



Property rents in medieval English towns: Hull in the fourteenth century

Article

Accepted Version

Casson, C. and Casson, M. (2019) Property rents in medieval English towns: Hull in the fourteenth century. *Urban History*, 46 (3). pp. 374-397. ISSN 1469-8706 doi: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S096392681800041X> Available at <http://centaur.reading.ac.uk/78564/>

It is advisable to refer to the publisher's version if you intend to cite from the work. See [Guidance on citing](#).

To link to this article DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S096392681800041X>

Publisher: Cambridge University Press

All outputs in CentAUR are protected by Intellectual Property Rights law, including copyright law. Copyright and IPR is retained by the creators or other copyright holders. Terms and conditions for use of this material are defined in the [End User Agreement](#).

www.reading.ac.uk/centaur

CentAUR

Central Archive at the University of Reading

Reading's research outputs online



Property Rents in Medieval English Towns: Hull in the Fourteenth Century ¹

Catherine Casson (University of Manchester) and Mark Casson (University of Reading)

1. Introduction

The property market is increasingly recognised as an important component of the medieval urban economy, which has the potential to be investigated using a variety of methodologies. Archaeological evidence and geographical mapping techniques have reconstructed medieval topographies, increasing our understanding of the scale of medieval towns, their residential and commercial building and their infrastructure.² Documentary evidence has established the identities of owners and tenants and explained how property was bought, sold, exchanged and leased.³ Together this body of work has highlighted processes that drove and shaped urban property markets.

This paper examines whether property rents varied within towns. Scholars have been deterred from analysing medieval urban rents because of a belief that they were ‘fossilised’ from an early stage in town development, and therefore did not reflect economic forces that guided the later development of towns.⁴ This is in contrast to work on medieval and early modern agricultural rents which has used statistical techniques to analyse rent levels and their

¹ Acknowledgements: We would like to thank the referees for their suggestions. Support was also provided by staff at Archaeology Data Services, University of York, staff at the Bodleian Library Map Room, participants in the European Association for Urban History Conference 2016, staff at Hull History Centre, participants in the Port, City and Lives Conference, University of Liverpool, members of Manchester Medieval Society, participants in the Department of History Research Seminar at the University of Manchester, members of the University of Reading Centre for Institutions and Economic History, Michael Charno, Heidi Deneweth, Richard Holt, Rosemary Horrox, Maryanne Kowaleski, Joseph Lampel, Steve Rigby, Elisabeth Salter and Bruce Tether.

² N. Baker; J. Brett and R. Jones, *Bristol: A Worshipful Town and Famous City: An Archaeological Assessment* (Oxford, 2017); N. Baker; P. Hughes and R. K. Morriss, *The Houses of Hereford 1200-1700* (Oxford, 2017); C. Dyer, ‘The archaeology of medieval small towns’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (1) (2003), 85-114; K. D. Lilley, ‘Urban planning after the Black Death: townscape transformation in later medieval England (1350–1530)’, *Urban History*, 42, 1 (2015), 22-42; B. Jervis, ‘Assessing urban fortunes in six late medieval ports: an archaeological application of assemblage theory’, *Urban History*, 44 (1) (2017).

³ A. F. Butcher, ‘Rent, population and economic change in late-medieval Newcastle’, *Northern History* 14 (1978), 67-77; G. Demidowicz, *Medieval Birmingham: The Borough Rentals of 1296 and 1344-5* (Stratford-upon-Avon, 2008); V. Harding and L. Wright (eds.), *London Bridge: Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1381-1538* (London, 1995);

⁴ R. H. Hilton, ‘Some problems of urban real property in the Middle Ages,’ *Socialism, Capitalism and Economic Growth: Essays Presented to Maurice Dobb* ed. C. H. Feinstein (Cambridge, 1967), 326-37.

relationship to land and property characteristics.⁵ One reason for the difference is that statistical research into rents requires documentary sources recording a relatively large number of properties and providing relevant details on each property. Unfortunately there is limited survival of such sources for medieval European towns; many have no surviving records, while in others the records contain insufficient detail to explain the variation of rents across properties. Rent rolls and deeds are the two main types of documentary sources available. Rent rolls were usually compiled by an institution, to record the properties owing rent to them. As such their coverage is often restricted to the properties from which the institution received rent, rather than all the properties in a town.⁶ Deeds were produced when a property was transferred between individuals or between individuals and institutions and often contain detailed information on property characteristics and the identities of owners. However because different properties were often transferred at different times the data contained in deeds relates to different points in a property's history, making statistical comparisons of rent levels across properties in a given location difficult.⁷

A second reason why statistical techniques have not often been applied to medieval sources is that it has often been assumed that all rents in boroughs were set at a uniform level and remained 'fossilised' through subsequent decades or centuries at the level at which they were set when the town was founded.⁸ While some towns, such as Grimsby, show evidence of such uniform and fossilized rents, this was not the case in all towns.⁹ New Winchelsea shares similar characteristics to Hull, as it is an example of a newly created royal port where a rental drawn up at the early stages of development under royal authority. The 1292 rental of burgage

⁵ M. A. Boyle and K. A. Kiel, 'A survey of house price hedonic studies of the impact of environmental externalities', *Journal of Real Estate Literature*, 9 (2) (2009), 117-144; N. Dunse and C. Jones, 'A hedonic price model of office rents', *Journal of Property Valuation and Investment*, 16 (3) (1983), 297-312; R. C. Allen, 'The price of freehold land and the interest rate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 41 (1988), 33-50; G. Clark, 'Land rental values and the agrarian economy: England and Wales, 1500-1914', *European Review of Economic History* 6, (2002), 281-308; M. E. Turner, J. V. Beckett and B. Afton, *Agricultural Rent in England, 1690-1914* (Cambridge, 1997); B. Van Bavel, 'The organisation and rise of land and lease markets in north-western Europe and Italy, c.1000-1800', *Continuity and Change*, 23 (1) (2008), 1-53.

⁶ S. Rees Jones, *York: The Making of a City 1068-1350* (Oxford, 2013), 274-79.

⁷ H. E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford, Vol. I*, (Oxford, 1960), vi.

⁸ M. de Wolf Hemmeon, *Burgage Tenure in Medieval England* (Cambridge, MA, 1914), 61-87.

⁹ S. H. Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby: Growth and Decline*, 119.

plots in New Winchelsea also shows that rents of plots varied between different parts of town.¹⁰ For the older town of Gloucester, meanwhile, the rental of 1455 records two sets of rents; one set in c. 1100 and the other set in c. 1455. The levels of both sets of rents were influenced by the location of property and its use.¹¹

One town with excellent sources is the port of Hull in north-east England, which assumed international significance in the fourteenth century as a military logistical centre and trading port for the export of English wool and cloth to the Low Countries. Unlike other major ports, such as London, Bristol and Gloucester, the town had no Roman, Anglo-Saxon or Danish roots.¹² Instead it was a new foundation, established in the late thirteenth century by the monks of Meaux Abbey and then purchased by Edward I. The 1347 fee-farm rental contains unique information on plot dimensions and details the exact location of each specific property, facilitating the construction of a comprehensive topography of the town.¹³ This information enables the relationship between rent levels, property dimensions and property location to be measured in a way that is not possible in other towns, where data is usually available only at street or parish level.¹⁴

A number of factors have the potential to impact on a property's level of rent; its location within a town, its size, its use and the identity of its owners. This paper examines how rents varied within Hull with respect to these factors. It employs a qualitative and quantitative methodology that has the potential to add to archaeological and documentary evidence to inform on the topography of the town, the identity of its inhabitants and the most

¹⁰ M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1988), 16-24; B. Martin and D. Martin, *New Winchelsea, Sussex: A Medieval Port Town* (King's Lynn, 2004); National Archives, Rentals and Surveys, SC11/674 New Winchelsea, discussed at S. Alsford, *Florilegium Urbanum* <http://users.trytel.com/tristan/towns/florilegium/community/cmfabr28.html> (accessed 23 April 2017).

¹¹ C. Casson, and M. Casson, 'Location, location, location? Analysing property rents in medieval Gloucester' *Economic History Review*, 69 (2) (2016), 575-599; J. Langton, 'Late medieval Gloucester: some data from a rental of 1455', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New series, 2 (1977), 259-277.

¹² R. Holt, 'The urban transformation in England, 900-1100' in C. Lewis (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies* 32, (Woodbridge, 2010), 57-78; M. Kowaleski, 'Port towns: England and Wales 1300-1540' in D. M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Vol 1 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), 467-94; D. M. Palliser, T. R. Slater and E. P. Dennison, 'The topography of towns 600-1300', in D. M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Vol 1 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), 153-186.

¹³ R. Horrox (ed.), *Selected Rentals and Accounts of Medieval Hull, 1293-1528* (York, 1983a), 61-90.

¹⁴ Casson, and Casson, 'Location'; Langton, 'Gloucester'; F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, 1898).

desirable areas of residence. The results are placed in the context of findings from other medieval English towns.

2. Literature review

Urban historians have noted a potential hierarchy of locations in some medieval towns. In the cathedral city of York, the corner of Stonegate and Petergate, at the approach to the Minster, has been identified as a central place with expensive properties during twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁵ In the New Winchelsea rental of burgage plots of 1292 the most desirable properties, especially with the leading mercantile elite, were those between the harbour and the marketplace.¹⁶ The location of high rents within a town might remain constant or shift over time. In Gloucester there was some stability over time as a rental premium occurred for centrality in both rents set in c.1100 and those set in c.1455. In c. 1100 the highest rents were associated with properties inside the city walls while in c. 1455 they applied mainly to the area around the High Cross.¹⁷ In contrast change over time is more apparent in Bristol.¹⁸ During the thirteenth century properties in the suburbs attracted higher rents compared to those in the walled town. However in the fourteenth and fifteenth century this situation reversed, with properties inside the walls attracting higher rents than those in the suburbs.¹⁹

The limited availability of information on size of plots means that there has been less investigation of the relationship between plot size and rent levels. Archaeological evidence has, however been used with great effect in Winchester, Worcester and York to formulate plot histories.²⁰ Evidence from last wills and testaments has proved of value in other locations, permitting a reconstruction of topographies, property characteristics and household

¹⁵ Rees Jones, *York*, 308-9.

¹⁶ SC11/674 New Winchelsea.

¹⁷ Casson and Casson, 'Location'.

¹⁸ Casson, C. and M. Casson, 'The Economy of Medieval English Towns: Property Values and Rents in Bristol, 1200-1500', working paper; Roger H. Leech, *The Topography of Medieval and Early Modern Bristol, Part I: Property Holdings in the Early Walled Town and the Marsh Suburb North of the Avon* (Bristol, 1997).

¹⁹ Casson and Casson, 'Bristol'; Leech, *Topography*.

²⁰ N. Baker and R. Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, 2004); D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, Vol. 2 part i, (Oxford, 1985); Rees Jones, *York*, 274-79.

composition in Gravesend, Greenwich and Yalding in North Kent for the period 1450 to 1550.²¹

While it might be expected that towns with similar characteristics would exhibit similar patterns in the location of high-rent properties, there are indications that this was not the case. In the coastal port of Sandwich during the period 1360 to 1560 waterfront properties with quays in the centre of Strand Street were particularly desirable, with access to water adding a premium to property on the north side of the street.²² In Southampton, however, the highest rents in the mid-thirteenth century were attached to properties on English Street, which ran north-south through the centre of the town.²³ It has been suggested that this difference may have been due to the absence of stone walls along the bank of the river facing Stour Street, Sandwich, compared to the presence of ‘complete harbour-side walls’ in Southampton.²⁴

Some towns were perceived to be more desirable to live or work in than others, a situation that potentially influenced the operation of their property markets. During the early fourteenth century the river port of Norwich in East Anglia experienced immigration from the countryside. Documentary and archaeological evidence suggests that this encouraged landowners to construct properties suitable for multiple occupancy and fuelled a temporary rise in levels of market rents.²⁵ In contrast, Gloucester in the fifteenth century experienced a period of economic decline that resulted in the demolition of low-rent suburban housing by local lords Llanthony Priory. However the provision of accommodation for pilgrims to Gloucester cathedral provided a new opportunity for Gloucester Abbey and Llanthony Priory to construct inns and hostels on their holdings.²⁶

Commercial opportunities, it has been suggested, attracted investment in property by institutions and individuals. The annual fair held in Boston, the outpost for Lincoln, from the mid-twelfth century was an important venue for international trade. Many religious houses

²¹ E. E. Salter, ‘Some differences in the cultural production of household consumption in three North Kent communities, c. 1450-1550’ in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c. 850-c.1550: Managing Power, Wealth and the Body* (Brepols, 2003), 391-408.

²² Clarke et al, *Sandwich*, 226-27.

²³ Platt, *Southampton*, 43-5.

²⁴ Clarke et al, *Sandwich*, 265-66.

²⁵ E. Rutledge, ‘Landlords and tenants: housing and the rented property market in early fourteenth-century Norwich’, *Urban History*, 22(1) (1995), 7-24.

²⁶ N. Baker and Holt, *Gloucester and Worcester*.

from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire purchased, rented or constructed property in Boston for storing wool and conducting business during the fair.²⁷ During the thirteenth century the counts of Aumale, lords of Holderness (situated between the Hull valley, the Humber and the North Sea) invested in property in Ravenserod and Hedon, the market centres used by local religious houses to trade wool and corn.²⁸ York's strategic position between its agricultural hinterland and the North Sea encouraged merchants from Beverley to purchase property there in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁹

The motivation for the creation of property portfolios has been debated by historians. In York Rees Jones saw evidence of property portfolios being created by families over the period 1086 to 1350 with the aim of obtaining a greater degree of social and political influence in the town.³⁰ Examining Oxford in the fourteenth-century, Butcher suggested that rental income from property was sometimes used to supplement income from careers in commerce and administration.³¹ In York in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Kermode found evidence of investment by merchants from Beverley and York in small property portfolios of around 3 to 8 properties, which may have been intended for business bases, sources for security for loans or as supplementary sources of income from rents.³²

A pro-active local lord could invest in a location to make it more attractive to potential inhabitants. The Bishop of Durham developed a successful suburb in Durham to the east of the town, around the Elvet bridge in c. 1200-1250.³³ One of the notable features of medieval Coventry was that both the Earls of Chester and Prior of Coventry Priory claimed lordship over parts of the town. The Prior controlled the Market Place and the north of the town, while the Earl controlled the castle area and the land to the south, including the main east-west street.³⁴ In the twelfth century the Prior invested in developing a commercial zone

²⁷ S. H. Rigby, *Boston, 1086-1225 A Medieval Boom Town* (Lincoln, 2017), 46-7.

²⁸ B. English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260* (Oxford, 1979), 206, 212-21

²⁹ J. Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1998), 276-304.

³⁰ Rees Jones, *York*, 274-79.

³¹ A. F. Butcher, 'Rent and the urban economy: Oxford and Canterbury in the later middle ages', *Southern History* 1 (1978), 11-43, 18.

³² Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, 288; B. Waites, *Monasteries and the Landscape in North East England: The Medieval Colonisation of the North York Moors* (Oakham, 1997).

³³ M. Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community: Durham and its Overlords, 1250-1540* (Cambridge, 1990), 27-29.

³⁴ P. R. Coss (ed.), *The Early Records of Medieval Coventry* (London, 1986) xv-xxi.

at the Market Place, and this was emulated by the Earls through the development of Earl Street as a commercial centre in their half.³⁵

Close examination of individual towns has thus highlighted a range of potential factors that might influence town topography, property characteristics and the identities of property owners. Existing scholarship indicates nuances between towns, resulting from variations in their characteristics. A study of Hull can contribute to these wider debates, while extending our knowledge of the situation in a town with the characteristics of a new foundation, an international sea port and a royal logistical centre.

3. The economic development of medieval Hull

Hull's development owed much to the Cistercian monks of Meaux Abbey (founded c.1150 about 5 miles north of Hull) who were the local lords in the thirteenth century.³⁶ They recognised Hull's potential as a port and began to invest in the town. The medieval town was situated at the confluence of the River Humber and the River Hull, about 20 miles west of Spurn Head (where the Humber enters the North Sea). It was a convenient point at which to trans-ship goods from large sea-going vessels to smaller river craft, which could reach York (via the Ouse), Gainsborough, Newark and Nottingham (via the Trent), Wakefield (via the Aire), and Beverley (via the Hull). Land transport was less convenient, however, owing to marshland around the town, and there was a perennial risk of flooding. Wool and cloth were important exports, much of the export trade being handled by merchants from the Low Countries.³⁷

³⁵ R. Goddard, *Lordship and Medieval Urbanisation: Coventry, 1043-1355* (Woodbridge, 2004), 66-67.

³⁶ Beresford, *New Towns*; G. Hadley, *New and Complete History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull* (Hull, 1788); J. Tickell, *History of the Town and County of Kingston upon Hull* (n.s., 1798); C. Frost, *Notices of the Early History of the Town and Port of Hull* (London, 1827); J. J. Sheahan, *General and Concise History and Description of the Town and Port of Kingston-upon-Hull* (London, 1864); T. Gent, *Gent's History of Hull [1735]* (Hull, 1869); E. Gillett and K. A. MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Oxford, 1980).

³⁷ J. A. Sheppard, *The Draining of the Hull Valley* (Hull, 1958); J. Lister (ed.), *The Early Yorkshire Woollen Industry: Extracts from the Hull Customs Rolls*, (Cambridge, 1924, reprinted 2013); T. Topping, *Historic Facts Relative to the Sea Port and Market Town of Ravenspurne in Holderness* (Hull, 1822); T. Thompson, *Ocellum Promontorium* (Hull, 1821); G. Poulson, *History and Antiquities of the Seignory of Holderness* (Hull, 1840); B. Waites, 'The medieval ports and trade of north-east Yorkshire', *Mariners Mirror* 63 (1977), 137-149; W. R. Childs, *The Trade and Shipping of Hull, 1300-1500* (Hull, 1990).

By 1293 the monks were drawing substantial rents from their urban properties.³⁸ Their superior water-management techniques reduced (but did not eliminate) the risk of flooding, a fate suffered by the competing location of Ravenserod. Another potential competitor, Hedon, lying between Hull and Ravenserod, silted up as the course of the Humber shifted to the south. Biographical analysis suggests that many of the merchant families owning property in Hull in 1347 originated from these declining ports and had moved to Hull over the previous thirty years.³⁹

Edward I recognized the commercial potential of Hull.⁴⁰ Edward is well known for promoting urban development through town plantations, but in this case he decided to buy the town as a going concern, with long-term plans to encourage its growth and to profit from rising rents.⁴¹ The monks accepted his valuation of the town and exchanged it for agricultural estates, although some of them subsequently regretted their decision.⁴² Royal interest helped Hull to stay ahead of its competitors. Once the king was seen to favour Hull, merchants began to migrate from Ravenserod to Hull, including the brothers William and Richard de la Pole.⁴³

When the town received its charter in 1299 it changed its name from Wyke to Kingston-upon-Hull. The king owned almost all the land, apart from insignificant amounts in the knights' fees of Aton and Gaunt. Self-government was limited in comparison to other leading towns, however, as the burgesses were accountable to a warden appointed by the king. It seems likely that many, though not all, of the early rents appearing in the 1347 rental were set at the time of the charter. Inflation of property values is unlikely to have been an issue as between 1299 and 1347 the economy was on a silver standard and, while commodity prices rose 1299-1317, they then fell back to about their original level.⁴⁴

³⁸ TNA Exchequer T.R. Misc. E36/274, translated in Horrox (ed.), *Rentals*, 135-139.

³⁹ See also E. Salter, 'Hull's medieval lives', in D. J. Starkey, D. Atkinson, B. McDonagh, S. McKeon, and E. Salter (eds.), *Hull: Culture, City, Place* (University of Liverpool Press, 2017), 41-59.

⁴⁰ K. J. Allison (ed.), *The City of Kingston upon Hull: Victoria History of the County of York, East Riding*, Vol. I, (London, 1969); C. L. Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military: English Maritime Logistics in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2011).

⁴¹ Beresford, *New Towns*, 16-24.

⁴² E. A. Bond. (ed.), *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (3 vols, London, 1868).

⁴³ E. B. Fryde, *William de la Pole: Merchant and King's Banker* (London, 1988); F. W. Brooks, 'A medieval brick-yard at Hull', *Journal of British Archaeological Association* 4 (1939), 151-174.

⁴⁴ N. J. Mayhew, 'Prices in England, 1170-1750', *Past and Present*, 219 (1) (2013), 3-39.

The king had ambitious plans to expand the town, and its boundaries were set outside the walls, probably with this in mind. In 1304 the warden, Richard Oysel, was advised by the king that there were ‘certain empty plots and waste lands’ in and around Hull ‘which could be leased and built on to our profit and benefit’. The king authorized Oysel to lease the plots ‘as you think fit in our name to persons willing to build on them and live there, or otherwise improve them, for a certain rent to be paid annually to us at our exchequer...’.⁴⁵ It is evident that these rents were to be set on the basis of current market conditions. Records for the following year identify ten vacant properties that were being re-let and twenty plots that were now let for the first time.⁴⁶ There were markets on Tuesdays and Fridays, and a fair of 30 days duration once a year. In 1315 a ferry across the Humber was chartered, and in 1321 a town wall and moat (known later as the ditch) was constructed. In 1327 the crenellation of individual properties within the town was permitted.⁴⁷

In 1331 the king’s appointed warden was replaced by an elected mayor and four bailiffs, and the town was put at farm for £70 per annum. The town commonalty was given all the vacant land, on which they could build for their own profit. As a further boost to local economic development, a charter of 1334 gave the borough the right of statute merchant (for the better enforcement of debts) and exemption from mortmain (thereby placing borough finances on a more secure footing). This continuing support for the town was represented as a reward for the town’s key role in provisioning the army in the Scottish wars, but in reality the town made a payment for the charter. In 1345 Hull was one of a select list of twelve English ports authorized for wool export.⁴⁸ It still faced competition, mainly from Boston which, like Hull, was a potential outlet for produce from the East Midlands.

While some redevelopment has taken place during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the street plan and property boundaries of Hull’s old town have largely been preserved (Figure 1).⁴⁹

⁴⁵ TNA SC11/743, translation Horrox (ed.), *Rentals*, 141.

⁴⁶ Horrox (ed.), *Rentals*, 142-143.

⁴⁷ J. R. Boyle (ed.), *Charters and Letters Patent granted to Kingston upon Hull* (Hull, 1905).

⁴⁸ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III Vols. 1-16* (London, 1891-1916), 1317-54, 30; E. M. Carus-Wilson. and O. Coleman, *England’s Export Trade, 1275-1547* (Oxford, 1963).

⁴⁹ T. Blashill, *Evidences Relating to the Eastern Part of the City of Kingston-upon-Hull* (Hull, 1903); B. Ayers, *Excavations at Chapel Lane Staithe, 1978 Hull Old Town Report Series, 3, East Riding Archaeologist, 5* (Hull, 1979); D. H. Evans (ed.), *Excavations in Hull, 1975-76. Hull Old Town Report Series, 2, East Riding Archaeologist, 4* (Hull, 1993); P. Armstrong, *Excavations in Sewer Lane, Hull, 1974: Hull Old Town Report*

4. Sources and their interpretation

The rents appearing in the 1347 fee-farm rental were set at the time of the 1299 charter, when the property-holders became the burgesses of the town.⁵⁰ The rental was produced as a record of the properties that owed rent to the king. The rents recorded are not uniform burgage rents, but are variable.⁵¹

Information is provided on 198 properties, and for each property the rental records the rent paid to the king, the person holding the property, the name of the street at the front of the property, and the width of the frontage.⁵² A typical entry reads as follows:

‘Thomas de Fysshelak holds there one tenement between the tenement of William de Gysburgh and the tenement of Nicholas Stut; and it is 36 feet wide. And it extends from the tenement of Sir Thomas de Pykworth to Munkgate. And he pays to the king per annum 14 shillings.’⁵³

The rental was published by Horrox, who also produced a map of the properties recorded in it to recreate the topography of Hull in 1347 (Figure 1) and provided an index linking the owners to their properties.⁵⁴ This paper uses the original documents throughout, alongside Horrox’s translations which proved to be clear and reliable when compared with the rental manuscript.

Information on the length of properties was derived from the original document. The length of each street was then calculated from the frontages of their properties as given in the rental. The width of each property is reported in the source, together with the street onto which it fronts. Property depth must be estimated, however. Depths can be reliably

Series, 1, East Riding Archaeologist, 3 (Hull, 1977); P. Armstrong and B. Ayers, *Excavations in High Street and Blackfriargate. Hull Old Town Report Series, 5, East Riding Archaeologist, 8* (Hull, 1987).

⁵⁰ Boyle (ed.), *Charters*.

⁵¹ It is very probable that many of these properties were sublet at higher rents on short or medium term leases. These rents could fluctuate in response to short-run changes as distinct from the rents analysed here, which basically reflect rents paid to the king set in c. 1299, as explained above. Some of these rents may have remained unchanged over the period 1299-1347, but others may have altered as the properties of tenants who defaulted on their rents may have reverted to the king, who had the option to re-let the property at a different rent.

⁵² A further 18 properties are recorded but the information on them is insufficient for the purposes of this article.

⁵³ Horrox (ed.), *Rentals*, 74

⁵⁴ R. Horrox, *The Changing Plan of Hull, 1290-1650* (Hull, 1978).

estimated for a subset of properties by combining information from the rental with contemporary and historical maps of Hull.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Estimates of depth have been derived by analysing the configurations of blocks of abutting properties. The 'grid' layout of the town means that a typical block of properties is approximately rectangular, and is bounded by four streets, usually two main streets and two side-streets that intersect them. This facilitates an algebraic method of depth estimation.

The length of a main street along one side of a block can be calculated by summing the recorded widths of the frontages of adjacent properties along the street between one corner and the next. Comparing the lengths of the opposite sides of the block provides an indication of whether the block is truly rectangular or not; it is truly rectangular only if the two are equal.

If a block is truly rectangular then the sum of the depths of a pair of rear-abutting properties along the main streets will equal the lengths of the side streets to either side. Furthermore, if there is a common boundary line for all rear-abutting properties in a block then the rear-abutting properties along each main street will be of equal depth. If the properties along each of two parallel streets are of equal depth then this depth will be equal to half the length of an intersecting side street. Corner properties need to be treated somewhat differently.

Side streets often included the blank side walls of corner properties. Since the length of side walls is not recorded, it must be inferred from another source. For example, if the other side of the side street contained a row of frontages of properties belonging to an adjacent block, then its length could be estimated by summing frontage widths for these properties. In most cases, however, an independent source is required. Archaeological evidence from rescue digs carried out in the 1970s suggested that the configuration of streets in the Old Town had remained basically unchanged from the medieval period, and it has not changed significantly in the forty years since then. The most reliable source for the Old Town today is Ordnance Survey MasterMap, available online through Digimap, and this can be complemented by visual images and plans from Google Maps. Both Mastermap and Google Maps have straight-line distance measurement tools. Using information on the recorded widths of frontages, it can readily be confirmed that for Hull Old town, the lengths of the sides of blocks along the main streets that are estimated from the medieval rental agree with the corresponding measurements from MasterMap to within a margin of 5 per cent. The same result is obtained using Google Maps, although MasterMap and Google Map do not always agree exactly. This information can also be verified directly using a walking tour of the Old Town. Using MasterMap and first-hand investigation it is therefore possible to derive estimates of the lengths of medieval side streets.

The archaeological evidence referred to above suggests that some rear-abuttals are irregular. Such irregularity complicates algebraic calculations, but it does not make them impossible. By combining rental information from historical deeds, archaeological evidence and contemporary mappings, academic experts, assisted by the city planning office, were able to reconstruct a map of property boundaries in medieval Hull, which was reproduced by Horrox and is reproduced again with permission here. This mapping reflects the best estimates of expert opinion. By using the map as a basis for calculation it is possible, in many cases, to generate estimates of unknown property depths from other known measurements conditional on the configuration of abuttals being correct. The use of algebraic methods also ensures that different depth estimates are consistent with each other, in the sense that they match each other and the street-level data referred to above. Where the

While Horrox provided an index linking property owners to their properties, she did not provide detailed biographies for them. For this paper additional sources were used to construct biographies for 92 individuals named in the 1347 rental, and 39 individuals from previous generations related to them.⁵⁶

5. Identity of property owners

One limitation of the source is that it does not specify the occupation of the owner or the use of the property. However, biographical analysis is possible because key individuals can be investigated using a range of records. The national importance of Hull's corn and wool trade means that Hull merchants figure prominently in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1317-54*, which was systematically investigated by the authors.⁵⁷ The deeds mentioned earlier provide information on the owners' family backgrounds, including their ancestors and descendants, while information on town office-holders can be derived from other sources.⁵⁸ The appendix presents profiles of all the property holders listed in the 1347 rental, preceded by a list of the prominent figures who bequeathed property to them.

algebraic method cannot be applied, depth estimates have not been provided and the corresponding plots have been omitted from the statistical analysis. Discussion of plots can also be found in Terry R. Slater, 'Planning English medieval 'street towns': the Hertfordshire evidence', *Landscape History*, 26:1 (2004), 19-35. John Bilson, 'Wyke-upon-Hull in 1293,' *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, XXVI (1920), 37 – 105 was consulted but unfortunately does not give sufficient detail for our purposes.

⁵⁶ Allison (ed.), *East Riding*; L. M. Stanewell (ed.), *Calendar of the Ancient Deeds, Letters, Miscellaneous Old Documents, &c. in the Archives of the Corporation* (Hull, 1951); Fryde, *De La Pole*; Frost, *Notices*; Horrox, *Changing Plan*; Horrox (ed.), *Rentals*; Lister, *Woolen*; R. Horrox, *The De La Poles of Hull* (Hull, 1983b); Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*; Lambert, *Shipping*; R. C. Palmer, *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348-1381* (Chapel Hill, NC., 1993); Topping, *Historic Facts; Calendar of Patent Rolls*; TNA C241/134/195 Chancery: Certificates of Statute Merchant and Statute Staple; TNA E358/3 Richard de Perers, sheriff of Essex and Herts, for provisions for the king's horses, during Parliament at Westminster; TNA SC8/228/11392 Ancient Petitions: Inquisition taken before Pole and Fitz Dieu; TNA SC8/341/16051 Ancient Petitions: Petitioner Hugh de Pickworth; Family Tree Maker, 'Information about Hamo Box' <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/h/a/r/Robert-R-Harshbarger/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0642.html>, accessed 29 Sept. 2014; Surname database <http://www.surnamedb.com/Surname>, accessed 29 Sept. 2014. Google Maps Map of Hull; Goole http://www.goole-on-the-web.org.uk/main.php?page=reedness_e, [Reedness and Ousefleet](http://www.goole-on-the-web.org.uk/main.php?page=reedness_e) accessed 4 April 2015.

⁵⁷ H. C. Maxwell Lyte (ed.), *Patent Rolls, vols. 3-9 1317-54* (London, 16 vols. 1891-1916).

⁵⁸ Horrox, *Plan*; J. I. Kermode, 'The merchants of York, Beverley and Hull in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', University of Sheffield Ph.D thesis, 1990.

Hull's property owners were predominately merchants in the wool, wine or corn trades, ship owners or royal officials, according to the rental. The majority of individual owners in 1347 (53) owned one property or plot of land. Some evidence of property portfolios is indicated as 36 individuals owned more than one tenement. For most individuals a portfolio comprised 2 to 8 tenements, although members of the de la Pole family, described below, owned substantially more. For 3 individuals the number of holdings is unknown.

Family relationships amongst property owners are also revealed in the biographies. Members of five family dynasties can be identified in the rental, and together these families held one-third of all properties paying rent to the king. The de la Pole's were the most prominent, due to the career of Sir William de la Pole, merchant, financier and entrepreneur. At the peak of his career in 1339, Sir William, with his associates, held the right to the customs of all the English ports exporting wool. In 1347 he and his father owned 27 properties paying rent to the king, and several others besides. Excluding his impressive manor, which occupied almost one sixth of the town, he paid an average rent of 91d. (7s. 7d), exceeding the average of 73d. (6s. 1d.) for the town as a whole.⁵⁹

Like the Poles, the Barton family acted for the king. Master John Barton was Deputy Butler and then Collector of the Customs for about 20 years. He inherited his status from his father Robert. The family owned 17 properties paying rent to the king. Although some of these properties were highly prestigious, others were less so, and the average rent paid was only slightly above average for the town.

Members of the Upsale family held 12 properties from the king, on which they paid an average rent of only 51d. (4s. 3d.) Their most expensive property paid a rent of 228d. (19s.), and this may have been where they lived. Although some of their properties were close to those of the Poles and Bartons in and around Hullstrete, they also held quite a lot of cheaper property in the Aldegate and Munkegate areas.

Members of Taverner and Lychefeld families held 6 properties each on which they paid rent to the king. Like the other families, they were successful merchants with royal connections who held civic offices. Robert Lychefeld probably held most of his properties elsewhere in the country. These families do not seem to have had long-standing roots in the

⁵⁹ Fryde, *William de la Pole*; Horrox, *The De La Poles*; M. Casson and C. Casson, 'The history of entrepreneurship: Medieval origins to a modern phenomenon?', *Business History* 56 (8) (2014), 1223-1242.

town. They may have purchased their properties outright, either from previous owners or directly from the king, because they paid only nominal rents on some of them.

6. Influence of location and property depth on rent levels: Correlations

Despite being a new foundation, rents were not set at uniform levels in Hull. Considerable variation in rent is recorded for properties listed in the 1347 rental (Table 1), with rents ranging from under 10 pence to 440 pence (£1. 16. 8d.) for Sir William de la Pole's manor within the walls. More than three-quarters of the rents were set at rounded numbers, with the most common levels being 12 (1s.), 20, 24 (2s.), 30, 36 (3s.), 60 (5s.) and 120 pence (10s.). This variation corresponds with analysis of rent levels in the ports of New Winchelsea and Gloucester, as described above.⁶⁰

The distribution of properties by their street frontage is shown in Table 2. The number of properties backing onto each street was relatively small because many properties backed onto another property rather than another street. The longer streets are subdivided into sections. The four most important streets were Hullstrete and Marketgate, running north-south, and Munkegate and Aldegate running east-west (see Figure 1). Property frontages suggest a hierarchy amongst the streets. Hullstrete appear to have been more important than Marketgate as several properties in Hullstrete backed onto Marketgate, but no properties in Marketgate backed onto Hullstrete. Aldegate had few frontages to the east, where it crossed Hullstrete and Marketgate, but many frontages further west. This suggests that Aldegate was less important than Hullstrete or Marketgate. At the places where Munkegate crossed Hullstrete and Marketgate the properties fronted onto the other streets, suggesting that Munkegate was less important too. Using the corner frontage criterion, Kyrkelane and Halestrete were side-streets, but nevertheless both had a significant number of property frontages; those frontages were smaller than those on the main streets, however.

We can now begin to consider the potential causes of variation in rent levels. The relationship between rent, frontage and depth is examined in Table 3, using correlations. Statistically significant correlations are identified by asterisks, as explained in the note to the table. The results indicate that there was a statistically significant relationship between rent and frontage. This is then examined in more detail by considering the additional characteristics of a corner plot and a location on the river. The results suggest that corner plots tended to have larger frontages than other plots, but did not on average have

⁶⁰ Casson, and Casson, 'Location'; Langton, 'Gloucester'; SC11/674 New Winchelsea.

significantly higher rents. Variations in the desirability of the respective rivers are apparent. Properties on the River Hull had smaller frontages and paid higher rents than average, whilst properties on the Humber paid lower rents. This suggests that the banks of the Hull were a more desirable area.

7. Influence of location, property frontage and depth and ownership on rent levels:

Hedonic regression

The use of regression analysis enables a more detailed investigation of those factors that cause variation in the level of rents. Hedonic regression is a well-established technique that has been applied both to modern property rents and to medieval and early modern agricultural rents.⁶¹ The dependent variable in the regression is the logarithm of the rent and the independent variables are property characteristics. Some characteristics, such as size of plot, reflect economic factors determining rents, whilst others, such as the personal characteristics of the property-holder, represent social factors (for example social status). Factors such as location, the evidence suggests, reflect a combination of the two. The regression estimates the impact of each factor on rent whilst controlling for variations in all the other factors, for example it measures the impact of size whilst controlling for location, and the impact of location whilst controlling for size. The impact of each factor is measured by a separate coefficient. With a fixed stock of properties, such as those in the 1347 rental, each coefficient indicates the premium that a buyer would pay for the corresponding characteristic of the property. Impacts effect proportional changes in the rent, rather than absolute changes, i.e. they are bigger for valuable properties than for cheap ones.

The results are shown in Table 4. In regression 1 both frontage and depth are used as explanatory variables relating to property characteristics. The location of the property is measured by using the street onto which the property fronted.⁶² Corner plots, proximity to

⁶¹ Boyle and Kiel, 'Hedonic'; Dunse and Jones, 'Price'; Allen, 'Freehold'; Clark, 'Land'; Turner, Beckett and Afton, *Agricultural Rent*; Van Bavel, 'Organisation'; J. M. Wooldridge, *Introductory Econometrics: A Modern Approach*. 5th ed., (Mason, 2013).

⁶² Each street is represented in the regression by a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the property fronts onto the street in question, and is zero otherwise. As there are only a small number of properties fronting onto certain streets, these streets are combined with others when constructing dummy variables. Because every property fronts onto one of the listed streets, one of the streets needs to be taken as a control and dropped from the regression analysis; the coefficients on the other dummy variables are then interpreted as measuring impacts relative to the impact of the control. The southern section of Marketgate is taken as the control, together with a

rivers and relation to the town walls are other locational factors taken into account. An adjustment is applied for ten nominal rents (labelled 'feudal'). The identity of the owners is represented by dummy variables indicating whether a property holder was a member of one of the five major family dynasties identified from the appendix.

The results of regression 1 demonstrate the importance of economic factors as a determinant of rent. Frontage has a positive and significant impact on rent: doubling the frontage increases rent by about 36 per cent. Frontage was more important than depth; depth carries a positive coefficient but it is not significant. This suggests that the social significance of frontage as an expression of social status may have been important too. A corner plot increased value by about 18 per cent. River frontage and relation to the walls was not important, but fronting on to the right street was crucial.

A centrality premium existed in Hull. Hullstrete demonstrates very high rents, with the effect being strongest in the south. Munkegate also had high rents to the east where it intersected Hullstrete. Aldegate East had high rents too, but only average rents in the centre or to the west. Lylestrete, Chaimpaynstrete and, in particular, Halestrete, had very low rents; they also were in the west of the town. This evidence points to the highest rents being around the intersection of two of the principal streets, Hullstrete and Munkegate in the south-east corner of the town just north of the confluence of the two rivers.

In contrast, the identity of the owner had little impact on the level of rent. The only significant finding is that the Lychefeld family paid somewhat lower rents than the average; Robert Lychefled was mayor at the time of the survey, but this does not seem to be the relevant factor. Lychefled held one of a small group of properties in Hullstrete that paid nominal rents and, in addition, held several larger properties to the west of the town where rents were in any case low. It is possible, therefore, that this result was due simply to the unusual nature of Lychefeld's property portfolio.

Perhaps the most impressive feature of this regression, however, is that over 75 per cent of the variation is explained by the factors mentioned above, as indicated by the R^2

small number of properties on side streets nearby. It is chosen because there are a good number of properties on this street and rents there are representative of the town as a whole; this provides an opportunity for other streets to show either positive or negative deviation. Streets are identified throughout by their names as recorded in the rental.

statistic. Most of the explanation is attributable to frontage and street location, demonstrating that these factors had an important impact on levels of rent in medieval Hull.⁶³

8. Further analysis of central places

The results of regression 1 suggest the presence of a rental premium on central locations in medieval Hull. This is a feature that economists have noted in studies of property markets and therefore can be explored in more detail. Because of its emphasis on markets, economic theory suggests that the central place in Hull would be the market place adjacent to Holy Trinity church. However regression 1 revealed that the properties with the highest rents were at a cross-roads between the market and the quay. To investigate this further, a second regression (Table 4 regression 2) has been estimated that includes, in addition, two distance measures.⁶⁴ One measures the distance of a property from the crossroads identified by the first regression and the other measures the distance from the market place (specifically the west door of Holy Trinity church). The results of regression 2 show clearly that rents declined with distance from the crossroads but did not decline significantly with distance from the market. This suggests that it was indeed the crossroads and not the market place that was the economic centre of the town.

Regression 2 contains further information. It shows that certain individual streets carried significant rental premia even when a distance measurement was introduced.⁶⁵ This suggests that those streets had distinctive characteristics other than distance from the centre that influenced their rent levels. Even more striking is the fact that different sections of the same street carried different rental premia, for example, different portions of each of the three major streets of Hullstete, Aldgate and Munkgate. The most obvious explanation is that each street had its own reputation that influenced local property rents and that this reputation reflected factors other than distance from the centre. The results do not indicate what these additional factors are, but they provide some clues.

Close examination of the coefficients on the individual streets in the second regression indicates that the impact of distance from the central place was asymmetric.

⁶³ For full discussion of the use of regression see Wooldridge, *Econometrics*, 24-47.

⁶⁴ Lack of information on precise location means that properties outside the ditch have to be omitted from this analysis.

⁶⁵ The rental premium is reflected in the value of the estimated coefficient shown in the Table opposite the name of the street.

Contrary to the assumptions of standard urban economic theory, rents decreased faster in some directions than in others. Specifically, rents declined more steeply to the west than to the north. To the north-west the rents initially declined a little and then stabilised as the walls of Pole's manor were approached. This suggests that an additional factor influencing rents was the desirability of living either near the river or near to the manor house, and away from the area to the west of the market.

Finally, it appears that immediate neighbours mattered too. The residuals from the first regression can be used to measure spatial autocorrelation, a characteristic of property markets in modern towns.⁶⁶ Spatial autocorrelation measures the degree to which expensive properties are located next to other expensive properties, and cheap properties next to other cheap properties, after all other measureable factors (e.g. distance and street) are taken into account. The results of autocorrelation analysis are shown in Table 5. Neighbouring properties can be adjacent to each other in three main ways: at the front; at the rear (e.g. one backyard to another) or on a corner (where a property fronting one street adjoined a property fronting an intersecting street). The table shows that in Hull adjacency at the front was of greater economic significance than adjacency at the rear, although adjacency at the rear still affected rents. The final line of the table shows a positive but insignificant correlation for adjacency at a corner. These results suggest that the property market in Hull resembled a modern property market in its pattern of spatial autocorrelation. They also underline the importance of property frontage; it was not only the length of a frontage that influenced rents but the values of the properties to either side of it.

9. Discussion

The overall results suggest that most rents in Hull were set at commercial rates from the outset, most likely in the period 1299-1347. By the time of the 1347 rental the distribution of rents reflected the spatial economy of the town. These factors, in turn, reflected the topography of a town that was a leading international port. The evidence points to a central place of high rents at the corner of Hullstrete and Munkegate. The fact that the market outside Holy Trinity church is not the central place suggests that an explanation of urban rents in terms of distance from the shops is not appropriate. In Hull distance from place of business (on the staithe) appears to be at least as important, if not more so.

⁶⁶ S. Basu and T. G. Thibodeau, 'Analysis of spatial autocorrelation in house prices', *Journal of Real Estate Finance and Economics* 17(1) (1998), 61-85.

The results do not support the view expressed in urban economic theory that rents decline from the centre in a radially symmetric way.⁶⁷ They certainly declined from the centre, but this decline was moderated by other factors. Rents did not decline as quickly by moving north along the quayside as they did by moving south-east away from the quay. Some streets appear to have been more desirable to reside in than others, and one section of a street could even be more desirable than another section. Spatial autocorrelation, a feature often associated with modern property market, was also present in Hull.

10. Implications and conclusion

Hull's geographical location and the royal investment and appear to have contributed to making it a desirable location to live during the fourteenth century. Hull did not suffer the flooding that destroyed its nearest competitor Ravenserod, nor the silting that led to the decline of Hedon and many other ports.⁶⁸ Its topography was less constrained by natural barriers than, for example, that of medieval Shrewsbury and Durham which were bounded on three sides by a river.⁶⁹

The presence of a single dominant fee, that of the crown, enabled Hull to be developed systematically. This distinguished the topography of Hull from Coventry, for example, where dual lordship resulted in two urban focal points.⁷⁰ The absence of an urban religious institution following the withdrawal of the monks of Meaux Abbey distinguished Hull from many other medieval towns where monastic houses were local lords or property owners. It is also notable that, despite religious houses investing in property in the eastern ports of Boston, there is little evidence of such investment in Hull.⁷¹ This may have been due to the withdrawal of Meaux.

As a new town, Hull seems to have drawn its inhabitants from immigration from other towns. Careers in royal service and commerce provided livelihoods for the new settlers, and attracted emigration from other locations in a manner that suggests some parallels with Norwich in the same period. Research into the biographies of property owners reveals evidence of the concentration of property ownership in the hands of five families. This has

⁶⁷ Fujita, *Urban Economic Theory*.

⁶⁸ A. Saul, 'Great Yarmouth in the fourteenth century: a study in trade, politics and society', University of Oxford, PhD thesis, 1975.

⁶⁹ N. Baker, *Shrewsbury: An Archaeological Assessment of an English Border Town* (Oxford, 2010), 23, 129.

⁷⁰ Bonney, *Durham*; Goddard, *Coventry*, 290.

⁷¹ Rigby, *Boston*, 46-7.

similarities with patterns seen in York in the period 1086-1350, but there is little evidence in Hull to suggest that the identity of owners impacted on the level of rents. The five families may have been important for the number of properties they owned, but their members did they did not pay noticeably higher or lower rents than other individuals.

Although a new town, Hull's rents were not set at uniform levels. In this respect it differed from other locations, including the eastern port of Grimsby.⁷² The variation of rents in its property market is instead a characteristic that it shares with the river port of Gloucester in c. 1100 and c. 1455 and the new town of New Winchelsea in 1292.⁷³ Hull also shared with Gloucester the characteristic of spatial autocorrelation of rents in adjacent properties.

Similarities and differences in the location of central places are revealed when results from Hull are compared with those of other towns. In Gloucester the central place in c. 1455 was the market, while in Hull it was at the corner of Hullstrete and Munkegate. Hull's central place shares greater similarity with that of New Winchelsea in 1292, where the most desirable properties were those between the harbour and the marketplace, and that of York in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the corner of Stonegate and Petergate, at the approach to the Minster had the most expensive properties.⁷⁴ Unlike the port of Sandwich, properties with the highest rents in Hull were situated between the rivers, rather than directly on either of them.⁷⁵ However the presence of high rents in the north-south street of Hullstrete parallels the high rents found in the mid thirteenth-century in English Street, the main north-south artery in Southampton.⁷⁶

The qualitative and quantitative methodology developed for this paper has the potential to be applied to other locations to supplement archaeological and geographical techniques. Results from Hull have highlighted potential differences between towns with uniform rents and towns with variable rents that would benefit from further comparative investigation. There are also indications of potential variation between towns in the location of central places of high rents, and in the identity of property owners. Further research would benefit from additional comparisons of the spatial and geographical implications of the findings across and between long-established towns, such as Gloucester and Southampton, and newer foundations, such as Hull and New Winchelsea.

⁷² Rigby, *Grimsby*, 119.

⁷³ Casson, and Casson, 'Location'; Langton, 'Gloucester'; SC11/674 New Winchelsea.

⁷⁴ Rees Jones, *York*, 308-9; SC11/674 New Winchelsea.

⁷⁵ Clarke et al, *Sandwich*, 226-27.

⁷⁶ Platt, *Southampton*, 43.

References

- Allen, R. C., 'The price of freehold land and the interest rate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 41 (1988), 33–50.
- Allison, K. J. (ed.), *The City of Kingston upon Hull: Victoria History of the County of York, East Riding*, Vol. I (London, 1969).
- Armstrong, P., *Excavations in Sewer Lane, Hull, 1974: Hull Old Town Report Series, 1, East Riding Archaeologist*, 3 (Hull, 1977).
- Armstrong, P. and B. Ayers, *Excavations in High Street and Blackfriargate. Hull Old Town Report Series, 5, East Riding Archaeologist*, 8 (Hull, 1987).
- Attreed, L., *The King's Towns* (New York, 2001).
- Ayers, B., *Excavations at Chapel Lane Staithe, 1978 Hull Old Town Report Series, 3, East Riding Archaeologist*, 5 (Hull, 1979).
- Baker, N. and R. Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, 2004).
- Baker, N., J. Brett and R. Jones, *Bristol: A Worshipful Town and Famous City: An Archaeological Assessment* (Oxford, 2017)
- Baker, N., P. Hughes and R. K. Morriss, *The Houses of Hereford 1200-1700* (Oxford, 2017).
- Baker, N., *Shrewsbury: An Archaeological Assessment of an English Border Town* (Oxford, 2010).
- Basu, S. and T. G. Thibodeau, 'Analysis of spatial autocorrelation in house prices', *Journal of Real Estate Finance and Economics* 17(1) (1998), 61-85.

Beresford, M., *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1988).

Bilson, John, 'Wyke-upon-Hull in 1293,' *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, XXVI (1920), 37 – 105.

Blashill, T., *Evidences Relating to the Eastern Part of the City of Kingston-upon-Hull* (Hull, 1903).

Bond, E. A. (ed.), *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (3 vols, London, 1868).

Bonney, M., *Lordship and the Urban Community: Durham and its Overlords, 1250-1540* (Cambridge, 1990).

Boyle, J. R. (ed.). *Charters and Letters Patent granted to Kingston upon Hull* (Hull, 1905).

Boyle, M. A. and K. A. Kiel, 'A survey of house price hedonic studies of the impact of environmental externalities', *Journal of Real Estate Literature*, 9 (2) (2009), 117-144.

Brooks, F. W., 'A medieval brick-yard at Hull', *Journal of British Archaeological Association* 4 (1939), 151-174.

Butcher, A. F., 'Rent, population and economic change in late-medieval Newcastle', *Northern History* 14 (1978), 67-77.

Butcher, A. F., 'Rent and the urban economy: Oxford and Canterbury in the later middle ages', *Southern History* 1 (1978), 11-43.

Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III Vols. 1-16 (London, 1891-1916).

Carus-Wilson, E. M. and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade, 1275-1547* (Oxford, 1963).

Casson, C. and M. Casson, 'Location, location, location? Analysing property rents in medieval Gloucester' *Economic History Review*, 69 (2) (2016), 575–599.

Casson, M. and C. Casson, 'The history of entrepreneurship: Medieval origins to a modern phenomenon?', *Business History* 56 (8) (2014), 1223-1242.

Casson, C. and M. Casson, 'The economy of medieval English towns: Property values and rents in Bristol, 1200-1500', working paper.

Childs, W. R., *The Trade and Shipping of Hull, 1300-1500* (Hull, 1990).

Clark, G., 'Land rental values and the agrarian economy: England and Wales, 1500–1914', *European Review of Economic History* 6, (2002), 281–308.

Clarke, H., S. Pearson, M. Mate and K. Parfitt, *Sandwich The 'Completest Medieval Town in England': A Study of the Town and Port From its Origins to 1600* (Oxford, 2010).

Coss, P. R. (ed.), *The Early Records of Medieval Coventry* (London, 1986).

Demidowicz, G., *Medieval Birmingham: The Borough Rentals of 1296 and 1344-5* (Stratford-upon-Avon, 2008).

Dunse, N. and C. Jones, 'A hedonic price model of office rents', *Journal of Property Valuation and Investment*, 16 (3) (1983), 297-312.

Dyer, C., 'The archaeology of medieval small towns', *Medieval Archaeology*, 47:1 (2003), 85-114.

English, B., *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260* (Oxford, 1979).

Evans, D. H. (ed.), *Excavations in Hull, 1975-76. Hull Old Town Report Series, 2, East Riding Archaeologist, 4* (Hull, 1993).

Family Tree Maker, 'Information about Hamo Box'

<http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/h/a/r/Robert-R-Harshbarger/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0642.html>, accessed 29 Sept. 2014.

Frost, C., *Notices of the Early History of the Town and Port of Hull* (London, 1827).

Fryde, E. B., *William de la Pole: Merchant and King's Banker* (London, 1988).

Fujita, M., *Urban Economic Theory: Land Use and City Size* (Cambridge, 1989).

Gent, T., *Gent's History of Hull [1735]* (Hull, 1869).

Gillett, E. and K. A. MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Oxford, 1980).

Goddard, R., *Lordship and Medieval Urbanisation: Coventry, 1043-1355* (Woodbridge, 2004).

Google Maps <https://www.google.co.uk/maps/place>, Map of Hull accessed 29 Sept 2014

Goole http://www.goole-on-the-web.org.uk/main.php?page=reedness_e, [Reedness and Ousefleet](http://www.goole-on-the-web.org.uk/main.php?page=reedness_e) accessed 4 April 2015.

Hadley, G., *New and Complete History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull* (Hull, 1788).

Harding, V. and Wright, L. eds., *London Bridge: Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1381-1538* (London Rec. Soc., 31, 1995).

Hemmeon, Morley de Wolf, *Burgage Tenure in Medieval England* (Cambridge, MA, 1914).

Hilton, R. H., 'Some problems of urban real property in the Middle Ages,' *Socialism, Capitalism and Economic Growth: Essays Presented to Maurice Dobb* ed. C. H. Feinstein (Cambridge, 1967), 326-37.

Holt, R., 'The urban transformation in England, 900-1100' in C. Lewis (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies* 32, (Woodbridge, 2010), 57-78.

Horrox, R., *The Changing Plan of Hull, 1290-1650* (Hull, 1978).

Horrox, R. (ed.), *Selected Rentals and Accounts of Medieval Hull, 1293-1528* (York, 1983a).

Horrox, R., *The De La Poles of Hull* (Hull, 1983b).

Jervis, B., 'Assessing urban fortunes in six late medieval ports: an archaeological application of assemblage theory', *Urban History*, 44 (1) (2017).

Keene, D., *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, Vol. 2 part i, (Oxford, 1985).

Kermode, J., *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1998).

Kowaleski, M., 'Port towns: England and Wales 1300-1540' in D. M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Vol 1 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), 467-94.

Lambert, C. L., *Shipping the Medieval Military: English Maritime Logistics in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2011).

Langton, J., 'Late medieval Gloucester: some data from a rental of 1455', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New series, 2 (1977), 259-277.

Leech, Roger H., *The Topography of Medieval and Early Modern Bristol, Part I: Property Holdings in the Early Walled Town and the Marsh Suburb North of the Avon* (Bristol, 1997).

Lilley, K. D., 'Urban planning after the Black Death: townscape transformation in later medieval England (1350–1530)', *Urban History* 42 (1) (2015), 22-42.

Lister, J. (ed.), *The Early Yorkshire Woollen Industry: Extracts from the Hull Customs Rolls*, Cambridge, 1924, reprinted 2013).

Maitland, F. W., *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, 1898).

Martin, B. and D. Martin, *New Winchelsea, Sussex: A Medieval Port Town* (King's Lynn, 2004).

Mayhew, N. J., 'Prices in England, 1170-1750', *Past and Present*, 219(1) (2013), 3-39.

National Archives, Rentals and Surveys, SC11/674 New Winchelsea, discussed at S. Alsford, *Florilegium Urbanum*

<http://users.trytel.com/tristan/towns/florilegium/community/cmfabr28.html> (accessed 23 April 2017).

Palliser, D. M., T. R. Slater and E. P. Dennison, 'The topography of towns 600-1300', in D. M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Vol 1 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), 153-186.

Palmer, R. C., *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348-1381* (Chapel Hill, NC., 1993).

Platt, C., *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community, A. D. 1000-1600* (London and Boston, 1973).

Poulson, G., *History and Antiquities of the Seignory of Holderness* (Hull, 1840).

Rees Jones, S., *York: The Making of a City 1068-1350* (Oxford, 2013).

Rigby, S. H., *Boston, 1086-1225 A Medieval Boom Town* (Lincoln, 2017).

Rigby, S. H., *Medieval Grimsby: Growth and Decline* (Hull, 1993).

Rosser, G. *Medieval Westminster: 1200-1540* (Oxford, 1989).

Rutledge, E. 'Landlords and tenants: housing and the rented property market in early fourteenth-century Norwich', *Urban History*, 22(1) (1995), 7-24.

Salter, E., 'Hull's medieval lives', in D. J. Starkey, D. Atkinson, B. McDonagh, S. McKeon, and E. Salter (eds.), *Hull: Culture, City, Place* (University of Liverpool Press, 2017), 41-59.

Salter, E. E. 'Some differences in the cultural production of household consumption in three North Kent communities, c. 1450-1550' in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c. 850-c.1550: Managing Power, Wealth and the Body* (Brepols, 2003), 391-408.

Salter, H. E., *Survey of Oxford, Vol. I*, (Oxford, 1960).

Saul, A. 'Great Yarmouth in the fourteenth century: a study in trade, politics and society', University of Oxford, PhD thesis, 1975.

Sheahan, J. J., *General and Concise History and Description of the Town and Port of Kingston-upon-Hull* (London, 1864).

Sheppard, J. A., *The Draining of the Hull Valley* (Hull, 1958).

Slater, Terry R. 'Planning English medieval 'street towns': the Hertfordshire evidence', *Landscape History*, 26:1 (2004), 19-35.

Stanewell, L. M. (ed.), *Calendar of the Ancient Deeds, Letters, Miscellaneous Old Documents, &c. in the Archives of the Corporation* (Hull, 1951).

Surname database <http://www.surnamedb.com/Surname>, accessed 29 Sept. 2014.

Thompson, T., *Occellum Promontorium* (Hull, 1821).

Tickell, J., *History of the Town and County of Kingston upon Hull* (n.s, 1798).

TNA C241/134/195 Chancery: Certificates of Statute Merchant and Statute Staple.

TNA E358/3 Richard de Perers, sheriff of Essex and Herts, for provisions for the king's horses, during Parliament at Westminster.

TNA SC8/228/11392 Ancient Petitions: Inquisition taken before Pole and Fitz Dieu.

TNA SC8/341/16051 Ancient Petitions: Petitioner Hugh de Pickworth.

Turner, M. E., J. V. Beckett and B. Afton, *Agricultural Rent in England, 1690–1914* (Cambridge, 1997).

Topping, T., *Historic Facts Relative to the Sea Port and Market Town of Ravenspurne in Holderness* (Hull, 1822).

Van Bavel, B., ‘The organisation and rise of land and lease markets in north-western Europe and Italy, c.1000-1800’, *Continuity and Change*, 23 (1) (2008), 1-53.

Waites, B., *Monasteries and the Landscape in North East England: The Medieval Colonisation of the North York Moors* (Oakham, 1997).

Waites, B., ‘The medieval ports and trade of north-east Yorkshire’, *Mariners Mirror* 63 (1977), 137-149.

Wooldridge, J. M., *Introductory Econometrics: A Modern Approach*. 5th ed., (Mason, 2013).

Table 1: Frequency distribution of rents

Range of values (pence)	Frequency
0-9	13
10-19	14
20-29	30
30-39	22
40-49	22
50-59	9
60-69	20
70-79	5
80-89	17
90-99	5
100-149	19
150-199	14
200-249	9
250-299	2
300-349	1
350-399	1
400-449	1
TOTAL	204

Note: Rent is expressed as the number of pence. All known rents are analysed, including zero money rents. 153 of the 204 rents are set in round numbers which are divisible either by ten or four. The most frequently occurring rents are 60pence (20 cases), 24 and 80 pence (13 cases each), 20 pence (12 cases), and 12, 30, 36 and 120 pence (11 cases each).

Table 2: Distribution of properties by street with frontage

Street	Number	Street	Number
Hullstrete (North): North Gate – Chapel Lane	15	Munkegate (East): Marketgate- Hullstrete	16
Hullstrete (North Central): Chapel Lane - Aldegate	11	Munkegate (West): Marketgate - Wall	11
Hullstrete (South Central): Aldegate - Kyrklane	18	Beverleygate	5
Hullstrete (Spouth): Kyrkelane - Munkegate	24	Kyrkelane	14
Marketgate (North): Chapel Lane – Holy Trinity	13	Bedfordstrete	4
Marketgate (South): Holy Trinity – Munkegate	13	Halestrete	11
Aldegate (East): Hullstrete – Marketgate	6	Chaimpaynstrete	2
Aldegate (Central): Marketgate - Beverleygate	8	Humberstrete	1
Aldegate (West): Beverleygate - Wall	13	Outside the walls (including Mylkestrete, and parts of Munkegate and Lylestrete)	20
Lylestrete	11	TOTAL	216
		Less no information on rent: the property is a gift from the king or not in the king’s fee	6
		Less the location is unknown or unspecified	2
		Less the property is a complex portfolio of smaller properties	1
		Less the property is a portion of roadway only	3
		Rents available for analysis	204
		Less no frontage measurement	23
		Properties analysed by regression analysis	181
		Less no depth measurement	3
		Properties analysed for which depth estimates are also available	178

Table 3: Zero-order correlations for selected variables

	Log rent	Log frontage	Log depth	Corner plot	River Hull	River Humber
Log rent	1.000					
Log frontage	0.225** (0.003)	1.000				
Log depth	0.027 (0.720)	0.099 (0.187)	1.000			
Corner plot	0.119 (0.113)	0.331*** (0.000)	-0.007 (0.929)	1.000		
River Hull	0.143* (0.056)	-0.142* (0.059)	0.326*** (0.000)	-0.098 (0.195)	1.000	
River Humber	-0.253*** (0.001)	0.018 (0.812)	0.183** (0.015)	-0.058 (0.440)	-0.121 (0.108)	1.000

Notes: The results relate to the 178 plots for which rent, frontage and estimated depth are all available. Probability values are in brackets under the correlation coefficients. *** denotes 1 per cent significance, ** 5 per cent significance and * 10 per cent significance.

Table 4: Regression analysis of the logarithm of rent

Explanatory variables	Regression 1	Regression 2
Constant	1.493** (0.020)	3.000** (0.015)
Log frontage	0.365*** (0.000)	0.353*** (0.000)
Log depth	0.162 (0.222)	0.255** (0.031)
Corner plot	0.180* (0.072)	0.252** (0.012)
Feudal rent	-3.746*** (0.000)	-3.615*** (0.000)
River Hull	-0.075 (0.701)	-0.198 (0.266)
River Humber	-0.434 (0.124)	-0.494** (0.042)
Outside wall or ditch	-0.291 (0.433)	
On wall or ditch	-0.035 (0.879)	-0.169 (0.506)
Hullstrete North	-0.016 (0.946)	0.480 (0.245)
Hullstrete North Central	0.574** (0.017)	0.899*** (0.008)
Hullstrete South Central	0.937*** (0.003)	1.016*** (0.001)
Hullstrete South	1.074*** (0.000)	0.607 (0.028)
Marketgate North	0.425 (0.136)	0.630** (0.011)
Aldegate East	0.704*** (0.000)	0.965*** (0.000)
Aldegate Central	-0.166 (0.476)	0.048 (0.838)
Aldegate West	0.058 (0.668)	0.450*** (0.010)
Beverleygate and Bedfordstrete	0.100 (0.695)	0.287 (0.301)
Kyrkelane	0.014 (0.932)	0.258* (0.094)
Lylestrete and Chaimpaynstrete	-0.400** (0.049)	-0.044 (0.826)
Munkegate East	1.101*** (0.000)	0.837*** (0.001)
Munkegate West	-0.468*** (0.005)	-0.237 (0.275)
Halestrete	-0.920***	-0.688***

	(0.000)	(0.001)
Held by Pole family	0.156 (0.427)	0.282 (0.304)
Held be Barton family	0.047 (0.862)	0.086 (0.747)
Held by Upsale family	0.062 (0.675)	0.146 (0.304)
Held by Lychefeld family	-0.350** (0.034)	-0.351** (0.041)
Held by Taverner family	-0.157 (0.472)	-0.104 (0.642)
Log distance from Hullstrete crossroads		-0.426*** (0.000)
Log distance from church		-0.068 (0.787)
R^2	0.783	0.813
Adjusted R^2	0.743	0.777
F -statistic	19.992*** (0.000)	22.949*** (0.000)
Jarque-Bera normality	16.170*** (0.000)	18.183*** (0.000)
Heteroskedasticity F -test	1.757** (0.018)	1.886*** (0.008)
Number of observations	178	177

Note: Probability values are in brackets under the correlation coefficients. *** denotes 1 per cent significance, ** 5 per cent significance and * 10 per cent significance. Missing measurements of distance lead to a multicollinearity problem that requires the omission of the ‘outside the wall’ dummy variable in regression 2; they also reduce the number of useable observations to 177

Table 5: Spatial correlations

Variables	Number of relevant pairs of properties	Correlation coefficient	Probability
Adjacent frontage	131	0.305***	0.000
Property to rear	84	0.198*	0.072
Frontage adjacent to side	10	0.189	0.600

Appendix: Key individuals owning property in Hull

Name	Property holdings	Role	Personal information
<i>Previous generations related to 1347 owners</i>			
Robert Barton (CPR, 1320, p. 351; H, L)		Substantial landowner in Hull in 1293	Possibly from Barton-on-Humber
		Collector of the Custom, 1294	Father of John, Robert, Alyanora and Elena (or one daughter Eleanor)
		Guardian and Collector of the New Small Custom, c.1303-c.1310	
		Gave land to the Carmelite Friars, 1320	
William Barton (CPR, 1323, p.277; H)		Acted (with others) as security for seven Lubeck merchants, 1319	Possibly from Barton-on-Humber
		Controller of the Custom, 1320, 1323	
		Collector (with others) of the tallages to enclose the town with a ditch and pallisade, 1322	
		Collector (with John Barton) for pavage and murage, 1321-4	
		Controller of the customs in Hull and Ravenserod, 1323	
Hugh Baxter	Heirs own 1 tenement		Possibly a baker
Stephen Beghome		Bailiff, 1332	Possibly from Bewholme, near Hornsea, East Yorkshire Father of John
William Birkin (Byrkyn) (H; TNA SC8/228/11392)		Merchant	Possibly from Birkin, near Knottingley, West Yorkshire
		Juror on 1320 inquisition	
		Collector of the tallage to repay debts, 1321, and to enclose the town with a ditch, 1322	
		His ship seized off Brittany, 1337	
Hamo Box (CPR, 17/10/1287; G)	Descendants own numerous properties	Wine merchant. Citizen of London	1240-1302 Married Benedicta

		Attorney to Richard Gydich, merchant of Lucca, of the Society of the Ricardi	Father of John
		Gauger of wines in Hull, 1287	
Richard Box (H, p.88; K)	Heirs hold 2 tenements		Son of Michael and Matilda Husband of Matilda Died c.1346
John Box (K, G)		Merchant Owner of a valuable property in Hull in 1293 Dispute with his agent, Henry Palmer, 1310	1265-1337 Son of Hamo Box Married Alice Father of John
Robert Bumble (D33, H, p.151; TNA SC8/228/11392)	Heirs own 1 tenement and half-shares in 2 others	Merchant Ship seized off Brittany, 1337	Father of Ascilia and father-in-law to John Stonfery
Robert Burton (CPR, 1322, p.100)		Juror on 1320 inquisition Collector (with others) of the tallage to enclose the town with a pallisade, 1322 Commissioned to array forces for the Scottish War, as substitute for Richard Gretford, 1322	Burton is a local name that could be associated with various settlements in East Yorkshire or elsewhere
William Byrkyn (Birkyn) (CPR, 1331, pp.77, 196, 338)		Deputy chief royal butler, 1331, 1332	
John Cameryngton		Bailiff, 1335	Father of Margaret Possibly from Camerington, near Hedon, East Yorkshire
William Chester	Heirs own 1 tenement		Possibly from Chester
Alexander Cok (CPR, 1322, p. 100; 1340, p.528; F, p.70; H, p.11; P, pp.391-2; T, p.160)		Landowner in 1293 Owner of windmill (a gift of Walter Graa, c.1301-27) Commissioned to array forces for the Scottish War, 1322-3	From Ravenserod Husband of Elota (or Elena?), widow and executrix of John Rotenhering

		Lent money to the king, 1340	Father of Peter (his heir) and Thomas
Walter Doresme (Duresme) (H)		Collector of pavage on small goods, 1321-4	Possibly from Durham
Arnald de Gretford (F, p.70; H, p.35)	Heirs hold 1 tenement and pay the rent on 6 others	Owner of windmill in the angle between the roads from Hull to Beverley and Anlaby	Son of Richard and Alice Husband of Katherine Possibly from Greatford, near Stamford, Lincolnshire
Richard de Gretford (CPR, 1322, p.100; CPR, 1322, p. 191; 1328, p.304; 1331, p.156; D15; H, p.107, K)	Heirs hold 1 tenement and pay the rent on 1 other	Collector of the Custom, 1313, 1320, 1322-3 Controller of the Custom as attorney, 1324 Gave to the commonality land near Holy Trinity churchyard, 1319 Commissioned to array forces for the Scottish War, but substituted by Robert Burton, 1322 Controller of the wool custom, 1322 Endowed a chantry in Holy Trinity, Hull, 1328, and financed a chaplain, 1331	Husband of Alice Apparently married twice to women of the same name
Walter Haxey (H, p. 119)	Heirs hold 1 tenement		Husband of Agnes Possibly from Haxey on the Isle of Axholme, Lincolnshire
Walter Helleward (Hellward) (H; K; TNA C241/134/195, E358/3; CPR, 1322, p.109; 1327, p.105; 1336, p.345; 1340, p.406; 1342, p.466)	Heirs hold 6 tenements	Corn merchant; ship-owner: Collector (with others) of the tallages for enclosing the town with a ditch and pallsade, 1322 Granted royal protection for a ship carrying corn, 1322 Collector (with Richard de la Pole) of the wool customs, 1325 Purveyor for the Chancellor, John, Bishop of Ely, 1327	Father of William Possibly of Dutch origin

Granted protection for a voyage to Gascony, 1336

Loaned money to the Edward III, 1340-2

Mayor, 1342, 1349

MP 1341

Involved in disputes, 1343

Called before the King's Council at Westminster

Henry Hesell	Heirs own 1 tenement		Possibly from Hessle, west of Hull, whose parish including Holy Trinity, Hull
Geoffrey Hothom (CPR, 1317, p. 22; H, p. 50)		Major landowner in Hull, 1293 Gave land (with John de Wetwang) to the Austin Friars for construction of a friary in Hull, 1317	Possibly a member of a Norman family associated with Hutton cum Cranswick, East Yorkshire Held a manor in Laxton, near Howden, East Yorkshire Father of Richard
Stephen Kerr (H)		Owned three plots in 1320	Son of Stephen and Matilda Father of Richard and Hugh
Matilda Kerr (H)	Heirs hold 1 tenement	Held property as a widow, 1320	Wife of Stephen
John King (H)	Heirs hold 1 tenement	Freeman, c. 1322	
Ralph Kirtlington (Kirtlington)(CPR, 1317, p.18)		Deputy Gauger at Newcastle, Scarborough, Hartlepool and Hull, 1317	
Richard Oysel (H)		Warden, 1296, 1301 Bailiff of Holderness Appointed by Edward I to improve and let the wastes around the Humber	Member of a well-known Norman family Possibly a relative of Roger

Ordered by Edward I to lease
vacant plots in Hull, 1305

Sir Hugh Pickworth (H; P; TNA SC8/341/16051)	Held a property in Hullstrete in 1320	Fought in the Scottish Wars	Husband of Margery, widow of Sir Walter Usflete, who jointly held the manor of Ella, west of Hull
			Buried with Margery in Selby Abbey
Richard de la Pole (A, p.288; CPR 1317, p.9; 1322, p.100; 1326, p.249; 1330, pp.518; 544, 549; 1340, p.474; D31; D36; D82a; H; K; J, p.22; M)	Brother William a major property owner	<p>Wool and corn merchant</p> <p>Acted (with others) as security for seven Lubeck merchants, 1319</p> <p>Deputy king's butler for Hull (with William de la Pole, senior), 1317 Chamberlain, 1321-4</p> <p>Commissioned to array forces for the Scottish War, 1322</p> <p>Held custody of the town against attack, deputizing for Robert Hastang, 'broken by age', 1326, later collaborating with him, and finally replacing him entirely on his death</p> <p>Royal Chief Butler, 1327</p> <p>Benefactor of the Austin Friars in Hull</p>	<p>Born 1290-5</p> <p>Knight</p> <p>Elder brother of William Senior and John (both merchants)</p> <p>Married 1314; Husband of Joan</p> <p>Father of William Junior, Roger, John, Joan, Agnes, Margaret and Elizabeth</p> <p>Dissolved partnership with William and moved to London, 1331</p> <p>Retired to Northamptonshire</p> <p>Died 1345</p> <p>Buried in Holy Trinity, leaving rents for a priest</p>
John Rotenheryng (A, p. 288; D7; H; J, p.6; K; P, pp.391-2)	His heirs hold 3 individual tenements and one set of tenements	<p>Very wealthy wool merchant and ship-owner</p> <p>Landowner in 1293</p> <p>Keeper of the Manor of Myton, 1308-11</p> <p>Juror on 1320 inquisition</p> <p>Founded a chantry in Holy Trinity, Hull, 1309</p>	<p>Reputed to have been the guardian (with his brother Robert) of the brothers Richard and William de la Pole senior</p> <p>Husband of Elena (or Elota?)</p> <p>Father of Alice</p> <p>Died 1328</p> <p>Surname signifies 'fishmonger'</p>

John Shayl (Scaill, Skayl, Scale) (F, p. 45, fn. 3; H, p. 134)	Member of dynasty that owned much of the property on Scale Lane	Burgess	Son of Isabella Brother of William and Elena Husband of Agnes
William Scaill (Shayl, Skayl, Scale) (H, p.133, 135)		Juror on 1320 inquisition Collector (with others) of the tallage to enclose the town with a pallsade, 1322	Son of John Brother of John and Elena Husband of Agnes Father of Thomas, Richard and Margaret Died 1327
Robert Strensale (Stransale)		Juror on 1320 inquisition Collector (with others) of the tallage to enclose the town with a pallsade, 1322	Probably from Strensale, near Alne, North Yorkshire
Robert Stut (F; H, p. 88; K; D23; D41; D53; D57a; D67a)		Wool merchant Mandated by Edward III to provide seven warlike vessels, 1334 Mayor, 1341 Commissioned with others to search for uncustomed goods, 1341 Benefactor of the Guild of Corpus Christi	Died 1342 Husband of Matilda, widow of Michael Box (d. 1344), father of Nicholas (his heir) and Joan.
Henry Taverner (H; p.12, www.surnamedb.com , 30/09/2014)		Collector of murage on small goods, boats, woad and wine, 1321-4	Husband of Agnes It is said that this common surname first occurs in English records in Yorkshire in the C12
Hugh Taverner (CPR, 1322, p.109; H, p. 139; D38)	Heirs hold one tenement	Corn merchant; given royal protection for shipping corn and food supplies, 1322 Collector of the Custom, 1331 Mayor, 1334	Son of Roger husband of Elena, father of Henry, Richard, Robert, John and Elena Died 1336
Nicholas Taverner	Heirs hold one tenement		

Michael Tunnok (Tinnok) (E, p.185)	Heirs hold one tenement	Ship-owner (the <i>Miguel</i> and possibly others)	
Thomas Upsale		Juror on 1320 inquisition Collector (with others) of the tallage to defray the costs of the king's marshal of measures, 1323 Incurred arrears when chamberlain, which he paid off 1321-4	Possibly from Upsall, near Thirsk, North Yorkshire
John Wetwang (CPR, 1317, p. 22; E, p. 185, H)	Heirs hold one tenement	Gave a plot in Munkgate to the Augustinian Friars	Possibly from Wetwang on the East Yorkshire Wolds No known connection to Walter Wetwang, Keeper of the King's Purse, 1344-7
<i>Present generation</i>			
Alan Anlaghby	1 tenement	Freeman, c.1322	Possibly from Anlaby, a short distance west of Hull
John Barbor (Barber) (CPR, 1343, p.111)	2 tenements	Has custody of the small piece of the seal for wool, 1343	
Master John Barton (A, p.45; CPR, 1324, p.58; 1325, p.184; 1330, p.572; 1334, p.166; 1339, p.349; 1345, p.544; E, p. 217; H; K; L; T, p.160; TNA SC8/228/11392)	8 tenements	Corn merchant Juror on 1320 inquisition Collector (with others) of the tallage to repay debts, 1321 Collector (with William Barton) for pavage and murrage on wool, hides and wool fells, 1321-4 Deputy King's Butler in Hull, 1324-5, 1339 Collector of the Customs 1326, 1327, 1329, 1332, 1334, 1336, 1345 Mayor, 1336 MP 1324, 1327, 1335, 1336, 1339 Ship seized off Brittany, 1337 Witness to the rental, 1347 Richard de la Pole described him to the Archbishop of York as 'the	Son of Robert Husband of Agnes Husband of Matilda Father of Thomas, Robert and Matilda No known connection to Godfrey Barton, major wool merchant

most knowing man in the town to
make your profit'

Hardeleph Barton (CPR, 1340, p. 103; 1342, p.435; 1345, p.544; K)	4 tenements	Wool merchant, partnered with Beverley merchants	
Richard Barton (D132a; TNA SC8/228/11392)	2 tenements	Ship seized off Brittany, 1337	Executor of John and Matilda Barton
Alyanora Barton (H)	3 tenements		Daughter of Robert
Robert Baxter	2 tenements		Possibly a baker
John Bedford (CPR, 1319, p.351; K)	4 tenements	Major merchant and shipowner; involved in a shipping dispute with Norwegians, 1316 Constable of the ship <i>La Nicolas</i> sailing to Scotland, 1319 Bailiff, 1332, 1335-8 Witness to the rental, 1347	Married to Margaret. Father of Gilbert and Richard Possibly from Bedford
Henry Bedford	1 tenement		Son of Gilbert and Anne
John Beghome	2 tenements		Son of Stephen Possibly from Bewholme near Hornsea, East Yorkshire
Richard Beghom (H, p. 18)	1 tenement		Father of Katherine
John Box (G)	1 tenement; pays the rent on others	Wool merchant	1290-1370 Probably son of John Married Johanna
Walter Box (CPR, 1353, p.479; D53; K)	1 tenement	Wool, wine and corn merchant Bailiff, 1341-2, 1349 (always with Robert Fysshelak), 1362 Witness to the rental, 1347 Mayor, 1351, 1367 Collector of customs, 1352,1354, 1357 Pardoned with others for selling wine before it was gauged and	Probably the son of Michael and Matilda Married Elena Chantry in Holy Trinity, 1392

taking corn to Gascony contrary to
royal proclamation, 1353

Robert Box	2 tenements		
William Broune (Brouneswayn) (CPR, 1353, p.384; L, p.24)	1 tenement	Master mariner, 1334-9 Shipped wheat to Gascony, 1353	
William Burton	1 tenement	Juror on 1320 inquisition	
Gilbert Byrkyn (CPR, 1340, p.528; 1342, p.466; H, p.49; K)	3 tenements	Merchant in wool and grain Bailiff, 1348 Collector of customs, 1360 Mayor, 1350 MP 1346,1353,1361 Loaned money to the Edward III, 1340-2	Married Joan Father of Robert, Nicholas, William and John Probably died 1361
Margaret Cameryngton	1 tenement		Daughter of John
Richard del Chambre (D137)	1 tenement	Bailiff, 1346-7 Witness to the rental, 1347	Son of Roger Husband of Ellen
John del Chambre (D116)	1 tenement	Alleged to have assaulted, with others, John Sutton, 1327	Husband of Margaret Father of Roger
Margaret del Chambre	1 tenement		Wife of John Mother of Roger
Thomas Chapman	1 tenement		
John Clerk (H, p. 51)	1 tenement		Husband of Margaret From Burton Stather
Nicholas Clyff	1 tenement		
Robert Coates	1 tenement		Brother of Thomas, and uncle of Thomas's son, John
Alan Cok (CPR, 1340, pp.406, 528; H)	2 tenements	Loaned money to Edward III, 1340	One of the tenements was a gift of William Graa
Peter Cok	1 tenement		Son and heir of Alexander
Thomas Cok (CPR, 1353, p.418)	Plot at Milnehill		Son of Alexander

May be Sir Thomas Cok,
seneschal of Gascony,
deceased by 1353

John Colyn (H, p.24)	2 tenements and some land		Son of William Fysshe
Agnes Cook (H, p.153)	1 tenement		Daughter of Stephen
Peter Couper	1 tenement		
William Corneburgh	1 tenement	Witness to the rental, 1347	
Robert Crytelington (CPR, 1347, p.253)	2 tenements	Deputy royal chief butler for Hull, 1347 Witness to the rental, 1347	
William Drury	1 tenement		
Robert Duresme Doresme)	1 tenement		Possibly from Durham Possibly related to Walter Doresme
William Ferrour	1 tenement		Surname probably Norman and signifying blacksmith
Thomas Flynton (H)	2 tenements and a chamber		Son of Walter Father of Thomas Possibly from a long- established family from Flinton, near Burton Constable, East Yorkshire
Thomas Frost	1 tenement		
Robert Fysshelak (K; D53; D77a)		Wool merchant Bailiff, 1341-2, 1349 (always with Walter Box) Summoned to the royal council, 1347	Brother of Thomas Possibly from Fishlake, Thorne, near Doncaster, South Yorkshire Brother of Thomas and John
Thomas Fysshelak (CPR, 1340, p.94; D77a, K)	4 tenements	Corn merchant Possibly ship-master of the Mariole of Hull, 1332 Commissioned with others to search for uncustomed goods, 1340	Brother of Robert Retired to Meaux Abbey c.1353

John Grantham (H, p. 104)		Clerk to the commonality, 1347 Witness to the rental, 1347	Possibly from Grantham, Lincolnshire
Thomas Harald (H, p.16)	2 tenements		Husband of Matilda
Richard Hedon	1 tenement		Possibly from Hedon, east of Hull
John Helleward (CPR, 1322, p.68; 1347, p.216; K)	Owned 1 tenement omitted from this study for lack of data (map 149)	Corn and wine merchant; shipowner Granted royal protection for a ship carrying corn, 1322 Purveyor for the Chancellor, John, Bishop of Ely, 1327 Bailiff, 1338-9	Son of Adam and Agnes Brother of James and Walter
Sir James Helleward (A, pp.45, 335; CPR, 1321, p. 86; 1333, p. 418; 1334, p.526; 1341, p. 295; 1344, p.239; H, p.75; L, pp. 26-7; D132a)	Owned 1 tenement	Lawyer acting for the commonality in chancery and elsewhere, 1321-4 Described as a king's clerk Supervised the purchase of supplies from Southampton for the Scottish war, 1333 Rewarded with a church living for 'long service and especially in the recovery [of] the king's prises of wine' from the Archbishop of York Founded a chantry in Holy Trinity, endowed with house and rent of £1, 1341 Endowed a Maison Dieu for 13 poor and infirm persons in Aldgate, 1344	Also known as James Kingston Brother of Walter and John Son of Adam and Agnes, nephew of Walter and Christina Steller
Richard Kerr (senior)(CPR, 1327, p. 207; 1328, p.284; H, p. 73; D48; D76)	Holds 2 tenements and pays rent for 2 others	Alleged to have assaulted, with others, John Sutton, 1327, and apparently involved in a subsequent affray in Boston, Lincolnshire, 1328 Bailiff, 1343-4	Son and heir of Stephen and Theophania, husband of Alice Brother of Hugh
Hugh Kerr (D48; D76)	1 tenement		Brother of Richard
Robert Kirtlington (Kyrketon)(D78; D82)	1 tenement		Husband of Margaret Died 1349

			No known connection to Ralph Kirtlington
John Lambert (Lamberd) (D79)	2 tenements		Son of Roger
Robert Lychefeld (CPR, 1340, p. 57; 1341, p.253; 1342, p. 573; D119)	6 tenements	Mayor, 1337-8, 1344, 1346-7 Deputy chief royal butler, 1340, 1341 Arrest a ship on behalf of the king, 1342 Witness to the rental, 1347	Possibly from Cave, north-west of Hull Member of a well-known Staffordshire family (based at Lichfield?)
Roger Mapledon (Mapleton?)	2 tenements		Possibly from Mappleton, near Ashbourne, Derbyshire
William Mapleton (Mapledon?)	1 tenement		
Thomas William Marshal	Pays the rent on 3 tenements		
Nigel Newland (Neweland)(H, p.105; D111; D117)	1 tenement		From Cottingham Father of Alice, Joan, Cecily and Matilda (Alice married John Souter; Joan married Roger Sutton; Cecily married William More)
Roger Oysel (A)	1 tenement including a solar		Possibly a relative of Richard
Alice Pogge (H, p.50)	1 tenement		Daughter of John and Katherine. John (died 1334) owned property in Hullstrete and in Ravenserod
William de la Pole Senior (CPR, 1333, p.418; 1339, pp.383, 394, 408; D31; D36; H, p.41; K; J, p.22; M)	Owned the manor, by far the largest property in Hull, and 18 ordinary tenements	Leading wool merchant and financier to Edward III Deputy Royal Chief Butler and Chamberlain, 1321-4	Knight Younger brother of Richard Chief executor and residual legatee of John Rotenheryng (died 1328)

		Collector (with others) of the tallage to enclose the town with a pallsade, 1322	Husband of Katherine (died 1382)
		Mayor, 1332, 1333, 1335	Father of Michael, Walter, Thomas, Elizabeth, Edmund, Matilda, Blanche and Margaret
		Arrayed a fleet to sail to Scotland, 1333	
		Organized the 1337 wool monopoly	Died 1366
		Second baron of the exchequer, 1339-40	
		Briefly controlled and appropriated customs nationally, 1340	
		Imprisoned 1340-2	
		Witness to the rental, 1347	
William de la Pole Junior (1351, p.270; D73; D83a; K; M)	3 plots 6 tenements 1 tenement sub-let from William Senior	Donated land to the Carmelites to enlarge their friary, 1351	Son and heir of Richard and his wife Joan Nephew of William senior
Robert Porter	1 tenement		
Robert Preston (CPR, 1340, p.528, D21)	1 tenement	Draper, 1324 Loaned money to Edward III, 1340 Bailiff, 1342-3 Mayor, 1345	Possibly from Preston, near Hedon, east of Hull
Sir Thomas Pynkworth (Pickworth)	1 tenement		Probably relative (son?) of Hugh
Robert Rotenheryng (CPR, 1337, p.388; 1340, p. 94; K)	1 tenement	Wool merchant; shipowner at Ravenserod, 1336 Acted (with others) as security for seven Lubeck merchants, 1319 Commissioned with others to find mariners to man a newly-built Hull galley for the king, 1336 On king's service in Scotland, 1340 Commissioned with others to search for uncustomed goods, 1340	Brother of John

Hugh Schyrburn (M)	Holds 1 tenements and pays the rent jointly on 2 others		Possibly from Sherburn-in-Elmet, near Selby, west of Hull
John Selby (M)	Holds 1 tenements and pays the rent jointly on 2 others		Possibly from Selby, west of Hull
Richard Skayl (Schail, Shayl, Scale) (CPR, 1340, p. 94; K)	1 tenement	Chamberlain, 1339 Bailiff, 1340-1 Investigated, with others, trade in uncustomed wool, 1340 Witness to the rental, 1347 Lent 10 marks to the king, 1351	Son of William and Agnes Younger brother of Thomas
Thomas Skayl (Schail, Shayl, Scale) (CPR, 1327, p.207; H, p.135; K)	1 tenement	Alleged to have assaulted, with others, John Sutton, 1327	Eldest son of William and Agnes Brother of Richard
Richard Sletholm (E, pp.27, 163; M)	1 tenement and 1 plot of land	Business agent of William de la Pole senior, handling wool exports	Possibly from Sleightholme, north of Whitby, North Yorkshire
John St.Albans (M)	1 tenement		Possibly from St. Albans, Hertfordshire
John Stonfery (also known as John Pacock) (D44; H, pp.64, 203; M)	Part-holder of 2 tenements	Tailor	Husband of Ascilia (Alice) Father of Elena, wife of Simon Derkhouse Probably named after the ferry over the River Hull, currently the site of a road bridge
William Stransale (Strensale) (CPR, 1342, p.466; 1347, p.281; 1351, p.144; D105)	1 tenement	Corn merchant Loaned money to Edward III, 1340-2 and 1351 Mayor, 1359	

Nicholas Stut (CPR, 1341, p.323; D80; D81; H, p.14)	3 tenements, and pays the rent of another	Left property to Guild of Corpus Christi	Husband of Joan Son and heir of Robert (mayor, 1341) and Matilda Died 1349
Robert Swan	1 tenement		
Robert Swanland (Swanlund)(D89; E, p.185)	1 tenement		Son of Nicholas who was son of John Possibly from Swanland, near Kirk Ella, west of Hull No known connection to Thomas Swanland, London merchant, who sued William de la Pole senior for fraud, and became bankrupt
Roger Swerd (H, p. 65, p. 134; 1344, pp.213-4; K)	1 tenement	Corn and wool merchant, shipowner Bailiff 1352 Mayor 1357 MP 1351, 1358, 1360 Partnered with Cottingham merchants Received royal pardon (with others, including John Swerd) for felonies and transgressions, 1344	Married Joan Father of Elizabeth and Katherine Died 1369
Stephen Swyne (H; M)	3 tenements	Collector (with others) of the tallages to repay debts, 1321, enclose the town with a ditch, 1322, and a pallisade, 1322	Possibly from Swyne, near Hull
William Sygeston	Holds 2 tenements and pays the rent on 2 others		
John Taverner		Bailiff, 1346-7 Witness to the rental, 1347 Mayor, 1358	

Walter Taverner (K; D53)	1 tenement	Wool merchant Bailiff, 1334 Witness to the rental, 1347	Executor of Hugh; possibly Hugh's brother
Henry Taverner (CPR, 1347, pp.281, 283; D60)	1 tenement	Corn merchant	Son of Hugh Father of Richard Henry was described as a citizen of Bordeaux, 1347
Richard Taverner (D60; D70; D74)	1 tenement		Son and heir of Henry
Robert Taverner	1 tenement		Son of Hugh
John Thedelthorp (Thetelthorp) (D102; M)	1 tenement		Possibly from Theddlethorpe, near Louth, Lincolnshire
Alan Upsale Junior (CPR, 1341, p.137; K)	3 tenements	Chamberlain, 1339 Bailiff, 1340 Acting controller of the wool subsidy, 1341-2 Witness to the rental, 1347	Father of John (controller of the customs from Grimsby to Whitby, including Hull, 1351)
Alan Upsale Senior (CPR, 1341, p.434; K)	3 tenements	Collector of customs, 1341	
Robert Upsale (CPR, 1322, p.109; 1339, p.389; 1340, p.528; K)	5 tenements	Corn merchant: given royal protection for shipping corn and food supplies, 1322 Collector (with others) of the tallage to enclose the town with a pallisade, 1322 Mayor, 1339 MP, 1341 Loaned money to the Edward III, 1340 Witness to the rental, 1347	
William Upsale Senior (K)	2 tenements	Possibly wine merchant Bailiff, 1352	
Henry Watton (H, p.50; M)	1 tenement		Possibly from Watton, north of Beverley

			Died 1369; left all his property to the town, who were to give the surplus rent to Holy Trinity church
William Went	1 tenement		
Thomas Whyteby (H, p.64; M)	Part-holder of 1 tenement		Husband of Amyas (died 1339) Father of Richard, Robert and William Possibly from Whitby, North Yorkshire
John Wylflete (TNA SC8/228/11392)	1 tenement	Merchant Ship seized off Brittany, 1337	
John Wylton (M)	1 tenement	Makes grant (with others) to the priory of Feriby	Family is possibly from Wilton, near Pickering, North Yorkshire, but has connections with Feriby
Thomas Yafford (CPR, 1322, p.109; 1343, pp.133, 163; H; K; M)	4 tenements	Merchant: given royal protection for shipping corn and food supplies, 1322 Freeman c. 1322 Given protection for shipping corn and food supplies, 1322 Alleged to have assaulted, with others, John Sutton, 1327 Bailiff, 1337, 1339 Mayor, 1340, 1343 Commissioned with others to search for uncustomed goods, 1341, 1343 Accused with others of misdemeanour, 1343	Husband of Margaret Possibly from Yafforth, Northallerton, North Yorkshire

Key: A denotes Allison (1969); D: deeds calendared by Stanewell (1951); E: Fryde (1988); F: Frost (1827); H: Horrox (1978); J: Horrox (1983a); L: Lister (1924); M: Horrox (1983b); K: Kermod (1990); L: Lambert (2011), P: Palmer (1993); T: Topping (1822); CPR: Calendar of Patent Rolls; TNA: The National Archives; G: Family tree maker; S: Surname database; M:

<https://www.google.co.uk/maps/place>, accessed 29. Sept.2014; P: http://www.goole-on-the-web.org.uk/main.php?page=reedness_e 29. Sept.2014

Note: The entries in the right-hand column of this table cannot be cross-referenced as different generations of a family may share the same forename.