem, but the relatively low number of cows that had surplus milk for sale. In 1359–60 it was recorded that the tithe of the lactage of a cow was 2d., by the custom of the county, which itself implies that the customary rate for lactage itself was 1s. 8d. (20d.) or 1s. 6d. (18d.).<sup>151</sup> In 1369–70, when Alcock's lease of the lactage came to an end, and it had not proved possible to replace him, the yield

<sup>151</sup> SC 6/802/17, m. 4. However, the tithe later on in the century seems to have been charged at the rate of 1d. a cow (see p. li). The author of the *Anonymous Husbandry* reckoned that the lactage of a cow, without her calf, ought to be worth 3s. 2d. a year, ignoring any milk produced after Michaelmas (Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 428).

of the lactage (actually milked by the dairywomen) was set at 1s. 6d. (18d.) a cow.<sup>152</sup> The mean yield of cows during the whole of the period 1356 to 1376 was 17.75d. a head, and if we exclude the six years when Alcock farmed the lactage, 16.62d. a head. So, setting the lactage at 20d. a cow was high, perhaps, but not intolerably so. On the one hand, Alcock might have been able to reduce the 'leakage' of revenue that any managed enterprise is bound to suffer at any period of history; on the negative side, the cost of employing dairywomen would now fall on him, having previously been paid on the discharge side of the stock account. In 1361–62 this cost amounted to a stipend of 4s. 10s., plus a food livery of 21s. 0d. (68.2, 69.4, 84.6). Of course, the lactage never yielded the sum of £6 13s. 4d. in any year when it was not farmed in its entirety, largely because the number of cows which produced milk over and above the needs of their calves was never more than 65 (36%) (fig. 8), and could be as low as 17 (24.6%), as in 1372–73. Consequently, during the first five of the six years that Alcock leased the lactage, the proportion of the cows that had to yield extra milk rose from 52.6% to an historic high of 68.4%, and only fell back to 58.4% in his last year (1368–69). This was at a time when the herd as a whole was falling in size because of large numbers of sales, including cows, and so Alcock was still paying the same annual farm for the lactage of 117 cows as he had been for 159 – over a quarter more. In the account for 1366–67, the auditors had to acknowledge the difficulty of making such a high payment, and pardoned Alcock £5 12s. 8d. of the accumulated arrears of his farm. On his retirement from the post on 7 May 1373, he still owed over £8 on his stock-keeper's account, all of which was paid by the following Michaelmas, and some or all of that may well have been arrears of farm of the lactage. It is not surprising to find that the administration failed to find anyone to take on a lease of the lactage in succession to Alcock: the account has a note 'in hands for lack of farmers'.<sup>153</sup>

The reason given for the considerable number of cows that failed to produce milk for sale can be found in this account (62.1, 62.2), namely that they were only strong enough to feed their own calves. The percentage of cows was unusually low in 1360–61, the reason given being the second outbreak of the Black Death, which meant that there were few buyers for the lactage, as we have seen, and no oxen were sold that summer either.<sup>154</sup> The percentage of cows reached its second lowest point (36%) in 1362–63, following the unusually poor, wet summer of 1362, and this may have been the reason that the administration decided to try leasing the whole herd of cows to the stock-keeper. Another crisis occurred in 1371–72, when the lactage yielded the low sum of 9.12d. a head from 50 cows, to be followed by 1372–73 when only 17 cows yielded milk for sale, but at a yield of 16.23d. a cow. The small number of this latter year led to the stock-keeper purchasing cheese-making equipment, including salt and rennet, and a pair of panniers to transport the cheese, suggesting that the administration felt that it was the collapse of demand for liquid milk that was to blame. However, the final years'

152 SC 6/804/2, m. 3.

153 This note appears in all the subsequent accounts (for references see Appendix 1).

154 See above, p. xxx.

accounts of the period saw both the productivity of the cows, and the revenue per cow, return to normality, and so cheese did not have to be made.<sup>155</sup> The earliest reference to commercial production of cheese in Cheshire is not, therefore, to be found in the records of Macclesfield forest in the 1370s, but in the account of Drakelow manor in 1352–53, when 14 stone of cheese, the issue of nine cows, was sold.<sup>156</sup> The following year the nine Drakelow cows were sent to Macclesfield, and so the sale was not repeated.<sup>157</sup> The large proportion of the Macclesfield cows that did not produce extra milk should, perhaps, be attributed to the herd's primary role as a breeder and rearer of oxen. A modern dairy cow has a poor appetite immediately after calving, and does not recover it for about two months. So, even with modern feed supplements they lose weight at this time through drawing on their reserves of fat.<sup>158</sup> In Macclesfield forest in 1362, when the summer was so wet that the hay at the Coombs could not be mown (86.4), it is not surprising that only 41% of the cows produced milk for sale, particularly when it is realised that they had been serviced in May or June, and needed their reserves of strength to build up healthy calves.

Prices for both the main commodities produced for sale at Macclesfield depended, of course, on level of demand amongst the buyers. The fact that the yield of lactage per cow normally ranged between 16.23d and 20d. per animal (only two years were exceptionally low, fig. 9) suggests that the stock-keeper allowed demand to determine, at least in part, the number of cows that were kept in milk after the needs of their calves had been met. The sale of oxen and cows was governed by different constraints, however, in that the former were of no value to the enterprise until they were sold, as was the case with barren cows. The mean sale prices of Macclesfield oxen and cows is set out in fig. 10, in terms of pence per type of animal.<sup>159</sup> As has already been seen, sales were made either in Macclesfield itself, or within a twenty-mile radius of the town, normally in the period between 11 June and 1 November (the two Macclesfield fairs). In all years except one (1363–64) the average price of oxen was greater than that of cows. This conforms roughly with D.L. Farmer's tables of livestock prices in the *Cambridge Agrarian History*,<sup>160</sup> in which he states that in the fourteenth century cows cost about three-quarters of the price of oxen.<sup>161</sup> There is a problem, though, in comparing the prices in these tables with those for the Macclesfield cattle, as Farmer states that it has to be purchase, rather than sale, prices that are used, since such animals were bought at the beginning of their working lives, and sold for slaughter at a fraction of their cost of replacement. He contrasts this with grain prices, where sale and purchase figures were much the same. Consequently, he

155 In an earlier work, this evidence was misinterpreted as implying that cheese was actually produced for sale in 1372–73 (Booth, "Farming for Profit", p. 76).

156 SC 6/784/2, mm 10, 10d.

157 SC 6/784/4, m. 1.

158 King, *Animal Husbandry*, p. 120.

159 The figures exclude animals that were described as 'debilis', i.e. where the stock-keeper had to justify a particular low price.

160 Miller, *Agrarian History*, pp. 455–61.

161 Ibid., pp. 457–8. The mean price of Macclesfield cows is 79% that of the oxen.

states, any counting together of livestock sale and purchase prices would produce 'serious distortions'.<sup>162</sup> This, of course, may be true for the manorial estate in which demesne cattle farming was subsidiary to the main business of growing cereal crops, such as the manors of the bishopric of Winchester or of Canterbury cathedral priory, but the oxen that were at the beginning of their useful life had to be bought somewhere, and the earl of Chester's pastures in Macclesfield forest were such places, as the earl of Lincoln's vaccaries in north-east Lancashire had been in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It seems legitimate, therefore, to compare the Macclesfield sale-price data with Farmer's price-series, rather than use the much slighter evidence for the purchase of oxen for the lord's waggon.

The data in fig. 10 shows that the sale prices of Macclesfield stock, in all three decades between 1350 and 1380, were, in fact, considerably lower than Farmer's figures.<sup>163</sup> Unfortunately, it is only in one decade,<sup>164</sup> 1360 to 1370, that there are ten Macclesfield figures for sales (and as no oxen were sold in 1360–61, because of the plague, only nine for them), to set beside those in Farmer's table; for 1350–1360 there are only four sets of Macclesfield figures, and for 1370–79 only five. Consequently, we are not really comparing like with like. Useful comparisons can, however, be drawn with Farmer's regional livestock price table,<sup>165</sup> which shows the wide variation of prices in the regions for which he had data (not including the North-West or North Wales, unfortunately). The purchase price of oxen could be as little as 75% of the 'national price level' (itself heavily biased towards ecclesiastical estates in the south and east of England). The sale price of Macclesfield oxen, which was 80% of the national price level in 1350–60, declined to 72.9% by 1360–70, and to 67.6% for 1370–80 (fig. 10). On the other hand, the sale price of Macclesfield cows is remarkably in line with the national level, being 80% of the national sale price level in 1350–60, 80.6% in 1360–70, and 81.5% in 1370–80. Although the fall of the Macclesfield ox-price in relation to the national level over the whole period needs to be explained, a price-difference of the magnitude involved can surely be accounted for on regional grounds. If there were some other data for the North-West, or even for one single county that bordered on Cheshire, then it would be possible to be more certain about this.

As far as the movement of cattle prices is concerned, those at Macclesfield conform with Farmer's 'national' picture. This can best be seen in his graphs both of oxen prices and of seven-year moving averages, covering the period 1350–80.<sup>166</sup> The price was between 114 and 168 pence a head in the 1350s, rose to a high

162 Ibid., p. 455.

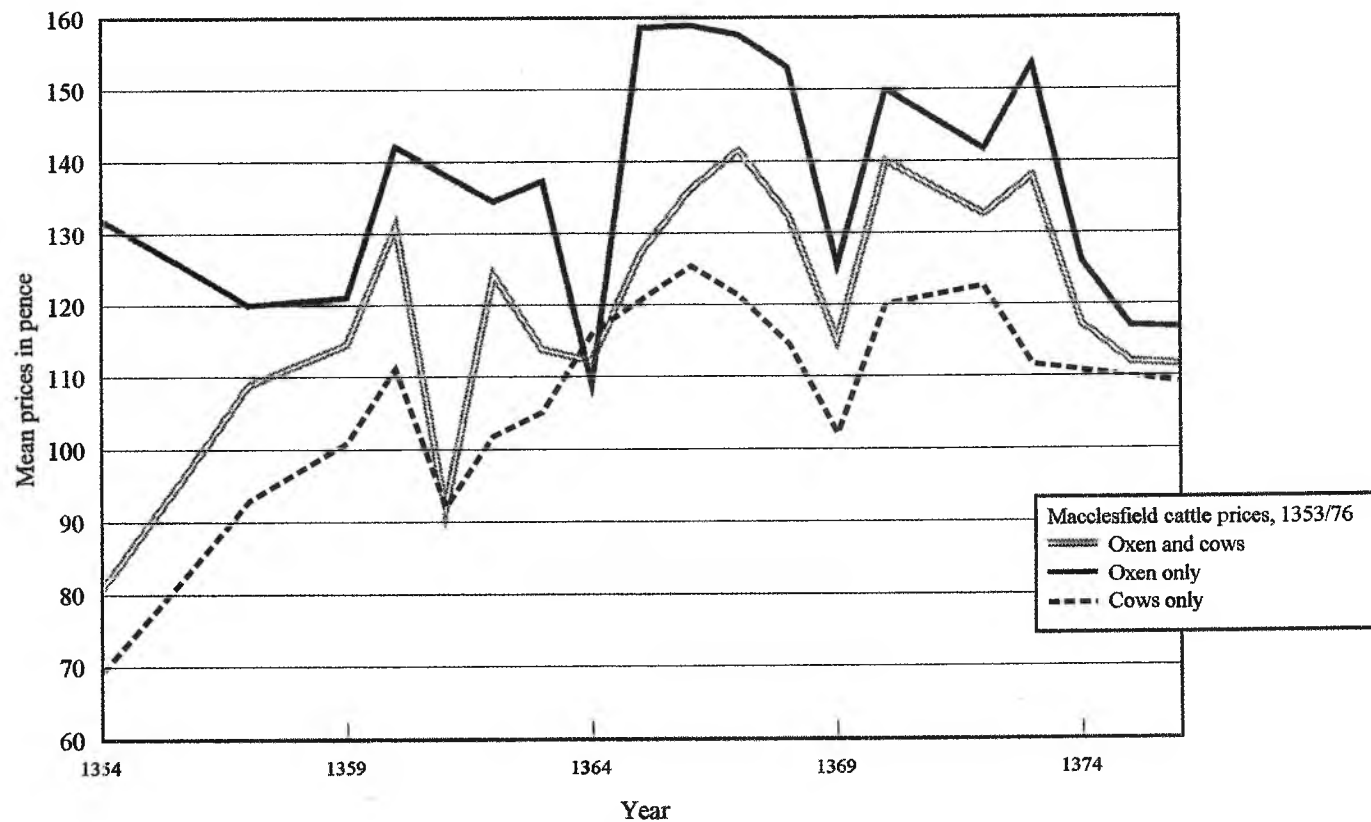
163 Ibid., p. 457 (table 5.4). Also, the Macclesfield figures exclude animals that are described as 'debilis', on the grounds that their prices are abnormally low. Such beasts were unlikely to have been bought by bailiffs of grain-producing manors to improve their livestock, but were probably sold to butchers for slaughter.

164 This is, of course, a decade of accounting years, running from Michaelmas 1360 to Michaelmas 1370.

165 Miller, *Agrarian History*, p. 459 (table 5.5).

166 Ibid., pp. 435–7 (figs. 5.1, 5.2).

**FIGURE 10**  
Macclesfield cattle prices, 1353/76



level of 204 pence and more in the 1360s, and then dropped back to about 156 pence or less after the mid 1370s. The Macclesfield prices (fig. 10) rose from 120 to 130 pence in the mid 1350s, to 142 pence in 1359–60, and reached a higher level of 153 to 158 pence a beast between 1364 and 1366. There was then a temporary fall in 1368–69, corresponding with a substantial fall in the national price index,<sup>167</sup> followed by a recovery which lasted until 1373–74, the last three years in Macclesfield seeing prices back to the range of the 1350s. Farmer demonstrates that changes in ox purchase prices are related to the price of wheat, in that a manorial bailiff would need evidence of two to three good years before investing in new plough-beasts.<sup>168</sup> The only wheat price series we have for Cheshire, that of the purchase of wheat for the stock-keepers' food-liveries (fig. 4), includes too small a quantity to make any real comparisons. However, it might be pointed out that two historic highs in wheat prices from this source (1363–64 and 1368–69) both saw oxen sale prices rise in the periods immediately following.

The final graph (fig. 11) shows the range of sale price of oxen and cattle for the period under review. It shows that there was normally quite a wide range of prices obtained for the various animals (and, once again, this data excludes the prices of animals described as 'debilis'), and in some periods the range was very wide indeed. For example, in 1373 the maximum price of oxen sold was 288 pence, the minimum 144 pence. Although the minimum price of sale varied in step with the maximum, the graph of the former is much more flat. With cows, the distance between the two prices was low in the 1350s, widened out in the 1360s, and then closed up again during most of the remaining years of the enterprise's existence, at a time when Macclesfield cow prices were keeping more in step with the national series than was the case with oxen. The cows that were sold were of two types: those at the end of their useful breeding lives, and those which, like the oxen, were being sold for their future productive capacity, because there was pressure on the Cheshire administrators to keep up the level of income from the herd (see fig. 2). Thus, the maximum sale price of cows rose from 114 pence in 1361–62 to 120 pence in 1362–63; the minimum price fell in those two years from 84 pence to 80 pence.

Elsewhere it has been argued, with a large degree of caution, that the Macclesfield cattle business was not economically profitable in the modern sense of the word, in that the replacement activity for the fixed capital available (that is, leasing out the demesne pastures and meadows) could have yielded a similar amount of income.<sup>169</sup> The prince's administrators, and particularly Sir John Wingfield, had given much thought to the question of how to manage his demesnes in Cheshire, and by 1356 had decided to lease all of them out except for Macclesfield.<sup>170</sup> Before trying to decide why the prince's administrators persevered so long with the Macclesfield cattle after they had withdrawn from the business

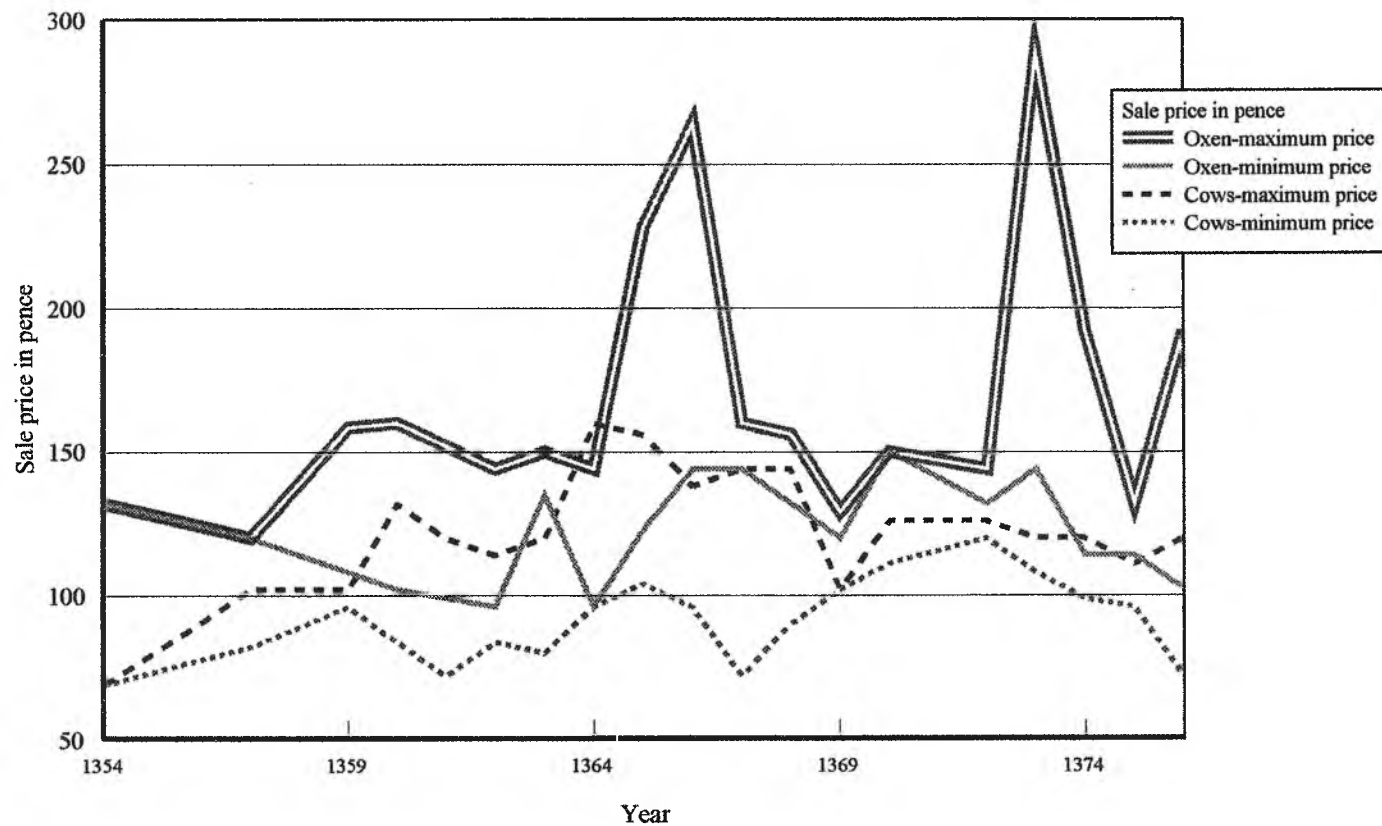
167 Ibid., p. 509.

168 Ibid., pp. 435–6.

169 Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 95–7.

170 Booth, "Farming for Profit", pp. 83–90. Frodsham's demesnes were partly leased from 1352, fully from 1356; Shotwick's from 1353; Drakelow's from 1355.

**FIGURE 11**  
Price ranges, Macclesfield cattle sales, 1353/76





of agriculture elsewhere in the county, we have to remember that there is a great deal of information that we do not have. The lack of minutes of the prince's council, and the almost complete loss of his central administrative records from the early 1360s onwards, has already been mentioned. As far as the Macclesfield cattle are concerned, we know a good deal about them, but there is much that we do not know: what sort of breed were they, for example (were they shorthorns – we have to presume so)? When they were sold, what were they used for? We have assumed that the oxen were sold as plough-beasts, but as there was a wide range between the highest and lowest prices that they realised, at least in some periods, were the best of them destined to pull waggons? D.L. Farmer has emphasised in his work on prices the importance of separating plough horses from the more expensive cart horses, and the even more expensive riding horses.<sup>171</sup> It might also be necessary to distinguish oxen in a similar way. As has been seen, oxen were occasionally bought for the lord's waggon (*plaustrum*), and fig. 12 gives their purchase prices.

In every case, without exception, the purchase price of draught-oxen was greater than the mean sale price of those from the prince's herd (fig. 10) – more in the region of Farmer's price series, in fact. However, out of the eight years when there is data for both sales and purchases, in four the maximum price at which oxen were sold was greater than the purchase price of those bought in (see figs 11 and 12). It is true that the number of oxen bought for this purpose was small

**FIGURE 12**  
**Purchase prices of draught-oxen for Macclesfield, 1356/75**

Year	Number bought	Price (in pence) each <sup>1</sup>
1357	2	160
1359	2	139¾ <sup>2</sup>
1359	1	144 <sup>3</sup>
1361	1	168
1363	2	192
1365	1	204
1365	2	192
1366	2	240
1373	2	240
1374	2	228
1375	2	183

1 Italicised figures are for purchases where the account does not definitely indicate that animal(s) were bought for the lord's *plaustrum*.

2 Bought in Wales at 23s. 3½d. for two.

3 A heriot.

171 Miller, *Agrarian History*, p. 456.

set against the numbers sold, and so too much weight must not be given to such a comparison. On the other hand, perhaps we should not jump to the conclusions either that it is always purchase prices that matter, or that oxen are necessarily single-purpose animals, with a single, narrow price-range.

As far as we know, the Macclesfield cattle enterprise came to an end with the death of the prince in 1376. The lordship passed to his widow, Princess Joan, and it seems that any animals remaining were sold off. The decision not to continue with it was taken in the light of circumstances prevailing after 1376, and for reasons that we cannot investigate directly. The princess's administrators, however, did have 22 years of records and experience with the enterprise to help them make a decision for the future. One important element was clearly the cost of maintaining the herd, in particular the wages and liveries of the employees (fig. 13). The stock-keeper, his assistants, and the dairywomen were paid, as has been seen, partly in money and partly in food (wheat grain and oat-flour). As the food-liveries were fixed quantities, their cost was dependent on price and, as fig. 4 shows, purchase prices for these commodities were higher in the years from 1363 to 1370 than previously, and likewise in the final two years of the prince's life. Payment of manorial estate employees in kind as well as in money was usual in the fourteenth century, but the prince's administrators would not have been bound by that, and do not seem to have paid a food-livery to Alexander Crosse, the first stock-keeper. On the other hand, as D.L. Farmer's graph shows, the long-term trend of national wheat prices shows a marked rise in the mid 1360s and the early part of the 1370s, before slumping to a lower level thereafter. As Wingfield and his colleagues could not foresee that, then the payment system (part cash and part kind) established when Alcock was appointed in 1356 might have seemed reasonable, and it also had the advantage of being attractive to potential employees when recruitment of good-quality staff was not easy.

Perhaps what is much more striking in this context is the fact that, although the size of the herd declined inexorably from 1363 onwards (fig. 1), there was no attempt after 1361–62 to reduce the actual complement of staff. As long as there were two enclosed pastures and dairies in operation, several miles apart, as well as Macclesfield park itself, savings on wages were not possible, but it might have been thought sensible to concentrate all the cattle in one place. Consequently, when there were 700 head of cattle to be looked after in 1362–63, the wage-bill was something over £10 a year, while in 1374–75, with under half the animals but higher grain prices, the bill was over £14.<sup>172</sup> The biggest problem of all, without any doubt, was the poor productivity of the herd: the loss of young stock through disease, and the high proportion of cows that did not calve at all. Rather less important was the large number of cows that could not produce milk for sale, but if the rearing of young stock to maturity had been more successful, then that would not have mattered particularly.

Two factors may have been responsible for the eventual decision to close down

172 There were no dairymaids to pay when Alcock leased the lactage from 1363 to 1369, but they were part-time, and their wages and food-liveries made little difference.

**FIGURE 13**  
**Payments to employees of the Macclesfield enterprise: wages and food-liveries**

Year	Total wage bill		
	£	s.	d.
1357	8	18	0
1359	9	16	7
1360	10	1	1½
1361	10	17	10½
1362	11	13	5½
1363	10	13	3¼
1364	12	6	10½
1365	13	0	1¼
1366	12	14	5¾
1367	10	11	8½
1368	12	3	5
1369	12	6	7
1370	13	10	4½
1372	10	2	7½
1373	10	12	8
1374	12	3	7½
1375	14	14	8

the Macclesfield cattle enterprise. First, there is evidence, as has already been seen, that the demand for oxen in the markets which it supplied was beginning to decline in the 1370s (see fig. 10, and p. lv). There is also some strong evidence in particular parts of Cheshire for the conversion of arable to pasture in the county in the years after 1349, and particularly from the 1360s,<sup>173</sup> and there must be a direct correlation between the acreage of arable and the demand for replacement oxen, which had working lives of only three to five years. Secondly, the evidence for chronology of climatic change in the British Isles suggests that the temperature trend for both summer and winter seasons (as well as for the whole year) was downwards throughout the fourteenth century.<sup>174</sup> It has been estimated that the 50-year average for high summer (July and August) temperatures in Central England had declined from about 16.5°C in 1300 to about 15.75°C by 1400. The reduction in comparable winter (December, January and February) temperature averages was from about 4.5°C in 1300 to just over 3.5°C in 1400.<sup>175</sup> Such changes may, at first glance, seem slight, but it has to be remembered that they are averages

173 Booth, 'Farming for Profit', pp. 79–81; P.H.W. Booth and J. Phillip Dodd, 'The Manor and Fields of Frodsham, 1315–74', *T.H.S.L.C.*, 128 (1979), pp. 39–47.

174 M.L. Parry, *Climatic Change, Agriculture and Settlement* (Folkestone, 1978), pp. 60–94 (based on the work of H.H. Lamb).

175 Compare with 17.2°C, the mean summer temperature, and 4.5°C, the mean winter temperature, of Worthing, Sussex, 1931–60 (P.F. Brandon, 'Late-Medieval Weather in Sussex and its Agricultural Significance', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 54 (1971), p. 6).

(and so conceal wide variations of temperature change in the period under discussion), and that it has been calculated that the reduction in temperature in the British Isles during the 'first phase of cooling' (1250–1450) was equivalent, in terms of cultivation, to a rise in elevation of part of south-east Scotland by 140 metres.<sup>176</sup> Over the same period of time, the 50-year average of rainfall over England and Wales in high summer rose from 83% of the baseline figure in 1300 to nearly 100% in 1400.<sup>177</sup> Rainfall in the cooler months of the year (September to June) fell from about 105% of the same figure in 1300 to about 97% in 1400.

The effects of this change towards prevalence of cooler, wetter summers and colder, dryer winters as the fourteenth century wore on have largely, and understandably, been considered in the context of the harvests of cereal crops, the staple food of fourteenth-century people. Strangely, the contributors to the *Cambridge Agrarian History* give little serious attention to this important factor in the production of food for consumption and sale.<sup>178</sup> D.L. Farmer dismisses H.H. Lamb's study of historical climatology by stating that although the historian 'must be overawed by Lamb's accumulation of material from arcane sources', some historical evidence for weather conditions has been 'unjustly overlooked'.<sup>179</sup> By this he meant the undeniably important work of J.Z. Titow and P.F. Brandon on the evidence for weather in the records of the manorial estates of the bishopric of Winchester and Battle Abbey respectively, which itself also leaves important questions undetermined.<sup>180</sup> For example, accounts mention weather-conditions normally as an excuse to the auditors for a poor yield of corn, or a below-average hay-harvest. References to extreme winter conditions are much less frequent, not so much because poor winter weather was necessarily rare, but because auditors were not looking for reasons from that quarter for poor returns in what were primarily corn-producing enterprises in the south of England. Chronicle references to extreme weather conditions are even more problematical; when weather conditions were generally favourable, unusually severe frosts or dry summers might be worthy of mention. If it is true that the climate deteriorated markedly in the second half of the fourteenth century, then such occurrences might come to be less noteworthy.

The evidence for weather conditions in Macclesfield manor and forest during the period of the cattle enterprise's existence is both direct and indirect. To take the direct evidence first: in 1362 the hay-harvest was so wet that no hay could be mown in the Coombs. Both Brandon and Titow record the summer of this year

176 Parry, *Climatic Change*, p. 98.

177 Parry, *Climatic Change*, p. 62. The base-line figure is the averages of rainfall in England and Wales from 1916 to 1950.

178 Brandon, 'Late-Medieval Weather', pp. 7–14; Miller, *Agrarian History*, pp. 38, 119–20, 278, 439–40.

179 Ibid., pp. 458–9. Farmer's case is not exactly strengthened by his citation of 'advice on the interpretation of tree-ring evidence' from an Oxford scholar, without spelling out what that advice consisted of.

180 J.Z. Titow, 'Le Climat à Travers les Rôles de Comptabilité de l'Evêché de Winchester, 1350–1450', *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 25 (1970), pp. 312–50; Brandon, 'Late-Medieval Weather', *Trans. Institute of British Geographers*, 54 (1971), pp. 1–16.

as being dry, but Titow's sources add that the weather at the time of the harvest (including the hay-harvest) was wet, and that it took longer than usual to get the corn in.<sup>181</sup> A dry summer, on the other hand, might mean that the grazing of cattle was of poor quality, while a wet autumn could result in the animals being housed at an earlier date, with the attendant risks of infection that that entailed. Secondly, as we have already seen, there were some years when the failure of a larger number of the Macclesfield cows than usual to calve was attributed to unusually cold winter weather; this happened in the six years 1357, 1359, 1365, 1372, 1373 and 1376.

The indirect evidence consists, first, of the employment of casual labourers to cut extra holly as browse-wood for the cattle, possibly because the demesne hay was either of poor quality or was threatening to give out. This happened in five years during the period, for all but one of which (1375) there are other types of evidence (from Macclesfield or the south of England) for extreme weather conditions. Other types of indirect evidence include the six years that saw the highest loss of yearlings (fig. 5), and the seven years which witnessed unusually low production of calves per cow in the account (fig. 7). For example, in 1359 extra holly was cut, the birth-rate of calves was low – allegedly because of the winter cold – and the Winchester evidence records the winter as having been 'hard'. Five years later, in 1364, extra holly was cut again, hay ran short (the previous summer in Sussex had been 'wet and windy'), an excessive number of yearlings died, and the birth of calves was low (again, because of winter cold). The Sussex evidence also records this winter as having been 'hard'. There was then a gap of six years until, in 1370, extra holly was cut once again, and the yearling death was excessive, following a winter described in the Winchester account as 'wet'. This had been preceded by five very wet summers (1365–69) on the Winchester manors, confirmed by similar evidence for Sussex for four summers (1363, 1366, 1368 and 1369). It may have been poor harvests caused by similar conditions that led to the high prices paid for wheat bought for the Macclesfield stock-keeper's livery in 1368 and 1369 (fig. 4). 1373 saw the highest mortality of yearlings in the Macclesfield herd, together with the lowest percentage of calves born (the reason being given as their weakness in winter), and only seventeen cows were able to give milk for sale, over and above that which they fed to their calves. The previous year's harvest on the Winchester manors had been 'very wet', but recorded conditions in Sussex had been 'fine'. The last three years of the Macclesfield herd's life saw the continuation of difficult conditions: extra holly was cut and a higher than usual yearling death occurred in 1374, holly was cut again in 1375, and a low percentage of the cows produced calves in 1376.

The archaeological evidence for change to climate and to patterns of weather is far from firmly established, but we must remember that the historical evidence presented by scholars such as Titow and Brandon is not without its problems also. Macclesfield's cattle enterprise was established by Sir John Wingfield, without doubt one of the most original and talented English estate administrators of the

181 Brandon, 'Late-Medieval Weather', p. 3; Titow, 'Le Climat', p. 320.

later medieval period, in the circumstances which prevailed in east Cheshire in the mid 1350s. It is at least possible to argue that long-term changes in climate vitiated Wingfield's plans. Generally colder winters might have meant that vulnerable young stock, at about eighteenth months of age, when they no longer had the advantage of the antibodies provided by their mothers' milk, died in large numbers towards the end of their first winter, because of the infectious and contagious diseases caused by keeping them in buildings for prolonged periods of time. Coupled with that is the evidence that the demand for plough-oxen raised in the Pennine foothills was beginning to fall, perhaps because of the beginnings of the growth of dairy farming amongst the smaller population of the Cheshire plain. Thus it is possible to explain why the Macclesfield cattle enterprise had no long-term future. In only four years, 1362–63, 1367–68, 1369–70 and 1374–75 did the herd grow through natural increase, and indeed from 1363 onwards we can regard its history as a process of gradual running-down. On the other hand the evidence of the considerable amount of money spent on building at the Harrop and Midgley dairies as late as 1374/76 shows that the decision to close did not come until very late in the day. It was, perhaps, the loss of over two-thirds of the young stock in the dreadful year of 1373–74 that signalled that an end had to come. The Black Prince's administrators, in the couple of years after the Black Death, recorded their belief that things would eventually get back to normal, when they granted rent reductions to the Rudheath tenants '*usque mundus melioretur*'. Well, the world was not put right, not in their time, anyway.

**ACCOUNTS OF THE MANOR AND  
HUNDRED OF MACCLESFIELD, 1361–62**

## 2 *Forest Bailiff's Account*

{m 1} {m 1}

1. Compotus Roberti de Worth' Subballivi et deputati Johannis de Somerford' Ballivi Foreste de Macclesfeld' in feodo *et* *Collectoris* denariorum domini Principis ibidem a festo Sancti Michelis anno regni regis Edwardi tertij post conquestum tricesimo quinto usque idem *festum*<sup>a</sup> proxime sequens.<sup>b</sup>

### 2. REDDITUS ASSISE

2.1 Idem respondet de vij s. ij d. receptis de redditu assise infra forestam de termino Omnium Sanctorum unde vj s. viij d. *de terra de Holyncete* et vj d. de Thorncete.<sup>c</sup>

2.2 Et de xxij s. v d. ob. de redditu assise ville de Sutton' *de termino* Annunciationis dominice.

2.3 Et de xij s. iij d. de redditu assise de grangea de Wynchulle de termino Sancti Petri *advincula*.

2.4 De Cij s. v d. ob. de redditu assise ville de Bolynton' de terminis Sancti Martini et Trinitatis non respondet *quia in manibus* Willelmi Soty ex donatione domini.

2.5 Et de xxiiij li. xiiij s. x d. de redditu assise ville de Sutton' de termino Sancti *Michelis*.

2.6 Et de xiiij s. viij d. de redditu assise de Esebury de eodem termino pro toto anno.

2.7 Et de vij li. xix s. ix d. ob. qu. de redditu assise ville de Ravenowe de eodem termino pro toto anno.

a om. 803/5.

b *sequent'* 803/6.

c *terra de Thorncete* 803/6.



1. Account of Robert de Worth,<sup>1</sup> under-bailiff and deputy of John de Somerford, bailiff of the forest of Macclesfield in fee and collector of the prince's revenue there, from Michaelmas in the 35th year of King Edward III (1361) to the same feast next following (1362).

## 2. RENTS OF ASSISE

2.1 He answers for 7s. 2d. for the assise-rent within the forest from the term of All Saints (1 November), of which 6s. 8d. is for the land of Hollinset<sup>2</sup> and 6d. for Thornset.<sup>3</sup>

2.2 And for 22s. 5½d. for the assise-rent of the township of Sutton for Lady Day (25 March) term.

2.3 And for 13s. 4d. for the assise-rent of Wincle grange for the term of St Peter in Chains (1 August).<sup>4</sup>

2.4 For the 103s. 5½d. assise-rent of the township of Bollington, for the terms of Martinmas (11 November) and Trinity, he does not answer because it is in the hands of William Soty by the lord's gift.<sup>5</sup>

2.5 And for £24 14s. 10d. assise-rent of the township of Sutton for Michaelmas term.<sup>6</sup>

2.6 And for 14s. 8d. rent-assise of Eddisbury for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>7</sup>

2.7 And for £7 19s. 9¾d. rent-assise of the township of Rainow for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>8</sup>

1 Robert de Worth of Tytherington was probably the younger brother of a Macclesfield forester. He acted as Somerford's deputy in 1359–60, 1361–62 and 1363–64 (*ChAcc2*, p. 190).

2 In Sutton (Downes) township, Dodgson, *Place-Names*, i. 151.

3 A holding (now called Thornset farm) in Rainow township, *ibid.*, p.141. In the account for 1371–72 it was stated that 'Thornshed' had been *in decasu*, that is yielding no revenue, from 1359 to 1371 (SC 6/804/4, m. 2d).

4 Wincle had probably been granted to Combermere abbey by Earl Ranulf III of Chester (see G. Barraclough, ed., *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071–1237*, R.S.L.C., cxxvi (1988), pp.237–41 for the problematic Combermere charters). The 13s. 4d. annual rent paid for the grange first appears in 1237/38 (*Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls*, pp. 35–6). Much of the structure of the medieval grange survives in the modern house.

5 The grant was made at the request of Sir Bartholomew Burgherssh the younger, K.G., the prince's retainer and sinecure justiciar of Chester, on 18 May 1354 (*B.P.R.*, iii. 167).

6 The rental of 1352 (SC 11/899) gives Sutton 82 tenants, with 95 messuages and 136 tenements. For the difficulties of interpreting this rental, see Tonkinson, *Macclesfield*, chap. 2. The rental seems to have included tenants who were already dead at the time of its compilation, and makes no reference to the very large number of under-tenants.

7 The rental lists two tenements in this place (which is in Rainow township), one of which used to belong to Hugh son of Hugh Foxwyst (11s. 4d.), and the other is held by Roger son of John Halle of Somerford (3s. 4d.). In 1354/55, William Treveyn, chaplain, took the holding of Hugh, his brother, in Rainow, for 11s. 4d. annual rent (SC 2/252/6, m. 3).

8 28 tenants are listed in the rental, holding 37 messuages and 37 tenements.

$\langle m \ 1 \rangle \{ m \ 1 \}$

**2.8** Et de xv s. iiij d. de redditu assise ville de Upton' de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.9** Et de iiij li. v s. ob. de redditu assise ville de Hirdesfeld'<sup>a</sup> de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.10** Et de Cxj s. qu. de redditu assise ville de Pot et Shryglegh' de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.11** Et de xxj s. x d. ob. de redditu assise ville de Stanlegh' de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.12** Et de lxxvij s. ob. qu. de redditu assise ville de Dystelegh'<sup>b</sup> de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.13** Et de Cx s. viij d. ob. de redditu assise ville de Urdeslegh'Wayley' de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.14** Et de lxxvij s. viij d. qu. de redditu assise ville de Ketlesholme de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.15** Et de ij s. de redditu Willelmi filij Edmundi de Dounes pro quadam placea terre<sup>c</sup> in le Walleker in eadem villa approwiata<sup>d</sup> tempore J. de Swynmour de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.16** Et de ij s. de redditu iij acrarum terre approwiatarum<sup>e</sup> in Shriglegh'<sup>f</sup> per Robertum de Shriglegh'<sup>g</sup> tempore J. Chaundos de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.17** Et de xij s. iiij d. de redditu<sup>h</sup> xx acrarum terre approwiatarum<sup>i</sup> in Normanwode<sup>j</sup> tempore eiusdem Johannis per Nicholaum de Dounes de eodem termino pro toto anno.

a *Hyrdesfeld'* 803/6.

b *Dysteslegh'* 803/6.

c intl. 803/6.

d *approwiata* 803/6.

e *approwiatarum* 803/6.

f *Shrygel'* 803/6.

g *Shryglegh'* 803/6.

h intl.

i *approwiatarum* 803/6.

j *Normonwode* 803/6.

- 2.8 And for 15s. 4d. rent-assise of the township of Upton for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>1</sup>
- 2.9 And for £4 5s. 0½d. rent-assise of the township of Hurdsfield for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>2</sup>
- 2.10 And for 111s. 0½d. rent-assise of the township of Pott and Shrigley for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>3</sup>
- 2.11 And for 21s. 10½d. rent-assise of the township of Stanley for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>4</sup>
- 2.12 And for 67s. 0¾d. for the rent-assise of the township of Disley for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>5</sup>
- 2.13 And for 110s. 8½d. rent-assise of the township of Yeadsley-cum-Whaley for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>6</sup>
- 2.14 And for 68s. 8¼d. rent-assise of the township of Kettleshulme for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>7</sup>
- 2.15 And for 2s. 0d. for the rent of William son of Edmund Dounes, for a piece of land in Walker (Brow) in the same township, approved in the time of J. de Swynmour, for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>8</sup>
- 2.16 And for 2s. 0d. for the rent of four acres of land approved in Shrigley by Robert de Shrigelegh in the time of J. Chaundos for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>9</sup>
- 2.17 And for 13s. 4d. for the rent of 20 acres of land approved by Nicholas de Dounes in Normanwode<sup>10</sup> in the time of the same John for the same term, for the whole year.

- 1 This small demesne township had only four tenements listed in 1352, held by four tenants, but with no messuages.
- 2 Nine tenants listed, with eight messuages and nine tenements.
- 3 The rental of 1352 calls the township 'Shrigley', although one of the tenants is Thomas Pot, and the total for rents is the same as in the account. There are seven tenants listed, holding 22 messuages and seven tenements.
- 4 Also a separate township from Disley in 1352, Stanley had only five tenants in the rental, holding five tenements.
- 5 17 tenants listed, with 21 messuages and 20 tenements.
- 6 22 tenants, with 31 messuages and 28 tenements listed in 1352.
- 7 13 tenants, with eight messuages and 12 tenements listed.
- 8 This holding appears in the rental after the original total for Kettleshulme township, and is written in a different coloured ink. The list of stewards of Macclesfield manor is incomplete for several periods between 1287 and 1347, so it is not surprising that Swynmour is not recorded as having held that post.
- 9 This addition does not appear in the rental, and first appears in the accounts for 1358-59. (SC 6/802/15, m. 4). Sir John Chandos, K.G., was appointed steward of Macclesfield in late 1353, and so this rent was presumably added to the rent-roll between then and 1358 (*ChAcc2*, p. 127). We can also assume, therefore, that the 1352 rental was no longer being updated by 1358.
- 10 In the Kettleshulme township section of the rental (SC 11/899, m. 4), the last entry before the sum is: Nicholas del Dounes, for one acre of land in Normonwode (8d.), and one messuage and 3½ acres there (2s. 4d.). This additional rent of 13s. 4d. appears first in the account for 1359-60 (SC 6/802/17, m. 1). See also 12.2.

$\langle m\ 1 \rangle \{m\ 1\}$

**2.18** Et de ij s. viij d. de redditu iiij acrarum in Sutton' approwiatarum<sup>a</sup> tempore euisdem J. per Willelmum de Oldefeld' de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.19** Et de viij d. de redditu<sup>b</sup> Willelmi de Dounes pro quadam placea terre iuxta Molendin(um) de Maccll'<sup>c</sup> per visum Camerarij Cestr' sic *dimissa* eidem Willelmo pro hoc anno j<sup>d</sup> de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.20** Et de j d. de quadam parva placea terre in Sutton' approwiata<sup>e</sup> per Ricardum de Eydale<sup>f</sup> per visum locum tenentis Senescalli de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.21** Et de j d. pro dimidia roda terre approwiata<sup>g</sup> in Hyrdesfeld' *per* Nicholaum Byran<sup>h</sup> de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.22** Et de ij s. de redditu iij acrarum terre approwiatarum<sup>i</sup> in Disteleg<sup>j</sup> per Willelmum Joudrell'<sup>k</sup> de eodem termino pro toto anno.

**2.23** Et de xvj d. de redditu duarum acrarum<sup>l</sup> terre approwiatarum<sup>m</sup> in Sutton' per Edmundum de Homeldon' per visum Camerarij Cestr' et locum tenentis Senescalli.

**2.24** Et de viij d. de redditu unius acre terre approwiate<sup>n</sup> in Sutton' per Willelmum de Stopunhull' per visum Camerarij Cestr' et locum tenentis Senescalli de eodem termino pro toto anno. Et que iij acre arrentantur eisdem Edmundo et Willelmo per Justiciarium et Camerarium eo quod iidem tenuerunt j acram et dimidiam terre que fuit Johannis Goldesson'<sup>o</sup>, que iacet in decasu eo quod nullum proficuum inde percipere potuissent ut patet inferius in titulo decasus.

Summa: lx li. xvj s. x d.

a *approviatarum* 803/6.

b intl.

c *Maccl'* 803/6.

d om. 803/6.

e *approviata* 803/6.

f *Erdale* 803/5.

g *approviata* 803/6.

h *Bray* 803/5.

i *approviatarum* 803/6.

j *Dystelegh'* 803/6.

k *Joudrel'* 803/6.

l om. 803/5.

m *approviatarum* 803/6.

n *approviate* 803/6.

o *Goldeson'* 803/6.

**2.18** And for 2s. 8d. rent of four acres in Sutton approved by William de Oldefeld in the time of the same John for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>1</sup>

**2.19** And for 8d. rent of William Dounes for a piece of land next to Macclesfield mill, let to William by view of the chamberlain of Chester, this being the first year, for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>2</sup>

**2.20** And for 1d. for a small piece of land in Sutton approved by Richard de Eydale by view of the lieutenant-steward for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>3</sup>

**2.21** And for half a rood of land approved in Hurdsfield by Nicholas Byran for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>4</sup>

**2.22** And for 2s. 0d. rent of three acres of land approved in Disley by William Joudrell for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>5</sup>

**2.23** And for 16d. rent of two acres of land approved in Sutton by Edmund de Homeldon by view of the chamberlain of Chester and the lieutenant-steward.<sup>6</sup>

**2.24** And for 8d. the rent of one acre of land approved in Sutton by William de Stopenhull by view of the chamberlain of Chester and the lieutenant-steward for the same term, for the whole year.<sup>7</sup> These three acres are rented to Edmund and William by the justiciar and chamberlain because they held 1½ acres of land which belonged to John Goldesson. This other land<sup>8</sup> lies in decay and they had not been able to take any profit from it, as appears below under the heading 'Decasus'.

Sum: £60 16s. 10d.

- 1 'Wm del Oldeffeld' acquired licence to assart 4 acres of land from the waste of Sutton in the 29 April 1359 halmote (entry-fine 16s. 0d.), SC 2/252/10, m. 5d. The rent first appears in the 1358–59 account (SC 6/802/15, m. 4). He then received licence to acquire Edmund Homeldon's 3¼ acres of land in Sutton (rent 2s. 2d.) in the 27 July 1360 halmote (SC 2/252/11, m. 5d).
- 2 There is either some mistake in the account's use of the phrase 'in the first year', or a new lease had recently been arranged by the chamberlain, as this rent is charged on the account for 1358–59 (SC 6/802/15, m. 4).
- 3 First appears in the 1359–60 account (SC 6/802/17, m. 1). For 'Ric. Eydale' as tenant of Gorstilowe, in Sutton, which he alienated to William Tydnak in 1363, see SC 2/252/13, m. 4d.
- 4 Byran paid 6d. for licence to enter ½ rood of land in Hurdsfield 'de nova' in the 16 Nov. 1360 halmote (SC 2/252/12, m. 2). Rent first charged in the account for 1359–60 (SC 6/802/17, m. 1).
- 5 This is in addition to the land rented for 5s. 8½d. that Joudrell had in Disley in the 1352 rental (SC 11/899). 'Wm Jaudrell' acquired licence in the 1 July 1359 halmote to enter a plot of land in Disley (rent 4s. 3½d.), SC 2/252/10, m. 5d. He received licence to enter a further 3 acres of land 'de nova terra' in Disley in the 16 Nov. 1360 halmote (SC 2/252/12, m. 2). In the account for 1360–61 it is stated that Joudrell's approvement of the three acres was done 'this year' (SC 6/803/3, m. 4). In the 5 Sept. 1362 halmote, John and Alice Bradburne surrendered 1 messuage and a piece of land in Disley (rent 2s. 5d.; entry-fine 4s. 10d.) to Willam Joudrell (pledge Roger Asshton), SC 2/251/13, m. 4d.
- 6 In the 1 Feb. 1361 halmote he acquired licence to approve 2 acres of the lord's waste in Sutton next to 'Slydeford' (SC 2/252/12, m. 2). Homeldon also held another piece of John Golde's (!) land (rent 1s. 0½d.), together with other properties (rent 5s. 8½d.) in Sutton in the 1352 rental (m. 2).
- 7 Stopenhull acquired licence to approve one acre of land in Sutton next to his house, of the lord's waste, in the 8 Feb. 1361 halmote (SC 2/252/12, m. 2).
- 8 See 13.5. The remainder of Golde's (!) holding, rented at 1s. 0d., also appears in the rental (m. 2), where 'Wm son of Simon Stopenhull' had further holdings in Sutton rented at 3s. 4¼d. (m. 2d). Goldesson's 'decasus' first appears in the 1360–61 account, as does Homeldon and Stopenhull's renting of Goldesson's holdings (SC 6/803/3, mm. 4, 4d).

$\langle m\ 1 \rangle \{m\ 1\}$

### 3. REDDITUS MOBILIS

3.1 Et de iiij copulis de pilo receptis de redditu assise pro terra de Foggleghe<sup>a</sup> de termino Sancti Michelis pro toto anno.

3.2 De redditu iiij sagittarum barbatarum de redditu de Miggelegh<sup>b</sup> de eodem termino non respondet quia in manu domini per Forisfacturam Hugonis Despenser<sup>c</sup> ut patebit inferius in titulo de herbagio.

3.3 De redditu iiij sagittarum barbatarum<sup>d</sup> de redditu de<sup>e</sup> Bothefeld' nichil hic quia ballivus Burgi inde oneratur in compoto suo de hoc anno xxxvj<sup>to</sup>.

3.4 Et de iiij copulis de remanentia.<sup>f</sup>

Summa: viij copule. Et remanent.

### 4. FIRMA MOLENDINORUM

4.1 Et de xviiij li. receptis de firma ij molendinorum aquaticorum et unius molendini ventritici de Macclesfeld' sic affirmatorum Willelmo de Dounes et alijs per consilium domini ad terminum vij annorum, hoc anno iiij<sup>o</sup> eiusdem firme, prout in Commissione eorundem plenius continetur et solebant dimitti pro xxiiij li. x s. Et idem Willelmus et socij sui facient omnia opera custus et expensas in dictis Molendinis et stagno, preter lapides molares et preter opera Custumariorum

a *Floghlegh'* 803/5.

b *Myggelegh'* 803/6.

c *le Spenser* 803/6.

d intl. 803/6.

e *del.* 803/6.

f *Et de...remanentia* om. 803/6.

### 3. RENT IN KIND

3.1 And for four twists of hair received from the assise-rent for the land of Foxlegh for Michaelmas term, for the whole year.<sup>1</sup>

3.2 For the rent of four barbed arrows, being the rent of Midgley<sup>2</sup> for the same term, he does not answer because it is in the lord's hands by the forfeiture of Hugh Despenser as will appear below under the heading 'Herbage'.<sup>3</sup>

3.3 For the rent of four barbed arrows, being the rent of Bothefeld, nothing here because the bailiff of the borough is charged for it in his account for this 36th year (1361–62).<sup>4</sup>

3.4 And for four twists from the remainder.

Sum: Eight twists. And they remain.

### 4. FARM OF THE MILLS

4.1 And for £18 received from the farm of the two water-mills and one wind-mill of Macclesfield farmed to William Dounes and others, by the lord's council, for the term of seven years, this being the third year of the same farm, as is more fully set out in their commission.<sup>5</sup> They used to be let for £23 10s. 0d. William and his fellows will carry out all the works, and pay all the costs and expenses in the mills and mill-pond, with the exception of mill-stones and the customary works

1 Foxlegh (or Foe Lee) is a place in Sutton (Downes) township (Dodgson, *Place-names*, i. 149). The rental of 1352 (SC 11/899, m. 2) lists Ralph Modburlegh as the tenant and he first appears as such in the account for March-Michaelmas 1348 (SC 6/802/2, m. 1). In the account for 1356–57, this rent is said to be charged for 'Fernylegh' which Dodgson suggests is an alternative name for the same place (SC 6/802/13, m. 1; *Place-names*, p.149). This cannot be the case, since John Domville held *Fernylegh* and *Foghelegh* in 1363, two plots of land in Macclesfield forest, by hunting service in the Coombs (*B.P.R.*, iii. 455).

2 Midgley was an area of woodland cleared and enclosed for pasture and meadow (66.10) which lay in Wincle and Wildboarclough townships (Dodgson, *Place-names*, i.162,167). Although its first appearance in the record was not until 1286, it was probably one of the four (unnamed) vacancies of Macclesfield manor which were charged to produce revenue in the accounts for 1237–41 (*Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls*, pp. 35–6, 44, 51, 56, 65–6). The grazing of 'Midgley vaccary' was leased out in 1348–49, following its return to the Black Prince's hands on the grounds of the Despenser forfeiture of 1321 (SC 6/802/4, m. 1). It continued to be leased through 1350–51 (SC 6/802/7, m. 1) and 1353–54 (when it was stated that 'there used to be a vaccary there in Hugh Despenser's time', SC 6/802/9, m. 1). It was then let in 1354–55 to Alexander Crosse, the prince's stock-keeper (SC 6/802/11, m. 1), and to others in 1356–57 (SC 6/802/13, m. 1). By 1358–59 it was being kept in hand to provide both grazing and shippens together with a dairy for the prince's growing cattle enterprise (SC 6/802/15, mm. 3d, 4) – as this account itself shows (7.2, 62.2, 66.12, 67.1, 69.2). One of the buildings forfeited by Robert Foxwist (c. 1353; SC 6/802/9) was used for the Midgley cattle from 1358 (SC 6/802/15, m. 4). Reconstruction of the buildings at Midgley was ordered in 1363–64 (SC 6/803/9, m. 4).

3 7.2.

4 51.

5 No ref. in *B.P.R.*, iii..

$\langle m\ 1 \rangle \{m\ 1\}$

Manerij, et preter cariaium maeremij grossi et lapidum predictorum quantum ad dominum pertinet ultra opera<sup>a</sup> customariorum predictorum.

4.2 Et de lxxj s. viij d. de firma molendinorum de Ravenow<sup>b</sup>, Waylegh<sup>c</sup> et Shryglegh<sup>c</sup> sic affirmatorum Hugoni de Dounes per consilium domini ad terminum trium *annorum*, hoc anno secundo eiusdem firme, sine commissione, et solebant dimitti pro vj li. viij s. iiij d.<sup>d</sup> Et predictus Hugo faciet *omnia opera eorundem molendinorum* ut predictus Willelmus et Socij sui.

4.3 De exitibus nec de<sup>e</sup> firma molend(ini) de Bolynton<sup>f</sup> nichil hic<sup>f</sup> quia in manibus Willelmi *Soty ex donatione domini*.

Summa: xxj li. xj s. viij d.

## 5. PERQUISITA HALLEMOTI CUM ESCAPURIS, AMERCIAMENTIS VIRIDIS, ET PANNAGIO, MINERA CARBONUM ET BECAGIO

5.1 Et de xvij li. xiiij s. iiij d. ob. receptis de perquisitis<sup>g</sup> xx Hallemotorum tentorum apud Macclesfeld<sup>h</sup> hoc anno, ut patet per rotulos eorum<sup>h</sup> super compotum liberatos.

5.2 Et de xiiij li. ix s. vj d. ob. de escapuris foreste, de parte xix li. vj d., unde ballivi Hundredi et Burgi respondent de residuo in compotis suis.

5.3 Et de<sup>i</sup> iiij s. vj d. de diversis amerciamentis pro viridi et mortua busca<sup>j</sup> infra forestam hoc anno, de parte xxij s. ix d. unde supradicti ballivi respondent de residuo in compotis suis.

5.4 Et de vj li. receptis de Tak<sup>k</sup> et pannagio porcorum ad terminum<sup>k</sup> Sancti Martini hoc anno.

5.5 Et de viij s. receptis de Minera Carbonum maritimorum infra forestam hoc anno sic affirmata.

5.6 De Becagio hoc anno nichil, quia nichil inde provenit.

Summa: xxxviij li. xv s. v d.

a operar<sup>r</sup> 803/5.

b Ravenowe 803/6.

c Shryglegh<sup>r</sup> 803/6.

d 803/6 has *xvj s. viij d.* struck through, and *vj li. viij s. iiij d.* intl.

e om. 803/6.

f om. 803/6.

g om. 803/5.

h *eorundem* 803/6.

i om. 803/5.

j *mortuo bosco* 803/6.

k *de termino* 803/6.



of the manor, and with the exception of the carriage of the great timber and stones which pertains to the lord over and above the works of the customary tenants.

4.2 And for 71s. 8d. for the farm of the mills of Rainow, Whaley and Shrigley, farmed in this way to Hugh de Dounes by the lord's council for a term of three years, this being the second year of the same farm, without commission.<sup>1</sup> They used to be let for £6 8s. 4d.<sup>2</sup> Hugh will carry out all the works in the mills as William and his fellows do.

4.3 For the issues or the farm of Bollington mill nothing here, because it is in the hands of William Soty by the lord's gift.<sup>3</sup>

Sum: £21 11s. 8d.

## 5. PERQUISITES OF THE HALMOTE WITH ESCAPES, AMERCEMENTS OF VERT, AND PANNAGE, COAL-MINES AND *BECAGIUM*<sup>4</sup>

5.1 And for £17 13s. 4½d. received from the perquisites of twenty halmotes held at Macclesfield this year, as appears by their rolls handed over at the audit of this account.<sup>5</sup>

5.2 And for £14 9s. 6½d. for escapes of the forest, part of £19 0s. 6d., for the remainder of which the bailiffs of the Hundred and borough answer in their accounts.

5.3 And for 4s. 6d. for various amercements for vert and dead wood within the forest this year, part of 23s. 9d., for the remainder of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts.

5.4 And for £6 received for tak and pannage of pigs at Martinmas term (11 November) this year.

5.5 And for 8s. 0d. received for sea-coal mines within the forest this year, farmed thus.

5.6 For *becagium* this year nothing, because there was no issue from it.

Sum: £38 15s. 5d.

1 Without a written appointment. Dounes leased the three mills from 1352 until at least 1369 (SC 6/802/9, m. 1; 804/1, m. 1). A written commission may not have been necessary in 1361 as his lease was simply being renewed for a further term.

2 The same point was made in the second year of his first lease, in the 1353–54 account (SC 6/802/9, m. 1). Just before the Black Death, as recorded in the 1348–49 account, the three mills were charged as follows: Rainow – £1 12s. 0d.; Shrigley – 15s. 4d.; Whaley – £3 13s. 4d. (SC 6/802/4, m. 1). There is then no reference to the leases of the mills until 1330–31, when they were charged to yield £8 (SC 6/1297/1, m. 1).

3 See 2.4. Soty held the lands and mill of Bollington until 1368–69 (SC 6/803/13, m. 1).

4 A payment in connection with cattle, possibly for allowing them to feed in the forest.

5 The halmote records for 1361–62 are SC 2/252/13, mm. 3–4d.

*<m 1> {m 1}*

**6. EXITUS ITINERIS CUM FINIBUS IN ITINERE ET CUM AMERCIA-  
MENTIS ET EXITIBUS<sup>a</sup> TRIUM HUNDREDORUM POST ITER**

**6.1** Et de xviii d. receptis de amerciamentis et exitibus placitorum Itineris Justiciarij hoc anno prout in extractis cont(entis) de parte *xxij s. vj d.* unde ballivi Hundredi et Burgi respondent de residuo.

**6.2** De placitis Corone in eodem Itinere hoc anno nichil hic quia *supradicti Ballivi totaliter* inde onerantur in compotis suis.

**6.3** Et de iiij s. de amerciamentis pro defaltis diversorum non comparencium in eodem Itinere de parte *xxxij s. viij d.* unde *supradicti ballivi* respondent de residuo in compotis suis.

**6.4** Et de l s. de finibus factis coram predicto Justiciario in eodem Itinere de parte *viiij li. vj s. iiij d.* unde<sup>b</sup> ballivus Hundredi<sup>c</sup> respondet de residuo.

**6.5** Et de vj d. de amerciamentis et exitibus primi Hundredi post predictum Iter de parte *xxij s. vj d.* unde *supradicti ballivi* respondent de residuo.

**6.6** Et de x s. iiij d. de amerciamentis et exitibus secundi Hundredi post predictum Iter de parte *xxxvij s.* unde *supradicti ballivi* respondent de residuo.

**6.7** Et de xiiij s. ix d. de amerciamentis et exitibus tertij Hundredi post predictum Iter de parte *lvij s. vj d.* unde *supradicti ballivi* respondent de residuo.<sup>d</sup>

**6.8** De finibus factis coram predicto<sup>e</sup> Justiciario apud Macclesfeld' alijs vicibus hoc anno nichil quia nulle facte fuerunt.

Summa: iiij li.

*{m 1d}*

**7. HERBAGIUM ET FOCAGIUM CUM AGISTAMENTO PARCI**

**7.1** Et de ix li. xiiij s. iiij d. receptis de Herbagio de Hanlegh' hoc anno, sic affirmato per annum Roberto de Shrygelegh'<sup>f</sup> et alijs ad terminum trium annorum, termino incipiente ad festum Inventionis Sancte Crucis anno xxxv<sup>to</sup>, qui quidem terminus erit ultimus terminus<sup>g</sup> solutionis dicte firme in fine termini predicti, et

a *ET EXITIBUS* om. 803/6.

b 803/6 follows this by *supradicti* del.

c intl. 803/6.

d 803/6 follows this with *in compotis suis*.

e intl. 803/5.

f *Shryglegh'* 803/6.

g om. 803/6.

**6. ISSUES OF THE EYRE, WITH FINES IN EYRE, AND WITH AMERCEMENTS AND ISSUES OF THE THREE HUNDRED-COURTS AFTER THE EYRE**

**6.1** And for 18d. received for the amercements and issues of the pleas of the justiciar's eyre this year as is contained in the estreats, for part of 22s. 6d., for the remainder of which the bailiffs of the Hundred and borough answer.<sup>1</sup>

**6.2** For the pleas of the crown in the same eyre this year nothing here, because the abovesaid bailiffs are charged for the whole amount in their accounts.

**6.3** And for 4s. 0d. for the amercements for defaults of various people not appearing in the same eyre, part of 32s. 8d., for the remainder of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts.

**6.4** And for 50s. 0d. for fines made before the aforesaid justiciar in the same eyre, part of £8 6s. 4d., for the remainder of which the bailiff of the Hundred answers.<sup>2</sup>

**6.5** And for 6d. for the amercements and issues of the first Hundred-court after the eyre, part of 23s. 6d., for the remainder of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer.<sup>3</sup>

**6.6** And for 10s. 3d. for the amercements and issues of the second Hundred-court after the eyre, part of 37s. 0d., for the remainder of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer.<sup>4</sup>

**6.7** And for 13s. 9d. for the amercements and issues of the third Hundred-court after the eyre, part of 57s. 6d., for the remainder of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer.<sup>5</sup>

**6.8** For fines made before the aforesaid justiciar at Macclesfield on other occasions this year nothing, because none were made.<sup>6</sup>

Sum: £4

**7. HERBAGE AND FOGGAGE,<sup>7</sup> WITH AGISTMENT OF THE PARK**

**7.1** And for £9 13s. 4d. received for the herbage of Handley this year, farmed for the year to Robert de Shrigelegh and others for the term of three years, their term beginning at the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross in the 35th year (3 May 1361). This term will be the last term of payment of the farm at the end of

1 For the pleas of the eyre of Macclesfield Hundred, held 18 July 1362, see SC 2/252/13, m. 7.

2 The membrane entitled 'Fines at Macclesfield' is SC 2/252/13, m. 11, that is, separate from the membrane of the eyre itself.

3 Held on Monday, 22 Aug. 1362, by Robert Legh (deputy-steward of the manor) and John Davenport, assigned justices to hear pleas left over from the eyre, SC 2/252/13, mm. 7,7d.

4 Monday, 29 Aug. 1362, SC 2/252/13, mm. 8,8d.

5 Monday, 26 Sept. 1362, SC 2/252/13, mm. 9,9d.

6 Presumably not in the eyre itself. No such fines have been traced in previous accounts.

7 Presumably summer and winter pasture (see 64).

$\langle m \ 1 \rangle \{m \ 1d\}$

solvent per annum dictam firmam ad festa Inventionis Sancte Crucis et Sancti Michelis.

7.2 De Herbagio de Miggelegh<sup>a</sup> et parci<sup>b</sup> de Macclesfeld' et Harap', nec de focagio de Er(n)esholt' et Shotlynglowecroftes hoc anno nichil, quia in manu domini et depaste sunt cum animalibus domini propriis.

7.3 De herbagio in Toddesclyf' hoc anno nichil, quia nichil inde provenit.

Summa: ix li. xiiij s. iiij d.

## 8. ESCAETE

De Escaetis infra forestam hoc anno nichil, quia nichil inde provenit.

Summa: Nichil

## 9. EXITUS FORGEARUM

De exitibus forgearum euntium super mortuam buscam<sup>c</sup> et croppes quercuum nuper prostratarum ad opus domini in Lyme hoc anno nichil, quia nichil inde provenit pro defectu firmariorum.

Summa: Nichil

## 10. VETERES MOLARES

Et de ij molaribus veteribus receptis de remanentia, ut in compoto de anno xxxiiij<sup>lo</sup>.

Summa: ij molares<sup>d</sup>. Et remanent.

a *Myggelegh'* 803/6.

b 803/5 has *prati*, del., followed by *parci* intl.

c *mortuum boscum* 803/6.

d om. 803/5.

the aforesaid term,<sup>1</sup> and they will pay the said farm each year at the feasts of the Finding of the Holy Cross and Michaelmas.

7.2 For the herbage of Midgley<sup>2</sup> and of Macclesfield park and Harrop,<sup>3</sup> or for the foggage of *Ernesholt*<sup>4</sup> and *Shotlynglowecroftes*<sup>5</sup> this year, because they are in the lord's hand and are pastured with the lord's own animals.

7.3 For the herbage in *Toddesclyf* this year nothing, because nothing issued from it.<sup>6</sup>

Sum: £9 13s. 4d.

## 8. ESCHEATS

For escheats within the forest this year nothing, because nothing issued from them.

Sum: Nothing

## 9. ISSUES OF FORGES

For the issues of forges supplied by dead wood and crops of oaks lately felled for the lord's use in Lyme nothing this year, because nothing issues from them for lack of farmers.<sup>7</sup>

Sum: Nothing

## 10. OLD MILL-STONES

And for two old mill-stones received from the remainder, as in the account for the 34th year (1359–60).<sup>8</sup>

Sum: Two mill-stones. And they remain.

1 'Term' is being used in two senses here: 1. a period of a lease (three years) and 2. the time (3 May) when an instalment of the yearly farm should be paid.

2 See 3.2.

3 A hamlet in Rainow township (Dodgson, *Place-names*, i. 138).

4 Site unknown.

5 Shutlingsloe hill (1,658 feet above sea level) is in Wildboardclough township, and the 'crofts' were presumably enclosed fields on the (lower) slopes of the hill. For 'foggage' see 64.)

6 A place (site unknown) in Rainow township (Dodgson, *Place-names*, i. 141–2).

7 That is, for lack of those prepared to lease from the lord the right to have iron-forges in the forest.

8 In the account for 1354–55 6s. 6d. was paid for cutting two mill-stones for Macclesfield mill (SC 6/802/11, m. 1). The redundant stones were then charged on the next surviving account, for 1356–57 (SC 6/802/13, m.1).

$\langle m\ 1 \rangle \{m\ 1d\}$

11. SUMMA TOTALIS RECEPTORUM: Cxxxiiij li. xvij s. iij d. probatur<sup>a</sup>.

De quibus<sup>b</sup>

#### EXPENSE

12. REDDITUS RESOLUTUS

12.1 Idem computat in redditu resolutio Johanni de Davenport' de terminis Natalis domini et Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste – xxiiij s. de quodam redditu sibi et antecessoribus suis concessio per Comites Cestr' pro terra inclusa infra parcum que<sup>c</sup> vocatur Wylwhyk', prout allocatur in compoto precedenti.

12.2 Et Ricardo de Bromal'<sup>d</sup> de quodam redditu sibi et antecessoribus suis concessio pro escambio<sup>e</sup> terrarum in Norman' et pro feodo quod solebat capere in coquina Ranulfi, Comitis Cestr', percipiendo de molend(inis) de Macclesfeld' pro terminis Natalis domini, Annunciationis dominice, Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, et Sancti Michelis – xxs.

Summa: xliiij s.

$\langle m\ 1d \rangle$

13. DECASUS

13.1 In decasu redditus terre que fuit Roberti de Alkmondelowe in Sutton' pro j mesuagio xvj acris j roda terre relicte per heredes iacentis frisce et inculte et in communi, pro termino Sancti Michelis – x s. x d.

a om. 803/5.

b *De quibus* om. 803/6.

c *qui* 803/5.

d *Bromhale* 803/6.

e *per escambium* 803/5.

11. SUM TOTAL OF RECEIPTS: £134 17s. 3d. Approved.

From which:

EXPENSES

12. REPAID RENT<sup>1</sup>

**12.1** He accounts in rent repaid to John de Davenport for the terms of Christmas and the Nativity of St John Baptist – 24s. 0d., for a rent granted to him and his ancestors by the earls of Chester in return for the land called *Wylwhyk* enclosed within Macclesfield park, as is allowed in the preceding account.<sup>2</sup>

**12.2** And to Richard de Bromhall for a rent granted to him and his ancestors for exchange of lands in Norman(wood) and for the fee that he customarily took in the kitchen of Earl Ranulf of Chester.<sup>3</sup> This rent is to be taken from the Macclesfield mills for the terms of Christmas, Lady Day, the Nativity of St John Baptist and Michaelmas – 20s. 0d.

Sum: 44s. 0d.

13. FALL

**13.1** To fall of rent of the land which was Robert de Alkmundelowe's in Sutton, for one messuage, sixteen acres and one rood of land left lying by its heirs unused and unploughed and in common<sup>4</sup>, for Michaelmas term – 10s. 10d.<sup>5</sup>

1 This is the term used for rent paid by the official of the manor on the lord's behalf.

2 In 1221 × 1225 Earl Ranulf III of Chester compelled Vivian Davenport to accept the master-serjeanty of the peace of Macclesfield Hundred in return for surrendering Wilwick (a wood where there was a game-trap; Dodgson, *Place-names*, i. 120) which the earl wished to incorporate into his new park at Macclesfield (Barraclough, *Charters*, pp. 405–6). Note that Barraclough has confused this office with a forestership. In the first account after the escheat of the earldom to the crown (Aug. 1237–Aug. 1238) it is stated that Vivian Davenport and his fellows were paid 24s. (!) for intinerating to keep the peace (*Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls*, p. 37) and the account for 1348 makes it clear that it is the master-serjeanty of the *peace* that the Davenports were forced to accept, SC 6/802/2, m. 1).

3 See also 2.17. In 1217 × 1229 Earl Ranulf III made a grant to Robert son of Salomon, in return for him giving up the fee in the earl's kitchen, of 20s. annual rent from Darnhall mill, 20s. annual rent from Macclesfield mill, the manor of Withington, and property in Lincolnshire (Barraclough, *Charters*, pp. 396–98).

4 Presumably this means that the other tenants were using the land as rough grazing, and not paying any rent for it.

5 In the 1352 rental this property is marked 'decasus', and is described as 'de nova' (which seems on the face of it to suggest that it had been relatively recently taken into cultivation, as noted in a supposed 'new rental'; SC 11/899, m. 2d). In fact, this holding had been 'in decasu' since the account of 1329/30 (SC 6/802/1, m. 1), and thus the so-called 'new rental' must have been made before this time.

*<m 1d> {m 1d}*

**13.2** Et pro iiij acris iij rodīs terre quas Margeria filia Johannis tenebat in eadem villa – iij s. de eodem termino, causa predicta.

**13.3** Et pro terra quam Ricardus le Dey et Willelmus de Wolschagh' tenebant in eadem villa – xvij d. de eodem termino causa predicta.

**13.4** Et pro uno cotagio et uno crofto que Willelmus le Knyght' tenebat in Ravenowe – vj d. de eodem termino causa predicta.

**13.5** Et pro j acra et dimidia terre quam Willelmus filius Simonis<sup>a</sup> et Edmundus de Homeldon' prius tenebant in Sutton', de terra Johannis Goldesson'<sup>b</sup> – xij d. de eodem termino<sup>c</sup> causa predicta.<sup>d</sup>

**13.6** Et pro dimidia acra terre que fuit Ricardi de Sutton' in Waylegh' – iiij d. de eodem termino causa predicta.

Summa: xvij s. ij d.

#### 14. EXPENSE MINUTE<sup>e</sup>

**14.1** In expensis inquisitionis magni Hallemoti post festum Sancti Michelis, more consueto – iij s. iiij d.

**14.2** In pergamento empto pro rotulis Curie et extractis factis hoc anno – vj s. viij d.

Summa: x s.<sup>f</sup>

#### 15. CUSTUS MOLENDINORUM<sup>e</sup>

**15.1** In lucratione ij molarium pro molendinis de Macclesf' in Bakstonden' in foresta de Macc' – vj s. viij d.

**15.2** In cariagio unius molaris<sup>g</sup> usque Maccl' – iij s. iiij d.

<sup>a</sup> Symonis 803/6.

<sup>b</sup> Goldeson 803/6.

<sup>c</sup> de eodem termino om. 803/5.

<sup>d</sup> In both versions of the account, this is followed by a deleted entry: *Et pro quadam placea terre que fuit Willelmi de Tre(v)eyn, capellani, in Esebury – xj s. iiij d. de eodem termino causa predicta.* There is also a note, intl.: *quia respectitur inferius.*

<sup>e</sup> 803/6 places *CUSTUS MOLENDINORUM* before *EXPENSE MINUTE*.

<sup>f</sup> xxvj s. viij d. 803/6.

<sup>g</sup> intl.



**13.2** And for four acres, three roods of land which Margery daughter of John used to hold in the same township – 3s. 0d. for the same term, for the same reason.<sup>1</sup>

**13.3** And for the land which Richard le Dey and William de Wolschagh used to hold in the same township – 18d. for the same term, for the same reason.<sup>2</sup>

**13.4** And for one cottage and one croft which William le Knyght used to hold in Rainow – 6d. for the same term, for the same reason.<sup>3</sup>

**13.5** And for 1½ acres of land which William son of Simon and Edmund de Homeldon formerly used to hold in Sutton, of John Goldesson's land – 12d. for the same term, for the same reason.<sup>4</sup>

**13.6** And for a half acre of land which used to belong to Richard Sutton in Whaley – 4d. for the same term, for the same reason.<sup>5</sup>

Sum: 17s. 2d.

#### **14. SMALL EXPENSES**

**14.1** To the expenses of the inquisition of the great halmote after Michaelmas, in the accustomed manner – 3s. 4d.<sup>6</sup>

**14.2** To parchment bought for making court rolls and estreats this year – 6s. 8d.

Sum: 10s. 0d.

#### **15. COSTS OF THE MILLS**

**15.1** To cutting two mill-stones in Bakestonedale<sup>7</sup> in Macclesfield forest for the Macclesfield mills – 6s. 8d.

**15.2** To carriage of one mill-stone to Macclesfield – 3s. 4d.

1 There is a slight discrepancy here, in that Margery's holding is 'in decasu' in the 1329/30 account, but her rent is stated to be 3s. 2d. (SC 6/802/1, m. 1). Likewise, in the 1352 rental, 'Margery daughter of John, and John her son (son of Thomas Davenport)' are listed as holding 4½ acres and ½ rood, rent 3s. 2d. The holding, in Sutton, is marked 'd' in the margin of the rental, presumably standing for 'decasus' (SC 11/899, m. 2d).

2 Dey and Wolshagh's holding appears 'in decasu' in the 1348-49 account, and it is very likely that they were plague victims (SC 6/802/4, m. 1). The holding is listed in the 1352 rental, with a rent of 1s. 6d., but no acreage, and with a 'd' in the margin (SC 11/899, m. 3).

3 The holding of 'Wm son of Ad. Knyght' in Rainow first appears 'in decasu' in the 1329/30 account (SC 6/802/1, m. 1). In the 1352 rental the holding, which has both 'd' and 'VA' next to it in the margin, is described as a curtilage, rent 6d. (SC 11/899, m. 3).

4 See above, 2.24.

5 This holding first appears 'in decasu' in the 1348-49 account, and it is again likely that Sutton died of the Black Death (SC 6/802/4, m. 1). In the 1352 rental the holding of Richard son of John Sutton is described as ½ acre of increment in the 18th year (which might mean 1343-44), and has 'd', 'R' and 'VA' next to it in the margin (SC 11/899, m. 4).

6 SC 2/252/13, m. 3.

7 In Pott Shrigley township (Dodgson, *Place-names*, i. 131).

*<m 1d> {m 1d}*

**15.3** In emptione ij molarium pro eisdem molendinis apud Mo(n)hulle – xiiij s. iiij d.

**15.4** In cariagio unius apud Maccl' – iij s. iiij d.

Summa: xxvj s. viij d.<sup>a</sup>

**16.** SUMMA TOTALIS EXPENSARUM: iiij li. xvij s. x d. Et debet

Cxxix li. xix s. v d. **17.** Et xxiiij li.

xiiij s. viij d. qu. de remanentia

compoti Nicholai de Neuton'

subballivi et deputati Ade de Mottrum

Ballivi<sup>b</sup> Foreste de anno xxxv<sup>10</sup>. SUMMA

DEBITI CONIUNCTA – Cliij li. xiiij s.

j d. qu. **18.** De quibus liberavit Magistro

Johanni de Brunham Juniori Camerario

Cestr' – xviiij li. x s. qu. de parte

arreragiorum predictorum per manus

executorum<sup>c</sup> Nicholai de Neuton' per j indenturam super hunc<sup>d</sup> compotum liberatam et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij. Et eidem Camerario<sup>e</sup> – liij s. iiij d. de parte arreragiorum predictorum per manus Abbatis de Deulencres<sup>f</sup> per j talliam penes Abbatem remanentem et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij. Et eidem Camerario – lxxvij li. xx d. de exitibus de hoc anno per manus Roberti de<sup>g</sup> Worth' per j indenturam super hunc compotum liberatam et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij. Et eidem Camerario de parte<sup>h</sup> exituum predictorum – xiiij li. per manus firmariorum molendinorum de Macclesfeld' per quandam<sup>i</sup> indenturam penes ipsos remanentem et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij. Et debet – xliij li. viij s. j d. De quibus liberavit eidem Camerario – xvs. viij d. per manus Henrici filij Thome<sup>j</sup> de Torkynton<sup>k</sup> de parte arreragiorum predictorum per j talliam penes ipsum remanentem et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij. Et eidem Camerario – iij s. iiij d. per manus Abbatis Cestr' sine acquietancia de arreragiis predictis<sup>l</sup> per recognitionem ipsius Camerarij.<sup>m</sup>

a x s. 803/6.

b *ballive* 803/6.

c intl. 803/5.

d om. 803/5.

e om. 803/5.

f *Deulencres* 803/6.

g *le* 803/6.

h intl. 803/6.

i *unam* 803/6.

j om. 803/6.

k *Tokynton'* 803/6.

l *de arreragiis predictis* intl. 803/6.

m This phrase is followed by *de arreragiis predictis* del., 803/6.

15.3 To the purchase of two mill-stones at *Mo(n)hulle* for the same – 13s. 4d.

15.4 To carriage of one to Macclesfield – 3s. 4d.

Sum: 26s. 8d.

16. SUM TOTAL OF EXPENSES: £4 17s. 10d. And he owes

£129 19s. 5d. 17. And £24

13s. 8¼d. from the remainder

of the account of Nicholas de Neuton<sup>1</sup>

under-bailiff and deputy of Adam de Mottrum

bailiff of the forest for the 35th year (1360–61). JOINT

SUM OF INDEBTEDNESS – £154 13s.

1¼d. 18. Of which he has delivered to Master

John de Brunham the younger, chamberlain

of Chester – £18 10s. 0¼d. as part

of the aforesaid arrears, by the hands

of the executors<sup>2</sup> of Nicholas de Neuton by one indenture handed over upon this account and acknowledgment of the chamberlain. And to the same chamberlain – 53s. 4d. as part of the aforesaid arrears by the hands of the abbot of Dieulacres by one tally remaining in the abbot's possession and acknowledgment of the chamberlain. And to the same chamberlain – £77 20d. for the issues of this year by the hands of Robert de Worth by one indenture handed over upon this account and acknowledgment of the chamberlain. And to the same chamberlain as part of the aforesaid issues – £14 by the hands of the farmers of the Macclesfield mills, by an indenture remaining with them and acknowledgment of the chamberlain. And he owes – £42 8s. 1d. Of which he has delivered to the chamberlain – 15s. 8d. by the hands of Henry son of Thomas de Torkynton as part of the aforesaid arrears, by one tally remaining with him and acknowledgment of the chamberlain. And to the same chamberlain – 3s. 4d. by the hands of the abbot of Chester, without acquittance, of the aforesaid arrears, by acknowledgment of the chamberlain.

<sup>1</sup> Died c. 1361 (*ChAcc2*, p. 164).

<sup>2</sup> The brothers Richard and Peter de Neuton (SC 6/803/3, m. 4; 785/8, m. 5).

$\langle m\ 1d \rangle \{m\ 1d\}$

19. Et debet – xlii li. ix s. j d. De quibus respondet in magno Rotulo debitorum de hoc anno xxxvj<sup>a</sup>.

## 20. RESPECTUANTUR

20.1 Respectuantur eidem Roberto – xxij s. viij d. de redditu terrarum Willelmi de Tre(v)eyn Capellani in Esebury, unde oneratur supra, eo quod nulla districtio in eisdem potuit inveniri ut predicti executores asserunt donec proclamatio fiat in Hallemoto Manerij de Macclesfeld' pro<sup>b</sup> tenementis predictis domino<sup>c</sup> recuperandis pro hoc anno xxxvj<sup>to</sup> et xxxv<sup>to</sup>.

20.2 Et atterminantur Henrico filio Thome de Torkynton' ad solvendum ad festum Sancti Martini anno xxxvj<sup>to</sup> et ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste<sup>d</sup> tunc proxime sequens per equales portiones – xxxj s. iiij d.

20.3 Et eidem – xl s. v d. de parte lx s. viij d. de fine Roberti de Asshton'<sup>e</sup> pro terra empta et bladis sibi venditis que fuerunt Johannis filij eius atterminato ad solvendum ad festa Sancti Barnabe Apostoli et Sancti Michelis anno xxxvij<sup>o</sup>.

20.4 Et eidem Roberto – xx s. de parte xl s. de fine Willelmi de She(n)e atterminato eidem Willelmo solvendo ad festa predicta.

21. *Et super Forestam de anno xxxv<sup>to</sup> – viij s. viij d.*

22. Et remanent de claro – xxxv li. vj s.

a *De quibus...anno xxxvj om.* 803/5.

b *de* 803/6.

c om. 803/6.

d om. 803/6.

e *Assheton'* 803/6.

**19.** And he owes – £41 9s. 1d. For which he answers in the great roll of debts for this 36th year (1361–62).

**20. RESPITED**

**20.1** There are respited to the same Robert – 22s. 8d. for the rent of the lands of William Tre(v)eyn, chaplain, in Eddisbury, for which he is charged above,<sup>1</sup> because no distraint could be found in the same, as the aforesaid executors assert, until proclamation is made in the halmote of the manor of Macclesfield for the recovery of the tenements by the lord. The amount is for this 36th year (1361–62) and the 35th (1360–61).

**20.2** And there are atterminated to Henry son of Thomas de Torkynton to be paid at the feast of Martinmas in the 36th year (11 November 1362) and at the feast of the Nativity of St John Baptist then next following, by equal payments – 31s. 4d.

**20.3** And to the same – 40s. 5d. as part of a fine of 60s. 8d. of Robert de Asshton, for buying the land and selling the corn which used to belong to John, his son. It is atterminated to be paid at the feasts of St Barnabas, apostle (11 June) and Michaelmas in the 37th year (1363).

**20.4** And to the same Robert – 20s. 0d. as part of the 40s. 0d. fine of William de Shene, atterminated to the same William to be paid at the aforesaid feasts.

**21.** And upon the forest for the 35th year (1360–61) 8s. 8d.

**22.** And there remain clear – £35 6s. 0d.

<sup>1</sup> Two years rent. See above, 2.6.

{m 1d} {m 2}

23. Computus Willelmi de Caryngton', Chivaler, Firmarij dominij de Longedendale<sup>a</sup> tenentis ad firmam dictum dominium<sup>b</sup> ad terminum decem annorum, Termino incipiente<sup>c</sup> ad festum Annunciationis beate Marie anno xxxv<sup>to</sup>; Reddendo per annum xl li. ad terminos Sancti Michelis et Annunciationis beate Marie equaliter, et solvendo domino Johanni de Chaundos, Senescallo dicti dominij vel eius locum tenenti, ij d. per diem sibi concessos per dominum, et omnes alios redditus fornicecos de eodem dominio, ubique debitos, durante termino suo; reservatis<sup>d</sup> domino Wardis, releviis,<sup>e</sup> Escaetis<sup>e</sup>, maritagiis, feodis, advocacionibus, Wayvis et extrahuris, et ceter(is); videlicet de eadem firma a festo Sancti Michelis anno tricesimo quinto usque idem festum proxime sequens.<sup>f</sup>

## 24. REDDITUS ASSISE

De xij li. xij s. v d. de redditu tam<sup>g</sup> liberorum tenentium quam tenentium ad voluntatem in Tengetwysell' (in)<sup>h</sup> Arnwayfeld', Litelhurst' et Mucclhurst', hamlettis eiusdem ville, pro terminis Sancti Martini et Pentecostes equaliter, sicut continetur in extenta, ultra xij d. pro Revegeld' et Ward' de Arnwayfeld'<sup>i</sup>; lxxv s. vij d. qu. de redditu liberorum<sup>j</sup> tenentium et tenentium ad voluntatem domini<sup>k</sup> in villa de Mottru' pro eisdem terminis equaliter, sicut continetur in eadem extenta, ultra ij s. ij d. ob. qu. pro Reveyeld'<sup>l</sup> et Ward'; ij d. de libero redditu de Godelegh' pro eisdem terminis, sicut continetur in eadem extenta; viij s. iiij d. de libero redditu<sup>m</sup> in Magna Holynworth'<sup>n</sup> et parva Holynworth'<sup>n</sup> pro eisdem terminis, sicut continetur in eadem extenta, unde de Reveyeld'<sup>o</sup> et Ward' *iiij* s. vij d. ob.; iiij s. de libero redditu in Magna Mattelegh' *et parva Mattelegh'*<sup>p</sup>, ultra v d. de reveyeld'<sup>q</sup> et Ward', et ultra xij d. de operibus molendin(i); vj s. pro custodia terrarum et tenementorum Henrici filij et heredis Alicie filie Willelmi de Mattelegh' infra etatem existentis, pro quarta parte de Mattelegh';

a *Londendale* 803/6.

b Both 803/5 and 803/6 have *Manerium*, del., *dominium* intl. here.

c *incipiente termino* 803/6.

d *reservato* 803/5.

e Carets inserted on either side of *Escaetis* in 803/5 to indicate change of word order.

f *anno xxxvj* 803/6.

g om. 803/6.

h om. 803/6.

i *Arnewaifeld'* 803/6.

j *libero redditu* 803/5.

k om. 803/5.

l *eld'* of *Reveyeld'* intl. 803/5; *Revegeld'* 803/6.

m *de redditu libero* 803/6.

n *Holinworth'* 803/6.

o *revegeld'* 803/6.

p *et parva Mattelegh'* om. 803/5.

q *Revegeld'* 803/6.

23. Account of William de Caryngton, knight,<sup>1</sup> farmer of the lordship of Longdendale, holding the lordship at farm for ten years. This period begins at Lady Day in the 35th year (25 March 1361). He renders £40 a year at the terms of Michaelmas and Lady Day, by equal payments. He is to pay to Sir John de Chaundos,<sup>2</sup> steward of the lordship (or his lieutenant), the 2d. a day granted him by the lord, as well as all other foreign rents from the lordship wherever due during his period. Wardships, reliefs, escheats, marriages, fees, advowsons, waifs and strays, et cetera are to be reserved to the lord. This is for his farm from the feast of Michaelmas in the 35th year (1361) until the same feast next following (1362).

#### 24. RENTS OF ASSISE

For £12 12s. 5d. for the rent of free tenants and tenants-at-will in Tintwistle – in Arnfield, Littlehurst and Micklehurst, hamlets of the same township – for the terms of Martinmas and Whitsun, by equal payments, as is contained in the extent (over and above the 12d. for revegeld and ward of Arnfield);<sup>3</sup> for 75s. 7½d. for the rent of the free tenants and tenants-at-will of the lord in the township of Mottram (in Longdendale) for the same terms by equal payments as is contained in the same extent (over and above the 2s. 2¾d. for reveyeld and ward); for 2d. for the free rent of Godley for the same terms as is contained in the same extent; for 8s. 4d. for the free rent in Great Hollingworth and Little Hollingworth for the same terms as is contained in the same extent, of which 3s. 7½d. is for reveyeld and ward; for 4s. 0d. for the free rent in Great Matley and Little Matley, over and above 5d. for reveyeld and ward and 12d. for mill works; for 6s. 0d. for the custody of the lands and tenements of Henry son and heir of Alice daughter of William de Matlegh being under age, for one quarter of Matley;

1 See *ChAcc2*, pp. 126–7 for his biography.

2 See *ChAcc2*, p. 127 for his biography.

3 For the 1360 extent of Longdendale, see SC 11/897.

{m 1d} {m 2}

## 25. OPERA ET<sup>a</sup> CONSUETUDINES<sup>b</sup>

xj s. j d. de villata de Neuton'<sup>c</sup> pro operibus arrure et messionis per dominum de Neuton' et tenentes suos ad terminos Annunciationis beate Marie et Sancti Michelis equaliter; ix s. ix d. de operibus in villa de Stavelegh'<sup>d</sup> ad eosdem terminos; iij s. vjd. de villata de Hattreslegh' pro consimilibus operibus<sup>e</sup> ad eosdem terminos; x s. de diversis tenentibus in eodem dominio pro quadam consuetudine vocata Revegeld'<sup>f</sup> ad eosdem terminos; iij s. iij d. ob. de eisdem tenentibus pro alia consuetudine vocata Ward' ad eosdem terminos; iiij s. de precio xxiiij operum ad Haghag', precio operis ij d., unde in Mattelegh vjd<sup>g</sup>, in Godlegh<sup>h</sup> vjd, in Hattreslegh' ij opera, in Holynworth' ix opera ut patet per Extentam; lx s. de exitibus molendini de Tengetwysell'<sup>i</sup> et pro stallagio ibidem sic prius<sup>j</sup> affirmatis per annum; vij s. viij d. de exitibus Nundinarum de Tengetwysell'; xij li. de agistamento de Longedendale<sup>k</sup>; vj s. viij d. de piscaria de Mersee; Perquisitis Curie que solebant reddere anno xxxv<sup>l</sup>o xxij s. j d. et v s. de incremento redditus cuiusdam placee in villa de Mottru' que vocatur Prestfeld'<sup>l</sup>; xxxj s. v d. ob. pro custodia terrarum et tenementorum heredis Galfridi de Honford' infra etatem, in custodia domini, unde xvij d. ob. de libero redditu ad terminos Sancti Martini et Pentecostes, viij d. ob. qu. de parte xvij d. ob. de libero redditu ipsius Galfridi pro termino Pentecostes anno xxxiiij<sup>o</sup> omissis in compoto eiusdem anni; et xx s. de villata de Mattel' ad terminum predictum pro medietate Manerij de Mattel' que fuit Johannis filij Willelmi de Hyde<sup>m</sup>, existente in manu domini per forisfacturam<sup>n</sup> ipsius Johannis qui utlagatus pro morte Galfridi de Honford', et que medietas dimittebatur tenentibus dicte ville ad voluntatem domini pro xl s. per annum ad terminos Sancti Martini et Pentecostes equaliter – *non respondet* eo quod dimittuntur ad firmam predicto Willelmo de Caryngton' ut patet *in titulo*<sup>o</sup> huius compoti, ut supra<sup>p</sup>, de qua quidem firma idem Willelmus respondet immediate inferius.

Summa: nichil

a om. 803/6.

b Written as a marginal heading in 803/5 and 803/6.

c *de Neuton'* om. 803/6.

d *Stanlegh'* 803/5.

e *operibus consimilibus* 803/6.

f *Revegeld'* 803/6.

g *vj opera* in 803/6.

h *Godelegh'* 803/6.

i *Tengetwithell'* 803/6.

j intl. 803/6.

k *Longdendale* 803/6.

l *Prestesfeld'* 803/6.

m *Hide* 803/6.

n Corrected from *pro forisfactura* in both versions of the account.

o *in titulo* intl. 803/6.

p *ut supra* om. 803/5.



## 25. WORKS AND CUSTOMS

11s. 1d. from the township of Newton for ploughing and reaping works by the lord of Newton and his tenants at the terms of Lady Day and Michaelmas, by equal payments; 9s. 9d. for works in the township of Stayley at the same terms; 3s. 6d. from the township of Hattersley for the like works at the same terms; 10s. 0d. from various tenants in the same lordship for a custom called 'Reveyeld'<sup>1</sup> at the same terms; 3s. 3½d. from the same tenants for another custom called 'Ward' at the same terms; 4s. 0d. for the value of 24 works at Haghag, each work valued at 2d., of which in Matley 6d.<sup>2</sup>, in Godley 6d., in Hattersley two works, in Hollingworth nine works as appears by the Extent; 60s. 0d. from the issues of Tintwistle mill and for stallage there as was formerly farmed by the year; 7s. 8d. from the issues of Tintwistle fairs; £12 from the agistment of Longdendale; 6s. 8d. from the Mersey fishery; the perquisites of the court which used to render 33s. 1d. in the 35th year (1360–61)<sup>3</sup> and 5s. 0d. for increment of rent of a place in Mottram township called Prestfeld<sup>4</sup>; 31s. 5½d. for the wardship of the lands and tenements of Geoffrey de Honford's heir under age, in the lord's wardship, of which 17½d. is for free rent at the terms of Martinmas and Whitsun, 8¾d., part of the 17½d. free rent of Geoffrey, for the term of Whitsun in the 33rd year (1358–59) omitted in the account for that year; and 20s. 0d. from the township of Matley at the aforesaid term for half the manor of Matley which used to belong to John son of William de Hyde, in the lord's hands on account of the forfeiture of John who was outlawed for the death of Geoffrey de Honford, and which was let to the tenants of the township at the lord's will for 40s. 0d. a year at the terms of Martinmas and Whitsun by equal payments – he does not answer<sup>5</sup> because they are let at farm to the aforesaid William de Caryngton, as appears in the heading of this account, as above, for which farm William answers immediately below.

Sum: Nothing

1 For these customary payments, see p. xvii.

2 There is clearly some mistake by the clerk in the listing of these works. It is impossible to make them add up to 24.

3 This is a mistake by the clerk. It is in the account for the 34th year (1359–60) that £1 13s. 4d. is charged for perqu. of the courts [*sic*], 28s. 10d. for Tintwistle and 4s. 4d. for Mottram (SC 6/802/17, m. 5).

4 Not identified by Dodgson, but there is a 'parsonage field' in the township (Dodgson, *Place-names*, i. 315).

5 That is for all the charged receipts listed up to that point.

<m 2> {m 2}

Adhuc de Compoto Willelmi de Caryngton' Chivaler<sup>a</sup>

## 26. FIRMA

Idem respondet de xl li. de firma dominiij de Longedendale<sup>b</sup> sic affirmati Willelmo de Caryngton' Chivaler ad terminum x annorum solvendis per annum ad terminos Annunciationis beate Marie et Sancti Michelis equaliter, hoc anno secundo eiusdem firme<sup>c</sup>.

27. SUMMA RECEPTE<sup>d</sup>: xl li. quas debet. 28. Et lxxvj s. x d. ob. qu. di. de remanentia compoti Johannis le Tieuf<sup>e</sup> de prima parte anni ultimi preteriti.  
SUMMA DEBITA CONIUNCTA – xliij li. xvj s. x d. ob. qu. di. 29. De quibus liberavit Magistro Johanni de Brunham Juniori Camerario Cestr' – xxxv s. viij d. ob. qu. di. de parte arreragiorum predictorum per manus Johannis le Tieuf<sup>f</sup> per j talliam penes ipsum remanentem et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij. Et eidem Camerario – xxxiij li. de parte dicte firme per manus Willelmi de Caryngton' per diversas tallias penes ipsum remanentes et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij.

30. Et debet – ix li. xiiij d.<sup>g</sup>  
De quibus respondet in magno Rotulo debitorum de anno xxxvj<sup>h</sup>.

31. Super { Willelmum de Caryngton' Chivaler de parte eiusdem firme de hoc anno xxxvj<sup>io</sup> – vij li. Johannem le Tieuf<sup>i</sup> de parte arreragiorum predictorum – xlj s. ij d.

a *Adhuc...Chivaler* om. 803/6.

b *Longdendale* 803/6.

c *eiusdem firme* om. 803/5.

d *RECEPTE* om. 803/6.

e *Tiew* 803/6.

f *Tiewe* 803/6.

g 803/5 has *x d.*, del., followed by *xiiij d.* intl.

h *De quibus...anno xxxvj* om. 803/5.

i *Tieuwe* 803/6.

Account of William de Caryngton, knight, continued...

**26. FARM**

He answers for £40, the farm of the lordship of Longdendale, thus farmed to William de Caryngton, knight, for the term of ten years. It is payable yearly at the terms of Lady Day and Michaelmas, by equal payments, this being the second year of the farm.

**27. SUM OF THE RECEIPT:** £40, which he owes. **28.** And 76s. 10¾d. and a half-farthing of the remainder of the account of John le Tieu for the first part of the year last past<sup>1</sup>.  
**JOINT SUM OF INDEBTEDNESS** – £43 16s. 10d.

¾d. and a half-farthing. **29.** Of which he has delivered to Master John de Brunham the younger, chamberlain of Chester – 35s. 8¾d. and a half-farthing as part of the aforesaid arrears by the hands of John le Tieu, by one tally remaining with him and the acknowledgment of the chamberlain. And to the same chamberlain – £33 as part of the said farm by the hands of William de Caryngton, by various tallies remaining with him and the acknowledgment of the chamberlain.

**30.** And he owes – £9 14d.

For which he answers in the great roll of debts for the 36th year (1361–62).

**31.** Upon { William de Caryngton, knight, for part of the same  
farm for this 36th year – £7.  
John le Tieu as part of the aforesaid arrears – 41s. 2d.

1 Tieu accounted as lieutenant of Sir John Chandos, K.G., steward of the lordship, from Michaelmas 1360 to Lady Day 1361 (SC 6/803/3, m. 4d).

$\langle m\ 2 \rangle \{m\ 2\}$

## 32. RESPECTUANTUR

**32.1** Respectuantur eidem Johanni<sup>a</sup> usque alias, xxvj s. ij d. unde oneratus supra de arreragiis predictis, tam de redditibus quam *de* operibus autumpnalibus et aliis serviciis Roberti de Stavelegh<sup>b</sup>, eo quod ostendit scriptum Roberti de Holond' de relaxatione eorundem reddituum operum et serviciorum, unde pro termino Pentecostes anno xxxiiij<sup>o</sup> vj s. vj d. ob., terminis Sancti Martini et Pentecostes anno xxxiiij<sup>to</sup> xiiij s. j d., et termino Sancti Martini anno xxxv<sup>to</sup> incipiente vj s. vj d. ob.

**32.2** Et eidem xv s. unde oneratur supra pro hoc dimidio anno xxxv<sup>to</sup> et anno xxxiiij<sup>to</sup> de firma terre de Mattelegh' ultra id quod levare poterit *per tempus* predictum. Ideo inquiretur inde ad Iter Justiciarij apud Macclesf' anno xxxvij<sup>to</sup>.

**32.3** SUMMA RESPECTUS: xli s. ij d.

Examinatur<sup>c</sup>

a 803/6 also intl. the redundant phrase *arreragiorum predictorum*.

b *Stavelelegh'* 803/6, *Stanlegh'* 803/5.

c om. 803/6.

**32. RESPITES**

**32.1** There are respited to the same John, until another occasion, of the aforesaid arrears, 26s. 2d. for which he is charged above for arrears, both for rents and for harvest works and other services of Robert de Stavelegh, because he has not shown Robert de Holond's deed concerning the releasing of the same rents and services. Of which, 6s. 6½d. is for Whitsun term in the 33rd year (1359), 13s. 1d. for the terms of Martinmas and Whitsun in the 34th year (1360), and 6s. 6½d. for Martinmas term in the 35th year (1361).

**32.2** And to the same the 15s. 0d. for which he is charged above for this half of the 35th year (1361), and for the 34th year (1359–60), for the farm of the land of Matley over and above that which it was possible to levy during the aforesaid time. Let an inquiry be made about this matter at the eyre of the justiciar at Macclesfield in the 37th year (1363).

**32.3** SUM OF THE RESPITES: 41s. 2d.

Examined

$\langle m\ 2 \rangle \{ m\ 2d \}$

33. Compotus Willelmi de Chorlegh' Parcarij Parci de Macclesfeld' a festo Sancti Michelis anno xxxv<sup>to</sup> usque idem festum anno regni regis xxxvj<sup>to</sup>.

34. AGISTAMENTUM

Idem respondet de xlvij s. receptis de agistamento diversorum animalium infra parcum tempore estivali hoc anno, ut patet per particulas super hunc compotum liberatas.

Summa: xlvij s.

35. RECEPTUM DENARIORUM

Et de lx s. receptis de Magistro Johanne de Brunham Juniore per quandam Indenturam super compotum liberatam.

Summa: lx s.

36. SUMMA TOTALIS RECEPTI: Cvij s. De quibus

37. EXPENSE

37.1 In vadiis eiusdem<sup>a</sup> parcarij capientis ij d. per diem – lx s. x d. pro toto hoc anno.

37.2 Et in emendatione clausure parci hoc anno per diversas vices – xvij d.

38. SUMMA EXPENSARUM: lxij s. iiij d. Et debet xlv s. viij d. De quibus  
respondet in magno Rotulo debitorum de  
anno xxxvj<sup>to, b</sup>

a *unius* 803/5.

b 803/5 has *De quibus lib'* followed by a blank space.

**33.** Account of William de Chorlegh<sup>1</sup>, parker of Macclesfield park, from Michaelmas in the 35th year (1361) to the same feast in the 36th year of the king's reign (1362).

**34. AGISTMENT**

He answers for 48s. 0d. received from the agistment of various animals within the park in the summer this year, as appears by the particulars handed over upon this account.

Sum: 48s. 0d.

**35. RECEIPT OF MONEY**

And for 60s. 0d. received from Master John de Brunham the younger, by a certain indenture handed over upon this account.

Sum: 60s. 0d.

**36. SUM TOTAL OF RECEIPTS:** 108s. 0d.      Of which

**37. EXPENSES**

**37.1** To wages of the same parker, taking 2d. a day – 60s. 10d. for this whole year.

**37.2** And in the mending of the park enclosure this year on various occasions – 18d.

**38. SUM OF THE EXPENSES:** 62s. 4d. And he owes 45s. 8d. For which he answers in the great roll of debts for the 36th year (1361–62).

<sup>1</sup> For his career, see *ChAcc2*, p. 129. The Macclesfield stud, which had been his main responsibility since his appointment in 1357, was transferred to Denbigh in 1361.

⟨*m* 2⟩ {*m* 3}

**39.** Compotus Willelmi le Poker Ballivi Hundredi de Macclesfeld' in feodo et Collectoris denariorum domini Principis infra idem Hundredum a festo Sancti Michelis anno regni regis Edwardi tertij post conquestum tricesimo quinto usque idem festum proxime sequens.

#### **40. REDDITUS ASSISE**

**40.1** Idem respondet de v s. receptis de redditu assise infra Hundredum de termino Omnium Sanctorum, unde ij s. de *terra* de Hephales et iij s. de hameleto de Falibrom<sup>a</sup>.

**40.2** Et de iij s. de Manerio de Chelford' de termino Sancti<sup>b</sup> Martini.

**40.3** Et de lxxvj s. viij d. de quodam redditu vocato Revegald' de terminis Sancti Martini et Sancte<sup>c</sup> Trinitatis.

**40.4** Et *de* viij s. de Manerio de Mottru' Andrewe de termino<sup>d</sup> Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste existente in manu domini per forisfacturam Hugonis le *Despenser*.

**40.5** Et de ij s. de redditu de<sup>e</sup> Fulshagh' de termino Assumptionis beate Marie.

**40.6** Et de ij s. de Manerio de Ponynton' de termino Sancti Michelis.

a *Falybrome* 803/6.

b om. 803/6.

c om. 803/6.

d intl. 803/6.

e *redditu de* om. 803/5.



39. Account of William le Poker<sup>1</sup>, bailiff of the Hundred of Macclesfield in fee and collector of the revenue of the lord prince within the same Hundred, from Michaelmas in the 35th year of King Edward III's reign (1361) to the same feast next following (1362).

#### 40. RENTS OF ASSISE

40.1 He answers for 5s. 0d. received from the assise-rent within the Hundred for the term of All Saints, of which 2s. 0d. is for the land of Hephales and 3s. 0d. for the hamlet of Fallibroome<sup>2</sup>.

40.2 And for 3s. 0d. for the manor of Chelford for Martinmas term<sup>3</sup>.

40.3 And for 66s. 8d. for a rent called Revegald for the terms of Martinmas and Trinity<sup>4</sup>.

40.4 And for 8s. 0d. for the manor of Mottram St Andrew for the term of the Nativity of St John Baptist, in the lord's hand because of the forfeiture of Hugh Despenser<sup>5</sup>.

40.5 And for 2s. 0d. for the rent of Fulshaw for the term of the Assumption of Blessed Mary<sup>6</sup>.

40.6 And for 2s. 0d. for the manor of Poynton for Michaelmas term<sup>7</sup>.

1 Succeeded his brother, Thomas, in 1359 and died in 1365, when he himself was succeeded in the hereditary office by his two sisters. They were charged a relief of £4 13s. 4d., one year's value (*ChAcc2*, p. 166).

2 In the 1352 rental Katherine, daughter of Richard Hyde, paid the rent of the land of Hephales and John Fytton that for the hamlet of Fallibroome (SC 11/899, m. 1).

3 This property, which had been forfeited by Hugh Despenser, was held by the abbot of Chester in 1352 (SC 11/899, m. 1).

4 Payable annually by 18 townships in the liberty of the Hundred (that is, excluding the manor), 6 of which are grouped in pairs, namely: (Great) Warford, Chelford, Marton, Somerford, (North) Rode, Mottram (presumably St Andrew), Butley, Adlington, Poynton-and-Woodford, Bramhall-and-Dukinfield, Bredbury-and-Brinnington, Cheadle, Hyde, Tintwistle and Etchells (SC 11/899, m. 1).

5 Hugh Despenser the elder's lands were first confiscated in 1321 and again, following Isabella and Mortimer's seizure of power, in 1326 (M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 85-6).

6 This rent was paid by Richard son of John Fytton for the 'hamlet of Fulshagh' in the 1352 rental (SC 11/899, m. 1). It was already in the hands of the Fitton family in 1288, when it was stated that the property had formerly belonged to the count of Aûmale, and was held of the earl of Chester by the service of one-eighth of a knight's fee (Stewart-Brown, *County Court*, p. 114).

7 Rent paid by John de Stafford and his wife, Isabel, in the 1352 rental (SC 11/899, m. 1). For the descent of the manors of Stockport, Poynton and Woodford to Isabel, see *ChAcc2*, pp. 174-5. This rent for Poynton may be in lieu of the service of providing to the king (as earl of Chester) one unarmed horse as specified in the 1288 inquest (Stewart-Brown, *County Court*, p. 116).

*<m 2> {m 3}*

**40.7** Et de xl s. de firma Bedellarie Hundredi de Macclesfeld' de eodem termino.

Summa: vj li. vj s. viij d.

**41. PERQUISITA HUNDREDI CUM TURNO BALLIVI, ESCAPURIS ET AMERCIAMENTIS VIRIDIS**

**41.1** Et de vj li. ix s. xj d. de perquisitis xx Hundredorum tentorum hoc anno apud Macclesfeld' prout continetur in rotulis eorundem super compotum liberatis.

**41.2** Et de lxvs. vj d. receptis de amerciamentis in turno ballivi hoc anno prout continetur in extractis.

**41.3** Et de xxxiij s. j d. de escapuris Foreste de parte xix li. vj d. unde ballivi foreste et Burgi respondent de residuo in compotis suis.

**41.4** Et de ij s. receptis<sup>a</sup> de diversis hominibus amerciatis pro transgressionibus viridis et mortu(i) bosc(i) infra Forestam de parte<sup>b</sup> xxij s. ix d. unde supradicti ballivi respondent de residuo in compotis suis.

Summa: xj li. xj s. vj d.

*<m 2d>*

**42. EXITUS ITINERIS CUM FINIBUS ET CUM<sup>c</sup> AMERCIAMENTIS ET EXITIBUS TRIUM HUNDREDORUM POST ITER**

**42.1** Et de xvij s. de exitibus et amerciamentis placitorum Itineris tenti coram Justiciario Cestr' apud Macclesfeld' hoc anno *prout* continetur in extractis de parte xxij s. vj d. unde Ballivi foreste et Burgi respondent de residuo in compotis suis.<sup>d</sup>

a intl. 803/5.

b *de parte* repeated.

c om. 803/5.

d *in compotis suis* om. 803/6.

40.7 And for 40s. 0d. for the farm of the bedelry of Macclesfield Hundred for the same term<sup>1</sup>.

Sum: £6 6s. 8d.

41. PERQUISITES OF THE HUNDRED COURT WITH THE BAILIFF'S TOURN, ESCAPES AND AMERCEMENTS OF THE VERT

41.1 And for £6 9s. 11d. for the perquisites of 20 meetings of the Hundred court held this year at Macclesfield, as is contained in their rolls handed over upon this account<sup>2</sup>.

41.2 And for 65s. 6d. received from the amercements in the bailiff's tourn this year, as is contained in the estreats<sup>3</sup>.

41.3 And for 33s. 1d. for escapes of the forest, part of £19 0s. 6d., for the rest of which the bailiffs of the forest and borough answer in their accounts<sup>4</sup>.

41.4 And for 2s. 0d. received from various men amerced for trespasses of the vert and dead wood within the forest, part of 23s. 9d., for the remainder of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts<sup>5</sup>.

Sum: £11 11s. 6d.

42. ISSUES OF THE EYRE WITH FINES AND AMERCEMENTS, AND THE ISSUES OF THE THREE HUNDRED-COURTS AFTER THE EYRE

42.1 And for 17s. 0d. for the issues and amercements of the pleas of the eyre held before the justiciar of Chester at Macclesfield this year<sup>6</sup>, as is contained in the estreats, part of 22s. 6d., for the rest of which the bailiffs of the forest and borough answer in their accounts<sup>7</sup>.

1 The bedelry of the whole Hundred was held by Thomas son of William le Poker in 1352 (SC 11/899, m. 1). In the 1288 inquest it is stated that the holder of this office was to make summonses to the (earl's) army. Its peace-time role appears to have been the arresting of criminals, as assistant to the serjeants of the peace (Stewart-Brown, *County Court*, pp. 18–19, 47, 53, 240). In the escheator's account for 1364–65, it is stated that the 40s. rent was paid for the office of poker of Macclesfield, who therefore combined the offices of Hundred-bailiff and Hundred-bedell (SC 6/786/5, m. 5).

2 SC 2/252/13, mm. 1–2d.

3 This tourn was held for the townships of the Hundred (except for the manor) by the steward of the manor or his deputy (and not the Hundred bailiff). This year's session was held on 28 September 1362 (SC 2/252/13, m. 10).

4 See 5.2 and 53.2.

5 See 5.3 and 53.3.

6 This is the eyre of Macclesfield Hundred, held 18 July 1362 (SC 2/252/13, m. 7). Although it is stated in the record that the court was held by the justiciar, Sir Bartholomew Burgherssh the younger, K.G., it is known that he treated the post as a sinecure and that, consequently, it is likely that John Delves, his lieutenant, acted for him (*ChAcc2*, pp. 134–7).

7 See 6 and 54.

{m 2d} {m 3}

42.2 Et de Cxiiij s. ij d. de placitis corone in eodem Itinere prout continetur in extractis de parte Cxiiij s. ij d. unde ballivus burgi respondet de *residuo*.

42.3 Et de xxv s. viij d. de amerciamentis diversorum non comparencium in eodem Itinere de parte xxxij s. viij d. unde supradicti ballivi respondent de residuo in compotis suis<sup>a</sup>.

42.4 Et de Cxvj s. iiij d. de finibus factis coram Justiciario Cestr' in eodem Itinere de parte viij li. vj s. iiij d. unde ballivus<sup>b</sup> foreste respondet de residuo.

42.5 Et de xxij s. de amerciamentis et exitibus primi Hundredi post predictum Iter de parte xxij s. vj d.<sup>c</sup> prout continetur in extractis unde supradicti Ballivi respondent de residuo in compotis suis<sup>d</sup>.

42.6 Et de xxv s. iij d. de amerciamentis et exitibus secundi Hundredi post predictum Iter prout continetur in extractis de parte xxxvij s. unde supradicti ballivi respondent de residuo in compotis<sup>e</sup>.

42.7 Et de xlj s. vj d. de amerciamentis et exitibus tertij Hundredi post predictum Iter prout continetur in extractis de parte lvij s. vj d. unde supradicti ballivi respondent de residuo in compotis suis.<sup>f</sup>

42.8 De finibus diversorum operariorum et servientium factis *coram Roberto* de Legh' et aliis Justiciariis ad hoc assignatis per commissionem domini apud Macclesfeld' hoc anno nichil quia *nulle facte* fuerunt.

Summa: xviiij li. xj d.

#### 43. FINES ET AMERCIAMENTA COMITATUS CESTR'

Et de xv li. xj s. viij d. de finibus factis coram Justiciario Cestr' apud Cestr' hoc anno et de diversis hominibus Hundredi de Macclesfeld' amerciatis in Comitatu Cestr' et exitibus<sup>g</sup> f(orisfacturarum) hoc anno ut patet per extractas Camerarij Cestr' eidem ballivo inde directas continentes eandem summam, unde de finibus ix li. xj s. viij d., et de amerciamentis et exitibus vj li., ut patet in compoto Ricardi de Whetelegh'<sup>h</sup>, vicecomitis Cestres' de hoc anno xxxvj<sup>io</sup>, de diversis hominibus quorum nominibus proponitur Macclesfeld' in ix extractis Comitatus Cestr'<sup>i</sup> tenti apud Cestr' hoc anno.

Summa: xv li. vj s. viij d.

a *in compotis suis* om. 803/6.

b *ballivi* 803/5.

c *de parte xxij s. vj d.* follows in extractis in 803/6.

d *in compotis suis* om. 803/6.

e *in compotis* om. 803/6.

f *in compotis suis* om. 803/6.

g 803/5 has *exitibus factis*.

h *Whytlegh'* 803/6.

i om. 803/5.

**42.2** And for 113s. 2d. for the pleas of the crown in the same eyre, as is contained in the estreats, part of 114s. 2d., for the rest of which the bailiff of the borough answers.

**42.3** And for 25s. 8d. for the amercements of various people not appearing in the same eyre<sup>1</sup>, part of 32s. 8d., for the rest of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts.

**42.4** And for 116s. 4d. for the fines made before the justiciar of Chester in the same eyre<sup>2</sup>, part of £8 6s. 4d., for the rest of which the bailiff of the forest answers.

**42.5** And for 22s. 0d. for the amercements and issues of the first Hundred-court after the aforesaid eyre<sup>3</sup>, part of 23s. 6d., as is contained in the estreats, for the rest of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts.

**42.6** And for 25s. 3d. for the amercements and issues of the second Hundred-court after the eyre, as is contained within the estreats, part of 37s. 0d., for the rest of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts<sup>4</sup>.

**42.7** And for 41s. 6d. for the amercements and issues of the third Hundred-court after the eyre, as is contained within the estreats, part of 57s. 6d., for the rest of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts<sup>5</sup>.

**42.8** For the fines of various workmen and servants made before Robert de Legh and others, justices assigned by the lord's commission, at Macclesfield this year, nothing because none were made<sup>6</sup>.

Sum: £18 0s. 11d.

#### **43. FINES AND AMERCEMENTS OF THE COUNTY COURT OF CHESTER**

And for £15 11s. 8d. received from fines made before the justiciar of Chester at Chester this year, and from various men of Macclesfield Hundred who have been amerced in the county court of Chester, and from the issues of forfeitures this year, as appears by the estreats of the chamberlain of Chester directed to the same bailiff which contain that sum. Of this £9 11s. 8d. is for fines, and £6 for amercements and issues, as appears in this year's account of Richard de Whetelegh, sheriff of Cheshire, and they are for various men against whose names the word 'Macclesfeld' has been written in the nine estreats of the county court of Chester which has been held at Chester this year<sup>7</sup>.

Sum: £15 6s. 8d.

1 These are called 'defalta' in the eyre roll (SC 2/252/13, m. 7).

2 Called 'fines at Macclesfield' in the eyre roll (ibid.).

3 Held before the specially commissioned justices, Robert Legh (deputy-steward of the manor) and John Davenport, at Macclesfield, on Monday, 22 Aug. 1362 (SC 2/252/13, mm. 7,7d).

4 Monday, 29 Aug. 1362 (SC 2/252/13, m. 8).

5 Monday, 26 Sept. 1362 (SC 2/252/13, m. 9).

6 For Robert Legh of Adlington, the elder, as justice of labourers and of the three Hundred-courts, see *ChAcc2*, p. 156.

7 Sheriff's account, 1361–62 is SC 6/785/9, mm. 4, 4d. The sum for Macclesfield charged in the sheriff's account amounts to £15 7s. 8d., and so there is a slight discrepancy here.

*<m 2d> {m 3}*

44. SUMMA TOTALIS RECEPTORUM: lj li. *v* s.<sup>a</sup> ix d. 45. Et xiiij li. viij s. x d. de remanentia compoti sui de anno ultimo preterito.  
SUMMA DEBITI CONIUNCTA – lxv li. xiiij s.<sup>b</sup> vij d. 46. De quibus liberavit Magistro Johanni<sup>c</sup> de Brunham Juniori Camerario Cestr' – xiiij li. viij s. x d. arreragiorum predictorum per j acquietanciam<sup>d</sup> et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij. Et eidem Camerario – xxxv li. xiiij s. viij d. de exitibus de hoc anno per ij<sup>e</sup> acquietancias super hunc compotum liberatas et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij.

47. Et debet – xv li. xj s. j d. De quibus respondet in magno Rotulo debitorum de *hoc* anno xxxvj<sup>to</sup>.<sup>f</sup>

a 803/5 has *iiij s.*, del., followed by *v s.* intl.  
b 803/5 has *xiiij s.*, del., followed by *xiiij s.* intl.  
c om. 803/5.  
d *indenturam* 803/6.  
e 803/6 has *unam*, del., followed by *duas* intl.  
f *De quibus...anno xxxvj<sup>to</sup>* om. 803/5.

- 44.** SUM TOTAL OF RECEIPTS: £51 5s. 9d. **45.** And £14 8s. 10d. of the remainder of his account for the year last past.  
JOINT SUM OF INDEBTEDNESS: £65 14s. 7d. **46.** Of which he has delivered to Master John de Brunham, the younger, chamberlain of Chester – £14 8s. 10d. of the aforesaid arrears, by one acquittance and the acknowledgment of the chamberlain. And to the same chamberlain – £35 14s. 8d. from the issues of this year, by two acquittances handed over upon this account and the acknowledgment of the chamberlain.
- 47.** And he owes – £15 11s. 1d. For which he answers in the great roll of debts for this 36th year (1361–62).

⟨m 2d⟩ {m 3d}

48. Compotus Thome Oselcok' et Ricardi de Kenworthey, prepositorum Burgi de Macclesfeld', et Alani filij Petri, Cachepolli ibidem, a festo Sancti Michelis anno regni regis Edwardi tertij post conquestum tricesimo quinto usque idem festum proxime sequens.<sup>a</sup>

#### 49. *REDDITUS ASSISE*

49.1 Ijdem respondent<sup>b</sup> de iij s. receptis de redditu assise de terra Johannis de Ocleggh' infra Burgum de Macclesfeld' ad terminum<sup>c</sup> Omnium Sanctorum.

49.2 Et de iij s. de redditu tenementi Willelmi de Henshagh'<sup>d</sup> existentis in manu domini per forisfacturam eiusdem Willelmi, pro terminis Sancti Hillarij et<sup>e</sup> Trinitatis et Sancti Michelis.

49.3 De xl s. de redditu assise communis furni de Macclesfeld' pro<sup>f</sup> terminis Sancti Hillarij et Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste non respondent, eo quod dimittitur ad firmam hoc anno, ut patebit inferius in<sup>g</sup> titulo *de* firmis.

49.4 Et de vj li. iij s. de redditibus burgagiorum ibidem pro terminis Sancti Hillarij, Trinitatis et Sancti Michelis, pro toto anno.

49.5 Et de xiiij s. viij d. ob. de quodam redditu vocato Offenomes infra burgum de termino Sancti Michelis, sicut continetur in novo Rental(e) pro toto anno.

49.6 Et de iiij li. vj s. viij d. de redditu assise del Rowod' de Macclesfeld' de eodem termino sicut continetur in eodem<sup>h</sup> Rentale pro toto anno.

a *in anno proxime sequenti* 803/6.

b *Idem respondet* 803/5.

c *?de termino* 803/6.

d *Henslegh'* 803/5.

e om. 803/5.

f *de* 803/6.

g *de* 803/5.

h *novo* 803/6.



48. Account of Thomas Oselcok and Richard Kenworthey, reeves of the borough of Macclesfield, and Alan son of Peter, catchpoll there<sup>1</sup>, from Michaelmas in the 35th year of the reign of King Edward the third after the conquest (1361) to the same feast next following (1362).

#### 49. RENTS OF ASSISE

49.1 The same answer for 3s. 0d. received for the assise-rent of the land of John de Oclegh<sup>2</sup> within the borough of Macclesfield at the term of All Saints (1 November).

49.2 And for 3s. 0d. for the rent of William de Henshagh's tenement, in the lord's hand because of William's forfeiture, for the terms of Hilary, Trinity and Michaelmas<sup>3</sup>.

49.3 For 40s. 0d. assise-rent of the common oven of Macclesfield, for Hilary and Nativity of St John Baptist terms, they do not answer because it is let at farm this year, as appears below under the heading 'Farms'.

49.4 And for £6 3s. 0d. for the burgage-rents there for the terms of Hilary, Trinity and Michaelmas, for the whole year<sup>4</sup>.

49.5 And for 14s. 8½d. for a rent called Offenomes within the borough, for Michaelmas term, as is contained in the new rental, for the whole year<sup>5</sup>.

49.6 And for £4 6s. 8d. for the assise-rent of the Roewood of Macclesfield, for the same term, as is contained in the same rental for the whole year<sup>6</sup>.

1 The clerk has omitted the name of Ranulf Whitlof, who was catchpoll for the first part of the 1361–62 financial year. See below in the *Unde super* section, 59.

2 In the 1352 rental, John son of Robert de Okelegh held the chief messuage of Macclesfield borough, for a rent of 2s. 8d. payable at All Saints term. The next entry in the rental lists (Blank) son of Robert le Vernon, who held a quarter piece of the same land, and paid 4d. at All Saints. In the same rental, Jordan de Macclesfield held seven acres which used to belong to John de Okelegh, rent 4s. 8d. at Michaelmas (SC 11/899, m. 1).

3 The 'new rent of Wm de Henneschagh', 2s. 0d., is first charged in the borough account for Mar.-Mich. 1351 (SC 6/802/7, m. 1d.). In the 1352 rental, Thomas de Helegh held one selion in Rowode (rent 2d.), an escheat, which belonged to William de Henneschagh (SC 11/899, m. 1d.).

4 The 1352 rental gives 41s. 0d. payable at each of the three terms by the burgesses of Macclesfield town for their burgages (SC 11/899, m. 1). The exchequer pipe roll for 1298–99 states that the assise-rent of the borough was payable in respect of 123 burgages (E 372/146, rot. 33, m. 1), although in 1290 it was claimed that when 'Earl Ranulf' had founded the borough he had composed it of 120 burgages (Stewart-Brown, *County Court*, p. 243).

5 SC 11/899, m. 1d. Offenomes were earlier called 'husnomes' (*Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls*, pp. 56, 65–6) and in 1352 consisted of 35 small rents, paid for encroachments within the borough, which included the land occupied by 6½ forges. The sum for this section in the rental is indistinct, and could be 14s. 8¾d.

6 There were 31 holdings of land in the 'Rowode de Macclesfeld' in the 1352 rental, two of which were situated in 'le Bothegrene' (SC 11/899, m. 1d.). Clearly, they originated as clearing of rough woodland by the burgesses to extend their holdings of land: they then treated them as part of their burgages. In 1357 the prince's council was informed that this land was really assarted forest land, which meant that a relief of double the annual rent should have been paid at every change of tenant. The burgesses' standpoint appears to have been accepted by the council (Booth, *Financial Administration*, p. 99).

*<m 2d> {m 3d}*

**49.7** Et de xxviiij s. xj d. qu. de terra de Macclesfeld' arrentata de antiquo, sicut continetur in eodem rental(e) pro toto anno.

Summa: xij li. xix s. iij d. ob. qu.

## **50. NOVUS REDDITUS**

**50.1** Et de xij d. receptis de duabus parvis Sheppes (!) stantibus super solum domini in loco Mercati ex conventione facta coram Camerario Cestr' pro isto anno.

**50.2** Et de viij d. receptis de Ranulpho Whitlof<sup>a</sup> pro quadam placea terre iuxta Aulam placitorum sic dimissa per annum eidem Ranulpho in feodo per predictum Camerarium et locum tenentem Senescalli.

**50.3** Et de ij d. receptis de Willelmo de Birchore<sup>b</sup> pro quadam parva placea terre de solo domini eidem dimissa in feodo pro elargatione domus sue per annum.

**50.4** Et de x s. receptis de redditu iiij Shopparum<sup>c</sup> sub Camera Aule placitorum sic affirmatarum hoc anno.

**50.5** Et de iiij s. receptis de redditu ij Shopparum<sup>c</sup> in fine predicte Aule versus Mercatum ex parte occidentali sic affirmatarum hoc anno.

**50.6** Et de xij d. receptis de redditu ij Shopparum<sup>c</sup> in loco Mercati ibidem pro<sup>d</sup> carnificibus, sic affirmatarum hoc anno.

Summa: xvj s. x d.

## **51. REDDITUS MOBILIS**

Et de iiij sagittis barbatis receptis de redditu del<sup>e</sup> Bothefeld' de Macclesfeld' de termino Sancti Michelis pro toto anno. Et de iiij de remanentia.

Summa: viij *Et remanent.*

a *Whytlof* 803/6.

b *Byrchore* 803/6.

c *Shepparum* 803/6.

d *de* 803/5.

e *de* 803/5.

**49.7** And for 28s. 11¼d. for the land of Macclesfield rented out from of old, as is contained in the same rental, for the whole year<sup>1</sup>.

Sum: £12 19s. 3¾d.

## **50. NEW RENT<sup>2</sup>**

**50.1** And for 12d. received for two small shops situated on the lord's soil in the market-place, by agreement made before the chamberlain of Chester, for this year.

**50.2** And for 8d. received from Ranulf Whitlof<sup>3</sup> for a piece of land next to the court-house<sup>4</sup>, let annually to Ranulf in fee by the chamberlain and the lieutenant-steward.

**50.3** And for 2d. received from William de Birchore, for a small piece of land of the lord's soil let to him in fee for the enlargement of his house.

**50.4** And for 10s. 0d. received for the rent of four shops under the court-house chamber, let this year.

**50.5** And for 4s. 0d. received for the rent of two shops at the end of the court-house, opposite the market, on the east side, let this year.

**50.6** And for 12d. received for the rent of two butchers' shops in the market-place there, let this year.

Sum: 16s. 10d.

## **51. RENT IN KIND**

And for four barbed arrows received for the Bothefeld of Macclesfield, for Michaelmas term, for the whole year<sup>5</sup>. And for four for the remainder.

Sum: 8. And they remain.

1 The 1352 rental calls this 'Antiqua terra de Macclesfeld', and there were nineteen tenancies in it. Some of the holdings were in fields, such as 'Eyseruddynges', 'Guneker', 'Thurbacheker', 'le Hallelegh', 'le Mulnefeld' and 'le Gorstihull' (SC 11/899, m. 1d). The 'riddings' name suggests clearance from woodland, as does '-legh', whereas '-eker' denotes arable fields. This was presumably the original arable demesne of Macclesfield manor (or part of it), which had been let out to the burgesses over a long period of time.

2 The rents in this section do not appear in the 1352 rental (SC 11/899), and so were new since that time.

3 He had also served as catchpoll of the borough in 1351 (SC 6/802/7, m. 1d).

4 Because of the damage done to the manor-house when the courts were held there, Robert Foxwist's town house, which had been forfeited to the prince following his flight from justice in 1354 (*ChAcc2*, pp. 143–4) had been refurbished at a cost of 3s. 4d. in 1358–59 to provide a new court-house (*B.P.R.*, iii. 274; SC 6/802/15, mm. 4, 4d).

5 In the 1352 rental, the Bothefeld was held by Master Jordan de Macclesfield. It clearly was not the same as 'Bothegrene' (cf. Dodgson, *Place-names*, i. 118). Jordan, rector of Mottram in Longdendale in 1310, was a student at Oxford in 1316, served as keeper of Macclesfield manor under Edward II, Queen Isabella and Edward III, and died not long before June 1359. (CHES 29/22, m. 33d; *B.P.R.*, iii. 342; SC 6/1090/15, m. 1; SC 6/802/1, m. 1; SC 6/1297/2, m. 1).

*<m 2d> {m 3d}*

**52. FIRMA CUM TOLNETIS NUNDINARUM ET CUM PROFICUIS AULE PLACITORUM**

**52.1** Et de xxx s. receptis de firma communis furni de Macclesfeld' sic affirmati Isabelle del Clyf' pro hoc anno.

**52.2** Et de lxxj s. viij d. de firma stallagij et minutorum tolnetorum mercati sic affirmatorum per annum Hugoni de Dounes ad terminum trium annorum hoc anno secundo eiusdem firme, termino incipiente ad festum Sancti Michelis anno xxxiiij<sup>to</sup>.

**52.3** Et de xxij s. ij d. ob. receptis de tolnetis Nundinarum de termino<sup>a</sup> Omnium Sanctorum hoc anno.

**52.4** Et de iij s. receptis de quibusdam panni venditoribus pro locatione Aule placitorum ad nundinas ibidem ad festum Omnium Sanctorum predictum.

**52.5** Et de lxxij s. vj d. receptis de tolnetis Nundinarum Sancti Barnabe apostoli hoc anno.

**52.6** Et de vj s. viij d. receptis de diversis panni venditoribus pro locatione Aule placitorum ad Nundinas ibidem ad festum Sancti Barnabe apostoli.<sup>b</sup>

Summa: x li. ij s. ob.

**53. PERQUISITIONES PORTMOTI<sup>c</sup> CUM ESCAPURIS ET AMERCIAMENTIS VIRIDIS**

**53.1** Et de lvij s. iij d. de perquisitionibus xx portmotorum<sup>d</sup> tentorum apud Macclesfeld' hoc anno sicut continetur in rotulis eorundem super compotum liberatis.

**53.2** Et de lvij s. x d. ob. de Escapuris foreste hoc anno de parte xix li. vj d. unde ballivi Hundredi et foreste respondent de residuo in compotis suis.

**53.3** Et de xvij s. iij d. de diversis hominibus amerciatiis pro viride et mortuo bosco infra forestam hoc anno de parte<sup>e</sup> xxij s. x d. unde supradicti ballivi respondent de residuo in compotis suis.

Summa: vj li. xij s. iij d. ob.

a *de termino* om. 803/6.

b *predictum* 803/6.

c *PORTEMOTI* 803/6.

d *Portemotorum* 803/6.

e om. 803/5.

**52. FARM, WITH TOLLS OF THE FAIRS AND PROFITS OF THE COURT-HOUSE**

**52.1** And for 30s. 0d received for the farm of the common oven of Macclesfield, let to Isabella del Clyf for this year<sup>1</sup>.

**52.2** And for 71s. 8d. for the farm of the stallage and small tolls of the market, let to Hugh de Dounes annually for the term of three years, this being the second year of his farm. His term began at Michaelmas in the 34th year (1360)<sup>2</sup>.

**52.3** And for 23s. 2½d. received for the tolls of the All Saints (1 November) fair this year.

**52.4** And for 3s. 0d. received from cloth-sellers for their hire of the court-house at that All Saints fair there.

**52.5** And for 67s. 6d. received for the tolls of the Barnaby (11 June) fair this year.

**52.6** And for 6s. 8d. received from cloth-sellers for their hire of the court-house at that Barnaby fair there.

Sum: £10 2s. 0½d.

**53. PERQUISITES OF THE PORTMOTE, WITH ESCAPES AND AMERCEMENTS OF THE VERT**

**53.1** And for 58s. 3d. for the perquisites of 20 meetings of the portmote held at Macclesfield this year, as is contained in the rolls of the same handed over upon this account.

**53.2** And for 57s. 10½d. for escapes of the forest this year, part of £19 0s. 6d., for the rest of which the bailiffs of the Hundred and forest answer in their accounts.

**53.3** And for 17s. 3d. from various men amerced for the vert and for dead wood within the forest this year, part of 23s. 10d., for the rest of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts.

Sum: £6 13s. 4½d.

<sup>1</sup> See *ChAcc2*, p. 129 for Isabella's career.

<sup>2</sup> He leased the stallage, etc., from 1353 to 1369 (SC 6/802/9, m. 2; 802/11, m. 3; 802/13, m. 3; 802/17, m. 2d; 803/3, m. 1; 803/5, m. 2d; 803/7, m. 2d; 803/9, m. 3; 803/10, m. 2d; 803/12, m. 2d; 803/13, m. 2d; 803/15, m. 2; 804/1, m. 2). For his leases of manorial mills, see above, 4.2.

*<m 2d> {m 3d}*

**54. EXITUS ITINERIS CUM FINIBUS ET AMERCIAMENTIS TRIUM HUNDREDORUM POST ITER**

**54.1** Et de iiij s. de amerciamentis et exitibus placitorum Itineris tenti apud Macclesfeld'<sup>a</sup> coram Justiciario Cestr' hoc anno de parte xxij s. vj d. sicut continetur in extractis unde ballivi Hundredi et Foreste respondent de residuo in compotis suis.

**54.2** Et de xij d. de placitis Corone in eodem Itinere prout continetur in extractis de parte Cxiiij s. ij d. unde Ballivus Hundredi respondet de residuo in compoto suo.<sup>b</sup>

**54.3** Et de iij s. de amerciamentis pro defaltis diversorum non comparencium in eodem Itinere prout continetur in extractis de parte xxxij s. viij d. unde supradicti ballivi respondent de residuo in compotis suis.<sup>c</sup>

**54.4** De finibus factis coram predicto Justiciario in Itinere<sup>d</sup> predicto nichil hic, quia ballivi Hundredi et Foreste totaliter inde onerantur in compotis suis.

**54.5** Et de xij d. de amerciamentis et exitibus primi Hundredi post predictum Iter de parte xxij s. vj d. unde supradicti ballivi<sup>e</sup> respondent de residuo in compotis suis.<sup>c</sup>

**54.6** Et de xvij d. de amerciamentis et exitibus secundi Hundredi post predictum Iter de parte xxxvij s. unde supradicti ballivi respondent de residuo.

**54.7** Et de ij s. iij d. de amerciamentis et exitibus tertij Hundredi post predictum Iter de parte lvij s. vj d. unde supradicti ballivi respondent de residuo in compotis suis.<sup>c</sup>

**54.8** De finibus operariorum et servientium factis coram Roberto de Legh' et aliis, Justiciariis ad hoc assignatis per Commissionem domini, apud Macclesfeld' hoc anno nichil hic quia nulle facte fuerunt.

Summa: xij s. ix d.

a *apud Macclesfeld'* is placed after *Justiciario Cestr'* in 803/6.

b *compotis suis* 803/6.

c *in compotis suis* om. 803/6.

d *in eodem Itinere* 803/6.

e intl. 803/6.

**54. ISSUES OF THE EYRE, WITH FINES AND AMERCEMENTS OF THE THREE HUNDRED-COURTS AFTER THE EYRE**

**54.1** And for 4s. 0d. for the amercements and issues of the pleas of the eyre held at Macclesfield before the justiciar of Chester this year<sup>1</sup>, part of 22s. 6d. as is contained in the estreats, for the rest of which the bailiffs of the Hundred and the forest answer in their accounts.

**54.2** And for 12d. for the pleas of the crown in the same eyre as is contained in the estreats, part of 114s. 2d., for the rest of which the bailiff of the Hundred answers in his account.

**54.3** And for 3s. 0d. for amercements for defaults of various people not appearing in the same eyre as is contained in the estreats, part of 32s. 8d., for the rest of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts.

**54.4** For fines made before the justiciar in the eyre nothing here, because the bailiffs of the Hundred and forest are charged totally for them in their accounts.

**54.5** And for 12d. for the amercements and issues of the first Hundred-court after the eyre, part of 23s. 6d., for the rest of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts.

**54.6** And for 18d. for the amercements and issues of the second Hundred-court after the eyre, part of 37s. 0d., for the rest of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer.

**54.7** And for 2s. 3d. for the amercements and issues of the third Hundred-court after the eyre, part of 57s. 6d., for the rest of which the abovesaid bailiffs answer in their accounts.

**54.8** For the fines of the workmen and servants made before Robert de Legh and others, assigned justices for this purpose by the lord's commission, at Macclesfield this year, nothing because none were made.

Sum: 12s. 9d.

<sup>1</sup> See above, 6.1.

{m 2d} {m 3d}

- 55.** SUMMA TOTALIS RECEPTORUM: xxxj li. iiij s. iij d. ob. qu.  
 Quos debent. **56.** Et Cix s. x d.<sup>a</sup>  
 qu. de remanentia compoti  
 prepositorum et Cachepolli  
 ibidem de anno xxxv<sup>to</sup>. SUMMA DEBITI  
 CONIUNCTA – xxxvj li. xiiij s. ij d.  
**57.** De quibus liberaverunt Magistro  
 Johanni de Brunham Juniori Camerario  
 Cestr<sup>r</sup> – lxix s. x d. qu. per manus Alani  
 filij Petri Cachepolli<sup>b</sup> predicti<sup>c</sup> de parte  
 arreragiorum predictorum, ut patet<sup>d</sup> per j  
 indenturam super hunc compotum liberatam et  
 recognitionem ipsius Camerarij. Et eidem Camerario  
 xlj s. per manus Ricardi<sup>e</sup> de Kenworthy<sup>f</sup> prepositi  
 Burgi predicti de exitibus de hoc anno per j  
 acquietanciam<sup>g</sup> super hunc compotum liberatam et  
 recognitionem ipsius Camerarij. Et eidem Camerario – iiij li.  
 ij s. per manus Thome<sup>h</sup> Oselcok<sup>r</sup> per j indenturam penes ipsum  
 remanentem et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij. Et eidem Camerario  
 - xxiiij li. iiij d. ob. de exitibus de hoc anno per manus Alani filij Petri per unam  
 indenturam super compotum liberatam et recognitionem ipsius Camerarij.  
 SUMMA TOTALIS<sup>i</sup> LIBERATIONUM – xxxij li. xiiij s. ij d. ob. qu.
- 58.** Et debent – iiij li. xj d. qu. De quibus respondent in magno Rotulo debit-  
 orum de anno xxxvj<sup>to</sup>.<sup>j</sup>

a ix d. 803/5.  
 b ch of Cachepolli intl. 803/5.  
 c om. 803/6.  
 d ut patet om. 803/6.  
 e Roberti 803/6.  
 f Kenworthy 803/6.  
 g indenturam 803/6.  
 h Roberti 803/6.  
 i TOTALIS om. 803/6.  
 j De quibus...anno xxxvj<sup>to</sup> om. 803/5.



**55.** SUM TOTAL OF THE RECEIPTS: £31 4s. 3¼d.

Which they owe. **56.** And 109s. 10¼d.

for the remainder of the account

of the reeves and catchpolls

there for the 35th year (1360–61). JOINT SUM

OF INDEBTEDNESS – £36 14s. 2d.

**57.** Of which they have delivered to Master

John de Brunham the younger, chamberlain

of Chester – 69s. 10¼d., by the hands of Alan

son of Peter, catchpoll aforesaid, for part of

the aforesaid arrears, as appears by one

indenture handed over upon this account and

the acknowledgment of the chamberlain. And to the same

chamberlain 41s. 0d. by the hands of Richard de Kenworthy, reeve

of the borough, for the issues of this year, by one

acquittance handed over upon this account and the

acknowledgment of the chamberlain. And to the same chamberlain – £4

2s. 0d. by the hands of Thomas Osalcok, by one indenture remaining with him

and the acknowledgment of the chamberlain. And to the same chamberlain

– £23 0s. 4½d. for the issues of this year, by the hands of Alan son of Peter, by

one indenture handed over upon this account and the acknowledgment of the cham-

berlain. SUM TOTAL OF LIVERIES – £32 13s. 2¾d.

**58.** And they owe – £4 0s. 11¼d. For which they answer in the great roll of debts for the 36th year (1361–62).

*<m 2d> {m 3d}*

59. Unde  
super<sup>c</sup>

Ricardum del<sup>a</sup> Rowe Cachepolli de ultima parte anni xxv de redditu communis furni – xx s.

Ranulfum<sup>b</sup> Whitlof' alterum Cachepollum de prima parte anni xxvj de eodem redditu – xxs.

Robertum le Soutere de quodam amerciamento suo *de* anno xxxv<sup>to</sup> in *portmoto* de Macclesfeld' – iij d., *unde nichil levare potest per testimonium Senescalli.*

Her(edes) Willelmi de Chadkryk'<sup>d</sup>, capellani – xvij d. unde xij d. de *amerciamento pro defalt(o) in Itinere*<sup>e</sup> anno xxxvj<sup>to</sup> et vj d. de duobus amerciamentis in portmoto<sup>f</sup> de Macclesfeld' eodem anno causa predicta.<sup>g</sup>

Et reman(et) de claro super Alanum filium Petri nunc computantem<sup>h</sup> –  
*xxxix s. ij d. qu.*

Examin(a)tur<sup>i</sup>

a *de* 803/6.

b *Radulfum* 803/5.

c *unde super* om. 803/5.

d *Chadkryk'* 803/5.

e *de amerciamento...in Itinere* om. 803/6.

f *Portemoto* 803/6.

g *causa predicta* om. 803/6.

h *nunc computantem* om. 803/5.

i om. 803/6.

59. Of which, upon

Richard del Rowe, catchpoll for the last part of the 35th year, for the rent of the common oven – 20s. Ranulf Whitlof, the other catchpoll for the first part of the 36th year for the same rent – 20s. 0d. Robert le Soutere, for a certain amercement of his from the 35th year in the Macclesfield portmote – 3d. Nothing of it could be levied, by witness of the steward. The heirs of William de Chadkyrk, chaplain – 18d. Of this, 12d. is an amercement for a default in the eyre in the 36th year, and 6d. is for two amercements in the Macclesfield portmote in the same year, for the same reason.

And there remains clearly upon Alan son of Peter, now accounting – 39s. 2¼d.

Examined

{m 3} {m 4}

**60.** Compotus Johannis Alcok' Stauratoris domini Principis Wallie apud Macclesfeld' a festo Sancti Michelis anno regni regis *Edwardi tertij* post conquestum tricesimo quinto usque idem festum in anno proxime sequenti.

## 61. VENDITIO STAURI

**61.1** Idem respondet de xxiiij li. receptis de xl bobus venditis hoc anno mense Septembris precij capitis xij s.

**61.2** Et de iiij li viij s. receptis de xj bobus venditis precij capitis viij s.

**61.3** Et de x s. receptis de uno bove vendito.

**61.4** Et de viij s. vj d. de uno bove vendito.

**61.5** Et de xiiij li. xix s. de xxvj bobus venditis de animalibus missis apud Macclesf' per ballivum de Assheford' cum uno debili tauro de eisdem animalibus sine precio in emendationem eorundem xxvj bovum precij capitis xj s. vj d.

**61.6** Et de Ciij s. vj d. de xj vaccis de animalibus de Assheford' venditis precij capitis ix s. vj d.

**61.7** Et de vj li. xij s. de xvj vaccis de eisdem animalibus venditis precij capitis viij s. iij d.

**61.8** Et de xxxij s. de iiij vaccis venditis precij capitis viij s.

**61.9** Et de xxij s. vj d. de tribus vaccis venditis precij capitis vij s. vj d.

**61.10** Et de xiiij s. de ij vaccis venditis precij capitis vij s.

**61.11** Et de xx s. de iiij vaccis debilibus venditis precij capitis v s.

**61.12** Et de iiij s. iij d. de una debili vacca vendita.

**61.13** Et de viij li. receptis de xx juvencis<sup>a</sup> de animalibus de Assheford' venditis precij capitis viij s.

**61.14** Et de xj s. vj d. de ij tauris de eisdem animalibus venditis.

**61.15** Et de xj s. vj d. de ij<sup>b</sup> juvenculis albis venditis.

**61.16** Et de v s. de j vitulo albo superannato vendito.

Summa: lxx li. ij s. ix d.

## 62. EXITUS DAIERIE

**62.1** Et de xliij s. vj d. receptis de exitibus lactis xxix vaccarum lactatarum apud Macclesfeld' hoc anno, sic venditis per stauratorem.<sup>c</sup> Et non plus quia cetera vacce in parco erant ita debiles quod vix sustinere possent vitulos suos.

**62.2** Et de xlvij s. receptis de exitibus lactis xxxij vaccarum lactatarum apud Miggelegh' hoc anno, et non plus causa predicta.

**62.3** De firma lactis vaccarum nec locatione bovum hoc anno nichil quia nichil inde provenit.

Summa: iiij li. xj s. vj d.

a *Jumenc'* 803/5.

b 803/6 has *de xj s. vj d. de ij del.*, and *de xj s. vj d. de duabus* intl.

c 803/6 has a phrase, intl., in a different hand: *videlicet p(ro) cap'* [.....].

**60.** Account of John Alcock, stock-keeper of the prince of Wales at Macclesfield, from Michaelmas in the 35th year of the reign of King Edward III after the conquest (1361) to the same feast in the year next following (1362).

## **61. SALE OF STOCK**

**61.1** He answers for £24 received for 40 oxen sold this year in the month of September, at 12s. 0d. a head.

**61.2** And for £4 8s. 0d. received for 11 oxen sold, at 8s. 0d. a head.

**61.3** And for 10s. 0d. received for one ox sold.

**61.4** And for 8s. 6d. for one ox sold.

**61.5** And for £14 19s. 0d. for 26 oxen sold from the animals sent to Macclesfield by the bailiff of Ashford, together with one poor-quality bull not charged, to add to the value of the 26 oxen<sup>1</sup>, at 11s. 6d. a head.

**61.6** And for 104s. 6d. for 11 cows sold from the Ashford animals, at 9s. 6d. a head.

**61.7** And for £6 12s. 0d. for 16 cows sold from the same animals, at 8s. 3d. a head.

**61.8** And for 32s. 0d. for four cows sold, at 8s. 0d. a head.

**61.9** And for 22s. 6d. for three cows sold, at 7s. 6d. a head.

**61.10** And for 14s. 0d. for two cows sold, at 7s. 0d.

**61.11** And for 20s. 0d. for four poor-quality cows, at 5s. 0d. a head.

**61.12** And for 4s. 3d. for one poor-quality cow sold.

**61.13** And for £8 received for 20 three-year-old heifers sold from the Ashford animals, at 8s. 0d. a head.

**61.14** And for 11s. 6d. for two bulls sold from the same animals.

**61.15** And for 11s. 6d. for two two-year-old white heifers sold.

**61.16** And for 5s. 0d. for one white yearling calf sold.

Sum: £70 2s. 9d.

## **62. ISSUES OF THE DAIRY**

**62.1** And for 43s. 6d. received for the issues of the milk of 29 cows milked at Macclesfield this year, sold by the stock-keeper. There is no more because the rest of the cows in the park were so weak that they could only feed their own calves.

**62.2** And for 48s. 0d. received from the issues of the milk of 32 cows milked at Midgley this year, and no more for the same reason.

**62.3** For the farm of the cows' milk and the hire of the oxen nothing this year, because they yielded nothing.

Sum: £4 11s. 6d.

1 Presumably the bull was thrown in with the deal, to make the sale price of the oxen acceptable to the buyer.

$\langle m\ 3 \rangle \{m\ 4\}$

### 63. CORIA VENDITA

63.1 Et de ix d. receptis de coriis duarum vaccarum mortuarum infra forestam hoc anno.

63.2 Et de iij d. de corio j boviculi mortui ibidem hoc anno.

63.3 Et de iiij d. de coriis ij juvenicularum mortuarum ibidem hoc anno.

63.4 Et de xv d. de coriis xv vitulorum superannatorum mortuorum ibidem et apud Macclesfeld' hoc anno.

Summa: ij s. vij d.

### 64. FOCAGIUM DE HARAP'

Et de iij s. iiij d. receptis de agistamento decem boviculorum Thome de Fogheler in Harap' a festo Purificationis beate Marie hoc anno usque festum Pasche proxime sequens.

Summa: iij s. iiij d.

65. SUMMA TOTALIS RECEPTORUM: lxxv li. ij d. Quos debet.<sup>a</sup>

De quibus

### EXPENSE

### 66. CUSTUS PLAUSTRORUM ET *ALIARUM* MINUTARUM EXPENSARUM

66.1 In lucratione maeremij in parco pro uno plaustro de novo faciendo – v d.

66.2 In spokes empt' pro eodem – vj d.

66.3 In factura *eiusdem* – xvj d.

66.4 In x Wayncloutes empt' – xv d.

66.5 In clavis pro eisdem – j d.

66.6 In sepo empto pro unctione plaustri per diversas *vices* hoc anno – iij d.

66.7 In emendatione clausure de Harap' vento prostrate per diversas *vices* hoc anno - iij s. x d.

66.8 In emendatione coopertorie magni stabuli apud Macclesf' hoc anno, videlicet Ade Clokspoke sclatori<sup>b</sup> per iij dies – ix d.<sup>c</sup>

a *Quos debet* om. 803/6.

b *Sklad(ori)* 803/6.

c 803/5 omits *d.*

### 63. HIDES SOLD

**63.1** And for 9d. received for the hides of two cows that died within the forest this year.

**63.2** And for 3d. for the hide of one two-year-old bullock that died there this year.

**63.3** And for 4d. for the hides of two two-year-old heifers that died there this year.

**63.4** And for 15d. for the hides of 15 yearling calves that died there and at Macclesfield this year.

Sum: 2s. 7d.

### 64. FOGGAGE<sup>1</sup> OF HARROP

And for 3s. 4d. received for the agistment of ten bullocks belonging to Thomas de Fogheler in Harrop, from Candlemas this year (2 February 1362) to Easter (17 April) following.

Sum: 3s. 4d.

### 65. SUM TOTAL OF THE RECEIPTS: £75 0s. 2d. Which he owes.

From which

### EXPENSES

### 66. COST OF THE WAGGONS AND OTHER SMALL EXPENSES

**66.1** To cutting of timber in the park to make a new waggon – 5d.

**66.2** To spokes bought for the same – 6d.

**66.3** To making the same – 16d.

**66.4** To ten wayncloutes<sup>2</sup> bought – 15d.

**66.5** To nails for the same – 1d.

**66.6** To tallow bought to grease the waggon at various times this year – 3d.

**66.7** To repairing the enclosure of Harrop which has been blown down by the wind at various times this year – 3s. 10d.

**66.8** To repairing the roof of the great stable at Macclesfield this year, that is to Adam Clokspoke, slater for three days – 9d.

1 In this context, the term means letting of winter pasture (i.e. agistment of animals, other than the lord's, on grass that was still left by the winter) rather than grazing of the aftermath. Harrop was an area of demesne pasture, enclosed by a palisade (SC 2/252/13, m. 3 and **66.7** below), and there is no evidence that it contained meadow.

2 The iron covering for the axle of a waggon.

⟨*m* 3⟩ {*m* 4}

**66.9** Et cuidam homini servienti ei per eosdem dies – vj d.

**66.10** In emendatione clausure de Miggelegh' et prati ibidem per diversas vices – ij s. iij d.

**66.11** In signatione animalium diversorum<sup>a</sup> domini apud Miggelegh' et Macclesf' hoc anno – xvij d.

**66.12** In falcacione<sup>b</sup> de Russes pro reparatione domorum apud Miggelegh' – iij d.

**66.13** In stipendio unius coopertoris pro eodem per duos dies – vj d.

**66.14** Et cuidam garcioni servienti ei per eosdem dies – iij d.

**66.15** Et tribus hominibus conductis ad fugandum et custodiendum diversa animalia domini ad nundinas de Leek', ibidem vendenda, per ij dies – xvij d., capiente quolibet per diem iij d.

**66.16** In factura unius sepis in stagno iuxta manerium de Maccl' antequam erat aqua repletum<sup>c</sup> ne animalia domini<sup>d</sup> de parco ibidem exirent – xij d.

**66.17** In decimis quadragesimalibus solutis Abbati Cestr', Persone ecclesie de Prestbury, pro lxj vaccis lactatis hoc anno apud Maccl' et Miggelegh' – v s. j d., videlicet pro qualibet vacca j d.

Summa: xxj s. iij d.

## 67. CUSTUS DEBILIIUM ANIMALIUM FENI ET FORAGII

**67.1** In xxv thraves avene empt' apud Macclesf' et Miggelegh' hoc anno<sup>e</sup> pro quibusdam debilibus vitulis de exitu *anni* precedentis, et de exitu de hoc anno – vj s. iij d., precij thrave iij d.

**67.2** Et quinque hominibus falcantibus fenum apud Miggelegh' per unum diem – xx d., capiente quolibet per diem iij d.

**67.3** Et vj hominibus falcantibus fenum ibidem alia vice per j diem – ij s., capiente quolibet per diem<sup>f</sup> ut supra.

**67.4** Et quinque hominibus falcantibus ibidem alia vice per j diem – xx d., capiente ut supra.

**67.5** In sparsione eiusdem feni per diversas vices – viij d.

**67.6** In factura et cariagio eiusdem – iij s. v d.

Summa: xv s. viij d.

a *diversorum animalium* 803/6.

b *falcacione* 803/6.

c Editor's correction. (803/5 has *aqua repleta*, 803/6 *repleta aqua*).

d intl. 803/5.

e *hoc anno* om. 803/5.

f *per diem* om. 803/5.



**66.9** And to a man who served as his mate during the same period – 6d.

**66.10** To repairing the enclosure of Midgley and of the meadow there on various occasions – 2s. 3d.

**66.11** To branding various of the lord's animals at Midgley and Macclesfield this year – 17d.

**66.12** To mowing rushes to repair the buildings at Midgley – 4d.

**66.13** To the stipend of a roofer<sup>1</sup> for the same task for two days – 6d.

**66.14** To a lad who served as his mate during the same period – 4d.

**66.15** And to three men hired to drive and keep various of the lord's animals to the Leek<sup>2</sup> fair to be sold there, for two days – 18d., each taking 3d. a day.

**66.16** To making a hedge on the mill-pond next to the manor-house of Macclesfield before it was filled with water, to stop the lord's animals escaping from the park – 12d.

**66.17** To Lenten tithes paid to the abbot of Chester, as parson of Prestbury church<sup>3</sup>, for the 61 cows milked this year at Macclesfield and Midgley – 5s. 1d., that is 1d. a cow.

Sum: 21s. 4d.

#### **67. COST OF WEAK ANIMALS, OF HAY AND FORAGE**

**67.1** To 25 thraves<sup>4</sup> of oats bought at Macclesfield and Midgley this year, for weak animals, calves of the previous year's issue and of this year's – 6s. 3d., at 3d. a thrave.

**67.2** And to five men mowing hay at Midgley for one day – 20d., each taking 4d. a day.

**67.3** And to six men mowing hay there on another occasion, for one day – 2s. 0d., each taking each day as above.

**67.4** And to five men mowing there on another occasion, for one day – 20d., taking as above.

**67.5** To scattering the same hay on various occasions – 8d.

**67.6** To making and carrying the same – 3s. 5d.

Sum: 15s. 8d.

1 Presumably a thatcher.

2 Staffordshire, just over 12 miles south-east of Macclesfield.

3 Prestbury church was granted to St Werburgh's abbey in 1178 × 1181 (Barraclough, *Charters*, p.146), and the parish included the manor-forest of Macclesfield.

4 A thrave is 2 hattocks of 12 sheaves of unthreshed corn each (according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*).

$\langle m\ 3 \rangle \{m\ 4\}$

## 68. EMPTIO BLADI

**68.1** In iiij qr. ij bs. ij pc. et di. frumenti, per mensuram London', emptis – xxxiiij s. vij d.<sup>a</sup> ob.<sup>b</sup>, precij quarterij viij s.

**68.2** Et in xxij qr. ij bs. et di. farine avene emptis hoc anno – vj li. xix s. x d. ob., precij quarterij vj s.

Summa: viij li. xiiij s. vj d.

## 69. STIPENDIA FAMULORUM

**69.1** In salaria et calciatura dicti stauratoris per annum – xxvj s. viij d., ut patet in compoto ipsius de anno precedenti.

**69.2** *In stipendiis iiij* garcionum, j apud Macclesfeld', alterius apud Harap' et duorum apud Miggelegh', conductorum pro *custodia animalium domini* in locis predictis per totum annum – xxiiij s., capiente quolibet per annum vj s. ex conventionem facta hoc anno.<sup>c</sup>

**69.3** *In stipendio j* garcionis custodientis animalia que liberata fuerunt prefato stauratori per ballivum de Assheford' in Blakeden' in *predicta foresta* a die dominica proxime post festum Sancti Cedde Episcopi hoc anno usque festum Sancti Michelis, per xxx septimanas – iiij s. v d. ob., iuxta ratam vj s. per annum.

**69.4** Et in stipendiis duarum mulierum hoc anno conductarum, j apud Maccl' et alterius apud Miggelegh', pro daier(iis) ibidem a festo Inventionis Sancte Crucis usque festum Sancti Michelis, per xxj septimanas – iiij s. x d., iuxta ratam vj s. per annum.

Summa: lviiij s. xj d. ob.

**70. SUMMA TOTALIS<sup>d</sup> EXPENSARUM:** xiiij li. x s. v d. ob. Et debet lxj li.

ix s. viij d. ob. **71.** Et vj li. xij s.

vj d. qu. de remanentia compoti sui de anno ultimo preterito.<sup>e</sup> SUMMA DEBITI

CONIUNCTA – lxviiij li. ij s. ij d. ob. qu.

**72.** De quibus liberavit Magistro Johanni de

Brunham Juniori Camerario Cestr'<sup>f</sup> – lx li. x s.

iiij d. de exitibus de hoc anno per j indenturam

super hunc compotum liberatam et recognitionem

ipsius Camerarij. Et debet vij li. xj s. x d. ob. qu. De

a 803/6 has *ix d. ob.*

b intl. 803/6.

c *ex conventionem hoc anno facta* 803/6.

d om. 803/5.

e *de anno xxxv* 803/6.

f om. 803/6.

**68. PURCHASE OF CORN**

**68.1** To 4 qr 2bs. 2½ pc of wheat bought, by the London measure – 34s. 7½d., at 8s. 0d. a qr<sup>1</sup>.

**68.2** And to 23 qr 2½bs. of flour bought this year – £6 19s. 10½d., at 6s. 0d. a qr<sup>2</sup>.

Sum: £8 14s. 6d.

**69. STIPENDS OF FARM-SERVANTS**

**69.1** To salary and shoe-money of the said stock-keeper yearly – 26s. 8d., as appears in his account for the previous year.

**69.2** To the stipends of four assistants, one at Macclesfield, the other at Harrop, and two at Midgley, hired to keep the lord's animals in the aforesaid places for the whole year – 24s. 0d., each taking 6s. 0d. a year by agreement made for this year.

**69.3** To the stipend of an assistant keeping the animals which were sent to the stock-keeper by the bailiff of Ashford in Blakeden<sup>3</sup> in the aforesaid forest, from Sunday next after the feast of St Chad, bishop, this year (6 March 1362) up to Michaelmas, for 30 weeks – 3s. 5½d., in accordance with the rate of 6s. 0d. a year.

**69.4** To the stipends of two women hired this year, one at Macclesfield and the other at Midgley, for the dairies there from the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross (3 May) up to Michaelmas, for 21 weeks – 4s. 10d., at the rate of 6s. 0d. a year.

Sum: 58s. 11½d.

**70. SUM TOTAL OF THE EXPENSES: £13 10s. 5½d. And he owes £61 9s. 8½d. 71. And £6 12s.**

6¼d. of the remainder of his account for  
the year last past. **JOINT SUM OF**

**INDEBTEDNESS – £68 2s. 2¾d.**

**72. Of which he has delivered to Master John  
de Brunham the younger, chamberlain of  
Chester – £60 10s. 4d.**

of the issues for this year, by one indenture  
upon this account and the acknowledgment  
of the chamberlain. And he owes £7 11s. 10¾d. Of

1 See 84.1, 84.3.

2 See 84.2, 84.4, 84.5, 84.6.

3 For the Ashford connection, see p. xxvi.

⟨m 3⟩ {m 4}

quibus allocantur eidem x s. j d. de regardo concesso Ade  
de Kyngeslegh' et Johanni Alcok' pro CCCCiij<sup>x</sup>iiij averiis  
et caballis per eos captis infra defensionem Foreste de

Maccl' infra *tempus huius* compoti, unde ballivus Hundredi de  
Maccl' oneratur<sup>a</sup> de escapuris eorundem animalium *in compoto suo de hoc* anno,  
videlicet pro<sup>b</sup> *quolibet* averio et caballo qu., per conventionem factam per locum  
tenentem<sup>c</sup> Justiciarij et Camerarium.

73. Et debet – vij li. xxj d. ob. qu. De quibus respondet in magno Rotulo deb-  
itorum de anno xxxvj<sup>o</sup>.<sup>d</sup> *Quos dicit* se posuisse in diversis *expensis* post *festum*  
*Sancti Michelis anno xxxvj<sup>o</sup>. Respondet anno futuro<sup>e</sup>.*

a *onerantur* in both versions of the account.

b *de* 803/6.

c *locum tenentem* om. 803/5.

d *De quibus...anno xxxvj<sup>o</sup>* om. 803/5.

e *Quos dicit...anno futuro* is written in the margin.

which there is allowed to him 10s. 1d. of the reward granted to Adam de Kyngeslegh and to John Alcok for 484 beasts<sup>1</sup> and horses captured within the defence of the forest of Macclesfield within the time of this account, for which the bailiff of the Hundred of Macclesfield is charged for escapes of the animals in his account for this year, namely for each beast and horse one farthing, by agreement made by the lieutenant-justiciar and chamberlain.

**73.** And he owes – £7 21¾d. For which he answers in the great roll of debts for the 36th year (1361–62). Which he says he has laid out in various expenses after Michaelmas in the 36th year (1362). He answers next year.

<sup>1</sup> Cattle must be meant here.

⟨m 3d⟩<sup>a</sup> {m 4d}

STEURUM VIVUM

74. BOVES

74.1 Et de xxx bobus receptis de remanentia.

74.2 Et de xxxvij de adiunctione bovetorum ut inferius.

74.3 Et de xxvj receptis<sup>b</sup> de adiunctione *bovetorum receptorum* de ballivo de Assheford' ut inferius.

Summa: iiij<sup>xx</sup>xiiij. De quibus

74.4 In venditione ut infra lxxix.

Summa: lxxix. Et remanent xiiij  
boves.

75. TAURI

75.1 Et de vj tauris receptis de remanentia.

75.2 Et de iij receptis de ballivo de Assheford' Mense Marcij hoc anno, sine indentura.

Summa: ix. De quibus

75.3 In venditione ut infra iij.

Summa: iij. Et remanent vj tauri.

76. VACCE

76.1 Et de Ciiij<sup>xx</sup>xiiij vaccis receptis de remanentia.

76.2 Et de xlvj receptis de ballivo de Assheford' Mense Marcij hoc anno, sine indentura.

76.3 Et de xxviiij de Adiunctione Juvencarum ut inferius.

Summa: CCxlxviiij. De quibus

76.4 In venditione ut infra xlvj.

76.5 Et in morina in Foresta ij, quarum coriis respondet inferius.

Summa: xliij. Et remanent CCxxv vacce.

a The text of 803/5 m. 3d is written upside down, that is the opposite way to the text on the recto.

b om. 803/5.

LIVESTOCK

74. OXEN

74.1 And for 30 oxen received from the remainder.

74.2 And for 37 from the graduation of three-year-old bullocks, as below.

74.3 And for 26 received for the graduation of three-year-old bullocks received from the bailiff of Ashford, as below.

Sum: 93. Of which

74.4 Sold, as over<sup>1</sup>, 79

Sum: 79. And 14 remain.

75. BULLS

75.1 And for six bulls received from the remainder.

75.2 And for three received from the bailiff of Ashford in March this year (1362), without indenture.

Sum: Nine. Of which

75.3 Sold, as over, three.

Sum: three. And six bulls remain.

76. COWS

76.1 And for 194 cows received from the remainder.

76.2 And for 46 received from the bailiff of Ashford in March this year (1362), without indenture.

76.3 And for 28 from the graduation of three-year-old heifers, as below.

Sum: 268. Of which

76.4 Sold, as over, 41<sup>2</sup>.

76.5 Two died of disease in the forest, and he answers for the hides below.

Summa: 43. And 225 cows remain.

<sup>1</sup> That is, on the other side of the parchment membrane, 61.1, 61.2, 61.3, 61.4, 61.5.

<sup>2</sup> 61.6, 61.7, 61.8, 61.9, 61.10, 61.11, 61.12.

*<m 3d> {m 4d}*

## 77. BOVETTI

77.1 Et de xxxvij bovetis receptis de remanentia.

77.2 Et de xxvj receptis de ballivo de Assheford' mense Marcij hoc anno, sine indentura.

77.3 Et de xxij de adiunctione boviculorum ut inferius.

77.4 Et de iiij receptis<sup>a</sup> de adiunctione boviculorum receptorum de ballivo de Assheford' ut inferius.

Summa: iiij<sup>xx</sup>x. De quibus

77.5 In adiunctione cum bobus ut supra xxxvij.

77.6 Et in adiunctione bovetorum receptorum de ballivo de Assheford' cum bobus ut supra xxvj.

Summa: lxij. Et remanent xxvij  
boveti.

## 78. BOVICULI

78.1 Et de xxij boviculis receptis de remanentia.

78.2 Et de iiij receptis de ballivo de Assheford' mense Marcij hoc anno, sine indentura.

78.3 Et de xxxvij de adiunctione vitulorum superannatorum ut inferius.

Summa: lxxv. De quibus

78.4 In adiunctione cum bovetis ut supra xxvij, unde iiij de adiunctione animalium de Assheford'.<sup>b</sup>

78.5 Et in morina in foresta j, de cuius corio respondet inferius.

Summa: xxvij. Et remanent  
xxxvij<sup>c</sup> boviculi.

## 79. JUVENCE

79.1 Et de xxvij juvencis receptis de remanentia.

79.2 Et de lvij de adiunctione juvencularum ut inferius, unde de animalibus receptis de ballivo de Assheford' xx ut inferius.<sup>d</sup>

Summa: iiij<sup>xx</sup>vj. De quibus

a om. 803/5.

b unde iiij...de Assheford' intl. 803/6.

c xxvij 803/5.

d ut inferius om. 803/6.



**77. THREE-YEAR-OLD BULLOCKS**

**77.1** And for 37 three-year-old bullocks received from the remainder.

**77.2** And for 26 received from the bailiff of Ashford in March this year (1362), without indenture.

**77.3** And for 23 from the graduation of two-year-old bullocks, as below.

**77.4** And for four from the graduation of two-year-old bullocks received from the bailiff of Ashford, as below.

Sum: 90. Of which

**77.5** 37 graduated to be oxen, as above.

**77.6** And 26 of the two-year-old oxen received for the bailiff of Ashford graduated to be oxen, as above.

Sum: 63. And 27 three-year-old oxen remain.

**78. TWO-YEAR-OLD BULLOCKS**

**78.1** And for 23 two-year-old bullocks received from the remainder.

**78.2** And for four received from the bailiff of Ashford in March this year (1362), without indenture.

**78.3** And for 38 from the graduation of yearling calves, as below.

Sum: 65. Of which

**78.4** 27 graduated to be three-year-old bullocks, as above, of which four were the graduation of animals from Ashford.

**78.5** One died of disease in the forest, and he answers for the hide below.

Sum: 28. And 37 two-year-old oxen remain.

**79. THREE-YEAR-OLD HEIFERS**

**79.1** And for 28 three-year-old heifers received from the remainder.

**79.2** And for 58 from the graduation of two-year-old heifers, as below, of which 20 were received from the bailiff of Ashford, as below.

Sum: 86. Of which

$\langle m\ 3d \rangle \{m\ 4d\}$

**79.3** In adiunctione cum vaccis ut supra xxviiij.

**79.4** Et in venditione ut infra xx.

Summa: xlviiij. Et remanent  
xxxviiij juvence.

## **80. JUVENCULE**

**80.1** Et de xxxviiij juvenculis receptis de remanentia.

**80.2** Et de xx receptis de ballivo de Assheford' mense Marcij hoc anno, sine indentura.

**80.3** Et de xlv de adiunctione vitulorum superannatorum ut inferius.

Summa: Ciiij. De quibus

**80.4** In adiunctione cum juvencis ut supra lviiij.

**80.5** Et in venditione ut infra ij.

**80.6** Et in morina in Foresta ij, de quarum coriis respondet inferius.

Summa: lxiij. Et remanent xlv  
juvencule.

## **81. VITULI SUPERANNATI**

**81.1** Et de iiij<sup>xx</sup>iiij vitulis superannatis receptis de remanentia.

**81.2** Et de Cx de adiunctione vitulorum de exitu ut inferius.

Summa: Ciiij<sup>xx</sup>xiiij. De quibus

**81.3** In adiunctione cum boviculis ut supra xxxviiij.

**81.4** Et in adiunctione cum juvenculis ut supra xlv.

**81.5** Et in venditione ut infra j.

*(Inquiretur de morina)<sup>a</sup>*

**81.6** Et in morina xv de quorum coriis respondet inferius.

Summa: iiij<sup>xx</sup>xix. Et remanent  
iiij<sup>xx</sup>xiiij vituli superannati.

## **82. VITULI DE EXITU**

**82.1** Et de Cx vitulis de exitu receptis de remanentia.

a Note om. 803/6.

- 79.3 28 graduated to be cows, as above.
- 79.4 Sold, as over, 20.

Sum: 48. And 38 three-year-old heifers remain.

## 80. TWO-YEAR-OLD HEIFERS

- 80.1 And for 38 two-year-old heifers received from the remainder.
- 80.2 And for 20 received from the bailiff of Ashford in March this year (1362), without indenture.
- 80.3 And for 45 from the graduation of yearling calves, as below.

Sum: 103. Of which

- 80.4 58 graduated to become three-year-old heifers.
- 80.5 Sold, two, as over.
- 80.6 Two died of disease in the forest, and he answers for the hides below.

Sum: 62. And 41 two-year-old heifers remain.

## 81. YEARLING CALVES

- 81.1 And for 83 yearling calves received from the remainder.
- 81.2 And for 110 from the graduation of calves of issue, as below.

Sum: 193. Of which

- 81.3 38 graduated to be two-year-old bullocks, as above.
- 81.4 45 graduated to become two-year-old heifers, as above.
- 81.5 Sold, one, as over.  
*(Inquire about the death from disease)*
- 81.6 And 15 died of disease, and he answers for the hides below.

Sum: 99. And 94 yearling calves remain.

## 82. CALVES OF ISSUE

- 82.1 And for 110 calves of issue received from the remainder.

*<m 3d> {m 4d}*

**82.2** Et de Cxlix vitulis de exitu de hoc anno, unde de vaccis de Assheford' ix.

Summa: CClix. De quibus

**82.3** In adiunctione cum vitulis superannatis ut supra Cx.<sup>a</sup>

**82.4** Et in decima soluta Abbati Cestr' persone ecclesie de Prestebury – xv.<sup>b</sup>

Summa: Cxxv. Et remanent Cxxxiiij vituli de exitu, unde lxij masculini et lxxij feminini.

### 83. CORIA

**83.1** Et de ij coriis ij vaccarum mortuarum hoc anno infra Forestam.

**83.2** Et de j corio j boviculi mortui ibidem hoc anno.

**83.3** Et de ij coriis ij juvencularum mortuarum ibidem hoc anno.

**83.4** Et de xv coriis vitulorum superannatorum mortuorum ibidem et in Parco hoc anno.

Summa: xx. Que venduntur infra.  
Et nichil remanet.

### 84. LIBERATIO FAMULORUM

**84.1** Et de iiij qr. ij bs. ij pc. et di. frumenti per mensuram London' receptis de emptione ut infra.

**84.2** Et de xxij qr. ij bs. et di. farine Avene receptis de emptione ut infra.

Summa: { iiij qr. ij bs. ij pc.  
et<sup>c</sup> di. frumenti,  
et<sup>d</sup>  
xxij qr. ij bs. et  
di. <sup>e</sup> farine  
Avene.<sup>f</sup>  
De quibus

**84.3** In liberatione Johannis Alcok' stauratoris<sup>g</sup> per totum hunc annum iiij qr. ij bs. ij pc. et di. frumenti capientis per xij septimanas j qr. sicut allocatur in com-poto precedenti.

<sup>a</sup> Cix 803/5.

<sup>b</sup> Prestbury 803/6.

<sup>c</sup> om. 803/6.

<sup>d</sup> om. 803/5.

<sup>e</sup> om. 803/6.

<sup>f</sup> farine Avene intl. 803/6.

<sup>g</sup> intl. 803/6.

**82.2** And for 149 calves of issue from this year, of which nine are from the Ashford cows.

Sum: 259. Of which

**82.3** 110 graduated to be yearling calves, as above.

**82.4** And in tithes paid to the abbot of Chester, as parson of the church of Prestbury – 15.

Sum: 125. And 134 calves of issue remain, of which 62 are male and 72 female.

### **83. HIDES**

**83.1** And for two hides of two cows dead this year within the forest.

**83.2** And for one hide of a two-year-old bullock dead there this year.

**83.3** And for two hides of two two-year-old heifers dead there this year.

**83.4** And for 15 hides of yearling calves dead there, and in the park, this year.

Sum: 20. Which are sold over.  
And nothing remains.

### **84. LIVERY OF FARM-SERVANTS**

**84.1** And for 4 qr 2 bs. 2½ pc. of wheat purchased, by the London measure, as over.

**84.2** And for 23 qr 2½ bs. of oat-flour purchased, as over.

Sum: { 4 qr 2 bs. 2½ pc  
          of wheat, and 23  
          qr 2½ bs. of oat-  
                          flour

Of which

**84.3** To the livery of John Alcok, stock-keeper, for the whole year – 4 qr 2 bs. 2½ pc of wheat, taking 1 qr every twelve weeks, as is allowed in the preceding account.

*<m 3d> {m 4d}*

**84.4** Et in liberatione iiij garcionum, j Custodientis animalia domini apud Maccl', alterius apud Harap', terciij apud Miggelegh', et quarti in Foresta ibidem per *totum* hunc annum xvij qr. ij bs. et di. farine Avene, capiente quolibet per xij septimanas j qr.

**84.5** Et in liberatione j garcionis a die dominica proxime post festum Sancti Cedde Episcopi hoc anno usque festum Sancti Michelis per xxx septimanas custodientis animalia in *Foresta* que liberata fuerunt stauratori predicto per ballivum de Assheford' ij qr. et di. capientis ut predicti garciones, quia animalia predicta per garcionem prius ibidem existentem comode custodiri<sup>a</sup> non potuerunt, et ideo hoc anno tamen allocatur.<sup>b</sup>

**84.6** Et in liberatione ij mulierum, unius existentis apud Maccl' pro daieria ibidem, et alterius apud Miggelegh' pro eadem<sup>c</sup>, a festo Inventionis Sancte Crucis *hoc anno* usque festum Sancti Michelis per xxj septimanas, capiente utraque earum per xij septimanas j qr. farine ut predicti garciones iiij qr. et di.

*Summa:* { *iiij qr. ij bs. ij pc.*  
*et di. frumenti, et*  
*nichil remanet<sup>d</sup> et*  
*xxij qr. ij bs. et di.*  
*farine avene.*

## **85. MORTUUM STAURUM**

Et de j Chim', iij Collokes, j esshen, j parvo turnell'<sup>e</sup>, j mensura continente terciam partem lagene, ij patellis eneis, *et* uno magno esshen pro utensilibus *et* necessariis pro daieria recipiendis de remanentia ut in compoto precedenti.

Que remanent.

## **86. FENUM ET FORAGIUM**

**86.1** Et de xxx plaustratis feni falcati in les Coumbes, xxvij plaustratis feni provenientis de decimis de Sutton', xxj plaustratis feni falcati<sup>f</sup> apud Miggelegh', et CCC thraves straminis provenientis de predicta decima receptis de remanentia.

a Corrected from *custodire* in both versions.

b *quia animalia...tamen allocatur* om. 803/6.

c Corrected from *eodem* in both versions.

d *et nichil remanet* om. 803/5.

e *turnel'* 803/6.

f *hoc anno* follows in 803/6.

**84.4** And to the livery of four assistants, one keeping the lord's animals at Macclesfield, the other at Harrop, the third at Midgley, and the fourth in the forest there, for the whole of this year – 17 qr 2½ bs. oat-flour, each of them taking 1 qr every twelve weeks.

**84.5** And to the livery of one assistant keeping the animals in the forest which were sent to the aforesaid stock-keeper by the bailiff of Ashford, from Sunday next after the feast of St Chad, bishop, this year (6 March 1362) until Michaelmas, for 30 weeks, 2½ qr<sup>1</sup>, taking the same as the other assistants. The reason for this is that those animals could not be satisfactorily kept by the assistant who was already there, and so it has been allowed this year.

**84.6** And to the livery of two women, one stationed at Macclesfield for the dairy there, and the other at Midgley for the same purpose, from the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross this year (3 May 1362) until Michaelmas, for 21 weeks, each of them taking 1 qr of flour every twelve weeks as the abovesaid assistants, 3½qr.

Sum:	{	4 qr 2bs. 2½ pc of wheat, and nothing remains, and 23 qr 2½ bs. of oat-flour.
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## **85. DEAD STOCK**

And for one chirn, three collokes<sup>2</sup>, one esshen<sup>3</sup>, a little turnell, a measure containing one-third of a gallon, two brass pots, and a large esshen for keeping the utensils and necessary equipment of the dairy in, from the remainder as in the preceding account.

Which remain.

## **86. HAY AND FORAGE**

**86.1** And for 30 waggon-loads of hay mown in the Coombs, 28 waggon-loads of hay from the tithes of Sutton, 21 waggon-loads of hay mown at Midgley, and 300 thraves of straw from the same tithe, received from the remainder.

<sup>1</sup> The total makes it clear that this assistant, and the two dairymen, all got liveries of oat-flour.

<sup>2</sup> Tubs.

<sup>3</sup> Large tub.

$\langle m \ 3d \rangle \{m \ 4d\}$

**86.2** Et de xxx plaustratis feni falcati hoc anno apud Miggelegh', xiiij plaustratis feni provenientes de decimis de Sutton', et CCC thraves straminis provenientes de eadem decima cariatas hoc anno apud Miggelegh' et Maccl' ad opus *domini* pro sustentatione diversorum animalium suorum in locis predictis.

**86.3** Que computat se expendisse super staurum domini hoc *anno* preter xxx<sup>a</sup> *plaustrata feni falcati apud Miggelegh'*, xiiij *plaustrata feni* provenientes de decima de Sutton' *et CCC thraves straminis* de eadem decima que remanent contra annum futurum.

**86.4** De feno falcato in les Coumbes *hoc anno* per tenentes domini pro medietate inde domino *danda nichil quia* nullum fenum ibidem hoc anno falcatum fuit propter *intemperiem* et pluviam que *accidebant ibidem* tempore estivali.

a 803/5 has *precij xxx s.*



**86.2** And for 30 waggon-loads of hay mown this year at Midgley, 14 waggon-loads of hay from the tithes of Sutton, and 300 thraves of straw from the same tithe carted this year to Midgley and Macclesfield for the lord's use to feed various of his animals in the aforesaid places.

**86.3** Which he reckons he has spent on the lord's stock this year, except for 30 waggon-loads of the hay mown at Midgley, 14 waggon-loads of hay from the tithe of Sutton, and 300 thraves of straw from the same tithe, which remain against a future year.

**86.4** Of the hay mown in the Coombs this year by the lord's tenants, in return for giving half of it to the lord, nothing because no hay was mown there this year on account of the unseasonable rain which fell there in the summer.

# APPENDIX 1

## The Macclesfield cattle enterprise, 1353–76: tables summarising data extracted from the accounts

### *Key to abbreviations in tables*

B/G	Born/Graduated
B(2) & (3)	Bullocks (two- and three-year-old)
C	Calves
D	Died
G	Graduated
H(2) & (3)	Heifers (two- and three-year-old)
P	Purchased
R	Remainder
S	Sold
T	Transferred
Y	Yearlings

1353/54

802/9, m. 4d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	0	0	6	0	6	0	0	0	6	6	0
Bulls	0	0	6	0	6	0	0	0	3	3	3
Cows	0	0	71	0	71	0	0	0	27	27	44
B(3)	0	0	12	0	12	0	0	0	1	1	11
B(2)	0	0	15	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	15
H(3)	0	0	6	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
H(2)	0	0	12	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	12
Y	0	0	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
C	0	0	40	0	40	0	0	0	0	0	40
Sums:	<b>0</b>	0	176	0	<i>176<sup>a</sup></i>	0	0	0	37	37	<b>139</b>

1354-55

802/11, m. 4d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	0	0	1	11	12	0	0	0	0	0	12
Bulls	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Cows	44	0	6	6	56	0	3	0	0	3	53
B(3)	11	0	13	15	39	0	1	11	0	12	27
B(2)	15	0	0	8	23	0	1	15	0	16	7
H(3)	6	0	4	12	22	0	0	6	2	8	14
H(2)	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	12	0
Y	8	0	0	40	48	0	1	8	0	9	39
C	40	0	2	41	83	4	0	40	0	44	39
Sums:	<b>139</b>	0	26	133	298	4	6	92	2	<i>104</i>	<b>194</b>

<sup>a</sup> The figures in *italics* have been produced by calculation, i.e. they are not the original accounts.

1356-57

802/14, m. 4d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	16	2	26	13	57	0	0	0	5	5	52
Bulls	2	0	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
Cows	84	0	60	32	176	0	6	0	4	10	166
B(3)	13	0	17	21	51	0	0	13	0	13	38
B(2)	21	0	11	13	45	0	1	21	0	22	23
H(3)	32	10	4	5	51	0	0	32	0	32	19
H(2)	5	0	9	21	35	0	3	5	0	8	27
Y	34	0	15	63	112	0	16	37	0	53	59
C	68	0	36	49	153	12	0	63	0	75	78
Sums:	<b>275</b>	12	181	217	685	12	26	171	9	218	<b>467</b>

1358-59

802/15, m. 3d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	20	3	10	23	56	0	0	0	38	38	18
Bulls	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
Cows	167	2	2	27	198	0	2	0	29	31	167
B(3)	23	0	0	26	49	0	0	23	4	27	22
B(2)	26	0	2	28	56	0	2	27	0	29	27
H(3)	27	18	2	29	76	0	1	27	1	29	47
H(2)	29	0	0	36	65	0	2	29	0	31	34
Y	64	0	0	78	142	0	10	64	0	74	68
C	78	0	0	89	167	8	4	78	0	90	77
Sums:	<b>436</b>	24	16	337	813	8	21	248	72	349	<b>464</b>

1359-60

802/17, m. 4d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	18	0	0	22	40	0	0	0	32	32	8
Bulls	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
Cows	167	0	0	47	214	0	0	0	18	18	196
B(3)	22	0	0	27	49	0	0	22	6	28	21
B(2)	27	0	0	39	66	0	2	27	0	29	37
H(3)	47	0	0	34	81	0	1	47	0	48	33
H(2)	34	0	0	29	63	0	0	34	0	34	29
Y	68	0	0	77	145	0	12	68	0	80	65
C	77	0	0	117	194	12	4	77	2	95	99
Sums:	464	0	0	392	856	12	19	275	58	364	492

1360-61

803/3, m. 3d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	8	1	0	21	30	0	0	0	0	0	30
Bulls	4	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Cows	196	0	0	33	229	0	6	0	29	35	194
B(3)	21	0	0	37	58	0	0	21	0	21	37
B(2)	37	0	0	26	63	0	2	37	1	40	23
H(3)	33	0	0	29	62	0	1	33	0	34	28
H(2)	29	0	0	39	68	0	1	29	0	30	38
Y	65	0	0	103	168	0	19	65	1	85	83
C	103	0	0	132	235	13	9	103	0	125	110
Sums:	496	1	0	422	919	13	38	288	31	370	549

**1361-62****803/5, m. 3d**

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	30	0	26	37	93	0	0	0	79	79	14
Bulls	6	0	3	0	9	0	0	0	3	3	6
Cows	194	0	46	28	268	0	2	0	41	43	225
B(3)	37	0	26	27	90	0	0	63	0	63	27
B(2)	23	0	4	38	65	0	1	27	0	28	37
H(3)	28	0	0	58	86	0	0	28	20	48	38
H(2)	38	0	20	45	103	0	2	58	2	62	41
Y	83	0	0	110	193	0	15	83	1	99	94
C	110	0	0	149	259	15	0	110	0	125	134
Sums:	<b>549</b>	0	125	492	<i>1166</i>	15	20	369	146	<i>550</i>	<b>616</b>

**1362-63****803/7, m. 3d**

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	14	2	0	27	43	0	0	0	13	13	30
Bulls	6	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Cows	225	10	0	38	273	0	6	0	37	43	230
B(3)	27	0	0	37	64	0	1	27	0	28	36
B(2)	37	0	0	44	81	0	1	37	0	38	43
H(3)	38	0	0	41	79	0	1	38	0	39	40
H(2)	41	0	0	50	91	0	0	41	0	41	50
Y	94	0	0	134	228	0	20	94	0	114	114
C	134	0	0	181	315	17	6	134	0	157	158
Sums:	<b>616</b>	12	0	552	<i>1180</i>	17	35	371	50	<i>473</i>	<b>707</b>

1363-64

803/9, m. 4d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	30	0	0	36	66	0	0	0	57	57	9
Bulls	6	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	2	2	5
Cows	230	0	0	40	270	0	18	0	57	75	195
B(3)	36	0	0	43	79	0	1	36	24	61	18
B(2)	43	0	0	55	98	0	2	43	0	45	53
H(3)	40	0	0	50	90	0	3	40	3	46	44
H(2)	50	0	0	59	109	0	1	50	1	52	57
Y	114	0	0	158	272	0	33	114	4	151	121
C	158	0	0	152	310	15	0	158	11	184	126
Sums:	<b>707</b>	0	0	594	<i>1301</i>	15	58	441	159	<i>673</i>	<b>628</b>

1364-65

803/10, m. 4d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	9	3	0	18	30	0	1	0	23	24	6
Bulls	5	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
Cows	195	0	0	44	239	0	7	0	86	93	146
B(3)	18	0	0	53	71	0	2	18	0	20	51
B(2)	53	0	0	53	106	0	1	53	0	54	52
H(3)	44	0	0	57	101	0	2	44	0	46	55
H(2)	57	0	0	68	125	0	2	57	0	59	66
Y	121	0	0	126	247	0	24	121	0	145	102
C	126	0	0	159	285	14	12	126	6	158	127
Sums:	<b>628</b>	3	0	578	<i>1209</i>	14	51	419	115	<i>599</i>	<b>610</b>

1365-66

803/12, m. 4d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	6	2	0	51	59	0	0	0	29	29	30
Bulls	5	0	0	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	7
Cows	146	0	0	55	201	0	9	0	61	70	131
B(3)	51	0	0	52	103	0	0	51	8	59	44
B(2)	52	0	0	50	102	0	2	52	2	56	46
H(3)	55	0	0	66	121	0	4	55	4	63	58
H(2)	66	0	0	52	118	0	1	66	0	67	51
Y	102	0	0	127	229	0	35	102	0	137	92
C	127	0	0	145	272	14	8	127	2	151	121
Sums:	<b>610</b>	2	0	600	<i>1212</i>	14	59	453	106	<i>632</i>	<b>580</b>

1366-67

803/13, m. 5d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	30	0	0	44	74	0	0	0	49	49	25
Bulls	7	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	7
Cows	131	4	0	58	193	0	8	0	39	47	146
B(3)	44	0	0	46	90	0	0	44	4	48	42
B(2)	46	0	0	40	86	0	0	46	0	46	40
H(3)	58	0	0	51	109	0	4	58	0	62	47
H(2)	51	0	0	52	103	0	1	51	0	52	51
Y	92	0	0	121	213	0	28	92	0	120	93
C	121	0	0	120	241	12	6	121	0	139	102
Sums:	<b>580</b>	4	0	532	<i>1116</i>	12	47	412	92	<i>563</i>	<b>553</b>



1367-68

803/15, m. 3d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	25	0	0	42	67	0	0	0	25	25	42
Bulls	7	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	0	1	6
Cows	146	0	0	47	193	0	6	0	28	34	159
B(3)	42	0	0	40	82	0	0	42	0	42	40
B(2)	40	0	0	41	81	0	0	40	0	40	41
H(3)	47	0	0	51	98	0	0	47	0	47	51
H(2)	51	0	0	52	103	0	1	51	0	52	51
Y	93	0	0	102	195	0	20	93	0	113	82
C	102	0	0	117	219	12	0	102	0	114	105
Sums:	553	0	0	492	1045	12	28	375	53	468	577

1368-69

804/1, m. 3

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	42	0	0	40	82	0	0	0	57	57	25
Bulls	6	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	1	1	6
Cows	159	0	0	51	210	0	7	0	48	55	155
B(3)	40	0	0	41	81	0	0	40	1	41	40
B(2)	41	0	0	37	78	0	0	41	0	41	37
H(3)	51	0	0	51	102	0	0	51	0	51	51
H(2)	51	0	0	45	96	0	0	51	0	51	45
Y	82	0	0	105	187	0	17	82	0	99	88
C	105	0	0	137	242	14	2	105	0	121	121
Sums:	577	0	0	508	1085	14	26	370	107	517	568

1369-70

804/2, m. 3d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	25	0	0	40	65	0	0	0	10	10	55
Bulls	6	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Cows	155	0	0	51	206	0	15	0	5	20	186
B(3)	40	0	0	37	77	0	0	40	0	40	37
B(2)	37	0	0	42	79	0	0	37	0	37	42
H(3)	51	0	0	45	96	0	1	51	0	52	44
H(2)	45	0	0	46	91	0	4	45	0	49	42
Y	88	0	0	121	209	0	35	88	0	123	86
C	121	0	0	123	244	12	4	121	0	137	107
Sums:	<b>568</b>	0	0	505	1073	12	59	382	15	468	<b>605</b>

1371-72

804/4, m. 3d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	13	0	0	26	39	0	0	0	31	31	8
Bulls	7	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	2	3	4
Cows	142	0	0	42	184	0	14	0	27	41	143
B(3)	26	0	0	44	70	0	1	26	14	41	29
B(2)	44	0	0	42	86	0	2	44	0	46	40
H(3)	42	0	0	42	84	0	6	42	0	48	36
H(2)	42	0	0	47	89	0	1	42	0	43	46
Y	89	0	0	104	193	0	26	89	0	115	78
C	104	0	0	133	237	13	0	104	0	117	120
Sums:	<b>509</b>	0	0	480	989	13	51	347	74	485	<b>504</b>

1372-73

804/4, m. 4B  
804/5, m. 3d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	8	2	0	21	31	0	0	0	19	19	12
Bulls	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
Cows	143	7	1	31	182	0	19	0	11	30	152
B(3)	29	0	0	40	69	0	0	21	18	39	30
B(2)	40	0	0	37	77	0	0	40	0	40	37
H(3)	36	11	0	46	93	0	5	31	0	36	57
H(2)	46	0	0	37	83	0	0	46	0	46	37
Y	78	0	0	78	156	0	10	74	0	84	72
C	120	0	0	69	189	7	44	78	0	129	60
Sums:	<b>504</b>	20	1	359	884	7	78	290	48	423	<b>461</b>

1373-74

804/6, m. 3d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	12	2	0	30	44	0	0	0	36	36	8
Bulls	4	0	0	1	5	0	1	0	1	2	3
Cows	152	0	0	57	209	0	27	0	47	74	135
B(3)	30	0	0	37	67	0	0	31	16	47	20
B(2)	37	0	0	34	71	0	0	37	0	37	34
H(3)	57	0	0	37	94	0	1	57	0	58	36
H(2)	37	0	0	38	75	0	0	37	0	37	38
Y	72	0	0	60	132	0	30	72	1	103	29
C	60	0	0	117	177	12	5	60	7	84	93
Sums:	<b>461</b>	2	0	411	874	12	64	294	108	478	<b>396</b>

1374-75

804/7, m. 4d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	8	2	0	17	27	0	0	0	12	12	15
Bulls	3	0	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Cows	135	1	0	36	172	0	9	0	28	37	135
B(3)	20	0	0	34	54	0	0	20	8	28	26
B(2)	34	0	0	16	50	0	0	34	0	34	16
H(3)	36	0	0	38	74	0	0	36	0	36	38
H(2)	38	0	0	13	51	0	0	38	0	38	13
Y	29	0	0	93	122	0	12	29	0	41	81
C	93	0	0	114	207	11	3	93	0	107	100
Sums:	<b>396</b>	3	0	364	763	11	24	250	48	333	<b>430</b>

1375-76

804/8, m. 5d

Cattle Type	IN					OUT					BALANCE
	R	P	T	B/G	Total	T	D	G	S	Total	
Oxen	15	0	0	26	41	0	0	0	33	33	8
Bulls	6	0	0	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
Cows	135	0	0	38	173	0	7	0	65	72	101
B(3)	26	0	0	16	42	0	0	28	14	42	0
B(2)	16	0	0	38	54	0	1	16	1	18	36
H(3)	38	0	0	13	51	0	0	38	7	45	6
H(2)	13	0	0	43	56	0	3	13	5	21	35
Y	81	0	0	100	181	0	12	81	0	93	88
C	100	0	0	79	179	8	4	100	0	112	67
Sums:	<b>430</b>	0	0	355	785	8	27	276	125	436	<b>349</b>

## APPENDIX 2

### Further sightings of the 'Great Rebellion of Cheshire of 1353'

In a previous volume, evidence was set forth for the growth and development of the history of an apparently non-existent 1353 rebellion, which was once supposed to have been the determining event of the Black Prince's tenure of the earldom of Chester.<sup>1</sup> It was shown that, despite the lack of any evidence at all from primary sources, historians had proved very reluctant to admit that a rebellion that had been mentioned in the *Oxford History of England* could be a pure invention. The last citation of a historian (no. 10) was of a work by Michael Prestwich, dated 1980. In the same year that the *Chamberlain's Account 1361–62* was published, two further comments on the rebellion were published in a single volume, by two different historians with very different views on the matter (quoted here as nos. 11 and 12). Footnotes from the two pieces are placed in angle-brackets at the end of the work to which they refer.

The long-awaited new edition of Knighton's chronicle, published in 1995, could have been an opportunity to throw new light on the source or sources for this episode in Cheshire's history.<sup>2</sup> In 1957, V.H. Galbraith had established that Knighton was writing later than was commonly thought, and began his chronicle as a history of his own times, starting at 1377, the first year of Richard II's reign. He then decided to write about the earlier period, from the Norman Conquest, but did not manage to complete it.<sup>3</sup> Martin's view is that Knighton began to write his second part not long after 1378, and then turned to the first part which is, down to 1337, a conflation of two other works, Walter of Guisborough and Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*.<sup>4</sup> So, Knighton was composing the chronicle himself from 1337 onwards, but what sources did he use in the library of Leicester abbey? Martin speculates about the types of sources that might have been to hand,<sup>5</sup> and summarises them as 'official and public documents, semi-official documents of various kinds, and the sources referred to here as newsletters'.<sup>6</sup> There is no discussion of the passage describing the Black Prince's visit to Cheshire in 1353, and no explanation for how the two passages came to be inserted into an account of events in Scotland, or any mention that they might have been originally

1 *ChAcc2*, pp. 212–24.

2 G.H. Martin, ed., *Knighton's Chronicle: 1337–1396* (Oxford, 1995).

3 V.H. Galbraith, 'The Chronicle of Henry Knighton' in D.J. Gordon, ed., *Fritz Saxl: a Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England* (London/New York, 1957), pp. 136–48.

4 Martin, *Knighton*, p. xvi. Martin also points out (p. xix) that the break between the first and second parts of Knighton's narrative covers the years from 1372 to 1376, and not 1366 to 1377 as Galbraith had supposed.

5 Martin, *Knighton*, pp. xxix–xli.

6 Martin, *Knighton*, p. xl.

composed in French.<sup>7</sup> Martin's footnote to this section refers only to H.J. Hewitt's monograph, *Mediaeval Cheshire*, published by the Chetham Society in 1929, in which the myth of the Cheshire rebellion was first given academic respectability,<sup>8</sup> and states, wrongly, that the record of the general eyre is in 'P.R.O. Ches/17/4'.<sup>9</sup> In fact CHES 17 contains the enrolments of the civil pleas of the Cheshire Hundred eyres (quite a different institution), while the records of the general eyre and of the subsequent sessions of trailbaston are to be found among the county court plea rolls, in CHES 29/65, as was pointed out in an article published in a reputable journal nearly twenty years before Martin's edition appeared.<sup>10</sup> We are none the wiser, therefore.

## 11. Back to the Welsh March.

D. Huw Owen, 'Wales and the Marches' in Chapter 7 ('Tenant Farming and Tenant Farmers') in Edward Miller, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* (general editor, Joan Thirsk), iii, 1348–1500 (Cambridge, 1991), p. 660.

The defence and protection of traditional rights contributed to the tensions experienced during this period in Wales and the borderlands. In Cheshire the efforts of the administration of the Black Prince to extract as much revenue as possible from the forests of Delamere, Macclesfield, and Wirral resulted in the outbreak of a revolt in 1353 and the submission of a petition in 1376 by the commonalty of the Wirral. <J.J. Bagley, *Life in Medieval England*, London, 1960, pp. 43–4; Hewitt, *Medieval Cheshire*, pp. 12, 15–17, 42–4, 152; R. Stewart-Brown, 'The disafforestation of Wirral', *Lancs. and Cheshire Hist. Soc.*, LIX, 1907, pp. 165–80 and 'Further notes on the disafforestation of Wirral', *ibid.*, LXXIX, 1937, pp. 23–7.><sup>11</sup>

7 For example, the justices are said to have sat 'super le Eyre magno tempore'. The phrase 'magno tempore' is translated 'for a long time', but is rare even in Classical Latin and it is not clear what it means. A construction based on a poor translation of a phrase including 'grand temps' is more likely.

8 *ChAcc2*, pp. 212–24 for the details.

9 Martin, *Knighton*, p. 121.

10 P.H.W. Booth, 'Taxation and Public Order: Cheshire in 1353', *Northern History*, 12 (1976), pp. 16–31.

11 This comment on the 'revolt', which is based on Hewitt's work published in 1929, is wrong in almost every particular. The 1347 Cheshire forest eyre was a financial flop, and although it is true that the attempt to tighten up the working of the forest law in Cheshire in the early 1350s, in preparation for the much more financially successful forest eyre of 1357, led to complaints and resistance, there is no evidence that any of this resistance was violent (see Booth, *Financial Administration*, pp. 104–5, 122–3). It is hard, though, to see how a forest eyre held in 1357 could have provoked a rebellion four years earlier.

## 12. Who would want to live in such a county? The 'sort of rising' of 1353.

E.B. Fryde and Natalie Fryde, 'Popular Revolts after 1381' in chapter 8 ('Peasant Rebellions and Peasant Discontents') in Edward Miller, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, iii, 1348–1500 (1991), pp. 798–9.

The much more serious rising in Cheshire in the early months of 1393 was likewise directed against John of Gaunt and his younger brother, Thomas, duke of Gloucester. As justice of Chester, but also a man unfriendly to Richard II, Gloucester was particularly hated in Cheshire. The revolt against him was but one of a long series of disturbances that recurred there between 1353 and 1403. The county had a well-justified reputation of being one of the most lawless regions of England. In the second half of the fourteenth century it was thinly populated and relatively poor. Service as mercenaries in the Welsh, Scottish and French wars had for centuries provided one of the main sources of livelihood of the inhabitants of certain districts. From 1356 onwards this violent and hardy population of military veterans turned to raiding the neighbouring English counties, and the special legal immunities of the royal Palatinate of Chester allowed them to do so, with virtual impunity. Its officialdom was notoriously violent, oppressive, and corrupt. The county had suffered from excessive financial exploitation by Edward, the Black Prince, which caused a sort of rising in 1353.<sup>12</sup> <In addition to Bellamy,

- 12 Again, most of this is an uncritical summary of Hewitt's views as set out in his 1929 monograph, itself based on very limited original sources and a misinterpretation of the events which happened in Cheshire in 1353. The *Northern History* article cited in the footnote gives no credence at all to the notion that a 'sort of rising' happened that year. It must also be pointed out that there is, as yet, no evidence at all that any of the armed gangs who were accused of making raids from Cheshire on neighbouring English counties from 1356 onwards were ex-soldiers, or that in the second half of the fourteenth century Cheshire 'was thinly populated and relatively poor', or that 'Its officialdom was notoriously violent', or that 'The county had suffered from excessive financial exploitation by Edward, the Black Prince...'. Finally, we are led to believe that a person present in Cheshire in 1353 would have experienced a 'sort of rising'. What would such an observer have seen? Armed men who were massing together, but in only a half-hearted fashion? A rebellion which began with great enthusiasm but petered out after only a very short period of time? A rebellion which could easily have been confused with some other type of mass-movement? (But what? A *melée* that was more than usually violent? A procession of flagellants that turned nasty? An early football match that got out of hand?). Surely if you have been in, or witnessed, a rebellion, you know it for what it is. Cheshire is by far the best-documented of any English county in the second half of the fourteenth century; a court of trail-baston was held as part of the Black Prince's visit in 1353 to try serious crimes of violence, oppression and extortion, the proceedings of which have been published (*Cheshire History*, 11 (1983), pp. 38–51; 12 (1983), pp. 24–8; 13 (1984), pp. 22–8; 14 (1984), pp. 23–6; 16 (1985), pp. 21–5). If a rebellion had taken place in Cheshire shortly before, or during, the prince's 1353 visit, then it left no trace in those proceedings, or in any other official records, or in any source of any kind at all originating in the fourteenth century (including Henry Knighton's chronicle, written in the 1390s). The rebellion's continuing life is partly the result of the uncritical support given by Geoffrey Barraclough to the work of H.J. Hewitt, and partly because of the *imprimatur* of the Oxford University Press. Let us hope that yet another *imprimatur*, that of the Cambridge University Press, will not extend its life any further and we can say, with some relief, *Vale*.

*op. cit.* [Bellamy, 'The northern rebellions in the later years of Richard II', pp. 254–74], see H.J. Hewitt, *Medieval Cheshire*; P.H.W. Booth, 'Taxation and public order in Cheshire', [should be: 'Taxation and Public Order: Cheshire in 1353'] *North. Hist.*, XII, 1976; P. McNiven, 'The Cheshire rising of 1400', *Bull. JRL*, LII, 1970.>



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