

# **Commerce and Place: markets in the English landscape, 1086-2000**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the history of markets in England from the Domesday survey to the start of the twenty first century. The markets examined are those that were regularly held trading events at locations designated for the purposes of trade, locations usually known or understood as market places. These places and events are what have been identified as markets for most of history. It is shown that the history of these 'real' markets has been overlooked because economists overwhelmingly define markets in a way that includes almost any manifestation of buying and selling. Their definition of a market is a metaphor that covers up the history of real markets and obscures its implications.

To reveal this hidden history, a data set containing records for markets across the whole of England since 1086 was created. Some historians argue that medieval market charters are not evidence of a functioning market. Therefore the data set included data on place names, market crosses, market halls and coin finds. Analysis of this data showed that charters are associated with markets, and, that the era with the most markets was the medieval period. Since that period, markets have declined and been supplanted by the private forms of trading that economists identify as an expansion of 'markets'. In reality, the decline of open markets contributed to the decline and dispossession of petty commodity producers, and the creation of a class of wage-earners. The significance of markets at the turn of this century was investigated in a series of interviews with business owners and senior managers. The economy then and now is not organised by markets but is dominated by large enterprises engaged in 'relational' trading which most economists and politicians continue to describe as a 'market' economy.

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## Introduction

For most of history a market was a place where buyers and sellers met on a regular basis. In the last couple of centuries, a new meaning has emerged where a market means the 'operation of supply and demand'.<sup>1</sup> For example, the 13<sup>th</sup> edition of the best-selling economics text book by R. J. Lipsey, defines a market as: 'An area of either geographical or cyber space over which buyers and sellers negotiate the exchange of a well defined product'<sup>2</sup> This new meaning of market has its origins in the struggle of political economists to understand the new commercial society that began to emerge in the eighteenth century and to establish a theoretical and moral framework for their studies. Adam Smith, still the most important writer on economics from any era, used the term markets in the newer sense: for example, he claimed that improvements in communication 'opens the whole world for a market'.<sup>3</sup> Smith's concept of the market as a trading zone bigger than a single city or town is clarified in the paragraph from the *Wealth of Nations*, where he explains how transport improvements, in this case shipping, create markets beyond a single place:

What goods could bear the expense of land-carriage between London and Calcutta? Or if there were any so precious as to be able to support this expense, with what safety could they be transported through the territories of so many barbarous nations? Those two cities, however, at present carry on considerable commerce with each other and by mutually affording a market, give a good deal of encouragement to each other's industry.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Leary, J. P. (2019), *Keywords. The New Language of Capitalism*, (London), p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Lipsey, R. and Chystal, A. (2015), *Economics*, (Oxford), p. 708.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, A. (1999 originally 1776), *The Wealth of Nations*, Volumes 1 and 2, (London), p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, p. 123.

Smith claims that London and Calcutta, by means of waterborne transport, have created a market. This is clearly not a singular market place, but a trading zone. The trading zone of London and Calcutta may mean that traders in one place face competition from traders in the other, but is this really a market (or something else that has elements in common with a market)? Most later schools of economics, including neo-classical and Marxist, share the Smithian view of the market as the whole world of tradable goods, a definition that is co-terminous with the economy.<sup>5</sup> This view of markets has spread from economics to the other social sciences and history. For example, Max Weber, one of the 'founding fathers' of both sociology and economic history, writes that 'by the 'market situation' (Marktlage) for any object of exchange is meant all the opportunities of exchanging it for money which are known to the participants in exchange relationships'.<sup>6</sup>

Edward Thompson argues that the economists' view of markets is metaphorical:

too often discourse about the "market" conveys the sense of something definite - a space or institution of exchange (perhaps London's Corn Exchange at Mark Lane?) - when in fact, sometimes unknown to the term's user, it is being employed as a metaphor of economic process, or an idealisation or abstraction from that process.<sup>7</sup>

Thompson is not alone in pointing out that the new definition of the market is metaphorical, Leary writes:

The market is both a widely dispersed metaphor of exchange and an economic term often used as a shorthand for capitalist forms of exchange, when modified by the adjective "free." Even as an economic

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<sup>5</sup> Slater, D. and Tonkiss, F. (2001), *Market Society*, (Cambridge), p. 198

<sup>6</sup> Weber, M. (1968), *Economy and Society*, (London), p. 82.

<sup>7</sup> Thompson, E. P. (1993), *Customs in Common*, (London), p. 273.

concept, however, the market and market place are often used metaphorically. It is striking that a concept so central to the political and economic discourse of the late twentieth century and early twenty-first centuries is so promiscuously used and elusively defined.<sup>8</sup>

The modern concept of market as metaphor exists from the beginnings of political economy. It probably has its origin in Smith's concept of the 'extent of the market' - a concept central to his theory of the origins and driving force behind the division of labour, or specialisation, which for him is the source of the increased wealth in certain 'non-barbaric' nations. Interestingly, however, in the crucial passage where he makes clear the link between the division of labour and the size of the market in the sense of a trading zone, he also uses market to refer to a real physical place of exchange:

As it is the power of exchanging that gives occasion to the division of labour, so the extent of this division must always be limited by the extent of that power, or, in other words, by the extent of the market. When the market is very small, no person can have any encouragement to dedicate himself entirely to one employment, for want of the power to exchange all that surplus part of the produce of his own labour, which is over and above his own consumption, for such parts of the produce of other men's labour as he has occasion for.

There are some sorts of industry, even of the lowest kind, which can be carried on nowhere but in a great town. A porter, for example, can find employment and subsistence in no other place. A village is by much too narrow a sphere for him; even an *ordinary market town* [italics added] is scarce large enough to afford him constant occupation.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Leary, *Keywords*, p. 132.

<sup>9</sup> Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, pp. 121-122.

In this passage the two meanings of market are in operation. While Smith usually employs the word in its new sense of a geographical zone within which trading takes place, he also uses the older meaning when speaking of an 'ordinary market town'. In such places the market is a regular meeting held in a market place designated for the purpose of buying and selling. For Smith, the extent of such a market is 'scarce large enough to afford him (a porter) constant occupation'. This suggests in Smith's view there is a market that is above and beyond real markets - a 'meta-market', as it were.

As Hathaway has recently argued, this conception of the market dominates political and economic discourse at a time when real markets have disappeared:

Contemporary political and economic discourse sees capitalist systems characterised as market economies, and references to both 'The Market' and markets are ubiquitous; markets are seemingly everywhere. This situation is distinctly odd, as while economic relations have been more and more characterised as "markets", many economies have seen both the withering away of traditional marketplaces and the concurrent growth of hierarchically ordered non-market economic organisations (i.e. corporations).<sup>10</sup>

Hathaway's point is important but, as will be seen corporations are not the only form of non-market economic organisations. The issue is whether including all economic activity in the definition of market actually masks important changes in the nature of economic activity.

Fernand Braudel and Amos Tversky, both of who have had a significant impact on our understanding of economics, have differing views on whether metaphors should be indulged in by intellectual enquiry. Braudel recognises that markets that exist in market places are different to modern capitalistic activity, and that capitalist practices are often *anti-market* in the sense of

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<sup>10</sup> Hathaway, T. (2021), 'Fuck the Market', *Real-world Economics Review*, no. 97, pp. 62-99, p 62

undermining and bypassing the open trading of traditional markets. He has in mind all the intermediaries who came between the direct producer and the consumer: the larger merchants who purchased directly from farms and estates and engrossed the produce of whole regions, but also shopkeepers who did not produce their own goods, and pedlars who purchased in markets and sold door to door.<sup>11</sup> Despite this bypassing, he argues that the modern metaphorical usage has to be embraced. His work was concerned with showing how:

the local market, the shop, the fair and the Stock Exchange as a series of individual units ... were related to each other, how trade circuits became established, how the merchant built up his connections, and how such connections .. came to create coherent trading zones. Our imperfect vocabulary calls such zones 'markets' – an intrinsically ambiguous term. But we must bow to usage.<sup>12</sup>

For Braudel, it was necessary to work with ambiguous metaphorical terminology and bow to common usage in order to show how local markets relate to trade circuits. On the other hand, Amos Tversky (who, along with his co-worker Daniel Kahneman, has done the most to undermine the economist's concept of the rational economic man), considers that if something is a metaphor, it matters considerably:

Because metaphors are vivid and memorable, and because they are not readily subjected to critical analysis, they can have considerable impact on human judgement even when they are useless or misleading....they

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<sup>11</sup> Braudel, F. (1982), *Civilization and Capitalism, The Wheels of Commerce*, (London), p. 136

<sup>12</sup> Braudel *Civilization and Capitalism*, p. 138



replace genuine uncertainty about the world with semantic ambiguity.  
A metaphor is a cover up.<sup>13</sup>

This work follows Braudel in examining the links between market places and the development of trade circuits, but also follows Tversky in not bowing too low to usage, recognising that metaphorically defining a wider trading area as a market can be problematic. The anthropologists Bohanan and Dalton try to resolve the issue of different meanings of market by distinguishing between a 'market place' and the 'market principle'. For them a market place is 'a specific site where a group of buyers and sellers meet. The market principle is the determination of prices by the forces of supply and demand'.<sup>14</sup> As anthropologists they recognise that markets have a long history as real institutions and places that existed prior to the idea of a wider system of price setting. This point is sometimes missed by economists. As the institutional economist Geoffrey Hodgson writes:

In ordinary language the word *market* typically has a narrow meaning: it refers to a place where commodities of a particular type or types are regularly traded. As Karl Polanyi wrote: 'A market is a meeting place for the purpose of barter or buying or selling.' .... Such a narrow definition can distinguish markets from trade in general and from 'relational exchange'. Economists often broaden this commonplace definition, but the degree of broadening varies enormously.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Amos Tversky, quoted in Lewis, M. (2017), *The Undoing Project*, (London), pp. 313-4.

<sup>14</sup> Bohanan, P. and Dalton, G. (eds), (1961), *Markets in Africa*, (London), quoted in Hodges, R. (1988), *Primitive and Peasant Markets* (Oxford), p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Hodgson, G. M. (2020), 'How Mythical markets mislead analysis: an institutionalist critique of market universalism', *Socio-Economic Review*, vol. 18, pp. 1153-1174, p. 1157-1158.

There are problems regarding the identification of a wider trading area for a type of commodity as a market, as opposed to something that occurs in a market place. A real market occurs at a specific place and time, with a number of buyers and sellers, in a way that prevents anybody exercising too much power over the price of any commodity. The newer conception of 'market' does not mean there are multiple buyers and sellers looking to trade at the same time, yet using the term 'market' gives the impression that there is equality between the trading partners, as exists in real market places. This is not necessarily the case.

The economists' definition of a market as existing for a clearly defined singular commodity is problematic. Markets in a single clearly defined commodity are a relatively small proportion of all markets. Indeed, even very specialised markets do not deal in a singular item. For example, the Stock Market deals in the stocks and shares of multiple companies or the former Hop Exchange in Southwark dealt in different varieties of hops: for example, fuggle, golding, northdown, east Kent golding.<sup>16</sup> As Masschaele notes, in the medieval period 'a common core of goods was traded in all markets'.<sup>17</sup> Taking his source as the list of tolls, and grouping goods into categories, he lists the following:

Fish, wool, cloth, hides and skins, livestock, meat cereals and cereal products, fuel, small victuals (garlic, onions, nuts, etc.(sic)) household necessities (tallow, kitchenware etc. (sic) ), hardware (nails, horseshoes, etc.(sic)), spices, metals, and a large number of miscellaneous goods.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> The British Hop Association lists 34 different varieties of English hops alone. <https://www.britishhops.org.uk/varieties/>, (accessed 29-3-23).

<sup>17</sup> Masschaele, J. (1990), *'A Regional Economy in Medieval England'* Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, p. 78.

<sup>18</sup> Masschaele, *Regional Economy in Medieval England*, p. 78.

In addition to these goods, markets in larger towns had the shops of artisans, for example, cobblers and cutlers, surrounding the market place. Braudel notes these were workshops with retail outlets, not the shops of intermediaries that intervene between producer and consumer.<sup>19</sup> For consumers, markets were occasions for buying many commodities not just one, although similar commodities were often sold in the same place to enable buyers to find the products they need and compare prices. This is exemplified by the layout of London streets around what was, in the medieval period, the main market area of Cheapside. Here can still be found: Bread Street, Milk Street, Wood Street, Ironmonger Lane and so forth. The second city of medieval England, Norwich, indicates the extent of medieval market provision in larger markets. In about 1300 in and around the main provision market one could find separate sales areas for; wheat, cattle, sheep, poultry, barley, saddles, drapery, shoes, leather hose, cutlery, gold, hats, vegetables, fish, ironmongery, butchery, linen, skins, needles, worsted, wool, silks and expensive fabrics, leather and spices.<sup>20</sup> There were also separate markets elsewhere in the city for horses, pigs, timber and madder and dyes for the clothing industry.<sup>21</sup>

Masschaele also notes that medieval markets performed two distinct functions. They operated as either 'bulkiers' or 'breakers':

A simple rural market typically bulks only the agricultural commodities produced in its vicinity and breaks modest consignments of consumer goods acquired elsewhere into individual retail units. A city functions in the same way for producers and consumers living in its vicinity, but it also bulks and breaks on a larger scale, bulking for exchange with other cities the produce first assembled in the outlying markets of its hinterland and breaking the distribution to the same hinterland

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<sup>19</sup> Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, p. 62.

<sup>20</sup> Norwich History Project, (2010), *A Market For Our Times. A History of Norwich Provision Market*, (Norwich), p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Norwich History Project, *A Market For Our Times*, p. 3.

markets large wholesale consignments of goods imported from other regions.<sup>22</sup>

As Masschaele argues, markets in the medieval era had two functions. Firstly, to provide consumer goods for many individual households and, secondly, to enable merchants to build up large quantities of a restricted number of commodities to sell on in other markets. Marx makes clear that there is a difference between how petty commodity producers and large scale merchants approach the market. For petty commodity producers, peasants and artisans, the point of engaging in markets is to produce goods in order to get money to buy consumer goods. In his notation, this is defined as C-M-C, selling commodities that are produced in order to get money to enable the purchase of commodities produced by others. Capitalists have a different relationship to markets, which is to make profit. Money is used to purchase commodities in order to sell them for more money. Capitalist trading takes the form of M-C-M1, this action of purchasing commodities for resale is only rational if the money amount at resale (M1) is higher than the initial monetary outlay (M).<sup>23</sup>

Smith counselled 'consumption is the sole end and purpose of production'. However, the way in which economics conceptualises the market does not make much sense in relation to household consumption - either now or in the past.<sup>24</sup> The modern economic definition of markets focuses on the forces of supply and demand fixing the price of a singular commodity. Household consumption involves purchases of many commodities from a single retail location. Historically, these were markets and possibly still are for the global majority, even if multiple purchases are made from 'big box' and 'virtual' supermarkets in the west. The emphasis on singular commodities is

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<sup>22</sup> Masschaele, J. (1997), *Peasants, Merchants and Markets, Inland Trade in Medieval England, 1150-1350*, (New York), p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Harvey, D. (2018), *A Companion to Marx's Capital. The Complete Edition*, (London), p. 78.

<sup>24</sup> Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, p. 245.

curious, because it is known by economists to be misleading with regard to consumer behaviour. Inflation, one of the most important economic concepts, is measured by economic statisticians on the basis of 'the basket of goods' purchased by the average consumer.

For Braudel, markets are the starting point for the creation of regional trading zones. This research follows Braudel and investigates the historical relationship between markets, defined in the anthropological sense of meetings of buyers and sellers, and the development of capitalism in the sense of an economy dominated by the pursuit of profit. If markets are important in the creation of wider trading zones, two important questions are raised. Firstly, what type of market society existed prior to capitalism, and secondly, how did it give rise to capitalism.

Historians disagree on the question of whether there were a lesser or greater number of markets in the late medieval period than the early modern. If the Middle Ages was the era with the most markets, or 'peak market' for short, this would raise questions about the legitimacy of using market terminology in discussions of capitalism and raise issues about what exactly is the nature of trade and profit in a capitalist society. These are particularly pertinent issues in the history of England because it was the birthplace of a fully developed capitalist society.<sup>25</sup>

Investigating the issue of 'peak market' is problematic because of disputes about documentary evidence, in particular the evidential status of a market charter. Some argue that this is only evidence of a right to hold a market, and not that the market was actually held. A number of significant historians have engaged with this issue. Braudel pondered the status of chartered markets:

We do know that there were probably more markets in England in the thirteenth century than in Elizabethan England, although the

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<sup>25</sup> Marx, K. (2004 German Original 1867), *Capital*, (London), Wood, E. (2002), *The Origin of Capitalism, a longer view*, (London), Heller, H. (2011), *The Birth of Capitalism. A Twenty First Century Perspective*, (London).

population was much the same size. The explanation must be either increased activity, and therefore a large radius of influence for each locality in Elizabethan times, or a superabundance of markets in medieval England, possibly because noblemen, either as a point of honour or in hope of gain, set out to create markets.'<sup>26</sup>

Braudel is hedging his bets with the use of the word 'probably', implying that there may have been more markets, but alternatively there may not have been. He is, however, of the view that markets in the thirteenth century were not as fully developed as the markets of the Elizabethan era. Alan Everitt, whose work is the basis of Braudel's judgement on England, thinks there were more markets in the medieval period than the early modern:

there were far fewer market towns and villages in the sixteenth century than three centuries earlier – probably less than a third as many. The population may by that date have returned to or surpassed its former peak; but scores and hundreds of markets had perished in the generations following the Black Death, and were never revived. In Norfolk, where at one time there had been 130, there were now only thirty one. In Gloucestershire, where there had formerly been at least fifty-three, there were now no more than thirty four. In Lancashire, where charters were granted for no fewer than eighty-five markets and fairs, while a further fifty arose by prescription, there were in 1640 no more than thirty market towns in the county.<sup>27</sup>

Everitt's assessment of the numbers of markets clearly takes market charters as evidence of a functioning market. David Dymond, in his study of Norfolk, goes even further in the direction of superabundance arguing that the

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<sup>26</sup> Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, p 43.

<sup>27</sup> Everitt, A. (1967), 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' in Thirsk, J. (ed.), Finberg, H. P. R. (General ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Volume IV 1500-16*, (London) pp. 466-592, p 467.

number of medieval markets is probably even higher than is revealed by extant charters and records, and that there are gaps in the record because documents get destroyed.<sup>28</sup>

Some historians take the opposite position and argue that the number of medieval markets indicated by charters is misleading because such markets were either fleeting or non-existent. Brown argues 'more towns [defined as a place with a market] were founded in medieval times than the agriculture and commerce of the nation could support'.<sup>29</sup> Dyer, sharing this perspective, claims that 'most country markets failed, either immediately or within a century or two'.<sup>30</sup> Masschaele goes further than this and argues that the superabundance was a chimera. Most charters in England were royal and entitled the holder of a charter, in return for a payment of some kind to the Crown, to the exclusive rights to hold a market and the collect toll in a particular area. According to Masschaele, the granting of a charter did not mean that those rights were exercised and that a market was held. He argues that the number of markets functioning in the early modern era was fairly similar to those that existed in the medieval era, and that the possession of a market charter did not necessarily lead to the creation of a market.<sup>31</sup>

In order to answer the question of when was 'peak market', an extensive data set was created for this work. This recorded the market history of 10,722 places from Abbas in Somerset to Zeals in Wiltshire. For each place information on over 53 different variables was entered, including number of metal-detected finds, dates of markets held and the dates of any charters granted. This very large data set forms the basis for much, but not all, of the analysis in the following chapters.

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<sup>28</sup> Dymond, D. (1993), *Medieval and Later Markets* in Wade-Martins, P. (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, (Norwich), pp. 76-77.

<sup>29</sup> Brown, J. (1986) *The English Market Town*, (Ramsbury), p. 12.

<sup>30</sup> Dyer C. (2005), *An Age of Transition, Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford), p. 21.

<sup>31</sup> Masschaele, J. (1994), 'The Multiplicity of Medieval Markets Reconsidered', *Journal of Historical Geography*, no. 20, pp. 255-271, p. 255.

An important issue is the number of markets in the medieval period. The distinction between markets as a source of profit and markets as the source of consumer goods also existed during that era. Indeed, the origin of the word market means a place where merchants trade, from the Latin for merchant 'mercato', not a place where locals exchange goods. This is also true for the earlier Anglo-Saxon name for a market, 'chipping'. This is used in towns such as Chipping Norton and Chipping Ongar, and the London streets of Cheapside and East Cheap, where the term is linked to 'chapman' meaning 'a trader' or 'merchant'.<sup>32</sup> Masschaele argues that medieval markets catered for both long distance and local trade:

Markets, even rural markets, were created in this period not to facilitate purely local trade but rather to facilitate trade between localities and regions. In other words, rural marketplaces were not self-contained enclaves catering strictly to a local population; they were parts of larger integrated economic systems, caught up in the gravity of places like Ipswich, Shrewsbury and even London.<sup>33</sup>

For him, markets have two overlapping functions during this period. Firstly, there was the obvious function of allowing local residents to purchase things from each other, but, secondly, they also provided a link between locales. Those living in a local area could use the market to buy from merchants the goods produced in other villages and regions, and also to sell goods to merchants for onward sale in another market in a different locality. Earlier markets also catered for the needs of specialists such as the local blacksmith, by allowing them to buy small amounts of raw material to turn into products. These artefacts were then sold back into the market either directly or from retail premises around the market place. These petty commodity producers

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<sup>32</sup> Britnell, R. H. (1996) *The Commercialisation of English Society* (Second Edition), (Manchester), pp. 12-13. Also see entry for Chipperfield in Watts, V. (2010), *The Cambridge Dictionary of Place-Names*, (Cambridge), p. 135.

<sup>33</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 58.



also purchased food and other goods from their local markets. The role of petty commodity producers in the market should not distract from the fundamental point, that markets are not just places divided between buyers and sellers. In many markets there was a division between those purchasing for their own needs and those buying in order to make profit. Masschaele argues that for the person who had the market rights during the medieval period, the merchant was the most important trader:

Not all buyers and sellers had to pay toll when trading in a market from the holder's perspective, the most lucrative group of market users were traders hailing from places other than the market site. Without such traders, possession of a market franchise was not worth very much.<sup>34</sup>

Because markets could be a source of profit, the right to hold markets and to tax them became defined as something requiring a legal franchise. The granting of market charters eventually ended up as a monopoly of the Crown.<sup>35</sup> To this day, any market that exists is supposed to be created by due legal process, either a grant (by charter or letters patent) or by statute.<sup>36</sup>

Not all markets that existed in the Middle Ages were held by charter. Markets that existed without charters are referred to as prescriptive markets and are known through medieval documents other than charters. One source is the *QW* enquiries into the holding of various rights of Edward I's subjects, mostly into by what right they held land, but also their rights to hold markets. A right to a market was deemed to exist if it had been held since 'time immemorial', defined as before the start of Richard I's reign in 1189, and the

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<sup>34</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 59.

<sup>35</sup> Salzman, L. F. (1928), 'The Legal Status of Markets', *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. 2, pp. 205-212.

<sup>36</sup> Hough, B. (1997) 'Some Problems in the English Law of Markets and Fairs', *Mountbatten Journal of Legal Studies*, vol. 1, pp. 24-44.

*QW* lists a number of such places.<sup>37</sup> There are a total 938 markets recorded in the data set as being held in the medieval period. Of these 256 (27%) do not have an extant charter and are recorded in the *QW* or elsewhere.<sup>38</sup>

These chartered and prescriptive markets were seen as markets by the elite because of the presence of merchants who could be subjected to tolls. If merchants were absent at some places where there was buying and selling, the elite did not view these as markets. This can be illustrated from entries in *The Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*, compiled by S. Letters, a work which is the most important listing of places with medieval market charters.<sup>39</sup> In addition to presenting a list of charters, it occasionally records medieval legal disputes about whether markets were being held legitimately. These disputes give an indication of the mindset of the medieval elite regarding what collective trading activities did or did not constitute a market. These disputes show that, for the elite, a market is a trading event where there is the collection of tolls, as opposed to the anthropological view of Bohanan and Dalton of a market place where buyers and sellers meet. A theme that emerges in other entries in the *Gazetteer* is that, for the elite, the small scale selling of surplus by local producers to other locals did not really constitute a market. In the *Gazetteer*, the existence of these smaller trading events is sometimes noted, often called 'wakes', but it does not record them as markets.<sup>40</sup> Those who held market rights in an area accepted that wakes were an acceptable form of trading if there were no merchants trading at the events and no collection of tolls. Evidence of small trading events emerges

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<sup>37</sup> Hough, English Law of Markets', pp. 24-44., Masschaele, *JPeasants, Merchants and Markets. Inland Trade in Medieval England*, p. 168.

<sup>38</sup> The date of 1516 is used as this is the date used in the compilation of the *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*. The significance of this is discussed in the following paragraph.

<https://archives.history.ac.uk/gazetteer/gazweb2.html> (accessed 8-11-2022).

<sup>39</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 7-11-2022).

<sup>40</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 7-11-2022).

around this issue of the collection of tolls. For example, in Cumberland, where the Countess of Aumale was accused of holding a market at Crosthwaite:

In 1292 the Countess of Aumale claimed that she did not have a market here, but that on feast days the men of the neighbourhood gathered at the church and sold meat, fish and other goods; she did not take toll, stallage or any profit. This informal market was still active in 1306 when the farmers of the tolls at Cockermouth complained that the traders did not pay any dues to Cockermouth; on that occasion the 'market' at Crosthwaite was abolished.<sup>41</sup>

In this dispute the Countess of Aumale claimed that there was no market because there was no collection of toll or any other form of profit, even though there was trading between locals of 'meat, fish and other goods'. In Devon, a dispute arose between the holders of market rights at Moretonhampstead, the Earl of Essex, and Hugh de Chaggeford concerning trading at the latter's manor of Chagford. Hugh de Chaggeford was keen to point out that his was a market held by prescription, not a wake, because he collected toll and stallage (a tax taken for erecting a stall):

In 1220, this market [Hugh de Chaggeford's market at Chagford] was alleged to be damaging that at Moretonhampstead, Devon. Hugh de Chaggeford claimed his market had been operating for one hundred years. It had previously been held on Sun, but he had changed the day to Sat out of respect for religion. It was alleged that the market had only been a wake, in which meat and bread were sold. This had been prohibited by K John and neither a wake or a market had been held at Chagford during the war. However, Hugh stated that he held and had always held a market, because he took toll and stallage (*CRR*, viii, pp.

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<sup>41</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 7-11-2022).

267–8). The ‘war’ began in May–June 1215; despite K John’s death in Oct 1216, it continued until Sept 1217.<sup>42</sup>

Both sides acknowledged that there was a trading event, but the complainant was keen to note that it was just a wake and not a market, as only meat and bread were sold. On the other hand, Hugh de Chaggeford was keen to assert it was a real market because he charged toll and stallage, and the charging of these tolls was something he valued.

The dispute between Moretonhampstead and Chagford shows that the trade in victuals did not constitute a market, as understood by the elite in the later Middle Ages. However, this was not the view in the eleventh century according to Britnell. He argues that the medieval elite in and around the eleventh century did *not* see markets as exclusively where tolls were collected from traders:

there is no known example before the Conquest of a market outside of the royal demesne having been created by royal licence. This, even more than the rarity of English equivalents, implies that at the time of the Norman Conquest a market was not thought of as a distinct franchise, or at least that such a concept was very recent. Where market places existed they were understood as part of some more complex institution of lordship. ‘Market place’ is, on the face of it, a descriptive term and not a legal one, and it is unnecessary to assume that it implies any definite notion of what rights it entailed.<sup>43</sup>

If Britnell is correct, then it appears that the later medieval elite definition of a market, as somewhere tolls were collected, has been grafted onto an earlier version of what constituted a market, that it was a regular trading event (roughly how it is perceived in ordinary usage and by anthropologists). It is

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<sup>42</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 7-11-2022).

<sup>43</sup> Britnell. R. H. (1996), *The Commercialisation of English Society*, (Second Edition), (Manchester), p. 14.

highly likely that the markets that existed prior to the collection of tolls by the elite were the creation of the peasantry. As such, they are likely to have regarded their trading activity as taking place in a market. Confirming this is very difficult, as Biddick wrote:

Historians...know little about the participants in English medieval markets. With few exceptions they have neglected the marketing strategies of lords, although manorial accounts offer much evidence for the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Peasant involvement in medieval markets is more difficult. No sources directly document their market activity.<sup>44</sup>

As Biddick makes clear, there is a lack of information about peasants' involvement in markets, let alone what kind of meetings of buyers and seller the peasantry considered to be a market. Note that Biddick along with most historians, does not define what she means by a peasant - an issue that will be returned to shortly.<sup>45</sup>

This work does not restrict itself to the view of the later medieval elite that a market must have merchants present. It instead uses the anthropological and ordinary language definition of a market as a place where buyers and sellers meet (whether or not there are merchants present). There is some indication that this definition may be what the medieval majority, who were not members of the elite, thought constituted a market. It is difficult to identify what Kilby calls 'peasant perspectives' on medieval life, but one source among others she recommends is field names.<sup>46</sup> This, along

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<sup>44</sup> Biddick, K. (1985) 'Medieval Peasants and Market Involvement', *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 45, pp. 823-831, p. 824

<sup>45</sup> Schofield, P. R. (2016), *Peasants and Historians. Debating the English Peasantry*, (Manchester), p. 21.

<sup>46</sup> Kilby, S. (2020), *Peasant Perspectives on the Medieval Landscape. A Study of Three Communities*, (Hatfield), p. 6. Like a number of historians, she does not define what she means by the term peasant.

with street and road names, points to a number of places that are named market that were probably the site of small scale trading. There are a number of examples in Norfolk. In 1201, William de Kaiou claimed that his market at Wighton in North Norfolk was being damaged by the market of the Prior of Binham. These two villages are only approximately 2.5 miles distance apart, centre to centre.<sup>47</sup> It was agreed that the Binham market could continue but the men of Wighton should pay no toll there. This would seem to imply that Binham market continued and Wighton's market had ceased - however, as late as 1372 a plot of land called the 'Commune Market' is recorded in Wighton. This suggests a market centre for the local commune and, by implication, not outsiders. The trading location for merchants presumably continued to be at Binham.<sup>48</sup> South Creake has documentary evidence for a functioning medieval market, that is its market is what is known as a prescriptive market. The market at South Creake may or may not have attracted visiting merchants. The village had fields that translate as market close and super-market close.<sup>49</sup> At the tiny settlement of Frenze in the Waveney valley (now part of the parish of Scole) there was, at the time of enclosure in 1814, a field termed 'market close', as shown in Figure 1.

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<sup>47</sup> *The Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 8-11-2022).

<sup>48</sup> Stamp, A. E., Chapman, J. B. W., Dawes, M. C. B. and Wardle, D. B. (1954), 'Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward III, File 221', in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 13, Edward III*, (London), pp. 82-92. British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol13/pp82-92>, (accessed 8-11-22).

<sup>49</sup> Hesse, M. (1998), Medieval Field Systems and Land Tenure in South Creake Norfolk, *Norfolk Archaeology*, no. 43, pp.75-97.

Figure 1: Enclosure Map of Frenze (Norfolk) 1814 (part) Showing the 'Market Close' Field



The existence of field names at places that were relatively small and probably had few visiting merchants seems to point to more localised trading which was known to locals as markets. In addition to these field names, of which many more are likely to be revealed by further research, there are 'market' street names that point to the locations of a similar perspective that local trading were a form of market. In Norfolk, the following places have no documents of any kind recording a market, but do have market street names: there is a 'Market Lane' at Shotesham, Crimplasham, Filby Heath, Wacton and Burston; 'Market Road' at Potter Heigham and Burgh Castle; and 'Market Hill' at Colkirk.

There is an issue surrounding whether 'peasant' is the correct terminology to use to refer to the rural majority in England during the medieval period. This is important because there are some who question whether a properly defined peasantry can be said to engage in a market. Macfarlane argues that they cannot: 'Production in a peasant society, apart from that portion paid in rent or taxes, is almost wholly for direct consumption, for use, rather than exchange in the market.'<sup>50</sup> Not everybody agrees with this. For example, Masschaele argues that in medieval England peasants were the major source of marketed goods.<sup>51</sup> Masschaele does not define what he means by a peasant, however this is not unusual, as Schofield argues:

While it remains far from clear that historians have always employed a shared definition of the medieval peasantry in their work, it is at least evident that the term has been applied and used freely by historians from the nineteenth century until the present in order to describe a cohort of rural dwellers which included both the wealthier villein and free tenants of the lords as well as those who were their economic and

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<sup>50</sup> Macfarlane, A. (1978), *The Origins of English Individualism*, (Oxford) pp. 21-22.

<sup>51</sup> Masschaele, J. (1997), *Peasants, Merchants, and Markets Inland Trade in Medieval England, 1150-1350*, (New York).



social inferiors, including cottagers, small holders and even labourers with small plots of land.<sup>52</sup>

In this work the term peasant is used to refer to rural dwellers below the status of lords that had access to productive land.

This work attempts to settle the issue of what time period in English history had the most markets, understood in the anthropological and common understanding of that word as a place where buyers and sellers meet, a period that can be dubbed 'peak market'. Once 'peak market' is established, what this means for the development of capitalism is investigated. Chapter One examines the documentary evidence highlighting the way in which the period of 'peak market' differs if research relies purely on documents that record markets that are known to have been functioning or, whether it also embraces the existence of a charter as evidence for a market. Chapter Two shows that identifying 'peak market' requires other forms of evidence beyond documents to bear on the question, and outlines non-documentary evidence for examining the status of charters. These sources are, firstly and most importantly, coin finds from metal detecting, secondly, place name evidence and finally, standing structures related to markets (principally market crosses and halls). Chapter Three uses a case study of Huntingdonshire to show how these other types of evidence can be used to investigate the numbers of markets. Huntingdonshire was chosen because it was on the basis of a study of that former county that Masschaele came to the conclusion that medieval charters could not be relied upon as evidence of markets, and that the number of markets in the medieval period was roughly the same as existed in the early modern. In the three chapters that follow the case study, the methods and evidence used for examining the market history of Huntingdonshire are applied to the whole of England. Chapter Four looks at metal detected evidence. Coin finds are associated with market sites so the number of coin finds at known markets and other places are compared. The evidence of place names is discussed in Chapter Five.

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<sup>52</sup> Schofield, *Peasants and Historians*. p. 21.

Chapter Six examines market crosses and market halls. Chapter Seven examines how the development of markets, both large and small, impacted on the lives of the peasantry. Chapters Eight and Nine are concerned with markets in the post-medieval period and investigate the links between markets and capitalism. Chapter Eight looks at the history of markets from the end of the medieval period until 1900, a period which saw England become an industrial and urban society. Finally, Chapter Nine takes the story of the relationship between capitalism and markets up to the beginning of the twenty first century by using oral history evidence from interviews with a number of business leaders.

## **Chapter One: Documentary Evidence for the Number of Markets in England since the Norman Conquest**

An important question in the history of markets is when in the thousand or so years following the Norman Conquest was the period of 'peak market'. 'Peak market' is a way of referring to the era that had the most markets in the anthropological and ordinary language sense of 'a regular trading event held at a particular place where multiple buyers and sellers meet'. It is necessary to establish the timing of 'peak market' in order to understand how local markets contributed to the development of capitalism. This chapter discusses the documentary evidence that can be employed for identifying 'peak market'. A crucial issue for answering this question is to consider what counts as documentary evidence for a market. In particular, can the existence of a market charter be taken as proof that a market functioned? For the medieval period the most ubiquitous form of document relating to markets is a charter. These were principally issued by the monarch, granting market rights to a person and possibly their descendants, or to a particular office holder such as a bishop and his successors, or to a corporate body, such as a borough. However, before the issuing of market charters became a royal monopoly in the later Middle Ages, some market charters were issued by high ranking members of the church and nobility.<sup>53</sup> There is documentary evidence that markets were actually held at 989 places in the medieval period but almost double that number, 1,929, had charters for markets. The nature of what constitutes a place is discussed in the next section on the creation of the data set. Of those places with charters there is no further evidence that 1,196 places actually held markets (referred to here as 'chartered-only' places). If a substantial proportion of these places did in fact hold markets, then the number of markets in the medieval period could be nearly double the number that are recorded in various documentary sources other than charters. In order to investigate the number of markets and attempt to establish 'peak market' a

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<sup>53</sup> Salzman, 'The Legal Status of Markets', pp. 205-212.

large data set of places was created. The creation of this data set is discussed in the next section.

## **The Creation of the Data Set**

Any data set is composed of 'cases' and 'variables'. Cases are the things that are being compared within the data set. For example, in sociological research based on surveys the cases are usually individual people: in business research the cases may be firms. Variables provide the information about the cases and vary for each case and are the subject of the research in question.

An important part of investigating the history of market places is comparing where they are and where they are not. This involves looking at places generally. As established in the introduction, this work is a study of the history of markets in the anthropological sense as meetings of buyers and sellers in market places (including market places that were sometimes covered spaces such as market-halls or arcades). Market places are located in specific locations, usually towns, villages or hamlets. Sometimes, however, markets took place outside of settlements – for example, the trading of animals may have occurred in the open countryside. The cases in the data set created for this work on the history of markets are places. A place for the purpose of this research means that settlement or other location in which a market place is situated and settlements and locations without market places. This was the obvious choice because historical records of markets held in market places refer to where they are. For example, *The Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls* of 1889-91 lists where markets were held according to the town or village in which they were located. This may seem obvious but many economic institutions, such as corporations are not listed according to any geographical or spatial attributes. There are a few issues that have to be dealt with when using place as the case for the study of the history of markets: places change their names, change their boundaries, and the location of a market or markets within a place may change.

By necessity, the data set records place in two separate ways. For most of England a place is defined by the current boundaries of the lowest level of

administration, the civil parish. The Local Government Act of 1894 created the system of civil parishes to replace the former system of administration by ecclesiastical parishes.<sup>54</sup> The parish boundaries were kept roughly the same whether a civil parish replaced a single ecclesiastical parish or if parishes with low populations were merged.<sup>55</sup> For example, Norfolk has a number of these merged parishes that now share the name of the two previous ecclesiastical parishes: Bagthorpe and Barmer, Ashwellthorpe and Fundenhall, Stokesby with Herringby. In addition extra-parochial areas were allocated to civil parishes. The Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) is central to the research on which this work is based, and the PAS data base records finds of coins and other objects at the level of the civil parish.

The data set created for this research records data on 10,145 civil parishes. The current name of a parish is usually the same as previously and it is not difficult to link the records of a market in the past to a current civil parish. Medieval market charters in urban areas usually refer to the settlement by its name. However, charters for rural areas are slightly trickier because the charters are granted to the manor. Fortunately, the work of linking a charter to a village has already been done in most cases by Letters when she created *The Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*. There were only 21 places in the documents she looked at that she could not link to a known place.

There are very few civil parishes in the major urban areas. The size of urban areas that are unparished varies in size from Greater London to relatively small places such as Eastbourne and Gosport.<sup>56</sup> Clearly, civil parish cannot be used as the identifier of place in areas that are not part of the civil parish system, and that therefore have no parish boundaries. This is an issue

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<sup>54</sup> Redlich, J. and Hirst-Frances, W., (Keith-Lucas, W. (ed.) (1970 first published 1903), *The History of Local Government in England*, (Second Edition) (London), Snell, K. D. M., (2006), *Parish and Belonging. Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950*, (Cambridge).

<sup>55</sup> Redlich and Hirst, *The History of Local Government* p 216.

<sup>56</sup> London now has a single civil parish at Queen's Park in West London.

because, by the twentieth century, markets were disproportionately urban institutions. For example, in 1988, London alone had 93 markets compared to the 609 held in the rest of England.<sup>57</sup> Markets outside of London were also disproportionately urban. If, for the purposes of this analysis, urban is defined as not having a civil parish, urban areas accounted for just 7.3% of the area of England (outside Greater London). Despite this small size, 267 (44%) of the markets (outside Greater London) were urban in 1988.<sup>58</sup> The names of locations that had markets and are located in what are now urban areas are easy to link to contemporary settlements. This is because the place name history is known (indeed usually the name is the same). For example, in Tameside (Greater Manchester), a number of former towns with a history of markets are still identifiable as areas within the wider district: Ashton-under-Lyne, Denton, Droylesden, Dukinfield, Mossley and Stalybridge. What is less easy to identify is where the boundaries of these urban places are.<sup>59</sup> Fortunately, the use of two different criteria for place in the data set is not too

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<sup>57</sup> Forshaw, A. and Bergstrom, T. (1989), *The Markets of London*, (London), see also Kershman, A. (2004), *The London Market Guide* (London). World's Fair, *Market Year Books 1980 and 1988*, (Oldham).

<sup>58</sup> London is excluded from this analysis because the continued ubiquity of markets there would tend to skew the analysis.

<sup>59</sup> It might be thought that electoral wards are an alternative place identifier to the civil parish, however, they are less suitable because their boundaries do not always appear to fit with any identifiable place. Wards are created for purposes of voting and council representation, and are impacted by population changes. The lack of relatively stable boundaries for wards means that it is difficult to identify places by ward in order to compare the market history of places with and without market history. For example, Allenton (an inner suburb of Derby) has a market history. Parts of what were (and still are, according to local understanding) in Allenton, are now in the electoral ward of the outer suburb of Sinfin a place that has no market history.

significant as it does not impact on the type of questions that are posed of the data by this research, in particular determining the era of 'peak market'.

There are 51 'variables' relating to aspects of the cases in the data set (place). These are listed in full in the Appendix, List 1.<sup>60</sup> and they relate to five major areas of concern:

1. Geographical information (for example, county, grid-references).
2. If there was a market, the dates relating to that market (for example, dates of charters, and the years when the market was held).
3. Number of finds recorded in the PAS data set (for example, total number of finds recorded, and the numbers of various coin types).
4. Place name data (for example, is the place named after a market, such as, Thorpe Market (Norfolk) and whether there are streets named after a market, such as, 'The Market Place'.
5. Market structures (for example, the existence of market crosses, and market halls).

The information for the variables came from a number of different sources. Dating information on markets comes from the documentary sources that are discussed in this chapter. The source of non-documentary evidence is discussed in Chapter Three.

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<sup>60</sup> Appendix List 1. p. 392.

## Documentary Sources

When creating a data set to study the history of markets at places over time, one of the most significant pieces of information is in what years were markets held. The ideal situation for establishing 'peak market' would be if there was a record of every year that a market existed at any particular place. Unsurprisingly, this information does not exist. Instead, a record of markets had to be compiled from numerous sources. This inevitably leads to gaps in the timeline for when a place almost certainly had a market but for which there is no definitive documentary proof. The record of medieval markets was constructed from two main sources:

1. For the medieval period the most significant list of markets is the already mentioned *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516* compiled by Letters. Her main source of information was printed records of the charter rolls.<sup>61</sup> Some information on documentary evidence for medieval prescriptive markets (markets that existed without a charter) is included, mainly coming from the *Quo Warranto* Inquiries (sometimes abbreviated in *The Gazetteer* to *QW*) of Edward I.
2. Additional data for the medieval period came from the Inquisition Post Mortem for the period 1236-1447 and 1485-1509.<sup>62</sup> Letters does occasionally use the Calendar of

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<sup>61</sup> Charter rolls have been lost for some years, for example, 1233-4.

<sup>62</sup> *Calenders of the Inquisition Post Mortems*

<http://www.inquisitionpostmortem.ac.uk/about/the-calendars/>

(accessed 11-12-18). The data from this source was created in a comprehensive fashion by working through each entry on the website. The *Gazetteer of Markets* clearly used some of the information but in an



Inquisitions Post Mortem (sometimes abbreviated by to *CIPM*) but not in a systematic way. The Inquisitions Post Mortem recorded the assets held by a tenant-in-chief of the King after the tenant had died and before those assets and rights passed to their heir. The investigations aimed to protect the King's right as feudal lord and are principally concerned with the holdings of land, however, they also list market rights. Furthermore, they also refer to other markets not held by tenants-in-chief. For example, the inquisitions take witness statements that often refer to remembering announcements on market days in particular places. The inquisitions were calendared, translated, summarised and printed between 1898 and 2010 and are now accessible online.<sup>63</sup> It is believed that this research is the first time this information has been used systematically as a source for investigating the numbers of markets.

The main sources for the post-medieval period are (numbering continued from medieval sources):

3. A list created by Alan Everitt of markets that operated for the period 1500-1640 and published in his chapter on marketing in the *Agrarian History of England*.<sup>64</sup>

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unsystematic fashion. The unsystematic use of this source has left Oksanen and Lewis, believing it was not used at all.

<http://www.inquisitionspostmortem.ac.uk/blog/medieval-markets-and-the-ipms/> (accessed 11-12-18).

<sup>63</sup> <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/inquis-post-mortem>

<sup>64</sup> Everitt, A. (1967), 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' in Thirsk, J. (ed.) Finberg, H. P. R. (General ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Volume IV 1500-16*, (London) pp. 466-592.

4. John Adam's *Index Villarium* of 1690.<sup>65</sup>
5. W. Stow's 'A List of all the Market Towns in England and Wales and the days of Week Whereon Kept' in *Remarks on London, being an Exact Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark*. (London 1722).
6. *Owen's New Book of Fairs* of (London 1792 & 1888). *Owen's New Book of Fairs* list fairs and markets, although somewhat curiously they only record market days at places that have fairs, therefore places that had markets but not fairs are not recorded
7. Baines's 1822 list of all English market towns.<sup>66</sup>
8. *Magna Brittainia* 1806-1822, by Daniel and Samuel Lysons, an incomplete gazetteer of Britain which provided information on market towns for the counties of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Cornwall, Cumberland, Derbyshire and Devon between 1806 and 1822 before ceasing publication due to the death of one of the authors.
9. For the late nineteenth century the most significant data source is *The Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, 1889-1891*. The fifteen volumes of the report list markets based on data from two major sources. Firstly, it relies on the Local Government Board returns on markets and tolls to the House of Commons in 1886. This lists 617 markets to which the commissioners sent questionnaires. Secondly, it also

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<sup>65</sup> Listed in the footnotes by Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' p. 469, 472, 475.

<sup>66</sup> Baines, E. (1823), *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York*, Volumes 1 and 2, (Leeds), The appendix contains a list of all English markets, pp. 611-614.

contains *Owen's New Book of Fairs* for the years 1792 and 1888 in an Appendix.<sup>67</sup>

10. For the twentieth-century data came from five different issues of *The Market Year Book* from the first publication in 1935. *The Market Year Book* was published by World Fair and was the market trader's main source of printed information on the location of functioning markets. The years used in this research are 1935, 1967, 1980, 1988 and 2000. The reason for using two publications from the 1980s is because of a change in the nature of the publication. In 1988 the format fundamentally changed and listings for agricultural markets such as cattle and corn were dropped. This change reflects the massive reduction in such markets as outlets for producers because of their replacement by the growth in 'relational exchange', (namely the private trading agreements between corporate customers and their suppliers). The Market Year Book has its origins as an almost exact copy of appendices to an earlier government investigation into the functioning of the supply system during the First World War.<sup>68</sup>

In addition to the lists above, data for both medieval and modern periods was sourced from a range of contemporary gazetteers for the counties of Norfolk, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Devon and Derbyshire. In addition to this primary evidence the work of historians working on particular counties (particularly Norfolk, Devon, Huntingdonshire and Essex) provided information for the

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<sup>67</sup> *Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, (London 1889-91), *Reports Volumes 1 to 15*, (HMSO London). Owen's lists were independent publications.

<sup>68</sup> Ministry of Agriculture, (1927-1929), *Economic Series, nos 13, 14 19, 23 & 26. Markets and Fairs in England and Wales Volumes I-VII*, (HMSO London).

existence of markets.<sup>69</sup> These more local sources provide evidence of markets that are missed in the national records. For example, East Finchley held *the* major pig market for the metropolis from the eighteenth century until the railway age and is the only market noted on the first edition Ordnance Survey map for Middlesex - and yet the market does not appear in any of the national lists.<sup>70</sup>

## Assessing the Documentary Sources

### The Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516

The Gazetteer was published as a website and in print form by the List and Index Society in 2002. Holford claims that *The Gazetteer* is 'authoritative' and indeed has been used as definitive in some subsequent research.<sup>71</sup> As was

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<sup>69</sup> Most significantly for Norfolk due to the existence of Blomefield, F. (1805-1810), *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, Volumes 1-15*, (Volumes 8-11 by Parkin C.), (London). <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/topographical-hist-norfolk>, (accessed, 5-11-18). The early volumes written by Blomefield's essay were composed in the eighteenth century and those by Parkin in the early nineteenth century. Both record information about markets from records that no longer exist. For Devon Kowaleski, M. (1995), *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge), Fox, H. (2001), *The Evolution of the Fishing Village: Landscape and Society Along the South Devon Coast, 1086-1550* (Oxford). For Huntingdonshire, Masschaele, J. (1997), *Peasants, Merchants and Markets. Inland Trade in Medieval England, 1150-1350*, (New York), and for Essex, Walker, E. (1981), *Essex Markets and Fairs*, (Chelmsford).

<sup>70</sup> Pigot and Co. (1839), *Royal National and Commercial Directory of the counties of Essex and Hertfordshire and Middlesex 1839*, (London).

<sup>71</sup> Holford, M. (2016) 'Fairs and Markets in the Inquisitions Post Mortem' in Hicks, M. (ed.), *The Later Medieval Inquisition Post-Mortems*, (Woodbridge), pp. 100-114, p. 100, Oksanen, E. and Lewis, M. (2015) 'Medieval Markets and

noted above, small scale trading activity, dismissed as wakes by the medieval elite, were systematically excluded from *The Gazetteer*. That is, the compilers of *The Gazetteer* took on the medieval elite's definition of what constitutes a market. This probably means that the number of markets listed, according to the anthropological criteria, is an underestimate. Even with the omission of the small scale trading events, the coverage is extensive. Evidence, mainly in the form of charters, was found for 2,464 markets and 2,767 fairs in England and Wales prior to 1516. This research draws heavily on *The Gazetteer*, however, there are some problems with the way it was compiled. Fortunately, Letters gives a very thorough description of the approach that she took to her sources which enables these problems to be articulated and addressed. As she says quite bluntly:

The greatest problem faced by the project was the enormous amount of information available. As some of the most important sources in print lack adequate subject indexes the research took longer than originally estimated.<sup>72</sup>

It is easy to sympathise with Letters given the centrality of the discourse of markets to the history of the last fifty years. It comes as a surprise how little the history of actual markets has been studied and as such how much work has to be put into the daunting task of gathering data before a meaningful history of markets can be written. *The Gazetteer* did draw upon a number of pre-existing lists of markets to supplement Letters' own research, but principally it relied upon printed records of the state. As Letters writes:<sup>73</sup>

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Portable Antiquities Scheme Data', *Medieval Settlement Research*, no. 30, pp. 54-59.

<sup>72</sup> Letters S. 'Sources', *The Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 23-11-18).

<sup>73</sup> For example, she included information on medieval markets from all the county lists she could find. When they were the only source of a medieval market this was noted allowing users to check the validity of the sources for themselves.

In order to compile the Gazetteer it was necessary to focus on those that provided the most information and gave national coverage. Therefore the research concentrated on printed primary sources, almost all of which are records of the royal administration.<sup>74</sup>

Most of the information presented is of charters covering the period from 1199 to 1516.<sup>75</sup> Printed collections of grants and royal acts were used 'systematically' for the period from 1066 to 1199. The data for the charter rolls was gone through 'page by page'. The implication of this last quote is that this search method was not adopted across all the other sources used. For example, 1516 was taken as the finishing point for data collection, and also taken as the *de facto* end of the medieval period. The reason for this was that after 1516 market grants were recorded in the patent rolls and that the printed records of the patent rolls contained other material, which was voluminous and was mostly not related to markets. Furthermore, a subject index was lacking from the post-1516 patent roll which Letters argued would have enabled market charters to be located easily. The second major source for markets used in *The Gazetteer*, after the charter rolls, were the printed copies of the close rolls. These rolls listed letters sent to sheriffs informing them of a new market and giving instructions for that new market to be publicised. This is a particularly important source for markets on the Royal demesne. The letters on the close roll also contain data on change of market days and location, enforced closures of markets and legal disputes. When

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<sup>74</sup> Letters 'Sources'.

<sup>75</sup> The printed formats are of three types, firstly, the very early part of this period to 1216 the roles are printed in full, secondly from 1217 to 1516 they are printed as calendars, finally, when Henry III was in Gascony during 1242 and 1253-4 the issuing of charters is recorded in the Gascon and Patent Rolls. Letters notes that there were nearly 50 market charters granted for England for these few months. She also notes that there are some years where the charter rolls have been lost, for example, 1233-4.

compiling *The Gazetteer*, Letters went through the printed sources ‘page by page’ for the period 1204-27. After this period, she used the indices even though she knew them to be inadequate. A ‘page by page’ approach was rejected on the basis of the high time and labour costs of such an approach compared to the relative likely benefits. Using an index was much quicker and was seen to be a reasonable trade-off against a reduction in accuracy.

Letters used other printed royal sources and a number of secondary works which she lists in the appendix. There were problems with the patent rolls similar to those encountered with the close roll. To quote Letters, ‘it was not possible to use the patent rolls systematically’. This she argued was because the index did not properly reference markets and fairs. This could be a real problem because, as Holford notes, it is the period after 1350 and into the early modern period where data about the functioning of markets is most lacking. Further, from the mid-fifteenth century letters patent were increasingly used to make grants for markets.<sup>76</sup> This point will be revisited as this period is significant for our understanding of the history of markets.

In attempting to discover markets that existed before the issuing of charter rolls and similar documents, Letters draws upon a number of significant early documents. For example, she utilises Domesday Book, which does not list markets systematically because the existence of markets does not seem to be a major concern of the compilers of that survey.<sup>77</sup> However, Domesday Book does record some boroughs, but a number of major boroughs are not listed, for example, London, Winchester and Hastings. Letters makes the legitimate claim that, as trade was the *raison d’être* of boroughs they would have had markets. She therefore records these places as prescriptive markets.<sup>78</sup> Letters extends this logic to all places that are subsequently

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<sup>76</sup> Holford, ‘Fairs and Markets in the Inquisitions Post Mortem, p. 100

<sup>77</sup> Roffe, D. (2007) *Decoding Domesday*, (Woodbridge) p. 11.

<sup>78</sup> Beresford, M. W. and Finberg, P. R. (1973), *English Medieval Boroughs: A Handlist*, (Newton Abbot), and Beresford, M. W. and Finberg, P. R. (1981), ‘Supplement to English Medieval Boroughs: A Handlist’ in *Urban History Yearbook*, pp. 59–61.

recorded as boroughs, whether they have a market charter or not, utilising Beresford and Finberg's lists of boroughs.<sup>79</sup> She recognises that relying on borough lists as proof of a market maybe misplaced in some cases. For example, she notes that Chinnor (Oxfordshire) was a borough but was 'barely urban' - there is no reference to a market even though burgage plots are mentioned in 1338 and 1598. In addition to the core focus on charters a number of other printed sources were used. These additional sources were not systematically relied on because of, as she claims, 'the constraints of time and the difficulties posed by inadequate indexes'. According to Letters this means that

Inevitably by systematically working through the *CIPM*, *CPR* (calendar of patent rolls), *CCR* (calendar of charter rolls), *QW* and *RH* (the hundred rolls) it would be possible to find more evidence for markets and fairs.<sup>80</sup>

This presents a problem because three of these sources *Quo Warranto* (hereafter *QW*), *Calendar Inquisitions Post Mortem* (hereafter *CIPM*) and *Hundred Rolls* (hereafter *RH*) are extremely useful for indicating that a market was held.<sup>81</sup> Concentrating on printed material and royal records raises issues. Masschaele critiques the reliance upon printed material as opposed to examining manuscript records. He argues that the printed records are not adequate for documenting the operation of markets because not enough of the important manuscripts relating to markets have been turned into printed format.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Beresford and Finberg *English Medieval Boroughs* and 'Supplement'.

<sup>80</sup> Letter, S. 'Sources', *Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 23-11-18).

<sup>81</sup> On the *Calendar Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Holford, 'Fairs and Markets in the Inquisitions Post Mortem', pp. 100-114, On the *Quo Warranto*, Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 168.

<sup>82</sup> Masschaele, J. (2004), 'Review of *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516* by Samantha Letters, Mario Fenandes, Derek



*The Gazetteer's* almost exclusive reliance upon documents of royal administration also raises issues. The power of the King to control charters was historically not a given. During the reigns of the Plantagenets, the granting of a market came to be seen as a royal monopoly. As Salzman argued many years ago, this claim was of dubious authenticity because many grants establishing markets had been issued by senior church and lay figures before this period. Even so, the idea that the right to have a market stemmed from royal authority became accepted as fact.<sup>83</sup> For example, Roger de Mowbray granted a market at South Cave (Yorkshire) to Roger de Daiville in 1180. However, by 1253 De Daiville's heir held the market by the King's grant.

The monarch claimed that the royal monopoly over the right to authorise markets existed because markets required the King's peace to function. It was during this exercise of kingly power that many of the records of markets first emerge, often when first chartered. The process began in earnest under Henry III, with the median date for the issue of a market charter being 1263.<sup>84</sup> Another expression of Henry III's drive for power was the use of Inquisitions Post Mortems, which are first recorded in his 20<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1236).<sup>85</sup> Letters *et al.*'s graph for the issuing of charters (Figure 2) shows when charters were issued as recorded in the *Gazetteer*:

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Keene and Olwen Myhill', *The Agricultural History Review*, vol. 52, pp. 111-112, p. 111.

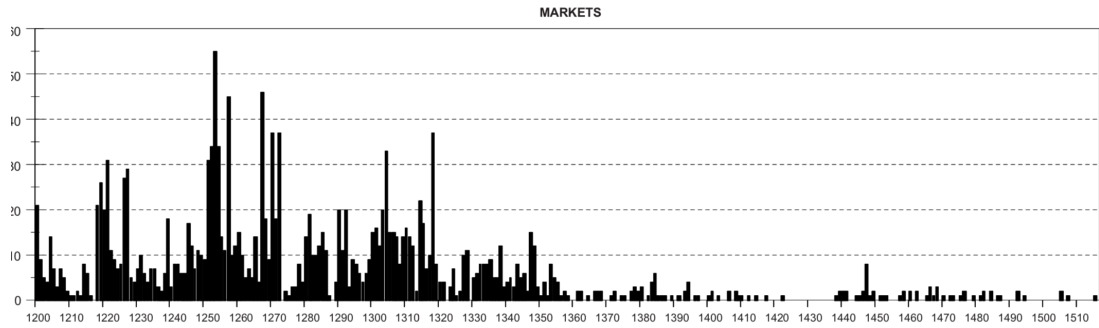
<sup>83</sup> Salzman,, 'The Legal Status of Markets', p. 205.

<sup>84</sup> As 99% of the information on charter dates is from Letters it is probably best to state that this is her median date.

<sup>85</sup> As noted, these are recorded as the CIPM and available online.

<http://www.inquisitionspostmortem.ac.uk/about/the-calendars/>,  
(accessed 11-12-18)

Figure 2: The Dates for the Issuing of Charters as Recorded in the Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516



Source: Letters, *Gazetteer*.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 31-3-23).

Kingly power over markets was further asserted by Henry's descendants - in particular, with Edward I's *QW* inquisitions. These demanded to know from the elite the origin and authority of most of their rights, mainly over property, but also the right to hold markets. If it was judged that those holding a market did not possess a right to a market, then they would be proscribed from holding that market. In the case of markets, this could happen if a right to hold a market was not exercised. For example, at West Horsley (Surrey), Ralph de Berners claimed the market but the jury decreed that 'the market was not used because no one came to do business'. Likewise at Eaton Socon (Bedfordshire), Roger de Bello Campo, descendent of the original grantee, claimed market rights in 1330 but it was judged 'that while the market had been active immediately after the grant, during Roger de Bello Campo's time it had been discontinued because none came to buy'. This situation also pertained at Kirk Linton in Cumberland where the heirs of the grantee were not allowed to inherit market rights because 'the jury returned a verdict of non-user'.<sup>87</sup>

A critical point about the significance of charters as an indication of the existence of markets in the medieval period is raised by the fact that market rights could be and were removed. Firstly, if market rights granted by charter were removed because they were not used and secondly, if, as claimed, nearly half of all market charters did not lead to markets, we would expect to see many more cases of the removal of rights in the royal record as the people with market rights were judged 'non-users'. This implies that either the royal authorities were not concerned with the exercise of rights, except in a few cases, or that at most places with market charters the markets were held and 'people did come to buy'. This points to the conclusion that 'charters meant markets'.

A semantic issue that may need clarification relating to the use of the *QW* and other documents is what does the term 'holding a market' actually refer to. Those who maintain that charters are no indication that a market operated could claim that 'holding a market' meant 'holding the right to a

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<sup>87</sup> All these cases come from the *Gazetteer of Markets*.

market'. If this latter point were true then we would have a smaller number of medieval markets documented as operating and the debate about the history of markets would be somewhat different. In the cases of disputes discussed above, it was not doubted that the possessor of a market charter had the right to a market. If they did not use their right to that market they would have lost those rights. It follows therefore, that keeping the rights to a market requires that the market is actually used. That is to say, logically, 'holding a market' means the market is operating whether the term refers to the market or the charter. That this is the case can be illustrated by a few examples from Derbyshire. At thirteen of the seventeen places with charters listed in the *Gazetteer*, the charter states that the market was 'to be held at the manor'. It is only by semantic perversity that this could be interpreted as a charter document being kept at the manor, as it inevitably would be. It is also only slightly less curious that the term of 'holding a market' referred to the fact that the manor had rights to a market connected to it as an institution in such a way that this connection could be referred to as 'held'. The *QW* investigation of 1330 into Alfreton market, 78 years after the granting of a charter, makes clear that 'holding' refers to use as a place where trading occurred. The grandson of the initial grantee was said to be 'holding the market, which had been held since the grant of the charter'.<sup>88</sup> At Hartington, there was grant for a Wednesday market. A later royal confirmation states that the market in future would be 'held' on Tuesday.<sup>89</sup> If the translation in the printed records is correct this is fairly clear about what the concept of holding a market is. A charter or rights connected to a manor can hardly be held one day a week but not on others. That 'holding' means the existence of a market where trading is taking place is confirmed by reference to the 'letters close' used during Henry III's minority. These record the instructions concerning royal possessions that were issued during that period. For example, in 1251 concerning the Royal Manor of Bolsover, the Sheriff of

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<sup>88</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets* entry for Alfreton.

<sup>89</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets* entry for Hartington.

Derby was told to 'proclaim the market and cause it to be held'.<sup>90</sup> The Sheriff did not have authority over the King and could not 'cause' the King to hold market rights, the use of 'held' in his instructions would therefore be redundant unless the Sheriff was expected to get the market up and running. Namely this clearly suggests that 'holding' a market means that a market takes place.

*The QW* records are a major source concerning 'documentary evidence for medieval prescriptive markets. Taking just the county of Norfolk the *only* medieval record for the following markets is from the *QW*: Acle, Diss, Foulsham, Gimmingham, Hanworth, Harleston, Heydon, Hingham, Kenninghall, Mayton, North Walsham, Pulham, and South Creak. The majority of these places continued to function as market centres into the early modern period and many beyond that.<sup>91</sup> Also relating to Norfolk, the Hundred Rolls (hereafter *RH*) records the first date for the market town of Aylsham and also for Thorpe Market, now nothing more than a small village but a place with some significance in the medieval period.<sup>92</sup>

These issues raise the question of whether by not having a systematic approach to the *QW*, *CIPM* and *RH*), *The Gazetteer* has overlooked both some markets completely, and important information about others. It was for this reason that the research for the data set created for this work *did* involve a systematic working through the published *CIPM*. This provided not only evidence for the functioning of markets that are only listed as chartered in *The Gazetteer* but also a number of markets that are not listed at all: Hempstead and Hunworth, (Norfolk), Owston Ferry, Risegate and South Kelsey (Lincolnshire), Preston, (Rutland), Stanbourne (Essex), Warsop (Nottinghamshire), Wem (Salop) and Wickham Breaux and Stockbury (Kent).

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<sup>90</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets entry* for Bolsover.

<sup>91</sup> Only Gimmingham, Hanworth, Heydon, Mayton, South Creak are not recorded as having modern markets.

<sup>92</sup> Thorpe Market may have been more important than it now appears because the inquisition post mortems for the area were taken at Thorpe Market.

In addition *The Gazetteer* misses a number of CIPM entries that indicate that certain places with chartered markets held those markets. In addition for a number of places with documentary evidence for medieval prescriptive the review of the CIPM provided evidence of extra dates for the operation of their markets. For example, the only mention of a functioning market at Haverhill (Suffolk) in *The Gazetteer* is a reference to the Domesday Book. However, the CIPM has five different dates for the market being held (all in the fourteenth century). The entry for Lavenham (also in Suffolk) in *The Gazetteer* only records its market charter, dated 1257, but the CIPM records that the market was held in 1296 and 1368.<sup>93</sup> There are other places where the only record in *The Gazetteer* is of a market charter where the CIPM indicates that the market was held, for example, at Chipping Warden (Northamptonshire) in 1334, and at Weobley (Herefordshire) in 1327 and 1332. Further, some places are recorded in the CIPM as having a functioning market before the first known market charter: Eastbourne (Sussex) in 1302 before its first charter in 1315, and Yalding (Kent) in 1296 and 1314 before the charter in 1318. A number of markets not recorded as having a market charter or documentary evidence of a medieval prescriptive market in *The Gazetteer* are recorded by the CIPM as holding a market: Methwold (Norfolk) is recorded as holding a market in 1204, and Fordham (Cambridgeshire) in 1288 and 1334.

In addition to these drawbacks in the way in which the sources were used in the creation of *The Gazetteer* there is also a problem with its focus on elite records. *The Gazetteer* is mainly created from royal records. This tends to under-record markets of the following type:

1. Royal markets;
2. Markets that existed before the development of royal records and continued outside royal interference; and

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<sup>93</sup> Lavenham is such a significant place in the history of cloth making in England that there will undoubtedly be more dates in the local history literature for the existence of its market.

### 3. Smaller markets solely of local consequence.

We do not know how many royal manors held markets when looking at charters and other royal grants. This is because they did not require such authorisation.

Documentary evidence for medieval markets (prescriptive markets) markets are only discovered when they are identified in royal documents such as the *CIPM and QW*. The extent of markets existing prior to being documented and which subsequently remained below royal purview could be large. In a very unusual document dated 1382 the Abbey of Netley was to be allowed to have its markets and the markets of its men at ten locations. These must have all been held by prescription as not a single charter remains, or is even alluded to in any other document for any of the ten sites.<sup>94</sup> The fact that no other record of these markets exists suggests they were very small local affairs supporting the needs of those particular places. Further support for the interpretation that the local markets were very small is the fact that two of these settlements, those at Netley and Hound, are only just over a mile apart. That this sort of distance between markets may have been more common than is suspected is indicated by a dispute in Suffolk between the major port of Dunwich and Leiston Abbey. The borough of Dunwich objected, in the thirteenth century, to the Abbey holding markets nearby. Firstly, in 1242 the market at Leiston itself was complained about and, in 1274-5 Dunwich objected to the Abbey's market at Sizewell.<sup>95</sup> The markets and Leiston and Sizewell were both about five miles from Dunwich, and were only two miles apart from each other. This is again evidence that markets that are known to have been operational in the medieval period could be very close.

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<sup>94</sup> These markets were at Netley, East Wellow, Hound and Totton (Hampshire), Friar Waddon and Ashley (Dorset), North Leigh (Oxfordshire), Kingston Deverill and Latton (Wiltshire) and Gomshall (Surrey). Entry for Netley, *Gazetteer of Markets*, (Accessed 31-3-23).

<sup>95</sup> Entry for Dunwich, *Gazetteer of Markets*

Netley Abbey is not a unique case of receiving a document granting multiple markets. In 1214 the Bishop of Lincoln was granted the right to have markets at *any* of his manors he wished subject to not damaging neighbouring markets, however, where these places were and whether the markets were held is not recorded in *The Gazetteer*.<sup>96</sup> That these markets could potentially be manifold is indicated by the fact that, as we have seen, they were sometimes as close as one or two miles apart. In Chapter Three, which is a case study of Huntingdonshire (a county in which the Bishop of Lincoln had several manors), there is coin find evidence from the PAS that many of his manors may have indeed held these small markets. These cases indicate that religious institutions had local markets in many of their manors, and that this was considered normal. These markets may have preceded the period when royal assent became the norm by many years. It is likely to be the case that documents about monastically held markets would have been destroyed during their dissolution. We therefore have little guide to how many of these monastically controlled small markets existed.

Although they were not collected in a systematic way, disputes contained in *The Gazetteer* are a source of information on markets that were held. For example, in 1257, Robert Tybbetoth was accused of raising a market at Shopland (Essex), to the detriment of Great Wakering also in Essex. This was found to be correct. The beneficiary of this decision was the Exchequer and not Great Wakering itself because Robert was allowed to keep the market for a payment of nine Shillings per annum. Another example is Crowmarsh Gifford's (Oxfordshire) unchartered market which was prohibited by Henry II in 1155 because of its impact on the market at Wallingford, also in Oxfordshire. The prohibition was not successful, or at least it was not for that long: Wallingford repeated the complaints against the market held at Crowmarsh Giffard in 1214, 1219 and 1234.

Disputes can reveal more than just the existence of individual markets. They can also reveal something about the extent and nature of the pattern of

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<sup>96</sup> For example, see the entry for Biggleswade in Bedfordshire, *Gazetteer of Markets* regarding the Bishop of Lincoln, (accessed 1-12-2022).



markets. For example, at Wainfleet (Lincolnshire), an early prescriptive market is recorded in about 1202. This is evidenced by the record that the market owned by the Priory of Kyme was moved from its accustomed day, with King John allowing the market to be held on Tuesday 'if it was not detrimental to neighbouring markets'.<sup>97</sup> It is difficult to assess which neighbouring market this could refer to because the nearest recorded market was the prescriptive market at Partney ten miles away. Burgh in the Marsh is five mile away but the first recording of that place's market is much later than the reign of King John, with a relatively late charter dated 1401. The objections raised against Wainfleet's market arguably indicate an established network of trade and markets that is not recorded in the royal records. This is a situation that could have prevailed elsewhere in England with no dispute to lead to inclusion in the royal records. The number of markets that existed without appearing in royal records could have been quite extensive. This is indicated by the fact that there are orders to move markets from churchyards, for example, at Reepham (Norfolk), Malmesbury (Wiltshire) and Shrewsbury (Shropshire).<sup>98</sup> Pestell notes that many informal markets were held in churchyards.<sup>99</sup> There are hints that this may be the case from ecclesiastical records. For example, in the Forest of Dean in 1426, the rector of Newland was ordered to move huts and booths from the churchyard. This was clearly not successful. In 1439, at Newland and nearby Mitcheldean, the rectors 'were ordered to forbid buying and selling of all but victuals'.<sup>100</sup> Thus it would appear that it was acceptable to hold local markets or wakes in churchyards but not trading that involved the erection of stalls by what were probably

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<sup>97</sup>Entry for Wainfleet, *Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 11-11-2022).

<sup>98</sup> Entries for Reepham, Malmesbury, *Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 31-3-23).

<sup>99</sup> Pestell, (2005) 'the Bromholm Project', p.183.<sup>99</sup> Pestell, T. (2005), 'Using Material Culture to Define Holy Space: The Bromholm Project' in Spicer, A. and Hamilton, S. (eds), *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot) pp. 161-186., p. 183

<sup>100</sup> Entry for Newland, *Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 31-3-23).

larger scale and possibly specialist traders. The Forest of Dean is unlikely to be the only area where victuals were sold in churchyards, but such cases are not systematically recorded in *The Gazetteer*.

It appears that *The Gazetteer* is less definitive than it is often taken to be. Letters, like Dymond, accepts the inevitability of gaps in the documentary record, but hoped that this would not lead to an underestimate of the number of markets:

Undoubtedly, there is a great deal more information for medieval markets and fairs to be found in a wide variety of sources. It is hoped that this will provide additional evidence for the markets and fairs already recorded in the Gazetteer rather than for new markets and fairs not listed.<sup>101</sup>

The Gazetteer is an invaluable asset, but the concentration on royal and printed sources, and the unsystematic approach to a number of these, is likely to have led to an underestimate of the numbers of markets that were functioning. It is impossible to know the exact extent to which a concentration on royal records leads to an underestimate of the number of markets. In addition, as previously mentioned before *The Gazetteer* prioritises the elite definition of a market as regular trading event where toll is collected (as against the more day-to-day definition of a place where trading occurs on a regular basis). Because local trading gatherings are excluded it would appear that the number of markets recorded by *The Gazetteer* is a substantial underestimate of the number of markets that took place in the Middle Ages. However, Letters' thorough and open description of the research process enables us to make this judgement, something that is not so easy to do with regard to the other sources.

### **Everitt and Early Modern Markets**

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<sup>101</sup> Letter, S. *Intoduction to the Gazetteer, Section 3, Aims of the Gazetteer, Gazetteer of Markets*, (accessed 11-11-2022).

Alan Everitt's chapter on marketing for the *Agrarian History of England* covers the marketing of agricultural products for the period 1500-1640, and maps and lists the market towns of England.<sup>102</sup> In a footnote to his list of market towns he also includes markets recorded in 1690 in John Adam's *Index Villarium* of 1690.<sup>103</sup> For a long time, Everitt's work has been considered the most complete listing of markets for this period. It has been influential for some significant scholars. For example, parts of Braudel's *Civilization and Capitalism* are based on Everitt, and in 1976 his chapter was selected for an Open University reader and set book on the history of the early modern town.<sup>104</sup> Given that Everitt's research was carried out in the mid-1960s it is unsurprising that it is now seen as requiring updating. For example, Matthew Holford has argued that it is 'dated'.<sup>105</sup> To be fair to Everitt on this point, he was aware that he may have missed a number of markets. In commenting on his work for the *Agrarian History of England* in a journal article for *The Local Historian*, Everitt noted that 'detailed local research would probably reveal certain omissions'.<sup>106</sup> In particular, he comments on a dearth of county lists of markets, identifying only two covering Derbyshire and Lancashire.<sup>107</sup> He argued that 'there was urgent need for further detailed

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<sup>102</sup> Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', pp. 466-592.

<sup>103</sup> Everitt 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', p.475.

<sup>104</sup> Braudel, F. (1982), *Civilization and Capitalism*, pp.42-47, Everitt, A. (1976), 'The Market Towns', in Clark, P. (ed.) *The Early Modern Town, A Reader*, (New York), pp. 168-204.

<sup>105</sup> Holford, 'Fairs and Markets in the Inquisitions Post Mortem' pp. 100-114,

<sup>106</sup> Everitt, A. (1969), 'Urban Growth and Inland Trade, 1570-1670: sources, *The Local Historian*, vol. 8, pp. 196-204, p. 197.

<sup>107</sup> Coates, B. (1965), 'The Origin and Distribution of Markets and Fairs in Medieval Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, no. LXXXV, pp. 92-111.

lists of this kind in other counties'.<sup>108</sup> Most counties have now been the subject of the necessary research and county lists exist for almost all counties. When compiling *The Gazetteer* Letters used lists for all the counties, except Bedfordshire, Middlesex, Rutland and Somerset.<sup>109</sup>

Unlike Letters, Everitt does not outline his research methods or discuss his sources (or at least he does not do so in the chapter in the *Agrarian History of England*). This is probably for stylistic reasons. Letters, whose work is principally available online, discusses the research methods and sources in a separate section of *The Gazetteer*. For researchers using Everitt's list, the lack of discussion of sources can be frustrating and lead to unnecessary duplication of effort. For example, there is an almost complete correspondence between Everitt's list and John Norden's list of market towns in four counties. This only becomes apparent, however, when the listings of Everitt and Norden are compared.<sup>110</sup> In the later article previously mentioned, Everitt does discuss sources for market history available to local historians of markets. He recommends using nineteenth-century gazetteers because they often mention former markets. He also says that the historian of

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Tupling, G. H. (1936), 'An alphabetical list of the markets and fairs of Lancashire recorded before the year 1701', *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, no. Li, pp. 88-110.

<sup>108</sup> Everitt, A. (1969), 'Urban Growth and Inland Trade, p. 197.

<sup>109</sup> In fact a list for Bedfordshire was in existence at the time of Letters's research, see Biddick, K. (1985), 'Medieval English Peasants and Market Involvement', *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 45, pp. 823-831.

<sup>110</sup> Norden, J. (1598), *Description of Hertfordshire*, (Ware), J. Norden, (1772 'first published in the reign of James 1<sup>st</sup>'), *Speculi Britanniae Pars, A Topographical And Historical Description of Cornwall*, (London), Norden, J. (1593), *Speculum Britanniae; the First Parte; an Historicall & Chornological Discription of Middlesex*, (London). Norden's list of markets taken from his 'Description of Essex' is included in Walker, W. (1981), *Essex Markets and Fairs*, (Chelmsford). Everitt appears to have missed Norden's listing of Enfield market.

early modern markets must 'of course' utilise 'the standard county histories' such as the Victoria County Histories.<sup>111</sup> The implication is that he used these sources himself, however, it is also clear that not all of his sources are listed in this article.<sup>112</sup>

A particular problem with Everitt's list concerns the number of years for which the markets he recorded actually existed. As stated above, his chapter on markets is part of the *Agrarian History of England Volume IV 1500-1640* and his interest is on markets that existed during that period. The implication is that the markets he records exist for all this period. For example, when discussing markets recorded by John Adams in the *Index Villarioum*, Everitt writes that he did not include a number of markets known in 1690 in his maps or lists of markets that existed between 1500 and 1640, 'because no clear evidence has been found of their existence between 1500 and 1640'.<sup>113</sup> This wording seems to imply that he had presumably felt he had enough evidence on the history of markets, from sources that he utilised but does not reference, to judge whether or not they existed for the whole period. There is some indication that this may be the case. For example, he lists the markets at Wolsingham (Durham), Topsham (Devon) and Castle Cary (Somerset) as existing in 1690 but he does not include them in his list for 1500-1640, even though they all have unusually late founding charters dated 1450, 1452 and 1468 respectively. These seem to be prime candidates for recording as early modern markets but it would appear that, for Everitt there was insufficient evidence of them functioning. There is also the issue of how Everitt deals with markets that lasted for a period of time shorter than his entire period of interest 1500-1640 - whether that is 139 years or six months. For example, Everitt does not list and map Enfield (Middlesex) which is recorded by

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<sup>111</sup> Everitt, 'Urban Growth and Inland Trade, pp. 196..

<sup>112</sup> He found *The Imperial Gazetteer*, (1870) and Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, (1833) particularly useful, Everitt 'Urban Growth and Inland Trade', p. 197, Everitt, A. (1967), 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' pp. 466-592.

<sup>113</sup> Everitt 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', p. 475

Norden in 1600. It is difficult to tell whether he does not map Enfield because of an oversight or because he deemed there to be not enough evidence of its existence for the whole period. Interestingly, there is evidence that some of the markets that he lists did *not* exist for the whole period. He himself notes that Westerham (Kent) was a re-foundation. Further, there are other possible examples Garstang (Lancashire) and Southwell (Nottinghamshire) are listed by Everitt as having a market but Leland claims in his itinerary of c1540 that they no longer had markets. This could mean that Everitt had missed Leland's reference to these markets. Alternatively, it could be Leland rather than Everitt who was mistaken. For example, Garstang market supposedly moribund in 1540 is recorded in 1722, 1798 and 1822. Leland often has a declinist mentality and often emphasised signs of economic distress. It is possible that the market at Garstang had failed under the impact of Henrician policies aimed at the North and was later revived. Leland's treatment of Southwell (Nottinghamshire) is similar. He says it does not have a 'public market'. This usage may have meant that the merchants were no longer visiting the market, and that this does not rule out a smaller local market. This interpretation would fit in with his declinist perspective.<sup>114</sup> Further, this might indicate a continuation of the trope that we find in the medieval period where there is a distinction between markets for locals and markets that were linked to the wider trading network.

Everitt was correct when he argued that more markets could *possibly* be revealed by further research. From an examination of just Leland's *Itinerary* of c1540, and references to the Victoria County History in *Letters' Gazetteer*, one can find another sixteen markets, including Montacute (Somerset) and Cottingham (Yorkshire) to add to the 797 Everitt identified. These additional sixteen markets are listed in the appendices.<sup>115</sup> That these markets are only 2% of those that Everitt found seems to indicate he did a fairly thorough job.

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<sup>114</sup> For Garstang, Chandler, J. (ed.), (1998), *John Leland's Itinerary. Travels in Tudor England*, (Stroud), p. 267, For Southwell, *The Gazetteer of Markets* (accessed 11-11-2022).

<sup>115</sup> Appendix. List 2. Early modern markets not listed by Everitt, p. 393.

Some caution is necessary on that judgement, Letters did not use the Victorian County History for the early modern period systematically because the era prior to 1516 was her period of interest and in addition, there is the standard caveat, that more research may reveal more markets.<sup>116</sup> These sixteen markets may have been overlooked in the sources used by Everitt, but it is possible they are further examples of markets that only served local interests and were considered too small to be of interest to travelling merchants or the curious literate elite.

It has been assumed that Everitt's list is intended to be of those places that had a market at both 1500 and 1640. These places were recorded in the data set as holding a market for those years, in addition other markets that Everitt overlooked that have evidence for the period were also entered into the data set as holding a market in 1500 and 1640.

### **The Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls in 1890<sup>117</sup>**

The reports of The Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls published in 1890 investigated, as far as this is possible, the number of markets existing at a single point in time. The Commission's reports record markets at 611 places based on questionnaires sent to the local authorities in which the market was based, and, if the market was not run by the local authority, the owner of the market rights *in addition* to the local authority. The list of places that the commissioners decided had markets was based upon earlier Local Government Board returns on markets and tolls to the House of Commons in 1886. In the overwhelming majority of the places sent questionnaires, the

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<sup>116</sup> Letters did not look at the volumes for, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Herefordshire, Kent and Surrey. In fairness the coverage of some of these histories is not good and some counties are currently not being researched. It is also possible that the Victoria County Histories are sometimes in error.

<sup>117</sup> Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls,, *Reports*.

Commission's information that the market existed was correct because the questionnaires were returned. However, in a small number of cases the questionnaires were not returned.<sup>118</sup> This could have been because the relevant market had ceased to exist between the returns on market tolls of 1886 and the commissioners' investigations. As we shall see, this was a period of decline in the number of markets and so this would not be unduly surprising.<sup>119</sup>

There are a number of places that probably had markets that are not listed by the Royal Commission. For example: Ulverston and Wigton (Cumbria), Horncastle (Lincolnshire), Malton (Yorkshire), Worksop (Nottinghamshire), Middlewich (Cheshire), and Staines (Middlesex). These places are listed in *every* other modern national listing used to create the data set. This suggests that the omission of these markets was an oversight.

The places with markets to which the commissioners sent enquiries were not the full extent of the markets of which they were aware. An appendix to their volume XXI of their report includes a list taken from a guide to fairs and markets *Owen's New Book of Fairs 1888*, this records 73 markets to which the commissioners did not send a questionnaire.<sup>120</sup> We have no reason to think that *Owen's New Book* is inaccurate and that these 73 places did not have markets. Thus it seems likely that even though it was a Royal Commission there may be some under-reporting of the number of markets.

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<sup>118</sup> There appears to be only two such cases Great Torrington (Devon) and Chipping (Lancashire). The latter claimed that there were no markets only a twice yearly fair.

<sup>119</sup> Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls (1891), *Statistics Relating to the Markets in London and to the markets owned by Local Authorities in England and Wales, Volume xiii-part i* (London), p. 84.

<sup>120</sup> The commissioners were aware of the 73 markets that are in Owen's list of markets because they are listed as an appendix to the report but for some reason did not present evidence of them, whether this was because they received no replies to their inquiries or did not look into these other markets is unclear.



Again one suspects a continuity over the long-standing dismissal of smaller markets. The Royal Commissioners should have known that these 73 places existed in 1888 because they are listed in their own report. The failure to send questionnaires to the places was presumably because the Local Government Board of 1886 that sent returns on markets to the House of Commons (from which the list of markets to be sent questionnaires was compiled) did not consider these places to be of sufficient importance. This view of significant and insignificant markets continued to be found in the gazetteers and directories produced for market traders and business-people. For example, Piggot's 1839 directory writes about Codicote in Hertfordshire:

It formerly must have been of superior importance to what it is in the present day, having obtained from Henry III the privilege of holding a market, on Friday, and a fair on St. James's day, both of which have long been disused – the only semblance of a market at the present day is the attendance of persons on Thursday for the sale of straw plait.<sup>121</sup>

The sale of straw plait may seem unimportant to the compilers of the directory. Regardless, it was clearly being sold in a market. This was an area in which the straw plait was a significant product that provided an important source of income for those producing it, and presumably a source of profit for those purchasing the product for re-sale. The sellers and buyers were likely to have considered the market as of some significance. A similar attitude to these small-scale trading events can be found in the Market Year Book. For example, when the compilers asked the local authority at Clun (Salop) for details of the market in 1935, the response was that there was not a real market because there were no stalls or stands instead, it was the:

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<sup>121</sup> Pigot and Co. (1839), *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography of the counties of Essex Hertfordshire Middlesex*, (London), p. 143.

usual country market where the farmer's wives bring their dairy produce and sell it to wholesale dealers who attend the market. There are no stalls or stands <sup>122</sup>

The language here is very revealing. It suggests that a 'usual country market' is not a real market because it only attracted buyers and sellers of basic farm produce. Again the wholesalers and farmer's wives presumably thought this market was economically important even if Clun local authority dismissed their activities as no longer having the flavour of a full blown market. It seems that there is great continuity of the duality in how markets are viewed as important because they serve the elite and not really markets if they serve poorer members of society.

### **The Guide Books to Markets**

It is not entirely clear at what point the listing of markets for the purpose of informing those interested in trading began. The earlier works such as the *Index Villarium*, the observations of Leland and Norden that Everitt utilised, and indeed the later *Magna Britannia* seem to be literary equivalents of the collecting activities of antiquarians. They are full of what were considered the curious and interesting facts about a place and only occasionally mention markets usually as a passing comment. A focus on curiosity does not need to give the whole picture of the market system.

Somewhat later than the works utilised by Everitt, more commercially orientated lists of places of trade directed at business people, as opposed to those of a more dilettante persuasion, start to emerge. The first such list entered into the data set was Stow's list of 1722. Also entered is Baines's list from exactly a century later in 1822, and data from two editions of *Owen's New Book of Fairs* for 1792 and 1888. Unlike their predecessors' focus on giving an overview of the state of the nation and listing curiosities for

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<sup>122</sup> *Market Year Book*, (1935), entry for Clun.

members of the educated elite, these four listings are more focussed on providing explicit guidance on the location of markets and fairs for those interested in trading. Given this intention these lists are likely to be the best guides that we have for the markets of the period – or, at least as a guide to the markets considered to be important for traders, since it is likely that local markets, again were overlooked.

The main source of systematic information on twentieth-century markets is from the *Market Year Books*. These were initially published to provide information about the markets for both farmers (for example, including information on livestock markets and corn exchanges) and market traders operating in the consumer markets found in the centres of towns. This combined focus was because the original year book of 1935 was in essence a reproduction of the list of markets used by the Ministry of Agriculture when investigating the effectiveness of the market system to address the challenge of feeding the population during the First World War. This dual focus of the *Market Year Books* was maintained into the 1980s. By the late 1980s the focus moved away from agricultural markets. This was principally because of the massive decline in their number. The new focus was firmly centred upon market traders. From 1988 the *Market Year Books* no longer listed agricultural markets but did include both markets in the centre of towns and also other markets like car boot sales on sites such places as disused airfields. These latter may not seem like markets, but for many people they provide a crucial source of income. In some way, *The Market Year Books'* change in focus highlights the disputes of the past as to what constitutes a real market. It is possible that car boot type markets were previously overlooked by the *Market Year Books* as not being of interest to their readership. Their inclusion probably reflects the forlorn search for new customers for the *Market Year Book* among casual traders because of the decline in the significance of market traders as an occupational group. The *Market Year Book* no longer exists as a publication, consigned to history by the advance of the internet.

### **Local History Sources for Markets**

The most significant thing about local history sources is that the more local history works are consulted, the more evidence of places with a market history of some form is revealed. The data set records that in the non-urban areas, defined as those with civil parishes, there are 2,181 places with some form of documented market history. This is a place with a documented market history for every 21 square miles. The four counties for which the most local history was consulted in this research were; Norfolk, Devon, Huntingdonshire and Essex. In these counties, 463 places have a documented market history. This is 35% of the 1,321 places in the four counties and a market for every fourteen square miles. Excluding these four counties in the rest of England outside of the major urban areas there were 1,718 places with a documented market history. This is 19% of the 8,824 civil parishes and a place with a market history for every 27 square miles in non-urban England (excluding Norfolk, Devon, Huntingdonshire, and Essex). The four counties where more local history was drawn upon by this study show increased evidence of places with a documented market history. The number of places with a documented market history is 80% higher in these more intensively researched counties. It would appear likely that more intensive research on other counties would also generate increased evidence of markets. In the past it was almost a cliché of academic work that more research was needed. However, in the current academic and intellectual climate it is doubtful whether there is the funding or the will to carry out such further research.

## **Documentary Evidence for the Number of Markets**

There are around 2,860 places in England with a documented market history, and a further 141 places that carry either a market street name or some listed market structure such as market cross or market hall. This means that on average there is a place in England with some kind of market history for every seventeen square miles. This is remarkable taking into consideration that England is not just a land of fertile farmland and towns but also of moorland, mountain and marsh. A high proportion of places with a market history is unsurprisingly in urban areas. Their development as urban centres is in part, or possibly mainly, because of their market history. In urban areas there are 621 places with a market history. This means that on average there is a place with a market history in every seven square miles. Even if the focus is on the 10,145 places that are less urbanised (as indicated by the fact that they are administered as civil parishes) there are still 2,142 (21%) of places with market documents. This is still on average a place with a market history for every 21.5 square miles.

Exactly how many places are judged to have had a history of holding a market depends on the extent to which market charters are indications of functioning markets. There are 1,703 places with a record of a functioning market at some point in history, and a further 936 places that have a market charter but no other record that the market was held.

There are documents that show functioning markets at 1,447 places. Of these 1,447 places, 990 places have records relating to the medieval period (for the purposes of this research taken to be 1066-1516) and 1,293 of these 1,447 places have records relating to the modern era. Unsurprisingly, a high number (577) have records of a market being held in both periods. At face value, this seems to indicate that the modern era, associated with the rise of capitalism, is the era of 'peak market'. If, however, market charters were taken as evidence of markets, there would be an additional 936 places judged to have markets in the medieval period. This would nearly double the total markets that could be said to exist in the medieval period to 1,926. In these circumstances, 'peak market' is no longer the modern era associated with

capitalism but the medieval era associated with feudalism. Against this view is the claim that the existence of a charter is only evidence that a manorial lord or lady desired and was granted the right to hold a market, not that he or she ever actually acted upon that desire and exercised the right granted by holding a market.

An ideal research scenario for discovering 'peak market' would be if there was data on all the years that a place had a market. Unfortunately, that data does not exist. It is possible to give some indication of the 'year by year' number of markets by assuming that the first recording of a market and the last recording of a market indicates its lifespan. Appendix Table 1 contains a list of the number of markets on a yearly basis for all of England outside the current Greater London Authority Area, and this is plotted in Figure 3.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Appendix Table 1 p. 363.

Figure 3: Number of Documented Markets

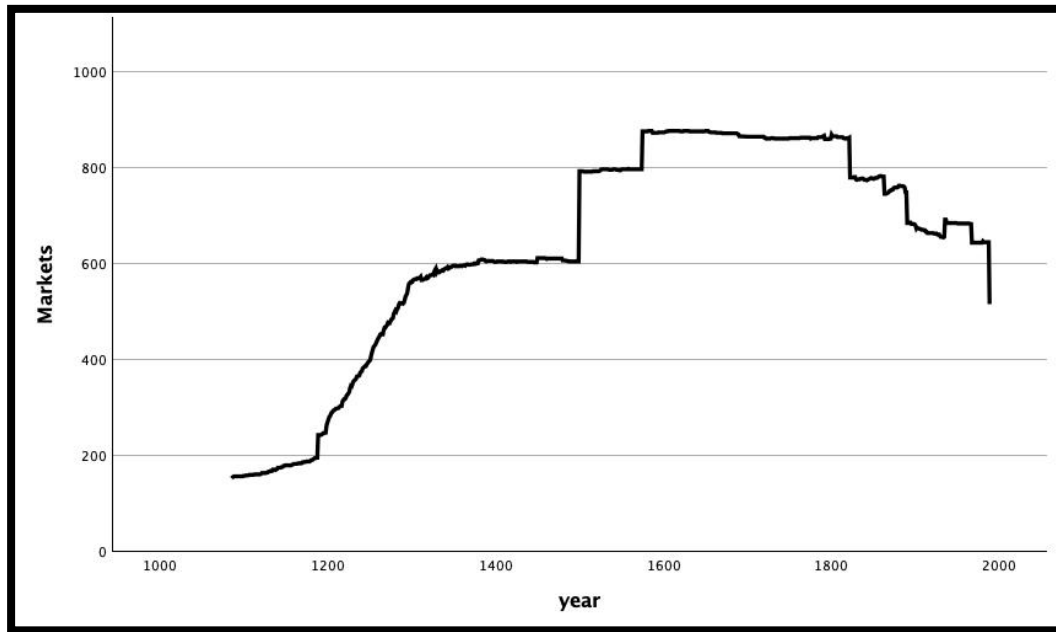


Figure 3 shows the highest number of markets in England at any time was 876, which occurred in three different years; 1582, 1606 and 1619. If this is an accurate picture of the number of markets, in these three years, there was on average a place with a market for approximately every 58 square miles. The documentary evidence shows that rather than following the shape of a peak, there was a period of high market provision more like a plateau that lasted from 1575, with around 875 recorded markets, a period that ended sometime during the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In reality this plateau shape is a product of the sources used. For the year 1574 the number of markets recorded is 796. This is a large jump of 78 extra markets. This is not because there were 78 new markets created in that year but instead due to the inclusion in the data set of a large number of markets in Essex recorded by Walker. Her data on these markets was taken from the Quarter Sessions list of market towns in the Essex Record Office that Everitt does not record.<sup>124</sup> The most startling rise shown is for 1500. However, this is because 1500 was the start date for Everitt's list of early modern markets, which as noted above is the most complete list for the period (even if it is not totally comprehensive).

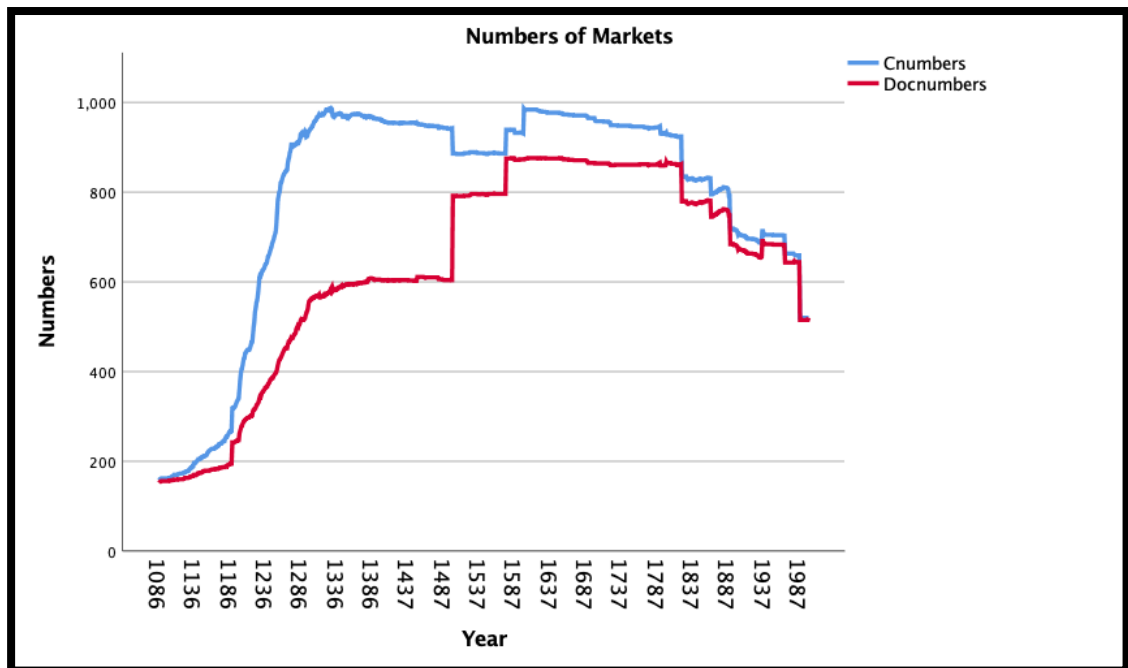
Figure 3 implies that by the middle of the eighteenth century, the time of peak market was over and the numbers of places with markets was in decline, even though the population was rising. But as was indicated above, the important question in relation to the documents in order to establish 'peak market' is the evidential value of places that only have medieval market charters. The reason for this is that there are 936 places, 8.7% of all places in the data sets, with medieval charters that have no other documentary evidence that a market functioned, Figure 4 looks at the implications of assuming that a dated charter is an indicator of a functioning market. Figure 4 was created on the same basis of taking first and last dates for the markets, whether those dates are for the first or last dated issue of a charter or recorded functioning market.

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<sup>124</sup> Walker, W, (1981), *Essex Markets and Fairs*, (Chelmsford). p. 36.



Figure 4: Number of Markets; Recorded and Chartered.<sup>125</sup>



<sup>125</sup> 'Cnumbers' records markets using dates from both charters and records of markets held. 'Docnumbers' records markets using only dates from operating markets (that is the line is the same as Figure 3).

*Prima facie* Figure 4 looks more realistic than Figure 3 because it does not set out a huge jump in market numbers in 1500. This jump of market numbers in the year 1500 is because there are 207 places with medieval market charters which are recorded as functioning for the first time by Everitt, (incidentally, this is strong evidence that these places held medieval markets - particularly as some consider 1500 to still be medieval).<sup>126</sup> Figure 4 shows that, if a market charter does indicate a functioning market, then the peak market year would be 1324 with 925 markets. If charter evidence is seen as proof of a market then it appears that 'the high plateau of markets' lasts from 1267 with 864 markets until 1821. This would mean that peak market existed for 555 years. This would be a period of stable market provision lasting over half a millennium from the high Middle Ages until the beginnings of the industrial revolution. If this were true, it would necessitate a very different understanding of the rise of capitalism from one where the high numbers of markets began at the start of modernity. Therefore, the issue of whether market charters can be taken as evidence of the existence of a market is crucial.

### **Problems with the Documentary Evidence for Markets**

One possible argument against taking the first and last documented dates, charter or record of a market being held, as a proxy for having a record of every year of a market's existence is that it may exaggerate the number of markets. This is because it is possible that markets were not held at all times between first and last dates. This is not significant, however, because 969 (78%) of all markets with at least two records of having been held (therefore

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<sup>126</sup> For example, the compilers of *The Gazetteer of Markets* who choose 1516 as a cut off date, admittedly this choice was influenced by the organisation of the records. As Kelleher notes there is no singular date for the end of the middle ages and the reign of Henry VII had characteristics of both the medieval and the modern. Kelleher, R. (2015), *A History of Medieval Coinage in England*, (Witham), p. 176.

appearing in Figure 4), have considerably more records than just a first and last date and are listed in all the major sources of data.<sup>127</sup>

A more significant objection to the production of Figures 3 and 4 and the information from which they are derived (appendices Table 1) on the basis of first and last dates is that this excludes all those places that are listed in the records once. There are 372 places that are recorded only once as having a functioning market. That is 22% of the 1,703 places that are recorded at any time as having a functioning market.<sup>128</sup> It seems highly unlikely that markets that are recorded at a single date existed for only that one year. They are likely to have existed for many years before and after the single date of recording. The neglect of places only recorded once is particularly relevant for the investigation into 'peak market', because 211 (58%) of the places with a singular record of a market being held are from the medieval period. This lack of recording is probably due to the fact that not only was there less recording in the medieval period than the modern era but also that medieval records are less likely to survive.

Using first and last dates may also be problematic when dealing with places that have more than one record. Where local history evidence is available the national listings can sometimes be shown not to be last record of a functioning market. For example, the cumulative totals show a drop of 84 in the number of markets in 1822. This is not because this is when the markets disappeared but because these 84 markets were last recorded in Bain's list of markets of 1822 and do not appear 66 years later in Owen's 1888 list. In

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<sup>127</sup> There were 1,237 markets plotted in Figure 4. This excluded markets where the first and last dates are the same. The maximum number of dates for a medieval market entered for any place in the data set was six this was judged to be the point at which the research returns did not match the effort of entering more data. For the modern period whether or not a place had a market or not was recorded for 17 different years from 1500-2000. These 17 years are listed in Appendix List 1 p. 391.

<sup>128</sup> This excludes those markets that are only mentioned in Everitt's list as these markets are taken as lasting the whole period 1500-1640.

reality, the line would be smoother because the markets would have disappeared at different times during the 66-year period. Indeed this is confirmed for 61 cases of the 84 markets because the research looked at records of a more local nature. For example, Codicote (Hertfordshire) is last recorded as a market for straw plait in 1839, Cromford (Derbyshire) market, which was founded at the time that Arkwright opened his revolutionary factory in 1771, is last recorded in 1840; and Great Wakering (Essex) is recorded in Walker's listing as ending in 1878.

We have seen that the issue of omitting places with only a single record tends to underestimate the number of recorded medieval markets relative to modern markets. This under-emphasis is even more marked in the context of places that only have a medieval market charter as evidence for a market. There are 743 places where the record of a market is a single medieval charter. That is 38% of the 2,638 that have any documents relating to a market. If these places did have markets this means that Figure 4 (which includes these market chartered-only places) seriously under-estimates the number of medieval markets. When the 211 places with a single record of a functioning medieval market are added to places with a single medieval charter, and assuming charters indicate a market was held, then Figure 4 fails to show 954 markets from the medieval era. If these places did have markets for a substantial period, then the documentary evidence clearly misrepresents the number of markets in the medieval period.

## **Conclusion**

Using documentary evidence alone does not allow the time of 'peak market' to be identified with any degree of accuracy. What the documentary evidence does show is that the number of places with markets was in decline by the nineteenth century. It is slightly ironic that just at the time that Adam Smith was creating the political economy that would celebrate the benefits of a market economy, the number of places with markets was about to decline. It turns out that Smith's work may have been more of a eulogy for markets rather than a vision of the future. As Hegel wrote 'the Owl of Minerva unfolds

its wings only with the falling of the dusk'.<sup>129</sup> The doctrine of market liberalism that Smith codified has gone on to dominate political discourse and policy for the past quarter of a millennium.

The documentary evidence indicates that the period of peak market was at least two centuries ago. This is a useful corrective to the insistence of the dominant political discourse that we live in a market society. Unfortunately the documentary evidence alone does not confirm which era had the most markets. If charters are not treated as evidence of a market, then the most markets existed during the early modern period. Alternatively if charters are taken as proof of a market then the documentary evidence points to a 500 year period with high number of markets spanning the late medieval and the early modern eras. There are those who say that charters are not evidence of markets and that the only reliable evidence of a market existing is recorded evidence that shows that the market was held. However, it is problematic to make a judgement on the medieval period, which has a relative paucity of documentary evidence compared to later eras, by applying the same requirements for documentary evidence that would be expected for histories of those later periods. This is particularly so in the case of markets because, although there may be no documentary evidence of some markets being held in the medieval period, there is enough from the early modern period to indicate that early modern markets were at places with medieval charters. The next few chapters explore whether other forms of non-documentary evidence from archaeology and elsewhere can help resolve the issue of whether medieval charters, in fact meant functioning markets.

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<sup>129</sup> Hegel, F. (1967, originally 1820), *Philosophy of Right*, (New York), p. 13.

## **Chapter Two: Non-Documentary Sources for the History of Markets**

The paucity of direct documentary evidence for the existence of markets in the medieval period leaves a large question mark over whether the many places with market charters, but no other documents indicating that the market functioned, did or did not hold a market. Other markets, for example, the small, royal or short lived are also likely to have gone unrecorded. In order to answer how many unrecorded markets there were it is necessary to use non-documentary evidence. The most significant form of this is the coin finds reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), run by the British Museum. The PAS was first put into practice in 1997 as a pilot scheme and was rolled out to the whole of England and Wales in 2003.<sup>130</sup> Further evidence for markets is found in place and street names, the presence of market crosses and halls and village morphology, as the shape of village streets and open spaces can indicate the place of a market.

### **Coin Finds and Market History**

Given the increase in monetary transactions over the course of the Middle Ages it is a reasonable supposition that there would have been increasing levels of coin loss. Among coin specialists and archaeologists it is generally held that markets were places that generated more coin loss than places without markets. This is made clear by Casey:

On the whole one does not expect a lot of coins to be used in the home, and farmers do not need to carry coins with them when they plough their fields or milk their cows. On the other hand, the market should be the place where a great deal of coin changes hands, especially the minor

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<sup>130</sup> Thomas, S. (2009), 'Introduction' in Thomas, S. and Stone, P. G. (eds), *Metal Detecting and Archaeology*, (Woodbridge), pp. 1-11, p. 3.

denominations which are most used in small transactions or given in change and which conform to the class of afford to lose. Good markets operate in an anarchic atmosphere of bustle and excitement and amid heaps of discarded cabbage leaves, rotting fruit and jettisoned wrappers and general commercial detritus just the sort of place in fact, where coins would be lost and difficult to recover.<sup>131</sup>

Support for this approach is found in the research carried out into markets of the early medieval period, where documentary evidence is notoriously sparse. In the introduction to an influential contribution to the field of early medieval economic history, Ulmschneider also makes the link between markets and coins:

It is becoming increasingly clear that the emporia were not the only sites acting as markets or actively participating in international and regional trade between the seventh and ninth centuries. An expanding body of archaeological and numismatic evidence, mostly derived through metal detecting, has not only begun to reveal the existence of many smaller less well-documented trading places during this period. It has also started to challenge the notion that such rural sites were of little importance to the economic system as a whole.<sup>132</sup>

The works of Oksanen and Lewis supports the view that coins and other finds are associated with markets, in their case study of the Romney Marsh area

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<sup>131</sup> Casey, J. (1986), *Understanding Ancient Coins*, (London), pp. 80-1.

<sup>132</sup> Ulmschneider K. and Pestell, T.(2003), 'Introduction: Early Medieval Markets and 'Productive sites'' in Pestell. T. and Ulmschneider, K. (eds), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe, Trading and Productive Sites, 650-850*, (Oxford), pp. 1-11, p. 1. The reference here is to R. Hodges and Whitehouse D. (1983), *Mohammed, Chalmagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Origins of the Pirenne Thesis*, (London).

they note that ‘almost half (49 percent of 712 records) are associated with commerce’.<sup>133</sup> Richard Kelleher argues that, because markets were public events, they were likely to result in more coin loss than more domestic settings and that the ‘bustle’ of trading made it difficult to recover lost coins.<sup>134</sup> He further argues that most excavated site-finds and metal-detected coins were accidental losses and thus a random sample of the coins in circulation at a specific time and place.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, coin finds are good indicators of the places with markets during the era of the relevant coin finds. It is however worth bearing in mind Blackburn’s caution on this matter. Blackburn emphasises the point that single coin finds in particular are the product of accidental losses when coins were being used. He argues that coins are lost wherever there is what he calls ‘monetary activity’, which for him is not necessarily just buying and selling in markets. Writing about the early medieval coin finds he notes:

Once recognised as a ‘productive site’ it highlights an aspect that demands interpretation. That is not to say that a similar explanation will stand for all ‘productive sites’, despite the temptation to regard them as the probable location of a market or occasional fair, for already we can see that they occur in a range of

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<sup>133</sup> Oksanen, E. and Lewis, M.. (2020), ‘Medieval commercial sites: as seen through the Portable Antiquities Scheme data’, *The Antiquities Journal*, no. 100, pp. 1-32, p. 24

<sup>134</sup> Kelleher, R. (2013) *Coins monetisation and re-use in medieval England and Wales; new interpretations made possible by the Portable Antiquities Scheme*, PhD Thesis, University of Durham, p. 29.

<sup>135</sup> Kelleher, *Coins monetisation and re-use in medieval England and Wales*, p. 28.



contexts; in urban and rural settlements, monastic sites, by rivers, roads and Roman forts.<sup>136</sup>

This is backed up by Kelleher, who argues that the making of religious offerings could also be a time when coin loss occurred. However, due to the nature of that process, it seems unlikely to result in as much coin loss as a market place. Pestell argues that at Bromholm Priory, a major pilgrimage site in Norfolk, pilgrims may have lost coins intended as religious offerings but that many of the coin losses at Bromholm were from a market established to serve the brethren and pilgrims.<sup>137</sup> It is also worth noting that in the high Middle Ages when, large numbers of charters for markets were being issued, bakeries and ale houses had begun to appear. There seems to have been a growth in purchases directly from farmers, and some of this trading may have occurred in ale houses. According to Everitt, inns were the focus of private trading by the early modern period.<sup>138</sup> However, as Rigold makes clear the high value of coins in terms of labour indicates that their lack of recovery when lost is likely to be in busy settings.<sup>139</sup> Markets being the prime example of such places.

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<sup>136</sup> Blackburn, M. (2003), 'Productive sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss in England 600-1180, in Pestell, T. and Ulmschneider, K. (eds), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe, Trading and Productive Sites, 650-850*, (Oxford), pp. 20-36.

<sup>137</sup> Pestel 'Using Material Culture ' pp. 161-186.

<sup>138</sup> Britnall, R. H. (1980), '*Advantagium Mercatoris*: A Custom in Medieval Trade', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, no. 24, pp.37-50. Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' , pp. 466-592, p. 559.

<sup>139</sup> Rigold, S. E., (1977), 'Small change in the light of medieval site finds', in Mayhew, N. J., (ed.), *Edwardian Monetary Affairs*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series no. 36, (Oxford), pp. 59-80., p. 59.

Blackburn makes the point that coins are ‘found not where they were lost but in rubbish pits among the debris swept from floors’.<sup>140</sup> Casey notes a similar process, as a Romanist using the example of the Roman city of Verulamium, the precursor to modern St. Albans:

The market place once again produced a large number of coins but they were not found in the immediate environs of the market building and its surrounding stalls because the market itself was swept up after the days trading and the rubbish carted off to a nearby dump. In this case the dump was the town’s abandoned theatre which was nearby.<sup>141</sup>

We can expect similar processes to have been at work in the medieval period. For example, it has been argued that during the construction of the revetments on the River Thames in the medieval period, ‘people from a wider area were invited to dispose of refuse behind the revetments’ and that this led to coins being included in this riverside waste which were not lost in-situ.<sup>142</sup> Another factor that is likely to lead to coin losses near a market, but not necessarily at the market site itself is the loss of coins by people travelling to the market: the nearer to a market, the more likely coins to be lost by such travellers. Kelleher makes the point that in rural areas dumps get used for manuring, which can lead to coin finds being re-deposited in

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<sup>140</sup> Blackburn, M. (2005), ‘Coin Finds as primary historical evidence for medieval Europe’ in Sakuari, S. *Dynamism in Coinage: Europe, China and Japan. Comparative Viewpoints*. Proceedings of the 12<sup>th</sup> Conference of Coin Finds Research Group Held in Fukoka. (Fukoka), pp. 7-50, p17.

<sup>141</sup> Casey, J. (1986), *Understanding Ancient Coins*, (London), p. 81

<sup>142</sup> Kelleher, R., Leins, I. and Cook, B. J. (2008), ‘Roman, Medieval and Later Coins from the Vintry, City of London’, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 168, pp.167-233, p. 169.

agricultural settings in a halo effect around the settlement.<sup>143</sup>

Therefore, places with markets, and not just the site of the market, should in principle have more coin losses than most places without markets.

In England and Wales coin finds are recorded by the PAS. The scheme records all archaeological finds made by the public, but not by professional archaeologists, with over 99% of the records made by metal detectorists.<sup>144</sup> Finds are reported to the 40 or so Finds Liaison Officers to be entered into the 'PAS Finds Database'. It is argued that the development of the PAS has significantly improved the understanding of coin use in the past.<sup>145</sup> Prior to the emergence of the PAS, numismatists based much of their understanding of medieval coin use on a number of sites that produced a high number of coin finds, in particular in England; South Ferriby, Dunwich, the Vintry, and in Wales, Llanfaes. These sites are still considered important for their work.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Kelleher, *Coins Monetisation and re-use*.

<sup>144</sup> Oksanen, E. and Lewis, M. (2015), 'Medieval markets and the Portable Antiquities Scheme Data, *Medieval Settlement Research*, no. 30, pp. 54-59, p. 54.

<sup>145</sup> Blackburn, (2005), 'Coin Finds', p. 18.

<sup>146</sup> Blackburn, (2005), 'Coin Finds', p. 28; Cook, B. J., with Carey, R. & Leahy, K. (1998) 'Medieval and Early Modern Coin Finds from South Ferriby, Humberside', *British Numismatic Journal*, no. 68, pp. 95-118; Kelleher, et al. (2008), 'Coins from the Vintry', p. 169; Allen, M. & Doolan, S. P. (2002), 'Finds from Dunwich' *British Numismatic Journal*, no. 72, pp. 85-94. Because the major coin finds at Llanfaes come from the period when it was the commercial centre of an independent Gwynedd. Besly, E. (1995), 'Short Cross and other medieval coins from Llanfaes, Anglesey', *British Numismatic Journal*, no. 64, pp. 46-82, p. 47. Although the site is significant for numismatists, it is not relevant for this study that is focussed upon England. This is particularly so as it seems that the coin finds indicate that the economy of Gwynedd was different to England. Allen and Doolan (2002), 'Finds from Dunwich', p. 87,

The PAS Database is accessible to researchers through the PAS website.<sup>147</sup> The use of the website is very laborious as research access does not allow for the PAS data set to be downloaded in total.<sup>148</sup> Information on each category of find used in the data set was downloaded from the website in a piecemeal fashion from the find records for each of the individual local authorities with recording responsibilities (namely, counties and unitary authorities). Coin find data is often treated as sensitive by the PAS and exact find locations are not always given. They are, however, usually recorded by the civil parish in which they were found. It is for this reason that the civil parish is treated as the basis for examining correlations between PAS finds and market history.

If metal detected coins can be taken as proof of past markets, then it means that the PAS database can be used as a supplement to the documentary research into establishing the era of 'peak market'. By means of a time-consuming process, it was possible to add to the civil parishes listed in the data set information on the numbers of finds in the PAS database. In order to use the number of coin finds to attempt to discover the numbers of medieval markets that are not documented as functioning, this research focussed on finds of Edwardian coins. For the creators of the PAS data base this is not, as may be popularly assumed, coins from the short reign of Edward VII, but medieval coins issued by Edward I, Edward II and Edward III between 1279-1377.<sup>149</sup> The Edwardian coinage of this period comprises; silver pennies, halfpennies and farthings from 1279-1351 (Edward 1 groats were a failure and quickly abandoned), and gold nobles, half nobles, silver groats,

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<sup>147</sup> <https://finds.org.uk/getinvolved>

<sup>148</sup> Personal communication with Michael Lewis Head of Portable Antiquities and Treasure at the British Museum maintains that the data base is far too large to download in total.

<sup>149</sup> <https://finds.org.uk/database/search/mednumismatics> (accessed 10-10-2022)

halfgroats, pennies and halfpenniers and farthings from 1351.<sup>150</sup> The reason coins from this period were chosen was because, as Oksanen and Lewis note, the peak of recorded markets was reached by the middle of the Edwardian period.<sup>151</sup> Taking the 1,917 places with market charters issued between 1066 and 1516 recorded in the Gazetteer, the median data of issue was 1260 - just before the Edwardian period and Edwardian coins continued in use until the end of the medieval period. Therefore these types of coins could have been used at all of the medieval chartered markets and are therefore likely to be the best guide to whether medieval markets charters did lead to the creation of markets because by the end of period almost all charters for markets had been issued.. The choice of the Edwardian period as the high point of medieval commercial activity is supported by the numismatic evidence. Rigold refers to the 'Edwardian Climax' of medieval coin production beginning around 1280..<sup>152</sup>

When using coin finds to establish whether places with medieval market charters had functioning medieval markets, we would ideally like to know the totals and average levels of coin finds at places with markets compared with places known *not* to have had markets. The coin profiles of places with medieval market charters but no other documentary evidence of

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<sup>150</sup> Allen, M. (2012), *Mints and Money*. In *Medieval England*, (Cambridge), pp 352-381.

<sup>151</sup> Oksanen, E. and Lewis, M. (2020), 'Medieval commercial sites: as seen through the Portable Antiquities Scheme data', *The Antiquities Journal*, no. 100, pp. 1-32, p 6

<sup>152</sup> Rigold, (1977), 'Small Change' pp. 67,69. This does not imply that the move towards market trading did not begin several centuries earlier. Indeed numismatic evidence indicates that there was a surge of trading activity from the end of the twelfth century. Rigold, (1977), 'Small Change', p. 67. Cook, *et al.* (1998) 'Coin Finds from South Ferriby', p. 98; Kelleher, *et al.* 'Coins from the Vintry' p. 183; Masschaele also argues for an economic surge around this period, Masschaele, J. (2010), 'The English Economy in the Age of Magna Carta' in Loengard, J. (ed.), *Magna Carta and the England of King John*

markets, and indeed places with no documentary evidence of a market of any kind, could then be compared with places known to have held markets *and* those known *not* to have held markets. The pattern of coin loss at places with no evidence of a functioning market would reveal whether they most resembled places with markets or places known not to have had markets. Unfortunately, there is no reliable evidence of which places definitely did not have markets. In some medieval legal disputes it is claimed by one of the protagonists that a market was not held and therefore rights to a market should be forfeit, but the very fact that this is disputed by the possessor of the market rights indicates that we cannot be sure who is correct concerning the status of the market in cases of dispute.

Another issue when using PAS evidence is that it could be biased. As Oksanen and Lewis note the geographical distribution of finds is not entirely the product of historical factors but also due to 'modern factors influencing data collection'.<sup>153</sup> Michael Lewis, the current Head of Portable Antiquities and Treasure at the British Museum believes, that the most important study of bias in the finds recorded in the scheme is the work of his colleague at the British Museum, Katherine Robbins.<sup>154</sup> There are seven stages of collections bias according to the following quote from Robbins's paper :

#### Stage 1: Deposition

Objects enter the archaeological record by being deliberately buried or accidentally lost. Deposition of an item through loss is dependent on the probability that an artefact will be lost and on the likelihood of the lost item being recovered by the owner e.g. large brooches are easier to find than small beads, while items lost in water or in dense vegetation are less likely to be recovered than those dropped on the floor of a house.

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(Cambridge) pp. 151-167

<sup>153</sup> Oksanen and Lewis, 'Medieval markets' p. 54.

<sup>154</sup> Personal communication and Oksanen, E. and Lewis, M. 'Medieval markets' , p. 54.

## Stage 2: Preservation

Preservation is affected by both the material of the object and the physio-chemical conditions of the surrounding environment. For example acid soils are known to destroy mollusc or bone remains, while metals corrode in the presence of water and oxygen.

## Stage 3: Survival

Objects may not survive to the present, particularly if they are removed from their original context. Damage can be caused by natural erosion of soil from above an object, or by the large-scale movement of soil and its associated artefacts through building works, animal burrowing or agriculture.

Survival can also be affected by chemical agents such as fertilisers or acid rain.

## Stage 4: Exposure

For an object to class as 'exposed' it must be in a position from which it can be perceived by a collector. Perception may be by eye, as with field walkers, or through the use of machinery such as metal detectors or geophysical equipment. 'Exposure' is therefore dependent on both the artefact's position in the ground and the technique used to detect it.

Exposure will be affected by agricultural equipment which moves artefacts through the ploughzone and by natural events such as small scale erosion or large-scale droughts.

## Stage 5: Recovery

Recovery is dependent on a multitude of factors, grouped into 'site choices', search equipment, 'sampling methods', 'visual apparency' and 'individual interests'.

Site choices are influenced by many factors including site accessibility and the location of 'hot spot' areas.

Visual apparency is dependent on an object's size, colour, surface morphology, material and a variety of other physical, chemical and biological properties as well as the properties of the surrounding environment, e.g. more red sherds tend to be recovered with a trowel during excavation than black or grey sherds.

#### Stage 6: Reporting

Reporting is dependent on whether the finder wishes to report the object and whether the finder knows where to go to report the object. The historical relationship between metal detector users and archaeologists can therefore affect the rates of finds reporting seen in different areas of the country.

Other factors such as the time available to finders, their relationships with landowners, and finders' perceptions of the knowledge of Find Liaison Officers, can all influence reporting rates.

#### Stage 7: Recording

Bias can be introduced during the reporting process, as not all reported artefacts will be recorded onto the PAS database. All finds that are over 300 years old should be recorded but it is up to the individual recorders to decide which objects younger than this should be recorded, and



whether to record objects that they cannot identify or that cannot be dated specifically.<sup>155</sup>

One of the major factors that reduces the exposure and recovery of an object: the degree to which a place is urbanised. Objects that are under buildings and roads are rarely recovered. Even prior to the development of the PAS, the number of finds from urban areas was low. Kelleher *et al.* note a 'severe lack of publication of coin finds from London across all periods'.<sup>156</sup>

Site accessibility is also an issue because the more remote a location, the less metal detecting will take place. The concept of 'hot spots', namely that a place that yielded finds in the past tends to encourage more metal detecting to be carried out, is also relevant to this study.<sup>157</sup> Blackburn concurs with Robbins on the phenomena of metal detecting 'hot-spots', he argues:

Where a field in the countryside has already yielded some finds more effort will be put into investigating that site further, rather than searching in fields that have produced nothing. It is human nature. The same applies on a regional scale for it is well known in England that the eastern counties are more productive in finds than the west or northwest, so detector users often travel over to the east to spend a day searching.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Robbins, K. J. (2013), 'Balancing the Scales: Exploring the Variable Effects of Collection Bias on Data Collected by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, *Landscapes*, vol. 14, no 1, June, pp. 54-72 pp.56-57.

<sup>156</sup> Kelleher *et al.* (2008) 'Coins from the Vintry' p. 195. Indeed, they note that finds from Urban areas are generally very low and that the coin finds from the archaeological excavations at the Vintry 'dwarf anything so far recorded at other urban sites', p. 177.

<sup>157</sup> Robbins, 'Balancing the Scales', p. 61, 63.

<sup>158</sup> Blackburn, (2005), 'Coin Finds', p. 18.

The level of urbanisation, accessibility and the existence of 'hot spots' all mean that there are variations in the intensity of metal detecting between particular areas. The principal issue faced when comparing the number of coin finds in any particular place is that the raw data has to be transformed by some factor which reflects the intensity of metal detecting to ensure that the comparison of finds indicates the relative number of coins lost and not the relative amount of detecting done in an area.

### **Using the Portable Antiquities Scheme to Investigate Market Locations**

In order to correlate market documentation with coin finds, data taken from the PAS website had to be added to the data set of market documentation. A major problem is that the most successful market centres of the medieval period are the most important towns of today as a consequence of their history as important market centres. They are now the most urbanised areas, and as Robbins and others have noted urban areas are not ideal for metal detecting.<sup>159</sup> The lack of PAS evidence for most of the major towns and cities in England is shown in Appendix 2. The major urban areas cover approximately 8.4% of the area of England, but they only yield 3% of all PAS finds. At the time of the research 26 major English towns and cities have no recorded Edwardian coin finds, including Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester, Norwich and Nottingham.<sup>160</sup> Therefore, the discussion of PAS finds in this work does not include the major urban areas.<sup>161</sup> In addition, as Dyer notes, major medieval towns and cities diminished the numbers of competing

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<sup>159</sup> Robbins, 'Balancing the Scales', p. pp.56-57, Oksanen and Lewis, 'Medieval markets'. p. 54.

<sup>160</sup> Because of the massive production of finds by Thames mud-larkers London has a quite large distorting effect on the urban figures. Greater London accounts for 14.4% of the urban area of England but has produced 45% of the PAS finds of urban England shown in appendix 2.

<sup>161</sup> The counties and other unitary authorities examined are listed in Appendix 7.

markets in their immediate vicinity. This means that, the present suburbs of major towns and cities were unlikely to have had markets in the medieval period.<sup>162</sup> A key aim of this research is to establish the number and pattern of markets in the medieval period. The lack of PAS evidence for urban areas is a slight concern because the major settlements of today were often the major settlements in the medieval period. Being the major settlements means that they are better documented. We know, for example, that in the urban areas there are 159 medieval markets recorded as functioning. This is one for every 26 square miles as opposed to 826 recorded in areas with parishes, being one for every 55 square miles. In addition there are 139 places that only have medieval market charters as evidence for a market in urban areas - a figure that is *less* than the number of known medieval markets. In parished areas, there are 1,057 places that have medieval market charters as the only documentary evidence for a market. This is 28% *more* than the 826 known medieval markets. It should, however, be possible to make an estimate of the likely number of medieval markets in those large urban areas that cannot be metal detected on the basis of evidence from the less urbanised parts of the country.

There can, however, also be problems with metal detecting in rural areas. One issue is the granting of permission to metal detect by landowners.<sup>163</sup> On the North Norfolk coast, the neighbouring villages of Burnham Overy and Holkham have zero PAS finds. This may be due to the reluctance of the Holkham estate to grant permission for metal detecting. The Holkham farming company owns 154 square miles of land and is the major landowner in both parishes.<sup>164</sup> In the medieval period both of these villages

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<sup>162</sup> Dyer, C. (2000), 'Trade, Urban Hinterlands and market integration, 1300-1600: a summing up', in Galloway, J. A. (ed.), (2000), 'Trade, Urban Hinterlands and market integration 1300-1600', *Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers Series*, no. 3, pp. 103-9, p. 105.

<sup>163</sup> Robbins, 'Balancing the Scales' p. 59.

<sup>164</sup> <https://www.holkham.co.uk/about-us/landscape-management/farming>, (accessed 25-2-2022).

were ports and had markets. Holkham had a market charter and is recorded as having a market, a market place, a market cross and a quayside known for trade with Scandanavia.<sup>165</sup> The village of Holkham was destroyed because of the emparkment of the Holkham estate and the creation of Holkham Hall. Burnham Overy has market charters from 1271 and 1272 and is the location of what early medievalists call a 'productive site', which is located at what was an estuarine harbour with multiple quaysides. This harbour silted up and the location of the port moved downstream and continued in commercial use into the 1930s. The original harbour site is 'productive' in the sense of the amount of a relatively high number of early medieval finds including coins. This was almost certainly the site of a market.<sup>166</sup> The coin and silver finds from this site are from professional archaeological investigations and archaeologists and are not subject to recording in the PAS. In addition to this early medieval market history at Burnham Overy there are the remains of a fourteenth-century cross located on a small green. This sits at the foot of a rise up to what is claimed to be, a minster church - an ideal location both physically and spiritually for a medieval market, shown in Figure 5.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Rogerson, A. (2003) 'Six Middle Anglo-Saxon site in West Norfolk', in Pestell. T. and Ulmschneider, K. (eds), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe, Trading and Productive Sites, 650-850*, (Oxford), pp. 110-121, pp.114-115, Pestell. T. (2003), 'The Afterlife of 'Productive' sites in East Anglia' in Pestell. T. and Ulmschneider, K. (eds), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 122-137, pp. 127-128,

<sup>166</sup> Rogerson, 'Six Middle Anglo-Saxon Sites', pp.114-115, Hassall, W. and Beauroy, J. (eds), (1993), *Lordship and Landscape in Norfolk, 1250-1350, The Early Records of Holkham*, (Oxford).

<sup>167</sup> Pestell, 'The Afterlife of 'Productive' Sites in East Anglia' pp. 122-137.

Figure 5: The Fourteenth-Century Cross and Green at Burnham Overy Town (Norfolk)



Norfolk is an area well known for the hobby of metal detecting. Detectorists are certainly active on the foreshore of the North Norfolk coast and around the nearby town of Fakenham.<sup>168</sup> For example, at Sculthorpe on the edge of Fakenham, approximately twelve miles away from Holkham and Burnham Overy, there are 234 PAS finds, placing Sculthorpe in the top 7.5% of places in terms of the number of PAS finds recorded. It is likely that the 154 square miles owned by the Holkham estate, and not just these two villages, would produce many finds probably much greater than those at Sculthorpe which, although near to Fakenham, has itself no known market history.

It is unclear how widespread the discouragement of metal detecting is throughout England and whether there is a systematic bias which may influence the nature of the results. If other large estates discourage metal detecting, then this could be a source of bias. Certainly the Cokes of Holkham were not the only large land owners to destroy market settlements. For example, Lord Milton destroyed the Dorset market town of Middleton in order to create a park at what is now Milton Abbas.<sup>169</sup> Mereworth village in Kent, which had a charter for a fair and so may have had a market charter, was moved from its original site as it spoilt the view from the Neo-Palladian Mereworth Castle. A number of major landowners do not give permission for metal detecting, most importantly the Ministry of Defence, The National Trust and the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Chester-Kadwell, M. (2009) *Early Anglo-Saxon Communities in the Landscape of Norfolk*, *BAR British Series*, no. 481, (London), Addyman, P. V. (2009), 'Before the Portable Antiquities Scheme', in Thomas, S. and Stone, P. G. (eds), *Metal Detecting and Archaeology*, (Woodbridge), pp. 51-62, p. 58.

Activity on metal detecting on the North Norfolk foreshore and around Fakenham is from personal observation.

<sup>169</sup> Johnson, B. (2021), *England's Villages an Extraordinary Journey Through Time*, (London).

<sup>170</sup> Kelleher, *Monetisation*, p. 31.

If aristocrats in the past destroyed market towns and villages and the successor estates do not permit metal detecting today, then perhaps there is a bias in the rural sample.

PAS data was entered for all the civil parishes outside of the major urban areas. The local authorities included in the database are identified in the Appendix in List 3.<sup>171</sup> The difficulty with using metal detecting as recorded in the PAS is the lack of any measure of the intensity taking place within the areas in question. A high number of finds can be the product of either high rates of loss in the past, or of intensive searching in the present. An example of the latter is the case of South Ferriby, a site well known to numismatists, where during a twenty year period Mr. Walter Carlile engaged in metal detecting.<sup>172</sup> High numbers can also be produced by high numbers of lost material and intensive searching as is the case in the 'hot spots' that Robbins describes.<sup>173</sup> Therefore, it is not enough to use the amount of material found in a place as an indicator of the amount that was lost, because the amount of material found is determined by the level of loss *and* the intensity of search. This problem can be illustrated by looking at finds recorded at places with differing medieval market documentation; as is shown in Tables 1 and 2. The illustrations below are based on trimmed means, that is the mean less the extreme 5% high and low values. The median was not used to illustrate the differences in finds because the median figure for Edwardian coin loss at places without any medieval market documentation is zero. The fact that the median *is* zero for places with no medieval documents but not at places with medieval documents is itself significant.

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<sup>171</sup> Appendix, List 3, p. 396.

<sup>172</sup> Cook, *et al.* (1998) 'Coin Finds from South Ferriby', p. 95.

<sup>173</sup> Robbins, 'Balancing the Scales' p. 61.

Table 1: Trimmed Means of Edwardian Coin Finds by Medieval Market Documentation (All Civil Parishes in England) Showing Trimmed Mean as a Percentage of the Trimmed Means at Places with no Documents and Those that Only Have a Medieval Market Charter <sup>174</sup>

Place by Documentation	Edwardian Coins			Total Places
	Mean	% of the value of places with no docs	% of the value of places only with charters	
Recorded Market	3.23	281%	150%	837
Charter Only	2.16	188%	100%	1052
No Documents	1.15	100%	53%	8223

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<sup>174</sup> Trimmed means are used here rather means because means are distorted by untypical high values and the median cannot be used in a meaningful way because the number of finds at non-documented places is zero.



As Table 1 shows, the trimmed mean for Edwardian coins found is related to whether a place had a medieval market and medieval market documentation. Places with known medieval markets in England have, on average, 181% more Edwardian coin finds than places without any market documents, and 50% higher than places that only have medieval market charters. This is not, as one might assume, conclusive proof that markets give rise to more coin loss. The number of coin finds, as Robbins made clear, is a product of many factors not just the numbers lost, but crucially the intensity of metal detecting that has been carried out in an area. Before we take the figures above as proof that places that only have medieval market charters had trading activity (that is markets of some form) that led to greater coin loss compared with places that are not referred to in any medieval documents related to markets, we need to establish whether these places were subject to more metal detection than places without documents. Unfortunately, with the exception of a few archaeological projects, most notably the 'Rendelsham Revealed' project, where the areas that have been metal detected have been assiduously recorded, the intensity of metal detecting in an area is not usually known and is not recorded in the PAS data base.<sup>175</sup> One indicator that some metal detecting has been carried out is, as Chester-Kadwel points out whether there are any reported finds in the area.<sup>176</sup> However, this does not indicate how much of the area proximate to the exact find spot has been metal detected. For any defined spatial unit, whether administrative unit such as civil parish, square kilometre or 'what three words' location, the intensity of metal detecting is not known. However, as recorded finds are an indicator that metal detecting has taken place a proxy for the intensity of the amount of

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<sup>175</sup> <https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/rendleshamrevealed> (accessed 17-11-2022), Tom Williamson, landscape history consultant on the project, personal communication.

<sup>176</sup> Although in her analysis she is concerned with individual fields that are recorded in the Norfolk Historic Environment Record rather than the much larger parishes mainly used in the PAS data base. Chester-Kadwell, *Early Anglo-Saxon Communities in the Landscape of Norfolk*, p. 64

metal detecting is the number of total PAS finds in a particular area. In the case of this study, the area is the civil parish. One problem that does not manifest itself when using total PAS finds is the distortion of hoard finds. A hoard find results in many objects being found from a single find event. However, the PAS database records the finds by the find event and not individual items found. For example, from the start of the scheme in 2003 until November 2022, the database had 14,087 records of finds for the district of North Norfolk, however, these finds produced 18,910 separate objects. This results in approximately 1.3 finds per metal detecting find event. Thus the total number of PAS finds records can be used as a kind of proxy for the intensity of metal detecting. Table 2 which presents the number of total PAS finds by level of medieval market documentation

Table 2: Trimmed Means of Total PAS Finds by Medieval Market Documentation (All Civil Parishes in England) Showing Trimmed Mean as a Percentage of the Trimmed Means at Places with No Market Documents and Those that Only Have a Medieval Market Charter

Place by Documentation	PAS Finds			Total Places
	Mean	% of the value of places with no docs	% of the value of places only with charters	
Recorded Market	106	281%	141%	837
Charter Only	75	192%	100%	1052
No Documents	39	100%	52%	8223

As can be seen the total PAS finds and Edwardian coin finds are distributed in very similar ways in relation to medieval market documentation. Places with known medieval markets finds have a trimmed mean for total PAS finds that is 271% of the level of the trimmed mean for finds at places with no market documents. As was shown in Table 2, the trimmed mean for Edwardian coin finds is 281% the level of Edwardian coin finds at places with no market documentation, a very similar proportion. This raises the question of whether the number of coin finds are merely a product of metal detecting intensity but also why there should be a relationship between medieval market documents and all PAS finds for any period. Part of the reason that there are more total PAS finds at places with medieval markets is due to the fact that there are more Edwardian coins found at those places. The impact of Edwardian coins on the distribution of PAS finds is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3: Trimmed Means of Total PAS Finds (Less Edwardian Coin Finds) by Medieval Market Documentation (All Civil Parishes in England) Showing Trimmed Mean as a Percentage of the Trimmed Means at Places with No Market Documents and Those that Only Have a Medieval Market Charter

Place by Documentation	PAS Finds less Edwardian Coins			Total Places
	Mean	% of the value of places with no documents	% of the value of places with charters only	
Recorded Market	83.8	250%	39%	837
Charter Only	60.5	180%	100%	1052
No Documents	33.6	100%	55%	8223

Table 3 indicates that the distribution of PAS finds excluding Edwardian coin finds is less similar to the distribution of Edwardian coin finds on their own than for total PAS finds that includes Edwardian coin finds. The trimmed mean for total PAS finds without Edwardian coin finds at places with documented markets is now 250% the size of the trimmed mean for places with no medieval documentation. This is less than the 281% trimmed mean for total PAS finds of all types including Edwardian coins. Edwardian coins account for only 3% of the total PAS finds in England. The fact that they have this impact when they are not included in a measure of PAS finds indicates that the number of Edwardian coins found at places with known medieval markets is high compared to the national average. This supports the claim of coin specialists that in the past markets created greater coin losses than other activities of daily life. This shows that the difference in coins found is not just a measure of increased metal detecting intensity but also evidence of a greater amount of coins being lost. This link is likely to be even more noticeable if all medieval coins were taken into account because medieval coins of all types amount to 8.6% of the total of PAS finds in England. The fact that total PAS finds are related to locations with medieval market documentation may indicate that places with markets in the medieval period are located at nodal points in the landscape in some way favourable for trade. If they were nodal points with a long history this would undoubtedly impact upon the variations in the total number of PAS finds, because 47% of total PAS finds are coins. An alternative explanation for the greater number of PAS finds at places with market documentation relative to those without is that they could have become 'hot spots' for metal detecting. Once a medieval coin has been found, detectorists may then return to these places and generate more finds generally. However, a place can only become a 'hot spot', if there are relatively more losses of objects in the first place.

It might be thought that a better measure of metal detecting intensity would be to look at all the metal PAS finds that are not coins. The problem is

that many of the metal objects found are small and portable, for example: buckles, strap ends and brooches.<sup>177</sup>

Sawyer argues that finds of these items are like coin finds in that they are associated with markets, 'Single coin finds show where they were used and the discovery of several, in some cases struck over a long period, in a small area together with buckles, strap ends, ornaments, pins and other artefacts indicate where markets were held'.<sup>178</sup> For example, the link between buckles and markets can be seen in tables 4 and 5 which show the trimmed means of buckle finds at locations defined in terms of medieval market documentation in Huntingdonshire and Norfolk respectively.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> The range of portable metallic objects regularly found by metal detectorists are included in the list in the Appendix pp. 388-390.

<sup>178</sup> Sawyer, P. (2013), *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford), p. 3.

<sup>179</sup> Huntingdonshire is included because it is the focus of the next chapter on the application of non-documentary forms of evidence, but as can be seen compared to Norfolk it has significantly lower levels of metal detected finds, hence the reasons for including Norfolk.

Table 4: Trimmed Mean Buckles Found in Huntingdonshire by Places with Differing Medieval Market documents (Total Buckles = 167)

Place by Market Documents	Mean	No of Civil Parishes
Recorded Market	1.61	8
Market Charter Only	1.56	9
Not Documented	.86	55



In Huntingdonshire the number of buckles found in places with known markets is 90% greater than places with no known markets. There is very little difference with the mean number of finds at known markets and places that only have charters.

Table 5: Trimmed Mean Buckles Found in Norfolk by Places with Differing Medieval Market Documents (Total Buckles = 11,146)

Place by Market Document	Mean	No of Civil Parishes
Recorded Market	22.2	62
Market Charter Only	17.3	94
Not Documented	11.2	381

In Norfolk, a county with very high levels of metal detecting, the number of buckles found is significantly higher in absolute terms but shows a very similar relationship in terms of proportions to the situation in Huntingdonshire. In Norfolk the number of buckles found was 98% higher at places with known markets than at places with no market documentation, compared to the figure of 90% for Huntingdonshire. Thus buckles may seem to be a better measure of metal detecting intensity than using PAS totals as a whole, however, they are still correlated with places that had medieval markets.

One type of object recorded in the PAS database that was probably more associated with domesticity than mobility, and as such not impacted by whether a place had a market, is copper and copper alloy vessels. They are metallic and so will be found by detectorists and less perishable than iron and so more likely to be identified as vessels. In addition, detectorists often disregard iron finds because they are not seen as glamorous.<sup>180</sup> If this is the case, copper vessels should be an ideal guide to metal detecting intensity. Copper and copper alloy based vessels have been found at 2,948 (29%) of the 10,145 civil parishes used in the data set. The modal find is one vessel, at 45% of all places, the median is two and the mean 3.36. The number of vessels at places with different types of market documents is presented in Table 6.

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<sup>180</sup> Richardson, N. (2022), *The Accidental Detectorist* (London) p. 34.

Table 6: Trimmed Mean Copper Based Vessels by Medieval Market Documentation in England by Places with Any Copper Based Vessel Finds

Place by Market Document	Vessel Trimmed Mean	Numbers of Places with Vessels finds	Places with Vessels as % of place type
Known Markets	2.67	168	43%
Chartered Only	2.63	291	34%
Not Documented	2.33	1,987	25%

As a percentage more places with a medieval market history have vessel finds than those without any known documented history. This is perhaps because the existence of a market at a place in medieval times was likely to be associated with a higher population than places without markets. Also, the fact that places with markets are associated with greater coin loss is likely to attract detectorists because of the 'hot spot' effect and this greater metal detecting intensity will probably result in more vessel finds. However, what is important for this study is that the number of vessel finds are not as highly correlated with medieval market documentation as PAS finds as a whole as is shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Comparison between Trimmed Means for Total PAS and Copper Based Vessel Finds by Market Documentation as a Percentage of Finds at Undocumented Places

Place by Market Document	Vessel Finds	Total PAS Finds
Known Markets	114%	211%
Chartered Only	113%	168%
Not Documented	100%	100%
Total Cases	2446	8118

At places that are known to have had medieval markets, the trimmed means are only 14% higher than at places that have no documents relating to medieval markets. The figure of trimmed means for total PAS finds at places with known medieval markets is 111% higher than the trimmed mean for places with no medieval market documents. This higher figure reflects a higher loss of coins and other smaller items that can be lost, such as strap ends and buckles, at places that held markets possibly at many times in the past. This indicates that, although slightly biased, as a measure of metal detecting intensity, vessel finds are a better measure than the total number of PAS finds because they vary only marginally with the presence of markets. This is important because if total PAS finds are used as a measure of metal detecting intensity, it varies so much with the market history of a place in terms of the number of coins found for all periods that this reduces the significance of coins from any particular era. For example, if the total number of PAS finds was used as a measure of metal detecting intensity and a place had a medieval and early modern market, the significance of a large number of Edwardian coins will tend to be undermined if the civil parish also produced a large number of early modern coins. Unfortunately, only 28% of places have vessel finds contrasted with the 90% that have one or more metal detected find of any kind. Thus there is a trade-off between using total PAS finds or vessels as a guide to metal detecting intensity between accuracy and coverage. The best approach is therefore to use both when possible.

## **Place Names as Evidence of Markets**

Sometimes, but surprisingly infrequently, places are named after the fact that they were the location of a market. These names are not always as obvious as the Leicestershire towns of Market Bosworth or Market Harborough. A less well-known term for market used in the medieval period is 'chipping', or some variant of that word such as 'cheap', which is the Middle English term for a market. One finds it in the names of Chipping Warden (Northamptonshire) or Westcheap (Yorkshire). Another medieval name for a place with a market was 'port' which is rather different to current usage

referring to a place with a harbour. Examples of the former meaning are Newport Pagnell (Buckinghamshire) and Stockport (Cheshire).<sup>181</sup> Sometimes it is only part of a settlement that has a market name. For example, the parish of Cheap in the City of London, or the Norfolk hamlets of Market Street in Tunstead or Littleport in Sedgeford.

Whether a place, or area of a place, had or did not have a market name was entered into the data set. What is perhaps surprising is how few settlements have a 'market' type name. This is in spite of it being a common trope in popular and literary culture for country towns to include 'market' as part of their name. For example, in the recent well regarded prize winning novel 'All Among the Barely' by Melissa Harrison, the local town is Market Stoundham'.<sup>182</sup> In reality there are only 59 settlements in the data set that have one of these 'market' names, 20 places called 'market', seventeen some variant of 'chipping' and 22 places where 'port' refers to a market. These 59 places with a 'market' name are less than 1% of the places listed in the data set.

The names 'market' and 'chipping' reference the presence of merchants; the Latin for 'merchant' is 'mercator' which has the same root as 'market' which is 'mercatus'.<sup>183</sup> 'Chipping' has connections to the Middle English for a trader: 'chapman'.<sup>184</sup> Whether 'markets' or 'chippings' are named after the presence of merchants and chapmen or vice-versa is difficult to ascertain. Britnell claims that: 'In its simple uncompounded form 'market' does not occur in English before the twelfth century'.<sup>185</sup> In addition he notes that, 'there seems to be no unambiguous example of the word ceaping being used

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<sup>181</sup> Britnell, R. (1996), *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500*, (Second Edition), (Manchester), p. 12, Gelling, M. (1997), *Signposts to the Past*, (Chichester) p. 78.

<sup>182</sup> Harrison, M. (2018), *All Among the Barley*, (London), p. 95.

<sup>183</sup> J. Morwood, (2005), *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary*, (Oxford), Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500*, pp.11-14.

<sup>184</sup> Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society*, pp.11-14.

<sup>185</sup> Britnell *The Commercialisation of English Society*, p. 12.



to mean a market in a pre-conquest text'.<sup>186</sup> One reason for this lack of recording could be that, as Sawyer argues, although markets existed before the Norman Conquest they were not recorded because they were not subject to toll.<sup>187</sup> This means that it is difficult to know what name was given to gatherings where economic exchange occurred in the period prior to the Norman Conquest.

The geographical distribution of the settlements named 'market' and 'chipping' is interesting, and suggests that they did pre-date the Norman Conquest. The term 'market' in a place name is associated with the East of England. More specifically the area that had previously been in the Danelaw: ten of the 22 places known as markets are in Norfolk and Suffolk, three in Leicester and Rutland, three in Lincolnshire, one in the East Riding of Yorkshire and one in Essex. Chipping or Cheap as a term for market is associated with the West and South.

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<sup>186</sup> Britnell *The Commercialisation of English Society*, p. 13.

<sup>187</sup> Sawyer, *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 26.

Figure 6: Market and Cheap Settlement Names (with pre-1600 origins)

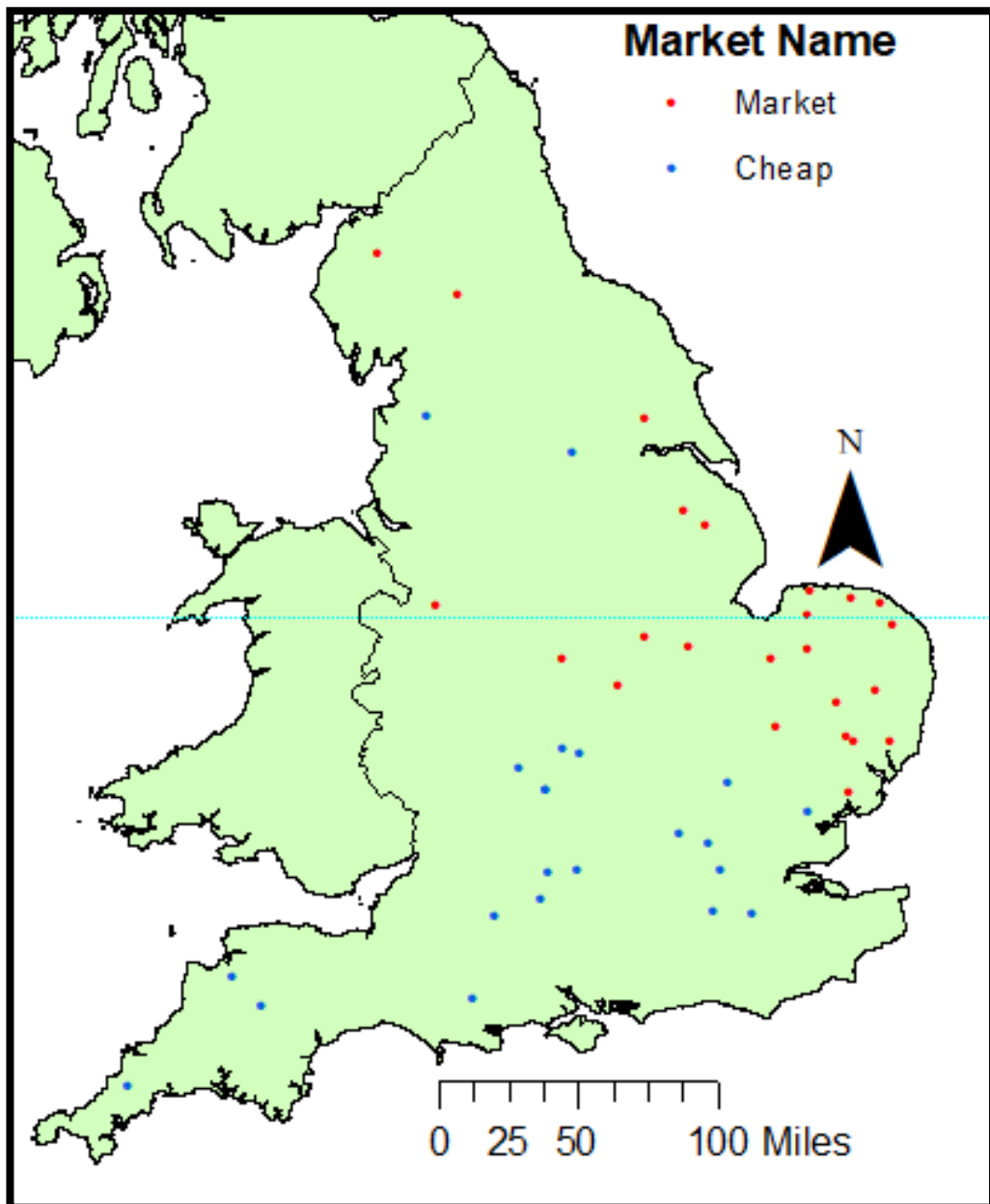


Figure 6 shows that 'chipping' is used to the West and South and 'market' to the North and East with a handful of outliers. Britnell argues that, although the English word 'market' ultimately derives from Latin for merchant, it comes from Germanic adoption of the Latin word. This, he argues, is indicated by the fact that the word has a hard 'k' sound which is absent from the French for market, 'merchet'. He therefore speculates on the origin of the word 'market' that, "Perhaps it was originally borrowed to describe some type of meeting with merchants from Scandinavia or the Low Countries".<sup>188</sup> Difficult to reconcile with this position is that a number of settlements in the east are 'chippings': Chipping Ongar and the former borough of Chipping Hill (both in Essex), and, perhaps more significantly, the main medieval market of London was located in the parish of Cheap. London was integral to the North Sea trading zone.

A more likely explanation is not that this term was adopted by Anglo-Saxons in the Danelaw to liaise with Scandinavian merchants, but that the Danish settlers, who may have only been an elite, used the term themselves. The modern Danish word for 'market' is 'marked' and the old Norse for 'market' is 'marknaor'.<sup>189</sup> The area with long-established names for market were parts of the Danelaw settled by Danes. What became the county of Essex was part of the Danelaw but, according to Lohn, the major Danish settlement was limited to an area close to the Suffolk border directly to the North and East of Colchester.<sup>190</sup> The one settlement in Essex known by the term 'market' is Market Elmstead, in the civil parish of Elmstead. Significantly, Market Elmstead is in this very small area of Essex that was settled by Danes.<sup>191</sup> The continuation of the use of the term 'chipping' in parts of the Danelaw not settled by Danes, and the use of the Germanic 'market' in the parts of the Danelaw settled by Danes, a difference that exists even in the one county of Essex, indicates that the origin of the term 'market' is probably the Danish

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<sup>188</sup> Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society*, p. 12

<sup>189</sup> <https://etymologeeek.com/dan/marked>, (accessed 15-2-23).

<sup>190</sup> Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, p. 217.

<sup>191</sup> Gelling *Signposts to the Past*, p. 217.

settlers' term for a trading place. This suggests that the term 'market' was being used in an area that existed before a unified English state and significantly before the Normans took over that state. There is one settlement that does not appear to fit the geographical pattern in the East of England. That is Westcheap, in the west of Pontefract, first recorded as a borough between 1255 and 1258.

Outside of the Danelaw are Chipping Campden and Chipping Sodbury (Gloucestershire), Chipping Norton (Oxfordshire) and Chipping Warden (Northamptonshire). Significantly, Chipping Warden is on the west of Watling Street, an area controlled by the West Saxons, during the period when the Danelaw existed. There are also Chipsteads in Surrey and Kent and in Lancashire there is a plain Chipping. Chipping in Lancashire was first recorded by that name in 1203, and as Chipenden in 1086, but only first recorded as having a market in the nineteenth century. The term 'chipping' or variants of that name continued to be used into the late medieval period. For example, Chipping in Hertfordshire was chartered in 1252, when the settlement was known as Neucheping (which means New Chipping). Blandford Forum (Dorset) was known as Cheping Blanford in 1288. Chipperfield, formerly in Kings Langley, is first recorded by that name in 1375. In Kings Langley itself the market place, located where the current High Street is, was called New Chipping in 1416. The market at Kings Langley, which as the site of a royal palace and manor required no charter for a market, was proclaimed as a market in 1290.<sup>192</sup> North Tawton is first recorded as Chepin Tauton in 1199. In 1292 this usage was dropped in favour of North Tawton only for the village to be recorded as Chipping Tawton again in

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<sup>192</sup> Watts, V. (2010) *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, (Cambridge), p. 143, <http://www.chipperfield.org.uk/village/village-history/>, (accessed 16-2-23), Williamson, T. (2008), 'Urban Origins: location, topography and the documentary record' in Slater, T. and Goose, N. (eds), *A county of Small Towns; The development of Hertfordshire's urban landscape to 1800*, (Hatfield), p. 39.

1477.<sup>193</sup> This wide range of examples clearly shows 'chipping' continued to be in use for much of the later Middle Ages until the fifteenth century.

However, it was not much later that 'market' instead of 'chipping' began to be used in the west of England. In the west of England it is places that were named market later than the fifteenth century that appear not to fit the geographical distribution shown in Figure 6. Market Drayton in Shropshire is first recorded by that name in 1540. Newmarket Hesket in Cumberland is first recorded in 1751. Market Lavington in Wiltshire was first recorded as Chepynglavynton in 1397 and only later as Market Lavington in 1681 when market had become standard usage to refer to a gathering for the purposes of trade.<sup>194</sup> It seems that, around the end of the fourteenth century, 'market' had become the term used for gatherings for trade, and 'chipping' had lost its significance. The use of 'chipping' for a market and the non-use of the term 'market' until the modern period in the area not settled by the Danes suggests that the term for market used in the Saxon dominated area of England was 'chipping'.

Another name for a market in the medieval period was 'port'. The modern meaning of 'port' when referring to a settlement is a place with a harbour, however, in place names 'port' has a number of meanings. These are according to the following quote from the work of Nicolaisen, Gelling and Richards:

- (1) *port* 'a haven a harbour' a loan-word from Latin *portus*
- (2) *port* 'a town, a market town, a market', found in various examples of the name Newport. This is of uncertain origin and may be derived either from Latin *portus* 'harbour' or from the word discussed under
- (3).

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<sup>193</sup> Watts, *English Place-Names*, p. 602

<sup>194</sup> Watts, *English Place-Names*, p.363

(3) *port* 'a gate, the entrance to a walled town'. This is a loan-word from Latin *porta*, and is rare in place-names.<sup>195</sup>

Nikolaisen, Gelling and Richardson argue 'port' to be of uncertain origin when referring to a trading site. It is sometimes possible to determine when 'port' refers to a medieval market. For example, Stockport (Cheshire) is the market for cattle, and is first recorded in 1188. Gosport (Hampshire), is on the coast but the name means the market for geese and was first recorded by that name in 1251. Additionally there are ten places in England known as Newport.<sup>196</sup> In these cases 'port' clearly refers to a market.<sup>197</sup> There are two places that are included in the data set that were on or relatively near the coast where it is not certain that their 'port' name refers to a harbour. Portslade (Sussex) is on the coast but according to Watts the name means 'Port's Road' and refers to a Roman or possibly more ancient highway.<sup>198</sup> Portbury (Somerset) is interpreted as the 'fortified place near the harbour'.<sup>199</sup> The fort in question is an univallate hill fort on nearby Conygar Hill, constructed in either the late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age, and the port in

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<sup>195</sup> W. F. H. Nicolaisen, M. Gelling and M. Richards, (1970), *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain*, (London), p. 100, for the Modern Definition, Fowler, H. W. and Fowler, F. G (eds) Revised by McIntosh, E, and Etymologies Revised by Friedrichsen, G. W. S. (1964), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, (Fifth Edition), (Oxford).

<sup>196</sup> Watts, *English Place-Names*, pp. 257, 577.

<sup>197</sup> *The Gazetteer of Markets*.

<sup>198</sup> Watts, V. *English Place-Names*, p. 479, but Mills, A. D. (2011), *A Dictionary of British Place Names*, (Oxford), disagrees and gives the definition as 'probably crossing place by the harbour' p. 374, This latter definition is also favoured by Nicolaisen, *The Names of Towns and Cities*, but as they note there is not much evidence of a harbour, p. 153.

<sup>199</sup> Mills, *British Place Names*, p. 373 and Watts, *English Place Names*, p. 478.

question is the mouth of the river Avon.<sup>200</sup> However, the mouth of the Avon, it is over two miles from the fort leaving the possibility that 'port' could be a reference to a market. Portbury was the meeting place for the Portbury Hundred, one of the Somerset Hundreds, a meeting that was presumably held at the fort. When there were gatherings at the centre of a Hundred it was also an opportunity to engage in trading.<sup>201</sup> The tradition of holding markets at centres of Hundreds continued, into the high medieval periods.<sup>202</sup> Although a market is not recorded as taking place in the medieval period at Portbury, it does have a market charter dated 1348.<sup>203</sup>

Places with 'port' names that refer, or could possibly refer, to markets are plotted in Figure 7.

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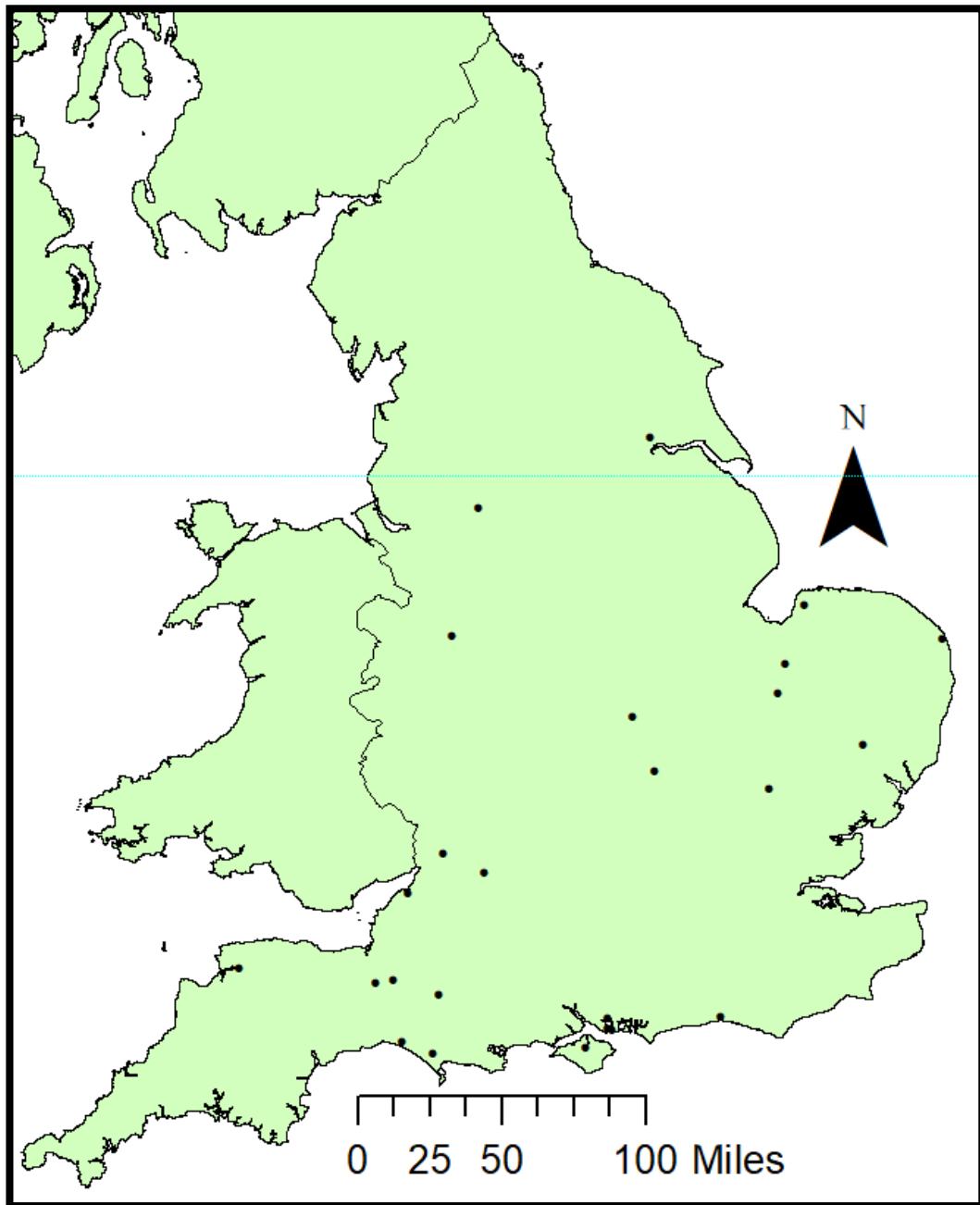
<sup>200</sup> <https://historicensland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1007918?section=official-list-entry> (accessed 15-2-23).

<sup>201</sup> Reynolds, A. (1999), *Later Anglo-Saxon England, Life and Landscape*, (Stroud), p. 170, Pestell, 'The Afterlife of 'Productive' sites in East Anglia' p. 124, Flemming, R. (2010), *Britain after Rome. The Fall and Rise 400-1070*, (London), p. 273.

<sup>202</sup> Britnell, R. H. (1996), *The Commercialisation of English Society*, pp, 20-21, Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England, Life and Landscape*, p. 170, Pestell, 'The Afterlife of 'Productive' sites in East Anglia', pp. 122-137

<sup>203</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets*, (accessed 14-2-2023).

Figure 7: Distribution of Market Port Names<sup>204</sup>



<sup>204</sup> Excluding places with harbours, Maryport 1762, Ellesmere Port, c1795, Stourport c1770, and places that were given the name for the erroneous belief that coastal locations in England are often called port; Southport, is recorded in 1798 when it was created as a new holiday resort south of Blackpool; Port Sunlight on the Wirral the location of a planned village around a major soap factory. Watts, *English Place-Names*.



The distribution of 'port' names shows no regional distinctiveness in the manner of 'market' and 'chipping'. The use of port has pre-Norman origins. Six (27%) of the 22 places called port are listed in Domesday Book with a port name: Newport Pagnell (Buckinghamshire), which is recorded without the manorial affix, Newport (Essex), Littleport (Cambridgeshire), Bridport (Dorset), Lamport (Northamptonshire), and Langport (Somerset).<sup>205</sup> The latter is recorded as Langport in the Burghal Hidage, which is generally taken as being drawn up around 911-914.<sup>206</sup> Langport also had a mint. The coins that record its name date from 924-970s and between 1016-1066.<sup>207</sup> Bridport also had a mint with coins that record its name from 924-post 1066.<sup>208</sup> That there are two 'Newports' recorded in Domesday points to the fact that there was already a 'port' that was old by this point. Littleport in Cambridgeshire is also recorded in Domesday Book. Its name could mean that the town or market itself was little or it could be referring to a bigger pre-existing port nearby. If the latter meaning is the case, then it is likely to be a reference to the City of Ely four and a half miles to the south west. According to the Victoria County History, the manor of Littleport was a possession of the

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<sup>205</sup> Watts, *English Place-Names*, pp. 86, 357, 360, 376, 435-6

<sup>206</sup> Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 86-87. Watts, *English Place-Names*, p. 360. Bridport (Dorset), or at least the nearby fort of Brydian, is also in the Burghal Hidage and as such is not recorded with a port name at that point in time.

[https://www.dorsetcouncil.gov.uk/documents/35024/281659/Bridport\\_Historic\\_Character\\_Draft\\_Report\\_3\\_Historical\\_development\\_C18-C20.pdf/0e385ed5-cdb0-08db-1e7c-6db15ee75368](https://www.dorsetcouncil.gov.uk/documents/35024/281659/Bridport_Historic_Character_Draft_Report_3_Historical_development_C18-C20.pdf/0e385ed5-cdb0-08db-1e7c-6db15ee75368) (accessed 28-7-23).

<sup>207</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets*, (accessed 16-2-23). Watts, *English Place-Names*, p. 360. Naismith, R. (2017), *Medieval European Coinage: Britain and Ireland c. 400-1066 with a catalogue of the coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*, (Cambridge), pp. 352-353.

<sup>208</sup> Naismith, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 352-353.

church of Ely prior to the Norman Conquest. After Ely became a see in 1109, Littleport became the property of the bishops of Ely until the Tudor period.<sup>209</sup> The implications of a pre-conquest usage which is distributed evenly across England and does not reference merchants and chapmen could mean that 'port' was used to refer to trading locations that were perhaps more local and less influenced by the ruling elites concerns for long distance trade, whether the rulers were Danish and called the places for that trade by a precursor of 'market', or Saxon and called such places some variant of 'chipping'.

Chapter Five attempts to use place name evidence, both settlement and street names, to estimate the number of markets that existed in the medieval period. Although there are only 59 settlements with a 'market' name they can still be used to estimate the total number of markets in a number of ways. Firstly, by extrapolating an estimate of the number of markets that are not documented as functioning (namely those that only have medieval market charters and those with no documents at all) in England from the number of places with market names that also have no recorded medieval markets. Secondly, by examining what 'market' settlement names indicate about the number of markets that existed. A particular focus is how to interpret why so few places are identified by a market name. This raises the question of whether it means that few places had markets, or the opposite: that so many places had markets that using 'market', 'chipping' or 'port' did not carry any relevance in a situation where markets may have been ubiquitous.

Street names referring to markets are much more common than settlement names. The information for streets and squares and other parts of settlements named 'market' is the result of searches across two databases: Digimap, which is a digitised version of the Ordnance Survey maps hosted at Edinburgh University, and Historic England's data base, which records listed buildings and their location. As with other data, this has been supplemented

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<sup>209</sup> <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol4/pp95-102>

by information from other works.<sup>210</sup> The major search term on the data bases was limited to 'market' so except on a very few occasions (some of which have been mentioned in the earlier discussions about settlement names), names such as 'portway' or 'cheapside' are not included.<sup>211</sup> One reason that a place may have a market street name but did not have a market itself is because it leads to a market in a neighbouring settlement. For example, Market Lane runs between Little Melton and Great Melton in Norfolk. Great Melton had market charters for 1251 and 1275 but Little Melton does not have an extant charter.<sup>212</sup> Luckily such cases are few in number and will not therefore massively impact upon the ability to estimate the number of functioning markets on the basis of street names.

There are 783 (7.3%) places that have streets, squares and fields with a 'market' name in the data set of 10,718 cases.<sup>213</sup> The vast majority of places

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<sup>210</sup> Particularly, Driscoll, R.J. and Hewitt, P. M. (1999), *Gazetteer of Norfolk Place-Names: Based on the Ordnance Survey 1:25000 First Series Maps*. (Norwich).

<sup>211</sup> For example, even though Derby was one of the five boroughs of Danish Mercia, there is a street in the city centre called Cheapside. There is also to the edge of the city a long distance track called the 'Portway'. The portway runs all the way from Mam Tor Iron Age Hill Fort in the north Derbyshire Peak District to the Trent in the far south of the county, its route sometimes along streets and roads that take the name 'Portway'.

<sup>212</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets*, (accessed 6-2- 2023).

<sup>213</sup> Market names exist in other contexts besides streets e.g. field names. There was no systematic study of field names and there are only six examples, mostly from Norfolk, which came to be known about by chance; at South Creake, which had a prescriptive market, had fields known as mercate and super mercate. There were market fields names at Wighton, Mayton and Frenze (all Norfolk), at Market Elmstead (Essex) and a market heath near Brenchley (Kent). The market field names at Frenze and Wighton were discussed in the introduction. South Creake field names are in, Hesse, M. (1998), 'Medieval Field Systems and Land Tenure in South Creake Norfolk',

with market names for streets and locations have some form of market documentation: 685 places (87%) of the total of 783. There are two points to emphasise. Firstly, 147 (19%) places have a 'market' street name and only have a market charter. Secondly, 98 (13%) places with 'market' street names have no market documents of any type. Both of these categories almost undoubtedly had markets. The markets are likely to have been held prior to the modern period (for which there is more documentary evidence). If a place had a street name that indicated a market, this information was entered into the data set.

### **Market Crosses as Evidence of Medieval Market Activity**

Another source of evidence for markets is market structures, meaning market crosses and market halls. Davis describes market crosses in the following terms:

The core of any medieval town was the marketplace, often symbolised by a market cross. These structures, varying from simple cruciform wooden pillars to more elaborate stone shelters, were symbolic reminders to market users of a multiplicity of influences over their activities; the royal market charter, regulatory oversight by local officials, and moral imperatives of divine authority. The market cross was the economic social and cultural heart of any market town or village.<sup>214</sup>

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*Norfolk Archaeology*, no. 43, pp.75-97. Again field names indicate that the more local research is carried out, the more evidence for markets is found.

<sup>214</sup> Davis, J. (2013), *Medieval Market Morality. Life, Law and Ethics in the English Marketplace, 1200-1500*, (Cambridge), pp.3-4

The source for information on crosses is principally the listings of Historic England supplemented from other sources.<sup>215</sup> Historic England mainly lists extant crosses, but sometimes notes those that have been destroyed or moved. Market crosses are the most commonly listed market structure. Clearly, if a place has a market cross it had a market. If a place has a genuine medieval market cross, which is still in its original location, then by definition it marks the location of a medieval market.

According to Schmiechen and Carls at some places market crosses developed with covered spaces to provide shelter for both goods, such as meat and butter, and customers.<sup>216</sup> They claim that at some point from these beginnings the market houses emerged:

The typical market houses had an open arcade on the lower level, which served as shelter for highly perishable goods (eggs, butter and poultry) or more commonly for such administrative purposes as weighing goods and collecting tolls. The upper floor served as the town halls or a guildhall or, in some cases, the town jail.<sup>217</sup>

For them the market houses were very much adjuncts to the trading that occurred in open market places.<sup>218</sup> They argue that the market hall was

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<sup>215</sup> <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/>. The major additional sources for information on medieval crosses are the Norfolk Heritage Explorer Website; <https://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk> and a list of market crosses sent by Hertfordshire County Council Heritage Department. On Market Halls for the period 1750-1945 a major source, much more thorough than Historic England, is the Gazetteer contained in Schmiechen, J. and Carls, K. (1999) *The British Market Hall. A Social and Architectural History* (London) pp. 241-299.

<sup>216</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, *The British Market Hall*, pp.5-6.

<sup>217</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, *The British Market Hall*, p. 7.

<sup>218</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, *The British Market Hall*, p. 8.

‘invented’ as a way of creating a centralised market at the same time as ‘maintaining order in the town’s streets’.<sup>219</sup> They argue that;

The natural progression of the public market was from a traditional, open-air market place to a combination of market place and street market, to an enclosed market site to a roofed market hall. Each step in this process further aided in the separation of marketing from the street, thereby pushing towns ever closer to solving the age-old problems endemic to it. In response to these problems the market hall logically emerged as an architectural form.<sup>220</sup>

The source of information on market houses and halls comes from the *Gazetteer* of such structures created by Schmiechen and Carls.<sup>221</sup>

Historic England’s classification of market crosses is based on in-depth local research indicating that documentary evidence exists which this work has not accessed because of the sheer volume of that material. In the quote below Historic England describe how they classify a cross as a market cross (taken from a personally communicated email):

The inspectors will have noted the presence or other of a ‘market’ in the vicinity for the cross, in place when being assessed or historically. Crosses have quite often been moved and their current position may not indicate their market function so well. Old maps (including Ordnance Survey) will have helped to this and place naming. The grant of a charter to the town or village to hold a market may also have been determined. You will know that in medieval time, it was practice to seek permission to do this, and permission was given at different levels at different times, through charters or licenses, most often, and for some in the award of ‘borough status’. Local History

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<sup>219</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, *The British Market Hall*, p. 30.

<sup>220</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, *The British Market Hall*, p. 31.

<sup>221</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, *The British Market Hall*, pp.243-299.

Record Offices will contain information on these permissions and wider information such as council minutes, images, newspaper reports, and these 'offices' will have been consulted for all relevant material that they contained on the built fabric in the area being assessed. Victoria County Histories will have been used. Books like *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Old Stone Crosses of Somerset*, by C Pooley (1877) will have been consulted.

The epithet 'market' may have come from different sources, if we may presume always related to the trading function. Chichester Cross earned the title 'market cross' because it was built to provide shelter for those trading at this important cross roads. While not in a more traditional 'market place' it served the market function and was built for this purpose. You may have been frustrated in searching the List to find too often little material around the entries for market crosses. Listing (first scheduling) began in 1882 and you will see that the earliest Entries on the List have no text at all (Old County Numbers) while those added as 'listed buildings' after 1947 may contain only the briefest of description to confirm the asset at the address given. They did not in the early days need to contain sources evidencing any further research. We are working to improve on the information these earlier entries contain and invite the public to help us here by including comments and photos to add to the asset's story.<sup>222</sup>

The accuracy of their classification can be checked by looking at the location of the listed crosses. The locational evidence confirms the view that the listings are broadly accurate. Table 8 shows the location of the places identified by Historic England as having medieval market crosses by street name.<sup>223</sup> The locations in question are:

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<sup>222</sup> Personal email communication (3-2-23).

<sup>223</sup> The ten places where the cross is not in its original location and that location is not known have not been included.

1. Market place or similar<sup>224</sup>
2. High Street or similar
3. Square or green
4. Roadside (not high street)
5. Moved and Original Location Unknown

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<sup>224</sup> At Wedmore in Somerset and Downton in Wiltshire the crosses are located on streets called the Borough but that can be taken to have the same meaning as market place.



Table 8: Location of Listed Medieval Market Crosses Cross Tabulated with Medieval Market Records at the Places in Question (numbers and percentages), Column Percentages (excluding crosses that have been moved)

Location of Cross	Recorded	Chartered	Undocumented	Total
Market Place	42 (66%)	17 (44%)	8 (19%)	67 (47%)
High Street	5 (8%)	4 (10%)	15 (36%)	24 (15%)
Green	10 (16%)	7 (18%)	12 (29%)	29 (20%)
Roadside	6 (9%)	9 (23%)	7 (17%)	22 (15%)
Total Not Moved	64	39	42	142
Moved	8	4	3	15
Total	72	43	45	157

The information in this table indicates that Historic England's classification is accurate. Looking at the evidence of street names and the location of market crosses Table 8 shows that 67 (47%) of the total 142 medieval crosses are located in a street or square that has 'market' as part of its name. The fact that Historic England classify medieval market crosses in 42 places which are not recorded in the data set as having medieval market documents does seem to indicate that Historic England have carried out greater research into the documentary record than was possible in this work, and that their work can be relied upon as further evidence of medieval markets.

### **Village Morphology as Evidence for Markets**

One of the most obvious of 'market' street names is 'Market Place'. Where such a name exists, it indicates that the area in question was set aside for trading. It could be an open space of rectangular or triangular form, where a number of streets met or a widening of the main street to facilitate trading to take place at the same time as the passage of traffic. Taylor argues that village morphology, particularly the existence of an open space which appears to show somewhere that could be used for trading, could indicate the existence of a functioning market.<sup>225</sup> This sort of evidence may be of particular value when combined with other forms, including documentary or other physical evidence such as the existence of a cross. For example, Wilton in Norfolk had the right to a market granted in 1225. There is however, no other documentary evidence for the market. As shown in Figures 8 and 9, the existence of a cross and open space in front of the church appears to indicate that there is a strong possibility that a market was indeed held here.

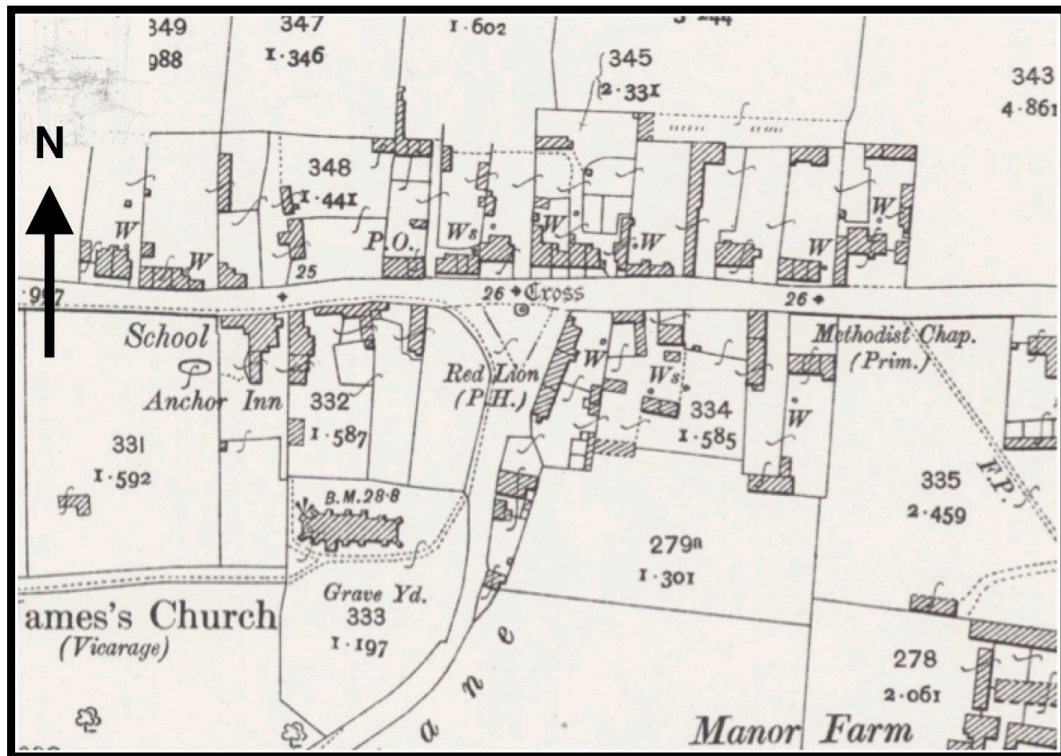
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<sup>225</sup> C. Taylor, (1982), 'Medieval market grants and village morphology' *Landscape History*, no. 4, pp. 21-8.

Figure 8: Photograph of Wilton (Norfolk) Market Cross and Market Place



Figure 9: Map of Wilton (Norfolk) Market Place and Cross (Ordnance Survey map 1900s)



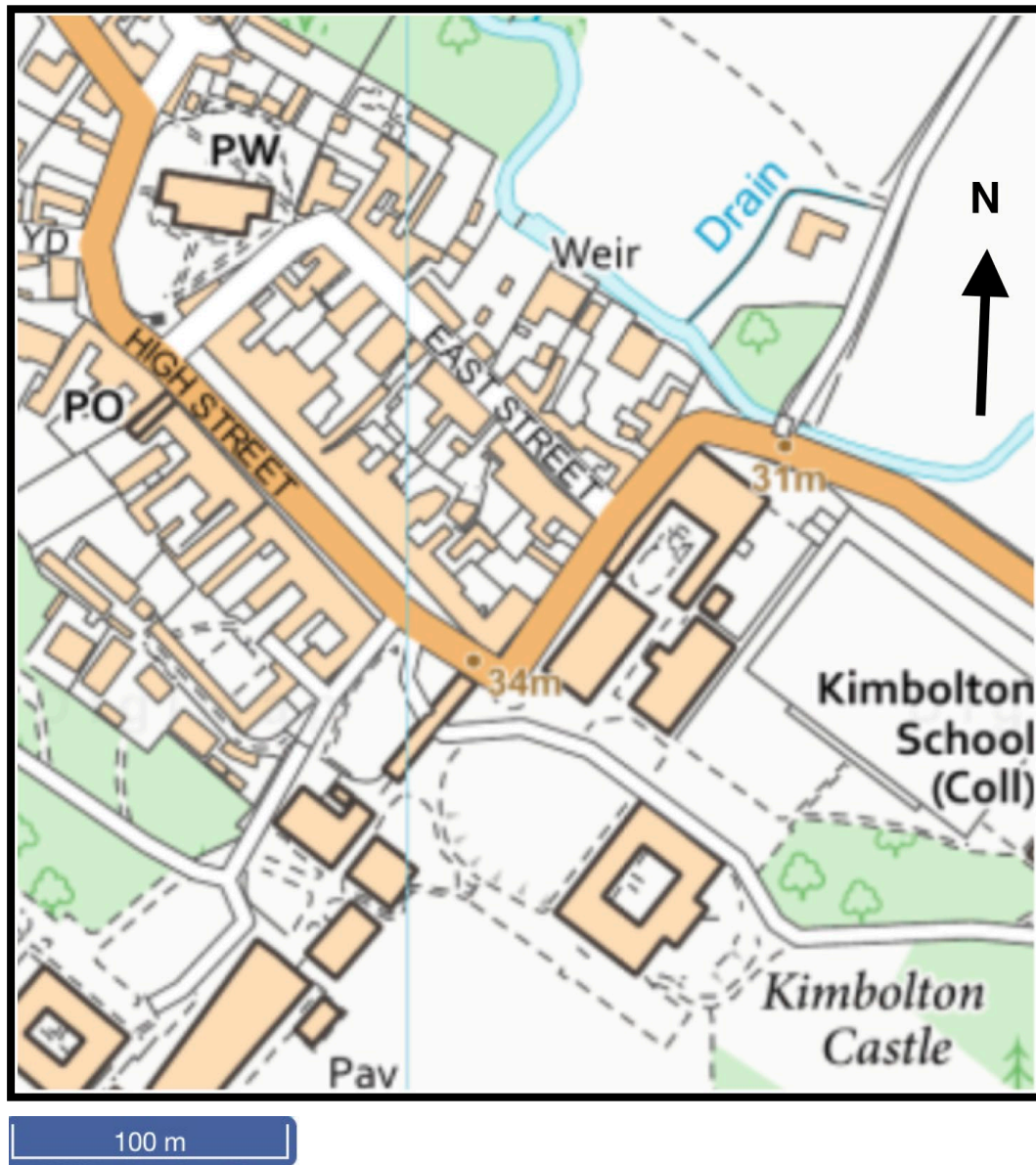
Source: Digimap.

In addition to open space for trading, there are other morphological indicators of markets. One is the chicane (double bend) road system controlling access to a market. This layout would control the movement of livestock and prevent their escape whilst also serving to ensure that any relevant tolls were paid.<sup>226</sup> Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire provides a clear example of this as shown in Figure 10.

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<sup>226</sup> Penn, K. (1993), 'Early Unplanned Towns' in Wade-Martins (ed.) *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, (Norwich), pp. 70-71, p. 70, Jones, G, (2004), 'The market place; form, location and antecedents' in Pinches, S., Whalley, M. and Postles, D. (eds), 'The Market Place and the Place of the Market', *Friends of the Centre for English Local History Paper*, no. 9, pp. 1-27, p. 3.

Figure 10: Chicane Style Main Road at Kimbolton (Huntingdonshire)  
(Ordnance Survey map 2020s)



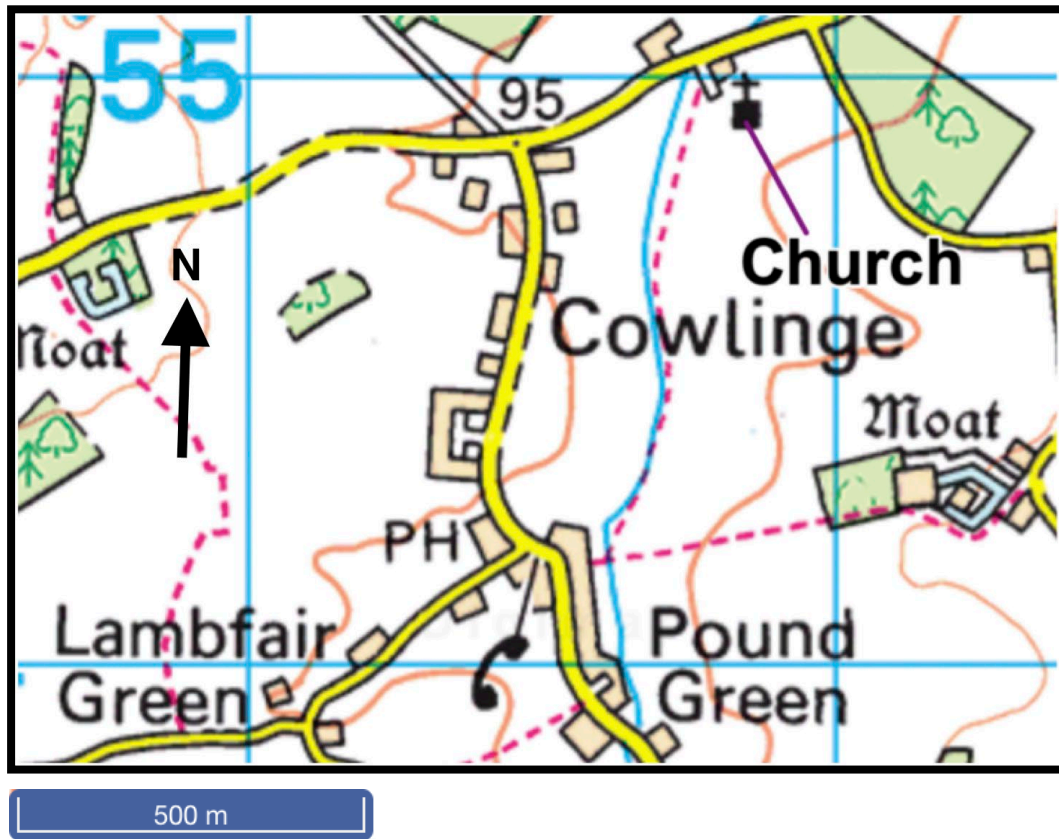
Source: Digimap.

Another morphological indicator could be where the major part of a settlement is away from the original centre of a parish, as indicated by the location of its church. This drift of settlement away from the site of the original village centre is a relatively common phenomenon. It is most ubiquitous in Norfolk and northern Suffolk, the most commercially precocious region of England during the medieval period.<sup>227</sup> This phenomenon is usually known as common edge drift and the reasons for it are obscure. However, the pull of a place to trade, for example on a common, may be part of this process. For example, the major sheep fair of Cowlinge in Suffolk was held at the hamlet of Lambfair Green three quarters of a mile from the church, see Figure 11.

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<sup>227</sup> Williamson, T. (1993), *The Origins of Norfolk*, (Manchester), p. 169,  
Williamson, T. (2012), *Environment, Society And Landscape in Early Medieval England. Time and Topography*, (Woodbridge), p. 158,

Figure 11: Cowlinge (Suffolk). Showing proximity of Lambfair Green and the Church (Ordnance Survey map 2020s)



Source: Digimap.



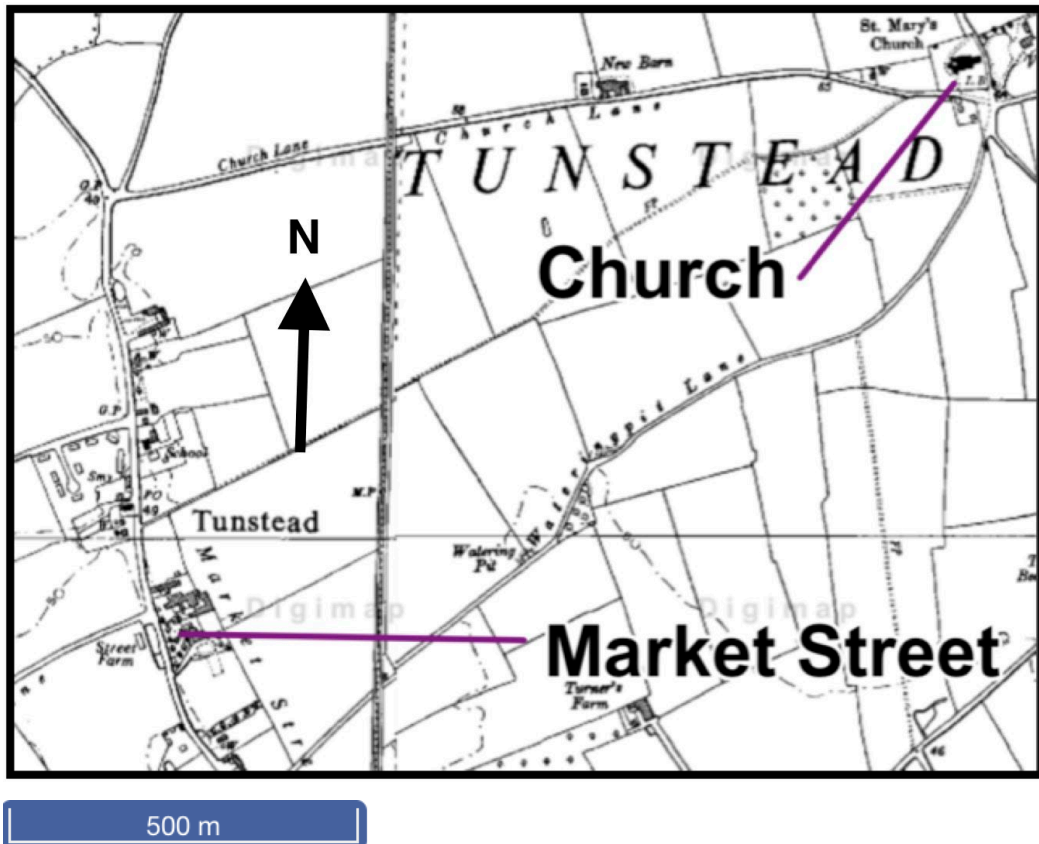
It does appear that there is something that could be called 'market drift' that is related to village drift more generally. For example, Dymond notes that, Tunstead (Norfolk), a village granted a charter in 1260 would 'not be recognisable as a former centre of commerce, were it not for the name Market Street applied to a straggle of housing about a mile from the church'.<sup>228</sup> Market Street is today the main settlement in Tunstead and was clearly considered to be a better place for a market than around the Church, as shown in Figure 12. Although as Rackham argues highways were part of the common land and the shift to Market Street may be an example of combined market and common edge drift.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Dymond, D. (1985), *The Norfolk Landscape*, (London), p. 158.

<sup>229</sup> Rackham, O. (1986), *History of the Countryside*, (London), p. 265.

Figure 12: Tunstead (Norfolk) Showing the location of the Church and the main Settlement – known as Market Street (Ordnance Survey map 1880s)



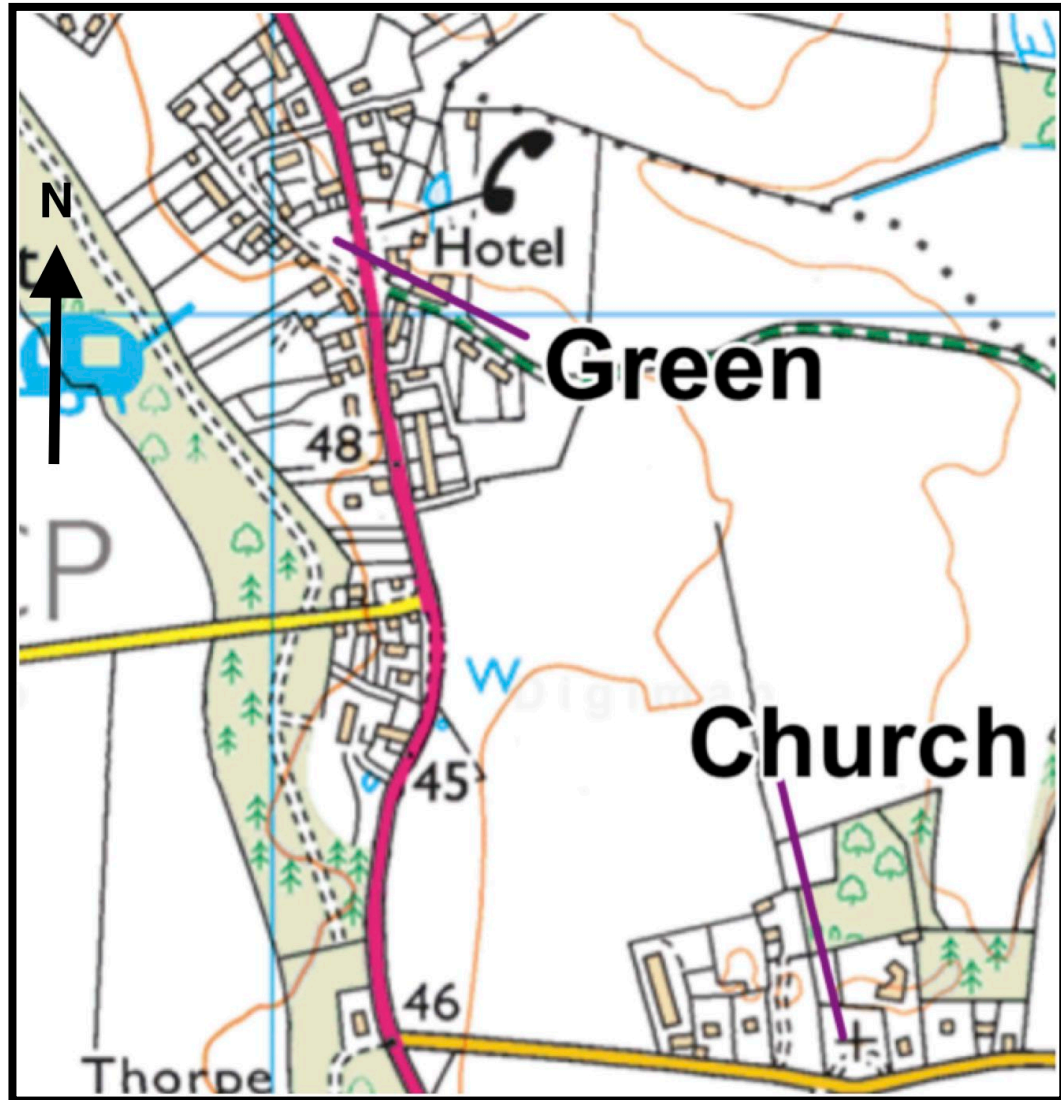
Source: Digimap.

A similar phenomenon seems likely at Thorpe Market also in Norfolk. The village green at Thorpe Market is today the centre of the small settlement. It lies a mile or so distant from the site of the medieval church where there are only a few houses. Unlike the church which is up a small side road, the village green is on the main road equidistant between North Walsham and Cromer as shown in Figure 13.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Rackham, *History of the Countryside*, p. 265.

Figure 13: Thorpe Market (Norfolk), Showing the Location of the Main Settlement around the Village Green (situated on the main North Walsham to Cromer road) relative to the Church (Ordnance Survey map 2020s)



Source: Digimap.

It is unclear who was responsible for the shift in market places away from village centres. Sometimes, it could be holder of market rights - for example, the Bardolfs in Norfolk. The family gained a charter for a market at their castle in Wormegay in 1154. They subsequently received a charter for a market at the neighbouring hamlet of Setchey which they also owned. Setchey, unlike Wormegay, was on the main London to Lynn road. The move was successful, a cattle market survived at Setchey into the nineteenth century.<sup>231</sup>

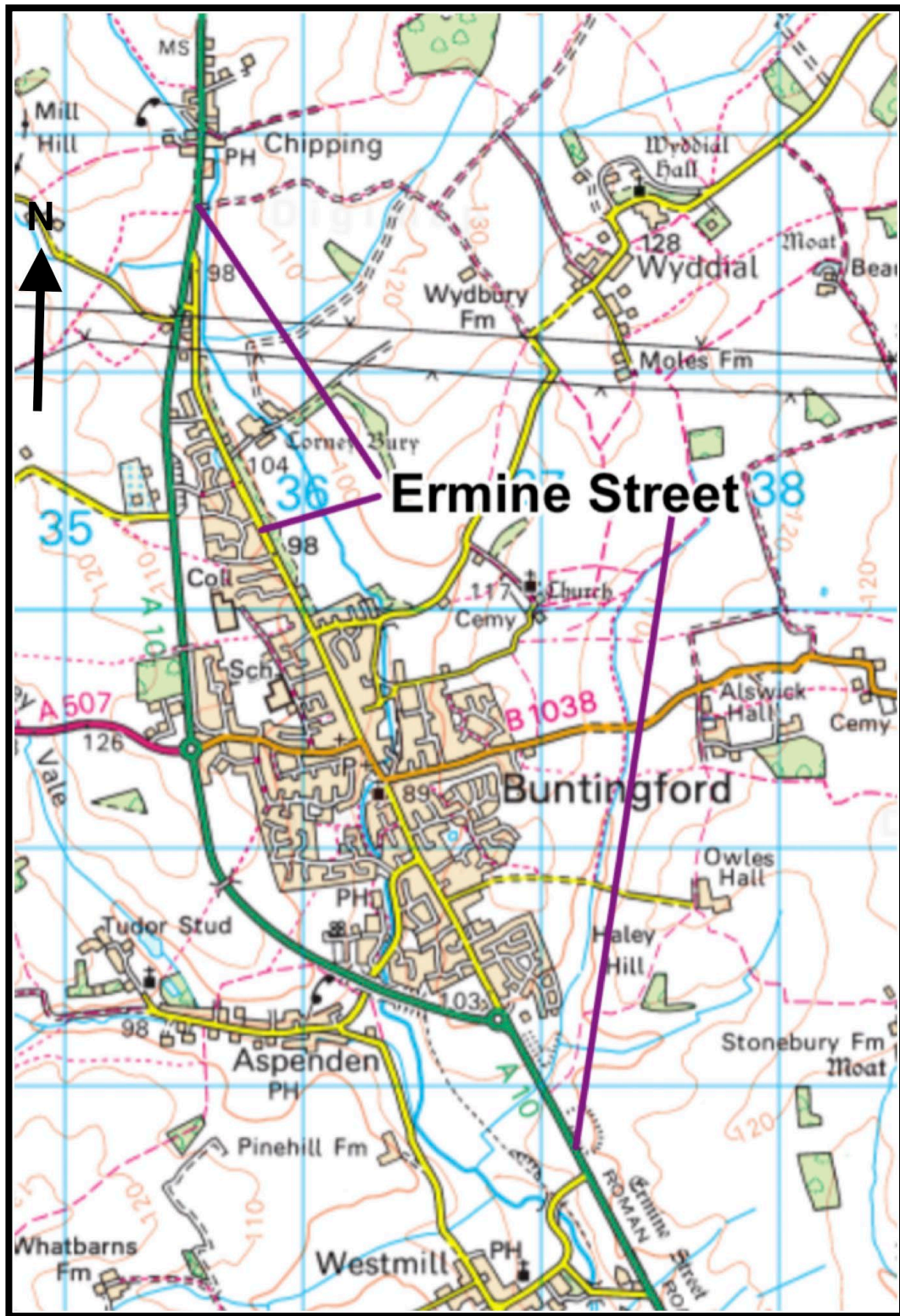
There are other examples, of roads exercising a pull on markets in the medieval period. The market at Chipping (Hertfordshire) on Ermine Street, was chartered in 1252 and was operating in 1322 but by 1360 it was struggling. The owner of the market rights, Elizabeth de Burgo, was granted permission to exercise them at another location in her manor of Pope's Hall in the settlement of Buntingford, where the market traders had already re-sited themselves. Buntingford was a better place for a market because it was still on Ermine Street but at the point at which it was crossed by Hare Street a road that linked with the Great North Road at Baldock.<sup>232</sup> The location of Chipping and Buntingford are shown in Figure 14.

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<sup>231</sup> White, W. (1845), *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk*, (London).

<sup>232</sup> Bailey, M. (1993), 'A tale of two towns: Buntingford and Standon in the later Middle Ages' *Journal of Medieval History*, no. 19, pp 351-71

Figure 14: Ermine Street (Hertfordshire), Showing Chipping and Buntingford (Ordnance Survey map 2020s)



Source: Digimap.

Village morphology and location are useful for examining the market history of particular places and is used in the case study of Huntingdonshire in the next chapter. There are no national lists of the relevant settlement features; old established open spaces, chicanes and shifted centres that might indicate the existence of a market, hence morphological analysis is very difficult to do on a national scale. For this reason it is not utilised to any great extent in this thesis. It is worth noting that many villages throughout England will have features that indicate that they had markets even though they are not documented as having had a market.

## **Conclusion**

Identifying 'peak market' depends on determining what proportion of places that are not documented as having markets, particularly those that only have medieval market charters, did in fact have markets. This question can only be accurately answered through the use of non-documentary evidence of the type outlined in this chapter. The most important such evidence is the metal detected finds recorded by PAS. For research looking at a national level, this can be supplemented by place-names, particularly street names, and listings of market crosses. Research of a more localised kind can also draw upon settlement morphology. The next few chapters draw upon these types of evidence to investigate the nature and pattern of markets in England with a particular emphasis on the medieval period and places with medieval market charters. The next chapter presents a case study of Huntingdonshire that uses these types of evidence to investigate and illustrate their usefulness in examining the history of markets as a preliminary to the analysis of the numbers and nature of the market system in England as a whole in the chapters that follow.

## Chapter Three: A Case Study of Huntingdonshire

The benefits and drawbacks of using non-documentary evidence, particularly metal detecting finds, for investigating the history of markets is discussed in this chapter using the example of Huntingdonshire. This former county was chosen because it was studied by Masschaele, an author who asserts that the possession of a medieval market charter cannot be taken as evidence for a functioning market. He maintains that, in order to establish that a market was functioning further documentary evidence is required.<sup>233</sup> This chapter examines whether non-documentary forms of evidence can also be used to establish the existence of a market.

### Masschaele's View of the Medieval Markets in Huntingdonshire

Masschaele argues that the best documentary evidence for the existence of a functioning medieval market is provided by the *QW* and records of the Clerk of the Market.<sup>234</sup> Masschaele defines the significance of the Clerk of the Market and the surviving records in the following terms:

The Clerk of the Market was a royal official attached to the King's household who was responsible for regulating weights, measures and certain commercial practices conducted within the verge of the royal household, defined as a space within 12 miles of the King's residence. Medieval kings moved around a great deal, and in some years virtually every part of the country became a temporary part of the verge and thus subject to the attention of the King's household officials. A number of rolls listing the fines imposed in the course of these iterations survive in

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<sup>233</sup> Masschaele, 'The Multiplicity of Medieval Markets Reconsidered', p. 255.

<sup>234</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 168.



the Public Record Office, recording the names of the towns and markets visited by the Clerk.<sup>235</sup>

On the basis of the QW and records of the Clerk of the Market Masschaele argues that by 1332 only ten of the eighteen markets claimed by charter or prescription in Huntingdonshire were functioning.<sup>236</sup> Figure 15 is Masschaele's map of the eighteen markets claimed by 1348. Figure 16 shows the ten markets that he maintains were actually functioning in 1332, at the time the Clerk of the Market visited the county. It is unclear why he compares two different dates as there were no new markets claimed between 1332 and 1348.<sup>237</sup>

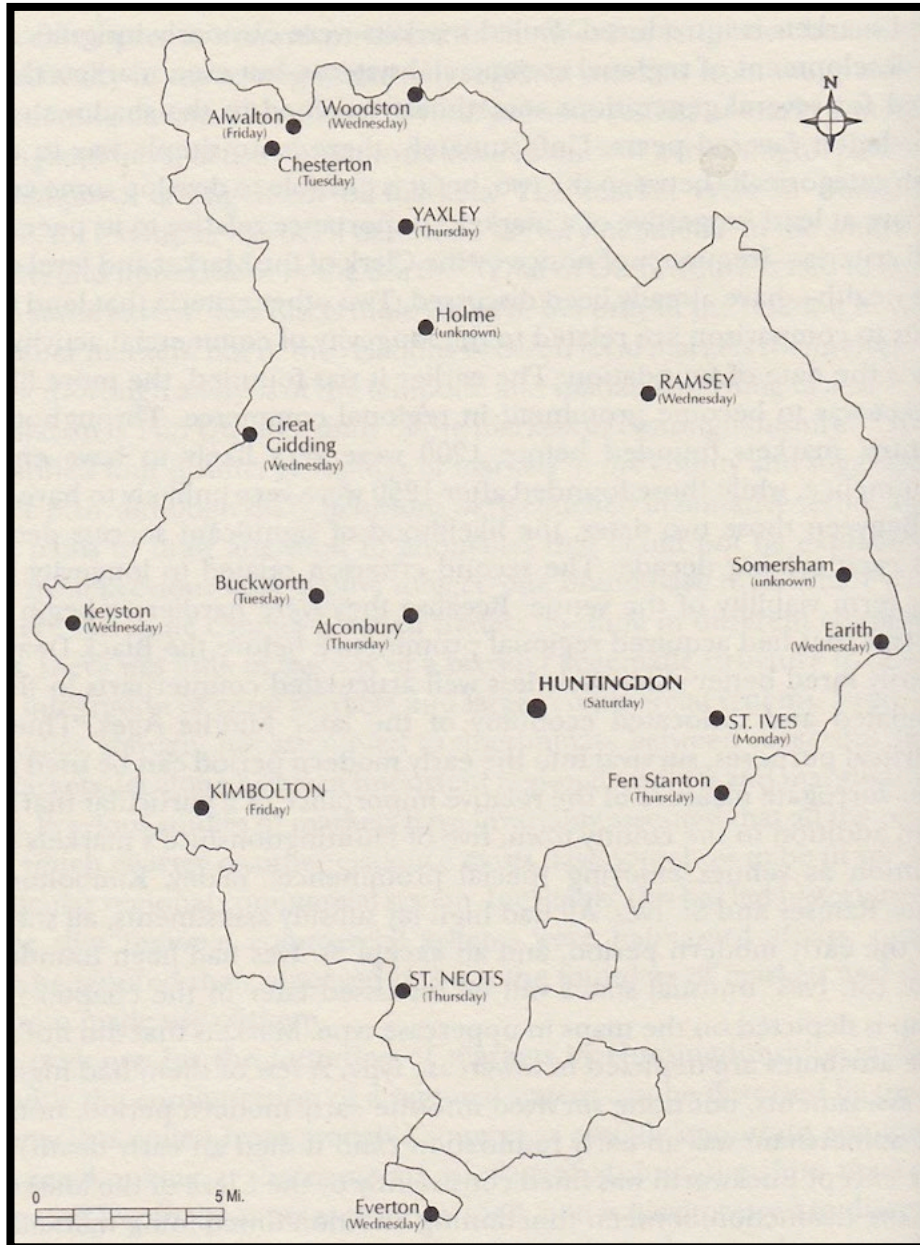
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<sup>235</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 168.

<sup>236</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 178. Masschaele only records 17 chartered places, because his cut off date for analysis is 1348. Farcet was chartered in 1353 and Spaldwick in 1441. He also overlooks the permissive market at Glatton recorded in 1244.

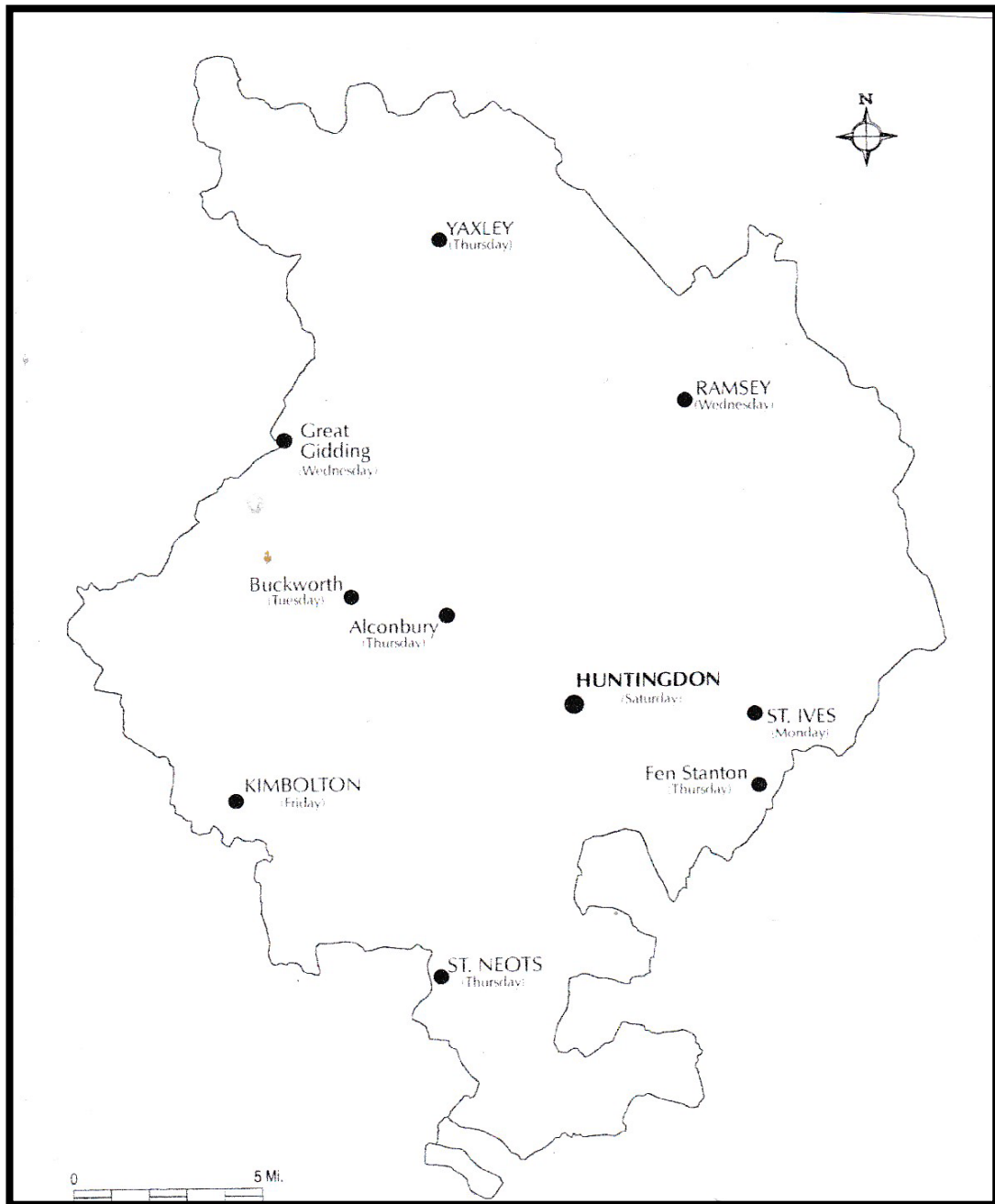
<sup>237</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets*.

Figure 15: Markets in Huntingdonshire. Chartered or Claimed Prior to 1348 (according to Masschaele)<sup>238</sup>



<sup>238</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 176.

Figure 16: Markets in Huntingdonshire. Functioning in 1332 (according to Masschaele)<sup>239</sup>



<sup>239</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 178.

## Researching the Number of Markets in Huntingdonshire

For Masschaele, the principal purpose of markets was for selling to and buying from merchants, a view that aligns with the view of the medieval elite. According to him, his map (Figure 16) points to 'a complete cycle through the week' of markets to visit for the merchants, based in the county town of Huntingdon. The cycle was: St Ives on Monday, Buckworth on Tuesday, Great Gidding or alternatively Ramsey on the other side of the county on Wednesday, a choice of Yaxley and St Neots (again on different sides of the county) on Thursday, Kimbolton on Friday and the county town of Huntingdon on Saturday.<sup>240</sup> These markets were so spaced that Huntingdon's merchants could visit each in a day and carry out their trading before returning back to their base in their hometown. This theory that the location of merchants' markets is based upon a circuit of different days seems a very plausible explanation for certain successful larger markets. Indeed, it is an important insight that markets are integrated into wider circuits of goods and money. This wider circulation of goods and services is what economists usually mean when they refer to markets.

Masschaele's view can be termed the 'markets are for merchants' perspective. However, there is evidence for the existence of markets operating outside this framework. Masschaele's use of the records of the Clerk of the Market is problematic because he tries to utilise them as negative evidence. He argues that 'in any analysis of the country's marketing grid, places that failed to pay any fines to the Clerk of the Market are as worthy of notice as those that did'.<sup>241</sup> He argues that if there were no fines, this can be taken as evidence that the market did not operate in those years. It seems curious to argue that the failure to breach market rules meant that the market did not exist. This claim is debatable at best and certainly goes against the principle of 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence'. He argues that Chesterton and Somersham, chartered in 1199 and 1254 were already

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<sup>240</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p.179.

<sup>241</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 170.

moribund by the time of Edward I's *QW Inquiry* and that 'evidence of their failure is corroborated by the lack of Clerk's fines'.<sup>242</sup> In addition to these two markets he argues that a further eight can be taken as not functioning because they do not appear in the Clerk of the Market records.

One of these, Earith, has a market charter dated 1318 and is recorded by Everitt as functioning in the period between 1500-1640. This indicates that the absence of a fine from the Clerk of the Market is not a guarantee that a market had ceased to exist. It is possible that Earith was only just re-established prior to 1500, but this is very much against the flow of market history. Earith would be a strange candidate for a new market in 1500 as opposed to a continuing market given the market at the major town of St Ives was only five miles away and Swavesey, on the other side of the Great Ouse River in historical Cambridgeshire was only three miles away and also had a market in 1500.

Curiously, Maschaelae argues that three of the markets that do have fines levied by the Clerk of the Market, Alconbury Weston, Great Gidding and Fen Stanton, had ceased to function before the sixteenth century and, in the case of Fen Stanton, probably by 1350.<sup>243</sup> However, according to Wickes this was not so in the case of Alconbury market. He calls it a village market, but still claims that it continued into the nineteenth century.<sup>244</sup> As we shall see later, the existence of a sixteenth-century market house at Fen Stanton is strong reason to believe that the market also functioned into the modern period.

It may be that Masschaele denied the existence of certain markets because his theory of the system of a circuit of merchant's markets blinds him to contradictory evidence. He argued that the merchant circuit for Huntingdon had two Thursday markets (those at Yaxley and St Neots) but for some reason, maintains that the Thursday markets at Alconbury Weston and Fen Stanton were fleeting. This is despite both markets being recorded as

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<sup>242</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p.170.

<sup>243</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p.170.

<sup>244</sup> Wickes, M. (1985), *A History of Huntingdonshire*, (Chichester), p. 39.

having been held in the records of the Clerk of the Market, with Alconbury Weston market still being recorded as operating into the nineteenth century. This large number of Thursday markets may have led him to make a judgement about which examples were important which is not justified on the basis of the documentary evidence that he champions. He did, however ponder why Alconbury and Fen Stanton had markets: 'why they were founded in the first place is a difficult question to answer'.<sup>245</sup> It is possible that he also rejects the existence of a number of Wednesday markets on the same basis that they do not make much sense in terms of a circuit for merchants' movements. It is clear that in his view the prime Wednesday market was at Ramsey and that Great Gidding was less important. The other Wednesday markets at Earith, Keyston, Woodston and Everton are deemed 'unsuccessful'.<sup>246</sup> As was mentioned earlier Earith market, which is recorded in the early modern period, does not really fit his assessment.

The question Masschaele posed about why the Thursday markets at Alconbury and Fen Stanton 'were founded' is even more pertinent than he may have thought and lead to a questioning of his theory of the market system, because, not only did they function in the medieval period they also held markets in the early modern period. Masschaele's question can also be asked about the Wednesday markets. When we turn to PAS data, we shall see that the evidence indicates that there were markets at Great Gidding and Keyston. The answer to Masschaele's question could be that the principal focus of many markets may not have been on the main circuit that merchants were travelling. Instead, the focus may have been on local trading. As Masschaele makes clear, an important criterion for determining which markets the merchants traded at was consideration of reducing travel times. This was a factor of great importance to peasant households whose principal activity was devoted to production. They therefore needed to integrate travel to trading locations into hard working lives. The nearer the location for buying and selling, the better the interests of the peasantry were served. The

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<sup>245</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p.170.

<sup>246</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p.170.

ease of accessing a market may also explain the existence of many local markets where the locals purchased small quantities from their neighbours, pedlars and local craftsmen. Because Masschaele focuses on the role of merchants in the purchase of peasant production, he overlooks ways in which goods and money circulate on a smaller scale between the smaller producers themselves, and that these markets may not be central to the concerns of the merchant class.

### **Metal Detecting evidence for Markets in Huntingdonshire**

This section looks at Edwardian coin finds as a source of evidence, additional to documents, for the existence medieval markets. Coins are not lost and found evenly. Only 30 (36%) of the 83 Huntingdonshire parishes have any Edwardian coin finds, and finds within these 30 parishes are highly skewed to particular places. These places are often associated with medieval market documentation. For example, 75 out of the 116 (65%) of all the coins found in Huntingdonshire came from seven (9%) parishes: Kimbolton (nineteen coins), Chesterton (thirteen coins), Water Newton (eleven coins), Keyston (nine coins), Great Gidding (eight coins), The Stukeleys (eight Coins) and Catworth (seven coins). Moreover, four of these seven parishes had known medieval markets and/or market charters: Kimbolton, Chesterton, Great Gidding and Keyston. The records of the Clerk of the Market indicate Kimbolton and Great Gidding were operating in the reign of Edward III.<sup>247</sup> Although Masschaele claims that Great Gidding's existence as a market was fleeting, the coin find evidence indicates that it was perhaps more established. More significant are the coin finds at Keyston and Chesterton. Keyston and Chesterton although in possession of charters for markets, have no records of markets operating in the medieval period. Indeed, Masschaele says that the *QW Inquiry* shows that Chesterton did not operate in 1286. The high number

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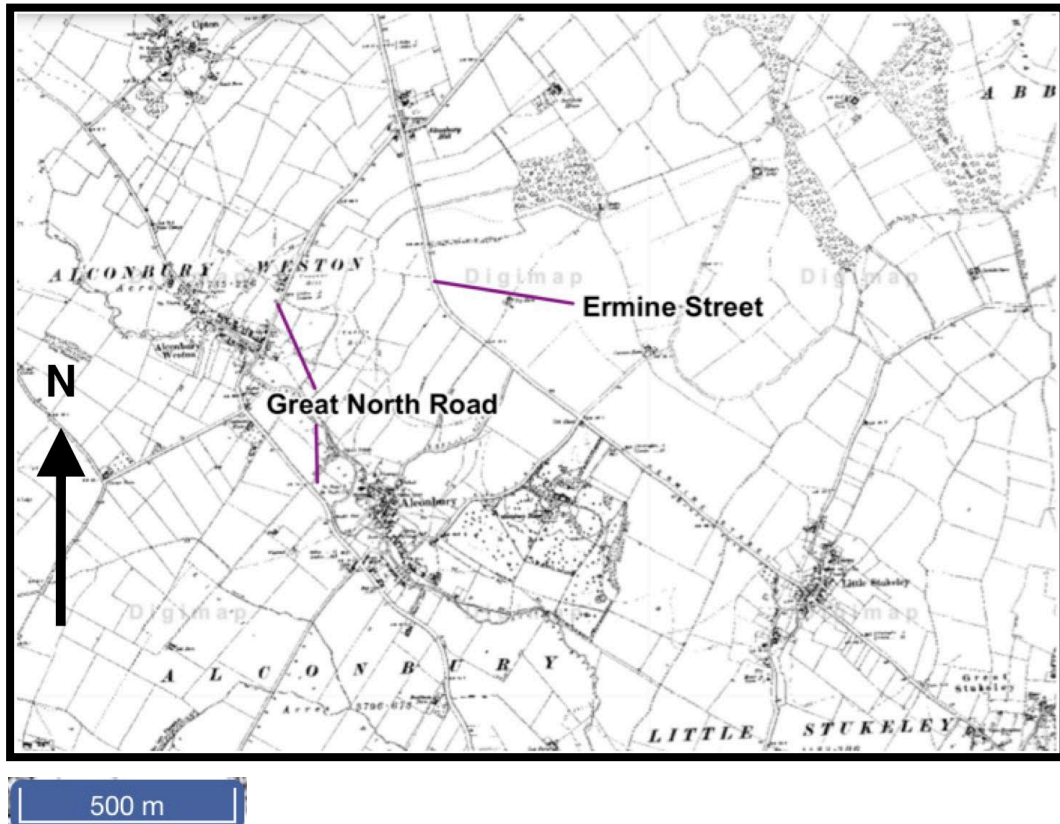
<sup>247</sup> *Masschaele, Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 169. He lists the Clerk of the Market records for the years; 1328, 1331, 1332, 1354, 1355 and 1356. All in the reign of Edward III.

of Edwardian coin finds at Keyston and Chesterton may indicate that the documentary evidence is not the whole story, and that trading was taking place at these settlements.

A further interesting point to note is the high number of finds at places with no documents relating to medieval markets, or at best tenuously related to such documents. This is the case at The Stukeleys, Water Newton and Catworth. The high number of finds at The Stukeleys are probably a product of being next to an historically important road junction between the Great North Road and Ermine Street. The village of Alconbury Weston, a neighbour of The Stukeleys did have a charter from 1205 and the Clerk of the Market records show it to be in operation in the reign of Edward III. This parish and the neighbouring parish of Alconbury both have a single Edwardian coin find. The ten coins from these three related parishes account for 8.6% of the Edwardian coins found in Huntingdonshire. However, the total 294 PAS finds from the three parishes is only 4.9% of the county finds. This is a disproportionate number of Edwardian coin finds relative to the total PAS finds, indicating that there was more trading occurring here during this era than at other places within the county. Upton, the northerly neighbour of Alconbury Weston, has not been subject to any metal detecting as far as can be discerned. However, as we shall see, it does have a street name indicating the existence of a market. It is easy to imagine a great deal of active buying and selling all over this important transport hub in a process where the definition of rights to a market could be stretched. Figure 17 shows the villages in the 1890s.



Figure 17: The Villages of The Stukeleys, Alconbury Weston, Alconbury and Upton at the Junction of the Great North Road and Ermine Street (Ordnance Survey map 1890s)



Source: Digimap.

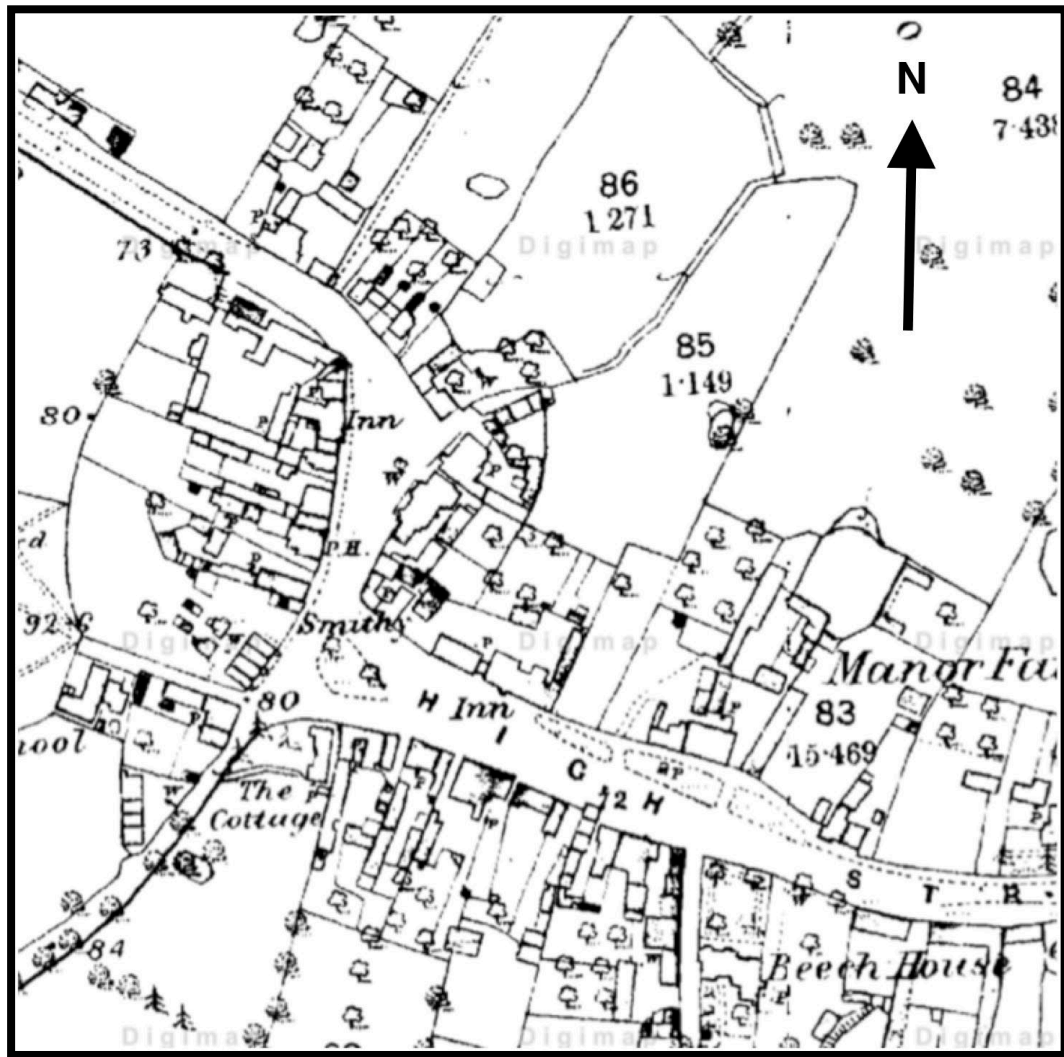
The possibility of 'market drift' around Ermine Street in Hertfordshire was discussed in the previous chapter. The movement of trading sites to major roads would appear to have occurred on the same Roman road as it passed through Huntingdonshire. Another example could be along the route of the old Roman road of the Via Devana which runs from Colchester to Chester. Spaldwick, a village that was located on the Via Devana, was a manor of the Bishop of Lincoln. There is a market charter from Henry IV from 1441 (although this seems somewhat superfluous since, as was noted above, the Bishop was granted the right to have a market at any of his manors by Henry III in 1214). At the same time as the issuing of this market charter, two charters for fairs were granted. According to the *Victoria County History* the fair continued into the nineteenth century.<sup>248</sup> In the early twentieth century, there were also the remains of a village cross which may have been a market cross.<sup>249</sup> Metal detected finds do not provide much evidence to support the judgement that there was a market because there are only a total of five PAS finds, although one of these is an Edwardian coin. In respect of the village morphology of Spaldwick, it has the classic double 'S' shaped diversion, on what was a major medieval road, in addition to a double set of greens suitable for holding of markets. This can be seen quite clearly in Figure 18.

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<sup>248</sup> Victoria County History, Huntingdonshire, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hunts/vol3/pp97-100>

<sup>249</sup> Victoria County History, Huntingdonshire.

Figure 18: Centre of Spaldwick. Showing Double Hairpin Bend and Double Green in the Village Centre (Ordnance Survey map 1890s)

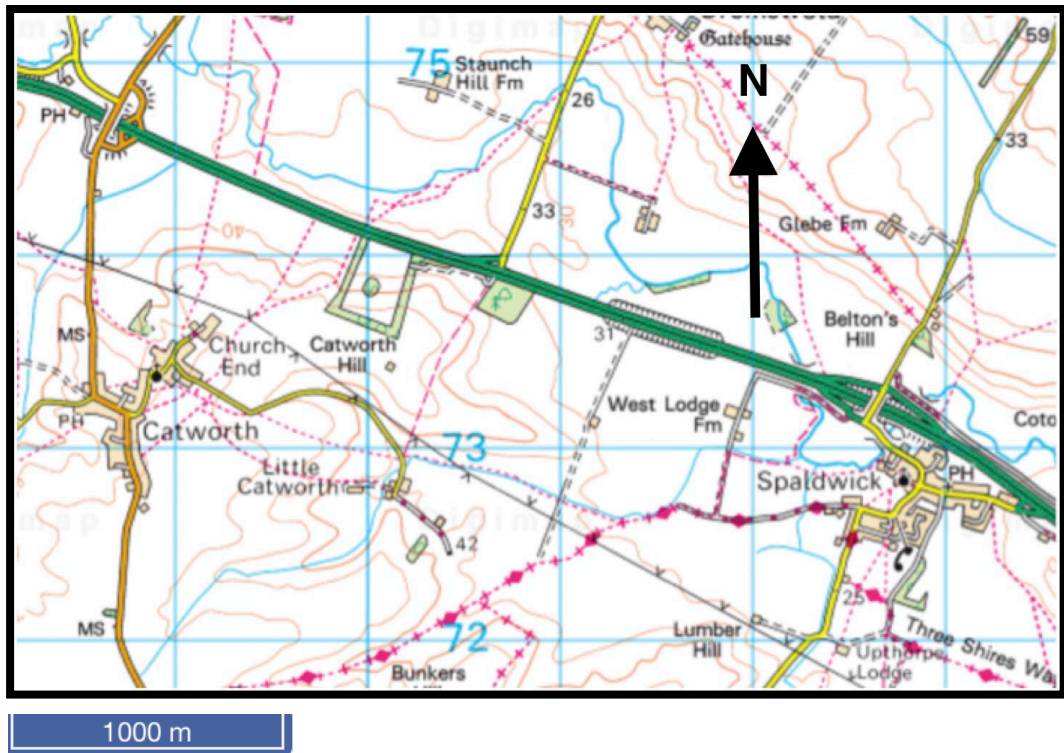


Source: Digimap.

At Spaldwick, the multiple charters, the history of the fair, the morphology of the village, and, in a very limited way, the coin find point to Spaldwick having a functioning market.

It is possible that trade spilt out from official markets into neighbouring settlements. This may explain why Catworth, the next village to the west of Spaldwick, as shown in Figure 19. has high numbers of Edwardian coin finds.

Figure 19: Spaldwick and Catworth (Ordnance Survey map 2020s)



Source: Digimap.

Ten Edwardian coins have been found at Catworth. This is 8.7% of the total Edwardian coins finds for the whole of Huntingdon, compared to 1.4% of all PAS finds recorded for Huntingdon.<sup>250</sup> Such a difference in magnitude (6.2 times larger) indicates the likelihood of some form of activity in the late medieval period creating coin loss. The majority of the Edwardian coin finds were found near Little Catworth adjacent to the A14, which at this point follows the route of the Via Devana. Little Catworth was formerly in the Soke of Spaldwick and therefore likely to be covered by the Bishop of Lincoln's grant to hold a market at all of his manors. The peasantry of Little Catworth may have taken the opportunity to sell any surplus to travellers on the Via Devana, even if the centre of the hamlet was not on the main road. This could be another example of 'market drift'. Certainly if there were any surpluses from peasant production, they would have to be disposed of in some way and selling to travellers is one such outlet. The status of these sales in terms of the medieval 'moral economy' is unknown. However, the location may indicate forestalling, that is the illegal trading on the way to an official market in order to avoid market tolls. It is likely that the situation on the Via Devana was similar to that noted along Ermine Street in both Huntingdonshire and Hertfordshire.

As was established in the last chapter the number of coin finds recorded from a particular place is not just a result of the number of coins lost there but is also a product of how much metal detecting has taken place. A larger number of Edwardian coin finds from some other sites in the county may therefore be explained by higher than average proportions of total PAS finds, for example, at Water Newton and Buckden.

On the opposite side of this process, the lack of metal detecting may explain why the three major market towns in Huntingdonshire (Huntingdon, St. Ives and St. Neots) have no Edwardian coin finds. The average number of total PAS finds per civil parish in Huntingdonshire is 72, and all three of the

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<sup>250</sup> In addition, Catworth high street shows a classic trait of market sites of having a 90-degree bend at each end to slow through traffic in order to enable easier control of stock and toll collection.

important towns have significantly less total PAS finds than that: Huntingdonshire with 36, St Ives with 22, and St Neots with 31. Clearly metal detecting has taken place so perhaps one would expect some Edwardian coin finds. However, the areas that would have been manured with market waste may well have been built over in these places as they expanded during the twentieth century. This could explain why Kimbolton has such high numbers of coin finds. Historically, Kimbolton was the fifth most important market town in the county, but had effectively ceased to grow in the nineteenth century. It is recorded as having a market in 1888, however, according to Noble in 1911 Kimbolton was 'now a large village but formerly a market town'.<sup>251</sup>

Clearly using coin finds as evidence of past market activity is complicated. In order to compare the coin loss in one area with another, it is necessary not only to know the number of coins found in each area but also the amount of metal detecting carried out. It was concluded in Chapter Two that depending on circumstances, copper vessel finds or total PAS finds were appropriate measures of metal detecting intensity. For Huntingdonshire vessels are not a great measure of metal detecting intensity. Out of the 83 civil parishes only nine parishes (11% of the total number of parishes) have any vessel finds in the PAS data. This is significantly lower than the figure for England as a whole, 29% of the parishes in England have vessel finds). The figure for parishes with PAS finds of any kind are more similar: 70 (88%) of the parishes in Huntingdonshire have at least one PAS find compared to the nationwide percentage of 90% of parishes yielding at least one PAS find. The nine settlements with vessel finds in Huntingdonshire are listed in Table 9 below. This also shows the documented medieval market history of these nine places, the number of vessels found, and the number of Edwardian coins found per vessel.

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<sup>251</sup> *The Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls* (1889-91), Noble, W. M. (1911), *Huntingdonshire, Cambridge County Geographies*, (Cambridge), p. 141.

Table 9: Numbers of Edwardian Coins Finds per Copper Based Vessel Found in Huntingdonshire by Medieval Market History

Parish	Market History	Vessels (no)	Coins per Vessel
Bythorn and Keyston	Charter (1341)	4	2.25
Chesterton	Charter (1248)	2	6.50
Ellington	No Known Market	1	1
Great Gidding	Known & Charter (1303)	1	8
Hail Weston	No Known Market	1	0
Hemingford Grey	No Known Market	1	0
Huntingdon	Borough	1	0
Sibson	No Known Market	2	1
Water Newton	No Known Market	3	3.67



Taking vessel finds as an indicator of the intensity of metal detecting shows that there is a relationship between markets and coin loss. The five places with vessel finds that have no known market yield a mean number of coin finds per copper based vessel of 1.1. The known and chartered market at Great Gidding has eight coins per vessel. The two places that have market charters but no evidence of functioning markets, Keyston and Chesterton have a mean of 4.4 coins per vessel.<sup>252</sup> Even with the rarity of vessels finds we still find high numbers of coins per vessel in these chartered only places. Table 9 shows that Water Newton has the second highest number of coins (3.67) per copper vessel. It is therefore entirely possible that there was trading activity here.

A major problem with vessels as a guide to metal detecting intensity is that certain places with high Edwardian coin finds have no vessel finds. The most obvious example of this is Kimbolton, a medieval and early modern market town, where nineteen Edwardian coins were found, representing 16% of the total for Huntingdonshire. As vessels are not found everywhere that Edwardian coins are found, total PAS finds also need to be used as a measure of metal detecting intensity. Using total PAS finds as an indicator confirms the suspicion that coin loss is associated with markets that was gained from using vessels as a measure of intensity. This can be seen in Table 10, which shows the trimmed means of Edwardian coins as a percentage of total PAS finds at places categorised according to the documentary evidence for a medieval market (that is whether they are known to have functioned, possess a medieval market charter of similar or have no documentary evidence for a medieval market).

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<sup>252</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p.170.

Table 10: Trimmed Means of Edwardian Coins Percentage of Total PAS Finds at Places in Huntingdonshire with Different Types of Medieval Market Documents

Places	Trimmed Mean Edwardian Coins as a Percentage of Total PAS Finds	Total No of Places
No Docs	1.41%	60
Known	2.30%	14
Only Charters	3.82%	9

As Table 10 shows, places with any medieval market documentation on average have a higher percentage of Edwardian coin finds compared to places without any market documents. Particularly significant is the relatively high percentage of coin finds at places that are only known through charters. Tables 11, 12 and 13 break down the information in Table 10 into individual parishes that have any Edwardian coin finds in order to illustrate the relationship between coin finds as a percentage of total PAS finds and documentary evidence. This level of analysis is possible when dealing with a small county such as Huntingdonshire in a way that would be too time-consuming for the country as a whole.

Table 11: Total Number of PAS Finds and Edwardian Coin Finds in Numbers and as a Percentage of Coin Finds of Places in Huntingdonshire with No Medieval Market Documents

Parish	Number of Total PAS Finds	Number of Edwardian Coin Finds	Edwardian Coin Finds as a % of Total PAS Finds
Alconbury	11	1	9.9
Brington	33	1	3.3
Bury	15	1	6.7
Buckden <sup>253</sup>	298	4	1.3
Catworth	84	10	11.9
Connington	19	1	5.26
Covington	168	3	1.8
Easton	127	2	1.6
Ellington	95	1	1.1
Folksworth	14	1	7.4
Great Gransdon	24	2	8.3
Hail Weston	64	1	1.6
Sawtry	172	2	1.7
Sibston	25	2	7.8
Stow Longa	4	1	25
The Stukeleys	109	8	7.3
Water Newton	841	11	1.3
Winwick	10	1	10.0
Wood Walton	58	3	5.17
Woodhurst	43	1	2.3
Yelling	43	2	4.7

Total Parishes = 21 (35%) from 60.

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<sup>253</sup> Buckden – was the site of the Bishop of Lincoln’s palace and therefore had the right to hold a market .

Table 12: Total Number of PAS Finds and Edwardian Coin Finds in Numbers and as a Percentage of Coin Finds of Places in Huntingdonshire with Known Medieval Markets

Parish	Number of Total PAS Finds	Number of Edwardian Coin Finds	Edwardian Coin Finds as a % of Total PAS Finds
Alconbury Weston	174	1	.6
Earith	14	1	7.1
Great Gidding	70	8	11.4
Kimbolton	222	19	8.6
Ramsey	30	1	3.3

Total Parishes = 5 (36%) from 14

Table 13: Total number of PAS Finds and Edwardian Coin Finds in Numbers and as a Percentage of Coin Finds of Places in Huntingdonshire with Medieval Market Charters Only

Parish	Number of Total PAS Finds	Number of Edwardian Coin Finds	Edwardian Coin Finds as a % of Total PAS Finds
Brythorne/Keyston	228	9	4.0
Chesterton	350	13	3.7
Kings Ripton	51	4	7.8
Spaldwick	5	1	20.0

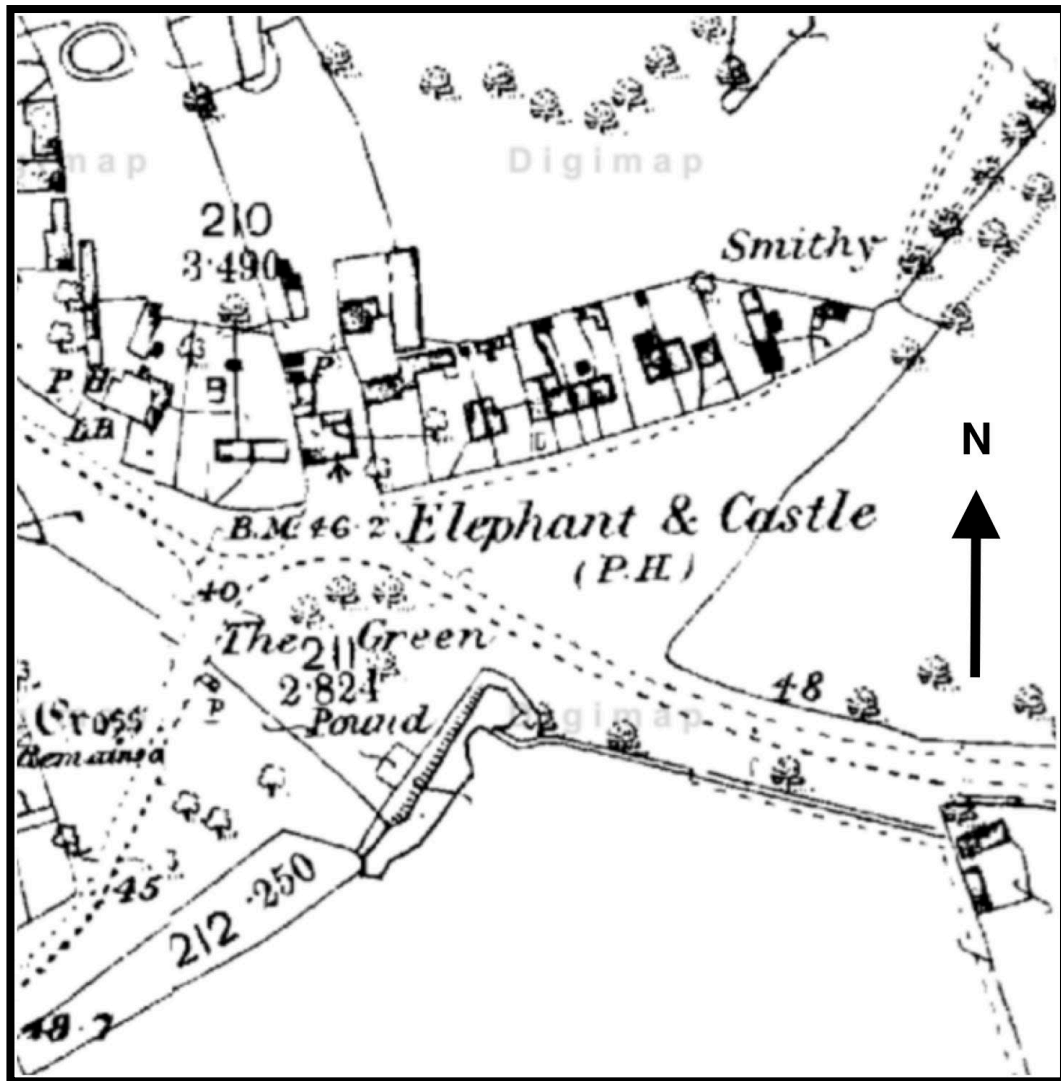
Total Parishes = 4 (44%) from 9.

Looking in more detail at the parishes with Edwardian coin finds shows that the main reason that chartered places have a higher average percentage of coin finds is because a higher percentage of chartered places have some Edwardian coin finds: 44% of all chartered only places as opposed to a percentage in the thirties for the other two types of place. This means there are fewer places where the percentage of Edwardian coins is zero. The reason that there are fewer places with zero coin finds is because there were more coin losses at these places, and the reason for that is that they probably had markets.<sup>254</sup> These findings support the contention that 'charters mean markets'. In addition there was trading activity at places for which there is no documentary evidence. It is unclear whether trading at Catworth and The Stukeleys was parasitic on the markets of neighbouring settlements. However, some of the other places that have a high percentage of Edwardian coin loss and no market documents are not adjacent to any other obvious markets. They cannot fall into the category of markets for forestallers. For example, Wood Walton has three Edwardian coin finds. This is 5.7% of the total number of PAS finds. Wood Walton has the remains of a motte and bailey castle, which indicates some level of importance. As shown in Figure 20 the morphology of the village with its central green and the remains of a cross, presumably medieval, indicates where a market may have been held.

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<sup>254</sup> The high trimmed mean for chartered places does not take into account the high figure for Spaldwick because it is excluded as it is the top 5% value.

Figure 20: Wood Walton (Ordnance Survey map 1880s)

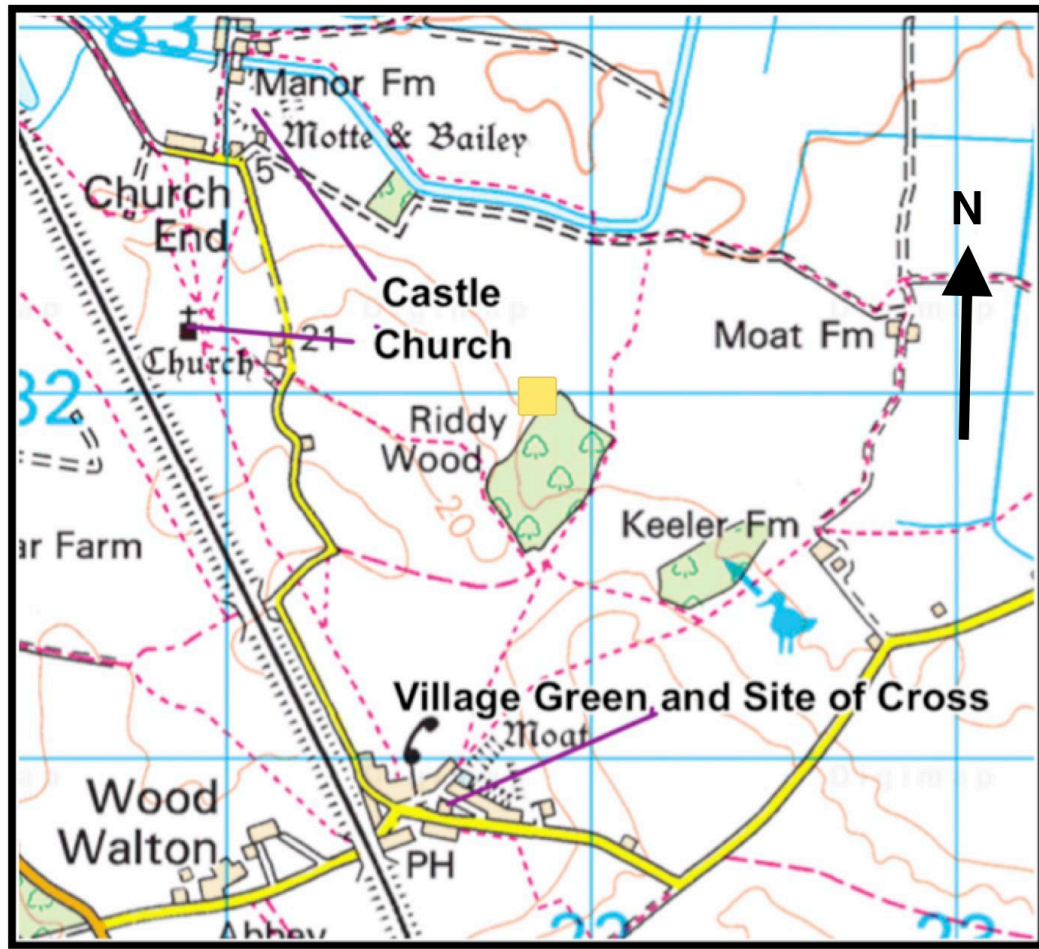


Source: Digimap.



This would seem to suggest that Wood Walton did have some kind of market site. It may be another example of market drift because the position of 'The Green' and the cross are some distance from both the church and castle as can be seen on Figure 21.

Figure 21: Wood Walton; Village Centre, Church and Castle (Ordnance Survey map 2020s)



Source: Digimap.

The centre of the village has moved away from its (presumed) former position around the church and castle. The PAS finds, the former cross and the morphology of the village all seem to indicate that there was trading activity taking place in the pre-modern period. The existence of coin finds helps us to make a judgement that trading, if it was occurring, was happening by the late Middle Ages. Thus the PAS data does appear to show not only that 'charters mean markets', but that there could be many more places which do not have an extant market charter (and indeed may never have had one) but that still held markets.

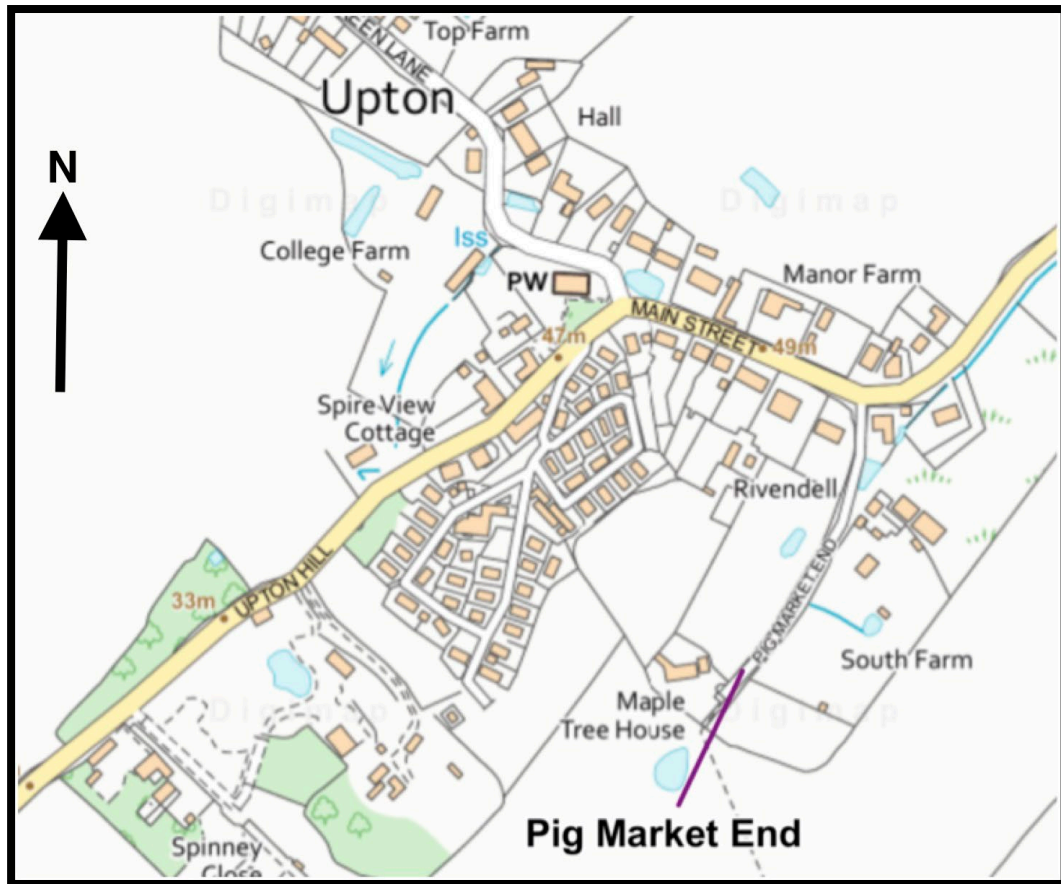
## **Other Non-Documentary Evidence of Markets in Huntingdonshire**

Place names and market structures on their own provide evidence for identifying market sites. These types of evidence are not as prolific as PAS records. Huntingdonshire has no settlements that carry a market name, only four street names with a market term, one recorded but destroyed medieval market cross and a single modern 'market house'.

### **Street Name Evidence**

Three of the 'market streets' are in the main market towns of Huntingdon, St. Neots and St. Ives. This indicates an unsurprising but strong connection between market street names and market towns. Given that market street names are disproportionately associated with known markets, market street names are likely to indicate that there was a market even if there is no known documentary evidence for the market. This is the case at the fourth place in Huntingdonshire with a market street name: Upton, a village near but not on the Great North Road. At Upton, which is not known to have had a market, there is a road called 'Pig Market End' just off the main street (see Figure 22).

Figure 22: Upton, Pig Market End (Ordnance Survey map 2020s)



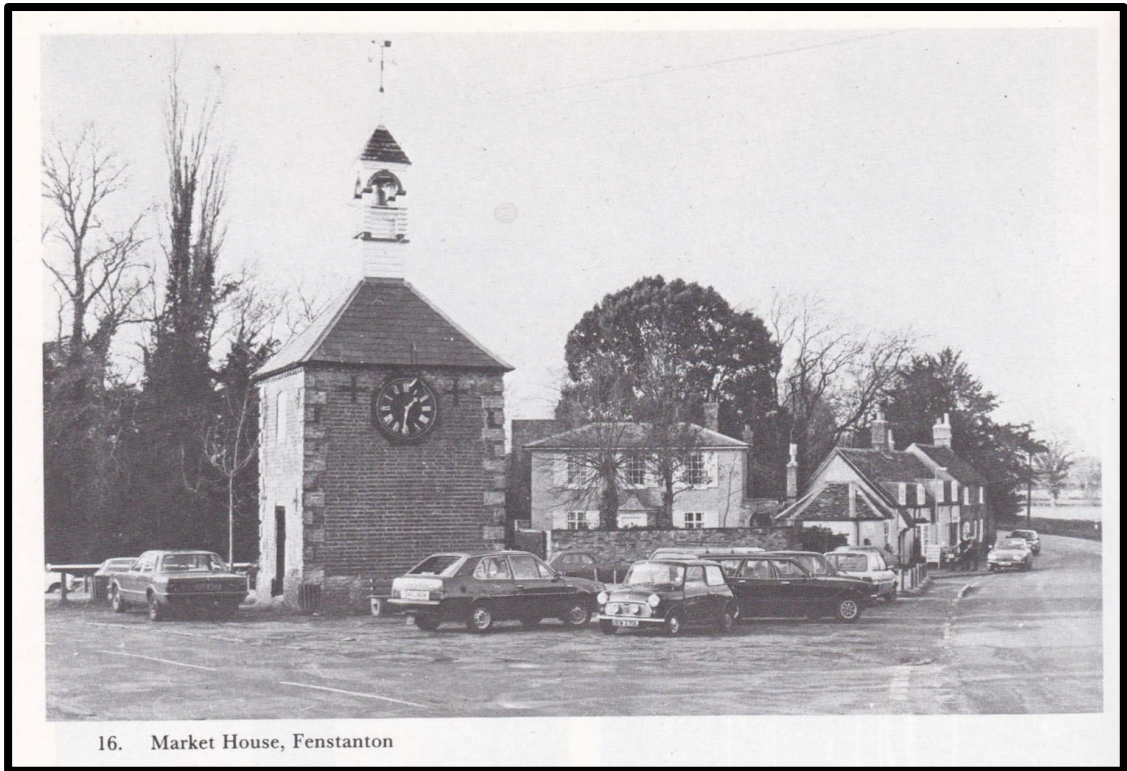
Source: Digimap.

Clearly this was the site of a pig market. Unfortunately there is no charter or any PAS finds of any kind for Upton. It is therefore difficult to gauge when the market was held. It is possible that it was in some way connected with the market charter of Alconbury Weston. The road 'Pig Market End' carries on as a footpath to the Great North Road at Alconbury Weston approximately two thirds of a mile away. That said, the Great North Road at its nearest point is about half a mile away, and the pig market was surely linked to this major highway. As we have seen markets drift in search of the best trading site. This appears to have been a common tendency in the past, possibly one mainly connected with the trading of animals where more space may have been needed than could be provided for in the centre of a village (particularly if the size of the market was large). 'Pig Market End' is a road name that does not necessarily indicate that a pig market itself was held there but that this was the end of the village nearest the pig market. For example, Church End at Wood Walton shown in Map 21 is not surrounding the church, which stands on its own in the middle of fields, but a third of a mile away. It is called Church End because it is the collection of dwellings nearest to the church. This is likely to be the case with Pig Market End: the pig market itself could have been adjacent to the Great North Road which before the coming of modern metalled roads had been a very wide series of muddy tracks. The multiple series of tracks were produced by users trying to avoid places made impassable by the heavily churned up surface caused by the passage of drovers with their beasts, including those herding pigs.

### **Market Crosses**

Huntingdonshire is not blessed with a large number of market structures. In fact, there is only one listed example, an early modern market house at Fenstanton (shown in Figure 23). This market house sits in an open space that was probably the site of a market that is known to have functioned, Figure 24. The market house has a clock and lock up. Both of these features are associated with markets: the first with the timing of markets and the second for the punishment of those who broke market rules.

Figure 23: Fenstanton Market House<sup>255</sup>



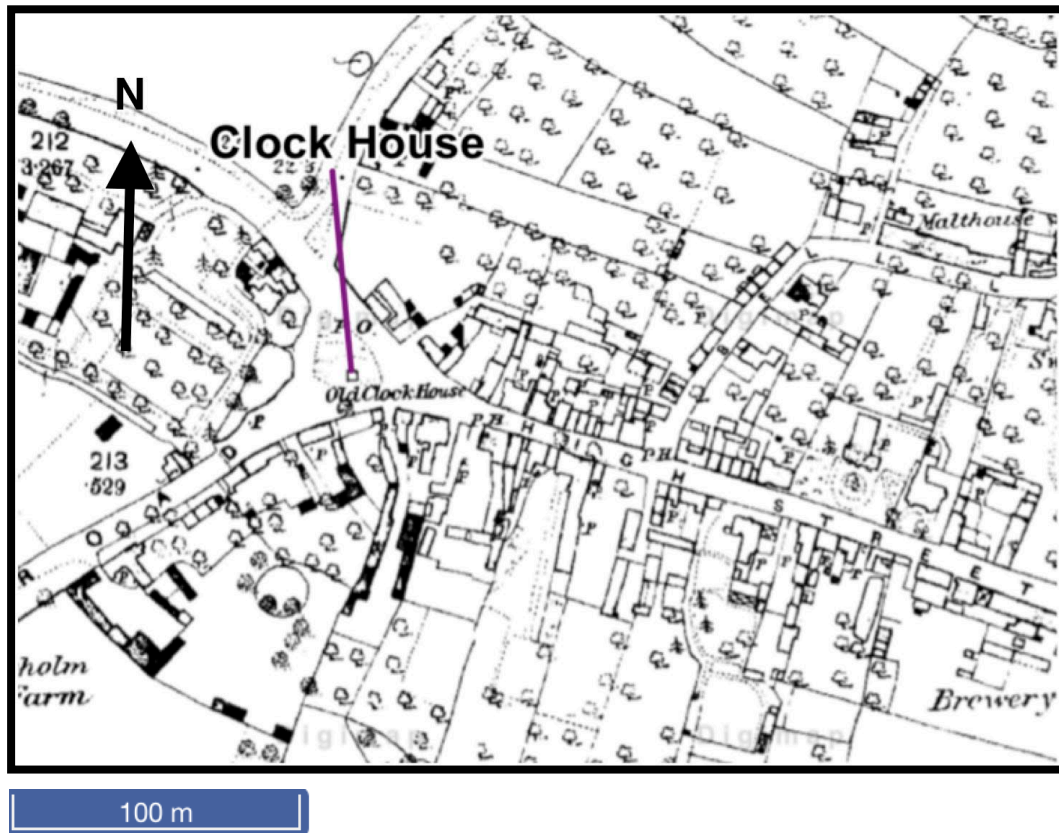
16. Market House, Fenstanton

Source: M. Wickes.

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<sup>255</sup> Wickes, M. (1985), *A History of Huntingdonshire*, (Chichester), facing p. 33.

Figure 24: The Village Green Location of Fenstanton Market House  
(Ordnance Survey map 1880s)<sup>256</sup>



Source: Digimap.

<sup>256</sup> <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/roam/map/historic>

It is significant that Fenstanton possessed a market house central to the village green because it indicates that documents are not the only evidence for markets. On the basis of documents Masschaele concludes that Fenstanton failed quite early:

Fenstanton was likewise a market with a limited lifespan. It was chartered in 1315 and visited by the Clerk of the Market in 1332, indicating that it did at least get off the ground but it did not occur in any of the visitations of the 1350s and ceased to operate by the sixteenth century or possibly even by the 1350s.<sup>257</sup>

The market house was built in the late seventeenth century. This indicates that the market carried on past the dates given to it by Masschaele on the basis of documentary evidence.

There is also evidence of a medieval market cross at Somersham, a manor of the Bishop of Ely, which was granted a market charter in 1199. The market charter was supplemented by a charter for a June fair granted in 1319 by Edward I. Masschaele finds no documentary evidence from the Clerk of the Market to indicate a market. On the other hand, Owen records that in 1792 the June fair was still being held with an additional fair in November. The possibility of a regular market in the medieval period is revealed in the village square which is known as 'The Cross' and where the cross was still standing until at least the sixteenth century (see Figure 25).<sup>258</sup> The fact that the cross was of some substance in terms of its construction and was able to survive into the early modern period and that there was a fair, which are usually associated with places that also had markets, and that fair continued into the beginning of the nineteenth century, indicates that there is a possibility that there was also a medieval market.

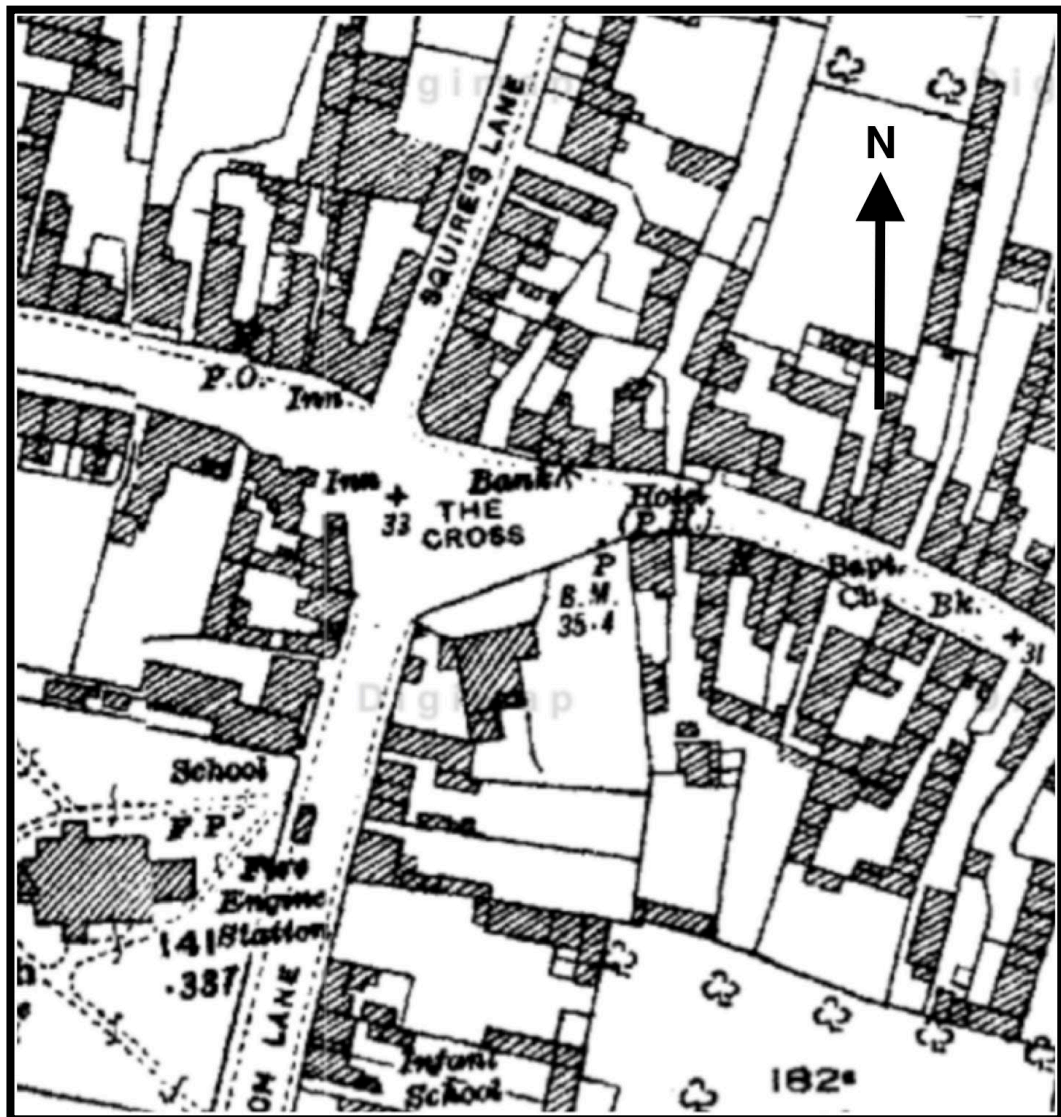
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<sup>257</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 170.

<sup>258</sup> Victoria County History of Huntingdonshire, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hunts/vol2/pp223-230>



Figure 25: The Area Called 'The Cross' at Somersham (Huntingdonshire.)  
(Ordnance Survey map 1920s)



Source: Digimap.

## **Conclusion**

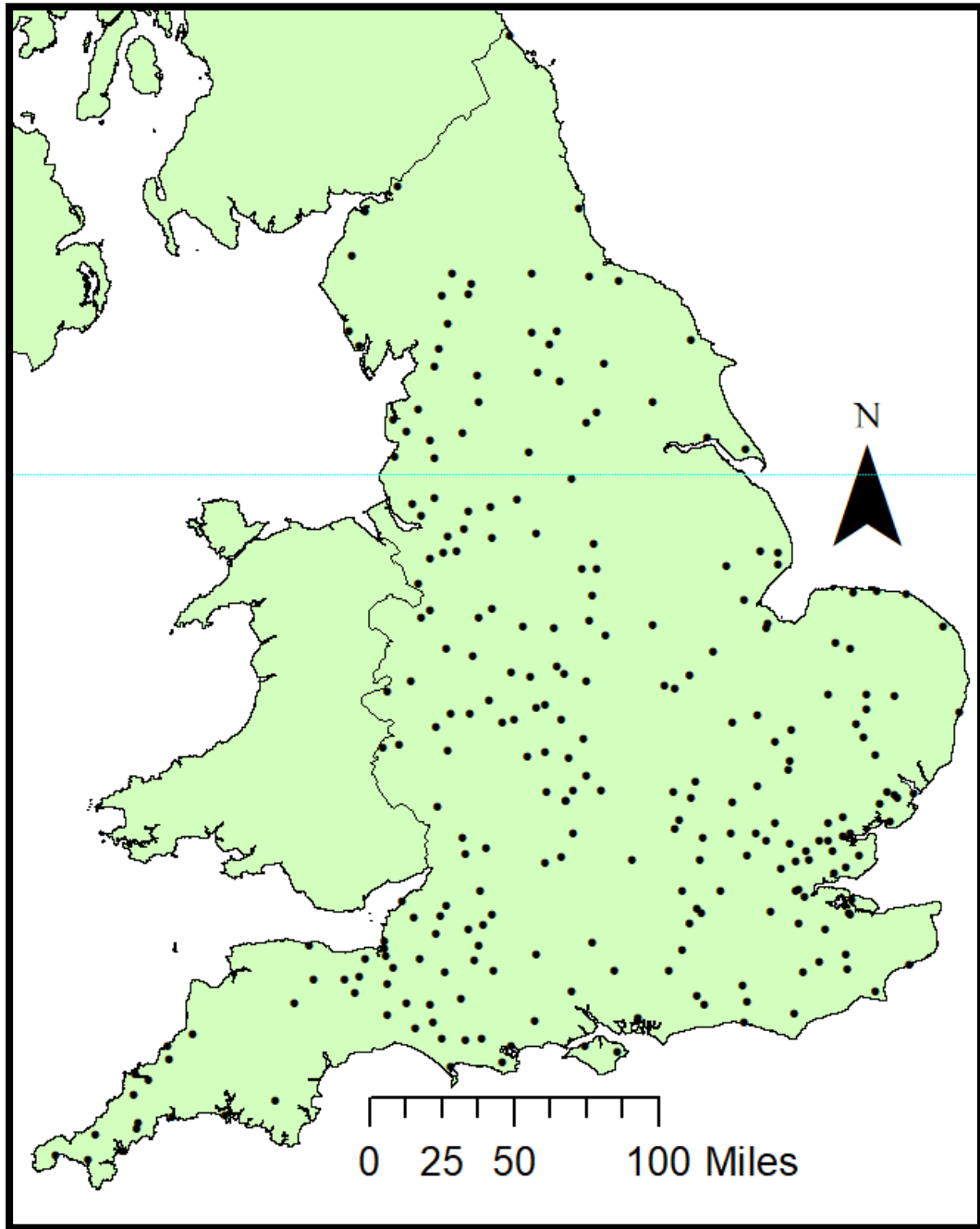
Medieval documents are not as abundant as those of the early modern period. Therefore, in order to determine the period of peak market other sources of evidence are required. The possibilities of using data from the PAS, place name and market structures were examined using a case study of Huntingdonshire. All these types of evidence reveal that it seems highly likely that the documentary record alone is not sufficient to identify all of the medieval markets in the county. In order to achieve this end it is best to supplement documentary research with these other forms of evidence. Huntingdonshire seems to point to the view that 'charters mean markets'. Furthermore, it seems that a place with a medieval market may have led to an increase in more informal trading away from the sanctioned market, possibly including forestalling, in its surrounding area. The examination of the small county of Huntingdonshire points to a very strong possibility that the medieval era was the period of 'peak market'. The next three chapters examine what the non-documentary evidence shows us about the history of markets across all of England.

## **Chapter Four: The Portable Antiquities Scheme as Evidence for Medieval Markets**

In order to establish the time of 'peak market', the non-documentary forms of evidence that were illustrated in the case study of Huntingdonshire need to be applied to the rest of England. We saw in that case study that Edwardian coin finds from the PAS are not only associated with places that have evidence of a functioning medieval market, but crucially also with places that only had medieval market charters, and even some places that had no medieval market documentation at all. If this holds true for all of England, then the period of 'peak market' may not be the early modern period but the later Middle Ages. This chapter looks at Edwardian coin finds nationally, with a particular focus on whether coin evidence indicates that places that only have medieval market charters and no other documentation (referred to here as 'chartered-only') have coin find evidence that indicates functioning markets. In other words, this chapter investigates the question of whether 'charters mean markets'.

The post medieval market history of places that only have medieval market charters supports the view that charters did, in the overwhelming majority of cases, either lead to the creation of new markets, or formally sanctioned markets that were already functioning. There are 171 chartered-only places in non-metropolitan England with a later market history. This is 16.2% of the 1,057 chartered-only places recorded as having markets in the subsequent period, these are shown in Figure 26.

Figure 26: Places with Medieval Market Charters but with no recorded medieval markets that do have recorded Early Modern Markets



There is good reason to think that these markets were not new foundations, but were in fact continuations of functioning medieval markets. This was shown to be the case for a number of places in the Huntingdonshire case study in the previous chapter. There are also 50 places recorded as having a market at some point in the period 1500-1699 that have neither a record of a market operating in the medieval period nor a charter to hold one. It is possible that many of these had an undocumented medieval market history. The view that early modern markets usually had medieval origins is reinforced by the fact that not all those that are documented as functioning in the medieval period lasted into the early modern period. Presumably the reason that most were recorded was because they were noticeably successful. Some 412 (42%) of the 989 recorded markets of the medieval period had ceased to exist by 1500. The idea that these 412 markets at previously successful locations should disappear, when at the same time 171 new markets were created at places that had a charter for a market, but failed to get one off the ground in the medieval period is implausible.

### **The Relationship between Markets and PAS Data**

This section looks at what impact the existence of a known medieval market had upon the number of Edwardian coin finds recorded in the PAS. As discussed, the evidence from the PAS used in the data set relates to places outside the major urban areas.

Table 14 presents the median, trimmed mean and mean number of coin finds according to documentary evidence for the existence of markets during the medieval period.

Table 14: Average Numbers of Edwardian Coin Finds in the PAS Database. Comparison between Places in England. Civil Parishes Known to Have Had a Market and Places Not Known to Have Had a Market

Civil Parish	Median	Mean	Trimmed Mean	Total Places
Known to have a Market	1	5.3	3.2	830
Not known to have a Market	0	2.4	1.2	9,315

Table 14 shows that places with known markets have on average a higher number of coin finds than places not known to have markets. The mean number of Edwardian coins found at places that are recorded as having medieval markets is over twice the level found at all other places outside the major urban areas: 221%, or using the trimmed mean the percentage rises to 256%. Not only are the average numbers of Edwardian coin finds higher at places where markets were documented as operating but all places known to have had medieval markets are more likely to yield some Edwardian coins. The majority of places with known markets have Edwardian coin finds, in marked contrast to places not known to have markets, as shown in Table 15.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> The fact that there are more places with Edwardian coin finds at places with known markets is indicated by the fact that the median find for documented markets is one whilst for undocumented places the median is zero.

Table 15: Percentage of Civil Parishes in England Differentiated by Medieval Market Status with Any Edwardian Coin Finds

Civil Parish	Number with any Edwardian Coin Finds	Percentage with any Edwardian Coin Finds	Total Places
Known to have a Market	504	61%	830
Not known to have a Market	3,797	41%	9,315



Table 15 shows that places known to have had markets were 49% more likely to have some Edwardian coin finds than those not known to have had them. That is, the evidence for coin losses indicates that, as most archaeologists and numismatists contend, places with medieval markets generated more coin loss than other kinds of settlement.<sup>260</sup>

In terms of establishing the period of 'peak market' it is important to emphasise the archaeological adage 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence'. Applied here, places '*not known* to have markets' is not the same as the category of places '*known not* to have markets'. It is almost certain that a number of places, particularly those with medieval market charters, which are not documented as operating as markets in the medieval period did actually function. Table 16 shows the averages for coin finds again but this time differentiating between places documented as having markets, chartered-only places, and those without any market documents.

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<sup>260</sup> Given this is a table created not from a survey but effectively from a census of all places that have any PAS finds (excluding major urban areas as discussed above), a measure of whether or not this difference could be due to chance processes of sampling is not relevant.

Table 16: Edwardian Coin Finds by Medieval Market Documentation in Non-Metropolitan England Trimmed Means

Civil Parish	Median	Mean	Trimmed Mean	Total Places
Known to have a Market	1	5.3	3.2	830
Chartered-only	1	3.8	1.3	1,057
No-documentary evidence	0	2.2	1.1	8,258

This shows that there are increased levels of Edwardian coin finds even when the only documentation for a market is a charter. This clearly supports the view that market charters are associated with functioning markets. As can be seen, unlike places with no documents suggesting the existence of a market, the majority of chartered places have produced at least one Edwardian coin find. It is also helpful to differentiate between places not known to have had markets by the criteria of whether or not they had a charter for a market. The difference in Edwardian coin finds between those places that are known to have had a medieval market and those with no documentary evidence of such is even more significant than the difference between places known to have had markets and all other places not known to have had a functioning market (a number of which had charters: 1,057 (11%) of 9,315 civil parishes). As shown in Table 19, the trimmed mean of Edwardian coin finds at documented medieval market locations is 256% the size of the trimmed mean of all other places, including those with medieval market charters.<sup>261</sup> However, the trimmed mean of the number of Edwardian coin finds at places with known markets at 291% is nearly triple that at places with no documentary evidence for medieval markets. What this means is that the coin finds at the 1,057 places which only have a medieval market charter as evidence for a market, whilst they are only 11% of the total of 9,315 places without a record of a functioning market, are large enough to raise the trimmed mean for the category 'places not known to have had a market'. The implication of this rising trimmed mean is that some of these chartered places did have markets.

That places that only have charters probably had medieval markets can be seen when the trimmed means of Edwardian coin finds at places with known markets and those at charter-only places are compared. The trimmed mean at places with known markets is only 145% the level at the chartered-only places.<sup>262</sup> This again indicates that places with medieval market charters

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<sup>261</sup> The figures shown to 2 decimal places are rounded up and show a percentage of 246%.

<sup>262</sup> The calculation of percentages are done on actual figures of several decimal places rather than the rounded figures of two decimal places.

yield more coin finds than places that are not documented as having markets. The mean Edwardian coin finds at chartered-only places as a percentage of those without any medieval market documents is 173%. When trimmed means are compared the percentage of Edwardian coin finds is even higher at 200%. As previously explained, the trimmed mean in this case is calculated by excluding values in the top and bottom 5% of the distribution.<sup>263</sup> It therefore follows that the top 5% of places with no market documentation are significantly raising the percentage of Edwardian coin finds. The implication of this is that those top 5% of places with no market documents that are excluded from the calculation of trimmed means have a high level of Edwardian coin finds that is more significantly different to the rest of the places without documents, when compared to the difference that exists between the top 5% of values of Edwardian coin finds at places with market charters and the rest of the places with market charters. This points to the likelihood that there are a number of places with no documentary evidence for a market that have high relative levels of coin finds that had a functioning medieval market. Table 17 shows the percentage of places with any coin finds.

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<sup>263</sup> In this case the bottom 5% is irrelevant for places with charters for markets but no evidence of markets operating and places with no evidence at all of markets because for both distributions it is zero.

Table 17: Number of Places with Any Edwardian Coin Finds by Documentary Type

Civil Parish	Number with any Edwardian Coin Finds	Percentage with any Edwardian Coin Finds	Total Places
Known Market	504	61%	830
Chartered Only	576	54%	1,057
No-market documents	3,221	39%	8,258

The above shows the same type of pattern for coin finds at places with differing types of market documentation as when average coin finds are looked at. Known medieval markets have the highest number of places with coin finds, followed by chartered-only places, and the lowest number of places with any coin finds are those with no medieval market documentation. The number of places with any coins at known markets is 22% higher than places with no market documents, but it is only 7% higher than places that have medieval market charters and no other documentary evidence.

The difference in having any coin finds between places with known medieval markets and places where the only medieval market documentary evidence is a charter does not seem as significant as the differences in the average numbers of coin finds in Table 16. This may indicate that the markets at chartered-only places were relatively small affairs that produced coin losses in larger amounts than places with no markets, but not on the scale of the markets that are recorded in the medieval records. Given that most of the documents relating to functioning medieval markets are royal records it seems likely that some markets may have been deemed insignificant or disproportionately costly to either tax or record.

As has been established previously, coin find numbers are a product of the intensity of metal detecting as well as the pattern of loss. Given the lack of information concerning intensity of metal detecting the best that can be done with the information available is to use the PAS data itself in some way as a guide to that intensity. The percentage of Edwardian coins as a percentage of all PAS finds for each category of place is shown in Table 18.

Table 18: Edwardian Coins as a Percentage of All PAS finds by Location Type

Civil Parish	Percentage of Edwardian Coin Finds as Percentage of all PAS finds	As a Percentage of the figure for Places with No Documents	Total Places
Known Market	2.76%	127%	830
Chartered Only	2.5%	115%	1,057
No-market documents	2.18%	100%	8,258

Again this shows the familiar pattern of the most Edwardian coins being found at known functioning markets, followed by chartered-only places, and the lowest percentage of finds at places with no market documentation. When a measure of metal detecting intensity is included the differences are not so pronounced as before. The proportion of Edwardian coin finds is 27% higher in places with known markets than places with no market documents and chartered-only have 15% more coin finds than places with no documented history. The reason that the differences in the percentage of Edwardian coin finds at the different places categorised by their level of market documentations is much smaller than the difference in total coin finds is because total PAS finds are correlated with medieval market documentation (as shown Table 19)



Table 19: Trimmed Mean of Total PAS Finds by Medieval Market Documentation

Civil Parish	Trimmed Means	As a Percentage of the figure for Places with No Documents	Total Places
Known Market	106	272%	830
Chartered Only	75	192%	1,057
No-market documents	39	100%	8,258

The total PAS finds are distributed in the same pattern in relation to medieval market documentation as Edwardian coin finds. Indeed, surprisingly the differences are larger for total PAS finds: places with known markets have finds 272% of the level of finds at places with no market documents. This difference is not due principally to the impact of Edwardian coin finds because these only account for 3% of the total PAS finds in England. A large influence is the variation in the level of coin finds generally, as these account for 47% of total PAS finds.<sup>264</sup>

In Chapter Two it was established that a guide to metal detecting intensity that should not massively reflect prior market history is the number of copper and copper alloy vessels found.<sup>265</sup> The number of copper vessels found measured by trimmed means at places with markets is shown in Table 20.

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<sup>264</sup> It is unlikely to be the influence of medieval loss alone, for example, medieval coins of all type amount to 8.6% of the total of PAS finds in England).

<sup>265</sup> As shown in Table 6 in Chapter 2 p. 115.

Table 20: Trimmed Mean of Numbers of Copper Based Vessels Found by Type of Medieval Market Documentation

Civil Parish	Trimmed Mean Vessels Found	As a Percentage of the figure for Places with No Documents	Total Places
Known Market	1.06%	294%	830
Chartered Only	0.65%	181%	1,057
No-market documents	0.36%	100%	8,258

As can be seen above, the number of vessel finds echoes the standard pattern of finds at places differentiated by market documentation. This pattern has similarities with the pattern of total PAS finds. Table 21 uses vessel finds as an indication of detecting intensity and presents the trimmed means for the number of coins per vessel found by market documentation. It is suspected that this difference is due to the impact of the 'hot spot' effect. The number of copper vessels lost is probably the same at all sites but former market sites generate more coin finds and hence generate more intense metal detecting.

Table 21: Trimmed Means for Proportion of Edwardian Coins Found per Copper Based Vessel Found (standing as a measure for metal detecting intensity) by Type of Medieval Market Documentation

	Trimmed Mean of Edwardian Coins Found Per Vessel Found	As a Percentage of the Figure for Places with no Documents	Total Places
Known Market	2.4	141%	830
Chartered Only	2.1	124%	1,057
No-market documents	1.7	100%	8,258

Taking copper alloy vessel finds (what is probably the most secure measure of metal detecting intensity), we see that places with known markets have a 41% higher ratio of Edwardian coin finds compared to places with no market documents, and chartered-only places have 24% higher numbers of coin finds. This relationship between coin loss and market documentation is also found when the number of places with finds of any copper vessels and any Edwardian coins is considered, as shown in Table 22.

Table 22: Percentage Places with Edwardian Coin Finds at Places with Copper Based Vessel Finds by Medieval Market Documentation

Civil Parish	Percentage of Edwardian Coin Finds at places with finds of copper alloy vessels	Total Places
Known Market	80%	369
Only Chartered	76%	366
No Known Market	71%	2,355

Again we see the same relationship between finds and markets. More places known to have had markets produce coins than 'chartered-only' places, which in turn produce more than those with no market documentation of any kind.

## **Edwardian Coin Finds and the Number of Markets in the Medieval Period**

The fact that chartered-only places are associated with higher levels of Edwardian coin finds than places without any market documentation is important for establishing 'peak market'. A rough approximation of how many places with charters had markets can be achieved by establishing the similarities in patterns of coin finds at known and chartered markets, and places that only have charters.

In order to investigate the link between charters and markets the PAS finds at places with medieval market charters are differentiated. Chartered-only places can be distinguished by whether they were the location of markets in the modern era, defined as after 1500, or not. In the case of medieval chartered markets that are known to function 438 (60%) of the total 732 also functioned in the modern period. In the case of the 1,196 chartered-only places 261 (28%) are recorded as having a market at some point after 1500.

PAS data from places that did not have modern markets but did have medieval market charters were examined to see if there was a difference between those places that were recorded as holding markets in the medieval period and those that were not. The research also compared those places that had modern markets and medieval market charters on the same basis.. The reason for distinguishing places by reference to a history of modern markets is because the percentage of coins found at places that are recorded as having both medieval and modern markets and those that only have a record of a medieval market are different. The way to compare patterns at chartered places, both those with known markets and those with no record of a functioning markets, is by looking at the medians of total PAS finds and the percentage of Edwardian coin finds.



The median number of PAS finds at chartered markets known to function in the medieval period but not in the modern era is 42. The median percentage of Edwardian coin finds at such places is 1.2195%. This can then be compared with the median finds at places with medieval charters only but no record of a medieval market. Table 23 shows the percentages of places with charters and known markets with above or below median levels of total PAS finds and above and below total median percentage of Edwardian coin finds. Table 24 shows the same data for places known only through medieval market charters.

Table 23: Places with Charters and Recorded Medieval Markets (excluding those with modern markets) the Number of Places Above and Below the Median Number of Total PAS Finds of 42 and Above and Below the Median Percentage of Edwardian Coins of 1.2195 %

Total PAS Finds	Percentage of total PAS finds that are Edwardian Coins Below 1.2195%	Percentage of total PAS finds that are Edwardian Coins Above 1.2195%	Total
0-41	100 (35%)	41 (15%)	141 (50%)
42+	40 (14%)	102 (36%)	142 (50%)
Total	140 (50%)	143 (50%)	283

Table 24: Places with Charters but No Recorded Medieval Markets (excluding those with modern of markets) the Number of places Above and Below the Median Number of Total PAS Finds of 42 and Above and Below the Median Percentage of Edwardian Coins of 1.2195%

Total PAS Finds	Percentage of total PAS finds that are Edwardian Coins Below 1.2195%	Percentage of total PAS finds that are Edwardian Coins Above 1.2195%	Total
0-41	320 (38%)	148 (17%)	468 (55%)
42+	108 (14%)	274(32%)	382 (45%)
Total	428 (50%)	422 (50%)	850

Tables 23 and 24 show that there is a great deal of similarity in the character of the coin finds from places with medieval market charters that are recorded as having a medieval market and those with no recorded medieval market. Most striking is the almost identical distribution of percentages of Edwardian coins above and below the median. If somewhere has a medieval market charter, whether that place is recorded as having a functioning market appears to have no effect on the proportion of Edwardian coins that are found. This is further evidence that 'charters mean markets'. In addition the distribution around the median for numbers of PAS finds generally is not very different with 45% of chartered-only places having above the median level for chartered and known markets. This slightly smaller number of finds could be a reflection of the slightly smaller scale of markets at places that did not enter the royal record and so are not known as functioning during the medieval period. In addition, known markets may often be in what are today larger places, with presumably a greater number of detectorists.<sup>266</sup> The similarity of the distributions of the two categories of chartered markets (known and not known) is highlighted when compared with places with no evidence of markets is made as shown in Table 25.

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<sup>266</sup> This is probably not entirely accurate. Certainly most detectorists are male and probably older than the average for the population as a whole. There is possibly a more rural concentration of the hobby. Richardson, N. (2022), *The Accidental Detectorist*, (London).

Table 25: Places with No Documentary, Monumental or Street Evidence of a Market from Any Period, Number of Places Above and Below the Median Number of Total PAS Finds of 42 and Above and Below the Median Percentage of Edwardian Coins in Those Finds of 1.2195%

Total PAS Finds	Percentage of total PAS finds that are Edwardian Coins Below 1.2195%	Percentage of total PAS finds that are Edwardian Coins Above 1.2195%	Total
0-41	4,404 (56%)	1,244(16%)	5,648 (72%)
42+	665 (8%)	1,575(20%)	2,240 (28%)
Total	5,069 (64%)	2,819 (36%)	7,888

The amount of finds at places with no documentary evidence for medieval markets is very different from that of places with such documents: 72% of these places have total PAS finds below 42 and 64% of places have Edwardian coin finds below the median for places with any type of medieval market documents. Because of the large number of places without market documents, there are still 1,575 places that have total PAS finds and percentage of Edwardian coin finds above the median levels found at places known to have had markets. The most important thing revealed by this analysis is that the pattern of Edwardian coin finds as a percentage of the total PAS finds is identical between both types of chartered places: those known to have had markets in the medieval period, and those for which there is no such evidence. This is something that does not hold true for places without charters. There was activity involving coins that occurred at all places with medieval market charters that generated an identical distribution around the same median percentage of Edwardian coin losses. The activity in question is almost definitely market trading because the distribution of coin loss is different to places without market documentation from the medieval period. Statistically there is no difference between the distributions of the percentages of Edwardian coin finds at places with medieval market charters that are known to exist and those that are not, as shown in Table 26.

Table 26: Cross Tabulation between Market Type and Numbers Above and Below Percentage Edwardian Coin Finds of 1.2195%

Civil Parish	Edwardian coin finds above 1.2195%	Edwardian coin finds below 1.2195%	Total Places
Chartered and Known	140 (50%)	143 (50%)	283
Chartered-only	428 (50%)	422 (50%)	848
Significance level: 0.744			

This shows a nearly identical distribution of places above and below the median level of percentage coin finds at chartered places that were known to have had markets and chartered only places. Further, the significance level which shows whether there is a difference between distributions is well above the standard test of 0.05, indicating that the nature of place (whether the markets is known to have occurred or not) has no impact upon the percentage coin finds. From the analysis above, which shows identical proportions of percentage coin finds above and below the median for known markets, the conclusion must follow that pretty much all the charter only places had markets. The fact that places without any market documentation have a different percentage of Edwardian coin finds from places with known and chartered markets as shown in Table 27 supports this conclusion.



Table 27: Cross Tabulation between Market Type and Numbers Above and Below the Percentage Edwardian Coin Finds of 1.2195%

Civil Parish	Edwardian coin finds above 1.2195%	Edwardian coin finds below 1.2195%	Total Places
Chartered and Known	140 (50%)	143 (50%)	283
No-market documents	2,819(36%)	5,069 (64%)	7,888
Significance level: 0			

This shows that the significant test for the impact of place (whether a place is known and chartered to have a market or has no market documentation) on the distribution of percentage coin finds around the median of 1.2195% is zero. This is below the standard significance level of 0.05 that is normally used to test for influence of a variable. Therefore, the nature of a place has a significant effect upon coin finds and there is a difference between the two in terms of the generation of coin find and coin loss. The difference is that one category of place is known to have had markets. If markets are the cause of the differences in Table 27 above, it therefore follows that coin loss at places that are chartered-only is also produced by markets and could not be produced by the normal pattern of coin loss at places not known to have had markets.<sup>267</sup>

From what has just been established by looking at places that *did not* have modern markets, it seems likely that the same pattern will hold true for places that did have modern markets. Table 28 compares the coin loss at places with charters that had medieval and modern markets with chartered places that have records of modern but not medieval markets, using the median percentage coin loss of 1.8608% for places with charters and recorded medieval and modern markets.

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<sup>267</sup> A comparison between places with charter only and no medieval market documents would be superfluous as the figures are the same as in Tables 26 and 27. However, again with a significance level is zero well below the 5% level indicating that the nature of places has an impact on coin loss.

Table 28: Cross Tabulation of Places with Charters and Modern Markets Above and Below the Median Number of Percentage Edwardian Coin Finds of 1.8608%

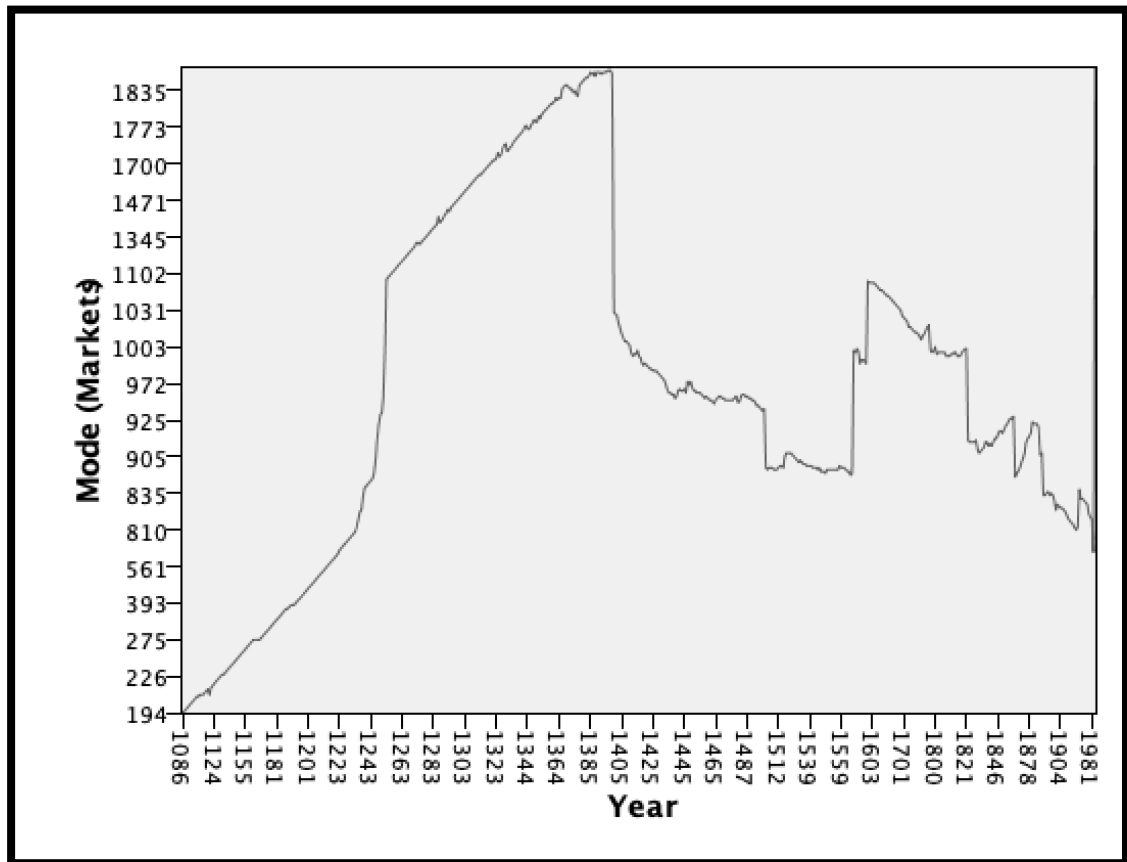
Civil Parish with Medieval market Charters	Edwardian coin finds above 1.8608%	Edwardian coin finds below 1.8608%	Total Places
Medieval and Modern	170 (50%)	170 (50%)	340
Modern-only	114 (55%)	94 (45%)	208
Significance level: 0.274			

This indicates that there is no significant impact of the category of market type upon the distribution of Edwardian coin finds as a percentage of total PAS finds. This again shows that charters and markets are associated. The statistical evidence with regard to the proportion of Edwardian coins found, is that places with market charters, whether they are recorded as having a medieval market or not, belong to the same statistical population. This therefore confirms the view that places with medieval market charters had markets in the medieval period, or in more pithy terms 'charters mean markets'.

If 'charters mean markets' at places where metal detecting evidence is included in the data set (that is from civil parishes in the data set), then these findings can be extrapolated to the major urban areas which do not have metal detected data. The data set shows that in total, there are 1,195 places with market charters that had markets that are not recorded as having a market in the medieval period. If this is so then, instead of the 988 places with markets recorded for the medieval period, there were 2,183. The number of places documented as having markets since 1500 is 1,295 or 59% of this medieval number.

Knowing that there were more markets in the medieval period does not, however, tell us when 'peak market' occurred because it does not indicate how many markets were in existence at any one time. There are 935 places with medieval market charters that have no other record of a market in any period, medieval or modern. The majority, 688 (74%), of these places only have a single charter and therefore only have a single date for the market and so no indication of the life span of the market. Knowing that medieval charters are correlated with Edwardian coins loss means it is known that the markets functioned for a time period. What is more difficult is to estimate for how long the markets functioned. The vast majority, over 97%, of charters for markets were issued prior to 1417. Therefore, this date could be used as a terminal date for the existence of markets. When this date is taken as the end of operation for markets with charters issued in the medieval era results in figures for the number of markets recorded in Appendix 1 and plotted in Figure 27 below.

Figure 27: Estimated Number of Markets on the Basis of All Chartered and Known Markets



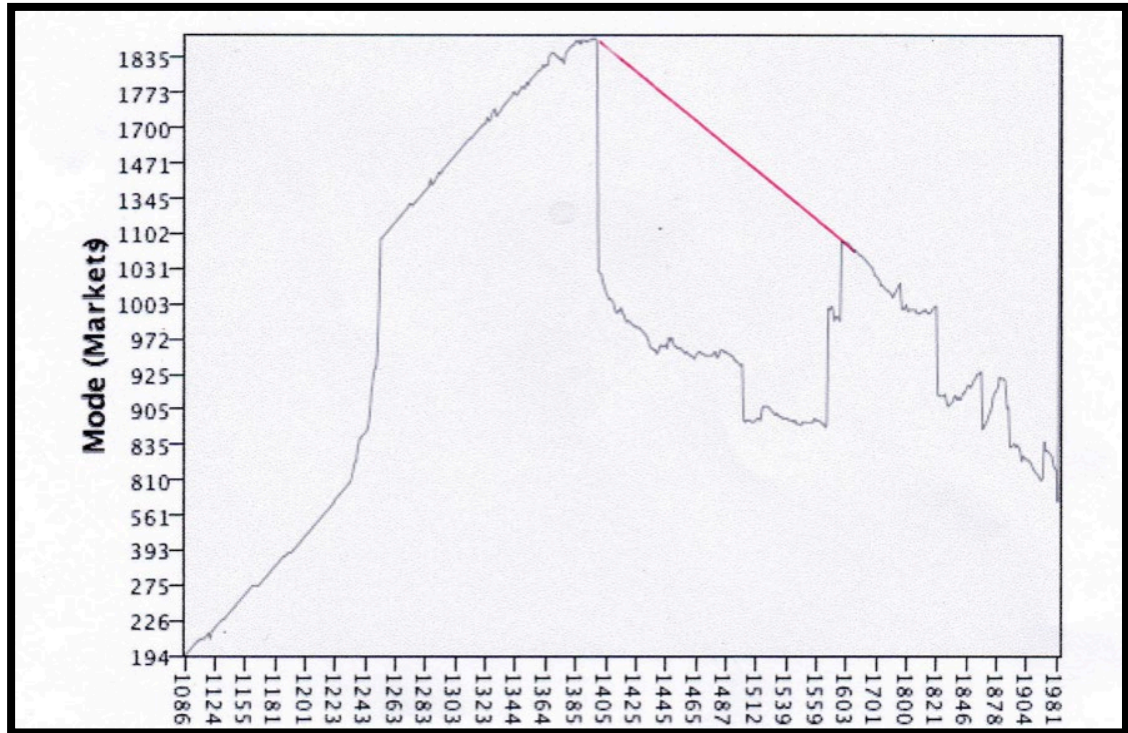
The problem with this approach for a terminal date for medieval markets is the huge drop in numbers in 1417. If the drop is ignored the shape of the graph looks highly symmetrical. Indeed, as Allen has pointed out Edwardian coins continued to be used until the sixteenth century. Thus Edwardian coin finds could be produced by market activity for the whole of the medieval period. If this is the case, then the graph of the number of markets is likely to show a more gradual decline.<sup>268</sup> That the pattern should be one of gradual decline in use fits in well with what is known about the survival of coins from one period to another. Rigold suggests that around a third of the coins minted in the period 1351-1412 continued in use into the period 1412-64 and that a ninth of the coins from the later Edwardian period were also in use from 1464-1544.<sup>269</sup> Following this evidence, it seems acceptable to conjecture that there is not a period of two centuries between around 1400 and 1600 where the number of markets is less than the two peaks of markets shown in Figure 27. Figure 28 shows a continuity in the number of markets (the conjectured fall in markets in red), which seems to be a much more plausible pattern of the number of markets

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<sup>268</sup> Allen, M. (2005), 'The Interpretation of single-finds of English coins, 1279-1544' *British Numismatic Journal*, 75, pp. 50-62, p. 50.

<sup>269</sup> Allen, 'Single finds of English coins', p. 50.

Figure 28: Estimated Number of Markets on the Basis of All Chartered and Known Markets (conjectured decline marked in red)



The two graphs taken together show a symmetrical pattern of the rise and fall of markets, with 'peak market' occurring at the end of the fourteenth century. Establishing that 'peak market' was somewhere in the fifty years between 1361 and 1411 is specific enough to indicate that the end of fourteenth century marks some kind of turning point in economic history. Many other authors have noted this as a turning point. For example, many see this as the era in which the main outlines of a commercial or capitalist society began to emerge and the era when serfdom was effectively over.<sup>270</sup>

This argument is supported by the fact that coin finds from the post 1400 period are less than from the earlier Edwardian period, as was shown above. In addition, the number of charters being issued was also lower than previously. Between 1284 and 1399, 619 charters were issued to places for the first time at a rate of between five and six a year. After 1400 and until the cut-off date used in Letters's Gazetteer there were only a further 56 charters issued. This was a rate of 10% of the new issues in the preceding century and a quarter. Not only was the creation of markets being pursued with less vigour, but many of the new charters were for places that, although they had been unchartered, had prescriptive markets that had existed and been recorded for many years previously. For example, new charters were issued for the pre-existing boroughs of Grantham (Lincolnshire) and Frome and Ilchester (both in Somerset). These charters were in all probability issued as

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<sup>270</sup> Dyer, *An Age of Transition?*, p. 245, Bailey, M. (2007), *Medieval Suffolk. An Economic and Social History, 1200-1500*, (Woodbridge), p. 293, Campbell, B. M. S. (2000), *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450*, (Cambridge), p. 439, Campbell, B. M. S. (2016), *The Great Transition, Climate, Disease and Society in the Late Medieval World*, (Cambridge), p. 15, Broadberry, S., Campbell, B. M. S., Klein, A., Overton, M. & Van Leeuwen, B. (2015), *British Economic Growth 1270-1870*, (Cambridge), p. 405, Dimmock, S (2015), *The Origin of Capitalism in England 1400-1600*, (Chicago), p. 131. Whittle, J. (2000), *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism. Land and Labour in Norfolk, 1440-1580*, (Oxford), p. 305, Bailey, M. (2016), *The Decline of Serfdom in Late Medieval England. From Bondage to Freedom*, (Woodbridge), p. 7.



a means of extracting revenue. Other places were issued charters after they were transferred from the ownership of the monarchy, for example, Hook Norton (Oxfordshire) and Alfriston (Sussex). Previously as king's markets they did not require a charter.

The lack of coin finds and the lack of new markets being created from the period following the end of the fourteenth century is significant and points to an important transformation in the economy. The lack of coins for the immediate post-Edwardian period continued to hold true for the Tudor period. Only 2.4% of the coin finds recorded by the PAS are for coins issued in a period of 118 years, in 1485-1601, 21 years longer than the Edwardian period. However, the number of Tudor coin finds is less than the number of Edwardian coin finds. Other things being equal there should be more coins from the Tudor period because the population had recovered to pre-pandemic levels by the time of Elizabeth I. The reduction in the number of coin finds in all likelihood reflects that fewer coins were lost because there were fewer transactions being carried out in the open market as opposed to private trading.

## **Do 'Charters mean Markets' in all cases?**

It has been established that places where the only medieval market documentary evidence is charters have the same PAS finds as places known to have had medieval markets. However, there is still a lingering doubt as to whether *all* rather than *most* places with medieval charters had medieval markets. This is because as we have seen, the average figures for PAS finds at chartered only places are lower than places with known markets for most of the relevant measures. The differences are not so great when places with charters are compared, as opposed to when places that only have charters are compared with all types of known markets, prescriptive and chartered, as shown in Table 29.

Table 29: Comparison of PAS finds at Places with Medieval Market Charters Between Those With and Those Without a Recorded Functioning Market

<u>Total PAS Finds</u>	With Recorded Market.	Without Recorded Market.
Mean	153	119
Trimmed Mean	103	75
Median	49	32
<u>Edwardian Coins</u>		
Mean	5.4	3.8
Trimmed Mean	2.9	2.7
Median	1	1
<u>Percentage Edwardian Coins</u>		
Mean	4.2	3.7
Trimmed Mean	2.9	2.7
Median	1.6	1.2

The differences here are not massive and give an idea as to why statistically these places are judged to be the same. It is possible that the slightly lower median figures for chartered-only places mean that some of the markets in chartered-only places had shorter lifespans. However, the evidence is that the results for these places are so much more similar to the places with markets than those without markets that it is safest to assume that such places that only had charters also had established markets.

## **Medieval Markets Without Charters**

Evidence from the PAS data shows the period of peak market the later medieval period up until the time of the Black Death and its aftermath. This is not the whole story. Indeed, it is almost inevitable that there were places that had markets in the medieval period for which there is no documentary evidence of any kind. PAS data may give some guidance to the numbers of medieval markets that went unrecorded. PAS data for places with no record of a market can be compared with finds at places with a record of a market but no charter to see how similar the categories are.

Not everywhere with a market that functioned in the medieval period today has a charter. The charter may be lost or the market may have been a prescriptive market that existed without a charter. In respect of the latter, 118 (29%) of the 412 known medieval markets that did not carry on into the modern period were prescriptive markets with no charters. These markets were recorded by the royal authorities in the *QW* or *CIPM*. It would seem entirely possible that a number of markets may have slipped through the net and failed to be recorded by the royal authorities because of inefficiency on their part, or because the markets were of little interest - for example, perhaps they were too small to be worth taxing. Indeed, we know from the relative frequency with which local research throws up evidence for markets, that there are markets that do not enter national records. An example that came to light after the data set had long been completed is discussed by Dyer. Thomas Bronnewyn of Wetheringsett (Suffolk), a rural tradesman, mentions his stall in the market town of Eye and another stall in his home village at the

churchyard gate in his will of 1457.<sup>271</sup> Wetheringsett has no record of a market recorded in the data set. PAS finds from Wetheringsett indicate the existence of medieval trading that was unsuspected except for the chance discovery of a will mentioning a stall. At the now combined parish of Wetheringsett cum Brockford, there are a total of 21 Edwardian coins. This gives 7.3% of total PAS finds of 288, a percentage well above the median for prescriptive markets of 1.7 from a median number of PAS finds of 55. Table 30 shows the pattern of PAS finds at functioning but unchartered markets.

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<sup>271</sup> Dyer, *An Age of Transition*, p. 118. Wetheringsett was not entered into the data set as having an unrecorded medieval market because the reference was only discovered in February 2023. Harold Fox also identified lots of small beach and quay-side fish markets. Fox, H. (2001), *The Evolution of the The Fishing Village: Landscape and Society Along the South Devon Coast, 1086-1550*, (Oxford). These were entered into the data set because they were known about in the early stages of research. That local research continues to throw up these examples is indicative that there are probably many more examples to be found. (That said the reality of higher education in twenty-first century Great Britain is that the funding and opportunity to carry out historical research into wills and monastic inventories looking for evidence of markets is unlikely to be carried out).

Table 30: Places with Medieval Markets but No Charter Evidence of Markets (prescriptive markets). Above and Below the Median Values of Such Places, PAS Value of 55 and Percentage Edwardian Coins of 1.6604%

PAS Finds	Percentage of Edwardian Coin Finds Below 1.6604%	Percentage of Edwardian Coin above 1.6604%.	Total
Below 55	35 (34%)	19 (9%)	52 (50%)
55+	18 (17%)	34 (33%)	52 (50%)
Total	53 (51%)	51 (49%)	104 <sup>272</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> This figure is lower because it represents civil parishes with metal detected evidence.

This can be compared with the pattern of PAS finds at places with no record of a medieval market of any type in Table 31.

Table 31: Places with No Evidence of Markets Above and Below the Median PAS Value of 55 and Percentage Edwardian Coins of 1.6604%

PAS Finds	Percentage of Edwardian Coin Finds Below 1.6604%.	Percentage of Edwardian Coin Above 1.6604%.	Total
Below 55	4,528 (57%)	681 (9%)	5,209 (66%)
55+	1,473 (19%)	1,206 (15%)	2,678(34%)
Total	6,001 (76%)	1,887 (24%)	7,888



Table 31 shows that a majority of places (57%) with no documents relating to medieval markets have values below the median for places with recorded medieval markets but no charter.

Table 32 shows for places without a market charter, whether somewhere does or does not have a record of a medieval market has a significant impact on the percentage of Edwardian coin finds as shown in Table 32.

Table 32: Cross Tabulation between Market Type and Numbers Above and Below Percentage Edwardian Coin Finds of 1.6604%

Place by document Type	Above a Median of 1.6604%	Above a Median of 1.6604%	Total
Known	52 (50%)	52 (50%)	104
No Documents	2,608 (34%)	5,208 (66%)	7,888
Significance level = 0.01			

The table above shows that the impact of place, as differentiated by market documentation, does have a significant impact on the percentage of Edwardian coin finds. Places with no documents for markets and places recorded as having markets in the medieval period have significantly different proportions of coin finds. What is clear is that a number of the 8,534 places with no market documents do have high numbers of both PAS and Edwardian coin finds. It is almost certain that some of these will have had markets in the medieval period that went unrecorded. There are claims that certain places have coin finds that point to the existence of a market for which there is no known documents. For example, Newman argues that at Albany near Ipswich:

The exceptionally high coin loss rate indicates that the Albany area may have been the location for some form of fair site from the late twelfth century to the mid-fourteenth century. Such minor fair sites may not have left any trace in the historic records, but intensive metal detector searches can recover the relevant evidence.<sup>273</sup>

Indeed, at one of the most important coin find site for British numismatists, South Ferriby in North Lincolnshire, 'there is no evidence of South Ferriby ever having had a market'.<sup>274</sup> It would be tempting to say that at the very least the 1,206, (15%) of those places with no documentary evidence for medieval markets, that have PAS finds above the median level of both total PAS finds and the percentage of this that were Edwardian coins, must have had

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<sup>273</sup> Newman, J. (1994). 'A Possible Medieval Fair Site At The Albany, Ipswich, *British Numismatic Journal*, no. 64, p. 129.

<sup>274</sup> Cook, B. J. with Carey, R. and Leahy, K., (1998), *Medieval and Early Modern Coin Finds From South Ferriby, Humberside, British Numismatic Journal*, no. 68, pp. 95-118, p. 96. Cook *et al* speculate that it is possible that the coin loss at South Ferriby was due to it being a ferry or minor port, but in the latter case any coin loss is likely to be due to trading activities which most would see as a market, p. 96.

medieval markets. If this were the case when added to the 2,184 places with markets for which there is documentary evidence for markets it results in a total of 3,390, or a medieval market at 32% of places or a market for every fifteen square miles.

The problem with this position is that the Middle Ages prior to the Black Death was an increasingly monetised economy. Even though the move to a money-based economy was in part due to an abundance of markets, cash transactions were not restricted to markets. For example, non-market cash transactions included the payment of rent, and payments to the growing number of specialist traders such as bakers, brewers, black smiths and carpenters.

Dyer notes that by the end of the Middle Ages, the number of specialist bakers, butchers and permanent ale houses had become established in many villages.<sup>275</sup> For example, in the North Erpingham Hundred on Norfolk's north coast Francis Blomefield records the right of assize of bread and ale, that is the exercise of control over the price, quality and volume of these two commodities, for the following parishes none of which are recorded as having markets: Aldburgh, Beeston, Gimmingham, Hanworth, Knapton, Runton, Sidestrand.<sup>276</sup> In this hundred, chartered markets were almost certainly in operation at Cromer, Sheringham, Thorpe Market and Trunch. There were further charters for markets granted to Barnington Winter, Gresham and Hanworth. On the basis of Blomefield's records, in North Erpingham, fourteen parishes had either market rights or a seigneurial right of assize of bread and ale. This is compared to seventeen parishes where there was no record of either.<sup>277</sup> In all likelihood these seventeen villages had outlets where bread

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<sup>275</sup> Dyer, C. (1989), *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge), p. 159

<sup>276</sup> Bolton, J. L. (1980), *The Medieval English Economy*, (London) p. 127.

<sup>277</sup> Blomefield, F. (compiled by Charles Parkin), (1808), *An Essay Towards A Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*. Volume 8, pp. 72-180.

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/topographical-hist-norfolk>, (accessed 15-8-2020).

and ale was sold which were not recorded at the time. Alternatively if they were recorded, the documents may have been missing by the time of Blomefield. Even if this was not the case, everywhere in North Erpingham Hundred was in easy reach of somewhere where bread and ale could be purchased: bread and ale cannot be assized without being sold. The number of places where the assize of bread and ale is recorded indicates three things relevant for this thesis. Firstly, opportunities for purchasing goods had penetrated deep into the countryside by the time of Edward I. Secondly, markets were not the only place for the peasantry to make purchases. Thirdly, two of the most important elements of the peasant diet when not made at home, bread and ale, were probably not purchased at a market but from the home of specialist producers. These types of transactions will have led to a base line of coin loss that occurs in all places, those with markets and those without. We have no figures for coin loss caused by non-market transactions because it is unknown which places did not have markets. In order to estimate the number of medieval markets at places with no market documents for any period, we need to look at other types of evidence.

## Conclusion

This chapter is central to establishing the era of peak market. It has been shown that market charters are associated with functioning markets because they have the same pattern of finds of Edwardian coins as places that are known to have had markets in the medieval period. Further, both chartered-only places and places with recorded markets have *significantly* different patterns of coin finds to places with no market documents from the period. Coin find evidence strongly indicates that 'charters mean markets'. In addition coin finds indicate that there could well be nearly a thousand or so medieval markets that are completely undocumented.

This coin find evidence is also powerful evidence that 'peak market' was around the end of the fourteenth century where the number of different places with markets was somewhere between 1,800 and 1,900. The next two chapters examine whether other forms of non-documentary evidence, place names and market structures, add to our knowledge about the number and nature of medieval markets.

## **Chapter Five: Place and Street Names as Indicators of Market History<sup>278</sup>**

The focus of this chapter is concerned with investigating what place names reveal about the nature of the medieval market system. What 'market' place names indicate is the first topic examined. This is followed by an estimate of the numbers of medieval markets based on 'market' street names.

### **The Semantics of Place Names and Market History**

The most significant fact about market place names is that there are only 59 places in the data set which have, or contain a settlement that has, some variant of a market type name. In addition to 'market' this includes variants of 'chipping' and 'port', where it means market as opposed to harbour. As the PAS evidence shows, the existence of a medieval market charter is strong evidence of a market in the medieval period. There are 2,932 places with documents for markets, either charters or records of an operational market. It is notable that, three places that have had a market name since the medieval period *do not* have any market documents. They are Lamport (Northamptonshire) first recorded with the 'port' name in Domesday Book, Chiptead (Kent) with the 'chip' variant of 'chipping' dated to 1198, and Newport (East Yorkshire) first dated as 'port' in 1368. The existence of named market settlements that do not have any market documentation points very clearly to the fact that there are places that had functioning markets and for which there is no extant documentation of any sort. This indicates that this will also be the case for places that are not named after markets.

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<sup>278</sup> The place name information in this section comes from; Mills, *British Place Names*, Watts, *English Place-Names*, Nicolaisen *et al*, *The Names of Towns and Cities*, Brittnell, *The Commercialisation of English*, Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*.

The data also shows that the 56 places with a 'market' type name and market documents represents as little as 1.9% of the 2932 places with documented markets. Indeed, there are more places named after bridges than are named after markets. The reason that 'market' and its variants are rare place names is probably because trading places were a very common feature of the medieval landscape. Even among places with known markets, other features may be more important than the market as a means of distinguishing a settlement from neighbours with a similar name. Out of the 2,184 places with medieval market documentation, 121 (5.5%) are distinguished from a neighbouring settlement not by a 'market' name but by a direction. For example, the Norfolk market town of Dereham was formerly known as East Dereham to distinguish itself from West Dereham, which is now a very small settlement. The name 'Market Dereham' would have made little sense to distinguish the two because the abbey at West Dereham had been granted a market in 1199. The abbey would have almost certainly have needed to exercise its rights to that market in order to function properly as an institution.<sup>279</sup> In Devon what is now the village of North Tawton was known as a Chepingtauton from 1199-1244 to distinguish it from South Tawton, but became known as North Tawton probably as a result of South Tawton holding a market.<sup>280</sup> This proportion also holds true for markets that are recorded as functioning in the medieval period where 54 (5.5%) of 988 places are distinguished by a 'directional' name.

Sometimes settlements are differentiated from another settlement by combining a directional name with a market name. For example, 'West Port' in Malmesbury is to the west of the main market, similarly the former borough of West Cheap in Pontefract (Yorkshire) was to the west of the main market area of Pontefract. In these names the proximity of another market is flagged up and it is the compass point that indicates the difference. In fact at

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<sup>279</sup> Midmer, R. (1979), *English Medieval Monasteries 1066-1540*, (London), pp. 324-5

<sup>280</sup> South Tawton was granted a market charter in 1204. North Tawton continued to have a market until 1988. Watts, *English Place Names*, p. 602.



seventeen (29%) of the 59 settlements with a 'market' name it is combined with some other place name element that implies the existence of somewhere else, presumably nearby, that has or did have a market. The most common term used in these seventeen places with a 'market' name combined with a place name element that references the existence of other markets is 'new'. There are thirteen (22%) settlements of the 59 that have a 'market' place name element that also contains the adjective 'new'. Surprisingly, ten of these are Newports whilst there are only two Newmarkets and only one Neuchepyng. These ten Newports make up 45% of the 22 places with the name 'port' (in the sense of market). As was discussed in Chapter Two the terms 'market' and 'chipping' are related to the Latin term for merchant (mercato) and the Saxon term for merchant (chapman) respectively. Newmarket in Suffolk began when the market moved from Exning to a more convenient location on the edge of what is now Newmarket Downs and on the main route from London to Norwich, possibly as a means of attracting more merchants.<sup>281</sup> Chipping in Hertfordshire is first recorded as Neuchepyng in 1322. It is likely that the old 'chipping' here is the village of Buckland because Chipping is and as far as one can tell has always been in the parish of Buckland. Buckland was granted a market charter in 1258. According to Bailey if there ever was a market at Buckland it was 'fleeting' and the market at Neuchepyng was more successful.<sup>282</sup> That the old market at Buckland disappeared may account for the fact that Chipping lost the epithet 'new'. The larger number of places called 'Newport' rather than either 'Newmarket' or 'Newchipping' may be because somewhere called 'port', at least in relation to inland trading places, was principally concerned with serving local needs and so was likely to be more common. For example, Newport just outside the city walls to the north of Lincoln was unlikely to have been seen as a major

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<sup>281</sup> *Gazetteer of Market* (accessed 7-9-22).

<sup>282</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets*, (accessed 24-2-23), Bailey, M. (1993), 'A tale of two towns: Buntingford and Standon in the later Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, no. 19, pp. 351-371, p. 361.

competitor to the City's markets.<sup>283</sup> Newport in Barnstable (Devon), less than a mile away from the current site of Barnstable's market, may also fit this pattern of being a settlement for local trade. That a port may be a trading place for locals only while markets were also intended to attract merchants, fits the two types of trading that have been identified; profit seeking capitalistic trading and local trades concerned with household provisioning.

'New' is not the only term that references another trading location which might be more significant. For example, as referred to earlier, there is Westport in Malmesbury. In addition there are two Littleports one in Cambridgeshire and another in Norfolk. Both of the places named Littleport indicate the proximity of a larger market. Littleport (Cambridgeshire) is near to Ely and was the possession of the Bishops of that city, and Littleport (Norfolk) is an outlying hamlet of the village of Sedgeford. Even those places called 'port' that exist today as separate civil parishes were in the shadow of more important markets. For example, Newport in the East Riding of Yorkshire lies roughly equidistant between the market towns of Howden and South Cave (about six miles from each), and may have been established to enable local trading to occur without recourse to a trip to one of these market towns. Alternatively, it may have existed to enable traders from these two larger market towns to meet at a mutually convenient location. The market at Newport in Essex, even though it is referred to in Domesday Book and continued as a market town into the early modern period, appears to have always been secondary to the market at nearby Saffron Walden.<sup>284</sup>

That 'port' means lesser market settlement is indicated by the fact that, out of the 22 places with a 'port' name, thirteen (59%) reference another place with a market and seven of these 'port' names (32%) are in lesser settlements within a wider parish. For example, Littleport in Sedgeford (Norfolk), Westport in Malmesbury (Wiltshire), and the 'Newports' in Alkington

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<sup>283</sup> Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500*, p. 12.

<sup>284</sup> *Gazetteer of Market*, (accessed 24-2-23); Bassett, S. R. (1982), *Saffron Walden: excavations and research 1972-80*, Council for British Archaeology Reports, no. 45, (London).

(Gloucestershire), North Curry (Somerset), Hemsby (Norfolk), Barnstaple (Devon) and Lincoln. Not surprisingly, in the case of these small settlements, the name 'port' references a larger and more important settlement, or at least one that was formerly more significant. For example, the hamlet of Newport is on the outskirts of the market town of North Curry (Somerset). Another example is Newport in Alkington (Gloucestershire), which had two charters for fairs both issued in 1348 to Thomas de Berkley, but as the place is first recorded as Newport in 1287 it is almost certain that trading was being carried out somewhat earlier than the granting of the charters.<sup>285</sup> The use of the term 'new' probably refers to the fact that this trading location was an addition to the much older market at nearby Berkley. The de Berkley family not only held the charters for the fairs at Newport but had been granted a charter for Berkley in 1189 somewhat earlier than the first recorded use of the term Newport.

There is evidence that there were formerly more of these smaller trading settlements known by the term 'port' which are not documented. For example, Sedgeford (Norfolk) has a charter dated 1225 but the hamlet of Littleport which is in the parish is about two thirds of a mile from the centre of the main village on the Peddar's Way, a former Roman road. The name 'Peddars Way' is derived a dialect form of pedlar and comes from the Norfolk term for a traders pannier that was still in use in the eighteenth century.<sup>286</sup> This location was presumably established as a good place to sell to passing travellers. The term 'port' occurs at other places in Norfolk. For example, in South Walsham (Norfolk), Newport Road leads to the hamlet of Town Green which could have been the site for a small market away from the centre of the village, and the inland civil parish of Shelton and Hardwick in South Norfolk District has a road called Portway.

It seems that the existence of a market or trading place is not very significant for naming a place. But this is not because they were few or

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<sup>285</sup> Watts, *English Place-Names*, p. 435.

<sup>286</sup> Fowler and Folwer *Oxford Dictionary*, Young, A, (1771) *The Farmer's Tour through the East of England*, (London).

irrelevant to people's lives. On the contrary, there are so few places with 'market' names because markets were ubiquitous. When a place does have a 'market' name it often indicates that there are other places nearby with markets. This is particularly marked in the case of the term 'port', which seems to be a term that refers to lesser and probably very common locations for trade.

It seems fairly obvious that if a village or town that has a 'market' or 'market type' name it had a market at some point. There is only one settlement identified in the data set that has the term 'market' (as opposed to 'chipping' or 'port') that does not have a record of a functioning market, and that is the hamlet of Market Street (Norfolk), the major settlement in parish of Tunstead. The parish has a medieval market charter and there are three Edwardian coin finds which is 4.48% of a total of 67 PAS finds. This compares to a trimmed mean for England of 2.12%. This case seems indicative of the fact that medieval records of operational markets are partial in their coverage because Tunstead is not recorded as having a medieval market but it does have a charter, a 'market name' and coin finds that all point to a medieval market.

The name 'chipping' is also associated with the existence of places that have documents that indicate a medieval market. Out of the seventeen places with a 'chipping' name, we know that thirteen (76%) had markets and can be fairly certain that another, Chipperfield (Hertfordshire) had a market. Chipperfield, which means trader's field, was formerly in Kings Langley which is recorded as holding markets in the Middle Ages.<sup>287</sup> Chipperfield is first recorded by that name in 1315 and the market place in the centre of what is now the main settlement of Kings Langley is recorded as the New Chipping as late as 1416.<sup>288</sup> This name suggests that an older chipping had been

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<sup>287</sup> Victoria County History for Hertfordshire,

<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/herts/vol2/pp234-245>, (accessed 24-2-23).

<sup>288</sup> Watts, *English Place Names*, p. 135, Williamson, T. (2008), 'Urban Origins: location, topography and the documentary record' in Slater, T. and Goose, N

replaced, which was presumably the former chapman's field at what is now Chipperfield.<sup>289</sup> The three places where a medieval market is not recorded as functioning are Chipping Ongar (Essex), Chipping (Lancashire) and Chipstead (Kent). Chipping Ongar has a medieval charter dated 1296 and did have a market in 1792 which suggests either a continuity of some kind of small market or at the very least a location where a market made economic sense. PAS finds indicate a functioning medieval market: there are two Edwardian coin finds from 26 total PAS finds, a percentage of 7.69%. It seems likely from this evidence that Chipping Ongar held a medieval market. Chipping (Lancashire) and Chipstead (Kent) have no evidence of medieval markets except for their name. Chipping is first recorded by that name in 1203, but the market is not recorded until the nineteenth century. Chipstead (Kent), in the parish of Chevening, is first recorded by the name of Chepsteda in 1191.<sup>290</sup> The fact that these places have had the 'chipping' name since the medieval period but have no record of a medieval market is indicative of the fact that the documentary record alone is not enough to establish the existence of all medieval markets.

The overwhelming majority of the 24 places named 'port' (in the sense of inland markets) *are* associated with medieval markets; fifteen have recorded medieval markets and a further two have charters for medieval markets and in one case medieval charters for fairs rather than a medieval charter for a weekly market. The four places without medieval market documentation are Gosport (Hampshire), Littleport (Cambridgeshire), Lamport (Northamptonshire) and Newport (Yorkshire). They were all named 'port' in the medieval period even if there are no records of them holding a

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(eds) *A county of Small Towns; The development of Hertfordshire's urban landscape to 1800*, (Hatfield), p. 39.

<sup>289</sup> As there is only one PAS find from Chipperfield, no judgement can be made on the basis of metal detected evidence.

<sup>290</sup> Mills, *British Place Names*.. PAS evidence is of no use for either place, Chipping has only nine PAS finds and Chevening even less with six.

market.<sup>291</sup> It seems clear that places with ‘market names’ had markets during in the medieval period and the lack of a record of their operation is down to the lack of medieval records as opposed to the lack of a market.

## **Estimating the Number of Markets on the Basis of Place and Street Names**

There are many more places that have market street names than settlements that carry a market name. The analysis of street names was restricted to street names that contain the name ‘market’ and not ‘chipping’ or ‘port’. A major reason was because of the greater variation in these latter terms. It was possible to decide when ‘port’ means market as opposed to harbour, quay side or other maritime facility when examining the small number of settlements that carry that name but much more time consuming in regard to street names. Searching for ‘chipping’ also presented difficulties because of the range of possible terms, for example, chipping, cheap, chip, chipper, chep, ceap and so forth. As the principal reason for looking at market street names was to estimate the number of markets in the medieval period it was concluded that searching the singular term ‘market’, as found in, for example, market street or market place, provided enough evidence for this purpose.

Digimap and Historic England Data Base were searched and 785 places (7%) of the total places listed in the data set created for this research had streets or squares and so forth with the term ‘market’ as part of their name.<sup>292</sup> Table 3 in the Appendix cross tabulates ‘market’ street names by documented market history.<sup>293</sup> There are three major points to be made

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<sup>291</sup> As noted Littleport (Cambridgeshire) and Lamport (Norhamptonshire) are first recorded as port names in Domesday book and Newport (Yorkshire) has a record of its name from 1368. The first record of Gosport is 1251. Watts, *English Place-Names*.

<sup>292</sup> <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/> (accessed 21-1-23).

<sup>293</sup> Appendix Table 3, p. 385.

about the information on market street names. Firstly, a history of a functioning market is not automatically reflected in street names. However, 685 (46%) of the 1,478 places that are recorded as having a functioning market at any time from Domesday on do have a 'market' street name. This shows it is not uncommon for a place with a known history of markets to carry the term 'market' in a street name. On the other hand, it is surprising that 54% of places with a known history of a functioning market *do not* have 'market' street names.<sup>294</sup> This lack of street names can be illustrated by looking at places with a prefix or suffix 'market'. Out of the 22 places with 'market' in their settlement name eleven (50%) do not have a street with the term market. Out of the eleven places that are called 'market' and do have a market street name eight have areas called Market Places, two have streets called Market Streets and at Market Drayton (Shropshire), there is an area called the Butter Market. The reason for the lack of 100% correlation is likely to be, firstly, that market names have been dropped. For example, Market Harborough has a market hall but no longer a market place. The market place known as the Sheep Market in 1880 was called the Square by 1900. Secondly, there may never have been a market street name at other places. For example, at Needham Market the place of the market may have always been known as the High Street.<sup>295</sup> As there are not streets with 'market' names even where 'market' is retained as a place name element of the town or village in question,

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<sup>294</sup> Although some can and do have a 'chipping' or 'port' type name. For example, the village of Lyng (Norfolk) chartered in 1282 and recorded in 1383 has a street called Port Row.

<sup>295</sup> Market places are found at; Market Bosworth, Market Deeping, Market Lavington, Market Rasen, Market Weighton, Burnham Market, Hesketh Newmarket and Downham Market. Newmarket in Suffolk has a market street and Stowmarket an Old Market Street. Places with no market streets are Market Overton, Market Stainton, Market Weston, Pulham Market, Thorpe Market and Wickham Market. Information on the change of name at Market Harborough is from Digimap.

<https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/roam/map/historic>, (accessed 21-1-22).

it follows that other places that have or had markets will not as a matter of course have market named streets. The number of these can be estimated on the basis of the figures from Appendix Table 3. The most important finding is that 98 (12%) of the 785 places with 'market' street names have no record of a market. It is a reasonable assumption that, if these had a modern market there would be a record of it, and as such the 'market' street names that exist derive from the existence of a medieval market.

The retention of a 'market' street name from the medieval period at places that had medieval markets but did not go on to have modern markets is not great. Only 30 (7.3%) out of the 412 such places retain a market street name. This is a ratio of one place retaining a market street name from the medieval period for approximately every fourteen that are known to have functioned. This ratio of 1:14 can be applied to the 98 places with 'market' street names that are completely undocumented for any period. This gives us an estimated figure of 1,346 places in the medieval period where a market existed but went unrecorded. When this is added to the 2,184 places with documentary evidence of a medieval market it gives a total of 3,530 which is 33% of the total number of places in the data set and a medieval market for every fourteen square miles.

## **Conclusion**

The examination of the nature of places names gave support to the findings of the PAS data that markets in the medieval era were ubiquitous. This is further supported when a projection from 'market' street names was undertaken. This estimate indicated that, in addition to the 988 recorded medieval markets and the 1,196 places with medieval charters that most probably had markets, there were another 1,346 places with no documents at all that had markets. This would be a total number of markets in the medieval period of nearly 3,530 or on average a market approximately every fourteen square miles, these figures are very similar to the estimates based on PAS data in Chapter Four. There it was estimated that there were 3,390 markets, one for every fifteen square miles. In the next chapter, market



structures, such as market crosses are examined to see what they reveal about the history and whether they also support the view that there was a large number of medieval markets.

## **Chapter Six: Market Crosses and Market Halls as Evidence of Markets**

This chapter examines what market crosses can tell us about the history of markets. Firstly, an estimation of the number of unrecorded markets in the medieval period can be made where there are market crosses at places for which there are no medieval documents or only a medieval charter. Secondly, as cultural artefacts they can tell us something about how markets are perceived. James Davis claimed that the core of the medieval town was the market place and that the market place was 'often symbolised by a market cross'.<sup>296</sup> The reason for the centrality of the cross was the need to remind those engaged in transactions of the importance of Christian morality.<sup>297</sup> Over time, the form that market crosses took changed in ways that reflected- and even may have contributed to - changes in the way that market trading was experienced.

### **Numbers of Crosses and Halls**

Table 33 lists the number of market crosses and market halls at places by the amount and type of market documentation at those places. Certain places listed in Table 33 have more than one market structure as shown in Table 34.

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<sup>296</sup> Davis, *Medieval Market Morality, Life*, p. 3-4.

<sup>297</sup> Davis *Medieval Market Morality*, p. 3-4. Vallance, A. (1933), *Old Crosses and Lychgates*, (London), p. 125.

Table 33: Market Crosses and Market Halls by Market Documentation

Documentary Evidence	Number (% of places)			Total
	Crosses		Halls	
	Medieval	Modern		
None	35 (0.4%)	6 (0%)	1 (0%)	8079
Medieval				
Known and Chartered	14 (4.8%)	3 (1%)	1 (0.3%)	294
Known no Charter	5 (4.2%)	1 (1%)	0	118
Charter only	20 (2.1%)	2 (0.2%)	8 (0.9%)	935
Medieval and Modern				
Known with Charter	44 (10%)	23 (5.3%)	158 (36.1%)	438
Known no Charter	9 (6.5%)	8 (5.8%)	49 (35.5%)	138
Charter only	22 (8.4%)	9 (3.4%)	74 (28.4%)	261
Modern Only when First Known				
Early Modern	6 (3.8%)	9 (6%)	27 (17.8%)	151
Late Modern	5 (1.7%)	6 (2%)	66 (21.8%)	303
Total	157 (1.5%)	67 (.6%)	389 (3.6%)	10718

Table 34: Number of Places with Multiple Market Structures

Types of Market Structures	Number of Places
Medieval Cross, Modern Cross and Market Hall <sup>298</sup>	1
Medieval Cross and Market Hall	33
Modern Market Cross and Market Hall	23

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<sup>298</sup> Unsurprisingly, London has examples of all three structures.

As can be seen some places have more than one type of market structure. Occasionally, places may have more than one structure of the same kind. For example, at Masham (Yorkshire), there are two medieval market crosses: the 'Market Cross' in the Market Place and the 'Swine Cross' in the Swine Market. Such cases are rare and therefore it was decided that the data set would only record that a place had an example of a medieval market cross, modern market cross or market hall and not how many.

Tables 33 and 34 indicate that market crosses and halls are not common features of the townscapes of England. There are 157 places with medieval market crosses listed by Historic England. Of these places with listed crosses, 46 have no record of a functioning market or medieval market charter. A further 42 have a market charter but no documentary evidence of a functioning market. That is, 88 (56%) of the total 157 medieval crosses are at places that are not recorded in the data set as having a medieval market.

There are 160 market crosses recorded at the 988 places in the data set that are recorded as having a functioning medieval market. This leaves nearly 93% of medieval recorded markets that do not have a market cross, despite a market cross being a central symbol of the medieval market and market place according to Davis. This is due to a number of reasons. Firstly, as is fairly well known, crosses were destroyed and damaged during the Reformation. Secondly, traders sometimes demanded the removal of crosses as an impediment to business. For example, Bristol High Cross which had once been a important symbol of the city's trading prowess had by the modern era become seen as an impediment to business activity. Even though it can now be found in the gardens of Stourhead (Wiltshire) it was not originally removed by some grandee to adorn his gardens but had been removed by the city authorities and placed in storage. Thirdly, however, some members of the ruling class *were* keen to decorate their gardens with medieval market crosses that were taken from market places, whether with or without the blessing of locals is unknown. For example, at Mountsorrel (Leicestershire) the market cross of 1793 is a replacement for a medieval cross that was moved to Swithland Hall. Sometimes medieval market crosses were replaced by classical symbolism which reflected the new whiggish 'moral economy'.

For example, at Swaffham (Norfolk) in the 1770s Robert Walpole's grandson commissioned a new cross. This is topped off with a statue of Ceres Roman goddess of agriculture, see Figure 29.<sup>299</sup> At Cartmel (Cumbria), an obelisk replaced the medieval market cross in the eighteenth century.

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<sup>299</sup> <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1269570?section=official-list-entry>

Figure 29: Swaffham's Butter Cross



Fourthly, unless the crosses were properly maintained, natural processes led to decay. Physical loss of market crosses is greater at places where the market disappeared before the modern period. There are only nineteen (4.6%) places with medieval crosses out of the 412 places that are recorded as having markets in the medieval period but not in the modern period. At places with medieval and modern markets double that percentage of places, 53 (9.2%) places out of the 576 places, have a market cross. All crosses are subject to natural decay and as James Davis notes, market crosses could be simple wooden structures.<sup>300</sup> Given the investment costs of a stone cross, it is highly likely that the smaller village markets had wooden crosses whose survival rate as far as can be ascertained is zero.<sup>301</sup>

It is difficult to estimate how many market crosses there were originally. In one of the few books written on stone crosses in England, Rimmer, writing in 1875, estimates that there had been 5,000 medieval crosses of all types. To illustrate the extent of their destruction he uses the example of the Eleanor crosses that were constructed to mark the stopping place of the corpse of Queen Eleanor, the wife of Edward I, as her remains were carried from her place of death in Nottinghamshire to her final resting place in London, only three (20%) of the original fifteen crosses survived into the nineteenth century.<sup>302</sup> If this level of destruction was replicated for market crosses then there would have originally been 360 stone medieval market crosses.

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<sup>300</sup> Davis, *Medieval Market Morality*, p. 3-4.

<sup>301</sup> The stone market cross at Crich (Derbyshire) was described in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century as a replacement for a wooden cross, whether that was medieval is unknown. <https://schools.geograph.org.uk/photo/1348175> (accessed 23-3-19)

<sup>302</sup> Rimmer, A. (1875), *Ancient Stone Crosses of England*, (London).



## Modern Market Crosses

Table 32 shows, unsurprisingly, that modern market crosses are disproportionately associated with places known to have had modern markets. That 10.6% of places with early modern markets but with no evidence of any prior market history have market crosses erected in the modern era may indicate a continued commitment to Christianity's role in business although it is more likely that these places had medieval markets and these modern crosses were replacements for earlier undocumented medieval market crosses. It is likely that many of the modern market crosses are replacements of medieval crosses, out of the 71 places with a listed modern market cross, 33 (46%) are at places recorded as holding medieval markets, eleven (14%) are at places with medieval market charters and Historic England note that a further six modern crosses at places with no medieval market documentation contain part of their fabric, for example, the steps or part of the shaft, that come from earlier crosses.<sup>303</sup> Clearly, as these places have early modern market crosses they also had early modern markets that have gone unrecorded and more than likely they also had unrecorded medieval markets. For example, the modern market cross at Billesdon (Leicestershire) is *known* to have incorporated part of the medieval cross.<sup>304</sup> Billesdon is indicative of the fact that a cross is evidence of a medieval market. The village is known to have had a modern market. There are no medieval records for a market at Billesdon, however, PAS evidence points to a medieval market: six Edwardian coins have been found, which is 7.1 percent of the total of 85 PAS finds. From this evidence it would seem that modern market

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<sup>303</sup> The six places in question are as follows; Belford, West Bedlington (Northumberland), Billesdon (Leicestershire), Middleton in Teesdale, Stanhope (Durham) and Whittlesey (Cambridgeshire).

<sup>304</sup> Other examples are Lund in Yorkshire which has a medieval market cross that was substantially rebuilt in the C18, Lambourn (Berkshire), Devizes (Wiltshire) cross of 1814 replaced an earlier cross the date of which is not known.

crosses are often rebuilds of medieval market crosses. There is good reason to think that of the 71 modern market crosses 50 (70%) are replacements for medieval market crosses. This lack of modern market cross building could be indicative of a new moral economy where the market was centre stage and not Christian morality.

## **Market Halls**

Market crosses appear to lead to the development of market halls. Originally the development of covered spaces to protect those engaged in trade were known as market crosses, for example, the fifteenth-century covered crosses at Mildenhall (Suffolk) (see Figure 30), Chichester (Sussex) and Cheddar (Somerset).

Figure 30: Mildenhall's Fifteenth-Century Market Cross



Part of the function of these covered spaces was to protect traders, probably the all important toll paying merchants, and their produce from the weather. Naming these structures crosses was presumably a metaphorical reminder that fair exchange was expected and that God was always observant. In Norfolk alone examples of these new types of market crosses can be found at the significant modern market towns of Swaffham, Wymondham, North Walsham and New Buckenham.

At some point calling a covered trading space a market cross ceased and such places became known as market halls. There are 389 listed market halls shown in the third column of Table 33, all built in the modern period. Early modern market halls seem to continue the privatisation of the common space of the market place, a trend started with the covered market crosses. The first halls appear to be elaborations of the covered crosses. They are often small arcaded spaces for the selling of goods directly to buyers located in the principal market area of towns but with the addition of rooms above for other types of business. These rooms could be concerned with either the running of the market or the negotiation of business deals (for example, agreeing to buy product in the future on the basis of samples). Halls were opened at a number of places. For example, at Faversham in 1574, Rothwell in 1578 and somewhat later Tetbury in 1655.<sup>305</sup> An example of an early modern market hall with this form, one of many, can be seen at Princes Risborough (Buckinghamshire) as shown in Figure 31.

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<sup>305</sup> Campbell, B. M. S, Galloway, J. A., Keene, D. & Murphy, M. (1993), 'A Medieval Capital and Its Grain Supply: Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region c 1300' *Historical Geography Research Series*, no. 30 August, (London), p. 49.

Figure 31: Princes Risborough's Market Hall



These early market halls developed into large structures at some places but often kept the same form of arcade below and rooms above. An example is from the market at Uxbridge (Middlesex), one of the biggest corn markets in England. The market hall is shown in an old but undated photograph in Figure 32.

Figure 32: Uxbridge's Market Hall



Later still came the development of market halls for particular commodities, such as corn exchanges and cloth halls.. These were places which were not open to all. Doncaster (Yorkshire) has a very early hall called the Yarn Market built in 1609. The construction of corn exchanges as separate buildings appears to be a nineteenth-century phenomenon - for example, Sudbury (Suffolk) 1841, Litchfield (Staffordshire) 1849, Market Rasen (Lincolnshire) 1854 and Devizes (Wilshire) 1857. In addition, private trading in the large coaching inns of market towns, as opposed to the smaller village markets, continued to increase.<sup>306</sup> The huge reduction in the number of local markets increased the attractiveness of private trading as an alternative, and in its turn the growth of private trading accelerated the decline in the number of markets available for more open trading.

The later market halls built in the latter part of the nineteenth century were principally intended to provision the new industrial cities both the working class and the new middle classes. They were rarely filled with the producers of the commodities but with intermediaries in the supply chain from producers to consumers, more like modern shopping malls, for example, at Derby or Harrogate (Yorkshire).<sup>307</sup> The early market halls which were essentially roofed market places with open sides for the erection of temporary stalls and individual traders became replaced with totally covered spaces with permanently rented stalls. These later halls, like all market crosses and halls, were often built as statements of a town's economic prowess. These structures reached a peak period of construction of around 70 being built between 1881 and 1890, usually in industrial towns.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> Everitt, A. (2004), 'Markets: my experience' in Pinches, S., Whalley, M. and Postles, D. (eds), 'The Market Place and the Place of the Market', *Friends of the Centre for English Local History. Friend's paper*, no. 9, pp.57-65.

<sup>307</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, *The British Market Hall*, Scola, R. (1992), *Feeding the Victorian City. The Food Supply of Manchester 1770-1870*, (Manchester).

<sup>308</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, *The British Market Hall*, p. 147. These new shopping mall type markets were built in country towns, for example, Newbury and Moreton in the Marsh. It should be emphasised that the



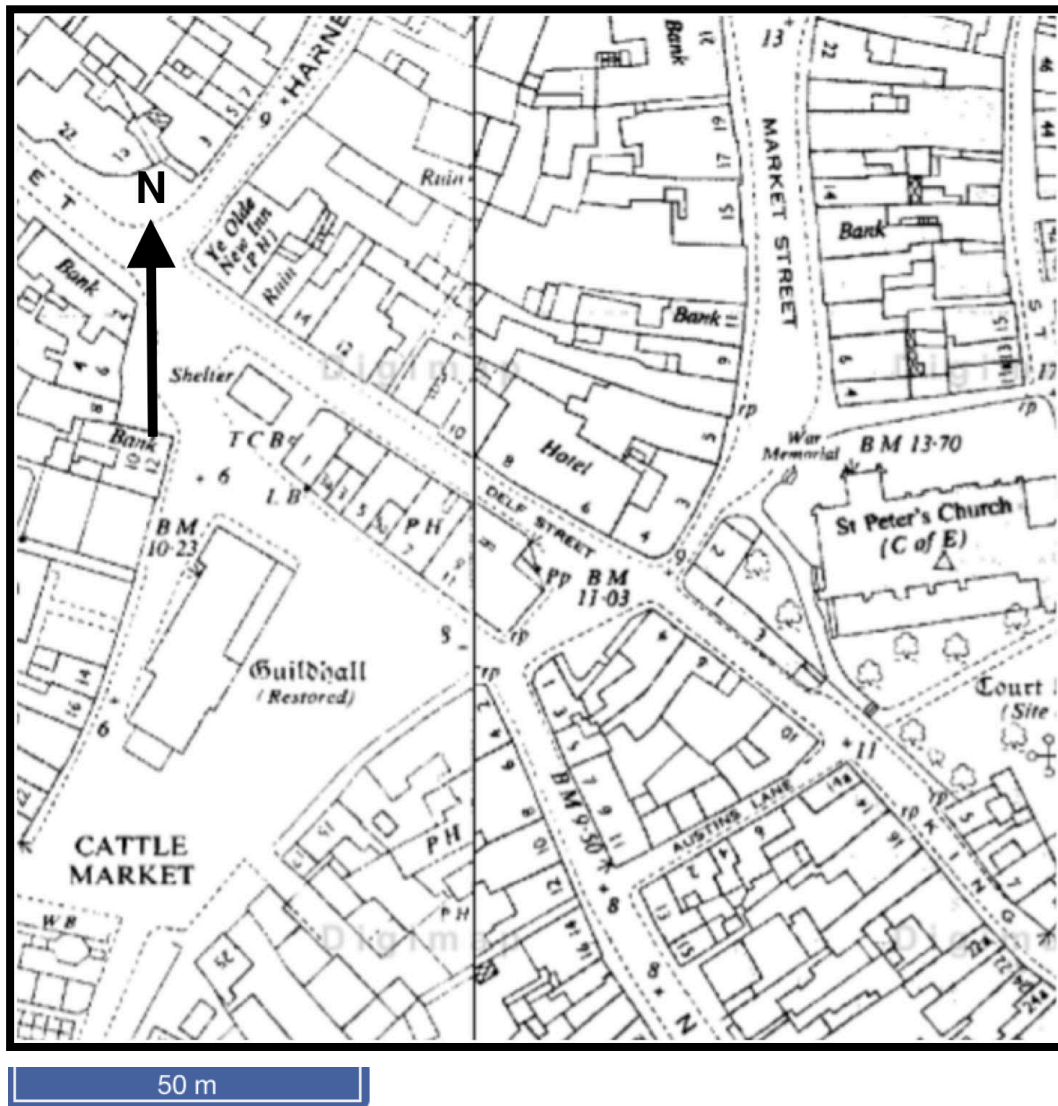
The erection of market halls reflected a growing divergence between wholesale and retail markets, or merchant capitalist and consumer markets. There was always a division in the demands placed upon markets between small producers and consumers and the more wholesale concerns of merchants and big producers. In the modern era, this distinction became more pronounced and manifested in separate trading places, both market and private trading. The development of separate animal markets away from the main market place was part of this process. In earlier times, the animal markets and general market tended to be adjacent. For example, as shown in Figure 33, at Sandwich (Kent) the street known as the Cattle Market is next to the Market Place and, as shown in Figure 34. at Masham (Yorkshire) the wide road is known as the Market Place at one end and the Swine Market at the other. At Buckingham cattle were still being sold in the Market Square in the twentieth century.<sup>309</sup> The nineteenth century saw a tendency for cattle markets to be moved away from town centres, and often to places with access to the rail network. The most famous move was the replacement of Smithfield Live Market by the Caledonian Cattle Market in Islington in 1846, discussed in Chapter Eight. However, there were many other new cattle markets in the nineteenth century. Other examples are in Norfolk, as both King's Lynn and Fakenham had new cattle markets built in the nineteenth century away from the centre of town and nearer the railway.

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division between an industrial and agricultural town can be overstated, for example, Derby and Norwich are major both industrial towns that also functioned as centres of their agricultural regions.

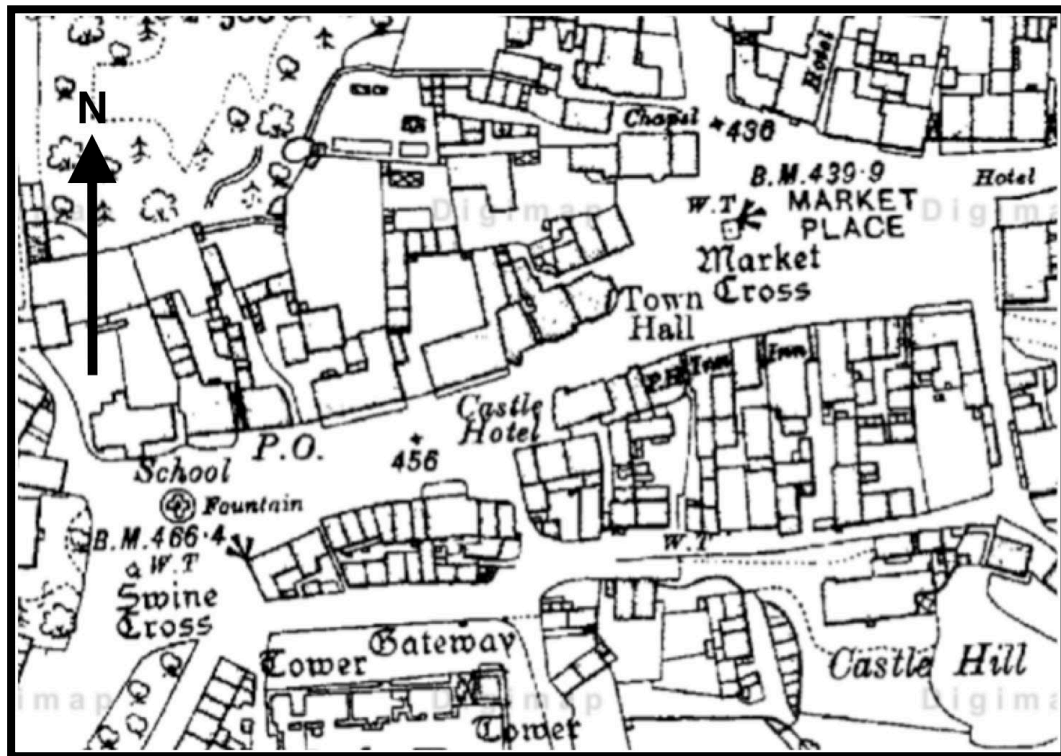
<sup>309</sup> Hallett, A. (2009), *Markets and Marketplaces of Britain*, (Oxford), p 7.

Figure 33: Market Street and Cattle Market at Sandwich (Ordnance Survey map 1950s)



Source: Digimap.

Figure 34: Market Place and Swine Market (indicated by Swine Cross) at Middleham (Ordnance Survey map 1910s)



50 m

Source: Digimap.

Market halls, although a modern phenomenon, were often built at places with a medieval market history. The majority of places with halls, 216 (56%), are known to have had medieval markets. It is known that, as with modern market crosses, market halls replaced medieval market crosses.<sup>310</sup> For example, at Debenham in Suffolk, the market hall of the mid-eighteenth century replaced a market cross, and is currently known as the Cross or the Guildhall. The elaborate Market House in Rothwell, Northamptonshire built for Thomas Tresham, like many of his constructions is filled with Roman Catholic symbolism. It is also still known as the Market Cross. Aldeburgh Moot Hall is also known as the Market Cross and is located on Market Cross Place.<sup>311</sup> Market halls are associated with the major market towns of England as shown in List 11 of the appendices.

It seems that modern market crosses, most of which predate the nineteenth century, and market halls are replacements of earlier medieval crosses. The emergence of covered market crosses, although by no means universal, coincided with new sensibilities of a new class. The provision of shelter for traders on market day reflected a growing sense of gentility as tenant farmers, who had risen from the ranks of the peasantry, replaced peasants as the major producers in the countryside.<sup>312</sup> Dyer argues that,

Assets which had been run by lords and their officials for two centuries were being put under the management of new tenants, mostly within a span of forty years between 1370 and 1410. Decision-making about

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<sup>310</sup> Or a modern cross that had itself replaced a medieval cross. For example, the modern market cross in the Tuesday Market Place at King's Lynn was demolished and superceded by a Market hall which itself has been demolished.

<sup>311</sup> <http://rothwelltown.com/the-market-house/>,  
<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1269716?section=official-listing>

<sup>312</sup> Bailey, M. (2014), *The Decline of Serfdom in Late Medieval England*, (Woodbridge), p. 336,

crops, livestock, buildings and equipment, marketing, and labour were being transferred from the aristocracy to entrepreneurs who came mostly from lower class origins'.<sup>313</sup>

The post-medieval world was one of landlords, tenant farmers and agricultural wage labourers.<sup>314</sup> The enclosing of some of the market places' open space and reducing open access to trading was part of the development of this new society. In this new world the role of the cross, even in its covered form, had arguably become seen as medieval superstition. Instead God's providence was seen as manifested in the process of capitalist self interest, or as Smith articulated somewhat later, the idea, that selfishness leads to socially beneficial outcomes 'as if guided by an invisible hand'.

### **Estimating Numbers of Medieval Markets on the Basis of Surviving Crosses**

A number of medieval market crosses are at places for which no documentary market evidence is recorded in the data set. However, Historic England, on the basis of their documentary research, *has* identified them as having markets. If we assume a uniform correlation between surviving medieval market crosses and the population of medieval markets the same procedure as was used when estimating using street names can be applied to derive an estimate of the number of medieval markets. Out of the 2,184 places with medieval market documentations there are 160 places with medieval market crosses that is a ratio of one cross for every 13.7 places. If the same ratio is applied to the 52 places with medieval crosses and modern crosses with older fabric at places with no record of a medieval market this gives an estimate of

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<sup>313</sup> Dyer, *An Age of Transition*, p. 195, Britnell, R. (2004), *Britain and Ireland 1050-1530. Economy and Society*, (Oxford), p. 444.

<sup>314</sup> Scott J. (1982), *The Upper Classes. Property and Privilege in Britain*, (London) p. 35, Mingay, G. E. (1976), *The Gentry*, (London), p. 59.

unrecorded medieval markets of 715 (8.4%) of the 8,534 places with no medieval market documentation.

## **Conclusion**

The evidence of crosses and halls reveals something about the way in which the character of markets changed over time. The evidence of crosses, like that of place names show a greater emphasis on private space with the development of covered halls and crosses within what had been a common space. Later the duality (one with a long history in markets) between markets as a source for goods and as a source for profits became a separation, as capitalist trading moved into private transactions and markets became increasingly about the sale of consumption goods epitomised by the municipal market halls of the industrial era. On the basis of surviving market crosses it was estimated that there were 2,899 medieval markets or one for every seventeen square miles.

## Chapter Seven: Medieval Peasants and Market Engagement

The idealised image of the English village was one in which the same families farmed the same land, decade after decade, and provided for most of their own needs, once the lord had extracted his surplus.<sup>315</sup> However, it is clear that England in the Middle Ages had a large number of markets, around 3,000. This suggests that the medieval peasantry probably traded with people from outside their village. This chapter draws upon secondary literature to see whether there was such engagement. One difficulty faced is that markets require producers and consumers, or at least buyers and sellers. As De Vries and Trentman have noted, economic history tends to have a bias away from issues of consumption.<sup>316</sup> This chapter draws upon the work of historians who have looked at the nature of medieval peasant consumption. Chris Dyer in particular has produced a significant body of work on this topic.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Hanawalt, B. A. (1986), *The Ties that Bound. Peasant Families in Medieval England*, (Oxford), p. 257, Polanyi, K. (1954), *The Great Transformation the political and economic origins of our time*, (Boston), p. 53, Dyer, C. (2006), 'Were late medieval English villages 'self-contained'? in Dyer, C. (ed.), *The Self Contained Village? The social history of rural communities, 1250-1900*, (Hatfield), pp. 6-27, p. 6, Scholfield, *Peasants and Historians*, p. 197.

<sup>316</sup> de Vries J. (2008), *The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge). His interpretation of consumption as the chief driver is supported by Trentman, F (2016), *The Empire of Things* (London).

<sup>317</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living*, Dyer, C. (2006), 'Were late medieval English villages 'Self Contained'? in Dyer C. (ed.), *The Self Contained Village? The Social History of rural communities 1250-1900*, (Hatfield), pp. 6-27, p. 23. Dyer, C. (2006), 'Were late medieval English villages 'Self Contained'? in Dyer C. (ed.), *The Self Contained Village? The Social History of rural*

According to Dyer, peasant consumption can be identified not just from historical records such as 'peasant inventories, debt records' but also from archaeological investigation of material remains.<sup>318</sup> This emphasis on material remains is important because of a relative lack of documentation on the living standards of the medieval peasantry.<sup>319</sup>

## **Peasant Consumption During the Medieval Period**

Circumstantial evidence of a decline in the degree to which peasants were self-sufficient and increasingly relied on trade is indicated by the growth in the use of money. Bolton estimates that the money supply in England increased eleven-fold between 1100 and 1300.<sup>320</sup> This massive transformation was clearly due to a growth in monetary transactions, although Bolton urges caution and argues that most production was still for subsistence, with only 10% of peasant crops being for sale. Even so, that 10% would mostly have been sold on markets.<sup>321</sup> It is not clear which group in society was driving this increase in transactions but by the fourteenth century peasants were expected to pay rent less in labour dues and increasingly in

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*communities 1250-1900*, (Hatfield), pp. 6-27, p. 23., 'The Consumer and the Market in the Later Middle Ages', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, vol. 42, pp. 305-327, *Everyday Life in Medieval England*, (London), plus numerous articles. Schofield shares this opinion of Dyer's significance, Schofield, R. (2016), *Peasants and Historians. Debating the medieval English peasantry*, p. 139, 227.

<sup>318</sup> Dyer, 'Were late medieval English villages 'Self Contained?' p. 23.

<sup>319</sup> Dyer, 'The Consumer and the Market', pp. 257-281. In particular he notes that there are no household accounts for peasants,, p. 270.

<sup>320</sup> Bolton, J. L. (2012), *Money in the Medieval English Economy; 973-1489*, (2012), p. 188.

<sup>321</sup> Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, p. 188.



cash.<sup>322</sup> This does not necessarily mean that the lord's demand for coin was the driver of the peasants selling products on the market. It is possible that the peasantry began to sell surplus products beyond their own needs and that demanded by the local lord. Peasants with money in their pockets may have given the lords the opportunity to switch to money rents. The collecting of money rent as opposed to labour service and food renders was more efficient for manorial lords than organising unwilling labour and selling the peasant surpluses collected.

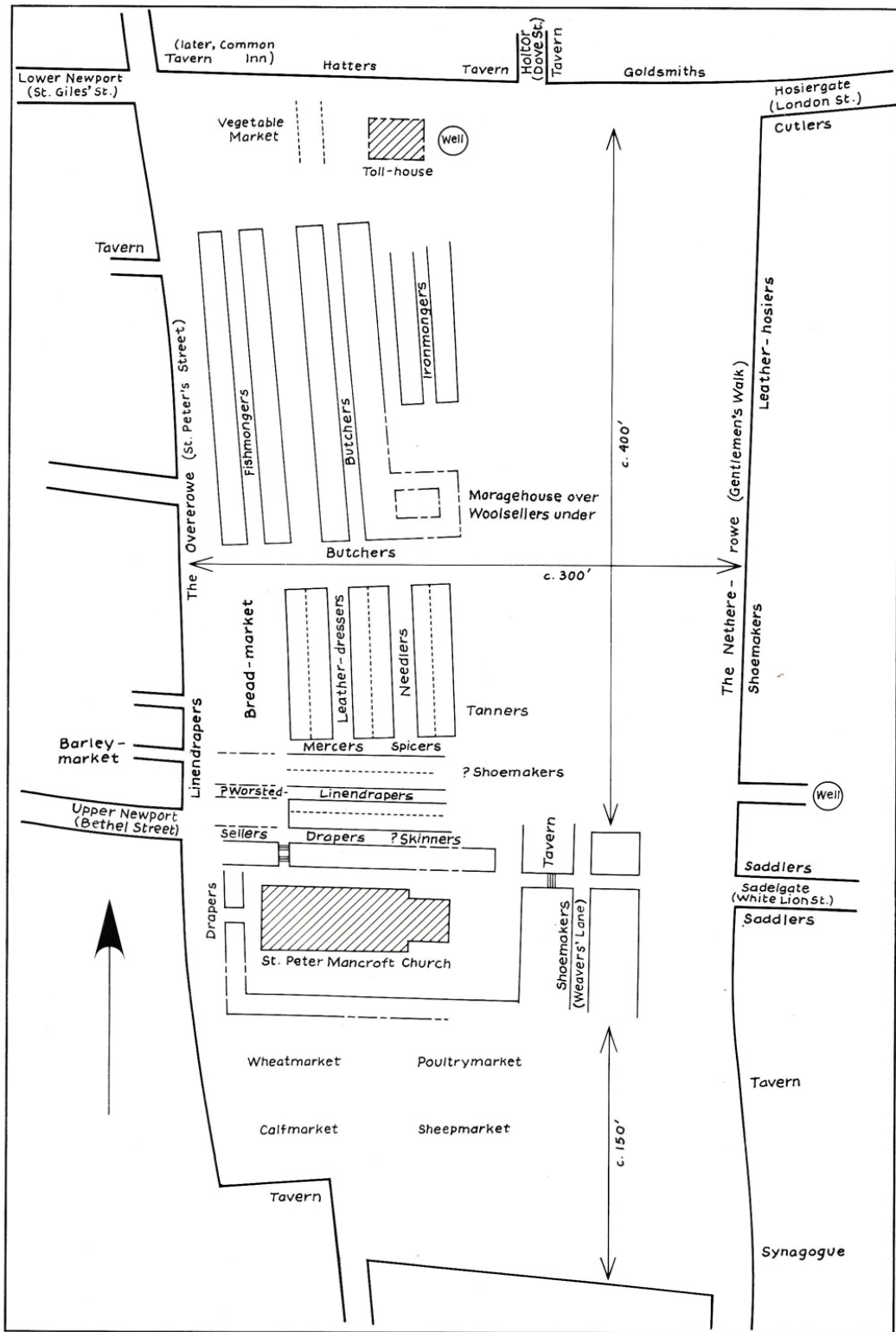
Masschaele argues that an examination of the lists of tolls at markets shows a 'common core of goods traded in all markets'.<sup>323</sup> A sketch map of Norwich market drawn by Priestly in the 1980s shows the range and location of items sold in c.1300 conforms to Masschaele's list of products (Figure 35).

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<sup>322</sup> Bolton *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, p. 189, Britnell, R. H. (2004), *Britain and Ireland 1050-1530. Economy and Society*, p. 278.

<sup>323</sup> Masschaele, *A Regional Economy in Medieval England*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, p. 79. (Quoted on page 25-26 above).

Figure 35: Sketch Map of Norwich Market at Around 1300



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Source: Priestly, U.(1987), *The Great Market, a survey of nine hundred years of Norwich Provision Market*, (Norwich), p. 9.

In addition to the goods sold in the major provision market of Norwich, there were markets in the city for the sale of pigs, timber, horses and weavers' dye.<sup>324</sup> One assumes that the smaller markets in the countryside did not sell many of the more expensive items. For example, Woolgar claims that only London could maintain a year round trade in spices.<sup>325</sup> This is not entirely the case as Priestly's map of Norwich provision market, Figure 35, shows an area where spicers carried out their trade. Of course Norwich was the second city of medieval England and if anywhere other than London was likely to have luxury goods it would be in that city. Even if Woolgar exaggerates somewhat, it seems that London *was* a major source of luxury goods. For example, when the men of the Paston family, the well-known letter writing family of Norfolk, were in London the women would send requests to purchase textiles and spices.<sup>326</sup> The very mention of spices and the establishment of spicers in major markets by 1300 emphasises that by this period the economy was linked, not only to the North Sea, but to the Mediterranean. In addition to spices there was that other mainstay of elite consumption: wine imported from the warmer parts of Europe.<sup>327</sup> The reverse of these flows into England were the flows of wool and grain into other parts of Europe.<sup>328</sup>

Archaeological research can be used to investigate the extent to which the goods that were on offer in markets were consumed by the peasantry. The amount of material is not massive because archaeology came relatively late

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<sup>324</sup> Priestly, *The Great Market*, p. 9.

<sup>325</sup> Woolgar, C. M. (2016), *The Culture of Food in England 1200-1500*, (London), p. 87.

<sup>326</sup> Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England*, p. 276. Although this may purely be that the men happened to be in London at the time these desires were manifest and hence we have letters which would be less likely to be sent if the Pastons were going into Norwich when a verbal request was all that was needed.

<sup>327</sup> Woolgar, *The Culture of Food in England 1200-1500*, p. 53.

<sup>328</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, pp. 89, 125 and Masschaele, *A Regional Economy in Medieval England*, p. 82.

to the study of the medieval countryside, principally seeing its major concern with the classical and the prehistoric. When it did broach the medieval period its major focus was often on buildings, with an emphasis on the urban and monumental.<sup>329</sup> The most fruitful source of archaeological information on peasant consumption is from the study of deserted medieval villages. The obvious reason for this is because, for medieval villages that did not become deserted the medieval core is usually still occupied by buildings, roads and gardens of the contemporary village. For example, at Sedgeford in Norfolk, which has been the subject of one of most well-known community digs in an existing village, nothing has been recorded on the life of the late medieval village, which like the present settlement sits north of the river Heacham. In contrast, there is a great deal of detail concerning the early medieval settlement which was south of the river.<sup>330</sup> The problem with a concentration on deserted medieval villages may be that they belong to a class of village that

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<sup>329</sup> Biddick, K. (ed.), (1984), *Archaeological Approaches to medieval Europe*, (London), p. 1. Platt, C. (1978), *Medieval England*, (London), Clarke, H. (1984), *The Archaeology of Medieval England*, (London), Hinton, D. A. (1990), *Archaeology, Economy and Society. England from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century*, (London). This prejudice in favour of buildings continues, for example, in Chapman A. (2010), *West Cotton, Raunds. A Study of Medieval Settlement dynamics AD 450-1450, Excavation of a deserted medieval hamlet in Northamptonshire 1985-89*. (Oxford), part two on the material and environmental evidence, as opposed to part one on the settlement dynamics, are not printed but contained on a CD, which few machines can now read.

<sup>330</sup> The SHARP Team, (2014), *Digging Sedgeford. A people's archaeology* (Cromer). Although it is possible that the reason for the focus on the southern banks of the river was because that was the land owned by the Campbell family who co-founded this long running series of excavations. There have recently been some archaeological investigations of the centres of modern villages. Carezza Lewis, (2015) 'Test pit excavation within currently occupied rural settlements; results of the East Anglian CORS project in 2014', *Medieval Settlement Research*, no. 30, pp 39-49.

went on to fail as settlements. This may be taken to mean that these were poorer villages and the archaeological evidence will reflect this and bias our view of medieval peasant life. This is unlikely because the driver of some, perhaps most, of the village failures was because they were subject to acquisition by the landowning elite in areas which possessed good quality farming land. For example, the actions of Thomas Thursby, the local landowner of Holt near King's Lynn, meant the village 'was the only Norfolk village which the Commission of Inquiry (set up in 1517 to investigate the effects of enclosure and conversion to pasture) reported as being totally depopulated by enclosing the land for pasture'.<sup>331</sup> Deserted medieval villages probably reflect a cross section of the types of villages, both rich and poor, that existed during the medieval era and became deserted in the period of capitalist development.

Dyer emphasises that a great deal of material found in archaeological excavation was purchased and not home produced: 'peasant households bought foodstuffs, clothing, footwear, implements and utensils'.<sup>332</sup> He notes that over time on average peasants ate more bread and less pottage, and drank more ale, and that the amount of meat consumed had also increased by the fifteenth century.<sup>333</sup> The foodstuffs that were being consumed by the peasantry in greater amounts as the Middle Ages progressed were in all likelihood purchased in village markets from other peasant households with their 'side hustles' or from the growing number of specialist producer/retailers such as bakers, brewers and butchers amongst others. Indeed, sea fish is found inland from an early date: Brian Ayers refers to the 'fish event horizon when consumption of marine fish increased rapidly and dramatically', at around AD 1000.<sup>334</sup> The well known excavation at Shapwick

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<sup>331</sup> <https://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk/record-details?MNF3402-Deserted-medieval-village-of-Holt>, (accessed 7-3-2023).

<sup>332</sup> Dyer, 'Were late medieval English villages 'Self Contained'? p. 23.

<sup>333</sup> Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 158-159.

<sup>334</sup> Ayers, B. (2016), *The German Ocean. Medieval Europe Around the North Sea*, (London), p. 7.

village in Somerset reveals that fish from the sea was being consumed in small quantities in the Middle Ages however in the nearby town of Langport 'large quantities of marine fish were being consumed' and in much larger quantities than at Shapwick.<sup>335</sup> Fox's work on fishing settlements of South Devon during the Middle Ages indicates that the demand for fish was significant and that the supply chains that started at coastal markets penetrated deep inland.<sup>336</sup>

Peasants often purchased their more durable possessions. Dyer splits possessions into tools and household items, the latter being sub-divided into items for food preparation and furnishings.<sup>337</sup> Dyer lists more tools utilised by the peasantry: plough fittings, harrows, ladders, horse shoes and a whole variety of hand tools, for example, hoes, rakes, winnows. Some of these would have presumably been hand made and the rest purchased (either in the market place, from local craftsmen (full or part-time) or sold by travelling pedlars). Smiths, bakers and brewers were all common craftspeople in the Middle Ages who may have specialised on a particular trade but could also have carried it out as a side activity.<sup>338</sup> The local crafts required specialised equipment but Dyer argues that other than the tools of smiths and fishermen, the cost of these tools was very small.

Turning to kitchen equipment, Dyer lists hand mills, stone mortars, kneading troughs, salting tubs and the more expensive items of metal cooking utensils; pots, grid irons and spits (in the richer peasant households). In addition there was the mainstay of much archaeology, ceramic objects. For example, in East Anglia, even in the early Middle Ages the wheel thrown pottery from Ipswich was ubiquitous. This was clearly not locally sourced,

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<sup>335</sup> Aston, M. and Gerrard, C. (2013), *Interpreting the English Village.*

*Landscape and Community at Shapwick, Somerset*, (Macclesfield), p. 215

<sup>336</sup> Fox, H. (2001), *The Evolution of the Fishing Village: Landscape and Society Along the South Devon Coast, 1086-1550*, (Oxford).

<sup>337</sup> Dyer, C. (1989), *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge), p. 171. A slightly sexist construction that implied that items for food production are not 'real' tools.

<sup>338</sup> Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 173.

although whether it came from markets or redistribution networks is unclear. However, it clearly involved long distance supply chains. Coming from further afield than Ipswich ware in early medieval East Anglia, were the precursor of the handmills, the lava quernstones from the Rhineland and Baltic. These have been found all over Norfolk and attest to the growth of the German Ocean trading zone indicated by the 'fish event horizon'.<sup>339</sup> Dyer illustrates the link to market provision by describing the metal goods found by the excavation at Grenstein led by Peter Wade-Martin. One house yielded 26 copper alloy items of buckles, strap ends, cooking vessels and approximately one hundred iron artefacts: knives, horseshoes, hinges, and most interestingly, parts of locks. As he notes these are likely to represent only a fraction of what passed through the house because metal objects can be recycled. Pottery cannot be recycled effectively and over 6,000 pieces of pottery were found at the one toft excavated. The pottery was manufactured not in the village but mainly at nearby Grimston although some came from Germany and France. There were the remains of millstones that were imported from the Rhineland, like the earlier quernstones. In addition, there were six hones for sharpening blades that came from Norway, giving further weight to Ayers' proposal of the medieval German Ocean trading zone.<sup>340</sup>

Another of Wade-Martin's excavations of a deserted medieval village was at Thuxton, a dig which, although based on three tofts, showed a much smaller number and range of material finds. On the whole, the finds were similar to those at Grenstein except less cosmopolitan.<sup>341</sup> The copperware included strap ends, buttons and so forth. Ironware included locks, parts of a cauldron, horseshoes and harness ring and knives. The pottery at Thuxton, again was from Grimston with only one shard of continental pottery. Whether

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<sup>339</sup> Ayers, *The German Ocean*. p. 22.

<sup>340</sup> Dyer, C and Lilley, K. (2012), 'Town and Countryside: Relationships and Resemblances' in, Christie, N and Stamper P. (eds), *Medieval Rural Settlement, Britain and Ireland, AD 800-1600*, (Oxford), pp. 81-98.

<sup>341</sup> Butler, L. and Wade-Martins, P. (1989), *The Deserted Medieval Village of Thuxton Norfolk*, (Norwich).

these objects found at Grenstein and Thuxton were market purchases, private transactions or came to these villages by other processes is difficult to work out. It is also worth emphasising the recovery of locks at both of these Norfolk excavations, which indicates the existence of possessions that were considered valuable and clearly above the level of bare subsistence.<sup>342</sup> It was speculated above with regard to Somerset that being nearer to a market tends to encourage a greater consumption of non-local products. The apparently more cosmopolitan finds at Grenstein could be that, unlike Thuxton, it is identified as the site of a medieval market and indeed the archaeological investigation at Grenstein did reveal an open space that could have fulfilled the function of a market place, something not found at Thuxton.<sup>343</sup> PAS evidence indicates that the growing peasant consumption revealed in these Norfolk excavations is typical generally.<sup>344</sup>

As Dyer points out, there are also more perishable items of consumption, such as clothing and wooden furniture that are not revealed by archaeological research.<sup>345</sup> According to the idealised model of the self contained village these would have been all made in the household or at least the local village. Casting doubt upon this is the widespread use of linen for under-garments and occasional references to silk.<sup>346</sup> It is clear that the peasantry consumed items that must have been produced beyond the

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<sup>342</sup> Whether finds from Norfolk are typical of England as a whole is subject to debate. Norfolk did have a reputation as both more commercialised, acquisitive and the inhabitants had a reputation for greed. Campbell, B. (1995), 'The Livestock of Chaucer's Reeve. Fact or Fiction' in De Windt, E. B. (ed.), *The Salt of Common Life. Individuality and Choice in the Medieval Town, Countryside and Church Essays Presented to J. Ambrose Raftis*, (Toronto), pp. 271-305, p. 305.

<sup>343</sup> Dymond, 'Medieval and Later Markets', pp. 76-77.

<sup>344</sup> The list of all the PAS finds (except for coins) for the medieval period are listed in the Appendix, Table 4.

<sup>345</sup> Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, pp. 173-177.

<sup>346</sup> Dyer, *Standards of living*, pp. 173-177.



confines of their village, and that such items would have been purchased at markets.

Not everything was purchased on markets. Dyer notes that *the* major item of peasant expenditure was housing:

Money spent on a dwelling house can be regarded as the largest consumption expenditure that a peasant made, both for the initial construction, and for regular maintenance that could have cost a shilling or two each year. Expenditure on agricultural buildings should be regarded as investment, bringing benefits to the efficiency of the farm in terms of better storage, healthier animals and well protected implements. Spending on buildings, at least for the better off peasants, increased in the thirteenth century, and for all of the peasantry after the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>347</sup>

The construction and maintenance of housing and farm buildings would, in most cases, have called upon the work of specialist craftsmen such as house carpenters, particularly as housing became more sophisticated. As Campbell notes, from the eleventh century onwards 'waged labour was the norm in the construction industry' and the products made by building workers was not something that could be purchased in an open market place.<sup>348</sup> Getting a worker in construction to apply their skills needed to be subject to some form of contractual economic agreement whether formal or informal. Another large possession was the cart which would have been purchased from a cartwright and not made by the peasant household or bought on a market.<sup>349</sup>

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<sup>347</sup> Dyer, *Standards of living*, pp.168-169.

<sup>348</sup> Campbell, B. M. S. (2016), *The Great Transition. Climate, Disease and Society in the Late-Medieval World*, (Cambridge), p. 96.

<sup>349</sup> Campbell *The Great Transition*, p. 96, Dyer points out that iron tyres are only really necessary for journeys to market, a study of the penetration of iron tyres into the peasant economy may give be a useful indicator of commercialisation. Dyer, *Standards of living*, p. 171.

Indeed it is likely that agricultural tools such as plough shares and such like were probably commissioned directly from village craftsmen and also not purchased on markets.

## **Conclusion**

Medieval consumption, particularly by the peasantry, reveals important aspects of the medieval economy. Most significantly, villages were not self-contained in terms of what they consumed and what they produced. They were part of an international trading system in which fish, wine, ceramics and various luxuries flowed into England, and wool and corn flowed out. The peasantry appear to have benefitted from this trade as their diet seems to have improved, and the range and the amount of their possessions increased to such an extent that locks, required to prevent theft, appear to be in common use. Perhaps the most important change brought about is the growth in coin reaching the peasantry to enable them to make these purchases. In regard to the question of who was driving market formation, the balance of probability lies with an increase in peasant consumption stimulated by international demand for peasant products. It is known that a large number of the village markets created during this period did not survive into the early modern period. What happened to them is the subject of the next chapter.

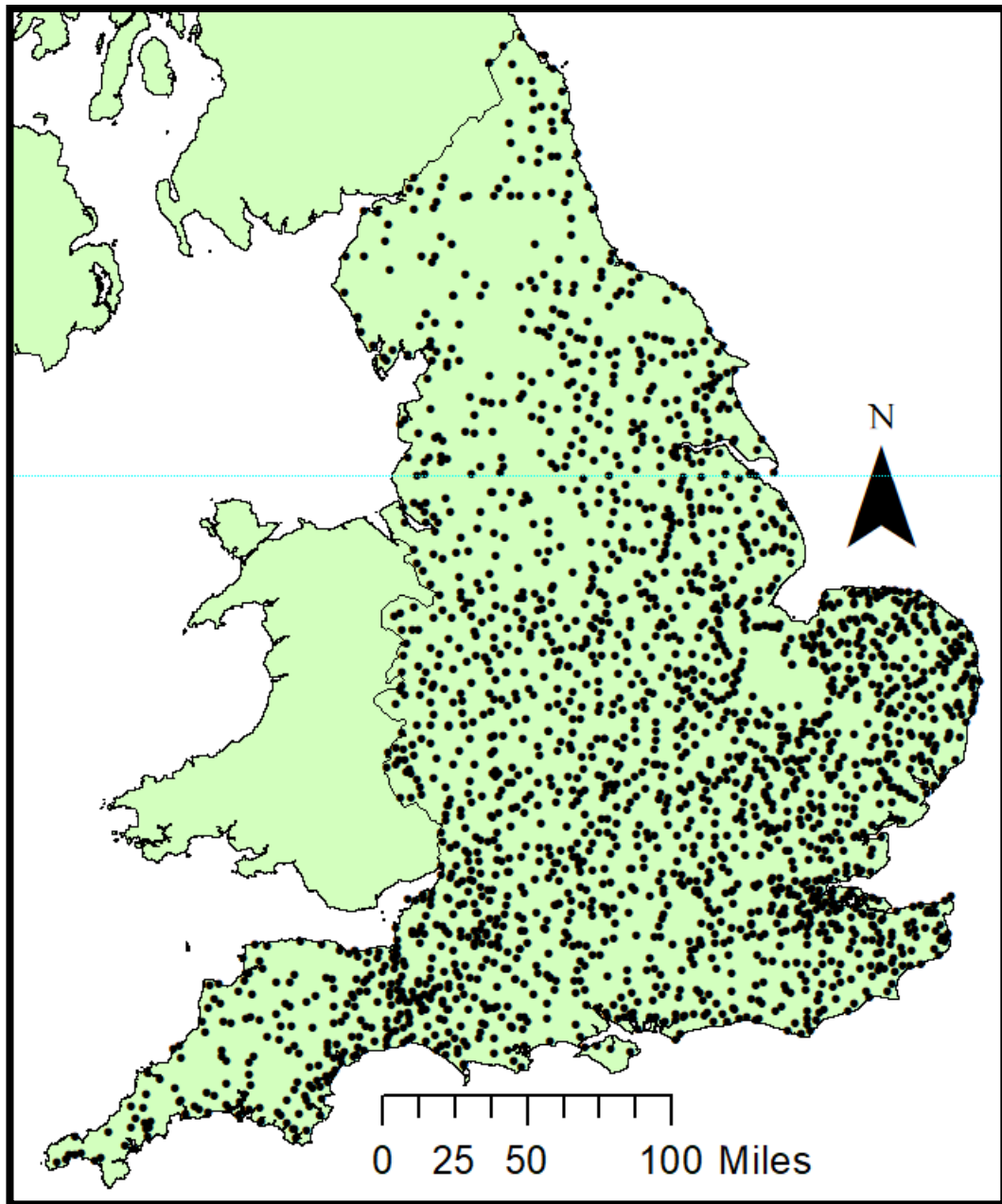
## **Chapter Eight: The Nature of Market Decline in the Modern Period Before the Twentieth Century**

Non-documentary evidence shows that the peak period for the number of markets was during the Middle Ages, most probably the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. This raises two questions that are tackled in this chapter. Firstly, what led to the decline in markets? Secondly, did the nature of markets change as their numbers declined? The chapter also examines what happened to markets during the modern period prior to the twentieth century.

### **The Decline of Village Markets**

It is possible to map the 2,184 places with documentary evidence for medieval markets, as shown in Figure 36. These will not have necessarily all have existed for the whole period from Domesday to 1500 and some may have only had a short period of activity. In addition there were many more markets that it is not possible to map because we do not know their location. However, we do know they existed by extrapolating from the survival of non-documentary evidence. Even so, Figure 36 shows a remarkable coverage of markets for the medieval period.

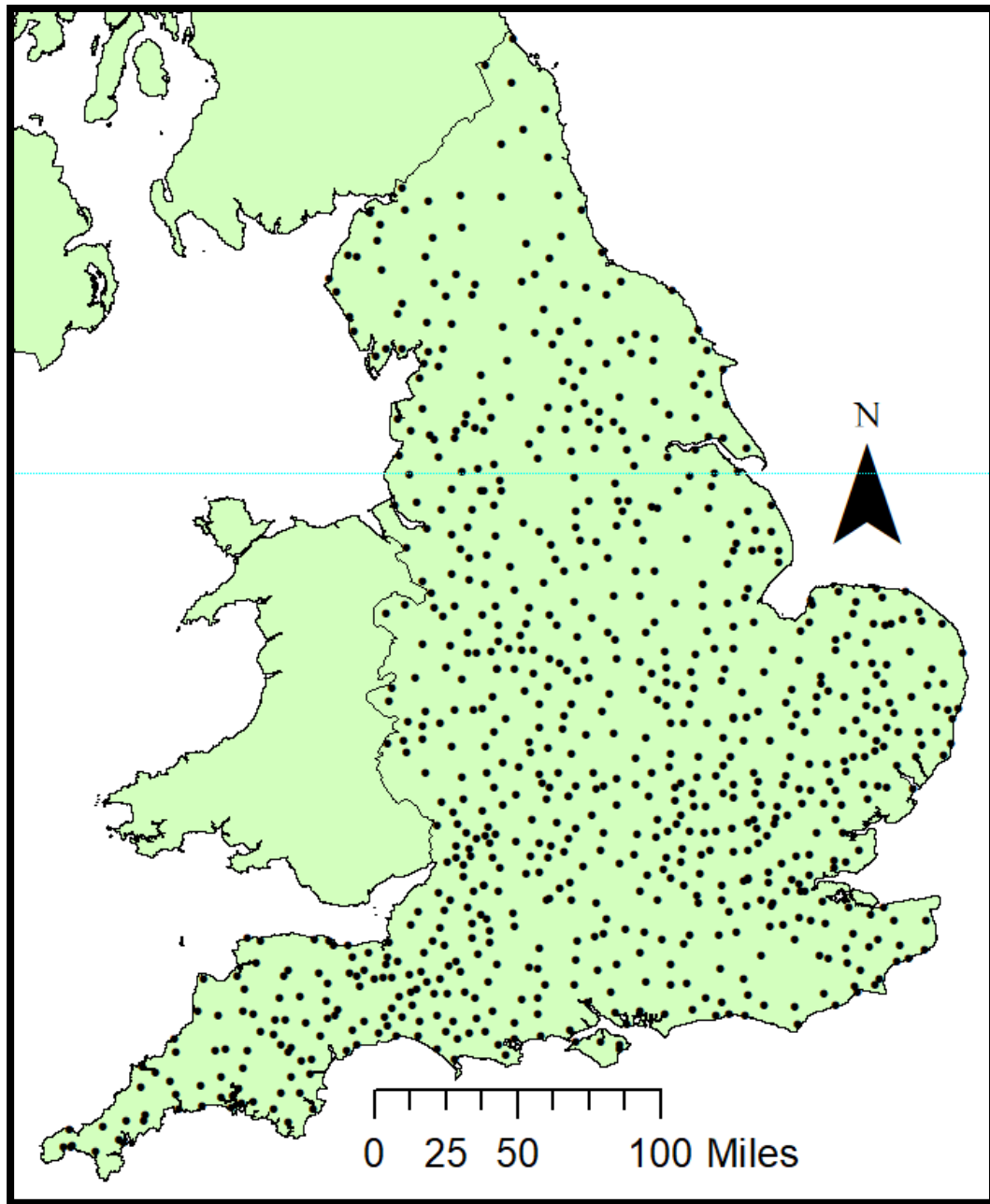
Figure 36: Markets with Medieval Market Documents



As can be seen, there were many places in the medieval period that are recorded as having markets at some point in time. Not every village had a market but there may have been a market for every group of four or five villages. This was probably to enable the peasantry in the different villages to deal with variations in surpluses of different products between the different villages in an area and in addition to limit the number of places that merchants and pedlars had to visit to sell their wares.

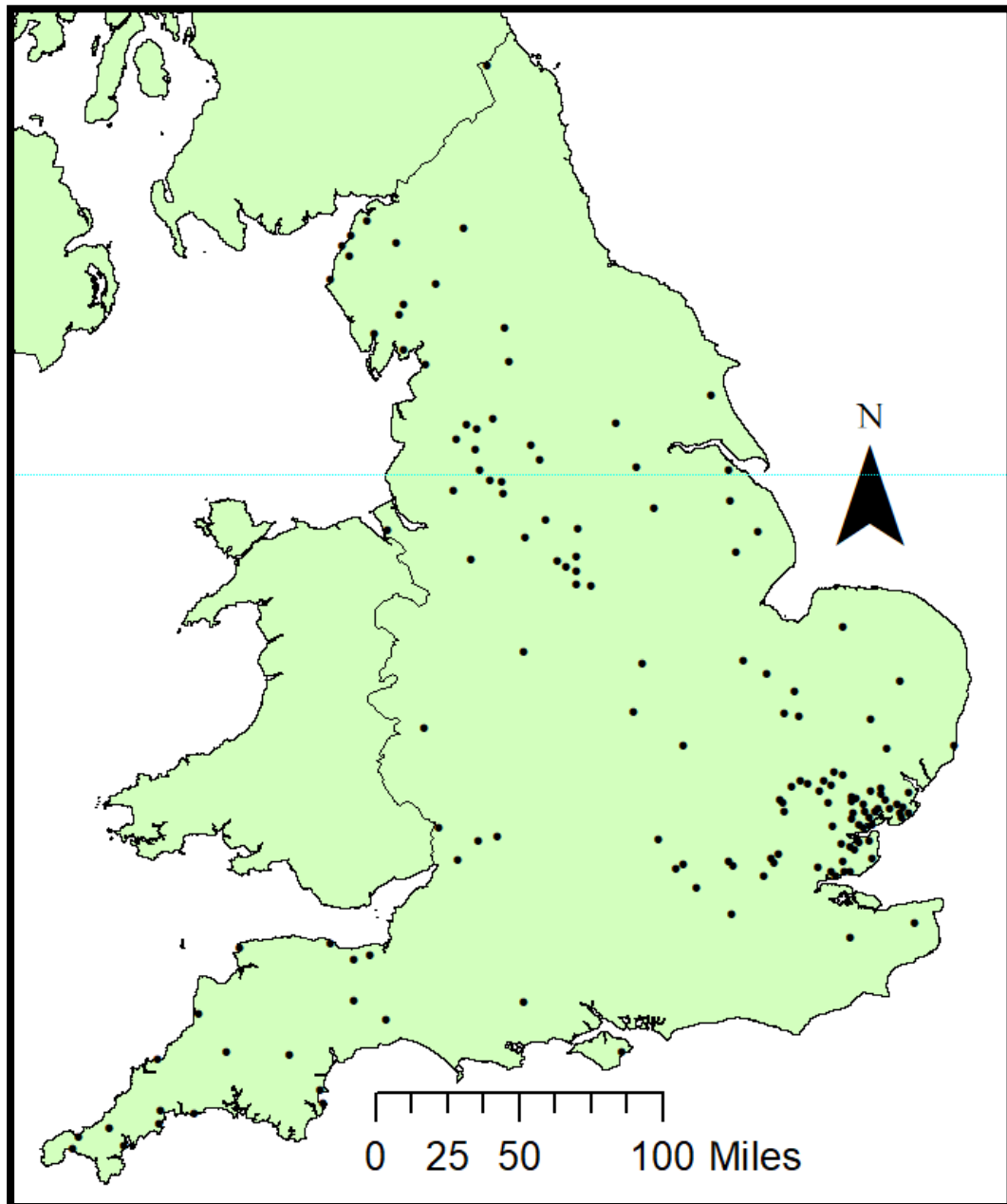
There are 988 markets recorded for 1500. This figure is about one third of the number of markets estimated to exist in 1350. Figure 37 shows the markets existing in 1500.

Figure 37: Markets in 1500



This map shows a reduction in numbers across the country compared to the medieval period. The decline seems to be most marked in East Anglia but it also shows that there was still a widespread coverage of markets and that nowhere was particularly far from a market. Indeed further analysis shows that certain areas became better served with markets. Figure 38 shows early modern markets that have no documentary evidence for medieval markets.

Figure 38: Markets First Recorded in the Early Modern Period with No Recorded Medieval Antecedents<sup>350</sup>



<sup>350</sup> The places are recorded in the Appendix 11.



The maps show that the history of markets is not just one of decline but that within this overall decline there is adjustment to changing circumstances. They seem to show new markets in the Fens, the North and the South West Peninsula which were not as well served as other areas in the medieval period.

In the medieval period there were places that specialised in certain products but not as many as during the early modern market. An obvious specialisation of the medieval period was the coastal fish markets and in London the livestock market at Smithfield was distinct from the main market at Cheapside, a type of separation that was found elsewhere, for example, Norwich.<sup>351</sup> According to Everitt by 1500 there were specialist markets in many agricultural and other products:

In summary, it appears that out of a total of some 800 market towns in England and Wales, rather more than three hundred tended to specialise in the marketing of some product. Of these eight hundred, 133 specialised in the sale of corn, twenty-six in malt and six or more in fruit; ninety-two in cattle, thirty-two in sheep, thirteen in horses, and fourteen in swine; thirty or more in fish, twenty-one in wildfowl and poultry, and twelve in cheese and butter. There were probably well over thirty wool and yarn markets, and twenty-seven or more cloth markets; eleven markets for leather or leather products, eight for linen, and at least four for hemp. Scattered about the country were a number of highly specialised markets, such as Bewdley for caps, Malton for farming implements, Langport for pecked eels, Evesham for stockings and Wymondham in Norfolk for wooden spoons, taps and handles.<sup>352</sup>

In addition to these specialties, it is clear that markets would have continued to sell more general fare. Markets also varied according to the range of goods

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<sup>351</sup> See Figure 35, p. 273.

<sup>352</sup> Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', pp. 495-496.

on offer. The many markets and shops of London had the greatest range and the most luxury goods, followed by those of the other major cities of the land such as, Norwich, Bristol and York. Dyer argues that there is a further distinction to be drawn between the large county towns and the small towns;

The large towns were closely connected with aristocracy, and indeed the leading citizens behaved to some extent like aristocrats. The small towns had strong links to the peasantry.<sup>353</sup>

Dyer argues that by the end of the Middle Ages peasants were regular attendees at town markets.<sup>354</sup> He argues that the growth in the range of possessions owned by the peasants came from the markets of small towns. The market towns offered a wider choice of consumer goods than the village markets. Dyer argues that this attracted the peasantry to the towns and led to the decline of the village markets which mainly offered the surplus products of neighbours.<sup>355</sup>

As markets got further away than the local village, there was a change in the way that peasants carried their goods to market. Langdon argues that in the later Middle Ages 'the rise of horse hauling and the renewed growth of the markets in England occur so closely together as to be almost simultaneous'.<sup>356</sup> Horse transport reduced the costs of transporting goods to markets. However, purchasing the horse power to gain that economic advantage had high entry costs; horses themselves were costly but so was the more sophisticated equipment such as collars and harnesses when compared

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<sup>353</sup> Dyer, C. (2002), 'Small places with large consequences: the importance of small towns in England, 1000-1540', *Historical Research*, vol. 75, no. 197, February, pp.1-24, p. 2.

<sup>354</sup> Dyer, 'Were late medieval English villages 'Self Contained'? in Dyer, C. (ed.), *The Self Contained Village?* p. 24.

<sup>355</sup> Dyer, 'The Consumer and the Market in the Later Middle Ages', p. 181.

<sup>356</sup> Langdon, J. (2002), *Horses, Oxen and Technoogical Innovation, The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066-1500*, (London), p. 286.

to the cost of the simple yoke on a rigid draught pole needed for an ox cart.<sup>357</sup> Horse equipment was the product of specialist craft workers based in towns and not villages. The increasing distance from markets coupled with the increased capital costs of horse transport will have contributed to some peasants being unable to compete and therefore losing the sales revenue necessary to pay the rents required to retain access to land. Schofield claims that during the mid-fifteenth century the heightened polarisation of land holdings led to a growth in wage labour in the countryside.<sup>358</sup> Mullen and Britnell, agree that the number of wage labourers grew but argue that it was because wage labour had become increasingly attractive.<sup>359</sup> However, in certain cases the decline in the peasant population was not due to choice. The growing demand for wool and meat and the consequent demand for pasture led to peasant evictions.<sup>360</sup> The process of enclosure and the creation of deserted villages was widespread, and many of these settlements would previously have had their own markets.<sup>361</sup> For example, Burton Dassett in Gloucestershire had a market charter granted in 1267 and was once known as Chipping Dassett. The village lost both its peasantry and market when Sir Richard Belknap turned the whole of the parish over to pasture in the late

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<sup>357</sup> Gerraint Jenkins, J. (1981), *The English Farm Wagon. Origins and Structure*, (Reading), p. 7.

<sup>358</sup> Schofield, *Peasants and Historians*, p. 189, and as discussed in chapter 6.

<sup>359</sup> Mullan, J. and Britnell, R. (2010), *Land and Family. Trends and Local variations in the peasant land market on the Winchester bishopric Estates, 1263-1415* (Hatfield), p. 148, Bailey, *The Decline of Serfdom*, p. 336, Dyer 'An Age of Transition', p. 195. Britnell *Britain and Ireland*, p. 444 Hesse, M. (1998), *Medieval Field Systems and Land Tenure in South Creake Norfolk*, *Norfolk Archaeology*, no. 43, pp.75-9

<sup>360</sup> As discussed in chapter 7.

<sup>361</sup> Beresford, M. (1954), *The Lost Villages of England*, (London), Dyer, C. (2012), *A Country Merchant 1495-1520. Trading and Farming at the End of the Middle Ages*, (Oxford), pp. 230-231.

fifteenth century.<sup>362</sup> Another possible example of market loss through village desertion in the medieval period is the village of Grenstein (Norfolk) discussed in Chapter Seven.<sup>363</sup> The decline in the number of peasant producers and their transformation into wage workers who only had their labour to sell meant a reduction in the number of people with products to sell at markets. Given that village markets in the medieval period appeared to have served a small group of villages in an area, where those areas were subject to depopulation the need for markets will have reduced drastically.

The decline in the number of village markets was arguably accelerated by the rise of private trading carried out away from markets. The practice of selling goods privately was not an offence other than if they were sold on the way to market in which case this was the offence of forestalling. Forestalling was seen as leading to price fixing and there had been laws against the practice since the times of the Anglo-Saxon kings. In fact the offence of forestalling was not removed from the statute book until 1772.<sup>364</sup> However, these rules did not apply if the goods purchased were directly for household use and Davis argues it was always seen as legitimate for a merchant to buy goods before they had been dispatched to a market.<sup>365</sup>

Households for this purpose included large monasteries and many such institutions engaged in private trading. For example, Philip Slavin's research on Norwich Cathedral Priory shows that between 1383 and 1536 only 3% of the grain purchased to feed the brothers came from the Norwich Market Place. Most grain was purchased in private transactions.<sup>366</sup> This is in spite of the fact that 80% of all purchased grain came from within 2.5 miles of the

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<sup>362</sup> *Gazetteer of Markets*, (accessed 9-3-23), Beresford, *Lost villages*, pp. 131-132, 192-193, 435, Dyer, *A Country Merchant*, p. 34.

<sup>363</sup> Dymond, 'Medieval and Later Markets', p. 77.

<sup>364</sup> Hallet, *Markets and Marketplaces of Britain*, p.36.

<sup>365</sup> Davis, *Medieval Market Morality*. pp. 254-255,

<sup>366</sup> Slavin, P. (2012), *Bread and Ale for the Bretheren. The provisioning of Norwich Cathedral Priory 1260-1536*, (Hatfield), p. 29.

city.<sup>367</sup> Most of the Priory's grain was sourced by purchasing directly from merchants who delivered 'door to door'.<sup>368</sup> Slavin argues that the Priory authorities 'always preferred, as much as possible to purchase their grain at the farm gate rather than at local public markets'.<sup>369</sup>

Not only did direct purchasing mean that goods were delivered directly to where they were wanted but they were also discounted, most often by 5%. This discount was known as 'advantagium mercatoris' and was common throughout England.<sup>370</sup> For example, Dyer notes that Battle and Pershore Abbeys also avoided their local markets and purchased in bulk in order to gain discounts and higher quality goods.<sup>371</sup> *Advantagium mercatoris* could be practiced without breaking the rules of forestalling because it accorded with the idea of Christian gift giving. It was claimed, or believed, that private exchanges that took place outside the market conformed to the market price even when they were lower than the market price. This was because if the purchaser was a trusted friend it was perfectly reasonable to gift for free an amount of any product over and above what was purchased at the market price, just as any true and trusted friend or family member would have been treated.<sup>372</sup> Many buyers, monasteries and merchants, were viewed as trusted friends and given discounts when they purchased in bulk.

That discounts were given on large purchases indicates the often overlooked fact that selling is a physical activity that generates costs and is not the frictionless process assumed by economic theory. There are costs involved in getting the goods to the market and the transactions of buying and selling themselves. An important implication of this latter is that it is less expensive to make a single bulk transaction with one trading partner rather

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<sup>367</sup> Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, pp. 29-28. Although clearly not every year, he notes that in 1413 some 31% came from North Elmham.

<sup>368</sup> Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, p. 29.

<sup>369</sup> Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, p. 26.

<sup>370</sup> Britnell, *Advantagium Mercatoris*, pp 37-50.

<sup>371</sup> Dyer, 'Small places' p. 15.

<sup>372</sup> Britnell, 'Advantagium Mercatoris' p 47.

than multiple transactions with many different traders. The fiction underlying the practice of *advantagium mercatoris* probably freed private trading, on the part of large institutions and the rich, from the feeling of stigma of being linked to forestalling.<sup>373</sup> As Davis argues, many of the market regulations against forestalling and other activities had always been directed at petty traders.<sup>374</sup> By the early modern period, although forestalling was seen as an issue, it was principally directed against middlemen who added no value and were believed to be trying to swindle the poor.<sup>375</sup>

Everitt argues that by the early modern period private trading away from the market had increased beyond the levels practiced in the medieval period.<sup>376</sup> Private trading was not limited to the elite. It may be that the growth in village ale houses during the medieval period may have provided a place for transactions to take place away from the market. Ale houses were the forerunner of the inns that Everitt identifies as the main site for business in the early modern era:

The Elizabethan and Stuart Inn has no exact counterpart in the modern world. It was the hotel, the bank, the warehouse, the exchange, the scriveners office and the market place of many a private trader. Few English towns or market villages were without their handful of inns.<sup>377</sup>

In the medieval period, the ale houses of market villages may not have been as fully developed for business as the inns of later years but as a site for negotiating deals they may have enabled private trading. Private trading in turn may have stimulated the development and need for ale houses and their transformation into their more sophisticated descendent, the inn. Davis

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<sup>373</sup> Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, p. 26.

<sup>374</sup> Davis, *Medieval Market Morality*, p. 260.

<sup>375</sup> Davis, *Medieval Market Morality*, p. 438.

<sup>376</sup> Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', pp. 466-592, pp. 506-563.

<sup>377</sup> Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', p. 559.

argues that during the Middle Ages the major group of people engaged in purchasing outside of markets were 'bakers, brewers, cooks or innkeepers', the very groups whose presence had been increasing within the villages.<sup>378</sup> These groups circumvented any claim of forestalling because they were not merchants attempting to fix prices but they were buying for their own household consumption, even if that household included paying customers.<sup>379</sup> Instead of peasant producers selling on the market, they could legitimately sell their products directly to the increasing number of retailers.

As Masschaele argues, the advantage of markets for merchants was that, rather than a tour around all the peasant households in the district, they enabled products to be more efficiently 'bulked' into the large quantities required. This was particularly useful given the number of producers.<sup>380</sup> According to Masschaele the commodities peasants were principally selling prior to the Black Death were grain and wool because:

on a rough estimate, in most parts of the country the production of grain and wool probably accounted for somewhere between one half and two thirds of all available land and capital resources in the two centuries prior to the arrival of the Black Death. When we consider the production of these basic staples, we can safely assume that we are dealing with the preeminent commodities generated in the peasant economy of the period.<sup>381</sup>

With a reduction in the number of peasant producers during the course of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the need for merchants to visit small village markets to build up stocks for sale may have reduced.<sup>382</sup> Some former

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<sup>378</sup> Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', p. 555.

<sup>379</sup> Davis, *Medieval Market Morality*, pp. 254-255.

<sup>380</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 5.

<sup>381</sup> Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, p. 5.

<sup>382</sup> Schofield, *Peasants and Historians. Debating the Medieval Peasantry*, p. 189, Mullan and Britnell, *Land and Family*, p. 148.

peasant families had risen very high. Families like the Townshends in Norfolk and the Spencers in Northamptonshire possessed flocks of several thousand sheep by the end of the medieval period.<sup>383</sup> Their wool was sold directly to merchants.<sup>384</sup> Producers who were much smaller than the large 'flock masters' began to sell to merchants, as shown in Dyer's study of John Heritage's wool trading business during the years 1495-1520. Heritage purchased wool from many small producers in villages that appear never to have had markets, for example, Cherrington, Great Wolford and Stourton (all in Warwickshire). Presumably, prior to the emergence of merchants such as Heritage's who did business with small producers 'at the farm gate' the peasantry had taken their product to markets to sell.<sup>385</sup>

By the early modern period it was seen as both normal and legitimate to sell directly to a merchant without taking goods to market. Everitt speaks of a growth in private trading in the early modern era when 'bargains between individual farmers and tradesmen took place whenever they happened to meet one another'.<sup>386</sup> For example, in the 1640s, 40 oyster fishermen from Burnham Norton (Norfolk) were accused of forestalling by local landowners who were keen to overthrow the right of the men to harvest oysters from salt marshes the landlords wished to drain. They argued the oyster-men were engaging in forestalling because only one merchant, Thomas Hooper, purchased all the oysters without the shellfish going to market. The claim was rejected on the basis that selling to one merchant had become common practice.<sup>387</sup> In the same county during the 1780s, the

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<sup>383</sup> Moreton, C. E. (1992), *The Townshends and their World: Gentry, Law and Land in Norfolk c. 1450-1551*, (Oxford), Dyer, *A Country Merchant 1495-1520*, p. 147.

<sup>384</sup> Moreton, *The Townshends*.

<sup>385</sup> Dyer, *A Country Merchant 1495-1520*, p. 105.

<sup>386</sup> Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', p. 506.

<sup>387</sup> Smith, P. (2013), 'Beyond the Sea Wall: The Case of the Fishermen of Burnham Marshes', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol xlvii, part 1, 2013, pp. 37-44.



famous diarist Parson Woodforde almost always sold the grain from his glebe land to the corn dealer Mr Bloome.<sup>388</sup> In these two cases, even when selling simple commodities, dealing with an established trading partner was preferred to buying and selling on a market. Even though there was a market at Burnham at the time that Hooper had ‘cornered the market’ in Burnham oysters and Mr Bloome operated in Norwich the location of a significant market for corn. In many spheres of economic activity long standing relationships have probably been the norm. As was shown in Chapter seven, the peasantry made contracts with various village specialists, whose number was limited, for the provision of housing, carts, tools, furniture and other larger items.

The decline in the number of markets between the period of the first three Edwards and the start of the early modern period is remarkable. There were a number of causes of this huge transformation in the nature of the economy. One is the decline in the number of peasant producers and their replacement by farmers who employed large numbers of wage labourers to produce grain and wool in much greater quantities than their small holding predecessors, and indeed ancestors. Unlike the economic fiction of frictionless trading there are always transaction costs.<sup>389</sup> Engaging in any act of buying and selling is an activity which uses up resources and some transactions are more costly in terms of effort than others, whether that effort is physical or ensuring a trading partner behaves as expected. For a merchant, reducing the number of visits increased the efficiency of the process of

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William Neve on of the projectors accused Hooper of being a forestaller.

Although this was in the middle of a legal dispute it does seem that the line between the advantage of the merchant and forestalling is unclear.

<sup>388</sup> Woodforde, J. (1978), *Diary of a Country Parson*, (Oxford), p. 321.

<sup>389</sup> Williamson, O. E. (1975), *Markets and Hierarchies. Analysis and Antitrust Implications*, (New York), Williamson, O. E. (1985), *The Economic Institutions of Capitalism* (New York); Hodgson, G. M. (2001), *How economics forgot history; The problem of historical specificity in social science*, (London), p. 251.

bulking the quantities they needed, but in addition, the reduced number of transactions carried also reduced the cost of doing business. When there were millions of peasant producers the existence of village markets, even though they numbered 3,000 or so, was easier than visiting every peasant croft and toft. Even better for the merchant was the decline in the number of markets that had occurred by the start of the early modern period.

The decline in market numbers was due to a range of push and pull factors. Peasants wanted the greater range of products supplied by town markets. Merchants wanted to reduce the cost of doing business by operating in larger markets. These two factors did not just mean a reduction in the number of markets but also stimulated the growth in private trading. Elites preferred not to buy on markets because it was more efficient to buy direct from merchants many of whom delivered both 'door to door' and prices were discounted because of the practice of *advantagium mercatoris*. The nature of the relationship between markets and private transactions has not been investigated either theoretically or empirically, leading to a distortion of our understanding of the economy of the medieval period or any other era. The decline in the number of markets and the growth in private trading, and the presumed growth in the bulk and value of transactions, meant rising costs and reduced competitiveness for those peasant households that produced small quantities and were far distant from markets. This pushed them into wage labour, possibly initially as a bi-employment but ultimately as full time wage labourers deprived of access to land. This gives a new understanding of the process by which peasants were turned into the working class. The process of separation from the means of production is in part driven by the separation from the means of exchange, a process akin to Max Weber's view of modernisation leading to a general expropriation of autonomous individuals in many fields.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>390</sup> Weber, M. (1948) 'Politics as a Vocation' in *From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology. Edited with an Introduction by H. H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills* (London), pp. 77-128, p. 82.

This increase in the concentration in land holdings and the growth of larger scale farms and the size of the rural proletariat increased the amount of private trading and the pressure on smaller markets. Eventually the majority of the population became commodities themselves. The extent to which the engagement with markets of the English medieval ruling elites and peasantry during the era of 'peak market' made this cultural transition possible would be an interesting topic that cannot be pursued here. Polanyi implies that the creation of wage labour was driven by the elites, but there is a question of the extent to which the working population also accepted the legitimacy of buying and selling labour like other commodities.<sup>391</sup> In the next section we examine the position and role of markets in the post-medieval period

### **Core Markets and 'Market Churn'**

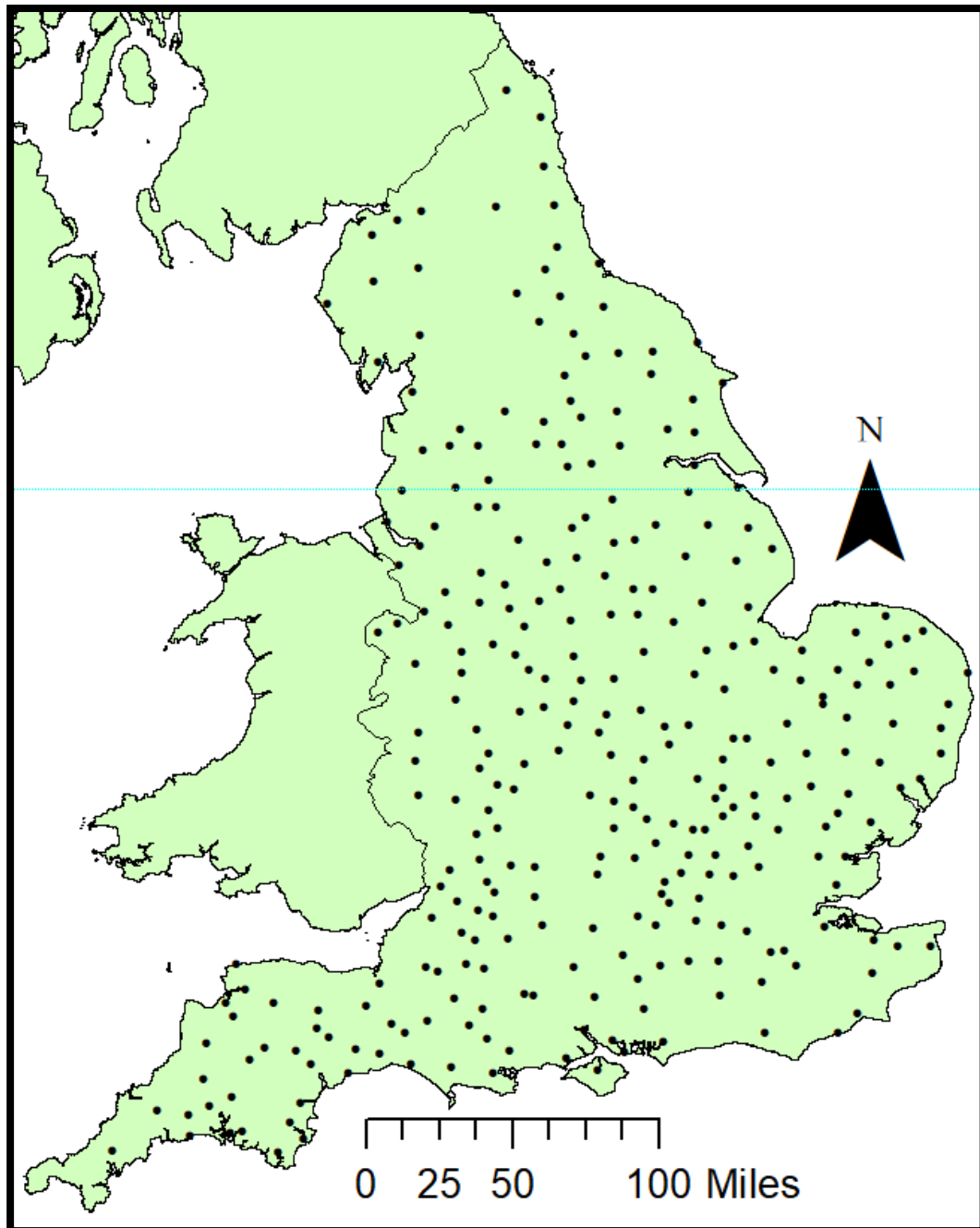
Throughout the history of markets there is what can be considered a stable core of places that have held markets for most of the medieval era until the present. These can be called the 'core markets' of England as opposed to places that have markets that come and go. In order to identify which places can be considered part of this stable core it cannot be presumed that they appear on every list of markets used to create the data set because only 102 places do, and there are some very surprising omissions; for example, Gloucester, Liverpool, Norwich, Southampton and Worcester, all of which undoubtedly did have markets for the whole of the modern period. In order to identify the core markets the research combined the market lists for certain time periods: pre-1500, 1500-1699, 1700-1899 and 1900-2000. It was decided that if a place has a record of a market in each of these time periods then it was clearly a stable feature of the English economy and could be considered as a core market. This procedure identified 460 core markets in England (excluding the Greater London Area). This core constitutes four

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<sup>391</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* .

percent of all places listed in the data set. These core markets are listed in Appendix List 4. That list comprises places that people would easily recognise as the main market towns of England, their locations are shown Figure 39.

Figure 39: Core Markets of England (those recorded for all periods)



The core markets are based in towns and, perhaps unsurprisingly, 30% of the core markets are found in the major urban centres that make up around 8.4% of the area of England. The implication of the urban nature of markets indicates that there is some form of symbiotic relationship between markets and other parts of the urban settlement. One suspects this relates to a number of factors: the existence of a range of goods and services that were not available at the smaller markets, the workshops and retail outlets of specialist crafts people, merchants bringing goods from further afield than the locality, and the existence of inns, taverns, hotels and entertainment venues. An economic theory that is based on the concept of the naturalness of the market overlooks the fact that markets are physical institutions that exist in both a physical environment and a social environment.

There were 226 places that had markets from the medieval period until the end of the nineteenth century whose markets had ceased to exist by 1935. That is one third of what had been the core markets of England ceased to function.<sup>392</sup> This may not be as significant as the disappearance of the medieval village markets but it is still a very large reduction. The decline of market numbers during this period is probably caused by a number of factors: the decline in the rural population, the decimation wrought by the First World War, the Great Depression and other economic problems of the inter-war period and the changing nature of retail provision.<sup>393</sup>

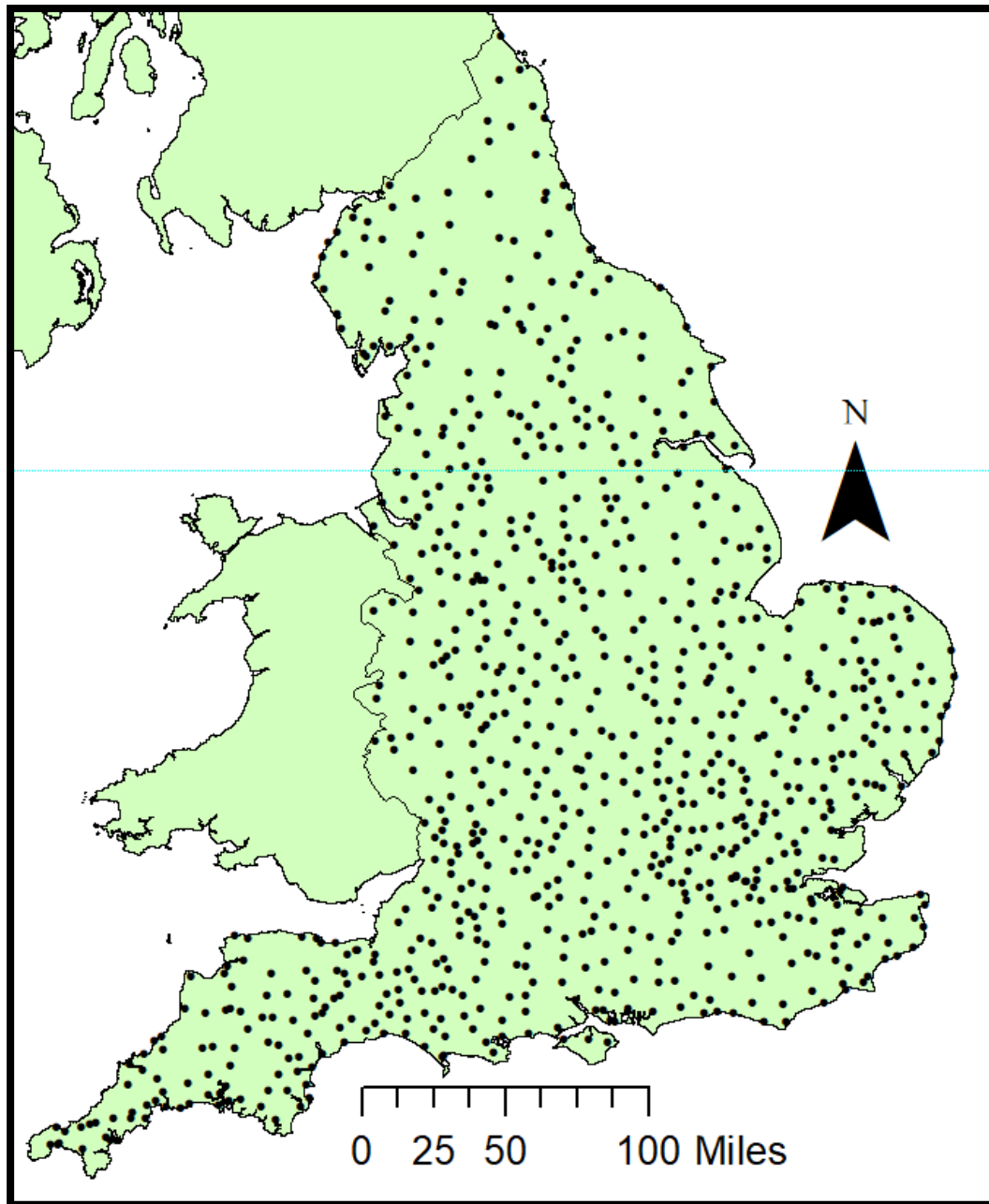
Markets have always come and gone in a process that could be called 'market churn'. For example, Figure 40, shows the markets that existed at any time between 1650 and 1820, this can be compared with Figure 37 which maps the markets recorded in 1500.

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<sup>392</sup> These are listed in List 5 in the Appendix p. 413.

<sup>393</sup> Mingay, G. E. (1990), *Rural Life in Victorian England*, (Stroud), chapter 9, Alford, B. W. E. (1972), *Depression and Recovery? British Economic Growth 1918-1939*, (London), and Chapter 9 on the changing nature of retail.

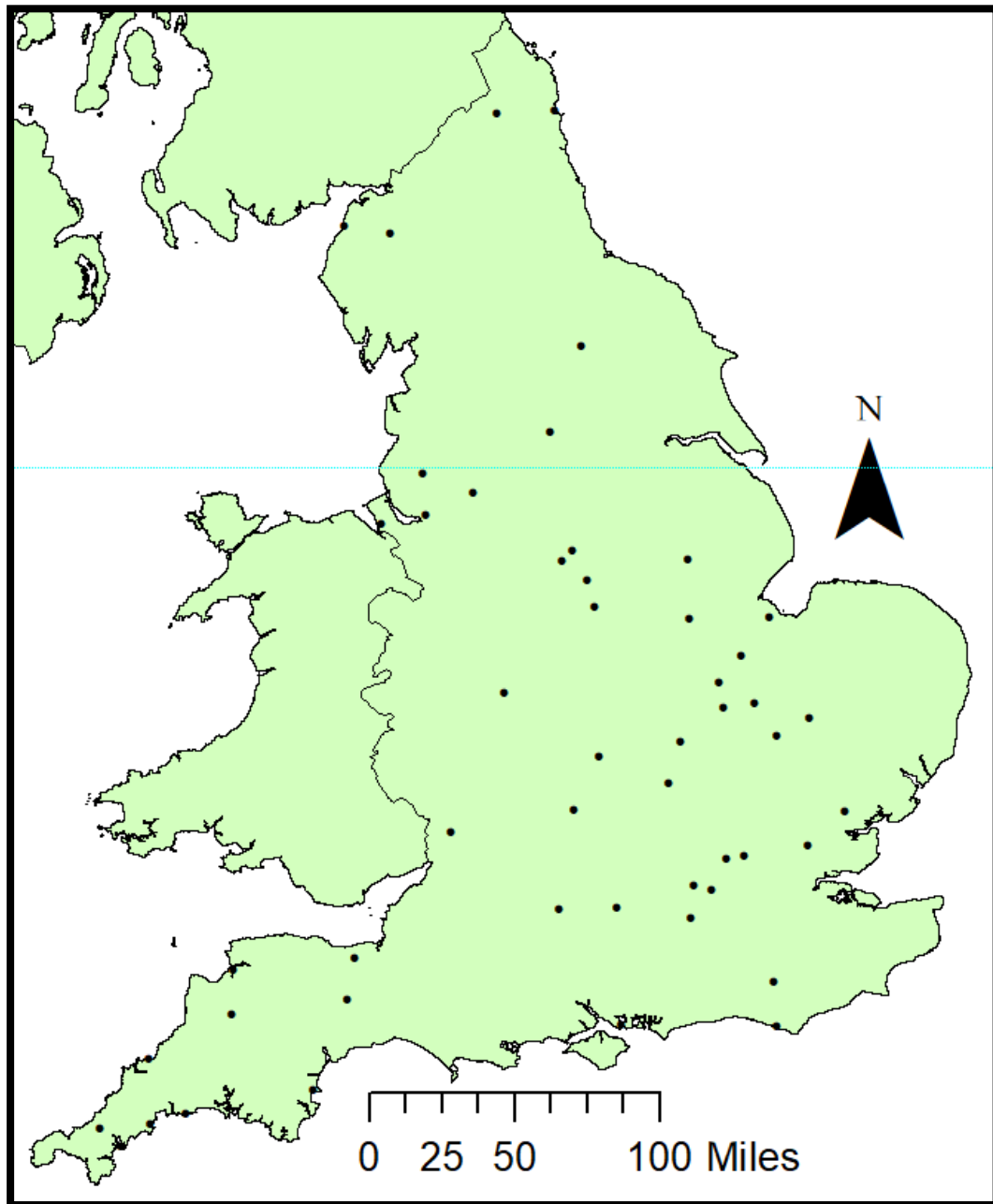
Figure 40: Markets Recorded 1650-1820



Although there are 49 more markets shown in this map, which covers a longer period of time, these are not all new markets. The earlier map has 86 markets that no longer exist in the later period and the later period has 135 markets that did not exist in 1500. It is this coming and going of markets peripheral to the core of markets that is meant by 'market churn'. 'Market churn' can be illustrated in Figure 41, which maps the markets that existed between 1690 and 1820 but which are not recorded by Everitt in 1640 or the Royal Commission on Markets in the 1880s.



Figure 41: Markets Existing at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century but Not Listed by Everitt or the Royal Commission



The map reveals that some markets come and go within a short number of years, even within an overall secular decline in the number of markets. What fleeting local need the markets in Figure 41 served is unclear without detailed local research.

## **Markets and the Industrial Revolution**

Changes in the location of markets is not just subject to 'market churn'. Major structural changes in the economy can have an impact. One of the major changes during the modern era was the growth of industry, particularly the era which began during the late eighteenth century, known as the industrial revolution, a term disputed by some.<sup>394</sup> The impact of the economic changes on markets are shown in Figure 42 which maps those markets first recorded in the period 1850 to 1935.

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<sup>394</sup> Griffin, E. (2013), *Liberty's Dawn. A People's History of the Industrial Revolution* (New Haven), P. Hudson, (1992), *The Industrial Revolution*, (London), P. Mathias (1983), *The First Industrial Nation. The Economic History of Britain 1700-1914*, (London), P. O'Brien and R. Quinault, (eds), (1993), *The Industrial Revolution and British Society* (Cambridge).

Figure 42: Modern Markets First Recorded in the Industrial Age (recorded in records 1850-1935)

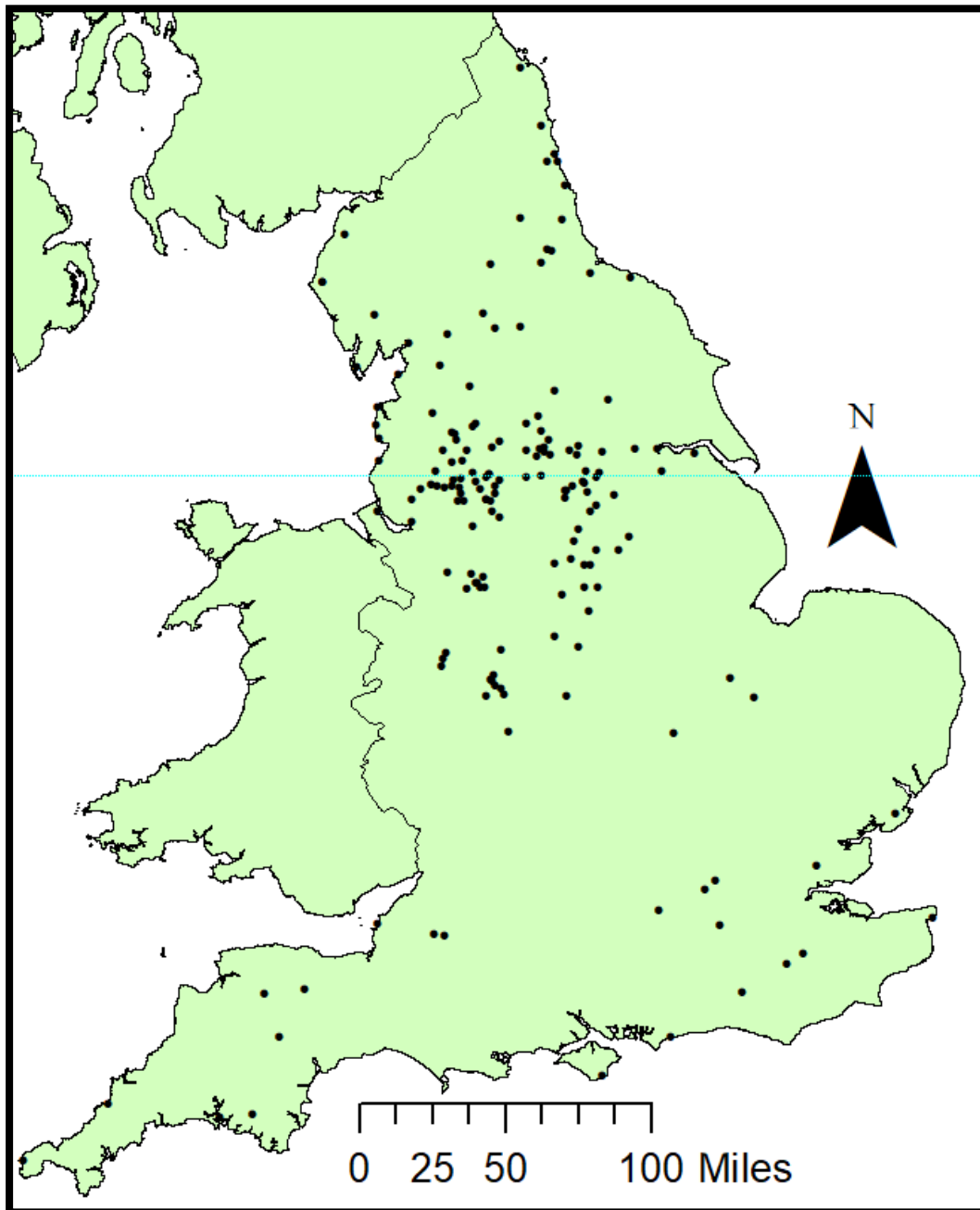
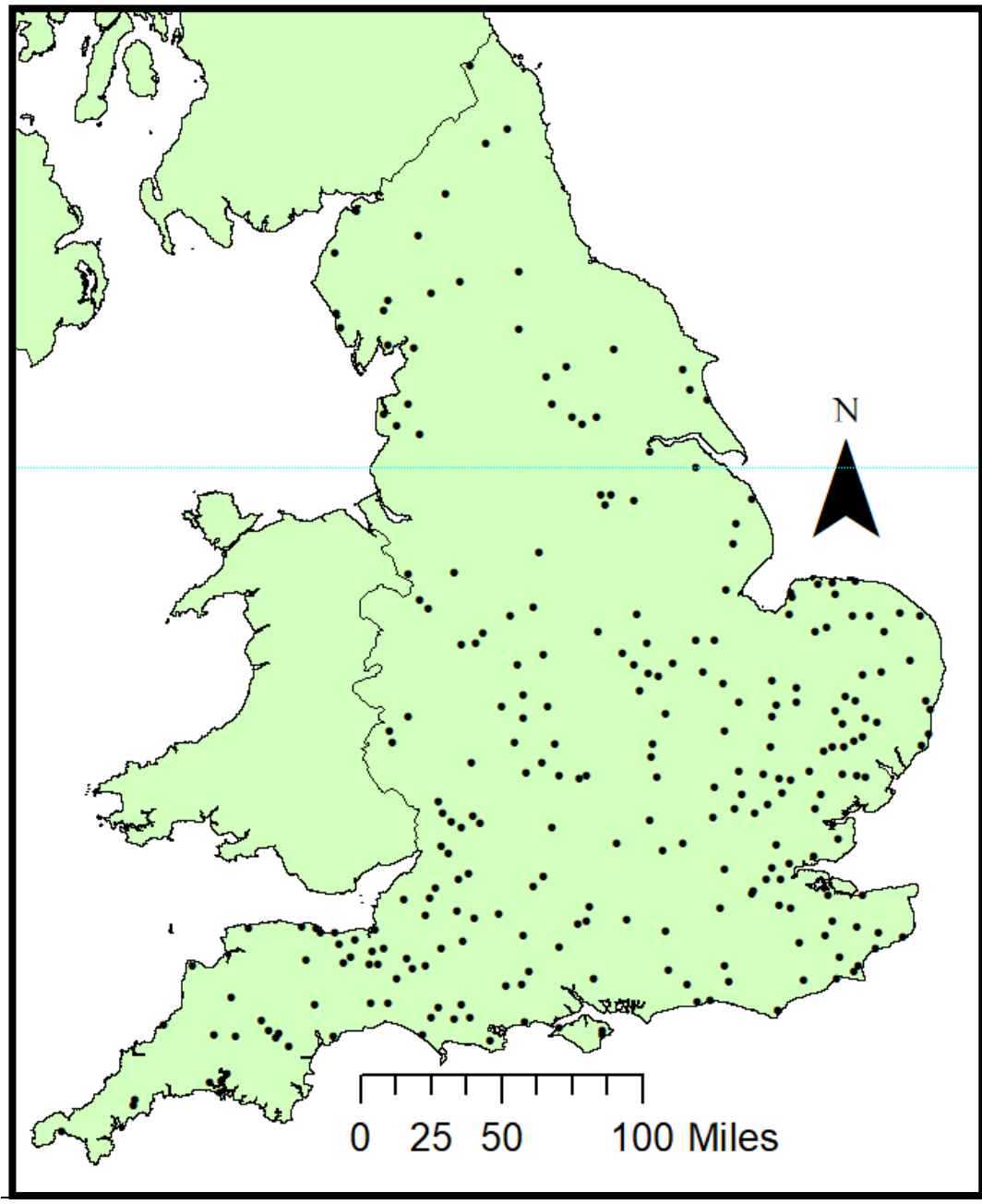


Figure 42 reveals a greater proportion of new markets in areas associated with industry in the North and the Midlands, particularly around Manchester, Birmingham and the coalfields. In the West a number of new livestock markets were created in locations near to the newly created railway system, for example, Ashburton and Willand (both Devon) and Brushford (Somerset). These markets are presumably located by rail yards in order to supply meat to the growing population of the urban areas. The out of town animal markets on the rail network tended to be specialised and were not, at first, associated with consumer markets, unlike medieval and early modern markets where general and animal markets often coincided. As well as new markets a number of markets disappeared during this era as shown in Figure 43.

Figure 43: Modern Markets Recorded 1500-1820 that had Disappeared by 1935



The loss of markets may be just a continuation of the general decline in the number of markets as the numbers of producers with products to sell decreased and consumers were attracted to larger towns with a greater range of products. Another factor appears to be de-industrialisation in certain areas. For example, the hand weaving industry in the former centres of textile of East Anglia and the South West had been put out of business by the new factory based textile industry based in the North of England near to sources of coal that powered the new textile mills.

In the urban areas themselves, the new markets were different to the markets that came before. At first markets were created for the sale of industrial products, for example, the cloth halls and markets at Newcastle, Doncaster and Huddersfield. Eventually, however, these new producer markets, simple and otherwise, became marginal as producers searched to create links with an established customer and client base. Most new markets in the industrial areas were purely consumer markets that existed to provide food and clothing for the industrial working class. They did not attract petty commodity producers interested in selling their surplus to merchants. The distinction that had always existed within markets, between buying for profit and buying for use, became a spatial separation. Capitalist trading was increasingly private trading and although markets were almost exclusively places for consumers to buy, even the growth of shops was mimicking the private trading of businesses (although shops are open to all in a way that private transactions are not). Curiously it was during this period that trade of any kind became defined as market exchange by political economists and their successors, even though relationships between businesses were rarely conducted at markets.

Although there had been a core of markets with a periphery of 'market churn' that served the needs of an agricultural country, major changes in the nature of production in particular the development of industry and the commercialisation of agriculture have impacted on the shape of the market system. The movement of wage labourers to the coalfields and the industrial areas of the North and Midlands stimulated market provision for these new populations. The declining numbers of both direct producers and wage

labour in the rural areas as agricultural holdings became larger and more capital intensive reduced the number of markets serving both producers and consumers in the country side. Another change in society that impacted on the nature of markets was the development of urbanisation. The case of Middlesex is examined in the next section.

### **Markets and Urbanisation; the Case of Middlesex<sup>395</sup>**

The process of urbanisation was not confined to the industrial areas. London, although always an important centre of industry, grew much larger because it was the centre of government and finance and was the largest maritime port in the world. The current area of Greater London is mainly formed from the former county of Middlesex and the history of that county reveals the implications of urbanisation on the number and nature of markets.

In terms of area, the historical county of Middlesex was the second smallest county in England. The area enclosed by the 1839 boundaries of 282 square miles was only 13% the size of Norfolk at the same time.<sup>396</sup> By 1600 Middlesex had become the most populous county in England (if the three

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<sup>395</sup> The history of markets in Middlesex is taken from the eleven volumes of the *Victoria County History of Middlesex*, supplemented, purely as an example of the genre, by *Pigot and Co.'s Royal National And Commerical Directory and Topography of the counties of Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex, 1839* and the works of Local Historians, starting with John Norden's *Speculum Britannae* of 1598. For later periods there are the guides to London markets, Forshaw, A. and Bergstorm, T. (1989), *The Markets of London. A Complete Guide with Maps and Photographs*, (London), Kershman, A. (2004), *The London Market Guide 2004*, (London), Halliday, S. (2004), *London's Markets. From Smithfield to Portobello Road*, (Stroud).

<sup>396</sup> Pigot and Co. *Directory of Essex Hertfordshire and Middlesex*, Pigot and Co. (1839), *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography of Norfolk 1839* (London).

Ridings of Yorkshire are treated as separate entities). According to Broadberry and his co-authors, 6.8% of the English population, 280,000 people, lived in Middlesex by this time, compared to the 171,000 (4.2%) who lived in Norfolk. This was something of a reversal of fortunes. In 1290 Norfolk was the most populous county with 10.25% of the English population, around 487,000 people, compared to the 77,000 (1.63%) living in Middlesex.<sup>397</sup>

A major reason for this change in population status was the growth in the size of the built up area of London. Until the creation of the London County Council in 1888, most of the urban area of London was located in Middlesex and only a relatively small proportion in the City and Corporation of London.<sup>398</sup> Middlesex was also the source of many of the products that fed the city, in particular, market gardening, pigs, dairy, cattle lairage and final fattening and hay to feed the horses which were the mainstay of the transport system.<sup>399</sup> In the nineteenth century the agricultural areas of Middlesex were increasingly turned over to brickfields and then built upon.<sup>400</sup> The area that was Middlesex remained the most densely populated part of England from the late Middle Ages until the present. By 1801 it had a population of over

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<sup>397</sup> Broadberry, S., Campbell, B. M. S and van Leeuwen, B. (2010), 'English Population: Reconciling Time Series and Cross Sectional Data', *University of Warwick, Department of Economics Working Papers*, (Coventry).

<https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/economics/staff/sbroadberry/wp/medievalpopulation7.pdf> (accessed 10-1-2018). Again assuming that the three ridings of Yorkshire are treated separately.

<sup>398</sup> Redlich, J. and Hirst, (1970), *The History of Local Government in England*, (Second Edition), W. Keith-Lucas (ed.) (London), p. 203.

<sup>399</sup> Bate, G. E. (1997), *And So Make a City, The Story of a Lost Heathland*, (Hounslow) p. 36, Pigot and Co. (1839), *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography of the counties of Essex, Herts, Middlesex 1839*, (London), Victoria County History of Middlesex, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/vch--middx> (accessed 21-11-22).

<sup>400</sup> Clark, L. (1992), *Building Capitalism. Historical Changes and the Labour Process in the Production of the Built Environment*, (London).



850,000 people, almost exactly three times the population of Norfolk the county that had been the most populous in the medieval period.<sup>401</sup>

It is perhaps not surprising that the history of markets in Middlesex is not one of decline but growth. In the 1980s, excluding financial markets like the Stock Market and Lloyds of London Insurance Market and commercial markets such as the London Metal Exchange and the Commercial Sales Rooms (for the sale of exotic goods), there were at least 90 retail and wholesale markets operating in the area of the former county of Middlesex.<sup>402</sup> This number of markets is significantly higher than the number of places recorded as having markets in the medieval period. There were only eleven places in Middlesex with a known medieval market.<sup>403</sup> These markets mainly had charters. Only the City of London itself and Staines were prescriptive markets.

Of the medieval markets, only Acton and Isleworth are not recorded as surviving into the early modern period, meaning that there was a high survival rate of Middlesex markets from the medieval period into the early modern period of 82%. This is a much higher survival rate than the national average where 838 (38%) out of the 2,185 medieval markets survived. The main reason for the greater survival rate in Middlesex than the rest of England is the massive growth in population. In addition, Middlesex, more specifically London and Westminster, was the centre of power and international trade. In its earliest manifestations London's focus was the port whereas today the focus is upon finance, a focus that grew out of London's maritime and imperial past. To maintain London's population and enable them to carry out their activities, Londoners developed a large number of wholesale and retail

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<sup>401</sup> Wrigley, T. (ud), 'English county populations in the later eighteenth century', *Working Paper, Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Department of Geography, University of Cambridge*, (Cambridge).

<sup>402</sup> Forshaw, A. and Bergstorm, T. (1989), *The Markets of London. A Complete Guide with Maps and Photographs*, (London).

<sup>403</sup> These are listed in Appendix 14.

markets. As a consequence London also developed as a retail and tourist centre for much of England, particularly the ruling classes.<sup>404</sup>

Even with an overall pattern of stability of medieval markets surviving into the modern period, there were some market closures. We have seen that Acton is not recorded as existing in the early modern period, and the reign of Henry VIII saw market closures; Hounslow Priory's market is last mentioned in Henry's *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and the Archbishop of Canterbury's market at Harrow on the Hill also ceased to trade in his reign.<sup>405</sup> This latter market probably closed because the Archbishop also owned the market at Pinner roughly two miles away which was somewhat easier to trade from than a hill top market. After these Henrician closures there were no more closures of markets established in the medieval period until the nineteenth century. Indeed, what stands out is the creation of a number of new markets as shown in Table 35.

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<sup>404</sup> Almeroth-Williams, *City of Beasts*, p.129

<sup>405</sup> Bate, *And So Make A City Here*, p. 20-22.

Table 35: Middlesex; Wholesale Market Creation in the Period 1600-1750

Place	Recorded Dates		Products
	First	Last	
Hendon	1604	1640	Hay(?) <sup>406</sup>
Edgware	1607	1798	Hay
Covent Garden <sup>407</sup>	1656	1974	Fruit, Veg & Flowers
East Finchley	1660	1845	Pigs
Spitalfields	1682	1991	Vegetables
Hounslow Heath	1686	1830	Livestock
Piccadilly	1657	1830	Hay & Livestock
Mayfair	1686	c1764 <sup>408</sup>	Livestock
Southall	1698	2007	Livestock
Whitechapel <sup>409</sup>	1708	1928	Hay

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<sup>406</sup> It is not clear what the short lived market at Hendon sold but the area was famed for hay production. According to the *Victoria County History* for Middlesex hay was still being grown in Hendon and taken to the Cumberland Market near Regents Park in 1911.

<sup>407</sup> Weinreb, B. and Hibbert, C. (1983), *The London Encyclopaedia*, (London).

<sup>408</sup> This is the date at which the fair for livestock held in May, that gave the area its name was suppressed because of the nuisance it caused.

<sup>409</sup> Hallett, *Markets and Marketplaces of Britain*, p. 112.

These new markets were principally specialised wholesale markets aimed at serving the growing metropolis, no longer in the crowded city centre but on the outskirts. London relied heavily on horse transport until the twentieth century and this is reflected in the nature of the markets.<sup>410</sup> Barnet in Hertfordshire but on the border with Middlesex was the site of a major horse market for London. It was even more famous for its livestock fair which was one of the biggest in the country where drovers from throughout Britain would congregate to sell their cattle.<sup>411</sup> Southall market was also famed for the sale of horses which continued at the market until 2007.<sup>412</sup> Until its closure Southall livestock market was the main horse market for the travelling community. A more specialised horse market was the thoroughbred auction house of Tattersalls established at Hyde Park Corner in 1766 and then based at Knightsbridge until the end of the Second World War when it moved to Newmarket in Suffolk.<sup>413</sup> A very important part of the horse economy was the hay markets; Whitechapel serving East London and the Haymarket in Piccadilly serving West London. It is claimed that the prime function of the Haymarket in Piccadilly was providing fodder for the nearby Royal Mews.<sup>414</sup> It seems likely that the hay market at Edgware, which was further away from London, but located in the hay growing area, may have been a place for the purchase of hay that was then sold in the hay markets closer to London such as Whitechapel and Piccadilly.

The wholesale markets that supplied the retail outlets that provided food for people were also located on the outskirts of the city. The new livestock markets around the capital were on the major droving routes from the West and North and in the areas used to fatten cattle such as Islington and

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<sup>410</sup> Almeroth-Williams, *City of Beasts.*, p. 40.

<sup>411</sup> Cameron, D. K, (1998), *The English Fair*, (Stroud), p. 101.

<sup>412</sup> <https://londonist.com/london/features/have-you-ever-been-to-southall-market> (accessed 21-11-22)

<sup>413</sup> Weinreb and Hibbert, *The London Encyclopaedia* (London), p. 879, <https://www.tattersalls.com/about> (accessed 21-11-22).

<sup>414</sup> Weinreb and Hibbert, *The London Encyclopaedia*, p. 381.

the major pig market of East Finchley, in a pig farming area. It is presumed that the livestock sold at the markets established around London in the early modern period went on to be sold at Smithfield. The livestock markets at Smithfield had existed in the Middle Ages and continued to be held until the mid-Victorian period. It was a huge market. In 1853, two years before it was moved, 277,000 cattle were sold at Smithfield dwarfing the famed stockyards of Chicago which in 1861 handled 100,000 less cattle.<sup>415</sup> This number of cattle in the centre of the largest city in the world was becoming increasingly disruptive. John Perkins received an Act of Parliament in 1836 to establish a cattle market in Islington on what is now Essex Road. This market had failed within a couple of years because the City of London Corporation and other vested interests successfully undermined its success by intimating that there could be consequences of access to city markets for those doing business with Perkins.<sup>416</sup>

By 1855 the City had moved its own livestock market from Smithfield to a site of over 30 acres at Copenhagen Fields in Finsbury near to the railway goods yards of Kings Cross and St Pancras and less than a mile and a half from the site of Perkins' failed market.<sup>417</sup> As London continued to grow, markets that had been established on what had been the outskirts of London soon found themselves in congested urban areas. For example, as early as the late seventeenth century the livestock market at Piccadilly was considered too much of a nuisance and was moved to Mayfair, but it was not long before the market at Mayfair was also considered inappropriate and it too was closed. After 1750 a number of newer markets were established even further out than those founded at the beginning of the modern period, some of these were new foundations and some re-locations of older markets. This process continued until the end of the twentieth century as shown in Table 36.

Table 36: London Wholesale Markets Established After 1750

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<sup>415</sup> Almeroth-Williams, *City of Beasts. How animals shaped Georgian London*, p. 105.

<sup>416</sup> Weinreb and Hibbert, *The London Encyclopaedia*, p. 527.

<sup>417</sup> Weinreb and Hibbert, *The London Encyclopaedia*, p. 273, 527.

Place	Dates		Products	New or from where Relocated
	First	Last		
Great North Road Islington	1790	?	Bullocks	New
Cumberland Market (Regents Park)	1830	1930	Hay	Piccadilly
Perkins' Market Islington	1836	1837	Livestock	New
Metropolitan Livestock Market (Finsbury)	1855	1939	Livestock	Smithfield
Brentford	1899	1974	Fruit and Veg	New
Heston	1974	Date	Fruit and Veg	Brentford
Nine Elms	1974	Date	Fruit and Veg	Covent Garden
Temple Mills	1991	Date	Fruit and Veg	Spitalfields

Thus wholesale markets tended to be located away from the centre of the metropolis in order to avoid congestion problems. This pattern of being on the edge of the metropolis had been true of corn markets for some time. In the early modern period the two largest corn markets in Middlesex were at Uxbridge and Staines because they were the major corn markets that supplied London. In 1799 Uxbridge was 'said to be one of the largest pitched corn markets in the country'.<sup>418</sup> The countryside around Uxbridge and Staines grew corn but more importantly they were sited at the eastern extremity of the Home Counties corn growing area. Wheat grown in the Home Counties and bound for London usually passed through these two markets in the eighteenth century. As London grew in size the countryside around Uxbridge and Staines switched from wheat production to market gardening. Uxbridge corn market continued into the twentieth century even though wheat was no longer grown in the immediate vicinity because, stimulated by the corn market, Uxbridge had by then become a major centre for flour milling. This did not happen at Staines, in 1835 its corn market was a sample market and by 1862 it had ceased to function.

The wholesale markets of Middlesex were often associated with the development of retail markets. It appears that from its beginnings in 1686 Hounslow Heath market had a dual purpose. James II established a large army camp on Hounslow Heath and John Shales, the commissary-general of provisions for the army, was granted the right to hold a market on every day as long as the camp existed and on Thursdays forever. It was firstly a market to provision the army, but thereafter a market for the public generally. That it functioned as a general market thereafter can be surmised from the fact that it did not close until the early nineteenth century and according to Bate, it closed because it no longer had a supply of products from the small market gardens which had disappeared following the enclosure of Hounslow Heath in 1816.<sup>419</sup>

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<sup>418</sup> *Victoria County History of Middlesex, volume 4*, p. 75-82,

<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/>

<sup>419</sup> Bate, *And So Make A City Here*, p. 36.

At Mayfair the fair and livestock market were supplemented by a retail market when, in 1735, the architect for much of Mayfair, Edward Shepherd, built a two storey Market House, principally for the sale of meat, in the area where the May Fair was held.<sup>420</sup> The area is still known as Shepherd Market. It is unclear when the market closed but the Market House was rebuilt in 1860. The market at Southall, which in the nineteenth century was 'said to be inferior only to Smithfield for livestock', was at some point joined by a retail market.<sup>421</sup> In 1929, other than the City of London's market in Finsbury which closed at the outbreak of the Second World War, Southall was the only surviving livestock market in Middlesex. Southall outlasted the Metropolitan Livestock Market and continued to sell live poultry and horses until 2007 alongside a retail market. The latter still exists. At the Metropolitan Livestock Market, when there were no livestock sales, it became the site of the famous or indeed notorious Caledonian Market for antiques, bric a brac and junk (both legitimate and illicit), which continues to this day as the New Caledonian Market, at a new site in Bermondsey. At Uxbridge the corn market had by 1893 been supplemented by markets in provisions, vegetables, meat, second hand clothes and other 'petty' commodities. A retail market continues to this day but the corn market does not.

Agricultural markets were not always supplemented by consumer markets. Sometimes there was a gap between the failure of the agricultural market and the creation of a consumer market. For example, at Staines the sample corn market had ceased to function by 1862 but a general market was established by an Act of Parliament in 1872.<sup>422</sup> The creation of the new market was presumably due to the fact that Staines, because of its prior importance, was not only a centre of population but also had the transport and other infrastructure that enabled a new market to be created. Indeed the

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<sup>420</sup> Weinreb and Hibbert, p. 804.

<sup>421</sup> *Victoria County History of Middlesex, volume 4*, (London, 1971), pp. 45-48.  
<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/>

<sup>422</sup> *Victoria County History of Middlesex, volume 3*, (London, 1962) p. 22-25.  
<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/>



creation of the new consumer markets could be centuries after the failure of a prior market. Enfield had a meat market in Elizabethan times which probably sold other animal products because, at that time Enfield was known as a centre of tanning. By 1823, Enfield market was described as moribund. Pigot and Co's directory for 1839 mentions an abortive attempt to re-establish the market and the *Victoria County History* indicates there were several other attempts, probably because the open market place was retained. The market was not successfully re-established until 1971.<sup>423</sup> The hiatus in the history of these markets is informative because it highlights how markets are very different phenomena depending on the nature of the economy they serve. These examples of product markets disappearing but being replaced by general consumer markets emphasises the distinction between places where capitalist business people meet and markets for consumers and petty retailers. It also reveals the locational pull of certain places. The historical continuity in the recording of markets at the same location can often obscure a fundamental change in the nature of markets.

Retail markets for the general public were mainly associated with street markets even if some also existed near to the major wholesale markets. There were a large number of street markets and street traders in the Greater London Area by the mid-nineteenth century. Mayhew, writing in 1861, estimates that there were '13,000 street-sellers, dealing in fish, fruit, vegetables, game and poultry alone'.<sup>424</sup> The *Victoria County History of Middlesex* volumes for the areas closest to the centre of London list several of these markets; for example, Kingsland Road, Mare Street, Chatsworth Road, Columbia Road, Brick Lane, Petticoat Lane. As London spread during the interwar period, Middlesex became even more suburbanised and more retail markets were opened, for example, at Acton and Southgate, although both of

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<sup>423</sup> Pigot and Co. *Essex Hertfordshire Middlesex*, p. 160, *Victoria County History of Middlesex, volume 5*, (London, 1976), p. 232-9, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/>

<sup>424</sup> Mayhew, H. (O'Day, R. and Englander, D. (eds)), (2008 originally the 1840s), *London Labour and the London Poor*, (London). p. 9.

these appear to have been short-lived.<sup>425</sup> As we saw in the case of Enfield, markets were even being opened at the end of the twentieth century.

The street markets of London, and indeed other large towns in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were different to the markets of earlier periods in that they were consumer markets and those selling were mainly costermongers, a long way removed from the production of food.<sup>426</sup> London's retail markets emerged as a means of supplying the population of the metropolis, a population which, in the centre, where the street markets and the costermonger barrow boys plied their trade, was overwhelmingly working class. That is the market structure reflected the new class realities of the age. The economic and population demands of the capital were such that successful markets were established in locations without the history of medieval markets that seems to be a major factor in the history of markets in the less urbanised parts of England.

The early modern period witnessed the increasing separation of wholesale and consumer markets. Wholesale and consumer markets had different spatial requirements. Wholesale markets were originally located on the periphery of the urban area, enabling easy access for traders dealing in bulk whereas consumer markets were in population centres where there were many customers making smaller purchases. As was established early on markets serve two different functions, what Masschaele described as 'bulking' and 'splitting', and the meeting of two different groups buying and selling for profit and consumers purchasing the commodities they need. As the population of Middlesex increased, the places that held wholesale markets were supplemented, usually on different days, or sometimes totally replaced by consumer markets. The reason for the continuity of wholesale and consumer markets at the same location was probably because these sites

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<sup>425</sup> *Victoria County History of Middlesex, volume 5*, (London 1976), p.161-172.

<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/>

<http://www.actonmarket.co.uk/history-of-the-market>

<sup>426</sup> Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City*, p. 202.

were in some sense nodal points which made them more accessible than elsewhere.

## **Conclusion**

The documentary evidence shows that the decline in the total number of markets since the late Middle Ages is not straightforward. The pattern of market numbers was not one of decline everywhere during the modern period. In certain areas, in response to long term changes such as urbanisation and industrialisation, new markets were created. There were also more fleeting changes in the system of markets, a process of 'market churn' in which markets were created but usually did not last long. These markets were established in an attempt to meet needs that were themselves either fleeting or misperceived. Perhaps these markets did not create enough traction to establish themselves.

The new markets created in the modern period were sometimes concerned with providing for the needs of business and others were aimed at consumers. In addition to the decline of most markets and the creation of a smaller number of new ones, for many centuries there was a stable core of markets operating in market towns. This core of markets has recently succumbed to the general decline in markets, and a number of places that had markets during the Middle Ages had by the twentieth century lost or during that century would lose their markets. In the next chapter we will examine what has replaced markets.

## Chapter Nine: Markets in the Twentieth Century

This chapter examines the relationship between markets and the process of buying and selling at the end of the twentieth century. The first section looks principally at consumer markets and the second section looks at the relationship between business and markets with a particular emphasis on those businesses, such as supermarkets, that deal directly with final consumers.

### Consumer Markets

Retail markets, in the sense of a place of economic exchange occurring as a regular event at a particular place at specific times are, along with the high street more generally, currently in a state of crisis. For example, a BBC report on the decline of Northampton town centre takes the decline of the market as an indication of the wider difficulties facing town centres.<sup>427</sup> The report notes an absence of shoppers in the once crowded market square. One stallholder describes how she gets 'here at six in the morning and often I've not had a single customer by 10'. The report speculates that the decline in the Northampton market is linked to decline in 'footfall' in the centre of town more generally as large department stores go out of business. In the case of Northampton it has lost three of its four large department stores. Braudel sees shops as competitors of markets but it seems that the two types of trading institution exist in a symbiotic relationship.<sup>428</sup> Arguably, the reason that market towns replaced the medieval system of small village markets was because the towns had markets *and* the shops of specialist craftspeople and retailers that sold the products desired by those resident in the countryside but that were not available in the smaller village markets.

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<sup>427</sup> The BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-northamptonshire-47394740> (accessed 7-10-19).

<sup>428</sup> Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, p. 60.

The decline of shops and markets is linked in the BBC article to a generational shift as older people who, by habit, shop in towns, become replaced by younger people who prefer to shop online. This claim obviously chimes with the predominant discourse of our times, that the internet has changed everything. However, in reality the decline of markets began with the growth of supermarkets. For example, in 2004 Tesco took one pound out of every eight spent by shoppers in the UK.<sup>429</sup> It is clear that markets, understood as places of exchange, are not the most common form of transactions in the contemporary economy even for food, where once they prevailed. The best method of measuring the decline in the significance of markets would be to have information on the value of sales achieved in various retail sectors. However, information on sales in markets was only first gathered in 2005 from a survey of market traders for the Rhodes Report carried out on behalf of the National Association of British Market Administrators (NABMA).<sup>430</sup> The Rhodes Report, concluded that ‘general markets across the UK, the core of most market operators’ business, are in decline: there is a decline in the numbers of shoppers, decreasing stall occupancy rates, and a perceived decline in the markets’ turnover’.<sup>431</sup> Because sales information is unavailable for earlier periods we cannot be sure about the magnitude of market decline, but it is not an unreasonable assumption that at the beginning of the twentieth century, prior to the rise of supermarkets, traditional markets retained a major, if not the major share of

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<sup>429</sup> Simms, A. (2007), *Tescopoly*, (London), p 24. The information was taken from a Management Today interview with Tesco’s CEO Sir Terry Leahy in 2004.

<sup>430</sup> House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee *Market Failure?: Can the traditional market survive? Ninth Report of Session 2008–09*, (London), p. 8. The first survey on market sales was only carried out in 2005. Rhodes, N. (2005), *First National Survey of Retail Markets*, (Manchester).

<sup>431</sup> House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee *Market Failure?*, p. 8.

retail trade in many areas, particularly food. By 2016 retail markets had sales of £2.7billion in the UK compared to sales at the single supermarket chain of Tesco of £37.2billion (in the UK and the Republic of Ireland).<sup>432</sup> That retail markets have been displaced as places of consumer purchases is fairly evident.

This marginalisation of markets is not apparent in the number of markets, as shown in Table 37. The early Market Year Books followed the Ministry of Agriculture format and listed all types of markets: retail, wholesale, livestock (markets and auctions) and corn exchanges. However, in 1988 the format changed and they began to only list retail markets.<sup>433</sup> Looking at the total number of markets of various types it is clear that there has been very little change over the course of the twentieth century.

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<sup>432</sup> <https://www.nmtf.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/MissionForMarketsSurvey2016.pdf>, (accessed 8-4-19) <https://www.tescopl.com/investors/reports-results-and-presentations/financial-performance/five-year-record/> (accessed 8-4-19)

<sup>433</sup> Instead of listing markets it listed wholesale cash and carry outlets that served the market traders.

Table 37: Number of Markets Listed in the Market Year Book by Selected Year

Year	Number of Markets
1935	538
1960	575
1987	565
2000	580

The number of places with markets during the twentieth century hovered around the mid-500s. The figure of 538 markets held in 1935 is a fall of 22% from the figure of 689 recorded for 1890 in the *Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*. This decline in the number of markets between the high Victorian era and the inter-war period is probably a real decline and not a product of recording because both figures come from inquiries carried out by the government.<sup>434</sup> There was a rise in the number of retail markets from the 478 recorded in 1935, to 547 in 1987, and 580 at the end of the century.<sup>435</sup>

A simple figure of the number of markets does not reveal the full nature of the transformations in market provision. The process of 'market churn' as a feature of the market system continued to occur during the twentieth century, the number of markets remained fairly constant but the markets were not always held in the same places. There are 895 different places recorded as having a market in the five Market Year Books used in the data set. By 2000, even though there were 102 more retail markets than in 1935, 144 of the places that had retail markets in 1935 no longer held markets in 2000. For example, markets had ceased to be held in many mining towns and villages, in line with the death of that industry e.g. Hoyland Common and

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<sup>434</sup> The number of markets listed in the Royal Commission is not solely from government sources, it comes principally from government research into markets but also a list of markets in an appendix which comes from Owen's list of fairs. The 1935 market year book is a list of markets taken from the Ministry of Agriculture. Economic Series, nos 13, 14, 19, 23 & 26, (1927-1929), *Markets and Fairs in England and Wales Volumes I-VII*, (HMSO).

<sup>435</sup> Some of this maybe down to recording. When the Year Books changed to a system of only recording retail markets between 1987 and 1988 the number of retail markets recorded increased from 547 in 1987 to 588 in 1988 (a figure that is much the same as the figure of markets recorded in 2000). It seems unlikely that this increase of 41 markets was purely down to an actual increase in markets, one suspects this increase is due in large part to the change of editorial policy toward an exclusive focus upon retail markets leading to a more assiduous search for those markets.



Hoyland Nether (both South Yorkshire), Clay Cross (Derbyshire) and Kirkby in Ashfield (Nottinghamshire). It is almost inevitable that if all the volumes of the Market Year Book were examined there would be more than the 895 places recorded as having markets. For example, data from the Market Year Book of 1988 lists 50 places that are not recorded in any of the other four volumes. Some of the 50 had previously held markets prior to the twentieth century and may have held markets that were not recorded in the earlier editions of the Market Year Books. For example, Amesbury (Wiltshire), Prince's Risborough (Buckinghamshire) and Falmouth (Cornwall). Some may genuinely be new markets developed in an attempt to cater for new populations or a trend toward 'artisan' and 'farmer's' markets. An example of the first type of market could be at Moss Side an inner city suburb of Manchester that has a high number of poor people many of whom are recent immigrants, and an example of the second the affluent dormitory settlement of the same city at Alderley Edge (Cheshire).

The twentieth century also saw the growth of privately controlled markets. During the Victorian era local councils were given the right to establish markets and purchase the rights to hold markets from erstwhile lords and ladies of the manor, sometimes at extortionate rates. In 1935 there were 125 privately owned market places which was 26% of the total number of retail markets. By 2000 the number had increased to 214 (37%). The move away from the municipal model of market controls is in line with the neo-liberal tendency toward privatising public provision. It is often these private firms that attempt to create new markets in gaps in the trading system that have resulted in the more recent examples of 'market churn' of both failed and successful markets.

## The Modern Corporate Economy and Markets

Markets for capitalist firms are even more marginal. The modern economy is dominated by large companies that do not engage in trading activity in close physical proximity to their competitors. Indeed commercial secrecy is very important. The number of markets serving business decreased over the twentieth century. For example, the Market Year Book records a decline in the number of livestock and wholesale food markets. Between 1935 and 1987 the number of places with livestock markets declined from 235 to 106. There was a similar size decrease in the number of wholesale food markets from 55 in 1935 to 23 in 1987.

The extent of corporate dominance and lack of market competition in the business field can be illustrated by turning to a research project that was carried out at the turn of this century based upon interviews with over 100 senior managers at 36 randomly selected firms. These indicate quite clearly that the economy at the beginning of this century had very little to do with markets as historically understood.<sup>436</sup> The firms included in this research ranged from FTSE 100 listed companies employing over 10,000 full-time staff to medium size enterprises employing just over 50 full time staff. The firms were taken from a government survey into innovation that was carried out by Dr Phil Taylor, formerly of the Open University Business School and Cambridge University. Taylor's survey used a random sample of several thousand firms with over 50 employees. This size of firm was chosen as most of the economic activity was at the time carried out by large and medium size enterprises.<sup>437</sup> The 36 firms used for in-depth interviews were taken from a

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<sup>436</sup> The research was carried out by myself when employed as a research fellow at the Open University Business School from 1999-2001.

<sup>437</sup> There are more small businesses in number than any other types combined. Most of these are single person businesses but most of the self-employed in the statistics are people who work as contractors for companies, often businesses that had previously employed them. This business practice of laying off employees and re-engaging them in this way

number of sectors. As is normal in business research, many firms did not want to be identified, so some of the following names are fictionalised. These case studies were re-examined in order to gain a picture of the buying and selling practices of these firms and how they related, if at all, to real markets. The information on the firms in the research project is shown in Table 38.<sup>438</sup>

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saves the costs of administration, pension and national insurance payments. The growth of the precariat, disguised as a growth in the number of self employed and small businesses, is celebrated as the return of entrepreneurialism of the Victorian era when in reality it is a return to the casualised labour of the Victorian past. The type of employment used on the docks, or the 'lump' in the building trade and the hiring fairs for agricultural workers who were then sacked before the end of a year's contract that would have gained them parish rights of settlement. The era when farmers and other employers viewed the workhouses as 'granaries of labour'.

<sup>438</sup> The first column gives the firm name and the second column the product that the firm sold. The third column presents the share of sales for the whole of the UK the firms estimated they supplied. Not all firms were willing to divulge this information, again businesses tend to be secretive with figures they consider commercially sensitive. The final column gives information on the number of serious competitors for business that each company faced.

Table 38: The Extent of Markets in a Random Selection of UK Firms at the turn of the Twenty First Century

<b>Name</b>	<b>Product/service</b>	<b>% Sales UK/Region</b>	<b>No of Competitors</b>
National Grid	Electricity	100	0
Scottish Power	Electricity	100	0
Southern Water	Water	100	0
South-West Water	Water	100	0
Marathon	Baby Goods Marketing	100	0
Foseco	Foundry Products	70	0
Serpent	Anodised Metal	70	4
Zephyr	Air Tools	60	
Rugby	Flooring Glue	60	1
British Sugar	Sugar	45	1
Tolman	Car Logistics	30	2
Stormont	Ties	25	2
Patterson	Newspaper Logistics	20	2
Redbrick	HR Testing	20	2
VWUK	Car Imports	8	15
Provincial	Insurance	5	34
Midtown	Actuaries	5	9
West End	Actuaries	5	9
MCL	Car Imports	2	15
Lombard	Insurance	1	34
McSouthern	Pubs		93
Alden	Ceiling Panels	100	0
GDA	White Goods	25	10
Shopnews	Grocery Magazine	100	0
SLF	Catering		Many
Port Vale	Catering		Many
Shartic	Frozen Food Logistics		20
Harveys	Cheese Distribution		2

Table 38

<b>Name</b>	<b>Product/service</b>	<b>% Sales UK/Region</b>	<b>No of Competitors</b>
Blooms	Plant Nursery		Many
Selsdon	Pot Plants		10
Penny	Vegetables		Many
Galo	Vegetables		Many
Severn	Vegetables		Many
NBT	Hotels		Many
Lakes	Hotels		Many
Howard	Hotels		Many

The table indicates a high level of concentration in capitalist industry at the turn of the century. As can be seen many of the firms had large shares of the sales in their sector and faced very little competition. Almost inevitably, there has been further concentration since the survey. GDA was taken over by Indesit, using the brand name Hotpoint-Indesit. GAN/Lombard became part of Group Ama, the second biggest global mutual insurer. Sun Life/Provincial became part of AXA, one of the world's biggest private insurers. Harveys are now the only cheese factor of any size having taken over their rivals. Scottish Power became part of Iberdola, Europe's third biggest utility firm. Blooms became part of Wyevale, which was the UK's largest garden centre chain and was taken over by a private equity firm that went bust. It was then administered by Lloyds, which for a time was owned by the state. Swallow Hotels purchased NBT. Tolman became incorporated into Autologic. Foseco became a subsidiary of BP.

The table shows that in many sectors, there was a very limited number of competing firms. Customers of five of the companies, admittedly created out of the privatisation of state assets, had no choice of provider of water and power. A few had established monopoly positions via different routes from these former public bodies. For example, Marathon, was a firm that supplied 'gift packs' of various baby products to new mothers (they were not really gifts but part of the sales strategy of suppliers of baby products).<sup>439</sup> Marathon had been granted exclusive rights to provide these gift packs into NHS hospitals by the Department of Health in return for some form of payment. The car import companies were sole importers of certain foreign marques of car, this right to import was granted by the overseas companies concerned. Shop News published the magazine that was considered the 'bible' of the grocery trade and the biggest selling business magazine in the UK. They had held this position for most of the twentieth century because they were widely respected for their journalism.<sup>440</sup>

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<sup>439</sup> As the internet adage goes 'if its free you're the product'. Marathon's customers were not the mothers but the companies 'placing' the products.

<sup>440</sup> Lawrence, F. (2013), *Not on the Label*, (London), preface.

There were less than ten firms of actuarial partnership that could provide serious services for corporate companies. Even among insurance companies, there were fewer than forty significant providers. Companies in manufacturing were also specialised with most facing only one or two competitors mainly from abroad.

Only in agriculture, horticulture, hospitality and logistics did companies face many competitors. Even in these sectors the companies had what business school academics call unique selling points or USPs. For example, in logistics, Harveys specialised in delivering and storing cheese. Each of the three vegetable suppliers was the UK's largest supplier of at least one type of vegetable; spring onions in the case of Penny, cauliflowers in the case of Galo, and lettuces and celery in the case of Severn (who were also one of the biggest logistics firms working in the fresh produce sector). In some sectors like pubs and hotels there is competition but it is not the competition of an open market place and the force of competition varies on the proximity of similar establishments. For example, NBT was the biggest provider of hotels in the Scottish Highlands with a chain of over 40 hotels often many miles from any other alternatives. McSouthern pubs, based in Hertfordshire were often the only hostelry in several villages and usually the biggest presence in many of the towns of that county.

By the start of the twenty first century the UK was not a market economy. In fact, only one company in Table 38, Selsdon, then the largest grower of pot plants in the UK, had any experience of market trading. The company, founded just after the First World War, as a specialist plant nursery in Kent, had an outlet in Covent Garden Wholesale Market in central London. Plants were carried by train to Charing Cross station and moved by hand barrows to Covent Garden Market a few hundred yards away. Flower shops would then make their purchases and take the plants away or arrange for their delivery. After the Second World War, congestion in central London made this mode of purchasing and delivery increasingly difficult. So, in addition to their Covent Garden outlet, Selsdon purchased a fleet of vans with which they would take an offering of plants directly to flower shops throughout the greater South London Area. In the 1970s, Woolworths

decided that pot plants were a line that they wanted to trial, the first of the multiple retailers to do so. Selsdon were an established plant producer with direct experience of logistics and were asked to be the supplier for the trial. Plants proved a popular item at Woolworths. Many other retailers, such as Marks and Spencer and the supermarket chains, followed Woolworths' lead in two ways: selling pot plants and using Selsdon as their main supplier. In the 1980s, a few years after moving to Nine Elms, Selsdon closed its wholesale market outlet and abandoned its van deliveries to small shops and instead concentrated on building up its fleet of lorries in order to specialise in supplying large retailers. This move away from selling on a market to selling directly to established customers epitomises the way that trading systems have developed.

Private trading away from markets has a long history but has tended to be seen as secondary to markets and overlooked when attempting to understand the functioning of the economy. In the Middle Ages *advantagium mercatoris* was a way of discounting sales to and from merchants who dealt in bulk and carried out trading away from the open market. Those engaged in private trading in the Middle Ages utilised the fiction that part of the discount given to larger customers was a gift to a trusted friend. It may be that this was not a total fiction but drew upon some truth in the sense that the merchant in question was a trusted business partner. Certain transactions may have always been based on trust, for example, the relationship between professionals and clients. Professionals certainly relied on established business contacts at the end of the twentieth century. For example, a partner at one of the actuarial firms visited estimated that 80% of the clients of his partnership had been with them for 20 years or more. Many businesses did not produce commodities that could be sold on the market, such as, actuarial services, electricity networks, logistics, product placement services.<sup>441</sup>

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<sup>441</sup> Most people in history, and even some of us today, would consider it an outrage that water, almost the very stuff of life, could be considered something that had to be purchased on a market rather than a fundamental right. But it is possible to see that water could be commodified. Insurance is



Indeed for much of history, a great deal of commerce has been between established trading partners and has not been concerned with the production of singular clearly defined goods or services being offered for sale whether on a market or elsewhere. Furthermore, at the beginning of this century commodities that were produced were often so 'niche' that there were few or no competitors with directly equivalent products.

The emphasis of firms at the end of the twentieth century was not upon selling commodities on a market but on buying and selling to and from established trading partners. This meant that supply chain coordination became of great significance. Supply chains, whether co-ordinated by inter-firm co-operation or through market relations, consist of many different firms that contribute their distinct operations to the process of transforming inputs, raw materials in the case of physical goods, into finished products. The growth in specialised firms is explained by two of Adam Smith's insights. Firstly, that specialisation is efficient, and, secondly, that competition leads to specialisation.

Specialisation of tasks has existed for the greater part of history. We have noted the development of specialist occupations during the medieval period. For example, the bakers, brewers and blacksmiths. It has also been shown that, during the late medieval period and into the early modern period, that farmers began to specialise in particular products, for example, sheep, cattle and market gardening. And according to Everitt, some market towns began to specialise in particular products not just agricultural but also industrial.<sup>442</sup> In Norwich even by 1300 there were several specialist markets and specialist shops and workshops around the market place.<sup>443</sup>

By the twenty first century the economy was more specialised than ever before. In many sectors, only a small number of firms produce the very

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sold on the market at Lloyds of London but most buying of insurance is through a broker. Halliday, S. (2004), *London's Markets. From Smithfield to Portobello Road*, (Stroud), pp. 111-127.

<sup>442</sup> Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' , pp. 495-496.

<sup>443</sup> Figure 35. p. 275.

specialised goods and services that go into the myriad interacting supply chains that ultimately provide for the needs of consumers. The ultra-specialisation of contemporary capitalist firms means that there are very few, if any, competitors for many firms because their products and services are often unique. Ironically, it was the pursuit of profit in a competitive business environment that started the process that led to such a high level of specialisation. At first, some of this competition manifested itself in the form of buying and selling on real markets. However, as we have seen markets have faced competition from private trading for a long time. With the growth of ultra-specialisation, the products and services offered by many firms are often specially adapted to the needs of customers. Indeed, the needs of suppliers are also often specifically integrated into the processes of purchasing firms. Supply chains take on the appearance of a coordinated production process but one where each part remains in the hands of different owners. Competition has shifted from market competition to competition to become an established trading partner. Supply chains need to be coordinated, but in an economy of specialist firms there are few if any competitors and so markets cannot be used to co-ordinate the supply chains. Business partners engage in cooperative behaviour as a means of efficiently integrating their activities. Integration and cooperation enable cost savings to be made. The conscious co-ordination between business partners that make up a supply chain works best with established trading relationships. Thus, private trading has become the norm.

In integrated business relations goods and services are not purchased on a market but are supplied by established business partners in specified quantities, at specified times, according to specific procedures. When dealing with established partners much of the bureaucracy involved in carrying out transactions is dispensed with for both sides of a transaction, particularly since the development of IT systems, for example, placing orders, dispatch notices, goods delivered notices, invoices, receipts and all manner of bureaucratic phenomena such as book keeping, auditing, reconciliations, report production. For example, 'The Latham Report' on costs in the construction industry estimated that building projects can save 30% on costs

when the companies involved are established partners.<sup>444</sup> The benefit of established relations is that it reduced the risks of doing business with partners about which nothing is known. These risks are standard issues of buying and selling such as failure to deliver on time or at all and goods and back up service being of lower quality than anticipated. When trading relationships are between established partners a failure to perform on either side means not just loss of the profit from a single transaction, but the loss of a lot of profit from an ongoing revenue stream. The failure on either side of the relationship can potentially lead to the demise of either firm. Transaction cost economics emphasises that trust between business partners is vital and that one off relations do not necessarily deliver the goods and services in the way they are required because new trading partners can easily be found.<sup>445</sup> One suspects that in the market villages and possibly the market towns of the past, knowledge of those who engaged in bad practice travelled quite fast. It is possible there is something of a trade-off between the growth in the size of markets that offered an increase range of goods and suppliers, but also a growth in the risk of rogue traders.

Avoiding economic risk is not cost free because finding trusted trading partners incurs what can be termed 'meta-transaction costs', that is the costs of identifying trusted trading partners. As the managing director of Selsdon, the plant producers that walked away from Covent Garden, made clear trading with established partners is not without its costs stating 'buying,

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<sup>444</sup> Latham, M. (1994), *Constructing the Team, Joint Review of Procurement and Contractual Arrangements in the United Kingdom Construction Industry, Final Report, July 1994*, (HMSO London). South West Water applied some of the Latham Report's recommendations and the Head of Innovation believed the actual cost savings at South West Water were actually greater than the 30% estimated in the report.

<sup>445</sup> Williamson, *The Economic Institutions of Capitalism*, pp. 20-21, Swedberg, R. (2003), *Principles of Economic Sociology*, (London), pp. 79-83.

selling, marketing is jolly expensive'.<sup>446</sup> For them and others, trading on an integrated basis with a handful of large multiple retailers effectively got rid of selling and marketing costs, but as he went on to say, the downside of dealing with big companies was 'the more you can do for them, the better they like it'. For example, a number of large retailers demanded and gained access to their suppliers' computer systems, not just for information about stock levels but also accounting information. The latter, of course massively increased the power of the retailers when it came to price negotiations.

The integration of large business with their suppliers is often linked to the Japanese model of business. The most often cited example of this in the business literature is the case of the Toyota and how it manages its suppliers.<sup>447</sup> But according to the management consultant firm McKinsey, in the US the major application of business integration has been outside of the industrial sector, a sector that has been in decline in the US and UK since the Second World War. According to McKinsey, growth in the US economy has been down to changes in the profitability of intermediaries; wholesale, brokerage and retail, the so-called 'Walmart effect'.<sup>448</sup> The irony of the world's largest retailer having a term for market in its name should not be

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<sup>446</sup> This quote and all subsequent quotes from managers listed in Table 38 are taken from a series of interviews carried out by the author between 1999 and 2000.

<sup>447</sup> Shimoka, K. (1987), 'Product and Labour Strategies in Japan' in Toliday, S. and Zeitlin, J. (eds), *Between Fordism and Flexibility*, (Oxford), pp. 224-243, Williams, K., Haslam, C., Sukhdeve, J., and Williams, J. (1994), *Cars. Analysis, History, Cases*, (Oxford), p114.

<sup>448</sup> Henwood, D. (2005), *After the New Economy. The Binge and the Hangover that won't go Away*, (New York) p. 64, Phillips, L and Rozworski, M (2019), *The People's Republic of Walmart. How the World's Biggest Corporations Are Laying the Foundations for Socialism*, (London), Lichtenstein, N. (2010), *The Retail Revolution, How Walmart Created A Brave New World of Business*, (New York), Fishman, C. (2007) *The Walmart Effect, How an Out-of-Town Superstore Became a Superpower*, (London).

lost on the reader, it is also a superb example of how the modern oligarchic economy uses market rhetoric.<sup>449</sup> Since the turn of the century Walmart has faced growing competition, particularly from Amazon, a company that behaves in much the same way as Walmart with its suppliers and workforce, but attempts to link to customers by means of an online interactive catalogue. Ironically, Walmart had sidelined the earlier paper based catalogue retailers to the American Mid-West such as Sears.<sup>450</sup>

Many of the companies in the Open University study listed in Table 38 were suppliers to supermarkets and were subject to a British version of the 'Walmart Effect'. It should come as no surprise that Britain is no longer the 'Workshop of the World', nor that its economy is dominated by retail and finance. John Kay distinguishes these different occupations by the terms 'transformational activities' and 'transactional activities'.<sup>451</sup> In 2005 the Office of National Statistics produced a table from the 2001 census that recorded what occupations the roughly 20,600,000 people who worked in the private sector did and in which sector they worked for example, retail, construction, transport.<sup>452</sup> It is possible from this table to work out what jobs in the private sector are devoted to 'transformational activities' and which are 'transactional activities. The tasks of selling to consumers and financing that spending should be seen as transactional, as they are concerned with encouraging a transaction that in other circumstances may not have occurred. The figures below record not only those directly employed in sales, marketing, finance and other sectors related to the operation of a capitalist

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<sup>449</sup> Mart means 'Market-place; auction room; trade centre' defined in Fowler and Fowler Oxford Dictionary, p. 747.

<sup>450</sup> Caine, D. (2022) *How to Resist amazon and Why* (Portland), Wilson, J. A and Reese, E. (2020), *The Cost of Free Shipping. Amazon in the Global Economy*, (London).

<sup>451</sup> Kay, J. (2004), *The Truth about Markets. Why Some Nations Are Rich But Most Remain Poor*, (London), p. 361.

<sup>452</sup> C0417 - Occupation (4 Digit SOC) by Industry (3 Digit SIC) commissioned 02/03/05, <https://www.ons.gov.uk> (accessed 2008).

economy. but also those who work indirectly providing administrative and other forms of support. For example, in 2001 there were 3.2 million skilled manual workers in the UK private sector. It maybe thought that these were all in manufacturing but in fact 400,000 (12.5%) were maintenance workers in the sales and financial industries and as such are sales and finance workers. When all the indirect workers were allocated to various sectors 11,500,500 (56%) of the private sector workforce worked in retail and finance. The remaining nine million either produced goods and services or worked in transport, sectors that were carrying out physical transformations whether through transforming raw materials, moving them around to where they were needed or indeed providing personal services. Many of the transport and warehousing jobs were directly related to retail. For example, there were around 1.8 million involved in road transport, 47% of whom were drivers. Many of these drivers and ancillary staff would be devoted to delivering goods for the retail sector, whether to warehouses, shops or people's homes. Additionally, out of the nine million 'transformational' workers there were a number of direct service occupations with much in common with retail, 1.3 million people were employed in hospitality and 190,000 were hairdressers. Not only is the British economy dominated by retail and finance, but these sectors are dominated by a handful of companies.<sup>453</sup>

In the 1980s and 1990s the supermarket chains decided to reduce the number of suppliers. The reason for this process is fairly straightforward. A manager at Severn, one of the largest and most well known salad vegetable suppliers in the UK, said:

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<sup>453</sup> Seth, A and Randall, G. (2001), *The grocers, the rise and rise of the supermarket chains* (London), Simms, A. (2007), *Tescopoly, How one shop came out on top and why it matters*, (London), Norfield, T. (2016), *The City London and the Global Power of Finance* (London) p. 227; Table 43 above on Insurance and Actuarial services.

They're rationalising down their suppliers to reduce their overhead costs, you know, dealing with multiple suppliers is not efficient in terms of logistics, audit etc (sic).

The large supermarkets did not limit themselves to reducing the number of suppliers, they restructured the production processes of their suppliers. The ability of supermarket chains to control their suppliers was enhanced by developments in information technology, in particular electronic data interchange (EDI).<sup>454</sup> EDI integrates the information systems of different firms; all the previous paper and telephone based activities; goods order, dispatch notices, goods received notices, invoices, payments and receipts, are now done electronically. It reduces the costs of buying and selling; and increases the immediacy of trading. Supermarkets benefitted from EDI partly because the downsides of paper-based bureaucracy are replaced by digital documents handled by computers. However, the most significant saving is that the amount of stock held by a supermarket can be massively reduced. When computers identify that a particular product is selling well and will run out soon, an automatic message can be sent to suppliers so that more of the product will be dispatched.

It is also standard practice for large firms to demand process knowledge from suppliers, as a manager at South West Water (SWW) said:

We don't work in a truly competitive environment. We will sit down with our partners, whether they be consultants, contractors, suppliers or whatever and we will make them, coerce, cajole, to tell us what is best practice that's going on elsewhere so that we can ensure that we emulate it.

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<sup>454</sup> Williams, B.C, Lawrenson, D.M, Chen, J. C. and Hood, K. L. (1997), *Electronic Data Interchange: Implications for Accountability and Control*, (London)

Not only do firms demand knowledge of their own competitors' practices they also demand knowledge of their suppliers' best practice which they then expect the competitors of the suppliers to adopt. This enables supermarkets to gain cost reductions from all their suppliers whilst undermining any advantage from innovation for suppliers. For example, Galo the largest producers of cauliflowers in the UK, were the first vegetable producers in the country to adopt the slush chill cooling system. The system is a modification of standard refrigeration, water is turned to slush on cheap night time electricity and then pumped around the vegetable stores during the day. The supermarkets forced all their suppliers to adopt this technology and pass on the savings.

Suppliers of large corporations were well aware of who had the power. Stormont, the largest tie manufacture in the country, sold 35% of its output to Marks and Spencer, the owner summarised the firm's position in the words 'when Marks and Spencer say jump we say how high'. Guy Watson, the founder of Riverford Organics, experienced this:

When he first rang Safeway to offer them his organic produce, the buyer asked him to come in on a Thursday. When he said Friday would be more convenient, the phone went dead. Watson rang back "I think we got cut off" he apologised. "No sonny," said the buyer. "When we whistle, you jump."<sup>455</sup>

The difference in power means that the benefits of integration are not equally distributed. The powerful are the chief beneficiaries and suppliers accept the dictates of these large customers because there is no alternative. Suppliers know that there is no longer an open market where they can sell their goods, they have to satisfy a few customers' demands rather than satisfy the average demands of many customers. In a market if a customer will not pay your asking prices it may be possible to find another who will. The consequence of failing to satisfy a corporation that is responsible for a large part of your

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<sup>455</sup> Sunday Times, (2008), *Style Magazine*, p 53 (31-8-08).



output is business failure. All the agricultural companies in the research project were selling certain product lines below cost. This was standard for suppliers selling to large supermarkets; Guy Watson had an agreement with Sainsburys to sell lettuces at 14p minimum, this only just covered his costs. A month into the agreement they scrapped the price as they wanted to do a promotion and would only pay 9p. In her 2008 work *Hungry City*, Steel estimated that dairy farmers only received 18p per litre of milk, which was a loss of 3.5p per litre.<sup>456</sup> Even though Britain is no longer self sufficient in milk, between 2013 and 2016 10% of dairy farms ceased trading.<sup>457</sup>

The changes in business processes toward greater integration benefitted the supermarkets. Simms, in 2007, estimated that supermarkets accounted for over 80% of the groceries sold in the country, Tesco alone selling 31%.<sup>458</sup> Food shops in which skilled people worked were going under in large numbers according to the Office of National Statistics. Between 1997 and 2004 the number of specialist food outlets fell, butchers by 3,000, greengrocers by 3,000, bakers by 1,500 and fishmongers by 600.<sup>459</sup> The markets held in market places became completely marginal after the 'market revolution' initiated in the 1980s.

Supermarkets are not only integrated with their suppliers but also with consumers. The way in which household provisioning has changed from one of being served by retail, to serving retail, is illustrated by Gershuny and Sullivan, Directors of the Time Use Research Centre at UCL:

Once, just a few years prior to the first of the UK time-use surveys in 1961, our mothers (or grandmothers) would walk to a local shopping parade and discuss the family's weekly food requirements with the grocer. This was, from our mother's perspective, unpaid work, but also

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<sup>456</sup> Steel, C. (2008), *Hungry City*, (London).

<sup>457</sup> <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-36764592>, (accessed 24-10-22).

<sup>458</sup> Simms, A. (2007), *Tescopoly*, (London).

<sup>459</sup> [www.ons.gov.uk](http://www.ons.gov.uk)

coincided with the shopkeeper's paid work. He would pack into a basket the product of various farm, transport and manufacturing workers' work – that had been transferred from a food manufacturing establishment (which had itself acquired food products from farms and import agents) to a wholesale warehouse some days before, then in turn delivered to his shop by a wholesale services transport worker – and a junior employee would cycle to our homes and deliver the order (more paid work). Our mothers would unpack the produce into a larder (unpaid work), maybe giving her children one segment of the Five Boys chocolate bar (her unpaid childcare, their consumption time), then bake a cake for tea.

Thirty years on, we ourselves might drive to the supermarket (which has been stocked by some process not dissimilar to the way the wholesale warehouse was stocked 30 years before), park, then walk up and down aisles collecting our own baskets (our unpaid work, replacing the paid work previously done by various transport, wholesale and retail service workers), then drive home. We unpack the goods and might cook for our families, perhaps producing rather less elaborate meals than our mothers managed.<sup>460</sup>

One consequence of the change in shopping practices is that between the first time use survey of 1961 and the 2015 survey the amount of time devoted to shopping doubled: men's daily shopping time rose from twelve to 37 minutes a day and women's from 32 to 63 minutes per day.<sup>461</sup>

This increase in unpaid labour is perceived as a price worth paying because of the perception of lower prices and greater variety.<sup>462</sup> The first is a chimera, the second is a fact with some 'big box' supermarkets carrying over 20,000 different product lines. Every household has a different 'basket of

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<sup>460</sup> Gershuny, J. and Sullivan, O. (2019), *What We Really Do All Day. Insights from the Centre for Time Use Research*, (London), p. 32. .

<sup>461</sup> Gershuny and Sullivan, *What We Really Do All Day*, pp.20, 40.

<sup>462</sup> Gershuny and Sullivan, *What We Really Do All Day*, p. 314.

goods'. Supermarkets seem to make it easy to buy variety in one simple card tapping transaction. The move toward shopping at large supermarkets rather than local shops, high streets and markets is linked to changes in family working practices, particularly the increasing number of working parents. Making things easier for shoppers, even if the products are not cheaper, has been very important in advancing the interests of large retailers. Supermarkets provide an easy location to drive to with somewhere free to park and shopping trolleys to enable the one stop shop along with variety that modern consumers desire. Not only do people spend a lot of time shopping, they also spend a lot of money on tools that enable shopping at supermarkets, what could be termed the 'means of consumption'. There has been a growth in the numbers of hatchbacks, people carriers, SUVs and 4x4 "Hampstead Tractors" that facilitate consumers to buy large quantities of groceries. A large shop requires storage and this has been met with the growth in quantity and size of fridges and freezers and the adoption of 'designer' kitchens with their vast arrays of cupboards.

Supermarkets enable efficient production in bulk for suppliers and efficient diverse purchasing for consumers. This is a real physical process, goods are on a flow line of lorries, motorways, RDCs, pallet trucks, shopping trolleys, checkout conveyors, capacious cars, designer kitchen cupboards, fridges and freezers, and finally microwaves and range ovens. Supermarkets and customers' activities become integrated, supermarkets are designed for the one stop shop previously provided by markets but at the cost of increased spending on the means of shopping and unpaid labour by the customer.

Consumers have adapted their habits away from markets and smaller retailers to dealing with supermarkets and invested heavily to make this process cost effective. A single customer has very little ability to impact on the behaviour of supermarkets, especially as the alternative of small shops and market stall holders have declined in number. The supermarkets big squeeze on suppliers did not result in a reduction in consumer prices. An analysis of official statistics reported by Blythman in *Shopped* shows that the retail price of a basket of British grown farm produce rose in retail price 47% between 1985 and 2002 while farm gate prices for the same goods rose

12%.<sup>463</sup> Consumers are not able to force corporations to pass on the price reductions they squeeze from suppliers. Consumers can switch supermarket providers, something that is occurring with the appearance in the UK of ALDI and LIDL the German super-discounting supermarkets.<sup>464</sup> This has not impacted on the way supermarkets exercise their power over suppliers or consumers. Supermarkets are in a virtuous circle, they 'own' the supplier because they 'own' the consumer, and 'own' the consumer because they 'own' the supplier. Supermarkets and other oligopolistic providers, like utility providers may be more effective at distributing the goods and services needed by the population than the markets of the past, but this comes at a price. Ironically the price is that the fair exchange of the market place no longer sets the price of goods and services. Instead the decline of markets means that large intermediaries extract wealth through the exercise of power in a way not too dissimilar from the way feudal lords extracted tolls from their markets.

## **Conclusion**

The economy at the end of the twentieth century was not characterised by markets, and markets are not a sign of modernity. Private trading, usually between regular and known trading partners, has had a long history and by the end of the twentieth century it had become the predominant trading pattern. In any trading system where supply chains of separate organisations create part of the inputs that go toward creating a final product or service, the activities of those separate organisations need to be co-ordinated. In late modernity supply chains for retail and manufacture were not co-ordinated by markets or anything that resembles a market but by the co-operation of

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<sup>463</sup> Blythman, J. (2010), *Shopped. The Shocking Power of British Supermarkets*, (London).

<sup>464</sup> Bosshart, D. (2007), *Cheap? The Real Cost of Living in a Lower Price, Low Wage World*, (London).

established business partners. By the end of the twentieth century the UK was dominated by retail and finance. Although the number of retail markets did not decline in terms of numbers, they and small retail outlets had been marginalised and most consumers did their shopping at large retailers.

Trading relations now involve a myriad of other factors; for example, space, time, variety, quantity, methods, innovation, information, reliability, trust. Trading partners have a massive impact on the operating costs of each other and market relations and other forms of stand off relations cannot deliver the cost savings of integration that are both real gains in efficiency. The specialisation between firms in the wider economy is today not so very different in principle to Adam Smith's example of specialisation inside the factory. Ironically it was capitalist competition, usually not of a market form, that brought the specialist firms into existence. However the benefits of specialisation can only emerge when the activities of enterprises are coordinated with their suppliers and customers to create efficient supply chains that act as one, to increase the profitability of the system but benefits that are monopolised by the more powerful companies.

## **Conclusion: The Decline in Real Markets and the Proliferation of the Market Metaphor**

A crucial problem with any history of markets is that the meaning of 'market' varies. In the language of common sense and anthropology, a market is a regular meeting at a particular place of a number of potential buyers and sellers, in most cases for a range of different products. This view is at odds with other interpretations of a market.

In economics, a market occurs if there are many potential buyers and sellers for a clearly defined product. According to this definition, a market is not limited to a particular time and place where buyers and sellers meet, but it can be any region and time period where there are potential buyers and sellers for a 'clearly defined product'. This is intended to be an all-encompassing definition that includes the common sense and anthropological definition of market, which for economists is merely one type of market among many. As it happens, whatever the intention of economists, their attempt to define a market, *does not* include most traditional markets which usually sell manifold products at, or in the vicinity of, the market place as opposed to trade in a single commodity. The economist's definition of a market is metaphorical.

The use of market as metaphor by the economics profession is problematic. Their definition of a market includes activities, such as forestalling, that were seen as anti-market until the eighteenth century. This is because, according to their definition, all buying and selling takes place in some form of market. It is therefore not possible to buy before a market takes place or to buy outside the boundaries of a market, because a market is unbounded by time and place. In reality, buying and selling outside of a market has a long history. Indeed, for certain things, land, buildings, and other large items (such as wagons), rents, feudal fines and privileges it is difficult to see how they could be sold in a market place. The market metaphor impedes the understanding of the role of private transactions in the history of the economy. The important topic of the relationship between markets and other

forms of economic exchange, and how these other forms of exchange differ from markets is neglected when the market metaphor is used. This is particularly noticeable in the discourse of neoliberalism, a political movement that has successfully dismantled what has been termed the 'post-war settlement' since the 1970s on the basis of re-establishing a 'market economy' without defining a 'market economy'.<sup>465</sup>

This thesis abandoned the metaphorical use of markets in order to investigate the relationship between real markets and other forms of buying and selling. An extremely important part of this is establishing which period had the most real markets, what was termed the time of 'peak market'. The importance of establishing 'peak market' is that it enables us to tackle the role of markets in promoting or retarding the other forms of economic activity, such as private trading, self-sufficiency or inter-corporate transactions.

In order to investigate and identify 'peak market', a large data set of over ten thousand places was created. This data set recorded evidence of the places' market history including documentary and non-documentary evidence for each.

There were two major problems in establishing 'peak market' using documentary evidence alone. The first problem was the relative paucity of medieval records compared to those from the modern period. Historians disagree over what counts as proof of the existence of markets. Whilst some historians believe that medieval market charters are proof of a medieval market, others disagree with that position and argue that not every market charter that was issued was enacted. The second problem faced when using documents for establishing the lifespan of markets is that for 954 (36%) cases

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<sup>465</sup> Leys, C. (2001), *Market-Driven Politics. Neoliberal Democracy and the Public Interest*, (London), pp. 3-14, Jessop, B., Bonnet, K., Bromley, S. and Ling, T. (1988), *Thatcherism*, (Cambridge), p. 75-6, Hall, S. and Jacques, M. (eds), (1989), *New Times. The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s*, (London), pp. 365-70, Plehwe, D., Quinn, S. and Mirowski, P. (2020), *Nine Lives of Neoliberalism*, (London), Birch, K. (2015), *We Have Never Been Neoliberal. A Manifesto for A Doomed Youth*, (Alresford).

of the 2,642 places with documentary evidence for medieval markets there is only a single medieval market record. It is undoubtedly the case that a number of these places with one document will have had markets that existed for more than a single year, but it is not possible to estimate for how long these markets lasted on the basis of documents.

Non-documentary evidence was needed to help settle these issues. The main forms of non-documentary evidence were metal detected coin finds from the PAS, market place and street names, and evidence of market crosses. This non-documentary evidence could be used in some cases to pinpoint places that had markets. For example, if somewhere had a medieval market charter *and* a large proportion of medieval coin finds then it is fairly certain that such a place had a medieval market. In addition it was possible to use non-documentary evidence to estimate the number of markets at places that did not otherwise have records of functioning markets.

The most important non-documentary source of evidence is from the PAS. Particularly crucial was analysis of the distribution of medieval coins of the Edwardian type, which were in circulation in the years from 1279 to the sixteenth century a period that was the most likely contender for 'peak market'. The archaeological consensus is that a high volume of coin finds at a place is associated with the existence of a market. This is borne out by the evidence in this study. The evidence showed places with medieval markets have more total medieval coin finds and more coin finds as a percentage of the number of PAS finds than places with no market history. It was found that coin finds at places with a recorded history of medieval markets were statistically the same as those with medieval market charters but not those without market documents. The clear implication of this is that a medieval market charter should be taken as evidence for the existence of a functioning medieval market, unless there is evidence to the contrary.

The pattern of finds in the PAS at places with known markets and places with no medieval market documentation are statistically different. However, there are certain of these undocumented places with high levels of coin finds that point to the existence of medieval markets. It was possible to estimate how many undocumented places had medieval markets using the survival of



'market' names and market crosses. On the basis of all the evidence, the period of 'peak market' in England looks to have been between the arrival of the Black Death in 1348 and the middle of the sixteenth century (probably toward the earlier of these dates), when, as a best estimate, there were between 2,000 and 3,000 active markets. This level of market provision was reflected in the growth of the range of peasant consumption and possessions. The archaeological and landscape evidence comes down firmly on the side of those who argue that the medieval period had more markets than the early modern, which by 1600 numbered 1,000.

The reason for this massive decline in the number of markets was probably due to the changing class structure. This post-Black Death era had seen the rise in what has been termed the 'peasant aristocracy'. The origins of this 'peasant aristocracy' were in the peasant cultivators of the medieval period, both free and servile, that had risen to a higher status by the accumulation of land holdings. The concentration of land in fewer hands resulted in a number of changes. The most obvious was a reduction in the number of peasants with products to sell: with fewer people selling products the need for large numbers of small village markets declined. A further factor that drove the decline of the village markets, and which is connected with the growth in the size of land holding, was the increase in private trading. Private trading always made bulk buying easier than trade on the open market and it reduced the costs associated with transactions. This rise of private trading and the lower costs involved placed smaller producers at a disadvantage in a number of ways. Most obviously, larger producers were likely to get better prices on average for their products because of the lower transactions costs for both buyers and sellers. In addition, the rise of private trading reduced the numbers of merchants visiting the smaller markets because merchants could achieve their 'bulking' process by fewer private transactions and by visiting the larger markets. For small producers, transacting with merchants would entail travelling longer distances, to markets that were now further away. This would have increased their costs relative to larger producers. Indeed, these larger producers may have agreed for goods to be collected from the farm gate or transported directly to the merchants' warehouses. Over time,

this process would work to the disadvantage of small producers and reduce their numbers. The process of separating petty commodity producers from their means of production was, at least in part, due to these smaller producers being separated, or at least distanced, from the means of exchange. The fall in the number of producers was a vicious circle that reinforced the fall in the number of markets, which in turn further reduced the number of producers until some new equilibrium in the nature of the market system was reached. The new market system that emerged was epitomised by the growth of larger town based markets, and the era of the market town was born. These markets were not the same as village markets.

The decline in the number of small peasant proprietors also increased the number of wage labourers. According to some commentators, this increase was in part driven by some who welcomed the freedom that wage labour entailed. In particular, being freed from the demands of both the land and servility gave some the opportunity to move into craft occupations in the market towns. This growth in craftwork and the number of workers generally led to an increase in the amount and range of goods and services available in the market towns. This created a virtuous circle for the market towns themselves, which further increased the appeal as a place to buy and sell, an appeal which was at the expense of the village markets.

The system of market towns created by this process was not fixed, and its nature developed and changed over time. Within the larger towns and cities during the later Middle Ages there had been parts of towns holding specialised markets: areas of the larger markets devoted to particular trades, and areas around or near the market with specialised craft workers' workshops and retail outlets. However, during the early modern period, certain markets began to specialise in particular products. The purpose of this specialisation was presumably driven by the same process that was driving private trading: a desire to reduce the transaction costs for both buyers and sellers. Reducing the number of transactions in markets seemed to be accompanied by a reduction in the size of market places, and what could be termed the privatisation of space. There was the construction of permanent shops on what had previously been open parts of the market place. In

addition to these privately owned shops, there were the market halls which initially provided a space where traders at the market could trade and strike up deals away from the elements. An important part of any market town were the inns. These inns functioned as places of carrying out private business, and this process subsequently became formalised in the development of various types of exchanges, for example, corn, wool, yarn, coal, and hops.

For several hundred years from 1500 to around 1800 there were approximately 1,000 markets being held in England. These markets were not always in the same places, but there was a core of market towns, numbering around 700 places, that existed for the whole of the period. These were the places where the open market, retail outlets, craft workshops and private trading co-existed. There were also markets that were more fleeting. These markets numbering at any one time 300 or so but only lasting a few decades came and went in a process of 'market churn' fulfilling some temporary need at certain places before ceasing to exist.

In addition to 'market churn', the market system went through a fundamental change with the development of urbanisation and industrialisation. One consequence of the growth in wage labour was the migration into cities from the countryside, in part stimulated by the development of industry. New markets emerged in major urban centres such as London and the newly industrialised areas, with more permanency than the 'market churn' of the earliest period of modernity. These new markets, epitomised by the municipal market halls, were also different to the markets of old, in that they were principally focussed on providing consumer goods for the newly urbanised working classes. The growth of large cities and industrialisation, particularly in the North and Midlands, led to de-industrialisation elsewhere, for example, in East Anglia and the South West, leading to the decline of markets in country towns that had previously been associated with industries such as textiles.

In the nineteenth and twentieth century, the nature of the economy had not centred on markets. The number of core market towns had shrunk to around 460 and their markets had become marginal to the activities of capitalists and consumers. Markets were completely irrelevant to twenty

first-century businesses which engaged in relational transactions principally with established partners. Furthermore, large retailers and consumers increasingly engaged in patterns of economic behaviour with elements of relational transactions. This is a tendency that is likely to continue with the emergence of the internet and 'surveillance capitalism'.<sup>466</sup> Relational trading has replaced markets as a way of doing business because the costs of transactions in markets are high relative to the efficiencies of integrating the transformational and transactional activities of the separate companies involved in making and creating any product or service. This is the case when the chief beneficiaries are big businesses and the oligarchs who control them. This new way of producing and selling requires new ways of transacting business and markets are no longer required.

These changes in the way that transactions are carried out have been under-examined because of a reliance on the market metaphor that insists that every act of buying and selling takes place in a market of sorts. It appears that Teversky's claim that 'metaphor is a cover up' is true. Rejecting the metaphor of the market and examining the real history of markets reveals the complex interplay between different systems of transactions, productive activity and economic power.

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<sup>466</sup> Zuboff, S (2019), *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism. The Fight For A Human Future At the New Frontier of Power*, (London).

## Appendices

### Appendix 1.

#### **Explaining the construction of Appendix 1 Cumulative Totals for all the documented markets outside Greater London**

For reasons of space Appendix 1 only lists years where there is a change in the number of markets recorded. The first two columns record markets for which there are at least two documents that give a date for the existence of that market. When a market is first recorded it is added to the total when it is last recorded it is removed from the total. The first column headed 'Recorded' gives the total markets that have a first and last date which both show the market to be functioning. The second column takes the figure for the first column and adds to it the number of places that have two dates whether a single recorded date and a single chartered date or two chartered dates. The final column adds to the number in the second column those medieval markets with a single document (either a record of a market or a charter) and assumes that they continue until the end of the re-coinage of Edwardian coins in 1417. Markets with a single document issued between 1362 and 1449 are recorded on a slightly different basis. They have been allocated an estimated time span of 50 years on the basis that they will have probably gone on for at least some period beyond 1417, but we do not know how long because of the paucity of medieval records. On the assumption that modern records are superior, places where there is a single record from 1450 to 1499 are entered as ceasing to function in 1500 a date taken as when records might be more prevalent, and also the start date used by Everitt. Markets recorded only once after 1500 are taken as examples of having a true fleeting existence, as opposed to being an effect of lack of documents and are not recorded in the table. There are 119 such places, for example, Alderley Edge (Cheshire) recorded in 1988 and Southgate (Middlesex) recorded in 1792.

Appendix 1: Cumulative Totals of Markets Outside London

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1086	152	158	194
1087	154	160	196
1088	155	161	198
1089	156	162	199
1100	157	163	200
1102	157	164	201
1103	158	165	202
1105	158	166	203
1106	158	168	205
1107	159	170	207
1108	159	170	207
1109	159	170	208
1113	160	171	210
1114	160	172	211
1115	160	173	212
1119	160	173	208
1121	161	174	213
1122	163	176	216
1124	163	177	217
1125	163	178	218
1128	164	179	220
1129	164	183	224
1130	166	185	226
1131	166	186	227
1132	167	186	227
1133	167	189	230
1135	170	196	238

## Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1138	169	198	240
1139	170	200	242
1140	171	202	245
1141	174	205	249
1145	175	208	252
1147	176	209	253
1148	178	211	256
1150	179	212	257
1152	179	213	258
1153	179	214	259
1154	179	219	265
1155	179	221	267
1156	179	223	269
1157	179	224	270
1158	180	225	271
1159	181	227	274
1160	182	228	275
1165	183	230	278
1166	183	232	280
1168	183	234	282
1170	185	238	287
1172	186	239	288
1173	186	240	289
1175	187	243	292
1176	187	245	294
1179	187	251	300
1180	189	254	303

Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1181	190	256	306
1182	190	256	307
1183	191	259	311
1184	193	263	315
1185	194	266	318
1186	194	267	319
1187	195	268	320
1189	242	319	339
1189	242	319	390
1190	242	320	391
1192	242	320	391
1193	243	322	393
1194	244	327	398
1195	246	332	404
1196	246	335	407
1197	247	338	410
1198	247	340	412
1199	262	361	438
1200	268	382	465
1201	273	396	482
1202	279	406	496
1203	281	409	501
1204	285	419	514
1205	289	428	524
1206	290	430	527
1207	293	441	540
1208	294	443	542



Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1209	295	445	545
1210	297	448	548
1212	298	449	549
1214	300	453	554
1215	302	459	561
1216	303	465	567
1217	303	466	568
1218	312	483	594
1219	315	500	618
1220	317	512	634
1221	317	534	664
1222	320	543	674
1223	325	555	694
1224	326	559	700
1225	329	572	721
1226	332	589	745
1227	340	609	771
1228	345	615	780
1229	344	614	782
1230	349	618	788
1231	354	625	798
1232	356	626	802
1233	357	628	806
1234	359	631	812
1235	364	637	819
1236	365	640	824
1237	365	641	825

Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1238	366	646	833
1239	372	656	849
1240	374	658	851
1241	375	662	857
1242	381	668	865
1243	383	673	875
1244	384	677	883
1245	386	686	895
1246	386	689	903
1247	390	694	914
1248	392	701	923
1249	395	706	931
1250	396	712	941
1251	399	729	965
1252	407	754	1,001
1253	414	783	1,052
1254	420	790	1,084
1255	426	800	1,095
1256	428	804	1,102
1257	430	821	1,136
1258	434	822	1,140
1259	438	828	1,153
1260	442	834	1168
1261	445	838	1175
1262	448	840	1180
1263	452	845	1,192
1264	453	847	1,198

Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1265	452	847	1,201
1266	452	849	1,209
1267	460	864	1,239
1268	466	874	1,256
1269	466	879	1,264
1270	469	889	1,290
1271	471	894	1,309
1272	476	906	1,332
1273	475	906	1,332
1274	475	903	1,330
1275	479	902	1,332
1276	483	903	1,335
1277	484	904	1,337
1278	486	907	1,345
1279	495	907	1,348
1280	498	910	1,355
1281	502	909	1,360
1282	500	909	1,364
1283	505	914	1,373
1284	507	917	1,383
1285	514	929	1,406
1286	517	931	1,412
1287	516	926	1,407
1288	517	927	1,408
1289	517	928	1,411
1290	516	933	1,425
1291	518	936	1,430

Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1292	524	933	1,438
1293	531	923	1,434
1294	534	924	1,439
1295	538	928	1,447
1296	549	935	1,457
1297	557	936	1,461
1298	559	940	1471
1299	561	941	1479
1300	560	942	1,488
1301	561	947	1,503
1302	565	948	1,513
1303	566	952	1,529
1304	567	957	1,556
1305	567	959	1,567
1306	567	960	1,578
1307	569	961	1,588
1308	569	967	1,597
1309	569	968	1,603
1310	570	969	1,612
1311	572	973	1,624
1312	565	971	1,637
1313	565	971	1,637
1314	566	972	1,650
1315	567	974	1,664
1316	568	972	1,665
1317	568	972	1,671
1318	571	975	1,691

Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1319	569	977	1,700
1320	570	980	1,706
1321	573	984	1,713
1322	575	984	1,713
1323	575	984	1,715
1324	576	985	1,719
1325	577	982	1,716
1326	576	981	1,718
1327	582	985	1,727
1328	586	987	1,735
1329	589	985	1,736
1330	581	970	1,726
1331	584	968	1,727
1332	581	967	1,731
1333	581	969	1,735
1334	583	971	1,742
1335	584	973	1,753
1336	584	973	1,758
1337	586	974	1,760
1338	585	975	1,765
1339	587	975	1,767
1340	589	976	1,770
1341	590	975	1,773
1343	592	973	1,774
1344	589	968	1,772
1345	590	968	1,772
1346	592	968	1,774

Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1347	592	969	1,784
1348	593	970	1,793
1349	595	968	1,792
1350	595	966	1,792
1351	595	968	1,798
1352	594	966	1,797
1353	595	969	1,807
1354	594	969	1,810
1355	594	970	1,814
1356	594	972	1,819
1357	594	973	1,822
1358	595	974	1,823
1359	595	974	1,824
1360	594	973	1,824
1361	595	973	1,828
1362	596	974	1,831
1363	596	973	1,830
1364	595	973	1,831
1365	597	973	1,831
1366	598	975	1,836
1367	598	975	1,837
1368	597	974	1,838
1369	597	973	1,838
1370	597	972	1,837
1371	598	970	1,836
1374	598	968	1,834
1375	600	969	1,835

## Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1376	600	967	1,833
1377	599	966	1,832
1378	600	968	1,838
1379	600	969	1,840
1380	606	970	1,843
1381	606	970	1,844
1382	607	969	1,850
1383	608	967	1,850
1384	608	968	1,854
1385	608	968	1,856
1386	607	967	1,855
1387	607	967	1,856
1388	605	964	1,854
1389	604	964	1,856
1390	605	964	1,856
1392	605	963	1,855
1393	605	963	1,856
1396	605	963	1,858
1398	604	962	1,858
1399	603	959	1,855
1401	603	959	1,825
1402	604	958	1,823
1403	604	958	1,817
1404	604	956	1,812
1405	604	956	1,809
1406	604	956	1,807
1407	604	956	1,805

Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1410	603	954	1,802
1411	603	954	1,798
1412	603	954	1,798
1415	604	955	1,801
1416	604	955	1,798
1417	604	955	1,797
1418	603	954	994
1419	604	954	993
1420	604	954	994
1421	604	954	993
1422	604	954	991
1423	604	954	990
1425	603	953	989
1426	604	954	989
1428	604	954	986
1429	604	955	985
1430	604	955	983
1431	604	954	981
1432	604	954	974
1433	604	954	972
1434	604	954	969
1435	604	954	967
1437	604	954	966
1438	603	954	966
1439	603	954	964
1440	603	954	965
1441	603	955	968



## Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1442	603	955	969
1443	603	955	968
1445	603	955	969
1446	602	954	967
1447	602	954	973
1448	602	954	971
1449	602	955	973
1450	611	952	970
1451	611	951	968
1453	611	951	967
1456	611	951	966
1457	611	950	965
1458	611	950	964
1459	611	950	965
1460	610	949	964
1461	609	948	963
1462	610	948	963
1463	610	948	962
1464	610	948	961
1465	610	948	963
1466	610	947	964
1468	610	948	965
1470	610	948	964
1472	610	947	963
1478	610	947	964
1479	610	947	965
1480	606	943	962

## Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1482	606	945	965
1483	606	945	966
1485	605	944	965
1487	604	943	965
1488	604	943	964
1490	604	943	963
1492	604	943	962
1493	604	941	960
1495	604	941	958
1497	605	942	954
1498	604	940	952
1499	604	941	954
1500	792	886	899
1505	791	885	898
1506	791	885	899
1509	791	885	898
1512	791	885	899
1513	791	885	900
1515	791	885	899
1516	792	887	905
1524	793	889	907
1525	794	889	907
1526	796	889	907
1528	796	889	906
1529	796	889	905
1530	796	889	904
1531	796	888	903

## Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1532	796	889	902
1533	796	889	903
1534	796	888	902
1535	795	887	901
1537	795	887	900
1540	796	887	900
1541	796	887	899
1544	795	886	898
1545	795	886	899
1546	795	886	897
1547	794	885	897
1549	794	885	895
1550	796	887	898
1558	797	888	900
1559	796	887	899
1562	796	887	898
1563	796	887	897
1565	796	886	894
1566	796	886	895
1575	875	939	1001
1580	875	938	1000
1582	876	939	1002
1583	876	939	1001
1587	872	932	994
1594	873	933	996
1596	873	932	995
1599	873	931	994

## Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1600	873	986	1,051
1601	873	984	1,049
1602	874	984	1,049
1603	875	984	1,049
1606	876	984	1,049
1619	876	983	1,048
1620	875	982	1,047
1621	875	981	1,046
1622	875	980	1,045
1624	876	980	1,045
1626	876	979	1,044
1631	875	978	1,043
1633	875	977	1,042
1650	876	976	1,041
1654	874	974	1,039
1656	873	973	1,038
1663	872	972	1,037
1670	871	971	1,036
1688	870	970	1,035
1689	869	969	1,034
1690	865	965	1,031
1700	864	959	1,025
1701	864	958	1,024
1712	864	957	1,023
1720	862	955	1,021
1722	860	949	1,015
1728	861	949	1,015

## Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1732	860	948	1,014
1750	861	947	1,013
1752	861	946	1,012
1763	862	946	1,012
1769	862	945	1,011
1770	862	944	1,010
1775	860	942	1,008
1776	861	943	1,010
1784	863	944	1,011
1789	864	945	1,013
1790	865	946	1,015
1791	866	947	1,017
1792	859	931	1,001
1794	859	930	1,000
1798	860	931	1,001
1800	868	933	1,003
1801	865	928	999
1802	865	928	1,000
1807	863	926	998
1810	863	926	999
1812	863	926	1,000
1814	861	924	998
1816	860	923	998
1818	861	924	1,000
1820	861	924	1,002
1821	862	924	1,002
1822	779	835	914

## Appendix1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1823	779	834	913
1827	780	835	914
1829	775	830	909
1830	774	828	907
1831	775	829	908
1834	776	830	909
1835	776	830	910
1836	777	831	913
1838	776	830	913
1839	774	827	911
1840	774	827	912
1842	773	826	911
1843	774	827	913
1844	775	828	915
1845	776	828	915
1846	777	829	917
1847	778	830	919
1848	777	829	919
1850	776	827	918
1851	777	828	920
1852	778	829	922
1855	779	830	923
1856	781	831	925
1858	782	832	927
1860	781	831	927
1861	781	831	928
1863	745	795	893

## Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1866	746	796	895
1867	747	797	897
1868	748	798	899
1869	751	800	902
1870	752	801	904
1872	754	803	907
1874	757	806	913
1875	758	807	915
1878	758	807	916
1879	759	808	918
1880	762	811	924
1882	761	810	923
1883	761	810	923
1886	760	809	923
1887	758	807	921
1888	748	792	906
1889	748	792	907
1890	684	718	834
1892	684	718	835
1893	685	719	837
1895	682	716	834
1897	682	716	835
1899	681	715	834
1900	678	711	830
1901	672	705	825
1902	674	707	828
1903	673	706	827

## Appendix 1 (continued)

Year	Recorded (twice)	Recorded & Chartered (twice)	All Documented
1904	672	705	826
1906	671	704	826
1907	670	703	825
1910	669	702	824
1912	666	699	822
1914	663	696	819
1922	662	695	818
1926	660	693	816
1929	657	690	813
1930	655	688	811
1933	654	687	810
1934	655	688	812
1935	691	713	838
1937	684	706	831
1939	684	705	830
1950	683	704	829
1965	682	703	828
1967	643	663	823
1980	646	661	821
1981	644	659	819
1988	515	520	680



Appendix 2: Total number of PAS Finds, Edwardian Coin Finds, Percentage of Edwardian Coins of total PAS finds (as at May 2021) and the Size of the Local Authorities for Cities and Major Towns for which PAS Data is Not Included in the Data Set<sup>467</sup>

Urban Area	PAS Finds	Coins (%)	Area sq Miles
Barnsley	375	7 (1.9)	127
Birmingham	62	2 (3.2)	103
Blackburn and Darwin	116	3 (2.6)	60
Blackpool	9	0	13
Bolton	28	0	54
Bournemouth	478	0	62
Bradford	346	0	142
Brighton and Hove	96	2 (2.1)	32
Bristol	72	0	42
Bury	37	0	38
Calderdale	919	2	140
Coventry	83	1 (1.2)	38
Derby	73	2 (2.7)	30
Doncaster	4,201	119 (2.8)	219
Dudley	134	0	38
Gateshead	91	4 (4.4)	55
Greater London	12,389	85 (.7)	610
Great Yarmouth	3,080	60 (1.9)	67
Hartlepool	144	6 (4.2)	36
Hull	15	3 (20)	28
Kirklees	278	4 (1.4)	158
Knowsley	42	3 (7.1)	33

<sup>467</sup> This does not include major cities and towns that are no longer unitary authorities eg: Norwich, Ipswich.

Appendix 2 (continued)

Urban Area	PAS Finds	Coins (%)	Area sq Miles
Leicester	65	1 (1.5)	28
Lincoln	156	1 (.6)	14
Liverpool	53	1 (1.9)	43
Luton	33	0	17
Manchester	14	0	45
Middlesborough	7	0	21
Newcastle	11	0	44
North Tyneside	154	0	32
Norwich	61	0	16
Nottingham	31	0	29
Oldham	48	0	55
Peterborough	520	4 (.8)	132
Plymouth	43	0	31
Portsmouth	47	0	16
Reading	217	3 (1.4)	16
Rochdale	36	0	61
Rotherham	1262	16 (1.3)	197
Runcorn & Widnes	198	6 (3)	31
Salford	12	0	13
Sandwell	5	0	33
Sefton	159	7 (4.4)	60
Sheffield	216	2 (.9)	142

Appendix 2 (continued)

Urban Area	PAS Finds	Coins (%)	Area sq Miles
Slough	10	0	13
Solihull	426	25 (5.9)	69
Southampton	73	0	19
Southend	29	0	16
South Tyneside	191	1 (.5)	25
St Helens	86	0	53
Stockport	91	0	49
Stockton	79	7 (8.9)	79
Stoke	103	1 (1)	36
Sunderland	16	0	53
Tameside	8	0	40
Torbay	33	1 (3)	24
Trafford	208	1 (.5)	41
Walsall	93	1 (1.1)	40
Warrington	247	9 (3.6)	70
Wigan	32	2 (6.3)	73
Wirral	277	10 (3.6)	277
Wolverhampton	48	2 (4.2)	27
Total All Excluded Places	27,561	404	4,227
Percentage of England	3.0%	1.5%	8.4%
Excluded Places (not London)	15,172	319 (2.1%)	3,617
Percentage of England	1.6%	1.2%	7.2%

Total England	919,695	27,423 (3)	50,301
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Appendix 3: Cross Tabulation of Market Documentation and Market Street Names

Type of Market Documents	Number with a Market Street Name	Total Number of Places
Chartered and Recorded Medieval Market	24	294
Not-Chartered but Recorded Medieval Market	6	118
Chartered but not Recorded Medieval Market	30	935
Chartered and Recorded Medieval Market and Modern Market	286	438
Not Chartered and Recorded Medieval Market and Modern Market	86	138
Chartered but Not Recorded Medieval Market but with a Modern Market	117	261

Appendix 3 (continued)

Type of Market Documents	Number with a Market Street Name	Total Number of Places
No Documents for a Medieval Market but with an Early Modern Modern Market	47	151
No Documents for a Medieval or Early Modern market but with a Late Modern Market	89	303
No Documents for Markets	98	8,080
Total	783	10,718

Appendix 4: Number of Non-Coin PAS Finds from the Medieval Period in Places in England and Wales with Finds Numbering over 100

BUCKLE	32,683
VESSEL	15,116
STRAP FITTING	8,269
MOUNT	7,678
STRAP END	7,271
SEAL MATRIX	6,263
HARNESS PENDANT	6,145
WEIGHT	5,715
JETTON	4,770
SPINDLE WHORL	4,320
BROOCH	4,018
TOKEN	3,915
KEY LOCKING	3,011
THIMBLE	2,813
FINGER RING	2,767
HARNESS MOUNT	2,200
PURSE	2,054
AMPULLA	2,021
UNIDENTIFIED OBJECT	1,605
POT	1,367
RING	1,343
COIN WEIGHT	1,341
SCABBARD	1,335
BOOK FITTING	1,245
BUTTON	1,048
CLASP	993
BELL	843
KNIFE	825
SPUR	809

Appendix 4 continued.

PILGRIM BADGE	640
DAGGER	544
PENDANT	538
BULLA	537
PADLOCK	490
HARNESS FITTING	485
PIN	435
CLOTH SEAL	401
STUD	353
FURNITURE FITTING	349
TILE	325
SPOON	324
CANDLE HOLDER	307
RIVET	298
BADGE	295
COOKING VESSEL	287
COIN HOARD	267
CHAFING DISH	261
MIRROR CASE	254
SWORD	254
PENCIL	246
LACE TAG	236
CAULDRON	227
HARNESS RING	220
CHAPE	207
HOOKED TAG	197
HORSESHOE	187
DRESS HOOK	185
FIGURINE	184
LAMP HANGER	184
ARROWHEAD	167

Appendix 4 continued

JUG	157
HARNESS HOOK	156
BALANCE	155
CASKET	140
CANDLESTICK	135
CROSS	135
MUSKET BALL	131
CRUCIFIX	127
STIRRUP	126
FIXTURES AND FITTINGS	122
GAMING PIECE	118
ROTARY KEY	118
STEELYARD WEIGHT	117
ROOF TILE	116
EWER	115
BOX	113
LEASH	109
STYLUS	107
ROWEL SPUR	105
TOY	103
DRESS FASTENER	102



Appendix5: List of the 50 Variables in the Final Data Set and what They Measured

Variable Name	Measuring what Attribute
Cno	County Name
CPed	Is the place a civil parish, yes or no?
EASTING	Easting Grid Reference
NORTHING	Northing Grid Reference.
Mktvillname1	Is there a 'market' settlement name, yes or no?
Medcross	Is there a listed medieval cross, yes or no?
Medmktcross	Is there a listed medieval market cross, yes or no?
MeMkcrosslocation cross ? space in Built other	What is the location of the medieval market Named Market Square, Area of Open up area, Named High Street, Road Side,
Mkthall	Is there a market hall, yes or no?
Regreen	Is there a registered village/town green, yes of no?
PAS	Total PAS finds recorded.
Ed	Medieval Edwardian coins recorded
Vessels	Vessel Finds recorded.
Emodcoin	Early modern coins recorded.
Lmcoin	Late modern coins recorded.
Denarius	Roman Denarius coins recorded.
RMeD1	1 <sup>st</sup> date of market being held 1066-1516.
RmeD2	2 <sup>nd</sup> date of market being held 1066-1516.
RmeD3	3 <sup>rd</sup> date of market being held 1066-1516.
RmeD4	4 <sup>th</sup> date of market being held 1066-1516.
RmeD5	5 <sup>th</sup> date of market being held 1066-1516.
<u>List 1.</u>	
RmeD6	6 <sup>th</sup> date of market being held 1066-1516.

Appendix 5 (continued).

C1	1 <sup>st</sup> date of medieval charter.
C2	2 <sup>nd</sup> date of medieval charter.
C3	3 <sup>rd</sup> date of medieval charter.
C4	4 <sup>th</sup> date of medieval charter.
C5	5 <sup>th</sup> date of medieval charter.
C6	6 <sup>th</sup> date of medieval charter.
R1500	Is a market recorded in 1500, yes or no?
R1550	Is a market recorded in 1550, yes or no?
R1600	Is a market recorded in 1600, yes or no?
R1640	Is a market recorded in 1640, yes or no?
R1650	Is a market recorded in 1690, yes or no?
R1722	Is a market recorded in 1722, yes or no?
R1750	Is a market recorded in 1750, yes or no?
R1792	Is a market recorded in 1792, yes or no?
R1820	Is a market recorded in 1820, yes or no?
R1822	Is a market recorded in 1822, yes or no?
R1850	Is a market recorded in 1850, yes or no?
R1888	Is a market recorded in 1888, yes or no?
R1890	Is a market recorded in 1890, yes or no?
R1935	Is a market recorded in 1935, yes or no?
R1967	Is a market recorded in 1967, yes or no?
R1980	Is a market recorded in 1980, yes or no?
R1988	Is a market recorded in 1988, yes or no?
R2000	Is a market recorded in 2000, yes or no?

## Appendix 6: Early Modern Markets not Listed by Everitt

1. Brading on the Isle of White was listed by Adams in his *Index Villarum* of 1690 and so was functioning then. Everitt argues that there is no evidence for it before this date but missed the evidence of borough status dating from 1547 that indicated that the market was almost certainly operating before 1690.
2. Charlbury (Oxfordshire) although small is recorded by the VCH as having a market in the sixteenth century,
3. Madeley (Shropshire) was a borough in 1426, and according to the VCH continued into the seventeenth century, it also recorded by Bains as existing in 1822.
4. Montacute (Somerset) is recorded in the CIPM in 1418 and according to the VCH continued until 1732.
5. Ludgershall (Wiltshire) is recorded in the CIPM for 1348 and according to VCH had a small market lasting until 1756 but had gone by 1800. However, the VCH could also be wrong because it is recorded by Bains as existing in 1822.
6. Upavon (Wiltshire) is recorded in the VCH as operating in the late 1500s and 1688 but it is said by that publication to have gone by 1800.
7. Cottingham (Yorkshire), the VCH claims there was a market in the seventeenth century that had ceased by 1823.
8. Filey (Yorkshire) is known to have had a market in the thirteenth century because of records of disputes with other markets. It continued into the nineteenth century, according to the VCH. However, it does not appear in any of the lists used in this research. Certainly Filey as a resort from at least the early nineteenth century could well have had a small retail market.
9. East Witton (Yorkshire) had a market charter dated 1400 to allow a change of the market day from Monday to Wednesday. The latter day for a market was originally granted in 1307. This market continued until 1728 according to the VCH.
10. Grinton (Yorkshire) is recorded in Leland's itinerary of the 1540s as a market for corn and linen.

11. South Cave (Yorkshire), the VCH says the market is recorded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

12. Hunmanby (Yorkshire), the VCH says the market was held in 1539-40 and in 1618 a Tuesday market was granted.

Appendix 6 (continued)

13. Gamlingay (Cambridgeshire), according to the VCH had a Tuesday market that was moved to Potton in 1600.
14. Silsoe (Bedfordshire) was confirmed in *QW* proceedings as existing in 1330 and the VCH claims it lasted until the eighteenth century.
15. Storgussey (Somerset) was said by the VCH to have decayed by 1559 but was still active in 1686 and the early eighteenth century, it does not appear in any subsequent listings of market towns or fairs.
16. Wickham (Hampshire), had a charter for a market in 1269 and is recorded as a borough in 1544 suggesting it did have a functioning market in the Tudor period and possibly before.

Brading, Madeley, Ludgershall, South Cave and Hunmanby appear in subsequent national lists used in this research, beginning with a list created by Stow, which suggests they probably did exist in the era 1500-1640 that is Everitt's period of concern. The rest are not recorded again suggesting a much more fleeting existence.

Appendix 7: List of Counties and Unitary Authorities for which PAS Finds are Recorded in the Data Set at the Level of Individual Civil Parishes

Bath and North East Somerset

Bedford

Buckinghamshire

Cambridgeshire

Central Bedfordshire

Cheshire East

Cheshire West and Chester

Cornwall

County Durham

County of Herefordshire

Cumbria

Derbyshire

Devon

Dorset

East Riding of Yorkshire

East Sussex

Essex

Gloucestershire

Hampshire

Hertfordshire

Isle of Wight

Kent

Lancashire

Leicestershire

Lincolnshire

Norfolk (excluding Norwich).

North East Lincolnshire

North Lincolnshire

North Somerset

North Yorkshire

Appendix Z (continued)

Northamptonshire

Northumberland

Nottinghamshire

Oxfordshire

Rutland

Shropshire

Somerset

South Gloucestershire

Staffordshire

Stockport

Suffolk

Surrey

Swansea

Warwickshire

West Berkshire

West Sussex

Wiltshire

Worcestershire

York

## Appendix 8: Core Market Towns

Abingdon

Alcester

Alford

Alfreton

Alnwick

Alston Moor

Alton (inc Neatham)

Altrincham

Amersham

Amesbury

Ampthill

Andover

Appleby-in-Westmorland

Ashbourne

Ashby-de-la-Zouch

Ashford

Ashton under Lyne

Atherstone

Axminster

Aylesbury

Aylsham

Bakewell

Baldock

Bampton

Banbury

Barnard Castle

Barnsley

Barnstaple (inc Newport, Pilton)

Barton-upon-Humber

Basingstoke



Appendix 8 (continued)

Bath

Battle

Beaconsfield

Beccles

Bedale

Bedford

Berkeley

Berkhamsted

Berwick-upon-Tweed

Beverley

Bewdley

Bicester

Bideford

Biggleswade

Bingham

Birmingham

Bishop Auckland

Bishop's Castle

Bishop's Stortford

Blackburn

Blandford Forum

Bodmin

Bolsover

Bolton

Boroughbridge (Aldborough)

Boston

Bourne

Brackley

Bradford

Bradford-on-Avon

Bradninch

Appendix 8 (continued)

Braintree

Brampton

Brandon

Brentford

Brentwood

Bridgnorth

Bridgwater

Bridlington

Bridport

Brigg

Brighton

Bristol (inc Redcliffe & Bedminster)

Bromsgrove

Bromyard

Buckingham

Bude-Stratton

Bungay

Buntingford

Burnham Market

Burnley

Burntwood

Burton on Trent

Bury

Bury St. Edmunds

Callington

Calne

Cambridge

Camelford

Cannock

Canterbury

Carlisle

Appendix 8(continued)

Castle Cary  
Castle Donington  
Chapel en le Frith  
Chard  
Cheadle  
Chelmsford (inc Springfield)  
Cheltenham  
Chertsey (inc St Anns Hill)  
Chester  
Chesterfield  
Chichester  
Chippenham  
Chipping Norton  
Chorley  
Christchurch  
Church Stretton  
Cirencester  
Cleobury Mortimer  
Clitheroe  
Clun  
Cockermouth  
Colchester  
Coleford  
Coleshill  
Colne and Marsden  
Congleton  
Coventry  
Credition  
Crewkerne  
Cromer  
Crowland

Appendix 8 (continued)

Croydon

Cullompton (inc Langford)

Darlington

Dartford

Dartmouth

Daventry

Derby (inc Allenton)

Dereham

Devizes

Diss

Doncaster

Dorchester

Dorking

Dover

Downham Market

Driffield

Droitwich Spa

Dronfield

Dudley

Dunstable

Durham

Easingwold

East Grinstead

East Harling

East Retford

Eastbourne

Egremont

Ellesmere

Ely

Enfield

Epping

Evershot

Appendix 8 (continued)

Evesham

Exeter

Fairford

Fakenham

Falmouth

Fareham (incTitchfield)

Farnham

Faversham

Folkestone

Forrabury and Minster (Boscastle inc T

Fowey

Frodsham

Frome

Gainsborough

Garstang

Gisburn

Glastonbury

Gloucester

Godalming

Grantham

Gravesend(incParrock)

Grays Thurrock

Great Dunmow

Great Faringdon

Great Torrington

Great Yarmouth

Grimsby

Guildford

Guisborough

Hailsham

Halesworth

Appendix 8 (continued)

Halifax

Halstead

Haltwhistle

Harlow (inc Latton)

Hartlepool

Harwich (inc Dovercourt)

Hastings (inc Bulverhythe&St Leonards)

Havant

Haverhill

Helmsley

Helston

Hemel Hempstead Town

Henley in Arden

Hereford

Hertford

Hexham

High Barnet (inc chipping Barnet)

High Wycombe

Hinckley

Hingham

Hitchin

Hoddesdon

Holbeach

Holsworthy

Holt

Honiton

Horncastle

Hornsea

Horsham

Howden

Huddesfield

Appendix 8 (continued)

Hungerford  
Hunmanby  
Huntingdon  
Ilfracombe  
Ilminster  
Ipswich  
Kendal  
Keswick  
Kettering  
Keynsham  
Kidderminster  
Kings Lynn  
Kingsbridge  
Kingston upon Hull (inc Branshill)  
Kingston upon Thames  
Kirkby Lonsdale  
Kirkbymoorside  
Kirkham  
Knaresborough  
Knutsford  
Lancaster  
Langport (inc Westover)  
Launceston  
Ledbury  
Leeds  
Leek  
Leicester  
Leigh  
Leighton Buzzard (linslade)  
Leominster  
Lewes (inc Cliffe Hill)

Appendix 8 (continued)

Lichfield

Lincoln

Liskeard

Liverpool

Loddon

Looe

Loughborough

Louth

Ludlow

Luton

Lutterworth

Lymington

Macclesfield

Maidenhead

Maidstone (inc Allington)

Maldon

Malmesbury (inc Westport)

Malpas

Malton (New Malton)

Manchester (inc Moston, mosside)

Manningtree

Mansfield

March

Market Bosworth

Market Drayton

Market Harborough

Market Rasen

Market Weighton

Marlborough

Marlow

Masham



Appendix 8 (continued)

Melton Mowbray

Methwold

Middlewich

Mildenhall

Minehead

Modbury

Moreton-in-Marsh

Morpeth

Nantwich

New Alresford

New Buckenham

Newark

Newbury

Newcastle under Lyme

Newcastle upon Tyne

Newmarket

Newport

Newport (IOW inc Carisbrooke)

Newport Pagnell

Newton Abbot (inc Newton Bushell)

North Tawton (form Chipping)

North Walsham

Northallerton

Northampton

Northwich

Norwich

Nottingham

Nuneaton

Oakham

Okehampton

Oldham

Appendix 8 (continued)

Olney

Ongar (inc Chipping Ongar)

Ormskirk

Oswestry

Otley

Oundle

Oxford

Penkridge

Penrith

Penzance (inc Portheness)

Pershore

Peterborough

Petersfield

Pickering

Plymouth (Dport, Oreston, tamerton Fo)

Plympton

Pocklington

Pontefract

Porstmouth (inc Milton)

Prescot

Preston

Princes Risborough

Ramsey

Rayleigh

Reading

Redruth

Reepham

Richmond

Ringwood

Ripon

Rochdale

Appendix 8 (continued)

Rochester  
Rochford  
Romford  
Romsey  
Ross-on-Wye  
Rotherham  
Rothwell  
Royston  
Rugby (inc Hilmorton and bilton)  
Rugeley  
Rye  
Saffron Walden  
Salford  
Salisbury (inc West Harnham)  
Saltash (inc Trmaton)  
Sandbach  
Sandwich (stonar)  
Saxmundham  
Scarborough  
Seamer (Scarborough)  
Sedbergh  
Selby  
Settle  
Sevenoaks  
Shaftesbury  
Sheffield (inc Stocksbridge)  
Shefford  
Shepton Mallet  
Shifnal  
Shrewsbury  
Sidmouth (inc Sidbury)

Appendix 8 (continued)

Skipton  
Sleaford  
Sodbury (inc Chipping Sodbury)  
Solihull  
South Molton  
Southam  
Southampton  
Southwell  
Southwold  
Spalding  
Spilsby  
St Albans  
St. Austell  
St. Ives  
St. Neots  
Stafford  
Staines  
Stamford  
Stevenage  
Steyning  
Stockport  
Stockton on Tees  
Stokesley  
Stone  
Stourbridge  
Stowmarket  
Stratford-upon-Avon  
Stroud  
Sturminster Newton  
Sudbury (inc Ballingdon)  
Sunderland

Appendix 8 (continued)

Sutton Coldfield  
Swaffham  
Swindon  
Tadcaster  
Tamworth  
Taunton  
Tavistock  
Tenbury  
Tenterden  
Tetbury  
Tewkesbury  
Thame  
Thaxted  
Thetford  
Thirsk  
Thornbury (inc Milbury Heath)  
Thrapston  
Tiverton  
Tonbridge  
Totnes (Bridgetown chartered)  
Towcester  
Tring  
Trowbridge  
Truro  
Ulverston  
Uttoxeter  
Uxbridge  
Wadebridge  
Wakefield  
Walsall  
Waltham Abbey

Appendix 8 (continued)

Ware

Wareham

Warminster

Warrington

Warwick

Watchet

Watford

Watton

Wellingborough

Wellington

Wells

Wells Next the Sea

Wendover

Westerham

Wetherby

Weymouth

Whitby

Whitchurch Urban

Whitehaven

Wickham Market

Wigan

Wigton

Wilton

Wimborne Minster

Wincanton

Winchester

Windsor

Winslow

Wirksworth

Wisbech

Witham (inc Chipping Hill)

Appendix 8 (continued)

Witney

Wiveliscombe

Wokingham

Wolverhampton

Woodbridge

Wooler

Woolwich

Worcester

Worksop

Worthing (inc Goring & Tarring)

Wymondham

Yeovil

York

## Appendix 9: Additional Core Markets that Disappeared Pre-1935

Alston Moor  
Askrigg  
Beaconsfield  
Billesdon  
Bisley-with-Lypiatt  
Blackburn  
Bude-Stratton  
Burntwood  
Bury  
Carnforth  
Cawood  
Coleford  
Colne and Marsden  
Cranborne  
Dedham  
Dronfield  
Ewell  
Falmouth  
Halifax  
Hawkshead  
Kettlewell with Starbotton  
Lakes (Ambleside)  
Leigh  
Lifton  
Lower Allithwaite (inc Cartmel)  
Marazion  
March  
Minehead  
Needham Market  
Oldham  
Princes Risborough



Appendix 9(Continued)

Roughton

Sandbach

Shap

Soham

St. Agnes

St. Austell

Stowey

Thorne

Whalley

Whitehaven

Winster

Appendix 10: Core Market Towns of the Modern Period that had no Medieval Documented Existence

Alston Moor

Beaconsfield

Blackburn

Bude-Stratton

Burntwood

Bury

Coleford

Colne and Marsden

Dronfield

Falmouth

Halifax

Huddesfield

Leigh

March

Minehead

Oldham

Princes Risborough

Sandbach

St. Austell

Whitehaven

Appendix 11: Places with Early Modern Markets and No Documented  
Medieval Predecessor

Aldeburgh	Suffolk
Alston Moor	Cumberland
Askrigg	Yorkshire
Beaconsfield	Buckinghamshire
Beckingham	Lincolnshire
Billesdon	Leicestershire
Bisley-with-Lypiatt	Gloucestershire
Blackburn	Lancashire
Broughton	Cumberland
Bude-Stratton	Cornwall
Burntwood	Staffordshire
Bury	Lancashire
Carnforth	Lancashire
Cawood	Yorkshire
Coleford	Gloucestershire
Colne and Marsden	Lancashire
Cornhill-on-Tweed (incLearmouth)	Northumberland
Cranborne	Dorset
Dedham	Essex
Dronfield	Derbyshire
Ewell	Surrey
Falfield	Gloucestershire
Falmouth	Cornwall
Halifax	Yorkshire
Hawkshead	Cumberland
Huddesfield	Yorkshire
Kettlewell with Starbotton	Yorkshire
Lakes (Ambleside)	Cumberland
Leigh	Lancashire
Leonard Stanley	Gloucestershire

Appendix 11 (continued)

Lifton	Devon
Littleport	Cambridgeshire
Lwr Allithwaite (Cartmel)	Cumberland
Marazion	Cornwall
March	Cambridgeshire
Membury	Devon
Minehead	Somerset
Needham Market	Suffolk
North Bovey	Devon
North Frodingham	Yorkshire
Oldham	Lancashire
Padiham	Lancashire
Princes Risborough	Buckinghamshire
Roughton	Cheshire
Sandown	Hampshire
Shap	Cumberland
Soham	Cambridgeshire
South Ormsby cum Ketsby	Lincolnshire
St. Agnes	Cornwall
St. Austell	Cornwall
Stogumber	Somerset
Stowey	Somerset
Tarvin	Cheshire
Thorne	Yorkshire
Whalley	Lancashire
Whitehaven	Cumberland
Winster	Derbyshire

## Appendix 12: New Markets Recorded in the Industrial Age 1750 -1935

Accrington	Lancashire
Acklington	Northumberland
Ashington	Northumberland
Ashton-in-Makerfield	Lancashire
Aspatria	Cumberland
Atherton	Lancashire
Bacup	Lancashire
Barrow in Furness	Cumberland
Barrow upon Humber	Lincolnshire
Batley	Yorkshire
Bedworth	Warwickshire
Belford	Northumberland
Bentham	Yorkshire
Bilston	Staffordshire
Birkenhead	Cheshire
Blackpool	Lancashire
Blyth	Northumberland
Bognor Regis	Sussex
Bracknell	Berkshire
Briely Hill	Staffordshire
Brierfield	Lancashire
Brighouse	Yorkshire
Brownhills	Staffordshire
Brushford	Somerset
Burslem	Staffordshire
Carcroft	Yorkshire
Castletford	Yorkshire
Chapelton	Yorkshire
Chatteris	Cambridgeshire
Chipping	Lancashire
Clay Cross	Derbyshire

Appendix 12(continued)

Clayton-le-Moors	Lancashire
Cleator Moor	Cumberland
Cleckheaton and Spenborough	Yorkshire
Coalville	Leicestershire
Coniston	Cumberland
Consett	Durham
Crediton Hamlets	Devon
Crewe	Cheshire
Crompton	Lancashire
Dawley Hamlets	Shropshire
Denby Dale (inc Skelmanthorpe)	Yorkshire
Dent	Cumberland
Denton	Lancashire
Denton and Haugton	Lancashire
Devonport	Devon
Dewsbury	Yorkshire
Duffield	Derbyshire
Eastwood	Nottinghamshire
Eccles	Lancashire
Eckington	Derbyshire
Epsom	Surrey
Failsworth	Lancashire
Farnworth	Lancashire
Farrington Gurney	Somerset
Featherstone	Yorkshire
Ferryhill	Durham
Fleetwood	Lancashire
George Nympton	Devon
Goldthorpe	Yorkshire
Goole	Yorkshire
Great Bridge	Staffordshire
Hanley	Staffordshire

Appendix 12 (continued)

Harrogate	Yorkshire
Harwood	Lancashire
Hawes	Yorkshire
Hayfield	Derbyshire
Haywards Heath	Sussex
Hebden Bridge	Yorkshire
Heckmondwike	Yorkshire
Hednesford	Staffordshire
Heywood	Lancashire
Hindley	Lancashire
Holmfirth	Yorkshire
Horwich	Lancashire
Houghton le Spring	Durham
Hoyland Common	Yorkshire
Hoyland Nether	Yorkshire
Hucknall Torkard	Nottinghamshire
Huthwaite	Nottinghamshire
Hyde	Cheshire
Ironbridge (aka The Gorge)	Shropshire
Ivybridge	Devon
Kidsgrove	Staffordshire
Leyburn	Yorkshire
Loftus	Yorkshire
Long Eaton	Derbyshire
Long Preston	Yorkshire
Longton	Staffordshire
Lytham	Lancashire
Maltby (rotheram)	Yorkshire
Marple	Cheshire
Matlock	Derbyshire
Mexborough	Yorkshire

Appendix 12(continued)

Middlesbrough	Yorkshire
Middleton (manchester)	Lancashire
Middleton in Teesdale	Durham
Milnthorpe	Cumberland
Mirfield	Yorkshire
Morecombe	Lancashire
Morley	Yorkshire
Mossley	Lancashire
Muker	Yorkshire
Nelson	Lancashire
New Mills	Derbyshire
Newquay(st Columb minor)	Cornwall
Normanton	Yorkshire
North Shields	Northumberland
North Turton	Lancashire
Oakengates	Shropshire
Ollerton and Boughton	Nottinghamshire
Ossett	Yorkshire
Over Darwin	Lancashire
Paddock Wood	Kent
Pudsey	Yorkshire
Radcliffe	Lancashire
Radstock	Somerset
Ramsbottom	Lancashire
Ramsgate	Kent
Rawtenstall	Lancashire
Redditch	Worcestershire
Rossington	Yorkshire
Royal Tunbridge Wells	Kent
Royton	Lancashire
Runcorn	Lancashire



Appendix 12 (continued)

Rushden	Northamptonshire
Saddleworth	Lancashire
Scunthorpe	Lincolnshire
Shaw	Lancashire
Shildon	Durham
Shipley	Yorkshire
Shirebrook	Derbyshire
Silverdale	Staffordshire
Smethwick	Staffordshire
South Bank	Yorkshire
South Elmshall	Yorkshire
Southall	London
Southport	Lancashire
Spennymoor	Durham
St Helens	Lancashire
St. Just (incPenlee)	Cornwall
Stalybridge	Lancashire
Staveley	Derbyshire
Stoke on Trent	Staffordshire
Stretford	Lancashire
Sutton in Ashfield	Nottinghamshire
Swadlincote	Derbyshire
Swinton	Lancashire
Thorpe-le-Soken	Essex
Thurcroft	Yorkshire
Thurnscoe	Yorkshire
Tipton	Staffordshire
Todmorden	Yorkshire
Tunstall	Staffordshire
Tyldesley	Lancashire
Urmston	Lancashire

Appendix 12(continued)

Ventnor	Hampshire
Walkden	Lancashire
Wembley	London
West Bedlington	Northumberland
West Bromwich	Staffordshire
West Drayton	Nottinghamshire
Weston-Super-Mare	Somerset
Whittlesey	Cambridgeshire
Wickford	Essex
Willenhall	Staffordshire
Wilmslow	Cheshire
Wombwell	Yorkshire
Woodlands	Yorkshire
Yeadon	Yorkshire

Appendix 13: Places with Early Modern Markets that had Disappeared by  
the Industrial Revolution

Abbot's Bromley	Staffordshire
Abbotsbury	Dorset
Aberford	Yorkshire
Aldbourne	Wiltshire
Aldeburgh	Suffolk
Alvechurch	Worcestershire
Amesbury	Wiltshire
Appledore	Kent
Aveley	Essex
Aynho	Northamptonshire
Bampton	Oxfordshire
Barkway	Hertfordshire
Battle	Sussex
Bawtry	Yorkshire
Beaconsfield	Buckinghamshire
Beckingham	Lincolnshire
Bere Ferrers	Devon
Bere Regis	Dorset
Betley	Staffordshire
Bidford-on-Avon	Warwickshire
Bildeston	Suffolk
Billesdon	Leicestershire
Bishop's Lydeard	Somerset
Bishop's Waltham	Hampshire
Bisley-with-Lypiatt	Gloucestershire
Blockley	Gloucestershire
Blyth	Nottinghamshire
Blythburgh	Suffolk
Bolingbroke	Lincolnshire
Bootle	Cumberland

Appendix 13 (continued)

Boroughbridge (Aldbrough)	Yorkshire
Botesdale	Suffolk
Bovey Tracey	Devon
Brading	Hampshire
Brentwood	Essex
Brewood and Coven	Staffordshire
Brough (including Market Brough)	Cumberland
Broughton	Cumberland
Bruton	Somerset
Burnham Market	Norfolk
Burnham-on-Crouch (incOstend)	Essex
Burton upon Stather	Lincolnshire
Burton-in-Kendal	Cumberland
Castle Acre	Norfolk
Castle Combe	Wiltshire
Castle Hedingham	Essex
Castle Rising	Norfolk
Cawood	Yorkshire
Cawston	Norfolk
Caxton	Cambridgeshire
Cerne Abbas	Dorset
Chagford	Devon
Chewton Mendip	Somerset
Chipstead, Hooley	Surrey
Christchurch	Dorset
Cley Next the Sea	Norfolk
Coggeshall	Essex
Combe Martin	Devon
Corfe Castle	Dorset
Cornhill-on-Tweed	Northumberland
Cranborne	Dorset

Appendix 13 (continued)

Creech St Michael	Somerset
Crowland	Lincolnshire
Cuckfield	Sussex
Dartford	Kent
Debenham	Suffolk
Deddington	Oxfordshire
Dedham	Essex
Ditchling	Sussex
Dover	Kent
Downton	Wiltshire
Dulverton	Somerset
Dunster	Somerset
Dunwich	Suffolk
Earith	Huntingdonshire
East Budleigh	Devon
Eastbourne	Sussex
Elham	Kent
Elsdon	Northumberland
Falfield	Gloucestershire
Fordingbridge	Hampshire
Forrabury and Minster	Cornwall
Foulsham	Norfolk
Frampton	Dorset
Frampton on Severn	Gloucestershire
Garstang	Lancashire
Godalming	Surrey
Goudhurst	Kent
Grampound with Creed	Cornwall
Great Bardfield	Essex
Great Dunmow	Essex
Great Limber	Lincolnshire

Appendix 13 (continued)

Hadleigh	Essex
Hallaton	Leicestershire
Haltwhistle	Northumberland
Harewood	Yorkshire
Harlow (incLatton)	Essex
Hartland	Devon
Hatfield	Hertfordshire
Hatfield Broad Oak	Essex
Hawkshead	Cumberland
Heacham	Norfolk
Henley in Arden	Warwickshire
Hickling	Norfolk
Higham Ferrers	Northamptonshire
Hodnet	Shropshire
Holme East Waver(Newton Arlost)	Cumberland
Hook Norton	Oxfordshire
Horndon on the Hill	Essex
Hornsea	Yorkshire
Horsham and Newton St. Faith	Norfolk
Hovingham	Yorkshire
Hythe	Kent
Icklesham (winchelsea)	Sussex
Ilchester	Somerset
Ixworth	Suffolk
Kenilworth	Warwickshire
Keynsham	Somerset
Kilham	Yorkshire
Kineton	Warwickshire
King's Cliffe	Northamptonshire
Kingsclere	Hampshire
Kirkham	Lancashire

Appendix 13 (continued)

Kirkoswald	Cumberland
Kirton	Lincolnshire
Lakenheath	Suffolk
Lakes (Ambleside)	Cumberland
Lavenham	Suffolk
Lenham	Kent
Leonard Stanley	Gloucestershire
Lifton	Devon
Linton	Cambridgeshire
Litcham	Norfolk
Little Brickhill	Buckinghamshire
Littleport	Cambridgeshire
Loddon	Norfolk
Long Melford	Suffolk
Long Stratton	Norfolk
Lower Allithwaite (inc Cartmel)	Cumberland
Lydd	Kent
Lydford	Devon
Maiden Bradley with Yarnfield	Wiltshire
Malpas	Cheshire
Manningtree	Essex
Market Deeping	Lincolnshire
Market Lavington	Wiltshire
Market Weston	Suffolk
Marshfield	Gloucestershire
Membury	Devon
Mendlesham	Suffolk
Mere	Wiltshire
Middleham	Yorkshire
Mildenhall	Suffolk
Millbrook (Insworke)	Cornwall

Appendix 13 (continued)

Milton Abbas	Dorset
Milton Regis	Kent
Milverton	Somerset
Minehead	Somerset
Mitcheldean	Gloucestershire
Moretonhampstead	Devon
Mountsorrel	Leicestershire
Muncaster	Cumberland
Nayland-with-Wissington	Suffolk
Needham Market	Suffolk
New Buckenham	Norfolk
New Romney	Kent
Newnham	Gloucestershire
Newport	Essex
Newport Pagnell	Buckinghamshire
North Bovey	Devon
North Curry (inc Newport)	Somerset
North Fleet	Kent
North Frodingham	Yorkshire
North Petherton	Somerset
Norton St. Philip	Somerset
Oakham	Rutland
Odiham	Hampshire
Olney	Buckinghamshire
Orford	Suffolk
Orpington	London
Orton	Cumberland
Overton	Hampshire
Painswick	Gloucestershire
Pembridge	Herefordshire
Penkridge	Staffordshire



Appendix 13 (continued)

Petworth	Sussex
Polesworth	Warwickshire
Porlock	Somerset
Poulton le Fylde	Lancashire
Prees	Shropshire
Publow	Somerset
Puddletown	Dorset
Queen Camel	Somerset
Ramsey	Huntingdonshire
Reach	Cambridgeshire
Rickmansworth	Hertfordshire
Ringshall	Suffolk
Ripley	Yorkshire
Rockingham	Northamptonshire
Rothbury	Northumberland
Rothwell	Northamptonshire
Saltash (inc Trmaton)	Cornwall
Saltfleetby	Lincolnshire
Sandown	Hampshire
Sheepwash	Devon
Sherburn in Elmet	Yorkshire
Shipston on Stour	Warwickshire
Shoreham by Sea	Sussex
Silverton	Devon
Smarden	Kent
Snettisham	Norfolk
Soham	Cambridgeshire
Solihull	Warwickshire
Somerton	Somerset
South Ormsby cum Ketsby	Lincolnshire
South Petherton	Somerset

Appendix 13(continued)

South Tawton	Devon
St Mary Cray	London
St. Agnes	Cornwall
St. Germans	Cornwall
St. Michael's Mount	Cornwall
Staindrop	Durham
Standon (Puckeridge)	Hertfordshire
Stevenage	Hertfordshire
Stockbridge	Hampshire
Stogumber	Somerset
Storrington and Sullington	Sussex
Stowey	Somerset
Sutton Coldfield	Warwickshire
Tarvin	Cheshire
Thaxted	Essex
Thorncombe	Dorset
Tickhill	Yorkshire
Tong	Shropshire
Tregony	Cornwall
Tutbury	Staffordshire
Upton-upon-Severn	Worcestershire
Walsingham	Norfolk
Waltham on the Wolds with	
Thorpe Arnold	Leicestershire
Walton le Dale	Lancashire
Ware	Hertfordshire
Watchet	Somerset
Watlington	Oxfordshire
Weldon	Northamptonshire
Wells Next the Sea	Norfolk
Wendover	Buckinghamshire

Appendix 13 (continued)

Weobley	Herefordshire
West Huntspill	Somerset
West Malling	Kent
Westbury	Wiltshire
Westonzoyland	Somerset
Whitchurch	Hampshire
Whitstable(Seasalter)	Kent
Wickwar	Gloucestershire
Winster	Derbyshire
Witham (inc Chipping Hill)	Essex
Woolpit	Suffolk
Worstead	Norfolk
Worthing(inc Goring&Tarring)	Sussex
Wroughton	Somerset
Wrotham	Kent
Wye	Hampshire
Yaxley	Huntingdonshire

## Appendix 14: Medieval Markets in Middlesex

Acton: chartered – 1232

Brentford: chartered 1306, recorded in 1554 and 1598, abolished in 1610 according to the VCH. Later wholesale market established in 1899.

Enfield: chartered 1303, recorded in 1585 and last recorded in 1823. Re-established 1971

Harrow: chartered 1261, recorded in 1314 and last recorded in c1509.

Hounslow: chartered 1296, recorded as failed by 1600.

Isleworth: chartered 1231, no record of a market but Isleworth still had a street named 'market place' as late as the 1930s.

London: prescriptive too many records to list

Pinner: chartered 1336, last recorded in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

Staines: prescriptive, recorded in 1218, 1294, 1500, 1640, 1722, 1822, 1888, 1935-2000

Uxbridge: chartered 1154x88 and 1294, recorded in 1294, 1384, 1386, 1500, 1640, 1722, 1792, 1822, 1890, 1935, 1988

Westminster: chartered 1256 too many records to list.

## Appendix 15: Places with Market Halls

### Those with a Known Medieval History

Ashford

Ashton under Lyne

Bakewell

Bampton

Barnstaple (inc Newport & Pilton)

Basingstoke

Bath

Biggleswade

Bodmin

Bolton

Boston

Bridgnorth

Bridgwater

Bristol (inc Redcliffe)

Bury St. Edmunds

Canterbury

Carlisle

Cerne Abbas

Chagford

Chesterfield

Chichester

Chipping Campden

Credition

Darlington

Dartmouth

Derby

Devizes

Doncaster

Dover

Appendix 15 (continued)

Dunster

Durham

Exeter

Faversham

Gloucester

Great Torrington

Hastings

Hereford

Hexham

High Wycombe

Honiton

Horndon on the Hill

Iminster

Kendal

Keswick

Kingsbridge

Kirkbymoorside

Launceston

Ledbury

Leeds

Lewes (inc Cliffe Hill)

Lincoln

Liskeard

London

Longnor

Looe

Louth

Manchester

Mansfield

Market Drayton

Market Rasen

Appendix 15 (continued)

Martock

Melbourne

Midhurst

Mildenhall

Newcastle upon Tyne

Newent

Newport

Newton Abbot (inc Newton Bushell)

Oundle

Oxford

Plymouth (inc Devonport, Oreston)

Pontefract

Preston

Richmond

Rothwell

Salisbury (inc West Harnham)

Scarborough

Shrewsbury

Somerton

South Cave

South Molton

Southampton

Southwark

St Ives (Ielant)

St. Ives

Steyning

Sturminster Newton

Swaffham

Tamworth

Taunton

Tavistock

Appendix 15 (continued)

Tetbury

Tewkesbury

Thornbury (inc Milbury Heath)

Tiverton

Uxbridge

Warrington

Watchet

Whitby

Wilton

Winchester

Wokingham

Woolwich

Worcester

Worthing (inc Goring)

Wotton-under-Edge

Total =108

With Medieval Market Charters

Audlem

Bingley

Botley

Brigstock

Britford

Broughton

Eynsham

Total = 7



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