



ALIENS AND STRANGERS IN BRISTOL'S ORDINANCES:

A reconsideration of approaches to late medieval
migration

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Abstract

This study investigates a peculiarity of scholarly work on English medieval migration: the separation of migrants from within the kingdom of England (local migrants) and migrants from outside the kingdom (long-distance migrants) into two strands of scholarship. Scholars who have researched and published on local migrants have very rarely done so for long-distance migrants and vice versa. This leads us to ask if the medieval sources show a similar split-perception on the part of medieval people, or if the division stems from the way the surviving sources frame medieval migration, or modern ideas of migration influencing scholars' interpretations? These questions are answered over the course of four chapters using ordinances from Bristol's guilds and civic government, dated from 1344-1490. Chapter one discusses the terms frequently used to split society up into different groups in the ordinances. Two of these terms, stranger and alien, were used to refer to local and long-distance migrants respectively, though stranger was often ambiguous suggesting migrants were not neatly divided in two in the middle ages. Chapter two shows that local and long-distance migrants did not have significantly different legal rights as defined by the ordinances. Moreover, efforts to regulate both groups grew across the fifteenth century largely in response to Bristol's ailing economy. Chapter three demonstrates that Bristol's civic authorities were far more concerned with protecting the rights of the towns burgesses than making fine distinctions between migrants based on their origins. Chapter four moves away from the ordinances as the three previous chapters demonstrate the reasons for the separate study of medieval migrants are not likely to be found in them. Instead it investigates a sample of modern scholarly literature. This chapter compares works in the two strands of scholarship showing they share many approaches and fundamental questions. Finally some explanations for the split are offered: the influence of nation-states on modern understandings of migration, the nature of the source materials commonly used to study local and long-distance migrants presenting an artificially divided perception, and the changing popularity of different topics in academia meaning interest in the sources which can be used to study local and long-distance migrants coming to wider attention at different times.

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Introduction

Migration is one of the oldest and most widespread of human activities, practised since early *homo sapiens* first left the areas they knew in search of different places to live, and continuing today in myriad forms. Between these two poles of history lies the Middle Ages, an epoch often perceived as a world of rural villages and peasants who lived their entire lives never going more than a couple of dozen miles from the house they were born in. While this might seem a quaint notion in today's world of commuter traffic, foreign holidays and a global trade network, it is also a misrepresentation. Just as in every other period of human history, people migrated in the Middle Ages, often taking the short route from the village they were born in to live in the closest town, and sometimes going much further to a different kingdom. Medieval towns were reliant on this migration to maintain their populations in the face of negative replacement rates.¹

Research Question

Over the last century or so various scholars have become interested in, and published works on, these migrants and how they migrated, especially those present in urban centres. A reading of the scholarly literature relevant to England reveals a peculiar split in the way scholars have treated medieval migrants: those moving shorter distances within the Kingdom of England, and those moving over longer distances from outside the Kingdom into its borders are almost never discussed in the same works or even by the same scholars. This thesis will explore this split, seeking to establish where it stems from in the context of late medieval Bristol. Did the creators of the medieval sources perceive an important distinction between local and long-distance migrants? Does the separate treatment of local and long-distance migrants owe anything to modern uses of the sources, or even to modern perceptions of migration? The aim is not to argue that treating local and long-distance migrants separately in scholarly works is unjustifiable, but to find out why it has remained unjustified in the scholarly literature to date.

Definitions: Long-distance and Local Migrants

¹ Robert S. Gottfried, 'Bury St. Edmunds and the Population of Late Medieval English Towns, 1270-1530', *Journal of British Studies* 20, no. 1 (1980): 16–18.

Before giving more details about this study, it is necessary to define two terms introduced in the previous paragraphs: local migrant and long-distance migrant. These are the labels which will be used throughout the rest of this study to refer to the migrants who form the focus for the two separate strands of scholarship on medieval migration. These terms have been chosen for their clarity to the reader. Local and long-distance migrant are descriptive terms which capture the essential difference between the migrants studied on either side of the partition in scholarship: the distance they travelled in migrating from their place of origin to the town in which they then lived. This terminology is not perfect: Scottish migrants crossing the border into England are an uncomfortable fit for the term long-distance migrants, but this is the category into which they fall given their origins outside the Kingdom of England.² Similarly, people who migrated from the North of England to London or other journeys of a similar distance are not really undertaking local movements.³ One way around this issue would be to use the terms international and intranational migrant, but one of the aims of this study is to question the framing of medieval migration in terms of nations, making this terminology inappropriate. Furthermore, these two terms are confusingly similar making them harder to differentiate easily when reading. Alternatively, the medieval terminology of stranger and alien could have been used; however, these terms can be very ambiguous in the sources, as will be discussed in Chapter One. Moreover, discussing the shades of meaning of these two words whilst simultaneously using them as the base terms to refer to the two types of migrant would make for a confusing discussion.

Status Quaestionis

² See also the inclusion of S. Rees Jones study on Scottish Migration to Northern England in a recent collection of articles on long-distance migrants: S. Rees Jones, 'Scots in the North of England: The First Alien Subsidy, 1440-43', in *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. W. Mark Ormrod, Craig Taylor, and Nicola McDonald, *Studies in European Urban History* 42 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2017), 49–75.

³ For a discussion of these migrants see: Josiah C. Russell, 'Midland and Northern Migration to London, 1100-1365', *Speculum* 34, no. 4 (1959): 641–45.

It is a testament to the thoroughness of the split between studies of local and long-distance migrants that the potential for such confusion has not arisen in the last century or so of scholarship on migration. The scholarly literature on long-distance migrants has largely settled on calling them aliens. This is seen in the titles of works from across the entire history of the field of study with M.S. Giuseppe's 'Alien Merchants in the Fifteenth Century' (1895) to the recent collection of articles *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England* (2017).⁴ Meanwhile works on local migrants often refer simply to 'migration' or 'migrants' in their titles.⁵ Despite this study's aim to question this division of the subject the two strands of scholarship will be summarised separately below: any attempt to impose links between them here would be somewhat artificial and misleading to the reader given that these works and scholars have had little direct interaction until now.

Studies of Long-distance migrants

In the study of long-distance migrants in late medieval England, several strong trends have been maintained across the last century. Long-distance migrants have been studied as a single broad group distinct from the native English, or more often have been subdivided by place of origin, residence and occupation. One of the earliest works on alien migrants in late medieval England neatly fits into this pattern. Montague S. Giuseppe's 'Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century' uses a range of source materials primarily from London including the Alien Subsidy Rolls and focusses entirely on alien merchants.⁶ Focussing upon a single occupational group in a single town has been a common method for narrowing down the material in late medieval England with

⁴ Montague S. Giuseppe, 'Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series* 9 (1895): 75–98; W. Mark Ormrod, Craig Taylor, and Nicola McDonald, eds., *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, Studies in European Urban History 42 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2017).

⁵ R. K. Field, 'Migration in the Later Middle Ages: The Case of the Hampton Lovett Villeins.', *Midland History* 8 (1983): 29–48, <https://doi.org/10.1179/mdh.1983.8.1.29>; Peter McClure, 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of English Place-Name Surnames.', *Economic History Review* 32, no. 2 (1979): 167–82, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0289.1979.tb01683.x>; S Penn, 'The Origins of Bristol Migrants in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Surname Evidence', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* CI (1983): 123–30.

⁶ Giuseppe, 'Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century'.

A.A Ruddock's and M. Twycross' studies of Southampton and York's long-distance migrant merchants respectively, and J. Good's work on London's long-distance migrant clothworkers.⁷

Montague's (1895) and Ruddock's (1946) works represent two of the earliest in the field and as such are somewhat detached from the rest of the scholarship. S.L. Thrupp's (1957) pioneering study of the Alien Subsidy Rolls is where the foundations of modern scholarly works are generally to be found. This article gives an overview of all the material from the year 1440, estimating the size of the long-distance migrant population and analysing some of the trends in their settlement and participation in the economy.⁸ Nevertheless Montague and Ruddock do seem to have set a precedent as Thrupp's next work on 'Aliens in and Around London in the Fifteenth Century' (1969) returns to a focus on a subgroup within the kingdom.⁹ Appearing in between Thrupp's two work, Nelly J. M. Kerling's *Aliens in the County of Norfolk* also follows this trend of addressing a subgroup of aliens, in this case those living in Norfolk between 1436 and 1483.¹⁰

An overview of more recent scholarship also reflects this focus with a run of studies from the later 1990s to 2000 all taking this approach. J.A Galloway and I. Murray selected Scottish migrants as their focus in 1996 while the aforementioned study by M. Twycross on York's long-distance migrant merchants comes two years later in 1998.¹¹ Also in this year is one of the most interesting and detailed works in this theme: J.L. Bolton's *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century*.¹² While ostensibly a calendar of the rolls linked to London and its suburbs in 1440 and 1483-4 this book contains an extensive introduction explaining the context of these records and providing

⁷ Alwyn A. Ruddock, 'Alien Merchants in Southampton in the Later Middle Ages', *The English Historical Review* 61, no. 239 (1946): 1–17; Meg Twycross, 'Some Aliens in York and Their Overseas Connections: Up to c. 1470', *Leeds Studies in English* n.s.29 (1998): 359–80; Jonathan Good, 'The Alien Clothworkers of London 1337-1381', in *The Ties that Bind: Essays in Medieval British History in Honour of Barbara Hanawalt*, ed. Douglas Biggs, Linda Elizabeth Mitchell, and Katherine L. French (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 7–19.

⁸ Sylvia L. Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440', *Speculum* 36, no. 2 (1957): 262–73.

⁹ Sylvia L. Thrupp, 'Aliens in and around London in the Fifteenth Century.', in *Studies in London History Presented to Philip E. Jones*, ed. A.E.J. Hollaender and William Kellaway, - (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), 251–72.

¹⁰ Nelly J. M. Kerling, *Aliens in the County of Norfolk (1436-1483)* (Norfolk Archaeology, 1963).

¹¹ James A. Galloway and Ian Murray, 'Scottish Migration to England, 1400-1560.', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 112, no. 1 (1996): 29–38; Twycross, 'Some Aliens in York and Their Overseas Connections'.

¹² J. L. Bolton, *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century : The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 -1483-4* (Stamford: Paul Watkins/Richard III & Yorkist History Trust, 1998).

a detailed analysis of London's long-distance migrant population. Bolton makes important corrections to Thrupp's numbers and use of toponymic surname evidence before offering a revised view of earlier scholars' rosy pictures of migrant integration.¹³

Two more works can be placed in this tradition of focus on subgroups of aliens both appearing in the same volume of *Irish Historical Studies*. J.L. Bolton uses the licenses to remain in England obtained by Irish migrants and the 1440 alien subsidy rolls to study this subgroup's patterns of settlement and participation in the labour market.¹⁴ Wendy R. Childs' article has a narrower focus on the Irish merchants and seamen who can be observed in extant records. Covering a wide range of source materials, she investigates commercial issues such as the volume of trade, but also looks into the lives of individual Irish merchants, such as Henry May and his family in Bristol.¹⁵

The research objectives of most of this prior work have been to establish the population size, ethnic composition, and economic roles of long-distance migrants to medieval English towns. These questions were addressed at various scopes with Giuseppe and Thrupp tackling the whole of England, and others such as Twycross, Galloway & Murray, and Ruddock focussing on a particular town, ethnic group or occupational group respectively. Nonetheless, the aims of these works were to establish the basic facts about the subgroup being discussed and to explain the patterns observed as the result of economic factors.¹⁶ Though it ought to be noted that a second strain of argument is also observable in this scholarship which sees patterns of alien settlement and life through the lens of international diplomacy and its broader impacts.¹⁷

¹³ Bolton, 5, 7–8, 25, 35–40.

¹⁴ J. L. Bolton, 'Irish Migration to England in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of 1394 and 1440.', *Irish Historical Studies: Joint Journal of the Irish Historical Society and the Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies* 32, no. 125 (2000): 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021121400014620>.

¹⁵ Wendy R. Childs, 'Irish Merchants and Seamen in Late Medieval England', *Irish Historical Studies* 32, no. 125 (2000): 22–43.

¹⁶ For examples of these economic arguments see: Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440'; Bolton, 'Irish Migration to England'.

¹⁷ See: Galloway and Murray, 'Scottish Migration to England, 1400-1560.'; Giuseppe, 'Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century'. And for a more recent example: William Mark Ormrod and Bart Lambert, 'Friendly Foreigners: International Warfare Resident Aliens and the Early History of Denization in England, c.1250-c.1400', *English Historical Review* CXXX, no. 542 (2015): 1–24.

After these works there is a short gap in published works on long-distance migration until 2010 when J. Colson produced an article on the Alien Fraternities of London.¹⁸ While the earlier tradition of focussing on subgroups and answering the kinds of questions outlined in the previous paragraph continues, Colson's work marks a point at which scholars begin to look at additional aspects of long-distance migrant life, in this case religious life. This is also seen in Peter Fleming's work on Bristol's long-distance migrant population in the fifteenth century, appearing in chapter four of his *Time, Space and Power in later medieval Bristol*.¹⁹ The primary focus of the chapter, entitled 'The World Beyond the Sea', is to assess the extent of the contact between Bristol's inhabitants and the rest of the globe. Thus, Fleming's approach to analysing the long-distance migrant population focusses on presenting them as part of a multi-cultural and multi-lingual community.

J. Good's article on London's long-distance migrant clothworkers also exemplifies this interest in aspects beyond the economic statistics of alien populations in England, arguing that internal divisions between Brabanters and Flemish made the 1381 attacks on aliens more deleterious than they could have been.²⁰ This episode is one of the most heavily studied aspects of England's long-distance migrant history, recurring in many studies such as those of Ruddock and Bolton.²¹ A recent work on long-distance migrants in England takes this episode as its main focus: Bart Lambert and Milan Pajic's 'Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth Workers, Flemish Exiles, and Royal Policy in Fourteenth-Century London' (2016).²² This article seeks to frame the 1381 attacks as a last resort response on the part of a native cloth-working industry, whose concerns had been ignored by the crown for 25 years.

¹⁸ Justin Colson, 'Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities in Later Medieval London', *London Journal: A Review of Metropolitan London Past and Present* 35, no. 2 (2010): 111–43, <https://doi.org/10.1179/174963210X12729493038298>.

¹⁹ Peter Fleming, 'Chapter 4: The World Beyond the Sea', in *Time, Space and Power in Later Medieval Bristol* (University of the West of England: Working Paper, 2013), 4.

²⁰ Good, 'The Alien Clothworkers of London 1337-1381'.

²¹ Ruddock, 'Alien Merchants in Southampton in the Later Middle Ages'; Bolton, *Alien Communities of London*.

²² Bart Lambert and Milan Pajic, 'Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth Workers, Flemish Exiles, and Royal Policy in Fourteenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies* 55 (2016): 633–57.

This last article is associated with a large-scale research project, *England's Immigrants, 1330-1550*, undertaken at the University of York in collaboration with the National Archives and the Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield.²³ Apart from providing a much-needed database of the sources for immigrants to late medieval England, this project has resulted in a flurry of studies which highlight some new issues in the study of the long-distance migrant population. Bart Lambert and W. Mark Ormrod have studied the history of denization in England, convincingly arguing that the letters of denization issued in the later Middle Ages were not the result of an evolutionary process of experimentation but instead stem from the particular circumstances of the English Crown's wars with France.²⁴ There are also several studies on the England's Immigrants Project's website, mostly short discussions of individual long-distance migrants.²⁵ Nonetheless, one of these studies picks up the theme of aliens' religious lives thereby working in the same vein as Colson.²⁶

This research project has also produced a volume of articles entitled *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*.²⁷ Published in 2017, this work contains ten articles from various historians in the field and represents the cutting edge of research into long-distance migrants. Like other recent work, it focusses on a wider range of topics linked to long-distance migration such as intermarriage, and the reliability of the available sources.²⁸ Nonetheless, this collection of articles echoes early work in its tendency to focus on particular subgroups of long-distance migrants.²⁹

²³ 'England's Immigrants 1330 - 1550', accessed 20 January 2017, <https://www.englishimmigrants.com/>.

²⁴ Ormrod and Lambert, 'Friendly Foreigners: International Warfare Resident Aliens and the Early History of Denization in England, c.1250-c.1400'.

²⁵ 'Case Studies', England's Immigrants 1330 - 1550, accessed 19 March 2018, <https://www.englishimmigrants.com/page/individual-studies>.

²⁶ Jonathan Hanley, 'Aliens and Religion in Suffolk, c. 1330-1550', England's Immigrants 1330 - 1550, accessed 2 March 2018, <https://www.englishimmigrants.com/page/individual-studies/aliens-and-religion-in-suffolk-c-1330-1550>.

²⁷ Ormrod, Craig Taylor, and McDonald, *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*.

²⁸ Andrea Ruddick, 'Immigrants and Intermarriage in Late Medieval England', in *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. W. Mark Ormrod, Craig Taylor, and Nicola McDonald, Studies in European Urban History 42 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2017), 181–200; W. Mark Ormrod and Jonathan Mackman, 'Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England: Sources, Contexts and Debates', in *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. W. Mark Ormrod, Nicola McDonald, and Craig Taylor, Studies in European Urban History 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 3–31.

²⁹ S. Rees Jones, 'Scots in the North of England: The First Alien Subsidy, 1440-43'; Peter Fleming, 'Icelanders in England in the Fifteenth Century', in *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. Nicola McDonald and Craig

Studies of Local Migrants

The study of local migration has followed a similar trajectory in the hands of a largely different set of scholars. Early articles focussed more heavily on attempts to establish basic facts about migrants such as the distances they migrated, while more recent articles have made attempts to discern and explain differing patterns of migration according to gender, age and economic roles.

One of the earlier articles to be mentioned here is a rare instance of a scholar working on both local and alien migration, as S.L. Thrupp attempted to establish replacement rates for England as a whole by synthesising smaller scale studies.³⁰ While migration is not the main focus of this article, it is discussed throughout as an important factor in the calculation of replacement rates and Thrupp argues that those who moved away from manors retained links with their birthplaces. In the same issue of *The Economic History Review* E.M. Carus-Wilson's much lauded 'The First Half-Century of the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon was published'.³¹ Again, this article's primary focus was not local migrants but instead the foundation of Stratford-upon-Avon. Nonetheless, Carus-Wilson provides an example of the techniques used to study local migration: the establishing of the distances from which migrants travelled to a town and the use of toponymic surnames to determine where migrants were coming from.

This method is also used by A.F. Butcher in the only article I have managed to find which discusses both alien and local migrants on equal terms.³² Butcher makes use of novel evidence from the Jaret Account Records of Romney to study migration into Romney, bucking the trend of most scholarship by focussing on migration as a phenomenon rather than any subgroup of migrants. He also avoids

Taylor, *Studies in European Urban History* 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 77–88; Francesco Guidi-Bruscoli and Jessica Lutkin, 'Perception, Identity, and Culture: The Italian Communities in Fifteenth-Century London and Southampton Revisited', in *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. W. Mark Ormrod, Craig Taylor, and Nicola McDonald, *Studies in European Urban History* 42 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2017), 89–104.

³⁰ Sylvia L. Thrupp, 'The Problem of Replacement-Rates in Late Medieval English Population', *English History Review*, *New Series* 18, no. 1 (1965): 101–19.

³¹ E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The First Half-Century of the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon', *The Economic History Review*, *New Series* 18, no. 1 (1965): 46–63.

³² A.F. Butcher, 'The Origins of Romney Freeman, 1433-1523', *Economic History Review* 27, no. 1 (1974): 16–27.

the use of toponymic surname evidence as too ambiguous, a position enabled by the nature of the extant records for Romney.

Studies undertaken on many other towns and cities in late medieval England have not had the benefit of such detailed records and thus rely more heavily on toponymic surnames to trace local migration. This technique was first used on England's local migrants by E. Ekwall in a study of London.³³ This work was further analysed in a short study focussing upon those migrants from the Midlands and North by J.C. Russell.³⁴ However, P. McClure's 1979 article 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of English Place-Name Surnames' is perhaps the most important work in this strain of the scholarship.³⁵ McClure makes a plea for the utility of toponymic surnames as evidence of local migration and critiques the faulty methodologies employed in previous works before going on to provide exemplar studies of place-name evidence. McClure's plea was answered, with R.S. Gottfried including a consideration of toponymic surnames as evidence of migration in his study of Bury St Edmund's late medieval demography.³⁶ Additionally, S. Penn draws directly on McClure's methodology to study the origins of Bristol's pre-plague local migrants.³⁷

These works on local migration focus on establishing the radius from which migrants moved into medieval towns, developing a distance-decay model in which larger towns attracted migrants from larger areas. While important, these studies are analogous to those early studies of alien migration discussed above in that they are mostly concerned with establishing basic facts and statistics about patterns of migration. Later work reflects a more 'social turn' with scholars seeking to investigate the relations between local migration and broader social and economic factors.

While not a study of urban migration, P. Schofield's article on the Frankpledge lists for Birdbrook, Essex also use toponymic surnames to trace both immigration and emigration from the manor and

³³ Eilert Ekwall, *Studies on the Population of Medieval London*, Kungl. Vitterhets, Historier Och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar Filologisk-Filosofiska Serien 2 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956).

³⁴ Russell, 'Midland and Northern Migration'.

³⁵ McClure, 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages'.

³⁶ Gottfried, 'Bury St. Edmunds'.

³⁷ Penn, 'The Origins of Bristol Migrants in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Surname Evidence'.

offers an interesting insight into the relations between wider socio-economic trends and patterns of migration.³⁸ P.J.P. Goldberg has also considered the impacts of gender and age on migration in two studies using York evidence.³⁹ Meanwhile J. Kermode takes on the issue of the integration of local migrants into the urban community in a study of urban inhabitants' social networks.⁴⁰

The two most recent works to be discussed here are David Postles' 'Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy' and Wendy R. Childs' 'Moving Around'.⁴¹ Postles provides a thorough *status quaestionis* of work on local migration and assesses the relative merits of various source materials for the study of migrants. This work embodies much of the more social focus of more recent scholarship on migration discussing issues of gender, lordship, and differences between migrants to rural and urban destinations. Childs also takes a different view of local migration, including it in a work focussed on travel in the Middle Ages. She sees it as one of the three main forms of economically motivated travel alongside trade and employment.⁴² Childs can be seen as responding to Postles' call for greater focus on experiences of migration as the travel involved has been largely overlooked despite being an integral part of all forms of migrations.

Following on from this scholarship this study will focus on a more social aspect of migrants' experiences: their acceptance by civic authorities. This is an area of migration which has been addressed by Christian D. Liddy and Bart Lambert in relation to Great Yarmouth's long-distance

³⁸ Phillipp R. Schofield, 'Frankpledge Lists as Indices of Migration and Mortality: Some Evidence from Essex Lists', *Local Population Studies* 52 (1994): 23–29.

³⁹ P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Migration, Youth and Gender in Later Medieval England', in *Youth in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg and Felicity Riddy (York: York Medieval Press, 2004), 85–99; P. J. P. Golberg, 'Marriage, Migration, and Servanthood: The York Cause Paper Evidence.', in *Woman Is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c. 1200-1500*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg, - (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992), 1–15.

⁴⁰ Jenny Kermode, 'Sentiment and Survival: Family and Friends in Late Medieval English Towns', *Journal of Family History* 24, no. 5 (1999): 5–18.

⁴¹ David A. Postles, 'Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy: English Internal Migration, c. 1200-1350.', *Social History* 25, no. 3 (2000): 285–99, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071020050143329>; Wendy R. Childs, 'Moving Around', in *A Social History of England 1200-1500*, ed. Rosemary Horrox and William Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 260–75.

⁴² Childs, 'Moving Around', 268.

migrants.⁴³ However, this topic has yet to be addressed in the context of a major town in late medieval England and in a way which studies local and long-distance migrants together. Only A.F. Butcher has considered migration as a unified phenomenon and studied both local and long-distance migrants together previously. As mentioned above, this study will explore the validity of dividing the study of migrants according to their status as local or long-distance migrants, considering why these scholars have focussed upon only one group or the other. This will mean avoiding the tendency found in scholarship on long-distance migrants to focus on a single occupation, nationality or town. By studying both local and long-distance migrants in Bristol, this study will provide a perspective which encompasses all migrants and goes beyond the establishing of facts which dominates the earlier scholarship on both types of migrants.

Scholarly works addressing groups of migrants outside the British Isles are conspicuous by their absence in the overview given here. There is a wealth of material covering the migrants across later medieval Europe. Recent studies range across Europe covering migrants in Paris' silk industry, migration to Latin Greece, works investigating the movement of people between Germany and Denmark, and the recruitment of Burgesses in Flemish and Brabantine towns.⁴⁴ Other important works in the field of medieval migration, include *L'Étranger au Moyen Âge* and studies of German

⁴³ Christian D. Liddy and Bart Lambert, 'The Civic Franchise and the Regulation of Aliens in Great Yarmouth c.1430 - c. 1490', in *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. W. Mark Ormrod and Craig Taylor, *Studies in European Urban History* 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 125–43.

⁴⁴ Sharon Farmer, *The Silk Industries of Medieval Paris. Artisanal Migration, Technological Innovation and Gendered Experience*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017); Nada Zečević, *The Tocco of the Greek Realm: Nobility, Power and Migration in Latin Greece (14th-15th Centuries)* (Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Sarajevu, 2014); David Jacoby, 'Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: The Impact on the Economy', in *The Eastern Mediterranean Frontier of Latin Christendom*. Ed. Stuckley, Jace (*The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000-1500*, 6), Farnham : Ashgate, 2014. Xxxv, 454 Pp., *The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000-1500*, 6 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 85–116; Bjørn Poulsen, 'Late Medieval Migration across the Baltic: The Movement of People between Northern Germany and Denmark', in *Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300-1500*. Ed. Bisgaard, Lars, Mortensen, Lars Boje & Pettitt, Tom, Odense : University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013. 302 Pp. (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 31–56; Marc Boone and Peter Stabel, 'New Burghers in the Late Medieval Towns of Flanders and Brabant: Conditions of Entry, Rules and Reality', in *Neubürger im Späten Mittelalter. Migration Und Austausch in der Städtelandschaft des Alten Reiches (1250-1550)*, ed. Schwinges Rainer Christoph, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 30 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2002), 317–32.

migrants in Rome and Florence by Knut Schulz and Lorenz Boninger respectively.⁴⁵ These works go undiscussed in this study not because they have nothing to offer it, but rather because there is not the space to discuss them all adequately and how their conclusions tie into the situation in England.⁴⁶ Rather than provide a superficial impression of links between migration to the Kingdom of England, and that going on elsewhere, it was thought best to leave the comparison of medieval migrants across Europe to future works in the field.

Methodology

This will be done in four chapters using primary sources drawn from Bristol, England. This town was chosen as it was a large urban centre in the Late Middle Ages which attracted many migrants, but it has not been the topic of intense scholarly study to date.⁴⁷ Migrants in other large towns such as London have been studied by scholars such as Sylvia Thrupp, J.L. Bolton and J.C. Russell.⁴⁸ Meanwhile Bristol has not received the same level of attention with only Peter Fleming's discussion of long-distance migrants in his monograph on the city and S. Penn publishing an article on the city's local migrants.⁴⁹ Moreover, an interesting set of primary sources shedding light on the position of

⁴⁵ Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, Collectif, and Geneviève Bühner-Thierry, *L'Etranger au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2000); Knut Schulz, 'La Migrazione Di Tecnici, Artigiani e Artisti', in *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa, 3: Produzione e Tecniche*. Ed. Braunstein, Philippe & Molà, Luca, *Vicenza : Colla, 2007. 736 Pp.* (Vicenza: Colla, 2007), 89–114; Knut Schulz, 'Deutsche Handwerkergruppen in Italien, Besonders in Rom (14.-16. Jahrhundert)', in *Le Migrazioni in Europa Secc. XIII-XVIII: Atti Della Venticinquesima Settimana Di Studi, 3-8 Maggio 1993*. Ed. Cavaciocchi, Simonetta (*Atti Delle Settimane Di Studi e Altri Convegni, 25*), Firenze : Le Monnier, 1994. 918 Pp., *Atti Delle Settimane Di Studi e Altri Convegni, 25* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1994), 567–91; Knut Schulz, 'Rom und die Fremden. Deutsche Handwerkergruppen als Privilegierte Minderheiten im Rom der Renaissance (Anfang 15. Bis Mitte 16. Jahrhundert).', in *Nationale, Ethnische Minderheiten und Regionale Identitäten in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*. Ed. Czacharowski, Antoni, *Toruń : Universitas Nicolai Copernici, 1994. 189 Pp.* (Toruń: Universitas Nicolai Copernici, 1994), 53–68; Knut Schulz, 'Deutsche Handwerkergruppen im Rom der Renaissance. Mitgliederstärke, Organisationsstruktur -- Voraussetzungen. Eine Bestandsaufnahme', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 86, no. 1–2 (1991): 3–22; Lorenz Boninger, *Die Deutsche Einwanderung nach Florenz im Spätmittelalter* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006).

⁴⁶ Another contributing factor to this omission are my own language skills: my level of German proving far inferior to that needed to decipher academic texts in the language.

⁴⁷ M.D. Lobel and E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'Bristol', in *The Atlas of Historic Towns, Volume 2*, ed. E.M. Carus-Wilson, vol. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 10.

⁴⁸ Thrupp, 'Aliens in and around London in the Fifteenth Century.'; Bolton, *Alien Communities of London*; Russell, 'Midland and Northern Migration'.

⁴⁹ Fleming, 'Chapter 4: The World Beyond the Sea'; Penn, 'The Origins of Bristol Migrants in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Surname Evidence'.

migrants exists for the town: civic ordinances from the Great Red Book and Little Red Book of Bristol, dating from 1344 to 1490.⁵⁰ These will form the primary focus and evidence for the first three chapters of this study. These civic registers are consulted in the form of editions, rather than originals. While ideally medieval documents should be consulted in their original form, this was prevented by a lack of time and travel budget. Nonetheless, the inability to comment on the codicological framework of the ordinances does not hinder the aims of this study, as the concern is with how migrants were presented in the text of the ordinances, which is transmitted via scholarly editions by E.W.W. Veale and Francis B. Bickley.⁵¹

The Little Red Book of Bristol was started in 1344 by William Colford, the town's Recorder, who had all the town's liberties and ordinances written up in a single place. The resulting volume was 11.5 by 8.5 inches (292.1mm by 215.9mm) originally with 206 folia but more were added later.⁵² The under cover gives an idea of the volume's intended purpose with the following fifteenth-century inscription:

*Liber Rubeus ville Bristoll. in quo continentur plurime libertates, franchisesque, constituciones dicte ville, Ordinationes diuersarum arcium, composicionesque plurimarum canteriarum ac aliarum multarum cartarum libertatuma tempore quo non existat memoria impetratarum.*⁵³

This gives a clear idea of the register's intended use as a repository of rules and regulations related to the town of Bristol.

The Great Red Book seems to have been started around 1376 and at 15 inches by 11.5 inches (381mm by 292.1mm) is the bigger of the two books, hence their respective names as 'great' and

⁵⁰ E.W.W. Veale, ed., *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, Bristol Record Society's Publications, IV (1933: J.W. Arrowsmith LTD, n.d.); E.W.W. Veale, ed., *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, Bristol Record Society's Publications 15 (Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith LTD, 1951); Francis B. Bickley, ed., *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Bristol: W.C. Hemmons, 1900); Francis B. Bickley, ed., *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, vol. 2, 2 vols (Bristol: W.C. Hemmons, 1900).

⁵¹ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*; Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900; Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900.

⁵² Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:vii–viii.

⁵³ Bickley, 1:viii.

'little'.⁵⁴ The content of the Great Red Book differs slightly as it mainly records deeds and wills; the ordinances which it does contain are later in date.⁵⁵ Veale has suggested this is the result of the register being started as a record of Bristol's land transactions, and then when the Little Red Book was filled in the mid-fifteenth century, ordinances and other civic documents were recorded in the Great Red Book where there was still space.⁵⁶ These two civic registers will be used together as they contain the ordinances issued by both the civic government at large and the various craft guilds of the city. Both registers will be used as their contents are complementary, with some guilds represented in only one of the books.⁵⁷

One reason to use ordinances as a source on medieval migration is the long-lasting impact of this legislation on migrants' experiences throughout the following centuries. As pointed out by Ormrod and Mackman, the legal framework developed in the Late Middle Ages influenced subsequent efforts at regulation through to the nineteenth century.⁵⁸ Moreover, these ordinances are a very useful source for determining if the civic authorities of medieval Bristol perceived migrants as divided along the same lines as modern scholars: local and long-distance. This is because the ordinances represent the civic authorities' efforts to regulate life in the city and different regulations were applied to different groups of people. By looking at how the civic ordinances define and regulate migrants, it is possible to see if local and long-distance migrants were perceived as forming two separate groups in the Middle Ages or if alternative categories structured medieval perceptions of how urban society was divided.

This study focusses on civic authorities partly by necessity, as they are the group who have left evidence on their perceptions of migrants to posterity. However, a focus on civic authorities was also chosen as this was the group of people with the most power to shape migrants' experiences: the group with the power to create and enforce legislation.

⁵⁴ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 1–2.

⁵⁵ Veale, 3.

⁵⁶ Veale, 3.

⁵⁷ Veale, 16.

⁵⁸ Ormrod and Mackman, 'Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England: Sources, Contexts and Debates', 5.

The term civic authorities has been chosen over that of civic government, or guild authorities, as there does not appear to have been a firm distinction between guilds and the civic government in late medieval Bristol. The guilds were under the control of the civic government and all those involved were part of the same social milieu.⁵⁹ Given this inseparability they likely had a common perception of migrants coming to their town and how to categorise them. Thus they can be referred to using a single term: civic authorities, kept plural to denote that while they acted in unison the various guilds and the civic government were theoretically separate powers.

Chapter Structure:

In chapters one to three this study will look at the ordinances issued by the civic authorities between 1344 and 1490 which make some mention of migrants. The discussion in these chapters will not investigate whether there were any practical differences in the experiences and lifestyles of local and long-distance migrants. This would require extensive analysis of a range of archival sources to conduct full prosopographic studies of both local and long-distance migrants. This would likely take years for even a single town. Instead, by looking at the civic ordinances these chapters will investigate what was going on in the minds populating medieval Bristol, or at least those fortunate enough to have been in positions of power.

The first chapter will explore the terms used to refer to migrants in the ordinances. This exploration will illuminate the concepts Bristol's civic authorities used to categorise its inhabitants as well as the overlaps and distinctions between these concepts and the terms used to denote them. The second chapter will build on this picture asking how these terms were used to create legal distinctions between people and where the boundaries between these different legal groupings lay. Then the third chapter will attempt to establish what the most significant of these divisions was to Bristol's late medieval civic authorities: where was the dividing line between insider and outsider for this community of people?

⁵⁹ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:xxii; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 26.

The fourth chapter will take a different approach moving on from directly investigating the medieval sources to looking at modern scholarship. Having examined what perceptions medieval people had of migrants, an attempt will be made to discern what concepts, categories and other mental features are present in the scholarship on local and long-distance migrants and how these may have influenced modern scholars to divide the study of migrants into local and long-distance. This will be done using a sample of scholarly literature from across the last century, though chiefly from 1950 onwards. Unfortunately, only a sample has been consulted for this as the time and finances needed to travel and read all the material were not available. Nonetheless, this sample will give an impression of the field as it stands.

Chapter One: what legal categories of person existed in the ordinances?

A key part of determining whether local and long-distance migrants should be considered part of the same phenomenon or as two distinct groups is establishing how they were perceived by their contemporaries. This can be illuminated by asking what terms were used to categorise people in contemporary records; if a group of people is referred to by a separate term, it indicates they are perceived as sharing some unifying property which differentiates them from others. Thus if there are distinct terms for local and long-distance migrants used in Bristol's ordinances then it can be argued they formed two separate groups in the eyes of Bristol's civic authorities. If this were the case, then modern scholars' tendency to treat local and long-distance migrants entirely separately becomes

more understandable as they would be applying the same mental categories as were used by people at the time.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, before a discussion of the virtues of scholar's approaches to the subject can be attempted, the question of what terms are used to refer to Bristol's inhabitants in the ordinances must be answered. To explore this question a clear understanding of the terms used needs to be established.

This chapter is based on a careful reading and analysis of the guild ordinances, first to identify what terms were used to designate groups of people, then paying special attention to phrases which contrasted or equated any of these terms, and thus the people they referred to. Five main terms have been identified: burgess, portman, stranger, alien, and foreign.⁶¹ In the discussion below each of these terms will be addressed in turn to establish who is being referred to when they are being used.

This approach was selected over that of simply consulting dictionaries for several reasons. The people writing these ordinances did not routinely have access to dictionaries themselves and words could be used in very different ways by different scribes in different places.⁶² This means that modern dictionaries of historical languages, while a useful aid to understanding and translation, may give a misleading impression of what the writers of Bristol's civic ordinances meant by a particular term as the dictionaries' definitions are based on a far broader corpus of works encompassing a range of contexts. The final interpretation of a word's meaning in a specific context must always be informed primarily by that context over the definitions provided in a dictionary. Moreover, the concern of this chapter is how Bristol's civic authorities mentally categorised the city's inhabitants. This makes using a dictionary to define these words even less appropriate: what the compiler of a

⁶⁰ Some of the reasons why scholars have addressed the topic of migration separately are discussed in chapter four.

⁶¹ Throughout the chapter modernised spellings are used when referring to the terms in a broad sense, this is because the variety of spellings among all the words made picking any one medieval spelling seem arbitrary, and a possible barrier to understanding. The particular medieval spelling concerned will be used when referring to specific instances of these terms.

⁶² W. Rothwell, 'Synonymity and Semantic Variability in Medieval French and Middle English', *The Modern Language Review* 102, no. 2 (2007): 364.

dictionary gives as the meaning of a word is of far less importance to this study than what those writing the ordinances meant by it.⁶³

Finally, the guild ordinances are written in three different languages: Anglo-Norman French, Latin and Middle English. This trilingual corpus is nothing unusual for medieval England, but it does make the use of dictionaries even more problematic. Indeed, dictionaries of historical languages do not usually provide definitions for more than one historical language, meaning three separate dictionaries would need to be consulted when analysing the guild ordinances. This could create inconsistencies in understanding the five terms. For instance, definitions of Anglo-Norman French *estrange* and Middle English *straunger* in their respective dictionaries are likely to be based on different sets of texts and thus be subtly different. In practice this may have minimal impacts on the final interpretations of these words. Nonetheless, this study will avoid using dictionaries to define the five main terms being studied, but will use them where appropriate to illuminate terms surrounding them in the text of the ordinances where this is necessary.

The trilingual nature of the sources analysed here also raises another issue: whether the terms used in different languages are comparable. The subtle differences in meaning mentioned above are arguably the natural result of these words being part of different languages spoken by different communities. However, in the context of Bristol's civic ordinances this is not the case. All these ordinances were promulgated by the craft guilds of Bristol between the mid-fourteenth and late-fifteenth centuries and recorded in the civic registers kept by the mayoral office: the Little Red Book and the Great Red Book. Thus, these ordinances can be seen to represent the voice of a single community: that of the civic authorities of Bristol between the mid-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although written in different languages, these ordinances' uses of the terms *burgess*, *portman*, *stranger*, *alien* and *foreigner* all represent the perception of Bristol's civic authorities as to who belonged to each of these five mental categories.

⁶³ Keechang Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law: The Origins of Modern Citizenship* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 11–12.

Furthermore, Anglo-Norman French, Latin and Middle-English are deeply interlinked and mutually influential in the writing of these documents, and by extension in the minds of the community which created them. This mutual influence is neatly illustrated by the term *stranger* which is found in many ordinances.⁶⁴ This term demonstrates influence between Anglo-Norman French and Middle English as both *straunger* and *estraungers* are used in the Bowyer's ordinances of 1479.⁶⁵ This ordinance is written in Middle English but betrays its French influences in the latter form with the inclusion of the letter 'e' at the beginning. This shows the overlaps between the two languages and the subsequent possibility of direct borrowing of terminology. If terms can be directly borrowed in this way it suggests they denote the same, or at least a very similar, concept.⁶⁶ This ability to express the same concepts across multiple languages can be found throughout Anglo-Norman French, Latin and Middle English texts from medieval England.⁶⁷ As argued by W. Rothwell, Latin and French were interchangeable administrative languages in medieval England post-1066.⁶⁸ Additionally, while the language of administration shifted from French to English across the fifteenth century, much of the vocabulary used in administrative documents went unchanged.⁶⁹ Thus the concepts expressed by analogous terms in these languages can be considered comparable for the purposes of this study: it is highly likely the scribes writing the ordinances into the civic registers were literate in all three languages and were used to employing the same vocabulary across different languages to denote the concepts of burgess, portmen, stranger, alien and foreign.⁷⁰

Burgess

⁶⁴ An illustrative example can be found in the Cordwainer's 1408 ordinances: Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:105.

⁶⁵ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 153.

⁶⁶ This borrowing process is analogous to that of many modern technologies being referred to by the same, often English, terms across many modern languages: e.g. computer and internet.

⁶⁷ Rothwell, 'Synonymity and Semantic Variability in Medieval French and Middle English', 380; W. Rothwell, '"Strange", "Foreign", and "Alien": The Semantic History of Three Quasi-Synonyms in a Trilingual Medieval England', *The Modern Language Review* 105, no. 1 (2010): 1–19.

⁶⁸ Rothwell, 'Three Quasi-Synonyms in a Trilingual Medieval England', 3–4.

⁶⁹ Rothwell, 9.

⁷⁰ This could be confirmed via a palaeographical study of the registers to see if the same hands write in multiple languages, a study which is unfortunately beyond the remit of the current work and one better carried out by someone with a greater expertise in palaeography.

Burgess is the least ambiguous of the terms used to denote groups of people in the ordinances as exactly what was required to become one is written in a set of civic ordinances from 1344. Indeed, it is potentially more difficult to settle on a modern term for this status than it is to establish what Bristol's medieval civic authorities meant by it. Freeman, citizen, burger and burgess are all used throughout scholarly literature on medieval towns and cities to refer to this status. Nonetheless, Bristol's burgesses constituted a privileged group expected to adhere to a specific set of rules and receive certain privileges. Somewhat peculiarly one of these rules is that one could not work as a baker and be admitted to the freedom of Bristol, while burgess privileges in Bristol included having to be contacted twice to settle a plea from a fellow burgess before they could sue and stricter conditions on when they could be imprisoned in the town gaol.⁷¹

Becoming a burgess required the fulfilment of specific conditions such as birth to a burgess, completion of an apprenticeship or monetary contribution to the civic authorities.⁷² In a set of 1344 civic ordinances, burgesses are specifically contrasted with strangers in an ordinance demanding that apprentices only be admitted to the freedom if their master testifies as to their good reputation and 'quod si aliter admissi fuerint tamquam nulli burgenses teneantur sed totaliter extranei nec gaudebunt libertate, etc.'⁷³ It is clear that *burgenses* and *extranei* are wholly separate categories in the eyes of Bristol's civic authorities as those who do not fulfil the requirements to become a burgess must remain a stranger. This perception of burgesses and strangers as completely separate groups can also be seen in the Cordwainer's 1408 ordinances in a clause providing exceptions to a rule that only those who have had the masters swear to their competence in the craft may be admitted to the guild:

⁷¹ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:36, 111.

⁷² The specific entry conditions to the freedom of Bristol can be found in the Little Red Book: Bickley, 1:36–38; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 21–22.

⁷³ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:38.

Purvieu tout foitz qe la maire de la ville de Bristuit ait sa poair et iurisdiccion pur accepter et faire burgeis de chescun person a luy presente ... Saluant auxi quant ascun estrange homme de dite arte vient al ville...⁷⁴

While not so direct a contrast as the 1344 civic ordinances, this extract does present burgesses and strangers as different categories of persons present in late medieval Bristol. Anyone familiar with medieval urban governments will regard this point as rather obvious, as burgesses were a privileged group present in most medieval English towns and cities and have been the subject of a fair amount of scholarly discussion due to their frequent appearance in the source materials and the existence of registers of burgess' names extant in places such as York.⁷⁵ Unfortunately such a register has not survived for Bristol. Nevertheless, in the interest of firmly establishing what Bristol's civic authorities perceived as the main groups of people in the town it has been worthwhile setting out the evidence given above showing that Bristol's authorities considered burgesses a group apart.

Portmen

This is the group mentioned least often across the ordinances, with the term appearing even less frequently in the context of the regulations on migrants. One of these rare occurrences is seen in the Tailors' ordinances of 1346-7 where a tripartite distinction is made between *burgeis*, *portmen* and *estraunges*.⁷⁶ The ordinances also shows that portmen have a lower status than burgesses, giving the former group the same rights as strangers in several areas of craft business such as buying new cloth from strangers and cutting new cloth.⁷⁷ These limitations are being placed on these two groups 'en

⁷⁴ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:105.

⁷⁵ York's Freeman's register is perhaps the most studied and has even been used by Palliser to illuminate local migration to the city: R.B. Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom of York in the Later Middle Ages', *The Economic History Review, New Series* 26, no. 1 (1973): 1–22; David M. Palliser, 'The York Freeman's Register 1273-1540: Amendments and Additions.', *York Historian* 12 (1995): 21–27; David M. Palliser, 'A Regional Capital as Magnet: Immigrants to York, 1477-1566', in *Towns and Local Communities in Medieval and Early Modern England*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 830 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

⁷⁶ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:26.

⁷⁷ Bickley, 2:26–27.

maintenaunce destaat des burgeis qe sunt plus priueez a a fraunchiseqe les estraunges'.⁷⁸ This phrasing explicitly separates burgesses and strangers in the town hierarchy. By implication it also separates burgesses from portmen and elevates the status of the former by placing some of the same limitations on portmen.⁷⁹ Although, portmen and strangers should not be considered part of the same group. The existence of two separate terms suggests two separate groups and this is confirmed in the ordinances: 'Item qe nul portman ne burgeis vende nul manere drap en pieces toundu et nemie moillee as estraunges, cest a sauoir por chaperouns et chaues...'.⁸⁰ Here portmen are mentioned alongside burgesses in a regulation preventing them from selling cloth to be made into hats and stockings by others. It seems portmen were a group within urban society with a status somewhere between that of a stranger and a burgess but distinct from both; they had some of the same rights as burgesses but not all, as they paid a lower fee than burgesses for their privileges.⁸¹

Portmen will feature in only a limited way in discussions throughout the rest of the chapters, chiefly because they do not appear very often in either the civic ordinances or the modern scholarship consulted. However, it is important to mention them here as their rights and privileges were being increasingly restricted from the mid-Fourteenth century until the mid-Fifteenth century. Then, the only legal benefit left to them was exemption from tolls.⁸² This decline in rights will be discussed in relation to the varying legal rights of burgesses, local and long-distance migrants in Chapter two.

Stranger

Stranger is perhaps the most complex of the five terms discussed here and this is reflected in the portion of this chapter which will discuss the term. Before this discussion, it is worth noting that this section and those which follow it - discussing the terms alien and foreign - have been greatly aided by W. Rothwell's discussion of the three terms in a 2010 article in *The Modern Language Review*

⁷⁸ Bickley, 2:26.

⁷⁹ This concern for economic regulation is a recurring theme throughout the ordinances and an explanation as to why will form part of the subject matter of chapter two.

⁸⁰ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:27.

⁸¹ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 23.

⁸² Veale, 23.

entitled: 'Strange', 'Foreign', and 'Alien': The Semantic History of Three Quasi-Synonyms in a Trilingual Medieval England'.⁸³ Although quite broadly based both chronologically and geographically, the information provided in this article has proven essential to understanding the relationship between the three terms in the context of Bristol's civic ordinances.

The word stranger appears in the ordinances in all three of the languages they use: 'extraneus' in Latin, 'estranger' in Anglo-Norman French, and 'Straungier' in Middle English.⁸⁴ Middle English already had a word for the concept of stranger prior to the introduction of this word: *fremd*.

Rothwell describes a trajectory through which stranger comes to replace *fremd* in Middle English, with *extraneus* and its various grammatical forms being loaned into English via the intermediary of the French *estranger*, giving the eventual *stranger*.⁸⁵ What makes this term distinct from those discussed so far is its complexity: its frequent use throughout the records mean it appears in many situations and as a result its meaning is far more ambiguous; unlike burgess, the criteria which make someone a stranger is never fully explained in any of the records consulted for this study. Indeed, in many instances it is unclear if the modern English *stranger* is even the most appropriate translation and Rothwell has suggested 'outsider' as an alternative.⁸⁶

Although rather basic, it seems outsider is the most accurate description of what Bristol's civic authorities meant when using the term stranger in the guild ordinances: across all instances stranger refers to someone unfamiliar to them and who was not part of their community. This is seen in the earliest ordinances in the sample, the 1344 civic ordinances, which contrast the terms 'extraneus' and 'privatus'.⁸⁷ Privatus derives from *privare* which can have a sense of being part of the same group.⁸⁸ The exact phrasing of the ordinance is 'extraneus vel privatus'; the concept of stranger is

⁸³ Rothwell, 'Three Quasi-Synonyms in a Trilingual Medieval England'.

⁸⁴ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:24; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 73; Veale, 79. The precise spellings and grammatical forms here should be taken as examples and do not represent the full range which can be found among the myriad examples in the records themselves.

⁸⁵ Rothwell, 'Three Quasi-Synonyms in a Trilingual Medieval England', 3–4, 7.

⁸⁶ Rothwell, 3.

⁸⁷ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:30.

⁸⁸ 'Priure', Online Dictionary, Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, 5 November 2018.

contrasted with that of someone from inside the community, indicating that a stranger is indeed an outsider and perhaps a migrant to the town. This same contrast is made in Anglo-Norman French on a set of 1351 ordinances regulating the woad trade with the phrase 'auxibien entre priuez come estranges'.⁸⁹ This sense of the stranger being someone from outside the community is amply evidenced throughout the records; as in the Tailor's ordinances mentioned above: *estraunges* is contrasted with *burgeis* and *portman*.⁹⁰ Both these latter terms refer to people who are officially recognised as part of the town community to some extent, and so contrasting them with stranger strongly suggests the latter is a separate mental category of person who is not part of the community in the eyes of Bristol's civic authorities.

This is explicitly confirmed in later documents where an accompanying phrase is often used alongside the term. These phrases can be found in all three languages: 'hominibus extraniis subito ad villam predictam venientibus' ; 'estrangers qui veingnount al dite ville' ; and 'estrangeours that commeth to the same towne'.⁹¹ In all three of these cases strangers are explicitly travelling from outside the town into it, so this mental category of Bristol's civic authorities is being used to designate a group of people present within Bristol but perceived as coming from outside the town. Unfortunately it is unclear whether stranger is being used to designate local migrants, long-distance migrants or both. The 1415 Tanners' ordinances could provide a clue when it mentions 'gents estranges du pais', as this seems to refer directly to local migrants coming from the surrounding countryside.⁹² However, as further examples will show it is not clear that stranger is a precise enough term to be used solely to refer to local migrants.

Instead, the fact that the term stranger is often found nestled in these phrases suggests an ambiguous meaning. Rothwell has noted the use of synonyms immediately after a word to clarify

⁸⁹ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:22.

⁹⁰ Bickley, 2:26.

⁹¹ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:70; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 73; Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:182.

⁹² Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:113.

meaning in both Middle English and Anglo-Norman French.⁹³ Some of these accompanying phrases are serving a similar purpose. Phrases like ‘that commeth to the same towne’ do not do much to make the term stranger more precise. They are more likely aimed at emphasising the outsider status of the people being referred to. However, ‘du pais’ does suggest that the ‘gents estranges’ being discussed are from the countryside around Bristol, or at least from England.⁹⁴ Therefore, ‘du pais’ seems to be being used to add more precision to the group being referred to indicating that the term stranger alone is not enough to make this clear.

This ambiguity can be further demonstrated through other examples. The mention of ‘altres estraunges del dit mestier qe tienunt shopes’ in the 1346/7 Tailors’ ordinances implies there were strangers running craft workshops in the town.⁹⁵ Thus one could have strong enough connections to the city to open a workshop and likely be resident in it while remaining a stranger. This dispels the idea that could be gained from the phrases in the previous paragraph that the term stranger referred to those recently arrived in the city and yet to make strong social and economic connections there. Here a stranger seems to be someone considered outside the community of the authorities, rather than simply someone from outside the town.

The Fuller’s ordinances of 1381 also add to the ambiguity of the term stranger with the phrase: ‘si ascun estrange de mesme la mestier viegne a la ville a ouerier deinz la ville’.⁹⁶ Taken in isolation this suggests that stranger does refer to both local and long-distance migrants, as strangers are perceived as people travelling to Bristol in order to work. However, looking further through the ordinances reveals this is too simplistic an interpretation. There are many which use similar phrasings to refer to strangers as people who are not migrating to the town, but just passing through. This is seen in the 1438 Cordwainers’ ordinances with reference to a ‘stranger goyng on her passage and iornee’ and a year later in the Barbers’ ordinances of 1439: ‘whanne a strange man of

⁹³ Rothwell, ‘Synonymity and Semantic Variability in Medieval French and Middle English’, 368.

⁹⁴ ‘Anglo-Norman Dictionary: Pais [1]’, Online Dictionary, Anglo-Norman Dictionary: Online Edition, accessed 13 September 2018, [http://www.anglo-norman.net/D/pais\[1\]](http://www.anglo-norman.net/D/pais[1]).

⁹⁵ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:27.

⁹⁶ Bickley, 2:16.

the seid Crafte schal come to the toune for to go vpone his passage'.⁹⁷ Hence, for Bristol's civic authorities a stranger could be someone who has come from outside the city and settled there, or someone simply passing through. It seems the word is not used in a highly specific way in Bristol's ordinances and refers to a rather broad group of people perceived as originating outside the city and coming into contact with its authorities in various ways. This picture of the term aligns with Rothwell's observations of the word in a broader English context. It is not necessarily used to refer to people but can be used for anything beyond the experience of those using the term and is also employed in a wide variety of ways, something which has been largely overlooked in historical dictionaries.⁹⁸

This broad range of meaning makes it unclear if stranger refers to local migrants only, or if long-distance migrants are also included. It seems that it is used to refer mostly to local migrants as they were more numerous, though the possibility that it was used as a catch-all term for all migrants cannot be ruled out on the available evidence.

Alien

Unlike stranger, alien is a far more precise term which was used to refer exclusively to long-distance migrants. Alien is a word which continues to be used in modern English and as such must have its own connotations for the reader. However, when used in the context of the Bristol ordinances it does not refer to green humanoids from outer space; instead, Bristol's medieval aliens were simply people perceived as coming from outside the lands ruled by the King of England. In classical Latin, *alienus* was a synonym of *extraneus* (stranger), however the two words are not entirely synonymous by the later Middle Ages.⁹⁹ From the late Thirteenth century, the crown was beginning to define a group of people born abroad but resident in the kingdom and from the mid-Fourteenth century the

⁹⁷ Bickley, 2:168, 154.

⁹⁸ Rothwell, 'Three Quasi-Synonyms in a Trilingual Medieval England', 8, 10.

⁹⁹ Rothwell, 16.

term alien was being applied to this group.¹⁰⁰ This chronology lines up near perfectly with the evidence of Bristol's ordinances as the term is first attested in some regulations of the woad trade from 1351: 'nul marchaunt alien ne estraunge'.¹⁰¹ The term appears a further seven times in this document, always followed by the word 'estraunge' after either 'ne', 'ou', or 'et'.¹⁰² Interestingly, 'estraunge' appears standalone in a further three instances. This strongly suggests alien and stranger were perceived as two distinct groups as these small connecting words roughly correspond to modern English *nor*, *or* and *and*. Yet, the question of the exact relationship between these two terms remains unclear as alien always appears in relation to stranger. Is alien used here as a specific type of stranger, or are they meant to be two wholly separate categories of person? Indeed, in the context of this document alone it is only possible to infer from the restrictions placed on their activities that aliens are held outside the town community: meanwhile the phrase 'auxibien entre priuez come estraunges', from the same document, contrasts strangers to the French equivalent of *privatus*, discussed above as meaning one inside the town community, clearly indicating the outsider status of strangers.¹⁰³

The term alien is used in a 1436 set of ordinances governing the election of the Mayor of the Staple to refer to alien merchants: 'ac comunitas mercatorum, tam indigenarum quam alienigenarum'.¹⁰⁴ This phrase contrasts aliens with natives, implying that to be alien in the eyes of Bristol's civic authorities is to be non-native. This is confirmed by a flurry of ordinances appearing over the next eleven years: The Hoopers' 1439 ordinances use the term alien in both the Anglo-Norman French introduction and Middle English text of the ordinances, stating that there are many unqualified workers 'sibien aliens come autres' and that nobody practicing the craft should be admitted to the freedom of the town until it is sure 'that he be no rebel of Irlond nor alyene but of the Englyschrye

¹⁰⁰ Ormrod and Mackman, 'Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England: Sources, Contexts and Debates', 5; Rothwell, 'Three Quasi-Synonyms in a Trilingual Medieval England', 16.

¹⁰¹ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:19.

¹⁰² Bickley, 2:19–22.

¹⁰³ Bickley, 2:22.

¹⁰⁴ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:179.

and liege man to the Kyng oure sovereyne lorde'.¹⁰⁵ The first of the phrases immediately above provides an example of alien being used as a category of person independently of stranger while the second provides an explicit contrast to what the writer considers an alien to be. The two closely linked criteria of being 'of the Englyschrye' and liege man to the King of England meant someone was not perceived as an alien by the Hoopers' guild in 1439. This definition is reflected in the Cordwainers' 1443 ordinances which mentions 'men of estraunge contrey and noght bore vnder the Kynges power' being accepted as members of the guild.¹⁰⁶ The ordinances then complain that this 'resceyte of Alyeans' poses a threat to the existence of the craft and 'no maner of man borne owte of the Kynges power' ought to be employed in the craft.¹⁰⁷ This linking of alien status to birth outside the lands of the king is found in a further three sets of ordinances from 1450, 1462 and 1479 respectively.¹⁰⁸ Thus, it is clear that by the mid-fifteenth century aliens constituted a defined group of inhabitants in the eyes of Bristol's civic authorities - identifiable by their birth outside the King's territory.

Although, the 1443 Cordwainers' ordinances raise the issue seen above of the relationship between the terms stranger and alien. The initial mention of 'men of estraunge contrey' before using the term alien blurs the lines between whether the groups of aliens and strangers were perceived as completely distinct or if their members overlapped or not. This use of 'estraunge' in relation to aliens reinforces the association between strangers and aliens and raises the possibility that the often imprecise stranger could include aliens, especially in the earlier documents where alien is only very rarely attested.¹⁰⁹ This is an important issue as it has been shown earlier that stranger is often used to refer to local migrants, while alien is used to refer to long-distance migrants. If there are two separate terms for these two groups then Bristol's civic authorities must have perceived them as two

¹⁰⁵ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:159, 163.

¹⁰⁶ Bickley, 2:177.

¹⁰⁷ Bickley, 2:177, 178.

¹⁰⁸ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 128–29; Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:128; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 151.

¹⁰⁹ The chronology of the uses of the terms discussed in this chapter is a highly interesting and important issue which will be discussed in chapter two as part of the discussion of the legal rights accorded to the various groups perceived as inhabiting the city by Bristol's civic authorities.

categories of person and therefore migrant, making their separated treatment in modern scholarship a natural approach to the study of these groups. However, it is not clear that aliens are not considered a subset of strangers as the definition of stranger reached in this chapter is that of people coming from outside the city, which would include aliens.

Foreign

This issue is both further complicated and enlightened when the term foreign is considered. This term appears less frequently in the records but is nonetheless an important one with some interesting ambiguities. It took the same route into English as stranger with a Latin root which was loaned into Middle English via Anglo-Norman French and seems to be roughly akin to the word stranger, sharing a lack of clarity over whether it encompasses both local and long-distance migrants. What is clear is that it does not refer to burgesses, as attested in a 1373 petition asking that burgesses 'ne soient convictz par foreins mes soulement par lour comburgeis deinz meisme la ville'.¹¹⁰ This leaves open the -admittedly very unlikely - possibility that foreign could include the little-mentioned portmen, however a 1403/4 ordinance puts paid to that idea. 'As wel foreyns as dedeynees' draws a distinction between foreigners and *dedeynees*; this latter word is most likely related to the Anglo-Norman 'dedenz' which had variant spellings including a y such as 'dedeynz'.¹¹¹ This is related to modern French *dedans* which in English means inside and thus in this context gives a sense of people coming from inside the town. Contrasting 'foreyns' with this word indicates that it refers to those from outside the city as opposed to those from inside. This puts foreign in the same linguistic area as alien and, particularly as it is seemingly a quite broad term, stranger. Unlike stranger, foreign seems to include aliens, or long-distance migrants, but if it routinely refers to local migrants is less clear.

¹¹⁰ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:117.

¹¹¹ The wider phrase surrounding this is also interesting, as it casts foreigners as people to be found within the town, supporting the idea that the term can be used to refer to local migrants. : Bickley, 2:117; 'Anglo-Norman Dictionary: Dedenz', Online Dictionary, Anglo-Norman Dictionary: Online Edition, accessed 12 September 2018, <http://www.anglo-norman.net/D/dedenz>.

An ordinance from a group of metalworking crafts made between 1404 and 1406 provides some evidence that foreign refers more to aliens with the phrase 'si bien foreine come deniszenis'.¹¹² Here foreign is being used to refer to people from outside the Kingdom of England as denizen refers to those from inside the kingdom.¹¹³ This is supported by a 1438 Cordwainers' ordinance referring to 'eny other straunger ... or ells al other persons as well deynseyne as foreynes'.¹¹⁴ Here again denizen and foreigner are presented as two separate categories of person. Moreover, the idea that foreign is more closely associated with long-distance migrants than stranger is reinforced by the use of the latter as a catch-all term for all unfamiliar people whilst the former is used to refer specifically to those from outside the kingdom, in much the same way as the term alien.

The 1415 Tanner's ordinances also employ the phrase 'sibien foreyns come deniseins', however the rather neat separation of meanings witnessed above is not maintained here.¹¹⁵ Further on in the document references are made to both 'gents estranges du pais' and gentz foreyns en la paijs'.¹¹⁶ Here stranger and foreign are being used as synonyms as there is no suggestion in the ordinances that two separate groups of people are being referred to. Thus it cannot be said that foreign is a complete synonym of alien, referring only to those from outside the kingdom. This is confirmed by a 1439 ordinance from the Hoopers' guild stating 'aswelle deniseyns as foreyns or alyene'.¹¹⁷ Here a foreigner is neither a denizen from inside the town nor an alien from abroad. Instead, the term is being used in a similar way to stranger, referring to those from the Kingdom of England but unfamiliar to the civic authorities. Foreigner also seems to be a synonym of stranger in the latter terms' broader sense of all those who are unfamiliar: a 1478 ordinance refers to a 'Foreyn Cardewyredrawer nor Cardemaker beyng no Burgeys of the seide Towne', while a similar one from 1479 mentions a – 'foreyn' man' commyng to towne and makyth' him self Burgeis'.¹¹⁸ In both these

¹¹² Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 72.

¹¹³ Rothwell, 'Three Quasi-Synonyms in a Trilingual Medieval England', 18.

¹¹⁴ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:168.

¹¹⁵ Bickley, 2:111.

¹¹⁶ Bickley, 2:113, 114.

¹¹⁷ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 162.

¹¹⁸ Veale, 86; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 159.

instances, foreign is being used in a rather broad sense to refer to all outsiders in a way similar to some of the uses of stranger discussed above.

Thus, the uses of the term foreign in Bristol's ordinances overlap with both stranger and alien in different contexts, though it is perhaps more similar to the former word given alien's precise meaning in contrast to the sometimes ambiguous stranger. It appears that while foreign leans towards referring to long-distance migrants over local ones this is not an absolute, in much the same way that stranger seems to refer local migrants but may also include long-distance ones in its remit in some contexts.

Having examined all five terms in turn, it appears Bristol's civic authorities recognised three main legal categories of people: burgess, stranger, and alien. As shown above portman and foreigner were also used to refer to the city's inhabitants, but they are not considered main legal categories of people here. This is because both terms feature far less frequently than their counterparts; additionally, portman status represents a slight variant on burgess status, and as demonstrated above, foreigner can be considered a synonym of stranger and alien depending on the context.

While burgess and alien are quite clear and precise terms, referring to relatively easily identified groups of people in Bristol's urban milieu, stranger is far more ambiguous. It is being used to broadly refer to all those who were not considered part of the town community. This could include both local and long-distance migrants. Overall, attempting to create strict definitions for these words would be anachronistic and it is no surprise that the conclusions reached here must remain somewhat cautious. Nonetheless, it does seem that Bristol's civic authorities come to recognise those from beyond the borders of the Kingdom of England as a separate category of person and referred to them as aliens. However, it is not at all clear if this recognition led to a concurrent narrowing of the sense of the term stranger to refer exclusively, or even primarily, to local migrants. The next chapter will make a further attempt to shed light on this issue by considering the

significance of the legal distinctions between burgesses, strangers and aliens. An analysis of what was permitted for and expected of each of the three main groups may indicate why they were categorised as they were by Bristol's civic authorities and whether their attitudes to migrants had a role to play in this.

Chapter Two: what were the legal rights of migrants?

Having established what categories of urban inhabitant existed in the eyes of Bristol's late medieval civic authorities it is time to examine the legal rights and privileges of burgesses, local and long-distance migrants. The focus of the previous chapter was on the use of language in the ordinances and what that implied about the groupings of people in the city. This chapter will concentrate more heavily on the legal content of the ordinances to analyse the legal consequences of the labels burgess, alien and stranger. There will be a continued focus on the difference, or lack thereof, between local and long-distance migrants in the records. This will further the discussion of the difference between strangers and aliens from the previous chapter by adding evidence from the legal rights and privileges given to these two groups. The aim of this chapter is to establish what the levels of legal disability among the three principal categories of urban inhabitant were, and what these differences in rights suggest about civic authorities' perception of local and long-distance migrants. These two lines of enquiry will be followed by looking over many of the same parts of the ordinances examined in chapter one, this time with an eye to what rights they confer on the groups discussed, rather than the terms used to designate different groups. The rights one was able to claim

is one of the most important indicators of status throughout the Middle Ages and thus is of great importance to a study concerned with perceptions of medieval migrants.¹¹⁹

Before embarking on this discussion, it is necessary to revisit the topic of terminology one more time. The discussions of the terms stranger, alien and foreign in the previous chapter demonstrated that the concepts of local and long-distance migrants do not map well onto the medieval terminology of aliens and strangers: while the former quite clearly designated long-distance migrants the latter was far less clear. This poses a problem for the present chapter as it cannot be stated surely if ordinances referring to strangers were also intended to regulate the behaviour of aliens. Nevertheless, as was established in chapter one, it seems that stranger was used either to refer specifically to local-migrants or as a catch-all term for all migrants, or even all non-burgesses. There do not appear to be any observable rule as to when the term is used to refer only to local-migrants and when it takes on a broader meaning referring to outsiders in general. Nevertheless, a careful consideration of the context of an ordinance often gives an impression of the likely meaning of stranger in the given ordinance, meaning the term can be interpreted on a case by case basis.

Equal treatment of Aliens and Strangers in the Ordinances

This issue of the extent to which the categories of alien and stranger overlap can be further illuminated by examining what distinctions were made between the two in terms of legal rights and restrictions recorded in the ordinances. In many cases they seem to be accorded the same rights. As in the 1344 civic ordinances which repeatedly use the construction *extraneus vel privatus* to confer the same rights on everyone in the city. In this case it seems *extraneus* is being used in its more general sense of 'outsider' rather than specifically local migrants, as the context is that of rules applying to the urban population at large making references in broad terms more likely than references to very specific subsections of society. In the earliest period of the ordinances it seems so

¹¹⁹ Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law*, 4.

little difference is perceived between aliens and local migrants that the single term stranger is being used to accord rights to both groups.

Of course, it could be argued that aliens have simply been overlooked as they are present in far fewer numbers. Although this suggestion is ultimately implausible as Bristol was a major port in the later Middle Ages and overseas trade would have brought significant numbers of aliens into the town constantly.¹²⁰ Additionally, the Fourteenth century saw its fair share of crown legislation regarding aliens making it highly unlikely that the civic authorities would simply forget to include this portion of society in the remit of their own ordinances.¹²¹ Indeed, it seems likely that where the term stranger is used alone and no difference specified for aliens, then stranger was meant in a broad sense to refer to all outsiders.

This is not to say that there were not instances where aliens were left out of legislation: the 1439 Dyers' ordinances neglect to mention aliens entirely. Instead this set of ordinances uses the phrase 'gode folk of the seid towne as of the contree abowte'.¹²² However, even in this instance where there can be little doubt that long-distance migrants are not being referred to, it is unlikely they have been overlooked. By 1439 the term alien was in common usage in both crown legislation and Bristol's ordinances: though not confirmable on the available evidence, it is more likely that aliens were being intentionally left out. Indeed, this theory is supported by the avoidance of the rather vague term stranger in this instance.

In many ordinances the term stranger referred to those from outside the city, and most of these follow the pattern of the abovementioned 1344 civic ordinances using only this term as a catch-all for all types of outsider. Indeed, a further eleven ordinances from across the rest of the period

¹²⁰ Fleming, 'Chapter 4: The World Beyond the Sea', 89, 92–95.

¹²¹ For an interesting discussion of this crown legislation from the late twelfth to early fifteenth centuries see Chapter two, Foreign Merchants in Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law*.

¹²² Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:172.

studied only mention strangers.¹²³ This lends credence to the idea that stranger is used as a catch-all term in the ordinances as it is unlikely that over a quarter of the sets of ordinances consulted simply fail to legislate for aliens. Instead the frequency with which the ordinances legislate referring to strangers as the only group of outsiders suggests a general lack of difference in legal rights between local and long-distance migrants: in the majority of cases local and long-distance migrants appear to enjoy the same rights and privileges.

It is worth noting a mirror case in which only aliens are mentioned:

*Item qe touz ceux qe counsaillent, aident, ou procurent enemys nostre seignur le Roi, merchauntz venauntz de par de la oue lour niefs et merchaundises a la Keye dount la ville parmy le Reaume soit en sclaundre ou alose pur sengler profit prendre soit diligemment enquis de iour en aultre devaunt le maire quant mestere y soit en avantage nostre seignur le Roi et sauacion de la ville.*¹²⁴

Part of a set of rules from 1381 governing a range of civic offices which do not use the terms alien, stranger or foreign, this ordinance does refer to a subgroup of aliens, merchants coming from across the sea. At first glance it seems quite odd that none of the usual terminology is being used to refer to outsiders in this document. However, this ordinance appears to have been made in response to a particular problem facing Bristol's authorities: people conspiring with alien merchants to their own profit and the detriment of the town. The ordinance is meant to refer to a specific occupational group hence the highly precise language used: stranger is far from a precise term and while alien is more targeted, it still refers to a wide range of people. Here the intention is to regulate interactions with alien merchants and the language used reflects this need for precision.

¹²³ The eleven ordinances chronologically by edition: Bickley, 2:26–27, 53–54, 16, 98, 137, 153; Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:116–17, 70; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 148; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 83–84, 114.

¹²⁴ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:112–13.

The handful of ordinances which use the term foreign also suggest that many ordinances were written to apply to outsiders at large and not to distinguish between local and long-distance migrants. An ordinance from 1403/4 refers to ‘...many folke of here seid Craftes with in the seyd towne as wel foreyns as dedeynees’.¹²⁵ This phrase applies the ordinance to both those considered inside the town community and those considered foreign to it; while the precise terminology used is different, again there is little concern to distinguish between different types of outsider. Further examples of this usage can be found in Anglo-Norman French with the phrase ‘foreine comme deniszenis’ and ‘si bien foreyns come deniseins’ dating from 1404/6 and 1415 respectively.¹²⁶ The close dating of these ordinances suggests phrases were copied from one set of guild ordinances to another: while the first two examples here both come from ordinances regulating the guild of smiths, the 1415 ordinances relate to the Tanner’s guild. It seems once a useful phrase entered into the records it could be put to use elsewhere too.¹²⁷ The ordinances also show that these phrases served as alterable models across reasonably extended periods of time. In 1408 the Cordwainers’ ordinances use a variant form of the phrase discussed above: ‘sibien as estraungers come denseyns’.¹²⁸ Then in their 1438 update, this time written in Middle English, the Cordwainers’ ordinances use the phrase ‘as well deynseyne as foreynes’.¹²⁹ This final example is especially interesting as the order of the words has been flipped round as compared to the previous examples: in all the other examples the word referred to outsiders comes first. This is potentially the result of someone misremembering the standard phrasing, though this is pure conjecture and great caution should be exercised to not over-interpret such small differences.¹³⁰ What can be stated concretely is that there was a large body of legislation which used broad terms to accord rights and privileges to

¹²⁵ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:181.

¹²⁶ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 72.

¹²⁷ This borrowing of phrases and ideas also seems to have happened between crown and civic legislation, see below for a discussion of Bristol’s civic authorities using crown policy as a model for their own ordinances.

¹²⁸ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:107.

¹²⁹ Bickley, 2:168.

¹³⁰ One not so small difference in relation to these Cordwainers’ ordinances is the change in language from Anglo-Norman French to Middle English. This change in language is a recurring theme across the ordinances which will be explored later in this chapter

all those from outside the town, implying that in many cases civic authorities were not anxious to differentiate between local and long-distance migrants.

This is further highlighted by a body of ordinances which specifically mention aliens and strangers using the separate terms but gives them the same legal rights. Typically, these ordinances impose some specific legal disability on outsiders, as in the 1351 woad ordinances which forbid both groups from storing woad in the town without paying a fine and having woad broken up in the town.¹³¹ This pattern of mentioning all types of outsiders individually while making no distinction in applying the regulation is repeated in a 1462 Weavers' ordinance which discusses the problem of employing 'Straungiers, Allions, and othour not born vnder the Kynges obeisaunce' and demands that no one 'put any suche Estrangier or Allion to wirche in the occupacion of the seid Crafte of Weuers'.¹³² Thus this ordinance is at pains to mention both groups and thereby be sure to encompass both local and long-distance migrants. This desire to write a piece of wide-reaching legislation is made all the more interesting as Peter Fleming has linked this ordinance to a particular dark episode in Bristol's history. Although unwilling to dismiss the possibility that this ordinance also seeks to quell Irish competition for jobs in weavers' workshops, Fleming argues that the presence of Icelandic slave labour in Bristol prompted the desire for more protectionist legislation in a time of economic hardship for the town's textile trade.¹³³ Fleming also suggests that the broader terms alien and stranger are used in the wording of the ordinance in order to obscure Bristol's illegitimate trade links with Iceland, though given the evidence seen so far in this chapter it could also be that the civic authorities were not particularly concerned with targeting any one type of outsider and used this as an opportunity to take wide-ranging protectionist measures.

¹³¹ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:19–22.

¹³² Bickley, 2:128–29.

¹³³ Fleming, 'Icelanders in England in the Fifteenth Century', 86–88; Fleming, 'Chapter 4: The World Beyond the Sea', 108–10.

A similar example comes in the Hoopers' 1439 ordinances which state that many people, 'si bien aliens come autres', practice the craft without the necessary skill.¹³⁴ This ordinance repeats the construction discussed above but modifies the terminology used to hone itself in on aliens specifically. Like the Weavers' ordinance discussed in the previous paragraph this ordinance encompasses a wide range of people; in this case anyone who is an alien or another type of person, essentially all urban inhabitants. Seemingly adding to the idea that Bristol's civic authorities were not concerned about differentiating between different types of migrant. However, unlike the Weavers' ordinance, the focus of the language is clearly on aliens and not everyone else included under the rather vague 'autres'. While the ordinance technically refers to all urban inhabitants, the specific mention of aliens points to a desire to single this group out as particularly guilty. This is in contrast to the evidence presented above as it hints that civic authorities not only used a different term for aliens, singling them out, but also wanted to treat this group differently from others in the city.

Discriminatory Ordinances

Ordinances discriminating against migrants were mostly clustered in 1439 and afterwards, and aimed at limiting their legal rights and privileges leaving them with a legal status different from that of local migrants. The first specifically anti-long-distance migrant measures come in 1439 with the one discussed above targeting aliens. Another from this year aimed at the Irish asked that 'nullus homo Hibernicus infra terram Hibernie de patre et matre Hibernicis procreates et natus decetero admittatur in consilium'.¹³⁵ While not technically aliens the Irish were a group of long-distance migrants who were treated as aliens in the initial round of the Alien Subsidy and generally the victims of a poor reputation in medieval England.¹³⁶ Hence the exclusion of the Irish from public office in this ordinance. This theme of excluding aliens from particular roles is continued in 1443 with

¹³⁴ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:159.

¹³⁵ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:86–88.

¹³⁶ Bolton, 'Irish Migration to England', 1–2.

a Cordwainers' ordinance that complains of 'Aleyans and estraungers' crowding native craftsmen out of the labour market.¹³⁷ This use of the two terms together may be interpreted as meaning both local and long-distance migrants.¹³⁸ However, only long-distance migrants are excluded from employment as being 'natum extra potestatem et ligeanciam domini nostri Regis' means not being employable.¹³⁹

Legislation which specifically reduced the rights and privileges of long-distance migrants is also seen in 1450, 1477, 1478, 1479 and 1490.¹⁴⁰ Five of the six ordinances from across these years invoke the idea of birth outside the king's obeisance as the determining factor in who the ordinance applies to. The only ordinance not to use this idea lays out several restrictions on Bristol's merchants' interactions with 'Straungers' before demanding that 'no Burgeis of Bristow his attourney servant ne apprentice entermete ne take upon him to be enny suche Coritour or colourer bitwene the frennshe men and the Castellans'.¹⁴¹ Thus it is at once an example of those ordinance which refer to outsiders in general terms as strangers thereby giving the same rights to all migrants, and a document which singles out specific groups of aliens for special legal discrimination.¹⁴²

Nonetheless, the general trend amongst those ordinances which singled out aliens for special treatment in municipal law was to define aliens by their birth outside the King's obeisance the territory over which the King ruled and whose natives were required to swear homage to the King. The 1477 Whitawers' ordinances ban the employment of those who were 'borne out of the Kyngis

¹³⁷ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:177.

¹³⁸ Alternatively, stranger is used here as a repeated synonym of alien to give emphasis as discussed in: Rothwell, 'Synonymity and Semantic Variability in Medieval French and Middle English'.

¹³⁹ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:178.

¹⁴⁰ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 128–29; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 117, 124; Veale, 85; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 151; Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:123.

¹⁴¹ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 122, 124.

¹⁴² As with the weavers' problem with Icelandic slaves and one of the 1439 Hoopers' ordinances, this ordinance has a specific context which explains its peculiarity. In the latter half of the fifteenth century Bristol's overseas trade was highly focussed on the Bay of Biscay and as a result was vulnerable to the tempestuous changes in diplomatic relations between the French, English and Castilian crowns. This led to a situation where Bristol's merchants were trading in France and Castille and often acting as go-betweens for French and Castilian merchants whose respective countries diplomatic relations prevented them from trading directly with each other legitimately. See: Fleming, 'Chapter 4: The World Beyond the Sea', 90–96.

obbeisaunce' as well as those who were 'Evill Rewlid' or 'Bounde man borne'.¹⁴³ Hence aliens are lumped in with others regarded as undesirable or unsuited to urban society. This attitude is also evident in the 1478 ordinances of the Cardmakers and Wiredrawers which instructs that no one who was 'a mysse rewlyd man ayenst the Kyng ys lawes or othirwysze borne thane a Free man of Birthe under the Kyng off Englonde is Obeysaunce' could be an apprentice or servant.¹⁴⁴ The 1479 and 1490 examples continue this theme of pairing aliens up with other groups with poor reputations as they apply their rules to both aliens and the Irish. The 1479 Towker's ordinances seek to ensure that apprentices in the craft 'be no Rebelle of Irelande nor Alyen But liegeman boren to the Kyng oure soueraign lorde'.¹⁴⁵ While in 1490 the Weavers' guild bemoaned the employment of apprentices 'born in parties of Irland not being vnder the obeissaunce of oure soueraign lorde the Kyng, and diuers other born in straunge countreys'.¹⁴⁶ Thus Bristol's civic authorities had the vocabulary and the means to single out aliens for discriminatory legal treatment when they deemed it necessary, using the concept of being born in a situation which put one's loyalty to the King of England in question.

This repeated use of the same concept and phrasings recalls the *sibien ... come ...* construction discussed above, and suggests a common source for this way of legally defining aliens. Given the similarity of the concept of the King's Obeisance to that of the King's Ligeance discussed at length by Keechang Kim it appears this idea most likely came from sources in the broader legal context of the time; the composers of Bristol's ordinances were inspired by the language and concepts of contemporary crown legislation.¹⁴⁷ This idea of obeisance and ligeance as quasi-synonyms which denote the same concept is supported by a petition from the Tailors, Goldsmiths and Cordwainers to the Mayor of Bristol in 1450 which asks that all those who practice these crafts and are:

¹⁴³ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 117.

¹⁴⁴ Veale, 85.

¹⁴⁵ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 151.

¹⁴⁶ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:123.

¹⁴⁷ Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law*, chap. 6.

*alienes and men not borne vnder the kynges obeisshaunce which ben of good name and fame And burgeis dwelle stille and abide in the saide towne in ocupacion of the saide Craftis. And that no suche householder ne craftholder aliene ne none other householder ne craftholder with Inne the saide towne of the saide crafte ne noon of tham hereafter resceiue no maner apprentice couenant man lorneyman ne Tasker aliene and borne oute of the kynges ligeaunce ...*¹⁴⁸

Here the words obeisance and ligeance are used one after another, both to the purpose of specifying who exactly is meant by the epithet alien.¹⁴⁹

Why discriminate against Aliens?

Given the ability, and apparent willingness to discriminate against outsiders using broad terms like stranger, why did Bristol's civic authorities feel a need to create a subsection of legislation which specifically limited the rights and privileges of the city's alien population? As hinted at by the anti-Irish legislation mentioned above, poor reputation could have been a factor. The Irish were viewed rather negatively throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the English crown issuing several expulsion orders.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, evidence from the 1440 Alien Subsidy Assessments show England's Irish population was concentrated in the South-West of England.¹⁵¹ Devon, Cornwall, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire all had larger than average Irish communities; unfortunately the figures for Somerset are unknown as the returns are now illegible, but it likely had a large Irish population too. It seems Bristol was surrounded by Irish migrants. Given its status as a major port,

¹⁴⁸ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 128–29.

¹⁴⁹ It would be highly interesting to investigate why obeisance seems to have been the term of choice in the Bristol records, attempt to discover a likely source for the term, and explore the relationship between the words ligeance and obeisance in this context. Unfortunately, this work is well beyond the scope and resources of the current project and so must be left to one side as work for a later date or another researcher

¹⁵⁰ It ought to be noted these expulsion orders likely had as much to do with anxieties about depopulation in Ireland as with perceived troublemakers present in England; Bolton, 'Irish Migration to England', 2.

¹⁵¹ Bolton, 5–7.

these migrants were very likely to have entered England via Bristol.¹⁵² Indeed, the concentration of Irish in the South-West probably had a lot to do with Bristol's proximity and scale of sea traffic.

Perhaps Bristol's authorities felt moved to legislate against the Irish as a significant group of incomers who provoked anxiety about their ability to cause trouble in the community.

This idea of negative perception leading to discriminatory legislation can be argued for long-distance migrants at large too. The frequent use of birth outside the King's Obeisance as a defining factor of one's status as an alien implies a perceived shared community amongst those who were born inside the King's Obeisance. Evidence of the beginnings of such a feeling are present in Bristol's ordinances.

The Hoopers' 1439 ordinances invoke the idea of the 'Englyschrye'.¹⁵³ The idea of Englishness appears again in 1443 in the Cordwainer's ordinances when the 'Englyssch' are contrasted with 'men of estraunge contrey and noght bore vnder the Kynges power'.¹⁵⁴ Perhaps the anti-alien legislation observed here is simply the result of a nascent feeling of Englishness amongst the members of the civic authorities?

Keechang Kim's work on the development of the legal status of aliens under crown legislation in medieval England lends credence to this idea. He demonstrates that in 1380 aliens are first subject to systematic legal discrimination and from this point through to the end of the fifteenth century a transformation in the understanding of the terms used in the law lead to greater emphasis on one's faith and allegiance to the King as guarantees of legal rights in the English legal system.¹⁵⁵ The term 'ligeance' is imbued with an additional ideological meaning roughly equivalent to the modern idea of allegiance, whereas before it referred more to the physical space over which a lord had power. It appears this shift in legal thinking had made it into the minds of the members of Bristol's civic

¹⁵² Bolton, 8, 13.

¹⁵³ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:163.

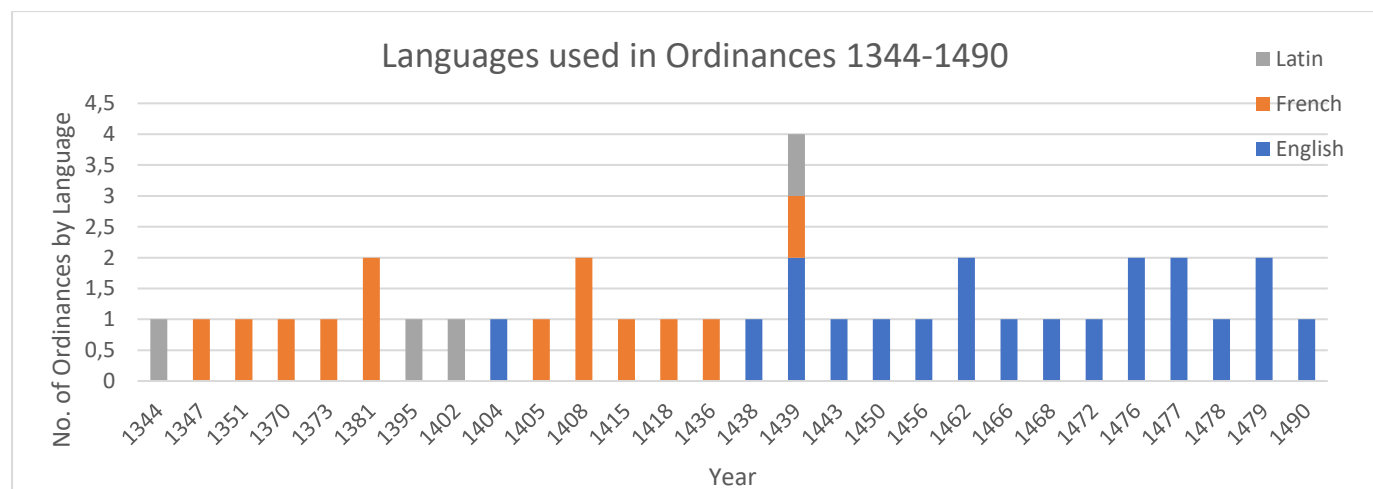
¹⁵⁴ Bickley, 2:177.

¹⁵⁵ Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law*, 53, 58, 127–28, 142–43.

authorities by 1439 when the concept of loyalty to the King as a determining factor in alien status first appears in the ordinances.¹⁵⁶

The idea of a growing sense of Englishness is supported by trends in the languages used to compose the ordinances. The following table shows a rather sudden changeover in the dominant language used to write the ordinances from Anglo-Norman French to Middle English. Prior to 1438 there is only one ordinance written in Middle English; then from 1443 onwards the ordinances are written exclusively in Middle English. Given the suddenness of the change it is highly unlikely to be the result of a decline in knowledge of Anglo-Norman French. Moreover, the switch in languages coincides with the rise of discriminatory legislation from 1439. This strongly suggests a link between a rising sense of English identity and attempts to apply discriminatory legislation to those perceived as non-English.¹⁵⁷

Graph 1. A timeline of languages used in the ordinances, 1344-1490.



It is certain that some rising sense of separateness from neighbouring peoples seems to have occurred in the period covered by the ordinances. This likely played a role in the creation of anti-alien legislation, but the suddenness with which the legislation arrived is quite remarkable and belies the idea that a sense of Englishness alone led to Bristol's discriminatory legislation. As noted above

¹⁵⁶ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:160, 163, 177, 178,.

¹⁵⁷ Unfortunately there is not the space to fully explore this link here, but it is a very interesting subject for future research.

the first ordinances which target aliens for special treatment in the law appear in 1439 with three of the four sets of ordinances appearing in this year discriminating against either aliens at large or the Irish.¹⁵⁸ A cautionary note from Keechang Kim's discussion of the changing legal status of aliens is equally valid in the context of this study: care should be taken not to see this as an emergence of the awareness of aliens. Instead the development of discriminatory legislation should be seen as a change in the significance of the label alien in legal terms.¹⁵⁹ The discussion of the numerous ordinances which mentioned strangers and aliens separately but accorded them the same legal rights is testament to this. The presence of the term alien across the chronological span of this study demonstrates that Bristol's civic authorities were aware of aliens as a separate group long before they wished to discriminate against them in their ordinances.¹⁶⁰

Indeed, the chronology of these ordinances is vital to an understanding of why this discrimination occurred. Bristol's civic authorities did not suddenly wake up in 1439 and notice there was a group of aliens in their society to whom they took an instant disliking. However, these same authorities did suddenly see a need to curtail the rights and privileges of these aliens. Hence, it is important to appreciate broader events in and around 1439. The headline event of 1439 in relation to England's long-distance migrants was the Alien Subsidy. This was a tax first collected in 1440 and passed as part of a body of anti-alien legislation in the 1439-40 Parliament.¹⁶¹

The motivations behind this tax provide some suggestions for the reasons behind Bristol's own anti-alien legislation. Sylvia Thrupp was among the first modern scholars to study the Alien Subsidy and suggested that the tax was motivated in part by a desire to record the size and distribution of the alien population in England and provide knowledge to both the crown and local authorities in the

¹⁵⁸ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:86–88; Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:153–147, 159–65.

¹⁵⁹ Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law*, 209.

¹⁶⁰ The first instance of the term alien is in the 1351 woad ordinances, while the first discriminatory measures are in 1439. For the woad ordinances see: Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:19–22.

¹⁶¹ Bolton, *Alien Communities of London*, 3–4.

wake of deteriorating diplomatic relations with Burgundy and France.¹⁶² Perhaps this large scale act from the crown served as a model to Bristol's civic authorities to begin regulating their alien population more strictly. Although, again this is unlikely to be the sole reason as this was not the first kingdom-wide measure taken in respect of long-distance migrants, and not even the first one motivated by security concerns. In 1436 all Flemish people living in England were required to swear an oath or leave the country following the collapse of diplomatic relations between the King of England and Duke of Burgundy.¹⁶³ Even before this, throughout the fourteenth century, the crown had recognised aliens as a potentially problematic group in terms of their legal rights, and experimented with ways to resolve this, primarily via letters of denization.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, J.L. Bolton has pointed out a long trend of royal policy targeting aliens beginning in the Fourteenth century, peaking in 1439 and continuing across the rest of the Fifteenth century.¹⁶⁵

Interestingly, Bolton's observation supports the idea that royal policy was serving as a model for Bristol's civic authorities as there is a significant correlation between the pattern he describes and that of the attitude towards outsiders demonstrated in Bristol's ordinances. As discussed above there is certainly a peak of anti-alien sentiment in 1439 in line with the advent of the largest discriminatory policy project up to that point in English history: the taxing of aliens by virtue of this status alone. Additionally, the idea of a rising anti-alien sentiment in the later Fourteenth century, proposed by Bolton, is hinted at in Bristol's ordinances as this is when the term alien comes to be used with increasing frequency, as shown by the timeline below:

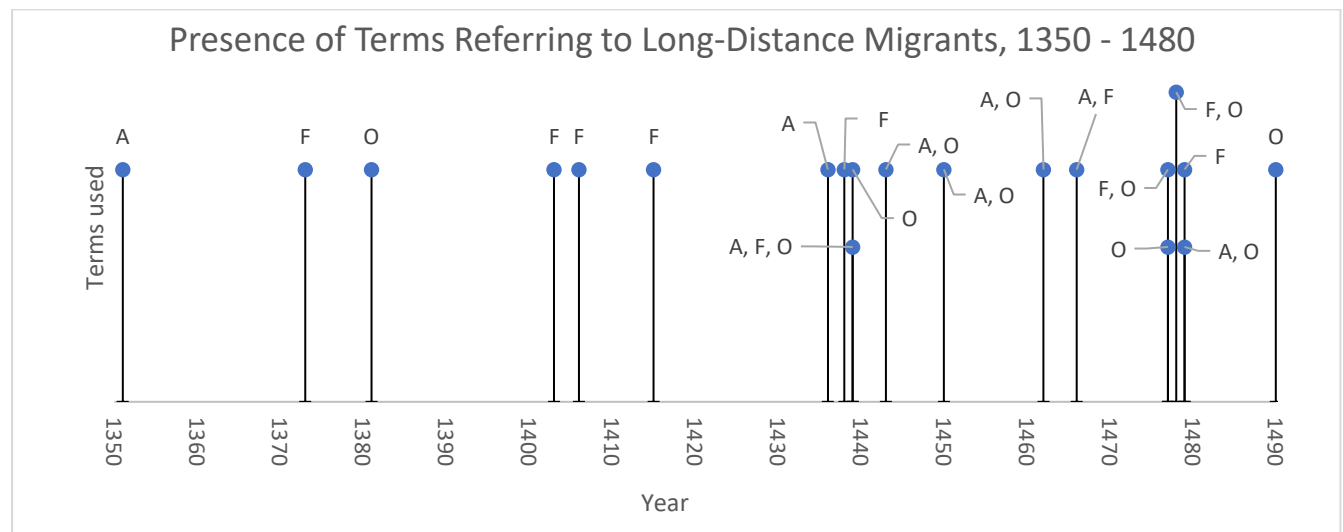
¹⁶² Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440', 264–65.

¹⁶³ Ormrod and Mackman, 'Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England: Sources, Contexts and Debates', 7.

¹⁶⁴ Ormrod and Lambert, 'Friendly Foreigners: International Warfare Resident Aliens and the Early History of Denization in England, c.1250-c.1400'.

¹⁶⁵ J. L. Bolton, 'London and the Anti-Alien Legislation of 1439-40', in *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. W. Mark Ormrod, Craig Taylor, and Nicola McDonald, Studies in European Urban History 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 35–37.

Graph 2. A timeline showing which terms for long-distance migrants appeared in the ordinances 1350-1480



Key: A = Alien, F = Foreign and O = Other. Other primarily refers to use of the term *King's Obeisance*, but also to references to the Irish and other unusual phrasings referring to long distance migrants. The timeline takes no account of the frequency of the terms used, merely their presence in ordinances from a particular year.

This timeline demonstrates that apart from an isolated instance in 1351, the term alien appears quite suddenly in the records in the mid-1430s and continues to feature frequently through to the end of the sample of records consulted for this study.¹⁶⁶ This mirroring of the pattern described by Bolton points to a possible relationship between royal policy and the actions of Bristol's civic authorities, likely one in which Bristol's ordinances were inspired by kingdom-wide regulation.

However, the question remains as to why Bristol chose to follow the model of royal policy with such gusto from the 1430s onwards. The English crown began regulating alien priories in reaction to war with France from 1337-60 and 1369-77 but this is only very feebly reflected in the references to aliens, foreigners and other groups in the ordinances, as shown in the timeline above.¹⁶⁷ Thus it seems crown policy alone was not enough to provoke such a strong reaction from Bristol's civic authorities.

¹⁶⁶ It should be noted that foreign is used relatively constantly throughout the sample. This could be used to argue that there was no great change in references to long-distance migrants however, as was discussed in chapter one, the term foreign does not always refer to long-distance migrants.

¹⁶⁷ Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law*, 95–96.

Indeed, the motivation to make these ordinances in the fifteenth century is revealed by the content and purpose of the regulations. The civic ordinances were generally intended to regulate economic activity in medieval towns, although the extent to which they achieved this end has been questioned.¹⁶⁸ Regardless, no exception to this rule is visible in the ordinances regarding aliens. The ordinances which refer to aliens are overwhelmingly concerned with regulating their economic behaviour.¹⁶⁹ These regulations controlled admission to three aspects of economic life: training and employment, burgess status, and market access.

This concern for economic regulation is explained by the state of the economy in Bristol, and late medieval English towns more generally. The period from 1360 to 1400 was one of relative prosperity for English towns, before widespread economic depression in the Fifteenth century.¹⁷⁰ Ormrod and Mackman have pointed out the importance of viewing fifteenth-century English royal and civic policy towards aliens in the context of this economic recession, especially in the North and Midlands of the country.¹⁷¹ While Bristol is not in this area, its economic situation still had a significant impact on its treatment of aliens. The English crown's loss of Gascony in 1453 massively disrupted Bristol's trading network; the town's trade was primarily based on exporting cloth and importing wine from Bordeaux.¹⁷² Following its recapture, Charles VII of France initially banned Bordeaux from trading with English merchants, and though later agreements relaxed this policy, Bristol's economy was in crisis for much of the two decades following 1453 as merchants figured out how to cope with the new situation.¹⁷³ While crown policy seems to have supplied a model for discriminatory legislation against aliens from 1439, Bristol's struggling economy provided a motivation for Bristol's civic authorities to continue making this legislation.

¹⁶⁸ Heather Swanson, 'The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns', *Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies* 121 (1988): 29–31.

¹⁶⁹ A small minority of ordinances are concerned with controlling access to political office, for example: Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:86–88.

¹⁷⁰ Jennifer Kermode, 'The Greater Towns, 1300-1540', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume 1: 600-1540*, ed. David M. Palliser, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 447.

¹⁷¹ Ormrod and Mackman, 'Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England: Sources, Contexts and Debates', 6, 26.

¹⁷² Kermode, 'The Greater Towns, 1300-1540', 448.

¹⁷³ Fleming, 'Chapter 4: The World Beyond the Sea', 89–90.

Fleming notes this idea of aliens as scapegoats in times of economic difficulty, and other scholars have also linked anti-alien actions to economic malaise.¹⁷⁴ Foremost among these actions is the attack on aliens which occurred in London in 1381. Perhaps the most well-known anti-alien incident in Medieval England, in which a group of Flemish aliens were targeted as part of the riots of the Peasants' Revolt, this attack has been put down to native clothworkers' resentment of the Flemish's privileged economic position and the crown not dealing with the complaints of these natives.¹⁷⁵ Bolton has suggested the alien subsidy and other anti-alien parliamentary acts stemmed from a similar situation in which a group of wealthy and influential merchants wanted to protect their trade interests from outside competition.¹⁷⁶ One of the members of this group was a Bristolian named Thomas Young. Individuals by this name held civic offices in Bristol in the years 1403, 1408, 1412 and 1421.¹⁷⁷ Although not necessarily all the same individual, this does suggest a potential route through which anti-alien crown policies influenced Bristol's civic ordinances, and perhaps even a source for the idea that targeting aliens could be a solution to the towns economic woes.

Further evidence that Bristol's discrimination against aliens was economically motivated can be found in the targeting of the Irish too. While Sylvia Thrupp characterised them as largely pastoral workers, Bolton has challenged this perception, showing they also practiced crafts in cities.¹⁷⁸ Irish merchants were also closely involved in Bristol's trade, dominating inbound trade, while natives dominated outbound trade.¹⁷⁹ Bristol's Irish population were direct economic competitors to native artisans and merchants and this is reflected in the city's ordinances. Childs has discussed Bristol's anti-Irish ordinances, citing the case of Henry May, an Irish merchant who in 1454-5 challenged the town council over their refusal to admit one of his apprentices to the Freedom of the city.¹⁸⁰ This

¹⁷⁴ Fleming, 111.

¹⁷⁵ Good, 'The Alien Clothworkers of London 1337-1381', 18-20; Lambert and Pajic, 'Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth Workers, Flemish Exiles, and Royal Policy in Fourteenth-Century London'.

¹⁷⁶ Bolton, 'London and the Anti-Alien Legislation of 1439-40', 44.

¹⁷⁷ Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar, by Robert Ricart, Town Clerk of Bristol 18 Edward IV* (Westminster: Camden Society, 1872), 38-39.

¹⁷⁸ Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440', 267; Bolton, 'Irish Migration to England', 18.

¹⁷⁹ Childs, 'Irish Merchants', 27-28.

¹⁸⁰ Childs, 37-42.

case shows the civic authorities attempting to close off access to economic privileges, and thus an advantageous trading position, in the year following the cutting off of trade with Bordeaux. While it could be argued that this was a natural extension of anti-alien sentiment, the prominence of the Irish in Bristol's economy, does suggest civic authorities concern was primarily with limiting competition rather than applying a xenophobic principle.

This is confirmed by looking at the treatment of other groups in the ordinances from the latter half of the fifteenth century. A 1461 ordinance from the Weavers' Guild provides clear evidence that Bristol's civic authorities intended to limit competition in the town's economy by decreeing that

*divers persons of the Weuers Crafte of the seid Towne of Bristowe puttyn, occupien and hiren ther wyfes, doughtours and maidens, some to weue in ther owne lombes and some to hire them to wirche with othour persons of the seid Crafte, by the whiche many and divers of the Kynges liege people likkely men ... and sufficiently lorned in the seid Crafte, gothe vagaraunt and vnoccupied and may not haue ther labour to ther levyng.*¹⁸¹

The ordinance then goes on to ban the employment of wives, daughters and maids in weavers' workshops. Here, precisely the kind of phrasing used to exclude aliens from economic activity were being used to exclude women from the economy too. Women were able to participate in medieval urban economies in multiple roles; often serving as vital help in artisan families either as hired in servants, or providing labour in their husband's workshops and even continuing the trade after the latter's death.¹⁸² Bristol demonstrated this trend with many women registering as 'femme sole' or more frequently as portwomen to gain access to economic rights and privileges.¹⁸³ Moreover, Bristol was no exception to the broad trends in women's access to the urban economy; peaking in the decades following the Black Death and subsequent labour shortage, then diminishing across the

¹⁸¹ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:127.

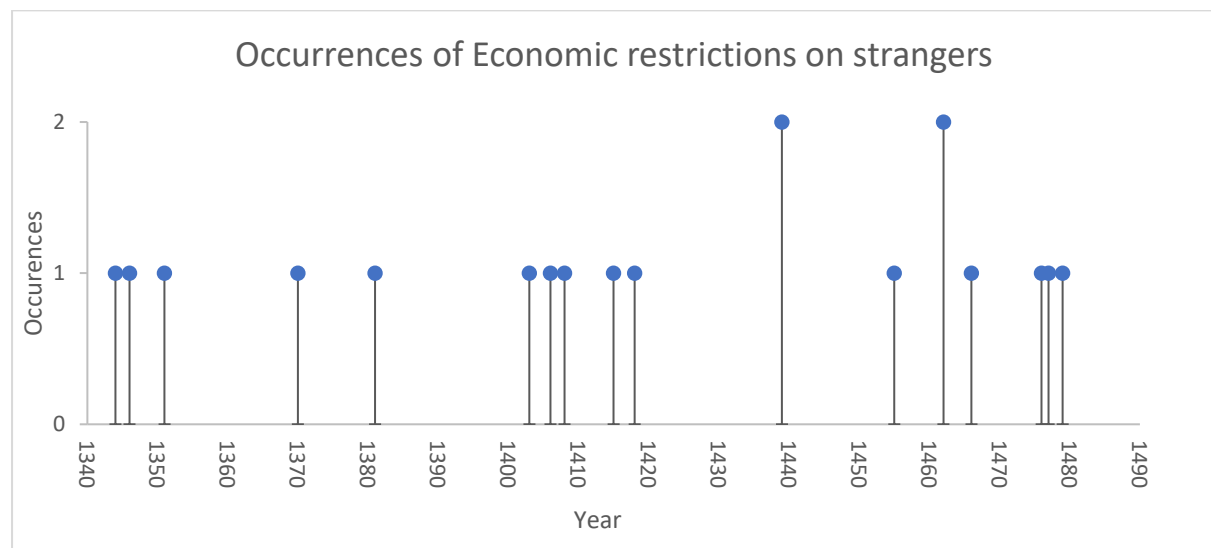
¹⁸² P. J. P. Goldberg, "'For Better for Worse': Marriage and Economic Opportunity for Women in Town and Country", in *Women in Medieval English Society*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 110–11.

¹⁸³ P. Fleming, 'Women in Bristol, 1373-1660', in *Women and the City: Bristol 1373-2000*, ed. M. Dresser (Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 2016), 21.

fifteenth century as town economies struggled and men's access to work was privileged over women's.¹⁸⁴ This trend is reflected in the above ordinance and also the massive decline in portwomen observed by Fleming by the early 1470s.¹⁸⁵ The restriction of women's access to the economy across the fifteenth century also mirrors the treatment of aliens in Bristol's civic ordinances: aliens were not the only group being excluded from economic privileges in this period, strongly suggesting something more than xenophobia was at play.

A definitive demonstration that aliens were one of the victims of the civic authorities attempting to fix their ailing economy comes from looking at the ordinances targeting strangers. While the graph used above shows the spike in anti-alien legislation around 1439, taken alone it gives a misleading impression of the overall character of Bristol's ordinances by excluding regulations solely targeting strangers. A more nuanced understanding can be achieved by paying attention to ordinances targeting this group across the period from the mid-fourteenth to late-fifteenth centuries.

Graph 3. A timeline showing when ordinances restricting the economic rights of strangers occurred in the ordinances, 1340-1490.



¹⁸⁴ Goldberg, "For Better for Worse": Marriage and Economic Opportunity for Women in Town and Country', 111–12.

¹⁸⁵ Fleming, 'Women in Bristol', 22.

Each blue dot in this graph represents a set of ordinances containing rules intended to regulate strangers' participation in the urban economy. In line with the trend observed in ordinances aimed at aliens, economic regulation of strangers was occurring between 1350 and 1400 but quite infrequently. Then in the fifteenth century this regulation intensified, although unlike anti-alien ordinances there is less of a concentration around 1440. The similar trends in the economic regulation of aliens and strangers suggests ordinances aimed at the former were primarily a response to economic hardship, and not solely the product of rising xenophobia in Bristol society. Furthermore, the stranger-regulating ordinances do not mirror the spike in anti-alien ordinances in the later 1430s; this lends credence to the idea that Bristol's civic authorities initially followed crown policy in strengthening their control of aliens' economic lives.

Conclusion

Clearly local and long-distance migrants had a slightly different legal status in late medieval Bristol. Chapter one demonstrated that while two terms were used to refer to the two types of migrant, stranger and alien respectively, the former was not strictly defined. Similarly, this chapter has shown that many ordinances recognised aliens and strangers as separate groups, but gave them precisely the same legal rights, furthering the idea that the borderline between local and long-distance migrants was not as strict as it might appear. Although, Bristol's long-distance migrants did suffer some discrimination in the town's ordinances. This discrimination seems to have been modelled after crown policy as it was at its most prominent in the later 1430s, precisely when kingdom-wide oaths of fealty and taxes were being targeted at aliens. This influence was probably a product of members of Bristol's elite being economically and politically involved in London and Parliament, as suggested by the example of Thomas Young.

It is likely that xenophobia and a sense that aliens were not part of the community of the realm contributed to these ordinances' creation; many invoked the idea of birth outside the King's Obeisance as the defining factor of alien-hood. However, these discriminatory ordinances were

almost entirely aimed at limiting long-distance migrants' economic privileges and came at a time of great economic instability for the town. This suggests they were primarily a coping mechanism in the face of economic problems, rather than a sudden rise in xenophobia. Moreover, long-distance migrants were not the only group whose economic rights were being limited in this period: ordinances targeting other groups such as women can also be found. Most significantly, regulation of local migrants' economic rights also intensified following Bristol's fifteenth-century economic troubles furthering the idea that these two groups were perceived as similar. It seems that if you were a migrant of any form, local or long-distance, in fifteenth-century Bristol the authorities wanted to limit your competitiveness in the urban economy. The division between alien and stranger, and thus local and long-distance migrants, appears not to have been the most important determiner of legal status, as it is today. This leads to the question of the significance of the legal distinction between alien and stranger relative to other distinctions in legal status in urban society, which will form the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Three: what was the most significant distinction in legal status?

The previous chapter has demonstrated that the status accorded to aliens and strangers was different, with a marked increase in the frequency of ordinances which singled out aliens over the course of the fifteenth century. This chapter will show that this difference in status was not as significant as the difference in legal rights and privileges between burgesses and non-burgesses. This is important as it demonstrates that differentiating between migrants from within or from beyond England was not a primary concern for the authorities responsible for Bristol's ordinances. This makes the division in modern scholarship seem quite peculiar as it cannot be justified by referring to civic authorities' perceptions of local and long-distance migrants' legal statuses at the civic level.

The relative significances of these legal divisions will be judged by examining the ordinances in two ways. First, this chapter will demonstrate that the ordinances were primarily aimed at protecting

and promoting burgesses' rights relative to non-burgesses, and not at creating a three-tiered system of rights in which local migrants had a legal status between those of long-distance migrants and burgesses. Then multiple sets of ordinances from the same guild will be examined to give a long-term view of what the ordinances indicate about the emphases placed on the relative rights of burgesses, local migrants and long-distance migrants between the mid-fourteenth and late-fifteenth centuries.

Burgesses and non-Burgesses as the Primary Division in the Ordinances

The ordinances show that the legal rights of aliens and strangers were limited relative to burgesses, rather than each other. This is seen most clearly in the 1346/7 Tailors' ordinances which state the limits placed on strangers' economic rights were made 'en maintenaunce destaatz des burgeis qe sunt plus priueez a la franchise qe les estraunges'.¹⁸⁶ This is an explicit recognition of an attitude which is evident in many of Bristol's ordinances. Special legal rights were granted routinely to burgesses, such as avoiding being put in the town prison unless they were 'laroun, contaccours, maufaisours ou commune destourbours de la pees'.¹⁸⁷ However, most of the privileges experienced by burgesses were economic as in an ordinance governing metalworking trades which states: 'nul persone dez qatrez artes ayaunditz ne use mye null manere overaigne en salez ne en schopes ne en autre lieu deyns la Fraunchisez de Bristuyt tanqal il soit Burgez iurez al Fraunchise de mesme le ville'.¹⁸⁸ These ordinances explicitly privileged burgesses, giving them advantages over both local and long-distance migrants. Local and long-distance migrants were never regulated relative to each other in Bristol's ordinances. This was not a three-tiered system with nuanced levels of legal disability for burgesses, local and long-distance migrants respectively. Instead the civic ordinances set up a more binary system granting rights and privileges to burgesses and denying them from those who were not burgesses.

¹⁸⁶ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:26.

¹⁸⁷ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:111.

¹⁸⁸ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 72–73. ; Similar examples of this privilege being granted to burgesses in other guilds can be found in 1439 and 1462: Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:155; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 74.

As discussed in chapter two, the denial of rights and privileges from local and long-distance migrants alike was focussed on their economic activities. Where burgesses were granted rights and privileges which gave them economic benefits, migrants had them taken away. This could go as far as denying them employment purely on the basis of their origins, as in a 1439 Hoopers' ordinance demanding that its members 'voyde al suche lryssch seruantz or alienes anone furthwith'.¹⁸⁹ Although more often the ordinances denied migrants from practicing particular activities which could enable them to compete with burgesses, as in the 1351 Woad ordinances stating 'qe nul alien ne estraunge ne face briser nule gaide deinz la ville de Bristuit sinoun par les portors qe sont iurez al dite office.'¹⁹⁰ Ordinances gave civic authorities even finer control over non-burgesses' role in the economy, most notably a 1381 ordinance of the Fullers stating 'si ascun estrange de mesme la mestier viegne a la ville a ouerier deinz la ville qil prendra son salerye solonc la descression dez sourueiours du mesme le mestier.'¹⁹¹ Having the guild surveyors set the wages of migrating workers meant, in theory, they could control the flow of labour into the city, setting local migrants' wages unattractively low or unaffordably high to curb competition for work in the city during hard times.¹⁹² Other ordinances mandated the locations in which local migrants had to conduct business or imposed extra fees on the goods they imported.¹⁹³ The common thread across all these forms of restriction is that they gave advantages to burgesses: when one type of migrants' economic activities were regulated via the ordinances, it was not the other type of migrant who benefitted but the burgess community. This is not to say that burgesses were not also regulated by the ordinances. The use of phrases like 'extraneus vel privatus' were used to set limits or grant privileges to burgesses and non-burgesses alike.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, burgesses were occasionally subject to specific bans on undesirable

¹⁸⁹ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:163.

¹⁹⁰ Bickley, 2:20.

¹⁹¹ Bickley, 2:16.

¹⁹² Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate any sources which might suggest whether or not the surveyors actually used their powers in this way, or if the availability of more direct measures such as simply banning the employment of certain groups meant the subtler method of wage manipulation was obsolete.

¹⁹³ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 148; Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part 3)*, 114.

¹⁹⁴ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 1:30.

behaviours, as in the Drapers' 1370 ordinances: 'En prime qe nul burgeys de Bristuyt voise hors de la ville en nulle parties ne maunde aultre person pur ses draps vendre venderdi ne samady.'¹⁹⁵

However, these ordinances were also often aimed at preserving burgesses' economically privileged position as a group. This is seen in a 1439 Barbers' ordinance which says 'no maner person ... schal not polle nor schave no maner persone priue nor straunge withynne the franchises of Bristowe but yf he be burgeis and maister of the seid craft'.¹⁹⁶ This ordinance is clearly intended to protect the barbers' monopoly on their craft: while its wording does prevent burgesses in other crafts from competing as barbers, it is more likely that non-burgesses were the main-offenders when it came to practicing a craft without the relevant guild membership. So, here again the concern is to create and maintain a privileged position for burgesses, with little concern shown for gradations among other groups present in the city.

Civic authorities' concern for Burgess Privilege over time

The impression of the ordinances given above is underlined by looking at changes over time in the emphasis placed on burgesses' rights and privileges. In order to compare like with like the following analysis is limited to sets of ordinances from the same guilds across multiple years. This gives an idea of when guilds felt the need to regulate local and long-distance migrants or protect the privileges of burgesses. Only two guilds presented three or more sets of ordinances between the mid-fourteenth and late-fifteenth centuries, the Cordwainers and Barbers. The Cordwainers issued six sets of ordinances: 1408, 1438, 1443, and, 1450. Meanwhile the Barbers issued ordinances in 1395, 1418 and 1439. The Tailors' guild was also considered for this analysis but only made ordinances in 1346 and 1450, while this would give an idea of any change in attitudes between these two years there is little scope for tracing developments over time with only two sets of ordinances separated by over a century.

¹⁹⁵ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:53–54.

¹⁹⁶ Bickley, 2:153.

The cordwainer's ordinances of 1408 are mostly economic regulations with a general tone of ensuring business was being done to a high enough standard and under the supervision of the guild's masters. Rules ranged from limits on servants' wages, to the conditions of access to guild membership and whether or not local migrants were allowed to practice the craft.¹⁹⁷ This last ordinance is particularly interesting as it allowed a local migrants to 'ouerer par le iour ou par symaigne en la dite mestier pur auoir sa sustinaunce'.¹⁹⁸ This is a contrast to the stricter controls on migrant workers seen later in the cordwainers' ordinances and highlights the perceived role of migrant workers in craft workshops. Clearly there was space for strangers to migrate to Bristol and work as cordwainers in the early fifteenth century. The guild's 1438 ordinances show largely similar concerns as they reiterated the system of guild masters and surveyors and specified working times.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, local migrants are only mentioned as potential customers whose needs justified working on a Sunday.²⁰⁰ Here again there was no concern for excluding local or long-distance migrants from the guild, but rather on making sure the guilds' authorities could exercise control over its members and fulfil some of its main social functions such as providing a mark of good reputation for members, and integrating recent migrants into pre-existing social networks.²⁰¹

There is a marked change in tone in the 1443 ordinances as concerns over the role of migrant-workers were voiced. This is seen in the preamble to the ordinances which claims the presence of aliens in the guild was causing 'many vagaraunts and Idul men in the seide Crafte and grete disclaunder and anyencesment of the seide Artificers'.²⁰² The solution to this problem was to ban the employment of long-distance migrants by other artisans in the craft.²⁰³ There is still an evident concern for the reputation of the guild here, but it is accompanied by a current of anti-alien feeling that was widespread in the ordinances in the years following 1439. Nonetheless, there is still an

¹⁹⁷ Bickley, 2:105–7, 104, 105.

¹⁹⁸ Bickley, 2:105.

¹⁹⁹ Bickley, 2:167–68.

²⁰⁰ Bickley, 2:168.

²⁰¹ Gervase Rosser, 'Solidarités et changement social. Les fraternités urbaines anglaises à la fin du Moyen Âge', trans. Françoise Marin, *Annales* journal has a longer name48, no. 5 (1993): 1130, 1135.

²⁰² Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:177.

²⁰³ Bickley, 2:178.

emphasis on protecting burgess privilege as the need to eject long-distance migrants is couched in terms of the risk that the guild will be 'distroyed for euermore' and their monopoly on the craft with it.²⁰⁴

The 1450 set of ordinances for the cordwainers' guild strengthen this anti-alien sentiment, repeating the earlier calls for no long-distance migrants to be employed, and even demanding that all of them currently serving apprenticeships have them voided.²⁰⁵ Notably, no mention of local migrants is made in the 1443 and 1450 ordinances, suggesting the civic authorities' concerns were fully occupied by aliens in this period.

The pattern seen here follows that outlined for the ordinances in general in chapter two. The cordwainers had an initial focus on ensuring the guild's members were working to high standards and subject to the control of the guild's authorities. Then, following the example of the crown's alien subsidy in 1439, the cordwainers began to limit the rights and privileges of long-distance migrants in their 1443 ordinances and then continued to strengthen this regulation. This pattern is significant as the attitude of the guild towards long-distance migrants changes suddenly following 1439, as if crown policy provided away to protect burgess privilege which the guild was keen to take up.

The Barbers' guild demonstrated this concern to protect and maintain the rights of burgesses to an even greater degree. Their 1395 ordinances make no mention of local or long-distance migrants, and instead focussed on regulating work on Sundays.²⁰⁶ The 1418 ordinances show a concern for maintaining the guilds' monopoly as they banned all non-burgesses from having barbershops or shaving people from outside their own household.²⁰⁷ Additionally, they made provision for local migrants to work as barbers 'par le iour ou par le semaigne ouec aucun meistre de la dit mistier pur auoir sa sustenance'.²⁰⁸ Thus, the concern in these first two sets of ordinances is primarily on

²⁰⁴ Bickley, 2:177.

²⁰⁵ Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol: Text (Part I)*, 128–29.

²⁰⁶ Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900, 2:70.

²⁰⁷ Bickley, 2:137.

²⁰⁸ Bickley, 2:139.

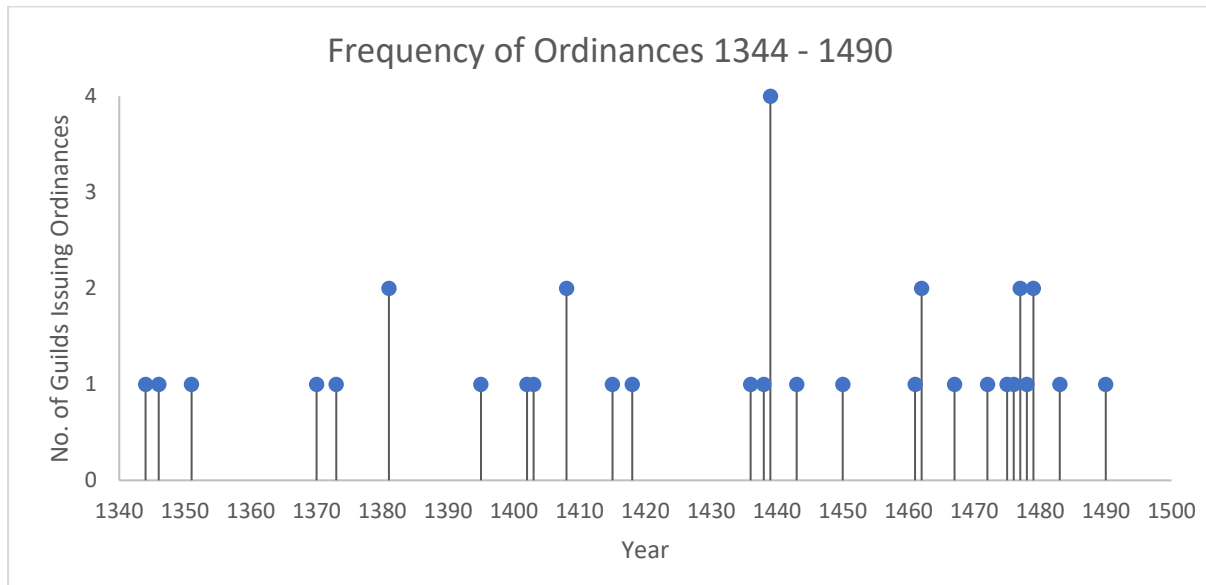
maintaining burgess privileges. This continues in the 1439 ordinances which despite their dating do not target long-distance migrants for discrimination. Instead these ordinances repeat earlier rules that only barbers may shave those outside their own household and show a particular concern with regulating apprenticeships.²⁰⁹ The ordinances governing apprenticeships repeated earlier stipulations that they should last seven years, and no one was to work in barbers' shops without having completed one.²¹⁰ This last ordinance suggests this concern over apprentices was a way to control access to the guild as 'no manere persone prive nor strange occupy not the seid crafte as burgeises of the same toune of Bristowe aforesaid without he have be apprentice atte the same crafte vij yhere complete atte leste'.²¹¹ This meant current masters in the craft could select who to accept for apprenticeships, deciding who could make a living as a barber. Thus the Barbers showed little concern for migrants in their guild, but they do seem to have been anxious to control access to burgess status and the guild at the same time that other guilds were excluding migrants from their ranks. This demonstrates the importance of burgess status for all civic authorities in Bristol across this period: in response to the economic difficulties of the fifteenth century all guilds sought to preserve burgesses' rights and privileges, but not all of them did so by excluding migrants explicitly. This suggests that the difference between local and long-distance migrants was of less concern to Bristol's civic authorities than the difference between burgesses and non-burgesses.

²⁰⁹ Bickley, 2:153.

²¹⁰ Bickley, 2:154, 156.

²¹¹ Bickley, 2:157.

Graph 4. A timeline showing when ordinances regulating migrants occurred, 1340-1490.



This is supported by the increasing frequency of guild ordinances across the fifteenth century. As shown by graph 4 Bristol's guilds issued far more ordinances in the fifteenth century than previously, and particularly from the 1430s onwards. This suggests a generalised growing desire for control on the part the civic authorities; likely in order to combat the economic instability mentioned discussed above and protect the position of burgesses. This interpretation is lent credence by Christian D. Liddy and Bart Lambert's analysis of Great Yarmouth's regulation of long-distance migrants between 1430 and 1490.²¹² Looking at this town's civic records they conclude that the limitations set on long-distance migrants were intended to help the burgess community fight off economic competition and re-establish itself having struggled to weather the economic storms of the previous century and maintain a monopoly on prosperity within the town.²¹³ Bristol's own increased regulation of migrants across the fifteenth century occurred in a similar context of economic difficulty, and so was likely motivated by similar factors. A deeper look into the archival sources linked to Bristol's finances and its economy more generally would be needed to confirm this suggestion. Nonetheless, on the

²¹² Liddy and Lambert, 'The Civic Franchise and the Regulation of Aliens in Great Yarmouth c.1430 - c. 1490'.

²¹³ Liddy and Lambert, 141-43.

evidence considered here, it seems Bristol's burgess community was seeking to maintain its own position as the most prosperous members of urban society when regulating migrants'.

Conclusion

It appears Bristol's civic authorities were far more concerned with the difference in legal status between burgesses and non-burgesses than they were with any other. The distinction between burgesses and non-burgesses is by far the most frequently used difference in legal status in the ordinances. local and long-distance migrants were never granted different levels of legal rights from each other in the same set of ordinances, whereas burgesses were constantly granted rights and privileges that were explicitly denied to migrants. Additionally, when burgesses' actions were limited by the ordinances it was done overwhelmingly as part of rules that applied to everyone in the city. This strongly suggests the difference between local and long-distance migrants was of secondary concern to Bristol's civic authorities. This is even clearer when a longer-term view of the ordinances is taken. Both the Cordwainer' and Barbers' ordinances show a constant concern to protect the rights and privileges of burgesses while specific regulations for aliens and strangers were intermittent or even, as for the Barbers, wholly absent. This concern for burgess privilege is likely the result of this group feeling threatened and vulnerable in the face of the economic troubles which ravaged towns across the fifteenth century. As the example of Great Yarmouth shows, increased regulation of migrants was a response available to civic authorities who felt their position was weakening. All this strongly suggests, the division between those who were burgesses and those who were not was the most significant distinction in legal status between the mid-fourteenth and late fifteenth centuries for Bristol's civic authorities. This raises questions about why modern scholars have divided their studies of medieval migration so cleanly between local and long-distance migrants. If this division was not accorded much importance in the Middle Ages, why did it become such a defining feature of modern scholarship? This question and others related to it will form the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Four: why does modern scholarship study local and long-distance migrants separately?

The introduction to this study highlighted the fact that the scholars who have researched and published works on long-distance migration have, for the most part, not directly engaged with those researching and publishing on local migration and vice versa. The previous chapters have shown that this divide in the scholarly treatment of migrants from within and outside the Kingdom of England does not have a strong basis in the perceptions of medieval civic authorities. Therefore, the reasons for this divide must be looked for in modern scholarship rather than source material directly from

the middle ages. This chapter will aim to do this by examining the two strands of scholarship and comparing the kinds of themes and questions they address before moving on to offer up some factors which explain why these overlaps can exist while the two strands of scholarship remain separate.

This chapter will not analyse every work published on migration as this is too large an undertaking for this study. Instead the following analysis will focus largely on journal articles, with some collections of articles and monographs featuring too. These works have been drawn from across the last century or so, but most have been published since 1980. It ought to be noted that the list of works consulted is not exhaustive even for works published since 1980. This is because time and budgetary constraints have prevented the travel which would be necessary to access every work on migration to and within medieval England. Nevertheless, a total of thirty-eight books and articles were consulted, and they reveal several interesting trends across the study of both local and long-distance migration.

Questions and Themes common to Local and Long-distance Migrant Studies

The introduction to this study gave an overview of the development of scholarship on migration and revealed that local and long-distance migrants were studied and written about by two different sets of scholars who only rarely ventured into each other's patches. Despite this, there are several areas where studies of local and long-distance migrants explore the same themes and ask very similar questions about their subjects. Equally there are some interesting distinctions between the approaches taken by scholars in the two strands too.

One of these differences is where scholars see their work fitting into broader fields of study: scholars focussed on local migration have tended to situate their work in the context of questions about demography. This is seen in J.C. Russel's 'Medieval Midland and Northern Migration to London' and R.S. Gottfried's 'Bury St. Edmunds and the Populations of Late Medieval English Towns, 1270-1530',

both of which place themselves explicitly within the field of demography.²¹⁴ Several other works study local migration through the lens of its impact on demographic trends, such as Philipp Schofield's 'Frankpledge Lists as Indices of Migration and Mortality: Some Evidence from Essex Lists' which argues that the potential of Frankpledge lists to reveal evidence of migration has been overlooked by previous demographic studies of England around the time of the plague.²¹⁵ David Postles has suggested this focus on demography is a result of the source materials available, which tend to be tax records and other similar documents which lend themselves to the kind of quantitative analysis that demography requires.²¹⁶ Long-distance migrants were present in English towns and villages in far fewer numbers than local migrants, making scholars focussed on broad demographic trends and quantitative methods far less likely to pay attention to this relatively insignificant group.

Nonetheless, studies of long-distance migrants do address demography in their own way by attempting to estimate the population sizes of different groups of migrants and the long-distance migrant population as a whole. Most of the articles consulted for this study attempt to estimate the size of the population of long-distance migrants they are focussed on.²¹⁷ A notable example of this is J.L. Bolton's *Alien Communities in London in the Fifteenth Century* which explains in detail how he

²¹⁴ Russell, 'Midland and Northern Migration'; Gottfried, 'Bury St. Edmunds'.

²¹⁵ Schofield, 'Frankpledge Lists as Indices of Migration and Mortality'.

²¹⁶ For further examples of studies using these kinds of sources see: Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom'. Thrupp, 'The Problem of Replacement-Rates in Late Medieval English Population', which use the York Register of Freeman and Manorial Accounts respectively.

²¹⁷ Many examples are to be found in the sample, see: Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440'; Thrupp, 'Aliens in and around London in the Fifteenth Century.'; Twycross, 'Some Aliens in York and Their Overseas Connections'; Childs, 'Irish Merchants'; R.B. Dobson, 'Aliens in the City of York During the Fifteenth Century', in *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale: Proceedings of the 1996 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. John Mitchell and Matthew Moran (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), 249–66; Bolton, 'Irish Migration to England'; Galloway and Murray, 'Scottish Migration to England, 1400-1560.'; S. Rees Jones, 'Scots in the North of England: The First Alien Subsidy, 1440-43'; Fleming, 'Icelanders in England in the Fifteenth Century'; Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Assimilation of Foreigners in Late Medieval Exeter: A Prosopographical Analysis', in *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. W. Mark Ormrod, Craig Taylor, and Nicola McDonald, *Studies in European Urban History* 42 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2017), 163–79; Guidi-Bruscoli and Lutkin, 'Perception, Identity, and Culture: The Italian Communities in Fifteenth-Century London and Southampton Revisited'; Christopher Linsley, 'The French in Fifteenth-Century England: Enmity, Ubiquity, and Perception', in *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. W. Mark Ormrod, Craig Taylor, and Nicola McDonald, *Studies in European Urban History* 42 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2017), 147–62; Liddy and Lambert, 'The Civic Franchise and the Regulation of Aliens in Great Yarmouth c.1430 - c. 1490'.

has established his figures and points out where and why his estimates differ from those of previous scholars.²¹⁸ Like their counterparts studying local migrants, scholars estimating the number of long-distance migrants generally use tax records or other administrative records to do so. Despite this strong concern to establish the population sizes of long-distance migrants in the middle ages, most of the works consulted for this study do not place themselves in the field of demography. Instead a broader range of topics form the bases for scholarly work in this area. This is evident in attempts to discern the extent to which long-distance migrants were involved in civic politics and more recently, study alien household structures.²¹⁹ This broader range is probably the result of these scholars restricting their studies to evidence concerning long-distance migrants, a choice which highlights another difference between the two strands of scholarship.

Studies of long-distance migrants tend to be the result of a selective choice, made by a scholar, to focus on evidence concerning this group of people and avoid discussion of the broader population migrant or otherwise. This can be seen in the titles of works such as 'Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century', 'Scottish Migration to England, 1400-1560', and 'The Civic Franchise and the Regulation of Aliens in Great Yarmouth, c. 1430-c.1490'.²²⁰ All three of these titles directly refer either to long-distance migrants at large or a sub-group of them. Meanwhile scholarly discussions of local migration could occur incidentally as part of the discussion of a broader issue. This is seen in 'The First Half-Century of the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon' by E.M. Carus-Wilson which discusses local migrants in the context of a broader attempt to trace the emergence and growth of the

²¹⁸ Bolton, *Alien Communities of London*, 5–11.

²¹⁹ For long-distance migrants' political engagement see: Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440'; Bolton, *Alien Communities of London*; Childs, 'Irish Merchants'; Jane Laughton, 'Mapping the Migrants: Welsh, Manx and Irish Settlers in Fifteenth-Century Chester', in *Mapping the Medieval City: Space, Place and Identity in Chester, c. 1200-1600*, ed. Catherine M. Clarke, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 169–83. and for their household structures see: Fleming, 'Icelanders in England in the Fifteenth Century'; Kowaleski, 'The Assimilation of Foreigners in Late Medieval Exeter: A Prosopographical Analysis'; Guidi-Bruscoli and Lutkin, 'Perception, Identity, and Culture: The Italian Communities in Fifteenth-Century London and Southampton Revisited'.

²²⁰ Giuseppe, 'Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century'; Galloway and Murray, 'Scottish Migration to England, 1400-1560.'; Liddy and Lambert, 'The Civic Franchise and the Regulation of Aliens in Great Yarmouth c.1430 - c. 1490'.

borough of Stratford-upon-Avon.²²¹ Although this is not to say that scholars never specifically set out to illuminate local migration in the middle ages, as demonstrated by titles such as ‘The Origins of Bristol Migrants in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Surname Evidence’, ‘Mediaeval Midland and Northern Migration to London, 1100-1365’ and ‘Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy: English Internal Migration, c.1200-1350’.²²² The reasons for this tendency lie in the source materials favoured by the scholars in the two strands of study, and will be discussed further below.²²³

Studies of both local and long-distance migrants pay attention to the economic roles of migrants in their new communities. This is seen in A.F. Butcher’s discussion of migrants’ motives to move to Kentish towns and Wendy R. Childs’ discussion of reasons to move around the country in general in the middle ages.²²⁴ In the study of long-distance migrants their role as merchants has often been where scholars have focussed their attentions. This is seen across the whole timeframe of the works analysed here from Montague S. Giuseppe’s 1895 article ‘Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century’ and A.A. Ruddock’s ‘Alien Merchants in Southampton’; to Wendy R. Childs’ ‘Irish Merchants and Seamen in Late Medieval England’.²²⁵ Nonetheless, recent scholarship has begun to pay attention to long-distance migrants in other economic roles, such as artisans and especially clothworkers.²²⁶

Clothworkers have also played a prominent role in another area of focus for scholars of long-distance migrants: anti-migrant violence. Scholars of long-distance migration have highlighted and sought to use Flemish migrants’ economic competition with native clothworkers as an explanation

²²¹ Carus-Wilson, ‘Stratford-upon-Avon’.

²²² Penn, ‘The Origins of Bristol Migrants in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Surname Evidence’; Russell, ‘Midland and Northern Migration’; Postles, ‘Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy’.

²²³ See the discussion in part two of this chapter on the sources used to study local and long-distance migration.

²²⁴ Butcher, ‘Romney Freeman’, 23–25; Childs, ‘Moving Around’, 268–69.

²²⁵ Giuseppe, ‘Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century’; Ruddock, ‘Alien Merchants in Southampton in the Later Middle Ages’; Childs, ‘Irish Merchants’.

²²⁶ For example see: Good, ‘The Alien Clothworkers of London 1337-1381’; Lambert and Pajic, ‘Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth Workers, Flemish Exiles, and Royal Policy in Fourteenth-Century London’.

for flare-ups of violence against long-distance migrants.²²⁷ This kind of work has not been undertaken for local migrants as it seems they were rarely, if ever, the targets of such violence. Instead long-distance migrants seem to have been targeted as an easily identifiable minority, whereas local migrants must have been harder to distinguish and, more importantly, a far larger proportion of the urban population making any attempt to identify common distinguishing traits and persecute them as a group far harder. Indeed, Jonathan Good, Bart Lambert and Milan Pajic have all focussed on the anti-Flemish violence in London in the later fourteenth century, an economically successful minority which would have been quite easily distinguishable as a group by virtue of their common trades as clothworkers and common linguistic characteristics as speakers of Flemish .

The issue of origins is also an area in which scholars studying local and long-distance migrants have often brushed up against the same questions. Scholars of local migrants first developed an interest in the range from which a particular town attracted migrants, leading to the establishment of a distance-decay model which was tested by different scholars for several towns and regions.²²⁸ Thus this literature uses local migrants' origins as a way of assessing the demographic influence of different places throughout England on their surrounding areas. Studies of long-distance migrants seem to have taken on this idea of establishing how far migrants have travelled too, indeed Sylvia Thrupp's 1969 article 'Aliens in and Around London in the Fifteenth Century' is quite explicit about establishing the radius from which London's long-distance migrants came: 300-400 miles.²²⁹ This desire to establish a radius could be linked to Thrupp's experience in the study of local migration as she is one of the few scholars to have published in both strands of scholarship with her article 'The Problem of Replacement Rates in Late-Medieval English Population' discussing local migration.²³⁰

²²⁷ Good, 'The Alien Clothworkers of London 1337-1381'; Lambert and Pajic, 'Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth Workers, Flemish Exiles, and Royal Policy in Fourteenth-Century London'.

²²⁸ For scholars employing the idea of a distance-decay model see: Russell, 'Midland and Northern Migration'; Carus-Wilson, 'Stratford-upon-Avon'; Butcher, 'Romney Freeman'; McClure, 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages'; Gottfried, 'Bury St. Edmunds'; Penn, 'The Origins of Bristol Migrants in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Surname Evidence'; Postles, 'Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy'.

²²⁹ Thrupp, 'Aliens in and around London in the Fifteenth Century.', 251.

²³⁰ Thrupp, 'The Problem of Replacement-Rates in Late Medieval English Population'.

Indeed, no other works in the sample of long-distance migrant literature are quite so keen to put a figure on the radius from which England attracted long-distance migrants.

In contrast to the more quantitative bent of local migration scholars, most scholars who have published works on long-distance migrants are less focussed on the exact distances travelled by migrants and more focussed on the ethnic and cultural groups with which they identified themselves and were identified by others. This is shown quite clearly by the scholars in the sample who have chosen to focus on specific groups such as the Italians, Irish, Scottish, Icelandic or French.²³¹

Nonetheless, recent studies of long-distance migrants have engaged with the ideas around a distance-decay radius for migrant origins in more nuanced ways, though without explicitly acknowledging the influence of studies of local migrants. These studies have discussed the issue in terms of routes of access, a concept which better represents the historical reality of how long-distance migrants would have arrived in England and incorporates discussion of the geographic distribution of migrants too.²³²

The study of the geographic distribution of migrants is also linked to the scale of the focus of works in the two strands of migrant scholarship. When designing a research project it is necessary to define its scope: in the case of studies of migrants this entails determining the geographic and temporal area from which to draw evidence and whether to study all migrants or only a sub-group of them. These decisions are usually strongly influenced by the contents of the available source materials. Scholars studying local migrants have tended to conduct their studies on a smaller scale, most often looking at specific towns or sometimes regions. This range is seen in R.B. Dobson's 'Admissions to the Freedom of the City of York in the Later Middle Ages' which focusses on those the city of York

²³¹ Suzanne Dempsey, 'The Italian Community in London during the Reign of Edward II', *The London Journal* 18, no. 1 (1993): 14–22; Childs, 'Irish Merchants'; Bolton, 'Irish Migration to England'; Galloway and Murray, 'Scottish Migration to England, 1400-1560.'; S. Rees Jones, 'Scots in the North of England: The First Alien Subsidy, 1440-43'; Fleming, 'Icelanders in England in the Fifteenth Century'; Linsley, 'The French in Fifteenth-Century England: Enmity, Ubiquity, and Perception'.

²³² Bolton, 'Irish Migration to England', 11. For an example of how routes of access and settlement patterns played out at the civic level see: Laughton, 'Mapping the Migrants'.

allowed to join its community of citizens.²³³ It should be mentioned that David Postles does take a national view of local migration, although this seems to be the exception which proves the rule.²³⁴

Meanwhile, scholars of long-distance migration have not shared this reluctance to address their topic at a national level, with both recent and older works looking at long-distance migrants across the country.²³⁵ Nonetheless, Christopher Linsley's work on French migrants across England is limited to the study of a single ethnic group, and Thrupp's 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440' narrows its own scale of focus temporally to a single year.

Furthermore, studies of long-distance migrants cover a very broad range when it comes to their scale of focus from these national studies all the way down to Nicholas Vincent's monograph study of Peter des Roches.²³⁶ Though this capability should not be exaggerated as most studies maintain a scale of focus similar to that of works on local migration, looking at individual towns and regions. The regional view can be seen in Nelly Kerling's *Aliens in the County of Norfolk*.²³⁷ Meanwhile a town-level focus is seen in Meg Twycross' 'Some Aliens in York and their Overseas Connections up to c.1470'.²³⁸ This article demonstrates another trend in long-distance migrant studies: focus on a few individuals or families as case studies for the study of a town. As part of her study of York as a whole, Twycross dedicates a significant proportion of her discussion to the Tubbac and van Upstall families.²³⁹ Wendy R. Childs also chooses to discuss the case study of an Irish merchant family in Bristol with the surname May.²⁴⁰ In both these cases long-distance migrant families and individuals are used to illuminate broader issues such as discrimination and the economic roles of migrants.

²³³ Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom'. For further examples of this local and regional scale of focus see: Russell, 'Midland and Northern Migration'; Penn, 'The Origins of Bristol Migrants in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Surname Evidence'; Schofield, 'Frankpledge Lists as Indices of Migration and Mortality'.

²³⁴ Postles, 'Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy'.

²³⁵ Linsley, 'The French in Fifteenth-Century England: Enmity, Ubiquity, and Perception'; Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440'.

²³⁶ Nicholas Vincent, *Peter Des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

²³⁷ Kerling, *Aliens in the County of Norfolk (1436-1483)*.

²³⁸ Twycross, 'Some Aliens in York and Their Overseas Connections'.

²³⁹ Twycross, 364–69.

²⁴⁰ Childs, 'Irish Merchants', 34–42.

Thus, the scholarly literature on both local and long-distance migrants addresses many of the same themes and shares some common characteristics. Yet, scholars in the two strands of study still largely fail to engage with each other's work and appear to consider the study of migrants in the middle ages as split into two sorts according to the origins of the migrants. The overlaps between the two strands observed above make this split seem all the more peculiar, especially given the conclusions of the previous chapters that there does not seem to have been a firm basis for this divide in the perceptions of medieval people.

Reasons modern scholars have addressed medieval migrants as two separate groups: Local and Long-distance

The rest of this chapter will attempt to explain the divide in scholarship offering up some factors which have led to the split occurring. As the reasons for the divide in the study of migrants are not apparent in the perceptions of medieval people, they are most likely to be found in the minds of modern scholars. Therefore, examining the work of modern scholars in both strands of scholarship sheds light on the assumptions and biases that have been carried into the field and kept the study of medieval migration separated up until now.

The first reason that comes to mind when reflecting about the differences between modern and medieval migration is the influence of the idea of nation-states. The modern world is commonly perceived as a collection of nation-states with clearly defined borders between them. These nation-states are usually associated with a series of national characteristics such as language, cuisine, styles of dress, and most importantly for this study a collective past or history. This idea of a nation-state's history, linking inhabitants from the present day to those all the way back to the nation's perceived foundation, has profoundly influenced modern scholars' approaches to studying the past. This can be seen in the way modern scholarship is organised by country, with scholars coming from a

particular country being quite likely to study and publish on its history.²⁴¹ This influence of the idea of nation-states in modern understandings of the medieval world can be seen in survey works such as Alfred Haverkamp's *Medieval Germany* and Chris Wickham's *Early Medieval Italy*.²⁴² Both these works frame their geographic areas of focus in terms of country's that existed in radically different forms in the Middle Ages. The concept of the nation-state has influenced the scholarly approach to medieval migration as the migrants covered by studies of local migration are those from inside the Kingdom of England while studies of long-distance migrants have looked at those from outside the kingdom: the fundamental importance of nation-states in modern perceptions of the world has encouraged scholars to think the dividing lines between medieval people coincided with the borders of political units, when this is not necessarily the case.

It might be tempting to see the application of the idea of the nation-state in this way as anachronistic. However the division between local and long-distance migrants coincides with the borders of the medieval Kingdom of England and not the modern United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Migrants from Scotland are studied by scholars in the long-distance strand despite Scotland forming part of the modern nation-state of the United Kingdom, as shown by the presence of S. Rees-Jones' article on the topic in a collection of articles entitled *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*.²⁴³ Thus, modern scholars of medieval migration have appreciated the difference between the modern United Kingdom and the medieval Kingdom of England, but by using it as a dividing principle in the study of migrants have assigned an importance to the idea of the nation-state that does not seem to have been shared by medieval civic authorities.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Even the current study is guilty of this bias: having been given the freedom to choose any topic for an MRes thesis I have chosen to study not just my home-country, but to focus on the closest city to my birthplace.

²⁴² Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056-1273* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400-1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989).

²⁴³ S. Rees Jones, 'Scots in the North of England: The First Alien Subsidy, 1440-43'.

²⁴⁴ As demonstrated in the previous chapters, Bristol's civic authorities seem to have made little of the difference between those from the surrounding countryside and those from outside the kingdom.

This is not to say that people in the Middle Ages were wholly unaware of nations and the differences between them. The 1436/7 *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* certainly demonstrates nationalist, even jingoistic, sentiments when it states ‘Of oure England, that no man may denye / Ner say of soth but it is one of the best’ and claims that Spain and Flanders ‘may not liven to mayntene there degrees / Wythoughten oure Englysshe commoditytees’.²⁴⁵ Such statements, apart from being somewhat eerie echoes of modern political discourse on the UK’s relationship to Europe, show that England’s population had some sense of a national identity.²⁴⁶ Additionally, the inhabitants of medieval England did have some awareness of national characteristics and differences.²⁴⁷ Nonetheless, this awareness was not strong enough to justify splitting the study of local and long-distance migrants so thoroughly as modern scholarship has.

The influence of national thinking is perhaps most obvious in the works focussing on migrants at the level of the kingdom, such as David Postles ‘Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy’ and Andrea Ruddick’s ‘Immigrants and Inter-marriage in Late Medieval England’ which despite their similar terminology are referring to local and long-distance migrants respectively.²⁴⁸ In these cases the separation of migrants could be justified by pointing to the national character of the studies’:

²⁴⁵ George Warner, ed., *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye, a Poem on the Use of Sea-Power, 1436* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), 1, 5. and for an overview of the texts manuscript tradition see: F Taylor, ‘Some Manuscripts of the “Libelle of Englyshe Polycye”’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 24 (1940): 378–418.

²⁴⁶ The topic of identity is a very large one, and unfortunately there is not the space in this study to address it fully. Nonetheless, a range of interesting work has been done on the development of national identities in this period. John Scattergood has used the *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* to look into the interplay between national identity and the economic interests of merchants: John Scattergood, ‘The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: The Nation and Its Place’, in *Occasions for Writing: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature, Politics and Society*. Ed. Scattergood, John, Dublin : Four Courts Press, 2010. 272 Pp. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 163–84. While Andrea Ruddick has discussed the role of Englishness in politics across the 1300s: Andrea Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th Ser. 93 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Scholars have studied the formation of other nationalities in the British Isles across this period too: John A. F. Thomson, ‘Scots in England in the Fifteenth Century’, in *Piety and Politics in Britain, 14th-15th Centuries: The Essays of John A.F. Thompson*. Ed. Graeme Small (Variorum Collected Studies Series, 1020), Farnham : Ashgate, 2013, Essay XIX:1-16; Peter Fleming, ‘Identity and Belonging: Irish and Welsh in Fifteenth-Century Bristol’, in *The Fifteenth Century, VII: Conflicts, Consequences and the Crown in the Late Middle Ages*. Ed. Clark, Linda (The Fifteenth Century, 7), Woodbridge, Suffolk : Boydell Press, 2007. Xii, 256 Pp., The Fifteenth Century, 7 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2007), 175–93.

²⁴⁷ Childs, ‘Moving Around’, 274.

²⁴⁸ Postles, ‘Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy’; Ruddick, ‘Immigrants and Inter-marriage in Late Medieval England’.

they are both looking at a particular issue at the level of England as a whole and therefore it can be argued that their exclusion of long-distance and local migrants respectively stems from this framing of their studies and contemporaries' awareness of differences at the national level. Yet, works with a smaller geographic scale of focus also separate migrants into two strands of study despite the evidence that authorities at this level did not consider the division to be highly significant. In these studies, it seems modern ways of viewing the world have deeply influenced how scholars have framed their research. This is particularly the case for those studying local migration. While scholars of long-distance migrants could argue they have made a selective choice to focus on a subset of migrants, those looking at local migration do not explicitly exclude long-distance migrants from their studies, they simply fail to mention them. This speaks to an implicit assumption on the part of these scholars that migrants from outside England fall beyond their remit and that evidence surrounding these migrants would have little impact on the conclusions they reach. Although the latter portion of this assumption is often true, given the far smaller long-distance migrant population, it is still a selection that ought to be addressed in the literature rather than left unmentioned, especially given popular conceptions of the Middle Ages as a time of homogenous mono-cultural societies with essentially no migration to speak of.

Nonetheless, care should be taken not to accuse these scholars of academic malpractice. Given the unquestioned nature, and ubiquitous presence, of nation-states in the modern world it is not surprising scholars' mental frameworks have incorporated the concept so deeply. As pointed out by Keechang Kim, the idea of the nation-state is so deeply ingrained in modern modes of thinking that most people consider it entirely normal that modern societies deny access to healthcare, welfare systems and even the territory of a country based on a person's nationality: whereas to do the same based on any of their other characteristics would be considered discrimination and looked upon very negatively.²⁴⁹ The nation-state is such a fundamental part of the structure of the modern world it

²⁴⁹ Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law*, 8–9.

would be difficult for it not to have influenced the thinking surrounding medieval migration.

Moreover, this is not the only, or even the most significant, reason for the split in scholarship.

The most significant reason for the split is the difference in sources used by scholars studying local and long-distance migrants. The types of sources used by scholars in the two strands are often similar: tax records, probate rolls, lists of names etc. However, the specific sources used rarely overlap. Sources and the evidence they provide play a determining role in forming academic research projects and directing the attentions of the scholars undertaking them. David Postles has noted the deep impact that the availability of sources has had on studies of local migration and this mechanism is equally valid for studies of long-distance migrants.²⁵⁰

Studies of long-distance migrants to England are largely reliant on sources which specifically identify individuals as coming from outside the kingdom. Fortunately, sources such as the Alien Subsidy Rolls and records associated with the 1436 Oath of Fealty provide the names, places of residence and sometimes the origins and occupations of thousands of long-distance migrants present in medieval England. Thus, the analysis and interpretation of these sources has formed the backbone of this strand of scholarship from Thrupp's initial survey work through to the England's Immigrants Database project and the collection of articles stemming from it.²⁵¹ As useful as these sources are, they give no information about local migrants, as only those from outside the kingdom were required to be assessed for the subsidy or take the oath of fealty. This means scholars using these sources are unable to include local migration in the remit of their studies without broadening the evidence being used at the cost of more time, energy and ultimately funding. Moreover, the specificity of these sources makes focussing on long-distance migrants seem like a natural step in defining a project's scope. If crown tax policy singled out long-distance migrants for special attention, then modern scholars can too. Yet this attitude has come at the cost of a broader view of

²⁵⁰ Postles, 'Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy', 285–86.

²⁵¹ Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440'; 'England's Immigrants 1330 - 1550'; Ormrod, Craig Taylor, and McDonald, *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*.

medieval migration which highlights common elements and experiences of moving from one place to another in the medieval world.

Similarly, studies of local migration draw upon lists of names to provide evidence of migration via place-name surnames. Peter McClure's 1979 article 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of English Place-Name Surnames' is perhaps the best example of this approach, but it has been used by others in the field.²⁵² Other works in this strand have taken a broader prosopographic approach using probate records and other archival materials to illuminate patterns of migration.²⁵³ These sources provide evidence of long-distance migrants very infrequently compared to the long-distance specific sources discussed above. Thus, scholars of local migration have not included long-distance migrants in their studies because their sources provide little evidence of them. The broader nature of these sources also means that they have enabled scholars to address local migration incidentally as part of a larger topic as mentioned above.

Nonetheless, unlike the sources used by long-distance scholars, evidence of long-distance migrants can be found in these records, as demonstrated by A.F. Butcher and to a lesser extent R.B. Dobson.²⁵⁴ Dobson's study of the York Freeman's Register shows evidence for both local and long-distance migrants can be found in this civic record, though he does not dedicate much discussion to the latter with only 10 lines mentioning the general lack of long-distance migrants who took up the freedom.²⁵⁵ On the other hand, Butcher's work on the Romney Jurat Records includes discussion of both local and long-distance migrants. Again, the deep influence of source materials can be seen here as Butcher's study only includes both sorts of migrant as they can both be found in the records he uses. Nevertheless, unlike many other scholars in the field Butcher incorporates long-distance migrants into a broader discussion of patterns of migration instead of leaving them out as an

²⁵² McClure, 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages'; Russell, 'Midland and Northern Migration'; Gottfried, 'Bury St. Edmunds'; Penn, 'The Origins of Bristol Migrants in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Surname Evidence'.

²⁵³ Postles, 'Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy'; Carus-Wilson, 'Stratford-upon-Avon'; Thrupp, 'The Problem of Replacement-Rates in Late Medieval English Population'.

²⁵⁴ Butcher, 'Romney Freeman'; Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom'.

²⁵⁵ Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom', 14.

insignificantly small group. This shows that the splitting of scholarship into two strands is not necessary and if the right sources are brought to bear together, medieval migration can be studied as a single phenomenon.

One of the most recent works on long-distance migration, W. Mark Ormrod and Jonathan Mackman's contribution to *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England* has called attention to how the available sources have impacted perceptions of medieval migrants and especially how their processes of creation might lead to the sources providing a misleading view of the past.²⁵⁶ This thesis can be read as a call to extend the suggestions of Ormrod and Mackman and look at the structure of the field as a whole. In this regard, Butcher is an excellent example as he was fortunate to have found a source which enabled a combined approach which avoids unnecessarily splitting the study of migrants. While these kinds of sources are exceedingly rare, it is also possible to combine source materials from the two strands to achieve the same result. This is the kind of synthesis which ought to be taken further in future studies. Now that the groundwork has been laid in both strands of scholarship, it is worth attempting to synthesise the findings of scholars in both areas to gain an overall picture of migration in the Middle Ages. However, this task is not as straightforward as this call may imply.

The sources which provide the most and most-detailed information for long-distance migrants are produced in the 1430s and subsequent decades. Meanwhile the sources most often exploited in studies of local migration are centred earlier than this, around the mid-fourteenth century, due to the interest of these scholars in demographic changes around the Black Death.²⁵⁷

Thus the sources that have been used most often in the two strands of scholarship are not directly comparable: it cannot be assumed that patterns and experiences of migration remained static across the course of nearly a century. Given the inexistence of the Alien Subsidy and Oath of Fealty records prior to the 1430s, and the general archival nature of records used by many scholars of local

²⁵⁶ Ormrod and Mackman, 'Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England: Sources, Contexts and Debates'.

²⁵⁷ For example: Schofield, 'Frankpledge Lists as Indices of Migration and Mortality'.

migration, it is tempting to propose that future research should focus on exploiting the sources appropriate to local migration for a later period. This could be done by drawing on previous work on manorial records by scholars such as Zvi Razi.²⁵⁸ While more broadly demographic in focus, these works do point to potential sources of information on local migration in the fifteenth century.

However, this proposal quickly runs into quite a serious problem: the rise of hereditary surnames. Peter McClure has pointed out that place-names surnames provide an unreliable picture of migration from the mid-fourteenth century in the south of England, and from the end of the fourteenth century in the North.²⁵⁹ Thus one of the major methods to gather evidence on local migrants becomes invalid before the sources on long-distance migrants come to exist. This means future studies wishing to cover both local and long-distance migrants are more likely to find interesting results by looking for the snippets of evidence on long-distance migrants present in fourteenth-century archival records using a prosopographic approach. One potentially fruitful bank of source material for these studies could be Letters of Protection and Denization. These letters were produced throughout the fourteenth century and represent early forms of conferred citizenship usually for alien merchants. They could be combined with sources on local migrants to give a broader picture of migration in the fourteenth century.²⁶⁰ Although, they do provide a view largely limited to wealthier migrants.²⁶¹

This discussion of the timing of the sources raises another important idea which seems to have played a role in the separate study of local and long-distance migrants: fashions in academia. The

²⁵⁸ For examples see: Z. Razi, 'Manorial Court Rolls and Local Population: An East Anglian Case Study', *The Economic History Review* 49, no. 4 (1996): 758–63; Lawrence Raymond Poos, Zvi Razi, and Richard M. Smith, 'The Population History of Medieval English Villages: A Debate on the Use of Manorial Court Records', in *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*, 1996, 298–368; Zvi Razi, 'The Demographic Transparency of Manorial Court Rolls', *Law and History Review* 5 (1987): 523–35; Zvi Razi, 'The Use of Manorial Court Rolls in Demographic Analysis: A Reconsideration', *Law and History Review* 3 (1985): 191–200.

²⁵⁹ McClure, 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages', 169.

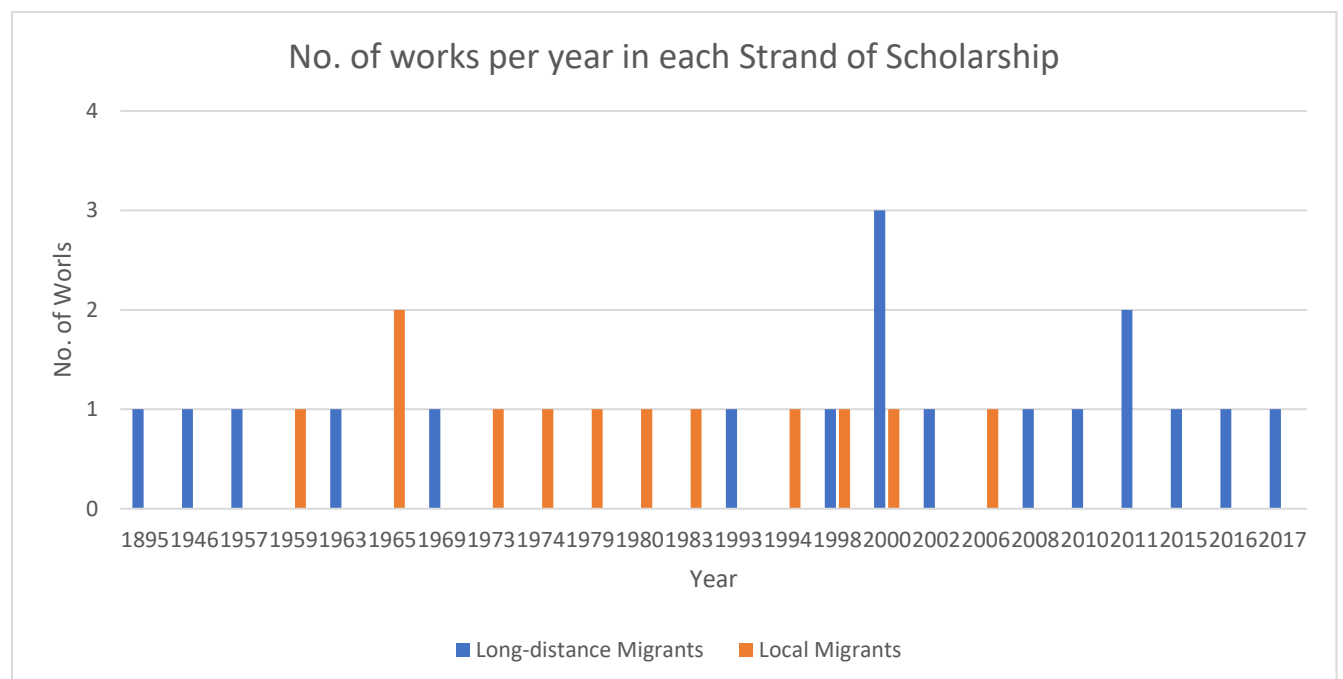
²⁶⁰ Ormrod and Lambert, 'Friendly Foreigners: International Warfare Resident Aliens and the Early History of Denization in England, c.1250-c.1400'.

²⁶¹ Ormrod and Lambert, 1.

difference in source materials means the study of local and long-distance migrants might be separated because their respective sources became popular subjects of study at different points and thus different scholars were working at these times. Some credence is lent to this hypothesis by

Graph 5. A timeline of the sample of scholarly works consulted.

looking at the chronology of the works consulted for this chapter.



The graph above shows the temporal spread of the sample consulted for this chapter, with works being published between 1895 and 2017, although largely from the late 1950s to 2017. As shown by the graph, works on local migrants (represented by the orange columns) and works on long-distance migrants (represented by the blue columns) have largely been carried out at different times. Of the works discussing local migrants, seven were published between 1965 and 1983, with the remaining five scattered in the years before and after this range. Meanwhile only six of the works published on long-distance migrants appeared before 2000, and three of these in 1957 or earlier. There appears to have been some overlap from 1959 to 1969, but this seems not to have been enough to create a dialogue between the two streams. Thus the peaks of interest in local and long-distance migrants

seem to have occurred at different times in the last decades. This supports the idea that the varying popularity of different subjects in academia has contributed to the separate study of local and long-distance migrants.

The influences which determine these fashions within academic culture are many and varied and, unfortunately, there is not enough space to address them here. Nonetheless, one clear stimulus to recent works on the history of long-distance migration to England has been contemporary political debate. Immigration has become a political buzz word across Europe in recent years and the UK has called into question its relationship with the European Union and particularly those of its inhabitants who wish to migrate into the UK. The influence of this attempt to understand and renegotiate the relationship between the British Isles and the European mainland can be seen in research projects such as the *England's Immigrants Database* and the works which have sprung from it.²⁶² Meanwhile, the concept of local migration is far less controversial; moving from one place to another within a country has become commonplace and thus is less likely to fire the interest of scholars wishing to investigate the past dimensions of contemporary issues.

Conclusion

Thus, this chapter has shown that while the scholarship on local and long-distance migrants has been carried out largely separately, the two strands have often addressed similar questions and themes. Despite these overlaps the two strands have been kept separate by factors inherent in the sources, and even the minds used by scholars. Studies of local migration have tended to focus on the demographic elements of their topic, which has made the numerically inferior long-distance migrants seem irrelevant to these scholars. Similarly, studies of long-distance migrants have tended to focus closely on these migrants while local migration is more often addressed as part of a wider issue by virtue of the broader source material it uses. Both strands have looked into the economic roles of migrants and a subsection of the literature on long-distance migrants has focussed on

²⁶² 'Publications: England's Immigrants 1330 - 1550', accessed 5 June 2017, <https://www.englishimmigrants.com/page/publications>.

violence stemming from resentments over economic competition. The origins of migrants have also featured strongly in both strands albeit with slightly different approaches: local migration studies have been most concerned with the distances travelled by migrants and have wanted to establish their places of origin in order to figure this out. Meanwhile studies of long-distance migration have focussed more on the ethnic groupings among migrants than their precise place of origin, though some studies have maintained an interest in the geographic elements of long-distance migration by looking at the interplay of roots of access and economic opportunity. Equally, studies of both types of migrants have tended to look at individual towns and regions, though the areas of focus for long-distance migration studies are found across a larger spectrum from individuals up to whole kingdoms.

Despite all these similarities the two fields have remained separated and the second part of this chapter has offered three factors which have contributed to this. The fundamental nature of nation-states to modern conceptions of the world and especially migration seem to have encouraged scholars not to question the split in scholarship as it has made a dividing line placed between peoples from within and outside a political unit seem very familiar and normal. Although an awareness of distinctions along these lines did exist in late medieval England this is not enough to justify completely excluding either long-distance or local migrants from consideration often with no explanation. The most influential reason for the split seems to be the difference in the sources used by scholars in the two strands. Scholars interested in long-distance migration have favoured sources providing evidence specifically and almost exclusively about long-distance migrants while those interested in local migration have tended to take a broader prosopographic approach using a range of archival materials. This has meant local migrants have not featured prominently in the sources used by scholars of long-distance migrants and vice-versa leading to the split in scholarship. This situation could be overcome by combining the evidence of the source materials from each area, but the chronology of the sources means this cannot be done without attempts to locate evidence on one type of migrants within the timeframe of the sources on the other. No mean feat given the scale

and complexity of the archival material. Finally, a look at the publishing dates of the works in each strand suggests that periods of interest in local and long-distance migration have largely not coincided. While the reasons for these changes in academic fashion are quite nebulous and identifying them is not in the remit of this study, the recent uplift in works on long-distance migrants can be tied back to a surge in political debates around migration in European politics in recent years.

Conclusion

Having looked for the reasons behind the separate study of local and long-distance migrants in both the perceptions of Bristol's civic authorities, via their ordinances, and a sample of modern scholarship; this study suggests that future work on medieval urban migration should address local and long-distance migrants together. This approach seems to better reflect the attitudes of medieval people towards these migrants, as long as the evidence of Bristol's civic ordinances can be taken as representative of broader attitudes. While their contemporaries recognised some difference between those migrating from within the Kingdom of England and those coming from outside it, they do not appear to have given much significance to this difference when it came to determining their relative legal rights. As such, it seems odd to completely divide the two types of migrant in modern scholarship. It seems the split in scholarship is not a deliberate feature of the field but instead results from the nature of the surviving source materials. The Alien Subsidy Rolls simultaneously provide the clearest and most isolating view of long-distance migrants, while the sheer volume of evidence for local migrants crowds out that relating to long-distance migrants for scholars doing archival work.

In answer to the research questions posed in the introduction, the creators of the civic ordinances did not perceive an important distinction between local and long-distance migrants. Also, the separate treatment of local and long-distance migrants in modern scholarship does seem to owe something to the way the sources have been used and to modern perceptions of migration: the use

of the alien subsidy as a stand-alone source has contributed to an idea of long-distance migrants as inherently separate from local migrants, and modern scholars' perceptions of medieval migration do seem to have been coloured by modern popular understandings of migration as something which usually occurs between two nation-states.

Chapter one began this study by taking an in depth look at the terms used to refer to Bristol's inhabitants in the city's civic ordinances. Five terms were identified: burgess, portman, stranger, alien and foreigner. Each of these terms was discussed in turn. Burgess was shown to be a clearly defined term designating a group of people who benefited from a privileged status by virtue of fulfilling a set of defined criteria. Portman represents a milder form of burgess status with more easily fulfilled criteria in exchange for lesser privileges. Next, stranger was discussed as a highly ambiguous term that appeared most often to refer to local migrants but could also be used as a catch-all term for both local and long-distance migrants. This blurring of terminology suggests a lack of firmly defined distinction between the two types of migrant. The term alien proved to be far more precise referring exclusively to long-distance migrants, though given the ambiguity of the term stranger, it was not clear if aliens should be considered a subset of strangers or as a wholly separate category of urban inhabitant. Finally, foreign seems to be something of a synonym for stranger in that it is used to refer to both types of migrant, often quite ambiguously. However, rather than referring more frequently to local migrants, foreigner was used slightly more often in reference to long-distance migrants. The chapter ended by suggesting the terms seem to designate three types of urban inhabitant: burgesses, strangers and aliens. Although, this latter term could be a subset of strangers leaving only two main categories.

Chapter two explored how local and long-distance migrants were perceived by Bristol's civic authorities by looking at how legal privileges, rather than terminology, were used as markers of difference. It was demonstrated that no significant legal distinction was made in many cases as local and long-distance migrants were treated equally. This was done by referring to them en masse as

strangers; or else by using both the terms stranger and alien, but giving the same rights to both. Then the instances of discrimination between local and long-distance migrants were discussed. It was shown that this discrimination was focussed in 1439 and the following years, and was usually framed not in terms of aliens but instead those who were born outside the King of England's obedience. Next, the reasons for this discrimination were explored suggesting that xenophobia appears to have played a small role in measures targeting long-distance migrants. A greater role was played by the influence of crown policy, as Bristol's civic authorities targeted long-distance migrants precisely when crown policy did too, in 1439. Furthermore, for several decades prior to 1439, Bristol's civic authorities had been seeking to limit the economic roles of local migrants too, in response to the city's ailing economy.

This evidence of Bristol's civic authorities targeting strangers from the early 1400s onwards raised the question of whether the difference between local and long-distance migrants was significant to the civic authorities, or if a different categorisation of people was of more importance to them. Chapter three pursued this question showing that the distinction between burgesses and non-burgesses was of far more legal consequence than that between local and long-distance migrants. First, it was demonstrated that the legal rights of both local and long-distance migrants, particularly in relation to their economic roles, were defined against those of burgesses, rather than each other. This meant that when a long-distance migrant's legal rights were limited, burgesses benefited - not local migrants. Thus, there was a binary system of legal distinction which treated all migrants broadly similarly rather than a tripartite one which graded different sorts of migrants: what mattered most to Bristol's civic authorities was not whether someone was a local migrant or a long-distance one, but whether they were a burgess or not. This was further demonstrated by taking a look at specific guilds' ordinances over time. These ordinances showed that individual guilds were largely unconcerned with regulating migrants as a group until the fifteenth century and the onset of economic instability. This is in keeping with the discussion in chapter two and confirms the idea that Bristol's civic authorities were not just putting their xenophobia into law but rather seeking to

protect burgesses from economic problems in the town: whether the potential economic competitors were local or long-distance migrants does not seem to have been of primary concern to the authorities.

Given that no convincing basis for splitting local and long-distance migrants apart was found by looking at the ordinances, this study turned to a sample of the modern scholarship on migration for answers. First the two strands of scholarship were compared in terms of the questions, topics and methods they use to determine if they are split because they address fundamentally different questions from each other. It was shown that studies of local migrants often place themselves in the field of demography, and as such often consider migration as one factor among several impacting the population of a town. Meanwhile studies focussed on long-distance migrants are usually highly focussed on these migrants and aspects of their lives. Both strands of scholarship were shown to be highly interested in the economic roles and origins of their respective migrants. Although, local migration studies tend to take a more quantitative approach to the question of origins, establishing a radius from which migrants travel to a town; while long-distance migrant studies tend to frame the topic of origins in terms of ethnic groups present in a particular town or England at large. Finally, studies of local migrants tend to focus on smaller areas, such as a single town while long-distance migrant studies range more drastically from discussions of single person, to the whole of England. Thus, there are areas of both similarity and difference in the two strands, though not enough difference to argue for a fundamental gap in the perspectives taken by scholars in the two traditions. The rest of the chapter offers some alternative explanations for the split, first of which was the influence of the nation-state on modern ways of understanding the structure of the world and migration encouraging a perception of people in the past as also being split into those from inside or outside a particular state. However, the most powerful reason for the split seems to be the nature of the source materials and the way they structure modern scholars' access to information. The Alien Subsidy Rolls present long-distance migrants separately from local ones, therefore simply using them as a principle source leads to separating the study of migrants into two strands. Similarly, much of

the work on local migration relies on the presence of place-name surnames in archival materials such as tax assessments: in this evidence local migrants occur far more frequently, effectively crowding out evidence of long-distance migrants and making it appear insignificant. Finally, the changing popularity of subjects in academia over time may also have played a role in the creation of two areas of scholarship as the publication dates for the works in the sample tend not to overlap, suggesting studying one type of migrant or the sources which give evidence of them had fallen out of favour by the time scholars became interested in the other type.

Directions for Future Research:

Having summarised what this study has been able to achieve, it is time to discuss what it has not. One of the chief limitations of this study is the focus on the perceptions of Bristol's civic elites: no consideration is given to how those lower down on the social scale considered the migrants in their midst. Unfortunately, the sources necessary to gain an idea of these people's perceptions of migrants do not exist in sufficient quantities and so it has only been possible to include the views of the civic elite here. Similarly, migrants' views of themselves have not been considered, again because the available sources give no indication of how local and long-distance migrants perceived themselves.

Nonetheless, there are some areas where the work of this study can be carried forward into future research. The most obvious of these progressions would be to expand the scope of the present study and examine civic ordinances from other towns across England, and even Europe. This would serve to either confirm or nuance the idea that civic authorities were more concerned with who was a burgess or not than where they happened to have migrated from. Substantial bodies of ordinances survive for many medieval towns and cities, providing ample source material for such work. These future studies could also extend the temporal scope both before and after the 150 years or so between the mid-fourteenth and end of the fifteenth centuries considered above. This would enable scholars to follow longer term developments in how civic authorities responded to migrants.

Beyond expanding the geographic and temporal limits of this study, future research could also undertake some of the work left undone here due to lack of time, funding, and space within the word limit. In chapter two it was noted that there are interesting trends in the languages of Bristol's civic ordinances: there is a rising use of English in the ordinances at about the same time as long-distance migrants begin to be discriminated against. This is a very interesting correlation that ought to be investigated in the future as it may be evidence of the construction of English identity contributing to discrimination against long-distance migrants.

Conducting a prosopography of both local and long-distance migrants was another method which was considered for this study, but could not be undertaken due to the massive time investment it would entail. This work would require someone to spend a considerable amount of time identifying migrants in the medieval sources and building a picture of their lives from this information. This would enable scholars to see if there were any observable differences in the way local and long-distance migrants lived their lives once they had migrated: the occupations they did, the structures of their families, where they chose to settle within a town, and many other aspects of their lives could be compared. This would take the comparison of local and long-distance migrants beyond the perceptual and legal basis focussed on in this study.

More work could also be done to confirm the suggestions made in chapter four about why modern scholars have tended to study local and long-distance migrants separately. This chapter was based upon a sample of the literature rather than a fully comprehensive survey of the field. Such a survey would require much more time than was available for this study and a travel budget which enabled the seeking out of the more obscure works on medieval migrants. Scholars working in the field could also be asked why they have framed their studies in these ways, perhaps by organising a seminar on the topic or emailing out a survey to a list of scholars who have published on the topic.

This study aims to raise some awareness of the peculiarity of studying local and long-distance migrants separately and can highlight for scholars in the field that this way of framing medieval

migration is not the only way for future research. Just because medieval people did not perceive this distinction as highly significant does not mean modern scholars cannot, but nor does it mean that modern scholars can apply this division without thinking about where it comes from, if their research might be better without it and, whether its prevalence might be distorting our picture of the Middle Ages.

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