

NOTICE:

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of reproductions of copyrighted material. One specified condition is that the reproduction is not to be "used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research." If a user makes a request for, or later uses a reproduction for purposes in excess of "fair use," that user may be liable for copyright infringement.

RESTRICTIONS:

This student work may be read, quoted from, cited, and reproduced for purposes of research. It may not be published in full except by permission by the author.

Paying at the Gate: Taxation and Medieval City Spaces

Emma R. Spade

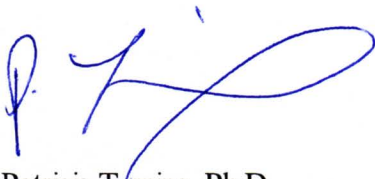
Candidate for the degree

Bachelor of Arts

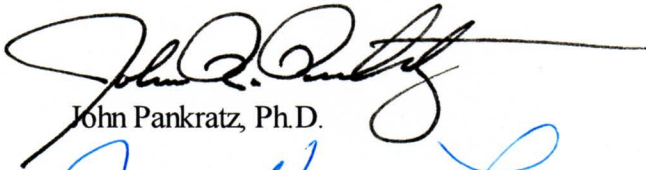
Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

College Honors

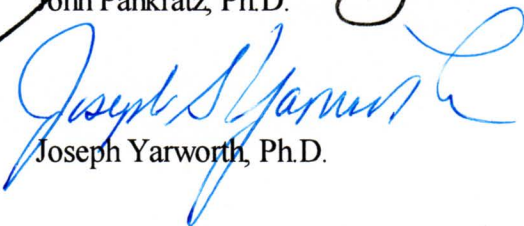
Departmental Distinction in History



Patricia Turning, Ph.D.



John Pankratz, Ph.D.



Joseph Yarworth, Ph.D.

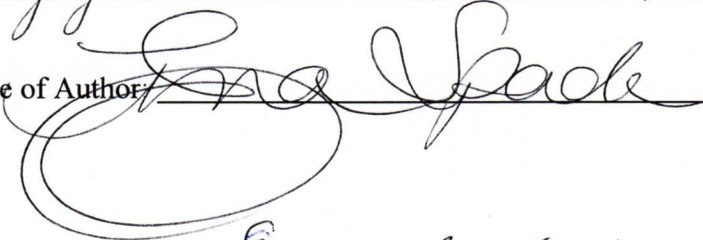
Albright College Gingrich Library

F. Wilbur Gingrich Library
Special Collections Department
Albright College

Release of Senior Thesis

I hereby deliver, give, and transfer property, rights, interest in and legal rights thereto which I had, have, or may have concerning the Senior Honors Thesis described below to the Special Collections Department of the F. Wilbur Gingrich Library at Albright College as an unrestricted gift. While copyright privileges will remain with me, the author, all privileges to reproduce, disseminate, or otherwise preserve the Senior Honors Thesis are given to the Special Collections Department of the Gingrich Library. I place no restrictions on this gift and hereby indicate this by signing below.

Title: Paying at the Gate: Taxation and Medieval City Spaces

Signature of Author:  Date: 4/14/15

Printed Name of Author: Emma R. Spade

Street Address: 1005 W. 2nd St.

City, State, Zip Code: Birdsboro, PA 19508

Albright College Gingrich Library

Paying at the Gate: Taxation and Medieval City Spaces

Emma R. Spade

Candidate for the degree

Bachelor of Arts

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

College Honors

Departmental Distinction in History

Patricia Turning, Ph.D.

John Pankratz, Ph.D.

Joseph Yarworth, Ph.D.

Albright College Gingrich Library

Urban taxation in the thirteenth-and fourteenth-century England was a vast and complicated system. Cities were places that handled many different monetary transactions as a part of daily life. These transactions included sales of perishable goods, produced goods, and raw materials. On many of these goods (and the places they were sold), there was a tax levied either by the local city government or the higher and more universal royal government. Taxation was thus something experienced by everyone in the city and around it. Building upon the foundation of tax and tax laws that were in place in medieval Winchester and London, this essay will consider taxation and taxed spaces as they were experienced as a part of daily life. Taxation as a rule did not merely affect the amount of money a person gained after a transaction, but affected how and why a city space was used and perceived by the people living and working in those spaces.

In a general sense, taxes were levied by the king and the nobility to pay for the running and upkeep of the kingdom as well as to finance any defensive or offensive wars.¹ Taxes were traditionally exempted for the clergy who were part of the Catholic Church.² The Catholic Church was also not taxed for its land holdings. This essay solely focuses on public spaces and in medieval cities and does not include private taxes such as the tallage or property taxes levied on houses. This essay also acknowledges that there was a difference between areas of the city that were controlled by the Church and those that were controlled by the city government. While these divisions would lend interesting comparisons, the intricacies and research of such comparisons is beyond the scope of this work as this essay will focus solely on taxed public spaces.

¹ David C. Douglas, ed., *English Historical Documents*, vol. 3, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 469

² Roy C. Cave and Herber Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History* (New York: Biblio & Tannen Booksellers, 1965), 357-358

The majority of the tax base was the rural laity who lived and worked on estates and paid their taxes through a barter or substance system, rather than with money. Rural areas were often under the control of a lord who collected taxes while cities were often under the control of a group of selected people, or councils, who governed the city.³ Taxes were paid to and collected by the city and its bailiffs for its own use and for the king's use. Taxes in urban areas, unlike rural areas, were regularly paid with money.

There were a number of different methods in which the city government and the king could tax people. The first was the use of direct taxation. Direct taxes were paid by everyone, rich or poor. Direct taxes were most often levied on landowners based on the amount of property they owned in the form of tallage or land tax. Another example of direct tax was a head tax, where everyone paid a set amount for living in a certain area. Head taxes were rarely levied as they were extremely unpopular because everyone was required to pay them, and they were far less profitable than tallage or indirect taxes.⁴ Indirect taxes took forms such as customs, excises, tolls, and fees the city or king charged on different goods and services. Indirect taxes were more popular with the laity because only those who had goods were required to pay the tax. Indirect taxes were also much more popular with ruling bodies because they were easier to collect and were more profitable than direct taxation.⁵

There were a number of other mechanisms that helped to form the system of taxation in cities, and these were the offices of bailiff and the jurate. Bailiffs had numerous responsibilities in a city or county, some judicial and some economic. Some of the judicial duties included holding or arresting those breaking the law. Economic duties included collecting rents, fees, and customs from all over the city. Working with the bailiffs, the jurates who ruled over the city also

³ Douglas, 870-871. The first provisions regard the selection of city officials.

⁴ David Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City: 1300-1500* (New York and London: Longman, 199), 166

⁵ *Ibid.*, 169

had a hand in the taxation of the city. The jurates of Winchester were selected based on their standing in the city and decided on the fees and customs that would be owed to the city.⁶ In conjunction with the royal government, these jurates and bailiffs held the power of taxation over the people in the city because they were the selected rulers and caretakers of the city.

To understand better the connections between taxes and city spaces, this essay will consider previous scholarly work completed on the ideas of urban space in medieval England and how these works contribute a context of spatial experience. Beyond these scholarly works (which focus mainly on space), there has been little investigation into the connection between space and taxation. These two ideas are very important and easily connected, as space surrounds everyone every day, and every space is given definition by what is around it, in it, and imposed on it. Economics, specifically taxation, is also something that is experienced by every person. To make better connections between the ideas of experienced urban space and taxation, these two ideas will be analyzed through different lenses of daily life in a medieval city. The first of these components to consider are the placement of market areas. Market areas carried a variety of different goods including foods and produced goods, such as cloth. These areas would have been used everyday as citizens bought food for the household or sold their own goods. The placement and accessibility of the market is important to business transactions, as is the fee required to use that space. Another factor to assess when trying to access the experience of urban space, is the custom on goods sold in the city. Custom, like a modern sales tax, was put on many items to raise money for the city or royal government. Many of these items were foods and materials used in the city or exported on a regular basis from the city. Due to the number of items a custom was put, very few people in the city would not have contact with a custom in either buying or selling a good in the city. A third layer to consider is that of citizenship in the city or “being part of the

⁶ Douglas, 870-871

franchise.” Medieval cities were viewed almost as a business that was part of the royal government. Being a citizen and part of that franchise from the royal government came with some special economic privileges that helped to cut economic competition and protected the city itself. Living and working within the franchise of the city was again a part of the experience of urban space.

Through all of these ideas it is possible to build a paradigm of taxation in urban spaces and how they were experienced in daily life. This essay will therefore consider the definition taxes give to spaces in the city by controlling a multitude of economic and social components in those spaces. To build a clearer idea of these components, this essay will analyze these different ideas based on sources from medieval Winchester and London during the mid-to late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century. The cities of Winchester and London were chosen for this comparison because both cities served as the capital city of England, first Winchester and then London. The cities are comparable in size, and both have walls or partial walls surrounding them. Both cities were also franchises with regulations as well as citizens and non-citizens entering and leaving the city. All of these similarities make the two cities good candidates for the comparison of taxed urban spaces.

Medieval cities were a comparative anomaly when contrasted against the majority of Europe which was rural. There are a number of scholars who have considered the urban areas and different parts that economics, justice, and space play in those areas. One scholar is Vanessa Harding who explores public and private spaces in London. Space is of a limited quantity in any urban setting, and Harding describes how in urban England a private space may have actually been a rented space that has many claims and ties to third parties. Harding divides her argument into two different aspects which help to define spaces, that of property practices, physical

character of space, and that of the interface between public and private spaces.⁷ To help build a picture of these different spaces, Harding uses a variety of primary and secondary sources dealing with the topic property and property rights in London. She uses these sources to build an image of the complexity of urban spaces in medieval London. She treats the subjects of housing and the details of the property market using different royal decrees such as the *Quia Emptores* (1290) and *A Historical Gazetteer of London* to describe the conditions of both of these in medieval London. She also investigates the grants and deeds enrolled in the Court of Hustings to explore the property market as well as what was considered private in the actual physical space within the city.

To compliment Harding's perspectives on the complexity of public versus private space, Lorraine Attreed's work presents a perspective on urban identity and its construction by those who lived in the urban space. Attreed argues that by claiming spaces, towns created a definition of what it meant to be urban.⁸ Like Harding, Attreed builds her argument with the understanding that there is limited space in an urban area, but she presents examples of how that space was contested in urban areas. In her article, Attreed presents four different examples of space that was contested between the secular and the clergy within an urban area. In many areas of England there were instances of these contested spaces, with both the secular and ecclesiastical rulers trying to assert their authority over an area. Asserting sovereignty over an area and claiming jurisdiction was one way to gather power in an area, and this was often the case as Attreed shows in her four examples. Many urban areas had a portion of the city that was under control of the secular city government and another portion that was under control of the local bishop. In many

⁷ Vanessa Harding, "Space, Property, and Propriety in Urban England," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (Spring 2002) 550, accessed November 28, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3656145>

⁸ Lorraine Attreed, "Urban Identity in Medieval English Towns," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (Spring 2002): 572-573, accessed November 30, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3656146>

cities the area under control of the bishop was known as the soke. Areas under control of the bishop did not necessarily pay the same types of taxes or even adhere to the same types of laws within a city.⁹ Taxes that may have been paid in this area went directly to the Catholic church and not to secular rulers. This exemption was extended to include urban areas, and thus the collection of taxes became a way to show authority in a space. Attreed's four different examples show how secular authorities and ecclesiastical authorities went about claiming spaces and giving definition to the urban space around them. To support her argument, Attreed uses a number of records from different sources, such as the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, letters to and from participants, and proceedings from different courts, to demonstrate the outcomes of those claiming urban space for themselves. Within her examples Attreed describes different claims on the space based on jurisdiction, grazing rights, and taxation.

Both of these scholars help to build a social and spatial context of different urban spaces in England. Using these contexts together, it is possible to create a better idea of what urban spaces consisted, how people viewed them, and what spaces could or would be contested by those living in cities. These contexts help to build a picture of the urban spaces in England before the idea of taxation is imposed on them. One of the limitations of course is that neither of these sources deal directly with both Winchester and London, but they do give a clearer idea of different interpretations of space in a medieval English city.

City space is most frequently experienced by those who live within its walls, but the urban space is also experienced by those who are bringing goods into the city. Those who are not a part of the city, but still entering it, are also subject to a number of customs and taxes based on their entry and goods. Through a number of different studies and sources Kathleen Biddkirk explores what markets and to where people would have been drawn and how people would have

⁹ Ibid., 574

been drawn to larger cities. To focus her study on the relationship between taxable wealth and market involvement Biddick concentrates on the area of Bedfordshire, which is located near both Cambridge and London.¹⁰ This exploration of peasant market involvement again helps to give context to the economic situations of London and Winchester by exemplifying the type of people that might experience the taxed urban space on a day to day basis.

Expanding upon the contexts of the works aforementioned this essay will forge connections between urban spaces and taxation in those spaces to better understand the every life experience of those who lived there. Sources such as *The Ancient Usages of Winchester* and the *Liber Albus*, give a clearer picture of taxed city spaces in an urban area. Both of these sources provide a thorough overview of where governments expected citizens to be taxed and how those taxes were to be paid. *The Ancient Usages of Winchester* are a collection of laws written in the late thirteenth-century that detail the use and running of the city of Winchester. *The Usages* are almost certainly not all of the laws that the city had in place at this time given Winchester's long history of habitation dating from before Roman occupation, but they do give an idea of how the city was to be run and by whom. The collection of sixty-three articles detail matters of authority selection, jurisdiction, and taxation for the population of Winchester.

The *Liber Albus*, about which an entire history could be written, contains some of the same kinds of laws and taxes as *The Ancient Usages*. However, the *Liber Albus* contains many different laws, under many different charters, and under more than one king. The *Liber Albus* is far more detailed than the *Usages*, partly because London is larger and contains more variety of goods than does Winchester. The other reason the *Liber Albus* is more detailed is because it is a

¹⁰ Kathleen Biddick, "English Medieval Peasants and Market Involvement," *Journal of Economic History* 45, no. 4 (Dec. 1985): 825, accessed October 5, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2121881>

compilation of many different laws, rules, and city charters that have been transcribed and tabulated into a useable order.

These sources and contexts are important and help to gather a better view of where people lived and worked, the type of living they made, and the amount of money they may have had. Taxation and the practices of taxation are a large part of everyday life and exert a large amount of control over where people live and work, as well as how they experience the space around them. Approaching daily life from a taxed space perspective will develop a sense of daily economic life in an urban setting. The economics of daily life are important and learning how taxes were a part of that everyday experience creates a better understanding of the choices presented to the urban, medieval population.

The Placement of Market Areas

Urban life is centered around the ability to sell and purchase goods. Markets and stalls are the central areas from which people would be able to buy and sell in cities. Market areas are often mentioned in relation to taxation as the market area gives a delimited space for the regulation of goods and the collection of taxes. Many of these areas require a tax or rental fee paid to the city to be used. Within a market area there are many different types of customs collected on the goods in that area, some of which went to the royal government and some of which went to the city franchise. While the taxes on goods are one way that merchants and townspeople experience the space, there was also a taxation on the use of the space itself. Like paying rent or tax on property, there were taxes in the city that were paid based solely on the use of a market space or stall. This demarcation of market space by taxation can also be seen in the areas where the sale of goods were prohibited. By making certain market areas taxed and certain market areas prohibited, city governments created spaces that were specifically devoted to the

sale of goods. The division of areas between market and nonmarket was something that was experienced on a daily basis and something that would have been known by those living in the city. While designation of spaces can be viewed simply as designation, it also can be seen as a type of claiming of space. As suggested by Attreed, claiming a space for one purpose or another contributes to the identity of being urban.¹¹

In London and Winchester, there are a number of areas that are noted as market areas and a few areas where the sale of goods are prohibited. The descriptions of these different market areas help to build an idea of where market areas were within the city, which were the most popular, and how market areas overlapped or were separated. Markets were most often separated by to whom taxes were owed which could include: the royal government, the city government, or as mentioned before, the Church. To understand the particularities of each city, first Winchester and then London will be described and analyzed in terms of market areas and the taxes that were collected there.

The city of Winchester was for centuries the seat of the English monarchy and was one of the most populous cities in England. Winchester is a large city known for the Winchester Cathedral that still stands today. The city is surrounded by walls and is mostly contained within those walls, with suburbs on the north and south sides of the city proper. Within the city are a few main streets, the largest street being High Street which runs east to west through the whole city. The main market area in Winchester is the main street of High Street, which would have experienced a large amount of traffic as people moved in and out of the city through the main gate that led right onto High Street.

Within *The Ancient Usages*, there are a few provisions that demarcate High Street as a market area. The first of these provisions deals with butchers within the street who must rent

¹¹ Attreed, 573

their space. The provision reads that, “[N]o butcher or other man may have a stall in the High Street of Winchester without paying dues to the city.”¹² While seemingly short and unremarkable, this provision is one of the few that state in clear language that having a stall in the High Street comes with a fee. This is also one of the provisions that strictly regulates one type of profession in one area. One important aspect of this provision is almost a negative idea that can only be understood when examined from the angle of what is not there. By having few other provisions in such a clear language, this provision could have been added for only one or two reasons. The first because there were a number of butchers who were using High Street as a market area and having them pay dues was profitable. The second reason could have been that there were specific problems with butchers using High Street and that they required a special fee that was counted as compensation for upkeep within the street. Another notable aspect of this provision is that it does not give an amount of money or substance that was owed to the city but leaves the amount changeable and unknown. Whatever the amount of the due in this provision or the reason for this provision’s inclusion, it does describe a taxed market area that would have been experienced by everyone wishing to purchase goods within the city.

Continuing with the same type of provision another reads that “[E]very tanner that holds a stall in the High Street of Winchester owes for the ground which he takes up two shillings, and to the clerk one penny”.¹³ This provision is a bit more clear and gives a set amount for the profession to pay. This provision again deals with the main market area of High Street and even

¹² Douglas, 872

¹³ Ibid., 875

more clearly states that the reason for the fee is for the ground that is used and not for a reason of upkeep.¹⁴

There is another provision that deals with High Street directly and the city in general. This provision deals with the selling of bread. This provision deals with women who come from outside of the city or franchise to do so. The provision gives set fees for women selling bread within the city, fees that are owed both to the royal government and to the city. This provision is further broken down into women who sell bread in High Street and those who sell bread in “the blind streets.”¹⁵ The fee for selling in the blind streets or side streets is substantially less than for that of selling in High Street. Again this provision gives a sense that the market area in High Street is a prized and profitable place to sell goods. It also gives a sense of the universality of bread as a good. This provision also notes that other streets, virtually the whole city, was an area in which goods could be bought and sold. However, it also sets the area of High Street apart as a desirable market area for the majority of merchants.

Taken together these three provisions build a picture of where goods were sold in medieval Winchester. While selling goods throughout the city was allowed, the evidence of fees for spaces and stalls in High Street demonstrate that it was the main market area for the city and that having a place there was desirable. Having a fee or tax on space that is used for selling goods creates a space that is experienced by the populous in an economic way. The space of High Street was thus an area lived in by the populous but controlled by the city and royal government through the levying of a tax. This fee would affect not only the merchant who is selling the goods, but also the buyer who is purchasing goods. Every household in the city would

¹⁴ Derek Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1985) Map Inserts. Butchers and tanners did not have their shops or places of work on High Street in Winchester, just market stands for selling their goods.

¹⁵ Douglas, 873

need to purchase goods, food and drink, to support the people living there. Goods purchased from market areas in the city would be consumed by every person living in the city. Goods and market areas are therefore vitally important to those living in the city.

Many of the same types of laws and taxes can be seen in the market areas of London which are more varied and in more areas. For the city of London there were numerous charters, many that simply restated items of previous charters and others that granted the people of London new rights. The charters helped the mayor and other officials to govern the city and laid out the rights and responsibilities of those living in the city in a clear manner. Within the *Liber Albus* there are a number of items under charters that are repeated,¹⁶ sometimes under the same king as they wrote second and third charters for the city. The charters in the *Liber Albus*, while laying out the general laws and ruling of the city, do not go into specific details about the amount of customs in specific areas of the city and so give a broader picture of the city of London as a whole. While the *Usages of Winchester* give both a broad and specific perspective on the taxes imposed on the city, the Charters of London do not, and other tax laws need to be investigated to gain a better understand of those spaces. Under the three charters created by Edward the First there are a few laws that deal with the subject of taxation for the people of London and the buying and selling of goods.

One of the laws that is repeated in the charters is the requirement that all customs or taxes be paid before there is any type of sale on the merchandise.¹⁷ Many of the customs on goods in London are decided by the amount of the goods which are for sale. ¹⁸ Allowing merchants to sell before custom is levied paid would decrease the city's profit. As the charters are a universal law

¹⁶ John Carpenter and Richard Whittington, *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London*, trans. Henry Thomas Riley. (London: Richard Griffin and Company, 1861), 124-126

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 124, 126

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 202, 203. Examples of levying custom by the hundredweight, such as pepper and eggs.

that applies to all merchants within the city, it also applies to the many people entering the city by a gate or by river. While seeming to simply control the timing of sales, this law also puts a control on where merchants are able to sell their goods. If they have not passed through a gate or area where their goods have been evaluated, they are not able to sell their goods on the pain of “forfeiture of the whole of such wares.”¹⁹ While the temptation might have been great to avoid custom in the city, the penalty for such was high. By creating a high penalty, the city controlled how and where goods passed through the city to market areas.

Along with controlling where goods passed through the city, laws and taxation also controlled where market areas were within the city and where goods were placed. While merchants had stores and workshops from which to sell their goods, there were the many people bringing fresh goods into the city that also had a market area. In the second part of the *Liber Albus* is a selection of customs that are more specific than those of the aforementioned city charters. In the first custom, “Of the Peace,” the custom asks for general peace keeping and maintenance of the city on the part of the citizens. However, it also gives direct regulation for how peace should be maintained in the streets. The custom states that “all manner of victuals that are sold by persons in Chepe, upon Cornhulle, and elsewhere in the City...for sale as well by denizens as by strangers, shall stand mid-way between the kennels of the streets, so as to be a nuisance to no one, under pain of forfeiture of the article.”²⁰ With this custom it is possible to build an idea of how streets with market goods looked, with houses and frontage on either side, goods for sale in the center of the street and pedestrians passing by on both sides.

This custom regulates not just where a good should be sold in the city but also where and how within the market area a good should be placed. As with the requirement of paying custom

¹⁹ Ibid., 124

²⁰ Ibid., 228

before goods are sold, this law requires a “forfeiture of the article” if the regulation is not followed. This custom and others like it define how a market area should look and how people will move through the area. Again, by making the penalty for not following the regulation high, the city controls the experience of spaces for both buyers and sellers. This type of control can be further examined by the fee for taking up space in a market area.

The *Liber Albus* contains one section on the custom of victuals, which includes most movable goods that would have been brought into the city.²¹ These customs levy taxes on items that are entering the city based on how they enter the city, either carried or by wagon, or the weight of goods that are a commodity. By levying different customs on how goods enter the city, the city is able to charge for the space a commodity is taking up. This can best be seen in a section labelled “Of the Customs payable upon victuals.” The section divides people bringing poultry and eggs into three different groups. The first group is comprised of those people who are only bringing eggs to the city. The second group are those who are bringing merchandise by horse and allow it to touch the ground.²² The third group are those who are carrying their merchandise on their back and placing it on the ground.²³ Within these three groups there are exemptions to some of the different taxes based on whether or not someone lives within the city.²⁴ For the first group of people, those carrying merchandise by hand, someone carrying one hundred or eggs or more, “shall give five eggs.”²⁵ This payment of eggs invites a variety of questions such as the manner in which the eggs were counted; however, practical questions about the manner of levying taxes will be further examined later. In the second group, those bringing

²¹ Some moveable goods include wool, certain foods such as fish, and woad.

²² Presumably the regulation is expressing that the goods cannot be carried by hand.

²³ Ibid., 203-204

²⁴ Information about and expressions of citizenship are treated later in the Being “of the Franchise” section.

²⁵ Ibid., 203

poultry goods by horse, “such a person shall pay for stallage three farthings.”²⁶ The third group, those carrying merchandise on their back, “he shall pay one half penny.”²⁷

Approaching this custom from literal point of view, it demonstrates, again, the idea of the city charging for the space that will be used for the sale of merchandise within its walls. Those that are taking up more space with goods that are to be set down or with a horse, pay more for the use of the space while those that are able to carry their goods pay a lower fee to use the city’s space. Approaching this custom from the view of what is not there gives important information about how cities classified and divided those entering the city. On the part of the people entering the city, it also describes the manner in which they most often transported their goods. Taken together these three parts of the custom help to build a picture of how goods entered the city and the taxes that were placed upon them based on their transportation. Transportation is an important aspect of this entire process of custom and taxation. Not only was the method of transportation bringing goods to the city, but it also played a double role as merchants were taxed based on their manner of conveyance and the amount of good that conveyance could carry.

While transportation was one manner in which goods were divided, the same section on victual customs also describes areas in the city where entering the gate has a higher price. Within the section there are a number of goods that are entering by cart and charged a certain rate in general and charged more at the gates of Holeburn, Flete, or Allgate.²⁸ The gates of Holeburn, Flete, and Allgate are always mentioned as charging more than any other entry into the city. Dividing and redividing the city in this manner would again put a control on which entrance to

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 204

²⁸ Ibid.

the city those transporting goods would use. This custom also creates the experience of not only a tax on goods entering the city but also a tax on the use of the gate themselves.

In continuing to analyze how different physical areas of a city can be taxed, there are also physical areas of the city that are exempt from taxation based on where goods are or are not moving. An example of this can be seen in the custom on “The charges upon wool of Spain and haberdashery.”²⁹ The custom lists a number of goods that are charged a fixed rate of custom upon entering the city of London from abroad; however, there is a list of items for which a partial custom, a penny or half penny is taken for articles that “do not pass beyond Thames Street towards the North, and if they do pass they shall pay a fixed charge of six pence.”³⁰ The idea of a lower tax in certain areas, follows the idea of a lower tax or higher tax based on the gate of entry. Again analyzing these customs in terms of what is not written, the lower custom on foreign goods in one area could have been levied in this way because these items were being reshipped from the area where they came in and were not entering London to be sold. This type of custom extends the idea of experienced taxed spaces to not only those who are entering the city to sell their goods but also to those who are transporting goods to and from foreign places.

While taxing spaces and designating market areas is one way to control the experience of urban space, another is to prohibit the buying and selling of goods in an area. This can be done in both a specific area and a general area. One of the more specific examples is that of bakers. There are many laws and customs which deal with bakers and the weight and price of their bread.³¹ Beyond the setting of prices which this custom does, it states that “no baker shall sell bread before his oven, but only in the market of his lordship the King. And if anyone is found

²⁹ Ibid., 203

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., 302-306. There is an entire section on the Assay of Bread in London, examples of regulations can be seen in this section.

selling in his house, he shall be amerced to the sum of forty shillings.”³² Market areas were designated as market areas and not using the designated market area comes with a heavy penalty. Like those of good placement, these types of fines create an area where goods are not to be sold and controls commerce within the city by forcing it into confined areas. There are no other customs which prohibit a specific profession from selling wares in a certain area.

This type of custom can also be expressed in a more general way as with the area of Suthewerk.³³ There are two different customs that prohibit the buying and selling of items within the area of Suthewerk. The first deals with general goods and states that “no one of the City shall go into Suthewerk to buy corn, beasts, or other merchandize, whereby market may there be held, under pain of forfeiture of the article there bought.”³⁴ While Suthewerk had markets and was presumably a taxed space in its own right, it is only by reading other customs regarding bakers that it is learned that “the bakers of Suthewerk, and other places, are not amenable to judgement of the City.”³⁵ While Suthewerk is a part of London, the Mayor and other officials would not have jurisdiction in that area because it was not a part of the city, proper. As with the regulation of market areas and the levying of taxes on goods, putting a penalty on the use of another market area controls the economic experience of those in the city. Again, this custom expresses the way in which city laws and taxes can control spaces within the city.

Taken altogether the provisions of Winchester and the many different customs of London help to build a picture of market areas and taxed spaces in each of these urban areas. The laws and customs describe how and where markets were and allow speculation of why those were the market areas. While the customs of London are more specific and more thorough in description

³² Ibid., 231

³³ This is the area of London now known as Southwark.

³⁴ Ibid., 238

³⁵ Ibid., 308

of goods, they do allow a comparison to Winchester. Both cities have laws that help to control market areas and laws that direct economic traffic to certain areas of the city. Both cities also use taxes to define the everyday experience of buying or selling in those markets. There are many ways to consider the different laws and customs of these two cities. They have only been lightly analyzed here in order to create a context and understanding of market areas as well as to give clarity to other analyzations, such as how the price of goods affects space as well as how being a part of the franchise or freedom affects the experience of taxation and the urban space.

The Price of Goods

Another method of considering taxed spaces is the analysis of the goods that are taxed within them. The price of goods are important to those who are buying them. Goods with prices that are too high will not be purchased by the average customer, and thus applying a tax to a product becomes not only a political action for the government but also an economic one for the people. This economic action is applied to products in market spaces and experienced in the everyday purchases of those in the city and by the merchants who sell the goods. Products may also be subject, not only to taxes or customs, but also to other prohibitions about their time of sale and who may purchase them. Different prohibitions and laws of regulation on products usually encourage economic fairness and equal competition for those who are buying and selling goods in the city. The previous section of this essay focused on the spaces *where* taxes were levied and *how* those market areas contributed to the everyday experience of taxed space. This section will concentrate on what goods were taxed and how those goods describe spaces and their experience in everyday life.

The most important and most prevalent products of a city space were edible goods, foods and drink. Food and drink were regulated in a number of ways throughout the city and outside of

it. The most obvious regulations were customs and taxes that were placed on an amount of goods entering the city; however, as mentioned there were other controlling factors that affected the sale of foods and drink within the city. One of the most common provisions and customs in both Winchester and London concern regreators. Regreators are those middlemen who purchase goods directly from the producer and then sell them for a higher prices. Regreators are different than merchants who would just be selling their goods or wares in a city. A regreator is someone who resells goods in the city for a profit and may or may not be the person who is paying customs on the goods he or she is selling. Other common provisions and laws include when a product can or cannot be sold and where a product can be sold, as previously discussed.

In the cities of Winchester and London there are a number of provisions that control the sale and purchase of food goods. The first manner of control, as mentioned, is that of customs or taxes on goods. One of the most mentioned items entering the city of Winchester was that of fish, equalled by bread and beer. All three of these products were subject more often to the customs and taxes of the royal government than the city government which exerted less control over the foods of everyday life. While Winchester displayed some control through taxes collected on certain types of fish or on certain sellers, there were fewer city taxes and more royal taxes collected on food.³⁶

One of the provisions that controls the sale of fish in Winchester concerns itself only with those people bringing either a cartload or a horse load of fresh fish, whatever fish is for sale.³⁷ The cart is charged two pence halfpenny and the horse load, three halfpence. Both of these customs are owed to the king, and there is no collection of custom on fish for the city itself. One

³⁶ Douglas, 872, 874. The provisions regarding food only mention custom taken for the “king’s use” and not for city use.

³⁷ Ibid., 872

of the possible reasons for the lack of collection for the city is that the king is charging for the use of space and natural resources outside the city. Only those who are outside the city or live out of the franchise are charged for their goods, like taxing the market areas the royal government is charging the people for the use of the space and resources.

Other provisions on fish include the custom on lampreys and herrings. Herrings follow the same pattern as all fresh fish, that is the king collects a custom on the goods, that of six pence paid by those selling herrings; however, here the city also collects a type of tax and that is “to the bailiffs a pitcher of wine.”³⁸ The reason the bailiffs were to collect a pitcher of wine in return for merchants selling herrings is not mentioned. This type of substance payment was also seen with the person entering London with more than a hundred eggs and can be further seen in the case of lampreys.³⁹ Here like the London provision on eggs puts custom on goods brought in by the hundred. For every hundred lampreys that are brought into the city, the bailiffs are owed five and no other custom is required. ⁴⁰ This, again, is an example of a custom that is paid by substance or by a good, rather than by a monetary transaction. One of the similarities that can be pointed out in all of these provisions is that only the city is collecting substance customs, while the royal government is always collecting a monetary custom.

Similar to Winchester, London has customs and regulations on many of the same items as Winchester; however, provisions that govern the city of London are more extensive and cover many more materials and means of transportation into the city. The city of London also regulates foods and goods by larger weights (mainly the hundredweight).⁴¹ Like Winchester,

³⁸ Ibid., 873

³⁹ Carpenter and Whittington, 203.

⁴⁰ Douglas, 873

⁴¹ Carpenter and Whittington, 203. More examples of goods that are charged by the hundredweight can be found in note 13.

London also regulates the entrance of fish into the city. However, rather than simply creating a division between fresh fish, salted fish, and lampreys, there are a number of other fish that are mentioned and have different regulations such as the melwels, rays, herrings, sea-bass, conger, surmullet, and turbot.⁴² Along with the large number of different fishes that come into the city, the fish that enter London come by boat rather than by horse or cart. While the form of transportation changes (e.g. from cart to boat) the manner in which merchants are charged for goods does not. Boats are charged by the amount of the good they are carrying or how much space their boat will take up in the harbor and dock area.⁴³ Similar to Winchester, there are also substance payments that are required of certain boats and merchants.⁴⁴ Substance payments occur most often for those merchants who are not of the franchise of London. Unlike Winchester, there are very few mentions of royal taxes in the city of London, and there is no division between what is owed to the franchise of London and what is owed to the royal government. This lack of division is significant because while Winchester was a regional city that had to pay customs to the king the franchise of London was a part of the royal government and did not need this division of law in its regulations. This is also significant because it shows a difference between a regional city government and the capital city under the royal government's control. While both cities have taxes on the same types of foods, how they approach taxation and the taxes they collect are different.

Customs on foods can also be seen on the goods of bakers who sell the main staple of the medieval diet, bread. All of the food stuffs that used grains fell under the Assize of Bread and Beer, which set the weight and quality of all beer and bread in England. Through the Assize of

⁴² Ibid., 205-206

⁴³ Ibid., 206

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Bread and Beer, the royal government collected taxes based on the weight and quality of bread sold throughout England.⁴⁵ Beyond the royal taxation and regulation of bread, there were also city regulations in Winchester of bakers and their products. The provision for the city of Winchester that regulates the baking of bread within the city also mentions the Assize of Bread and Beer as the “assize of the king’s marshalcy,” and it is reiterated and expanded on in the provision.⁴⁶ This provision requires bakers to pay a rent to both the king and the city for selling bread. A higher price of two shillings to the king and a lower of one penny to the clerk of the city.⁴⁷ As a fixture in the medieval diet, bread is well regulated in terms of the weight, quality, and formation of the bread.⁴⁸ This provision in Winchester also lays out the avenues that justice can take if this provision and the official assize is not followed. Those who do not follow the assize or regulations are heavily fined or taken to court. Another form of the regulation was the stamp of every baker that was to be on the top of every loaf of bread.⁴⁹ The stamp was an easy way to identify bakers by their product and allowed for the identification of bakers and their goods, especially those not following the regulations.

All of the same types of regulations can be seen in regulations of London, with every baker required to have a seal on every type of bread as well as the fair price of sale based on the price of grains.⁵⁰ Like the provisions in Winchester, there is also an avenue for justice to follow if the bread is not the correct size or weight. However, in the London regulations there are other

⁴⁵ A. Luders, ed., *The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third, in Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain, From Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts*, 11 vols., (London: Record Commission, 1810-1828), Vol. I, pp. 199-200. Scanned and modernized by Jerome Arkenberg, Cal. State Fullerton. Accessed November 11, 2014 through Fordham Internet Medieval Sourcebook. <http://legacy.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/breadbeer.asp>.

⁴⁶ Douglas, 873

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Luders

⁴⁹ Douglas, 873

⁵⁰ Carpenter and Whittington, 308

caveats such as what fires are lit with and whether or not bakers are able to harbor people.⁵¹ While these types of regulations do not deal directly with taxation, they are regulations that affect income and the economic experience of daily life.

All of the taxes and regulations on bread and bakers help to shape everyday experience. Bread is a staple commodity, subject to various and strict regulations in Winchester and London. The regulations and provisions regulate not only the taxation and custom on the goods but also add an element of justice that was experienced within taxed spaces. This regulation and control of bread and bakers through taxes creates yet another way in which space in the medieval city is experienced through taxation.

Some of the most concise provisions on the sale of foodstuffs concern regreators. The provision describing the regulation of regreators is another form of control of the space. Regreators are those middlemen or salesmen in the city who purchase goods from the source, e.g. the baker or fisherman, and intend to resell the goods in the city. Regreators are able to practice commerce legally within the city of Winchester, but are subject to regulations of prices and the times of purchase and sale. Within the provision that deals with regreators, the wording specifically states that regreators may not purchase food outside of the city in order to raise the price.⁵² One of the shortcomings of this provision, of course, is that it does not provide any idea of what a fair price is for the goods that are entering the city. This shortcoming asks the question of what fair prices were for victuals that were entering the city, but also creates the supposition that the fair prices of goods changed or that the fair price of goods was well known by people in the city. Regreators are a part of the city economy and are regulated as such. The price of goods in the city is something that would affect every person who lives within the city walls. Like those

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Douglas, 872

who are using space and paying a fee to the city for renting the space, regreators are also regulated and contribute another layer of taxed experience to city spaces.

Like Winchester, the city of London also has regulations on those middlemen or regreators who would sell goods within the city. Regulations regarding merchants who resell goods is one of the main differences in language between the provisions of Winchester and the regulations in London. In the Winchester provisions those who are reselling goods are regreators; in London they are termed as forestallers. Similar to the city of Winchester, the city of London regulates the times of purchase and sets the prices of goods for those who are reselling goods within the city.

London has a number of regulations that are fairly specific on the timing of purchases, the prices of some goods, as well as how regreators cheat the unwary. These regulations begin with the control of those who are selling grains in the city. Similar to regulations that require customs to be collected in a certain place, those selling grains are not allowed to remove any of their goods from their cart or horse until customs are collected on pain of giving up the whole of their goods. In conjunction with those regreators and sellers of grain is a regulation which is more of description of practices than actual control of behavior or customs. This regulation is a warning and describes how regreators cheat those who are trying to purchase or sell grain. This description includes buyers giving partial payment and disappearing, giving excuses for not having payment, and causing goods to be spoiled.⁵³ While this regulation does not directly mention taxes or customs, it is an instance of regulation of the people and describes situations that people living in or entering the city might experience. The description is, of course, what might be experienced in a bad situation rather than a good one and is something of which the city of London is aware.

⁵³ Carpenter and Whittington, 229

Both Winchester and London had regulations for those merchants and middlemen who were reselling food within the city space. In an effort to keep a fair marketplace, both cities took efforts to regulate when and where regreators and forestallers were able to purchase goods for resale in the city. London also made an effort to educate those who could be economically affected by those who bought and resold victuals in the city. While not every provision and regulation directly mentions a specific tax amount, all of these regulations helped to set a market value on goods and to regulate the everyday prices paid by those purchasing the goods. The purchasing of goods, especially food, is important to those living in the city, and there are many ways in which the city controls that commodity. With the different provisions and regulations on victuals, as well as the customs collected, it would have been almost impossible for someone to live in the city space without coming into contact with a space that was either taxed or controlled economically.

Beyond victuals that are brought to the city and sold or consumed by people, there are other goods such as wool, with which only a portion of the population may have come in contact. While only a portion of the population may have had a job in the wool trade, wool was an export of England and was an important part of English society and English tax laws, both in the city and for the royal government. To understand and analyze the importance of wool in the English economy, provisions in Winchester, regulations in London and royal customs can be examined. Some provisions in Winchester deal with wool directly while others deal with it as an addition to other goods that have the same type of custom levied on them. Many of the regulations on wool also deal with whether or not the wool belongs to those in the franchise. Objects connected to the wool trade also provide important information on how wool products were regulated and controlled by the city and the royal government.

In the *Usages of Winchester* there are a few provisions that deal directly with the sale and handling of wool for those people both inside and outside the franchise of the city. The first of these provisions deals with the entrance of wool into the city in small quantities. For these small quantities, that of a stone or multiple stones, the custom collected increases gradually from a farthing to two pence.⁵⁴ This provision is only concerned with collecting custom on wool for the king and royal government and not for the city government, which suggests one of two things: that the city government had no claim on the wool that entered the city, that custom was reserved for the king, or that the city was able to collect custom on wool products in other ways and during other periods of its stay in the city, as exemplified by other provisions that place a tax on owning a loom.⁵⁵

Within the city of London wool is viewed and taxed in a slightly different manner than the small quantities custom that existed in Winchester. In London, the regulation on wool is for amounts that are the weights in sacks. These sacks were weighed using different denominations, the king's Tronage.⁵⁶ The custom on wool sacks using the king's Tronage was slightly more complicated and expensive than those in Winchester. While in Winchester the number of stones and the custom collected is progressive, the number of weys and sacks in London is calculated differently in terms of total combined weight and number of sacks.⁵⁷ This difference in the manner of weighing and levying custom makes it difficult to compare the prices on the product of wool. Despite these difference in measurement, both the regulation in both London and Winchester contribute an idea of how wool was controlled and taxed as a product. These

⁵⁴ Douglas, 874

⁵⁵ Ibid., 871

⁵⁶ Carpenter and Whittington, 200. The king's Tron was a universal weight that was used to compare amounts and set custom and was used across a variety of goods such as wool, but also for lard and lead.

⁵⁷ Ibid. There is a minimum weight (3 weys) which is charged a certain amount and things over that reach a max before being charged a higher price.

regulations also give information about where merchants were taxed. In Winchester merchants were taxed for bringing wool into the city while in London merchants were taxed when taking wool out of the city. The difference in these regulations help to picture during what stage of the product's movement taxation became important. These types of regulations also show a difference between a regional market that has wool moving through it and a royal city that is collecting custom as wool leaves it. This difference in regulation allows the royal government to collect a custom on the raw commodity as well as the final product.

Overarching and reinforcing the cities' regulations are the grants of custom issued by the royal government. The first of these that becomes relevant to the time period under observation is a custom from the *Parliamentary Writs*. This grant was issued in 1275 and required that on each sack of wool $\frac{1}{2}$ a mark be paid in custom.⁵⁸ The grant also issues the number of wool fells that make up a sack so that less than the full amount can be charged accordingly.⁵⁹ This grant only describes the custom that is to be paid to the king and offers severe penalties for those who do not follow the custom.⁶⁰ This grant of custom on wool is one of two that were issued in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century.

The second grant of custom comes from the *Calendar of Fine Rolls* and describes a custom that is five to six times higher than that of the previous grant of custom. This grant is known as and listed as the Maltote or "Evil Toll" of 1294. This toll on wool lasted until 1297 and was issued in direct connection to the war England was fighting against France at the time.⁶¹ The language in this new custom is very clear and raises the amount on each sack of wool from $\frac{1}{2}$

⁵⁸ Douglas, 410

⁵⁹ Ibid. A wool fell is one sheared sheep.

⁶⁰ Ibid. "[the offender] shall lose all his chattels he has and his person shall be at the king's pleasure"

⁶¹ Ibid., 469

mark to a full 3 marks and is only granted for “two to three years if the war last so long.”⁶² While the focus of this essay is taxed spaces in the urban setting, these taxed spaces connect to the larger world of international politics and warfare. This statute is a direct consequence of the war with France and connects the extreme rise of a custom with the duration of the war.

While wool was not food, a product with which every person interacted, it was an important product and was specifically targeted to raise customs on. While there are specific regulations in both of the cities under investigation, both cities also had to comply with the custom set out by the royal government. By comparing all three instances, it is possible to gain a better understanding of how wool was taxed in the cities to comply with the royal custom. These regulations also describe during what stage of movement through the city the taxes were collected on wool. Similar to foods and bread, wool was an important product that came with its own specific regulations and taxed spaces which shaped the everyday experience.

Being “Of the Franchise”

Both the space where taxes were collected, and the prices of goods were an important part of how the medieval urban space was experienced everyday. Along with these two ideas is a third layer of taxation and regulation that contributes to and divides how different people experience the space. That third layer is citizenship or “being of the franchise.” A medieval city did not have the same type of citizenship laws as a modern city is thought of having. A medieval city, while answerable to the royal government, was also run as its own small government or conversely a large business that granted benefits to those who were of the franchise. Granting benefits to citizens causes them to do business in the city and aids the city in keeping revenue and taxable transactions within the walls. While granting benefits to citizens kept revenue within the city, it also changed how people experienced the city. Citizens experienced the taxed spaces

⁶² Ibid.

of the city in one way while those not of the franchise experienced the city slightly differently. Being of the franchise or freedom granted a person a number of rights such as lower customs or no customs collected on items, as well as permissions that non-citizens did not have, such as weaving or brewing. In both Winchester and London the benefits of being of the franchise were controlled by the regulations of the city and are different in each city. To understand how citizenship affected the everyday experience of space this essay will examine first the benefits of being a citizen in each city and then the prohibitions on those who are not of the freedom.

In the *Usages of Winchester*, there are a number of provisions that either mention or specifically outline what the benefits are of being of the franchise. The most common benefit is not paying the customs that the city collects. All of the provisions in the *Usages of Winchester* give an amount of custom that is to be collected by both the king and or the city. In many of the provisions only those who are not of the franchise are required to pay the custom, or they pay a higher price than those people who are of the franchise. One example is the provision regulating those who buy and sell beasts and swine.⁶³ Only those who are from outside the franchise are required to pay the custom on the animals and the fee for keeping them penned outside the city. Other examples include women who are selling bread in the streets of Winchester. Only those women who are not from the franchise are required to pay a fee for selling bread, there is no mention of a fee for those who live in the city. There are a number of other regulations similar to these two which only mention those outside the franchise as paying a custom or fee. This difference in citizenship and its consequences is something that affected the everyday experience of people.

⁶³ Douglas, 873

Another example of city regulations controlling how people within the city experience the urban space in Winchester is by controlling or prohibiting certain jobs or types of sales within the city. These types of regulations are also based on whether or not someone is a part of the franchise, and those who are not a part of the franchise have far more prohibitions than those that are of the franchise. Throughout the provisions those who are not of the franchise are kept from producing revenue in the city, and those of the franchise are penalized for taking production and work outside of the city walls. There are three examples of this type of provision in Winchester, each dealing with different types of industries or ministries in the city.

The first of these examples is a provision dealing with weaving. There are a series of provisions that deal with weaving and stipulate how long a piece of cloth may be, but also how much custom is to be collected on each cloth, as well as the price for owning a loom.⁶⁴ This first provision describes two different cloth sizes and forbids those of the city from causing “[cloth] to be worked outside the walls of the city on the pain of forfeiting the goods or their value.”⁶⁵ This provision, like many, requires the production or manufacture of a good to be done in the city, thus keeping revenue within the walls. This regulation, like others custom collections previously discussed, uses the value of the goods to be forfeited as a punishment and creates a sense of continuity with other punishments and laws of the same kind. Putting punishment aside, this provision also creates spaces where the production of materials are forbidden to citizens.

Other provisions that create forbidden spaces concern brewsters and ministries in general. These two consecutive provisions deal first with brewsters and forbid brewsters out of franchise from brewing within the city without satisfying the bailiffs in some way based on the amount

⁶⁴ Ibid., 871

⁶⁵ Ibid.

that she brews.⁶⁶ While the Assize of Bread and Beer would regulate the quality and price of every brewster, this provision deals directly with the brewster and her place in the city. Again, this provision creates a type of forbidden space for those outside the franchise but also creates a taxed space different from the taxed space that a citizen of the franchise would experience. The same can be said for the subsequent provision that prohibits everyone not of the franchise, working any ministry or industry from “keep[ing] shop, sell[ing], or buy[ing] within the jurisdiction of the city without satisfying the bailiffs of the city.”⁶⁷ These types of provisions only apply to those people who do not live in the franchise of the city, for these people how the city space is experience through taxation is different than for those people living in Winchester.

This same type of control and regulation can be seen in the city of London as it differentiates between those people who are of the franchise or freedom and those people who are entering the city from a different place. Many of the regulations on franchise citizenship can be seen in the city charters granted to the city by various kings as what it meant to be a citizen changed and as the city tried to exert better control over who was a part of the city through regulation and taxation.

The city of Winchester focused more heavily on non-citizens paying a higher custom to work or sell in the city. While this is true of London as well, there are also laws that simply control where people can and cannot be. One of the best examples of this is within a granted city charter which requires strangers being admitted to the freedom to enter at the Hustings gate and no other.⁶⁸ Another form of this control is the requirement to enter into the freedom of the city, meaning to become a citizen not just a physical inhabitant. For those men who practice a craft or

⁶⁶ Ibid., 873

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Carpenter and Whittington, 127

ministry,⁶⁹ no less than six reputable men of the same craft must vouch for his reputation to allow for his joining the freedom.⁷⁰

While London charters exerted control over where people were and were not able to be, it also exerted control as Winchester did by creating forbidden economic spaces for people not of the city. This can be seen in a Charter of Edward II which prohibits merchants who are not of the freedom from selling “wine or other wares by retail within the said city.”⁷¹ This brief charter example is followed up by later extensive regulation that forbids those not of the franchise from selling by retail in the city. The regulations also stipulate that those not of the city and wishing to sell by retail must be sworn and admitted to the franchise and must be enrolled at the guildhall.⁷² If anyone is caught selling by retail, there are heavy penalties incurred, but the regulation does not say what the penalties would be. While this regulation of admittance seems like simple control and knowledge of those in the city, it is also an economic regulation as those who are admitted to the guildhall also have to give some type of compensation, along with paying citizenship dues to the city.

Citizenship and its fee is not mentioned in the city of Winchester but is in London, and the regulation on citizenship is fairly specific. Those who are part of the franchise of London shall be in “Lot and Scot.”⁷³ A note in the *Liber Albus* explains that Lot is the assessment of taxes in certain proportions, meaning the assessment of houses and property and Scot is the payment of contributions and taxes owed.⁷⁴ Being in Lot and Scot means that the citizens are

⁶⁹ Ibid. In the *Liber Albus* the word ministry is replaced with mystery.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 128

⁷² Ibid., 234

⁷³ Ibid., 235

⁷⁴ Ibid.

assessed and are paying the taxes they owe to the city. There are, of course, penalties for not paying taxes to the city; those who do not pay their taxes lose the franchise after forty days and are removed from the franchise to be treated as non-citizens.⁷⁵ In this regulation again there is a combination of physical and economic regulation that taxes the spaces occupied within the city.

Being “of the franchise” is a privilege in both cities and comes with some economic benefits, not to mention the benefits of living protected within the city walls. While there are benefits to being a citizen, there is also an economic control, as seen in London examples, over that benefit. Those people who lived in the city and were a part of the franchise experienced the city economically different from those who were not of the franchise and living outside of the city’s protection. In the case of both cities the everyday experience of the space is connected to taxation in some way, and is controlled by regulation of the city.

Conclusion

Taxation is an important part of the medieval experience of urban spaces. It was connected in many ways to a space or a person practicing a trade within that space. By studying taxation and its connection to spaces, where and how people worked, bought, sold, and experienced, the city and its economic spaces becomes more clear. Taxes give definition to spaces in the medieval city and control both economic and social components. Some of those components include where market areas are and how taxes are collected in them, controlling where people bought and sold goods in the city. Other components include taxes defining how much a good would cost within the city, or how much it would cost to sell a certain good. Taxes also define what it meant to be a citizen and defined whether or not someone was a citizen. Being a citizen or not also contributed to how spaces were experienced within the city, those of the franchise experiencing it in one way while those who are not experience the spaces of the

⁷⁵ Ibid.

city differently. All of these components help to create clearer picture of how urban spaces are experienced and lived in by the everyday person.

While this essay has explored a few different aspects of how the urban space was experienced, there are many further questions to be asked within this framework. One of those questions is how religion would have affected or influenced the experience of taxation as churches were special spaces where a secular tax was not collected or experienced by the people. Another question to be asked is how property taxes would fit into the framework of taxed spaces and their everyday experience. Both of these questions would require further research into how taxes were levied and assessed, as well as how the Catholic church collected taxes within areas under its jurisdiction. Both of these questions would also create a more whole picture of medieval urban life and how people experienced different spaces within the city economically.

Bibliography

Attreed, Lorraine, "Urban Identity in Medieval English Towns." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4(Spring 2002): 571-592. Accessed November 30, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3656146>

Biddick, Kathleen."English Medieval Peasants and Market Involvement." *Journal of Economic History* 45, no. 4(Dec. 1985): 823-831. Accessed October 5, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2121881>

Carpenter, John and Richard Whittington. *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London*. London: Richard Griffin and Company, 1861.

Cave, Roy C. and Herber Coulson. *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo & Tannen Booksellers, 1965.

Douglas, David C., ed. *English Historical Documents*. Vol. 3, New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Harding, Vanessa, "Space, Property, and Propriety in Urban England." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (Spring 2002) 549-569. Accessed November 28, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3656145>

Luders, A., ed., *The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third, in Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain, From Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts, 11 vols., London: Record Commission, 1810-1828, Vol. I, 199-200. Scanned and modernized by Jerome Arkenberg, Cal. State Fullerton. Accessed November 11, 2014 through Fordham Internet Medieval Sourcebook. <http://legacy.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/breadbeer.asp>*

Keene, Derek, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

Nicholas, David, *The Later Medieval City: 1300-1500*. New York and London: Longman, 1997.

Sources Consulted

Douglas, David C., ed. *English Historical Documents*. Vol. 3, New York: Oxford University Press, 1975. 379-380, 460-463, 854-857

Keene, Derek, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985. For general information about the city of Winchester supported by the *Usages of Winchester*.

Nicholas, David, *The Later Medieval City: 1300-1500*. New York and London: Longman, 1997. For general information about medieval cities.