

New liquidity and provincial credit in early-modern England

Risk, morality, and the expansion of credit: those are current concerns about the 'financialization' of society since the mid-1980s.¹ Perhaps it is an anachronistic comparison, but concern of similar proportion was expressed in the dramatic literature of the early seventeenth century, particularly in the comic mode, in the sub-genre recognized as 'City comedy'. Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* epitomized the ambiguity of the cultural response to an apparently novel economic and social predicament. The concentration of the plays on the cupidity of financiers enticed Theodore Leinwand into construing this literature in terms of 'credit crunch', 'debt restructuring', and 'venture capital' – and moral hazard.² In the grand scheme of the 'New Historicism', the transition from 'feudalism' to 'capitalism', from trust and personal credit, to contract, had already occurred. The theatre represents these changes back to the audience, whilst itself belonging to that commercial world.³ Before the end of the sixteenth century, the greedy usurer, morally defective, has been supplanted on the stage by the patriarchal moneylender, who then, in the early seventeenth century, transmuted into the 'social climber'.⁴ The stage thus reflected back the social imperative of borrowing, but upon loans without collateral, and an acceptance of interest, a prescribed usury.⁵

More recently, however, criticism has been directed at these attempts to elicit ideological positions from comedic literature.⁶ We are exhorted to return to the purpose of genre, to recognize that satire is both a dramatic device and exaggerates. One particular incident at issue is the apparent

1 For example, R. Martin, *The Financialization Of Daily Life* (Philadelphia, PA, 2002). This paper constitutes no more than interim considerations from a larger project.

2 T. B. Leinwand, *Theatre, Finance and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1999),

3 Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1570* (Cambridge, 1986).

4 L. C. Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature* (Cambridge, 1964).

5 For the economy which was socially embedded, K. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston, MA, 2001 edn; originally published sixty years previously); for an introduction to Polanyi's notion of 'embeddedness', G. Dale, *Karl Polanyi* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 188-206.

6 R. D. Hume, 'The socio-politics of London comedy from Jonson to Steele', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 74 (2011), pp. 187-217.

ease with which Easy, the Essex gentleman, naïve in the ways of London on his first visit, enters into a bond with the unscrupulous Quomodo.⁷ We cannot, it is maintained, assume that this arrangement is more than a heightened dramatic device which bears no relationship to the dramatic realism which has been perceived in some aspects of the stage.⁸ As 'City comedy', of course, these works critique only the metropolitan financial market.⁹ Two problems can then be identified: what was the actual context for this literature; and did it, if it was transformational, extend outside London?

Liquidity through credit has been associated with the introduction of equity of redemption in mortgages in the early seventeenth century. Specialties – written instruments of credit such as bonds – have only been examined in so far as plaintiffs initiated legislation on them in the central courts.¹⁰ The emphasis in the description of provincial credit has been on *parole* debts, those based on oral undertakings or embedded in book debts or 'reckonings'. We seem then to be ignoring two influences in the expansion of credit and liquidity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The development of a standard rate of interest has been well documented from the perspective of the gradual acceptance of a limited form of usury through the Usury Acts of 1545 (revoked by Edward VI), 1571 and 1624 (initially by Norman Jones, more recently by Hawkes and Leinwand).¹¹ What has been less well explored is its impact on the loosening of credit. A second development in the sixteenth century, associated with that normative acculturation of usury, was the expansion of

7 Contemporary cynicism is exemplified in Thomas Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*, in which Quomodo with the collusion of his associates, attempts to divest Master Easy, the Essex gentleman, of his lands through a loan of money on bond, consummately contrived in Act 2, scene 3: G. Taylor and J. Lavagnino, eds, *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 347-52.

8 Subha Mukherji, 'Women, law and dramatic realism in early modern England', *English Literary Renaissance* 35 (2005), pp. 248-72.

9 R. Ashton, *Crown and the Money Market, 1603-40* (Oxford, 1960).

10 C. W. Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: The Lower Branch of the Legal Profession in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 96-101; C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998), passim; W. A. Champion, 'Litigation in the boroughs: the Shrewsbury *Curia Parva*, 1480-1730', *Legal History* 15 (1994), pp. 201-22. For perceptions of worth and self-worth, A. Shepard, 'Poverty, labour, and the language of social description in early modern England', *Past and Present* 201 (2008), pp. 51-95; eadem and J. Spicksley, 'Worth, age, and social status in early modern England', *Economic History Review* 2nd ser. 64 (2011), pp. 493-530.

11 D. Hawkes, *The Culture of Usury in Renaissance England* (Basingstoke, 2010), p. 107, for contemporary recognition that annuities might disguise usury, important, for example, in the transactions by Archdeacon Johnson below.

specialties in relationships of credit. An important element evolved from 1532 when statutes merchant were transformed. Originally conceived to facilitate commercial transactions, and thus restricted in use to merchants in certified boroughs, the statute merchant was extended in 1532 to all classes of person and all types of credit arrangement. These special bonds were certified before clerks of the statute in certified borough courts, with removal (certification) into Chancery should the conusor (obligor) default. Before equity of redemption, credit became available through the liberalization of these instruments, both expanding liquidity and providing security.

In exploring those questions, we can concentrate on three institutional changes which altered risk. Although risk is not necessarily coterminous with certainty/uncertainty, the suggestion here is that these institutional introductions had the effect of reducing risk and so allowed a new type of liquidity in the provincial money market. To clarify, the institutional instruments involved: the Usury Acts between 1545 and 1624; the formal liberalization of statutes merchant or staple; and the expansion of bonds or letters obligatory without collateral. The intention here is to consider the overall impact on a provincial money market.

The convoluted development of the Usury Acts has been explained in profound depth since the work of Norman Jones, culminating recently in the exploration of the 'culture of usury' in 'Renaissance England' by David Hawkes. Despite some contention, particularly around the 1571 Act, and despite the negative intention of the acts to outlaw usury above the prescribed level of interest, it is recognized that the effect by the early seventeenth century was to legitimize loans at interest. This acceptance of a statutory rate of interest, moreover, facilitated the extension of loans, because the agreement around interest reduced risk and added security. The usury acts of 1545, 1571 (and later, 1624), which promulgated that rate, amounted to a not insubstantial fiduciary change in the sixteenth century which improved the liquidity and security of private financial transactions.¹²

12 N. Jones, *God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 160-3; D. Valenze, *The Social Life of Money in the English Past* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 97-8; Hawkes, *Culture of Usury*; commencing with *An Acte Agaynst Usurie* (37 Henry VIII, c. 9), the first in a process which came to recognize the

'Statutes': bonds

The recognition of interest would not have made such impact, however, without the expansion of the specialty, the written instrument recording financial arrangements, especially the bond.¹³ One specialty which especially assisted liquidity in the money market was the statute merchant. By 23 Henry VIII c.6 (1532), statute merchant bonds became available to all types of creditors and debtors. Hitherto, under the statutes of Acton Burnell (1283) and *de Mercatoribus* (1285), this instrument had been restricted to the commercial arrangements of merchants. Nottingham, like some other incorporated boroughs or towns with significant fairs, had acquired the privilege of registering statute merchant bonds, originally as an integral part of commercial activity. Through the extension of the statutes merchant in 1532, the borough developed into an institution for the administration of local credit arrangements for higher amounts. This local registration provided security which was enhanced by the statutory requirement that obligations not satisfied had to be certified into Chancery by the Mayor.¹⁴ A memorandum of the certification was also entered in the local record. Only a small proportion of the statutes was certified into Chancery, so the locally registered statutes provide a much wider perspective than Chancery inscriptions of the organization of local credit for higher amounts of credit. The statute merchant thus, like other bonds, contained a penal sum for default, involved interest at the statute rate, and was enforceable in Chancery. Risk was reduced.

For this purpose, we can examine the liquidity in the money market functioning through the statute staple court in Nottingham, one of the twelve boroughs with the privilege of the status of a statute staple. Between 1575 and 1660, 1,084 bonds were registered before the Mayor and Statute Clerk in Nottingham, encompassing a total penal sum of £567,194. These letters obligatory could,

exaction of a standard rate of interest.

13 Throughout, it is impossible not to employ the technical and contemporary terms *conusor* and *conusee*, for brevity. The *conusor* was the person who became the obligor in the bond (or statute) and the *conusee* was the obligee, so the *conusor* was bound to the *conusee* in a penal sum (usually, but not consistently) twice the amount actually at issue or involved, so that, for example, a *conusor* might be bound to a *conusee* in £200 to redeem a debt of £100 (complicated by the exaction of interest). Whilst it is not comprehensively accurate to do so, for the purposes of this paper it might be worth considering the *conusor* as debtor and the *conusee* as creditor.

14 The National Archives C241.

of course, provide security or act as collateral for a wide range of transactions: security for legacies and marriage portions or jointures, performance of covenants in conveyances, and so on. From the intermittent description of the defeazances by the statute clerk, however, we can perceive that a large proportion concerned money lending. To illustrate the development of this provincial money market, we can invoke the financial transactions of some of the frequent lenders through this forum.

Two residents of the borough entered into the local credit market through statutes staple registered in the local statute court. The gentleman, Robert Wood, acted as creditor (conusee) in twenty-one statutes, with a mean value per statute of £127 (standard deviation 99.66) and median of £120 (first and third quartiles £60 and £120). The fishmonger, William Nixe, mayor and alderman, stood as conusee in ten statutes, with a mean value of £154 (sd 127.55) and median £100 (first and third quartiles £65 and £237 10s.).

The most prolific extension of credit on statutes came, however, from the archdeacon of Leicester, Robert Johnson, who resided at North Luffenham in Rutland.¹⁵ One hundred and nineteen statutes were registered for Johnson at the Nottingham statute court, with a mean value of £190 (sd 257.23) and median of £110.¹⁶ The averages are skewed, however, by some of his twenty-four statutes for consors of gentle status, with a maximum amount of £2000. In fact, his debtors were predominantly of 'middling' status, yeomen with a smaller number of husbandmen.¹⁷

Restricting the analysis to these 'middling' debtors in 95 statutes produces a mean of £110 (sd 61.322) and median of £90 (minimum of £20 and maximum of £300). Between 1604 and 1624, Johnson established a clientele of debtors in the farming regions of north-west Leicestershire, south Lincolnshire and south Nottinghamshire, registering their debts by statute staple in Nottingham.¹⁸

15 T. Y. Cocks, 'The archdeacons of Leicester, 1092-1992', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* lxxvii (1993), pp. 34-5; C. S. Knighton, 'Johnson, Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), s.v. Johnson.

16 The data for Johnson have been extracted from: Nottinghamshire Archives CA 3385-3395 ('Mayor's books' and 'Hall books', 1604-1620, but I have also examined all of these volumes from c.1575 to 1660, although there was a hiatus in 1643-5. The details of all the data can be examined at:

<<http://www.historicalresources.myzen.co.uk/BONDS/statutes.html>> [subject to some typos]). For the details of Johnson's credit relationships, see my 'An archdeacon and his financial transactions'.

17 For the whole concept of 'middling' and 'middle sort', see now H. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England 1600-1750* (Oxford, 2007).

18 Compare, B. Holderness, 'The clergy as money-lenders in England, 1550-1700', in R. O'Day and F. Heal, eds,

The total obligation involved in the 119 statutes amounted to more than £22,000. Usually, the penal sum in bonds doubled the amount of the actual debt or principal, so that the statutes might represent at least £11,000 of actual credit extended by Johnson. In the case of statutes, however, the penal sum did not always equate to double the actual debt or obligation. The amount stated in the statute sometimes equalled exactly the actual amount owed (see below) rather than being a penal sum for the condition, so that the total value of Johnson's statutes might well have exceeded £11,000 by some distance, succinct testimony to his wealth. It is possible too that some of the statutes did not represent debts, but other agreements. Here is an additional complication. We can, nevertheless, be fairly certain that, by their nature, most of the transactions by Johnson did represent real encumbrances and debts as a result of loans extended by him. Where, after 1608, the Clerk of the Statutes annotated the registered statutes, we have information about the defeazances, that is, the real conditions of the statutes which would annul the obligation.

Referring still to Johnson, he acquired considerable affluence, not only through his livings, but also through his advantageous marriages. Testimony to his financial status was his numerous educational endowments. Whilst not so well resourced, Nixe and Wood probably had significant disposable income. The acceptance of a uniform rate of interest and the existence of the statute staple at Nottingham thus reduced risk for the debtor by standardising the rate of interest and for the creditor by security through privileged legal enforcement. Through the last two decades of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, a local credit market developed around the Nottingham statute staple.

Letters obligatory: bonds 1

Obligations by statutes had exceptional qualities denied to other forms of letters obligatory, which, however, still had recourse to law as a last resort. For assessing the impact of bonds as letters obligatory, 2,432 probate inventories have been examined, from the diocese of Salisbury, between

Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800 (Leicester, 1981), pp. 195-209 (derived from probate inventories of clergy).

c.1591 and 1651.¹⁹ The diocese comprised Wiltshire and part of Berkshire.

Here are the global statistics. The total of inventories which included debts owing on specialties, almost exclusively bonds, but with a sprinkling of bills, numbered 276 (11.4% of all inventories). Overall, the debts contained in the bonds amounted to a total value of £14, 923 17s 3d. The mean total value of the debts on specialty in an inventory with such debts was £54 (standard deviation at 93.76) and the median £24. We have to be clear about what constitutes these averages. The averages concern only those inventories which contained debts on specialties, not divided across all inventories with or without debts on specialties; the average concerns the total of those debts in each inventory, not each bond.

Analysing the composition of those debts on bonds further, 58 percent of the inventories with specialties concerned total debts in the inventory of less than £30, consisting of 26 percent below £10, 21 percent between £11 and £20, and 11 percent between £21 and £30. Numerically, then, the debts on specialties preponderantly related to modest amounts. In terms of the total value of the debts on bonds, however, the 58 percent accounted for merely £2092 (14% of the total value of debts on bonds). By comparison, the 38 inventories containing debts on specialties exceeding £100, amounted to a total value of debts on bonds of £8598 (56 percent of the total value of all debts on bonds).²⁰

The categories of obligees (creditors) in bonds also reflect the employment of written instruments by those of modest status. One particularly interesting aspect is the extent to which tradesmen and retailers had adopted bonds for virtually all their extension of credit: bakers; tailors; broadweavers; shoemakers; innkeepers; carpenters; parchment makers; butchers; mercers; oatmeal makers; and carpenters. Predominantly, tradespeople and retailers used specialties.²¹ Secondly, the personal estate of a significant number of yeomen or husbandmen was contained in credit on

¹⁹ Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office P1. All the data here are currently being re-checked, so they are provisional.

²⁰ Spearman's rank correlation coefficient between amount of specialty and total of inventory = 0.6985488.

²¹ WSRO P1/A20; B208; B247; B300; B348; D80; D86; G158; H57; H162; H209; H221; H259; I67; M62; N59; S87; S202; S229; S281; T98; W130; W200.

specialties rather than farming assets. Although a few of these yeomen were urban-based (Devizes, Salisbury and Marlborough), the preponderance was rural.²² Finally, impressive numbers of widow extended their credit on bonds which comprised a major proportion of their personal estate.²³

What the 'Salisbury' inventories seem to indicate is that contracting debts on bonds had intruded some way into the local credit market and that bonds preponderated numerically for modest debts, although the smaller number of larger debts on bonds constituted the greater value.

Letters obligatory: bonds 2

Finally, we can invoke some case papers from the borough court of Newark to illuminate the character of specialties in the court of a small borough. This cache of extant case papers, comprising depositions, responses, exceptions and demurrers, mainly relates to contested suits. Just over seventy cases were associated with bonds. The count explains that the parties put their seals to a bond to secure a debt of a certain amount which has not been liquidated such that the plaintiff has suffered damages of x pounds. There is one case which involves a debt of £90, but which does not state the amount of damages, so that, although it is the highest amount, it must be discounted here. The cases thus refer to 71 bonds, for debts extending from under one pound (15s. 8d. with damages of 10s) to one hundred marks. Importantly, however, a quarter of the bonds comprised less than £5 of debt and another quarter debts between £5 and £9, so that half the bonds contained debts of less than £10. The mean amount of debt consisted of just over £14 (standard deviation 13.16), the median £10, with first and third quartiles at just over £4 and £20. Examining the amount of damages demanded, again over a quarter pertained to less than £5 and another quarter for between £5 and £9, so half less than £10 again. The mean amount of damage claimed was £9 (standard

22 WSRO P1/A65; B20; B124; B275; B317; C122; C149; C186; G132; H80; H94; H124; H178; H201; H249; M171; P177; P185; R93; S131; S289; T85; W33; W211 (all yeomen); B82; B94; B103; B135; B157; B159; F62; H214; L44; M87; P121; R41; S69; T103 (all husbandmen).

23 WSRO P1/A66; A74; B140; B191; C125; D72; F81; G38; H207; H244; H269; I71; K35; K48; L34; L38; L53; M101; P83; P129; P149; P172; P173; R55; S161; S225; S280; S296; T90; W77; W106 (all widows); A69; B254; B325; C92; H223; M61; P198 (women of other status). Judith Spicksley, 'Usury legislation, cash and credit: the development of the female investor in the late Tudor and Stuart periods', *Economic History Review* 61 (2008), pp. 277-301, and eadem, "'Fly with a duck in thy mouth": single women as sources of credit in seventeenth century England', *Social History* 32 (2007), pp. 187-207.

deviation 9.77) and median £8, with first and third quartiles at £4 and £10. Several aspects can be deduced from these statistics. First, the debts involved on bond comprehended in general very small sums, not significant amounts. Secondly, the bonds allowed the plaintiffs to request damages which were of the order of the amount of debt. Whilst the debts in the bonds totalled just more than £1,000, the damages claimed extended to about £650. The Spearman rank correlation coefficient between debts and damages is 0.78, reflecting a general association between amount of debt and amount of damages. The damages demanded might not, of course, have been awarded. The bonds, nonetheless, permitted the plaintiffs' presumption. It should be explained also that the damages were additional to the principal of the debt, since the amount of some debts exceeded the amount of the damages.²⁴

Financialization and the credit market

During the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, the development of local credit markets was facilitated by recourse to written instruments and by the acceptance of a statutory rate of interest. In a paradoxical way, this State-provided regulatory environment liberalized local finance in the sense of expanding credit. As Muldrew and others have suggested, this transition marked at one level an intrusion on trust, 'credit' and inter-personal relationships of finance, supplanted by an introduction of contractual relationships. At another remove, however, the importance was the reduction of risk, assuring to the debtor a standard rate of interest, to the creditor an accepted rate of return, and to the conusee legal security which allowed those with capital to extend credit more easily and securely.

²⁴ Nottinghamshire Archives DC/NW/7/1/2/2-3, 6, 12-14, 16, 18, 21, 26, 29, 36, 38, 40-1, 46, 67, 73, 81, 87, 101, 124, 130, 135, 138-9, 141, 143, 148, 150, 155-6, 171-3, 175-7, 181, 189, 193, 196-7, 200, 202-3, 207, 211-12, 218, 221, 224, 229, 231-4, 238-9, 244, 249-50, 259-60, 263, 267, 276-7, 285, 289, 290-1.

TABLE 1 BONDS REGISTERED AT THE STATUTE STAPLE IN NOTTINGHAM

THE DATA ON THIS PAGE RELATE TO 1575-1660 INCLUSIVE.

1A BOTH CONUSOR AND CONUSEE OF GENTLE STATUS

No of statutes (percent of all statutes: nearest integer)	431 (40)
Total penal sum (percentage of total penal sum of all statutes)	£392,150 (69)
Less than £100	18
£100-499	198
£500-999	91
£1000-4999	110
£5000-15000	12
Mean penal sum	£910
Standard deviation	1508.2
Median penal sum	£450

1B BOTH CONUSOR AND CONUSEE YEOMEN/HUSBANDMEN

No of statutes (percent of all statutes: nearest integer)	84 (8)
Total penal sum (percentage of total penal sum of all statutes)	£15,994 (2.8)
Less than £100	22
£100-499	59
£500-999	3
Mean penal sum	£190
Standard deviation	138.88
Median penal sum	£130

1C CONUSOR YEOMAN/HUSBANDMAN AND CONUSEE OF GENTLE STATUS

No of statutes (percent of all statutes: nearest integer)	212 (20)
Total penal sum (percentage of total penal sum of all statutes)	£35,692 (6.3)
Less than £100	73
£100-499	128
£500-999	9
£1000-1200	2
Mean penal sum	£168
Standard deviation	158.12
Median penal sum	£120

1D Conusor of gentle status and conusee yeomen/husbandmen

No of statutes (percent of all statutes)	tbc (tbc)
Total penal sum (percentage of total penal sum of all statutes)	£tbc (tbc)
Less than £100	tbc
£100-499	tbc
£500-999	tbc
£1000-1200	tbc
Mean penal sum	£tbc
Standard deviation	tbc
Median penal sum	£tbc

1E All statutes

No of statutes	1084
Total penal sum	£567,194
Less than £100	243
£100-499	556
£500-999	132
£1000-4999	138
£5000-15000	15
Mean penal sum	£523
Standard deviation	1160.1
Median penal sum	£200

TABLE 2 EXAMPLES OF DEFEAZANCES IN STATUTES INDICATING MONEY LENDING
NOTTINGHAM

The first person is the conusor (debtor) and the second the conusee (creditor).

CA denotes City Archives in Nottinghamshire Archives.

The entire dataset can be inspected at:

<http://www.historicalresources.myzen.co.uk/BONDS/statutes.html> [subject to some typos]

29/3/1610

James Hubberd, Frisby on the Wreake, Leics., husbandman

Robert Johnson, North Luffenham, Rutland, clerk, archdeacon of Leicester

£100

St John Baptist

CA 3385, p15

'this was delivered to Hubberd himselfe by Mr Lorringtons letter for none else came about ytt & ys for 50li lent as he saythe'

16/4/1610

Wm Kinge, Loughborough, Leics., yeoman

Thos Barradale, Hathern, Leics., clerk

£200

Ascension

CA3385, p15

'the parties were both here and Mr Barradale promised a Defeazance before the tyme in the statut viz on sunday next and they sayd itt should bee for the repayment of Cli and odd money (but what non dixerunt) upon May day come 2 yeares'

26/4/1610

Wm Lister, Somerby, Leics., gent

Robt Johnson, N. Luffenham, Rutland, clerk, archdeacon of Leicester

£200

Michaelmas

CA3385, p16

'onely lister himselfe was here & had ytt with him he sayd the Defeazance was to pay 20li per annum for 9 yeares a halfe & he is to receive the Cli on Monday next'

24/5/1610

Thos Dawes, Waltham on the Wolds, Leics., yeoman

Robt Johnson, N. Luffenham, Rutland, clerk, archdeacon of Leicester

£140

St John Baptist

CA3385, p16

'Dawes himselfe onely came about ytt & had ytt away with him & sayd ytt was for 70li of borrowed money & he is to pay 14li per annum for 10 yeares' [sic]

11/6/1610

Thos Akers alias Agard, Frisby on the Wreake, Leics., yeoman

Robt Johnson, N. Luffenham, Rutland, clerk, archdeacon of Leicester

£160

Michaelmas

CA3385, p16

'Agard himselfe onely came about ytt & had ytt with him & sayd ytt was for the payment of 16li per annum for dyuers yeares'

23/2/1611

Anthony Fox, Ford, N. Wingfield, Derbys., yeoman

Wm Harrys, S. Wingfield, Derbys., yeoman

£80

1 July

CA3386, f7

'nescio le Defeazance mes ils ambodeix fuerunt hic & dixerunt quod il fuit pour le payment of 40li with thinterest 3 yeares hence'

26/4/1611

Edm Crowne, Aslackby, Lincs., yeoman

Robt Johnson, N. Luffenham, Rutland, clerk, archdeacon of Leicester

£200

Michaelmas

CA3386, f7v

'no body here but Crown himselfe & he had ytt away & sayd ytt was for 20li per annum for 10 yeares'

28/4/1611

Robt Greene, Barkstone, Leics., yeoman

Robt Johnson, N. Luffenham, Rutland, clerk, archdeacon of Leicester

£80

10 August

CA3386, f8

'nescio le Defeasance mes le Dit Grene fuit hic solement et dixit quod fuit pour 8li per annum pour 10 ans & habuit le statut away'

7/5/1611

Wm Dixon, Rolleston, Leics., gent, & Wm Geast, Ilston, Leics., yeoman

Robt Johnson, N. Luffenham, Rutland, clerk, archdeacon of Leicester

£400

1 August

CA3386, f8

'nescio le Defeazance mes les parties conusors fuerunt hic solement & avoynt le statut & dixerunt quod fuit pour payment de 36li per annum pour 10 annis'

14/8/1613

Hugh Kirke, Burton in the Wolds, Leics., yeoman, & Richd K, same, yeoman

Robt Johnson, N. Luffenham, Rutland, clerk, archdeacon of Leicester

£200

Michaelmas

CA3388, f12v

'the conusors were here with a note from Mr lorington & had ytt with them & sayd ytt was for an Anuitie of 20li per annum for 10 yeares'

19/2/1616

Henry Butler, Nottm borough, woollen draper

Wm Raudon, Kegworth, Leics., yeoman

£1200

1 May

CA3391, p11

'Defeasanced to saue him harmlesse of dyuers Detts that he is bownd for to the londoners to the valew of 634li 9d'

8/5/1617

John Beardmore, Booth Hall, Cheadle, Staffs., gent., & Thos Beadmore, Beeley, Derbys., gent

Wm Clarke, Nottm borough, mercer

£200

St John Baptist

CA3392, p10

'pro solucione 10li perCent a yeare att Martinmas and Mayday'

19/5/1621

Richd Knutton, Hickling, Notts., yeoman

John Kellett, Nottm borough, yeoman

£100

St John Baptist

CA3395, f8

'for payment of 10 li a yeare for 10 yeares ut dixerunt mihi'

14/7/1627

Matthew Phippes, Chesterfield, Derbys., haberdasher

Michael Sansom, citizen and haberdasher of London

£200

St Bartholomew Apostle

CA3401, p14

'Memorandum M. Phippes was arrested att Mr Samsoms sute uppon accion here and beinge discharged by Mr Woolhowse upon thatt accion and xijd payd for the agreant [sic] theii hed entred into this Statute. Mr Stancey John Pepper Mr Clarke and my selfe witnesses'

9/12/1633

Aden Parkyns, 'Dosthropp', Northants., esq

Nicholas Plumtree, Nottm borough, gent, & Huntington P, MD

£200

20 February

CA3408, p11

'Defeazanced pro solucione {108}li 100li att three yeares end and viijli anuatim pro incremento 10 die Decembris att Mr Plumtrees howse att Nott.'

21/2/1634

Edw Tongue, Blackbrook, Austenfield, Staffs., husbandman, Geo T, same, husbandman, & Thos T, same, husbandman

Wm Nixe, alderman of Nottm

£300

20 March

CA3408, p12

'for payment of 160li in manner folowinge 20li 21 Dec 1634 20li 21 Dec 1635 20li 21 Dec 1636 20li 21 Dec 1637 20li 21 Dec 1638 20li 21 Dec 1639 20li 21 Dec 1640 20li 21 Dec 1641 all paymentes to be made att Mr Nixes house in Nott.'

5/7/1634

John Seele, Duffield, Derbys., yeoman

Henry Smith, Newmill, Duffield, gent

200

1 August

CA3408, p14

'Defeazanced pro solucione 108li 10 July 1635 att Newmill aforesaid'

22/4/1637

Wm Sillverwood, Asfordby, Leics., yeoman

John Foxcrofte, Gotham, Notts., clerk

£200

1 June

CA3411, p18

'Defeazanced pro solucione xxli per Annum for 7 yeares the first payment to begin 10 Maij 1638
and soe forward until 140li be paid att Mr Foxcroftes howse'

TABLE 3 MONEY LENDERS BY STATUTE AT NOTTINGHAM
ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

Conusee	Status	N bonds	Mean	Standdev	Q1	Median	Q3	Min	Max
Robert Wood	Nottm, gent. (1624-34)	21	£127	99.66	£60	£100	£120	£60	£400
William Nixe	Nottm, fishmonger, gent, alderman (1624-1638)	10	£154	127.65	£65	£100	£237.5	£20	£400 *