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## Semantic change in the Paston letters

*Looking at semantic change within farming-related nouns in the Paston Letters.*

Johan Markus Hemb

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Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages (ILOS)

The Humanitarian Faculty

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## Abstract

This thesis focuses on the semantic change within farming-related nouns in the Paston letters. This is done by extensively searching the Paston letters in the Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence, where seventeen farming-related nouns were found, categorized, and studied. The results of this search regrettably found no indication of change within the nouns chosen despite testing using Blank and Bloomfield's typologies and a cursory semantic prosody study. While this thesis fell short the letter collection proved to contain a notable amount of yet to be studied data that would be a sound choice for any historical linguistics research.

## Acknowledgements

With the writing of this Thesis having drawn to a close, it is essential to look back at and think fondly of those that have contributed to its development finalization.

For this, I would first like to thank the English language professors at the University of Oslo for their help in guiding me through the crucial steps of beginning and working on a project of this size. In this line, an especially deepfelt thank must be given to Jacob Thaisen and his involvement in the thesis from the start. The last groups that require a heartfelt thanks would be friends and family that helped support me throughout the writing of this thesis, giving me much needed respite when things were complex and unclear, calming lulls that helped tremendously in refocusing my efforts.

## Innhold

<b>Semantic change in the Paston letters</b> .....	1
Abstract .....	2
Acknowledgements .....	3
Introduction to the Thesis.....	16
The initial idea behind the thesis .....	16
Finding a corpus .....	16
A note on dictionaries.....	16
Oxford English Dictionary .....	17
Middle English Dictionary .....	17
Historical Thesaurus.....	18
Noun selection.....	19
Issues of organization.....	20
Book discussions .....	22
Letter writing and Language Change .....	22
Chapter one.....	22
Chapter two .....	24
Chapter seven .....	26
Social Networks and Historical Sociolinguistics Studies in Morphosyntactic Variation in the Paston Letters.....	28
Introduction to historical sociolinguistics .....	28
Extent and intentions.....	29
Issues of the spoken and written split.....	30
The vernacular, holy grail or pitfall?.....	31
Observers' paradox.....	33
Potential data problems.....	36
The Pastons and the surrounding history.....	37
Introduction to the period.....	37
War of the Roses.....	38
Paston Family Timeline.....	39
Family member discussions .....	41
Family network.....	54
Semantic change.....	59
The theory behind Semantic Change.....	59
Discussing Bloomfields Typology .....	59
Bloomfields Typology.....	61

Discussing Blank's Typology .....	62
Blank's Typology.....	65
Parallels and debates .....	65
Discussion and analysis of data.....	70
Discussion of materials. ....	70
Initial discussion and separation of attestations into subcategories for more straightforward debate.....	70
Studying the potential impact of gaps in the letters and the influence this may have had on the attestations. ....	71
John Paston I-III .....	71
Richard Calle (c. 1432- c1515). ....	78
The Farmed Grains.....	80
Crop.....	80
Corn.....	80
Grain.....	81
Malt .....	81
Barley .....	82
Wheat.....	83
The Animals Farmed.....	84
Beef .....	84
Cattle .....	84
Sheep .....	84
The People Doing the Farming.....	85
Tenant.....	85
Farmer .....	86
Areas Farming Is Done and Sold.....	88
Farm .....	88
Acre .....	88
Field.....	89
Pasture .....	89
Harvest.....	90
Market .....	90
Semantic Prosody, a potential path for further study?.....	90
Conclusion and remarks on shortcomings and points of improvement.....	92
Bibliography.....	94
Appendix 1. ....	98

Crop.....	98
Crop.1 .....	98
Corn.....	98
Corn.1 .....	98
Corn.2.....	98
Corn.3.....	99
Corn.4.....	99
Corn.5.....	99
Corn.6.....	99
Corn.7.....	100
Corn.8.....	100
Corn.9.....	100
Corn.10.....	101
Corn.11.....	101
Grain.....	101
Grain.1 .....	101
Grain.2.....	102
Malt .....	102
Malt.1 .....	102
Malt.2 .....	103
Malt.3 .....	103
Malt.4 .....	103
Malt.5 .....	103
Malt.6 .....	104
Malt.7 .....	104
Malt.8 .....	104
Malt.9 .....	104
Malt.10 .....	105
Malt.11 .....	105
Malt.12 .....	105
Malt.13 .....	105
Malt.14 .....	106
Malt.15 .....	106
Malt.16 .....	107
Malt.17 .....	107
Malt.18 .....	107

Malt.19 .....	107
Malt.20 .....	108
Malt.21 .....	108
Malt.23 .....	108
Malt.23 .....	108
Malt.24 .....	109
Malt.25 .....	109
Malt.26 .....	109
Malt.27 .....	109
Malt.28 .....	110
Malt.29 .....	110
Barley .....	110
Barley.1 .....	110
Barley.2 .....	110
Barley.3 .....	111
Barley.4 .....	111
Barley.5 .....	111
Barley.6 .....	112
Barley.7 .....	112
Barley.8 .....	112
Barley.9 .....	112
Barley.10 .....	113
Barley.11 .....	113
Barley.12 .....	113
Barley.13 .....	113
Barley.14 .....	114
Barley.15 .....	114
Barley.16 .....	114
Barley.17 .....	115
Barley.18 .....	115
Barley.19 .....	115
Barley.20 .....	115
Barley.21 .....	116
Barley.22 .....	116
Barley.23 .....	116
Barley.24 .....	116

Wheat .....	117
Wheat.1.....	117
Wheat.2.....	117
Wheat.3.....	117
Wheat.4.....	117
Wheat.5.....	118
Beef .....	118
Beef.1 .....	118
Cattle .....	118
Cattle.1 .....	118
Cattle.2 .....	119
Cattle.3 .....	119
Cattle.4 .....	119
Cattle.5 .....	120
Cattle.6 .....	120
Cattle.7 .....	121
Cattle.8 .....	121
Cattle.9 .....	121
Cattle.10 .....	121
Cattle.11 .....	121
Cattle.12 .....	122
Cattle.13 .....	122
Cattle.14 .....	122
Cattle.15 .....	123
Cattle.16 .....	123
Cattle.17 .....	123
Cattle.18 .....	123
Cattle.19 .....	124
Cattle.20 .....	124
Cattle.21 .....	124
Sheep .....	125
Sheep.1 .....	125
Sheep.2 .....	125
Sheep.3 .....	125
Sheep.4 .....	126
Sheep.5 .....	126



Sheep.6 .....	126
Sheep.7 .....	126
Sheep.8 .....	127
Sheep.9 .....	127
Sheep.10 .....	127
Sheep.11 .....	128
Tenant.....	128
Tenant.1 .....	128
Tenant.2 .....	128
Tenant.3 .....	129
Tenant.4 .....	129
Tenant.5 .....	129
Tenant.6 .....	130
Tenant.7 .....	130
Tenant.8 .....	130
Tenant.9 .....	131
Tenant.10 .....	131
Tenant.11 .....	131
Tenant.12 .....	131
Tenant.13 .....	132
Tenant.14 .....	132
Tenant.15 .....	132
Tenant.16 .....	133
Tenant.17 .....	133
Tenant.18 .....	133
Tenant.19 .....	134
Tenant.20 .....	134
Tenant.21 .....	134
Tenant.22 .....	135
Tenant.23 .....	135
Tenant.24 .....	135
Tenant.25 .....	135
Tenant.26 .....	136
Tenant.27 .....	136
Tenant.28 .....	136
Tenant.29 .....	137

Tenant.30.....	137
Tenant.31.....	137
Tenant.32.....	137
Tenant.33.....	138
Tenant.34.....	138
Tenant.35.....	138
Tenant.36.....	138
Tenant.37.....	139
Tenant.38.....	139
Tenant.39.....	139
Tenant.40.....	140
Tenant.41.....	140
Tenant.42.....	140
Tenant.43.....	140
Tenant.44.....	140
Tenant.45.....	141
Tenant.46.....	141
Tenant.47.....	141
Tenant.48.....	142
Tenant.49.....	142
Tenant.50.....	142
Tenant.51.....	143
Tenant.52.....	143
Tenant.53.....	143
Tenant.54.....	144
Tenant.55.....	144
Tenant.56.....	144
Tenant.57.....	144
Tenant.58.....	145
Tenant.59.....	145
Tenant.60.....	145
Tenant.61.....	145
Tenant.62.....	146
Tenant.63.....	146
Tenant.64.....	146
Tenant.65.....	147

Tenant.66.....	147
Tenant.67.....	147
Tenant.68.....	147
Tenant.69.....	148
Tenant.70.....	148
Tenant.71.....	148
Tenant.72.....	148
Tenant.73.....	149
Tenant.74.....	149
Tenant.75.....	149
Tenant.76.....	150
Tenant.77.....	150
Tenant.78.....	150
Tenant.79.....	151
Tenant.80.....	151
Tenant.81.....	151
Tenant.82.....	151
Tenant.83.....	152
Tenant.84.....	152
Tenant.85.....	152
Tenant.86.....	152
Tenant.87.....	153
Tenant.88.....	153
Tenant.89.....	153
Tenant.90.....	154
Tenant.91.....	154
Tenant.92.....	155
Tenant.93.....	155
Tenant.94.....	155
Tenant.95.....	156
Tenant.96.....	156
Tenant.97.....	156
Farmer .....	157
Farmer.1 .....	157
Farmer.2 .....	157
Farmer.3 .....	157

Farmer.4 .....	158
Farmer.5 .....	158
Farmer.6 .....	158
Farmer.7 .....	158
Farmer.8 .....	159
Farmer.9 .....	159
Farmer.10 .....	159
Farmer.11 .....	159
Farmer.12 .....	160
Farmer.13 .....	160
Farmer.14 .....	160
Farmer.15 .....	161
Farmer.16 .....	161
Farmer.17 .....	161
Farmer.18 .....	162
Farmer.19 .....	162
Farmer.20 .....	162
Farmer.21 .....	162
Farmer.22 .....	163
Farmer.23 .....	163
Farmer.24 .....	163
Farmer.25 .....	163
Farmer.26 .....	163
Farmer.27 .....	164
Farmer.28 .....	164
Farmer.29 .....	164
Farmer.30 .....	164
Farmer.31 .....	165
Farmer.32 .....	165
Farmer.33 .....	165
Farmer.34 .....	166
Farmer.35 .....	166
Farmer.36 .....	166
Farmer.37 .....	167
Farmer.38 .....	167
Farmer.39 .....	167

Farmer.40 .....	167
Farmer.41 .....	168
Farmer.42 .....	168
Farmer.43 .....	168
Farmer.44 .....	168
Farmer.45 .....	169
Farmer.46 .....	169
Farmer.47 .....	170
Farmer.48 .....	170
Farmer.49 .....	170
Farmer.50 .....	171
Farmer.51 .....	171
Farmer.52 .....	171
Farmer.53 .....	171
Farmer.54 .....	172
Farmer.55 .....	172
Farmer.56 .....	172
Farmer.57 .....	172
Farmer.58 .....	173
Farmer.59 .....	173
Farm .....	174
Farm.1 .....	174
Farm.2 .....	174
Farm.3 .....	175
Farm.4 .....	175
Farm.5 .....	175
Farm.6 .....	175
Farm.7 .....	176
Farm.8 .....	176
Farm.9 .....	176
Farm.10 .....	177
Farm.11 .....	177
Farm.12 .....	177
Farm.13 .....	177
Farm.14 .....	178
Farm.15 .....	178

Farm.16.....	178
Farm.17.....	178
Farm.18.....	179
Farm.19.....	179
Farm.20.....	179
Farm.21.....	179
Farm.22.....	180
Farm.23.....	180
Farm.24.....	180
Farm.25.....	180
Farm.26.....	181
Farm.27.....	181
Farm.28.....	182
Farm.29.....	182
Farm.30.....	182
Farm.31.....	183
Farm.32.....	183
Farm.33.....	183
Farm.34.....	184
Farm.35.....	184
Farm.36.....	184
Farm.37.....	184
Acre .....	185
Acre.1 .....	185
Acre.2 .....	185
Acre.3 .....	185
Acre.4 .....	186
Acre.5 .....	186
Acre.6 .....	186
Acre.7 .....	187
Acre.8 .....	187
Acre.9 .....	187
Acre.10 .....	188
Acre.11 .....	188
Field.....	188
Field.1 .....	188

Field.2.....	189
Field.3.....	189
Field.4.....	189
Field.5.....	190
Field.6.....	190
Field.7.....	191
Field.8.....	191
Pasture .....	191
Pasture.1 .....	191
Pasture.2 .....	192
Pasture.3 .....	192
Pasture.4 .....	192
Pasture.5 .....	193
Pasture.6 .....	193
Pasture.7 .....	193
Pasture.8 .....	194
Pasture.9 .....	194
Pasture.10 .....	194
Harvest .....	195
Harvest.1.....	195
Harvest.2.....	195
Harvest.3.....	195
Harvest.4.....	196
Market .....	196
Market.1 .....	196
Market.2 .....	196
Market.3 .....	197

## Introduction to the Thesis

### The initial idea behind the thesis

The initial idea for this topic came about following a discussion with Kristin Bech at the University of Oslo, where the recommendation was that a study of the Pastons, building further on from earlier studies by Alexander Bergs, could be a viable master's thesis. The initial idea of the thesis was not limited to any field and held an open mind, while Bergs' earlier works were consulted to see what had been done in the field previously. The core book for this early stage was Berg's 2005 book "Social Networks and Historical Sociolinguistics Studies in Morphosyntactic Variation in the Paston Letters (1421-1503)" which contains a proper investigation into personal pronouns, relative clauses and light verb constructions reducing their potential as targets for further study. Following further recommendations, the working goal of the thesis was set to be a study of noun changes within the Paston letters.

### Finding a corpus

Continuing from this goal, the new hurdle became the selection of a source for the Paston letters that fit the thesis requirements. The best candidate for this was found to be the Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence, also known as the PCEEC by Nevalainen et al. at the University of Helsinki. Random probes of the material were performed to check for potential areas of interest, and several were found within the noun fields of farming, business, and familial relations. Following further discussion with Jacob Thaisen at the University of Oslo, these three options were narrowed down to farming noun usage within the letters available through the PCEEC.

### A note on dictionaries.

Before discussing the selection of nouns and the process behind this, a good understanding of the different dictionaries used within the study is required. For this thesis, as discussed throughout, the two primary dictionaries chosen were the Oxford English Dictionary and the Middle English Dictionary due to their size and usability for Middle English words.



### Oxford English Dictionary

The Oxford English Dictionary is what many would describe as the authoritative text on the English language, and seeing how the dictionary's webpage greets users by stating: "Welcome to the definitive record of the English language", it would seem this may be true. The dictionary began in 1857 when members of the Philological Society of London concluded that existing works on language were incomplete and chose to begin working on a version of their own (History, 2022). Interestingly for this study, the original plan for the dictionary was to start by including all English vocabulary from the early Middle English period (1150) onwards with a few Old English words included if they were still in use by then. This starting point indicates that the period under study has undergone revisions by the dictionary since its start, possibly giving a slightly lower chance of mistakes. Work continued on the dictionary up to the finalization of the last volume in April 1928, at which point the dictionary contained over 400,000 words and spanned ten volumes. Following this, work has been focused on adding new material and checking the older entries, which helps keep the work relevant to users. This constant checking made the work a good fit for the thesis, as it means the data extracted is of good quality and can be trusted as the foundation of a study. Another good sidenote of the dictionary is how it is an exhaustive or descriptivist source, which means it gives us all the ways a word is used, giving more profound insight.

### Middle English Dictionary

The second dictionary of the thesis is the Middle English Dictionary, published by the University of Michigan Library as a part of the Middle English Compendium, which is a collection of three major works on Middle English: A dictionary, A bibliography of primary texts, and a corpus of Middle English prose and verse. Work on the dictionary started in 1951, and the initial work was finished in 2001 at 15,000 pages ("About the Middle English Compendium"). The work has, in recent years, been made fully available free online for educational and research purposes, and thanks to this is an excellent open tool for research into the Middle English period. In terms of content, it primarily covers the years 1175-1500, but it goes outside these periods to give a fuller picture. Furthermore, its usability within the period is unmatched thanks to its wholly evidence-based focus, ensuring that every example is backed by primary source evidence. Despite these praises, some consideration must be made as the team behind the dictionary warns that it, like all dictionaries, cannot be all-encompassing. For the Thesis, the Middle English Dictionary presents the best results for in-period usage and descriptions of words, but it had to be built upon further by the OED due to

its confined timeframe giving no examples of usage before or after the Pastons, a requirement to show if a word's change occurred and if it was permanent.

### Historical Thesaurus

The Historical Thesaurus of English is the culmination of over 50 years of work at the University of Glasgow and elsewhere. The thesaurus is based on a comprehensive analysis of the words found within the Oxford English Dictionary and *A Thesaurus of Old English*. The words after checking are divided up into three major sections, the External world, the Mental World, and the Social World, which are in turn subdivided into 377 minor categories such as food, thought war and others, which are in turn divided further down to the smallest possible categories. The goals of this work included aims to facilitate the easier study of language developments over time and help show the development of concepts through the shifting words used to describe them ("About").

This system works well for a wide variety of inquiries into the different fields and, at first glance, worked well for this thesis. However, it was not a flawless system as the division of words led to some being needlessly separated. For example, a search for farming gave relevant results for terms that undoubtedly had a connection to that field, but it regrettably did not offer further information on other linked words. Furthermore, words relating to a farm's produce were placed into categories related to food and cooking rather than farming, which gave the false impression that they were either missing or not relevant. The inconvenience this caused to the thesis itself was, however, minor as the preliminary searches included the word Barley, which quickly showed that certain words were missing from the results and resulted in a deeper check of the thesaurus to make sure a mistake had not been made on the research side of things.

With the matter in mind, the limitations of the research question and how to avoid the data collected growing too large for the scope of the thesis became the next point of concern. Farmer had the largest number of attestations, beef had one and Barley gave four results. The potential size of all attestations was hard to gauge correctly, so the search within the Thesaurus was only limited by the year range of the Paston letters with a few years either side as a buffer giving the year range 1420-1510.

Another potential issue of the thesis lay in the importance of receiving the results in a broader context to limit the high possibility of false attestations due to variations in spelling and usage. For example, *farm* had the highest likelihood of an incorrect tagging here as the Middle English word per the OED and Thesaurus was in use as a noun denoting a farm, as a verb denoting the

act of farming the land, the state of something (ModE *firm*) and a general name for a rented business. Most corpus searching programs have a solution for this in the form of concordance tools that give the results in a KWIC (KeyWord In Context) format; that is, the result is shown along with the surrounding sentence or fragment of text that hopefully gives the context required for the study. For example, in the text excerpt below, we see the noticeable help given by the KWIC system in quickly determining the nature of the word and its classification in any given text.

An example of this feature can be seen in this excerpt from a letter between Margaret Paston and John Paston II dated March 12th, 1469:

“And though ye shuld kepe it here-after pesibilly , ye shuld lese the  
**ferme** of this yere” (336.110.3380, emphasis mine).

Another example, this time of the issues faced by *farm's* wide range of use in the period can be found in a letter between John Paston II and John Paston III dated April 16th, 1473:

“I pray yow make a goode bargeyn for my **ferme barly** in Fledge , so that  
I myght haue mony now at my beyng in Ingelond , whyche shall not  
contynew past a monyth by lyklyhod” (456.143.4473 emphasis mine)

Here we see that the word on its own is indistinguishable in terms of usage, but the context given by the whole phrase tells us it the term is that the barley is a tax payment. A second unintended addition of the increased context was that it highlighted additional words that were not a part of the initial list searched due to their spelling not being included or the initial search for the word not having any results.

### Noun selection

With these considerations in mind, and the corpus tool selected, the next step was selecting the words to be searched and studied further. The last search in the thesaurus was done by enabling the time span limiter discussed above and then going word by word down the list, adding them all into an excel sheet along with a minimum of two different spelling variations to aid further in finding results. Going through the results this way at first appeared to indicate the word list would end just short of 100 distinct entries, which would have drawn the scope of the thesis too broad, so after further discussion with Jacob Thaisen, the list was initially kept under control with a smaller list of 36 words.

Initial results were not good, the first seven words of the list all returned zero results on the first pass, and a second search with a further three extra variations added came back with the same result. *Season* the eighth word on the list gave 17 results, but all the results had no apparent relation to farming and were therefore excluded from the results. Further issues appeared with the word *Bacon*, where the earliest attestation in the OED and thesaurus is 1330, placing it well within the search area, but the results in the letters were not relevant as there was a collision with an earlier form of the verb *beckon*.

Of the remaining words on the list, only three gave further issues regarding their results; *market* gave two results that conformed to expectations and two results that were proper names with the same spelling. One of these results was from a letter discussing the death of Queen Margaret of Scotland in 1486, where her name was written *marget*. *Cattle* gave three results that highlighted cases where the word was used to denote personal property. *Farm*, as discussed earlier, was the biggest hurdle when it came to erroneous results, with the search returning 18 cases of it being used as a verb.

Out of the thirty-eight initial words, sixteen of them returned no results at all and were discarded, with another five discarded on a deeper look leaving the thesis with seventeen words which was much higher than initially presumed during the word collection process. Looking back on the initial work, the wordlist would have significantly benefitted from more thorough testing of the chosen words before adding them to the list. The actual extent of this as an issue is a matter of debate that will be addressed in the in-depth analysis of the text list and word choices in the following chapter. While potentially negatively influencing the results, the remaining words returned an impressive array of usage across time, with the tagged text coming out at just under 78 formatted A4 pages.

#### Issues of organization.

With the collection of the data being a primary task of its own, another hurdle to overcome would be the organization of the data collected and how to make sure all the items could be easily and quickly referenced back to the collection sheet and, finally, the specific Paston primary source it was lifted from. In discussions with Jacob Thaisen, a five-point tagging system was agreed upon. The first point is to write down the stated name of the author of any given letter. Along the same line, the second point was to record the name of the recipient and, in point three, the relation between these two parties. The fourth point was to record the year it was made as accurately as possible, and finally, the material had to be assigned a

number or code of sorts that would allow for easy tracking back to the exact text fragment it came from in the primary source.

Of these points, the initial three gave no difficulties during collection; the Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence comes with this information pre-tagged in the material to the best of their abilities. Some sources, however, were missing clear tags on either of the three points, which was not a hindrance as the discrepancies were minor and the aim of the thesis is primarily on change over time. When it came to the fourth point, more significant issues appeared as 20 of the extracts could only be placed within a ten year period, e.g. the *1450s* and 37 of the results had a ? on the data denoting it as uncertain, and at best within a few years either side, e.g. *1461?* It could be anywhere from 1459 – to 1463. The full extent of this issue will be mentioned further in the data analysis and does not appear to have a considerable impact as the uncertain dates make up 27 per cent of the total data gathered, which is not an insignificant amount either. In the final part of the tagging, the reference number was scrapped during collection in favour of using the already existent data tags in the corpus as they have a number system that goes down to the paragraph level, significantly reducing any risk of the material being erroneously tagged and lost.

## Book discussions

### Letter writing and Language Change

Before delving deeper into the materials of Alexander Berg's book on the relation between the Pastons and sociolinguistic research, it is essential first to get a good overview and understanding of letter writing in the period. The book chosen to create this footing is *Letter Writing and Language Change* by Anita Auer, Daniel Screier and Richard J. Watts (eds). While the book contains a smorgasbord of materials for any researcher looking into letter writing and the data within, this thesis will only use chapters one, two and seven as they all directly make use of the Paston letters, and the later chapters focus on works later than our period. Furthermore, some of the earlier areas were excluded as they focused on High German and the American colonies. For this overlook and discussion, the chosen chapters will pertain to their usefulness for the study. Following tradition, the first chapter of the book relates to the basic foundations one must understand in Watts' view before engaging with the material, and they are "Human language vs A language, The myth of the homogenous language and The problem of the data" (Watts 2015, 2).

#### Chapter one

Chapter one is written akin to a story, where the reader is led through the three questions and important notes regarding sociolinguistics, historical sociolinguistics and further issues with the data as if one were an angler on a fishing trip, searching for the elusive big catch.

Challenge one, "human language vs a language", is focused on debating the very core of the languages studied in sociolinguistics, what is "English" or "Norwegian", and where do we draw the border between them and, for example, Italian? Watts argues that all languages are the same at their core, a cognitive tool for acquiring, storing, and using a set of abstract constructions in social interactions with others (Watts 2011: 118-119). Which he argues leads to the question of why we feel the need to label our specific usage of this tool as a separate entity with its own name. A potential answer to this question is that we map the creations we make using the cognitive tool to our memory and make them part of our identity, which in turn makes it a part of a specific group that separates it from the remaining languages creating the division (Watts 2015: 3).

Challenge two focuses on “the myth of the homogenous language” and directly follows the previous discussion that made the original group language. The difference here is that the new notion builds on the ideas of the past, and using communal stories begins to create a notion of *a* language that envelops all users of similar groups with the goal of creating *the* language (Watts 2015: 3-4). This challenge goes outside the notions of the thesis due to the focus on what some may call standardization of language. However, it is essential as materials relating to the Paston letters bring up questions of standardization and some debate the way the letters deviate from the perceived norm of the time, which is a misnomer as no English standard existed anywhere at the time<sup>1</sup>.

Watt’s third potential worm points to the issues of the data available, discussing how it changed throughout different periods, from solely written works to the end of the fifteenth century, which saw the introduction of the printing press and the subsequent growth of printed works (Watts 2015: 5). The argument in line with the data changes over time is that potential researchers interested in the history of non-standard varieties of English will encounter issues collecting large amounts of relevant data due to the nature of literacy and written sources from these earlier periods. Building on Schreier’s work in chapter 14 of the same book, Watts argues that large portions of all data available come from official documents related to the higher echelons of society and some, as in the case of the Paston Letters, limited letter collections (2015: 5). This way of introducing the reader to some core issues regarding historical sociolinguistic research is a welcome change from more traditional ways as it breaks down the issues giving the reader an easier time to digest them in sequence before being presented with the whole picture. Watts further strengthens his well-structured introduction by following it with an essential dive into sociolinguistics and historical sociolinguistics before ending the chapter by discussing unanticipated worms or issues and the pitfalls they present (Watts 2015: 6-13).

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<sup>1</sup> Chancery Standard was not a applicable standard anywhere but the innermost filings of the royal administration.

## Chapter two

Chapter two, written by Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy and Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre, builds on the introduction by delving deeper into the history of how “variation” and “change” have been researched over time in sociolinguistics (2015; 14).

Building on Eckert (2012) they thoroughly detail how the debate has shifted from the class focused views of the 1960s to the now highly personal focused view of the modern sociolinguist. The core argument is well structured and builds a good case defending the view that the way people use a language is personal, an identifying marker, and highly dependent on a wide spectre of social and cultural factors (2015: 15).

Point two of the chapter brings historical sociolinguistics to the discussion and notes how it is a development of earlier historical linguistics and sociolinguistics, taking pointers from both fields to create a more balanced and more robust new discipline. The goal of this new discipline, according to Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, building on work from Romaine, is to study the forms and uses in which variation may manifest itself in a given speech community over time and how particular functions, uses, and kinds of variation develop within particular languages, speech communities, social groups, networks and individuals (2015: 16). This development is then built upon further by detailing how it sparked a change in language studies from a focus on heterogeneity in the history of languages to the Homogenic view that led the research for the last 200 years. This new view has since been expanded further by the addition of ancillary disciplines like corpus linguistics and social history, the former of which is the second core tenant of this Thesis’ research into the Paston Letters.

Moving on, parts three and four of the chapter focus on the unique nature of personal letter collections when it comes to doing historical sociolinguistics, focusing on the invaluable background detail they provide to researchers. Foremost of all is the fact that the letters give us the sender and all intended receivers from the get-go. They also provide us with detailed writing that was not intended for a public audience, giving a rare insight into the author's writing style. Collections such as the Paston Letters also feature these insights over time as they cover nearly one hundred years of interfamilial communication (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre 2015: 17-19). Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre balance the apparent praise by bringing up fundamental problems that may arise when studying letter collections,



with the most significant two being: Are the writer and the sender the same? Are you properly considering the act of writing a letter? Conundrum number one is the biggest issue as it relates to the widespread use of scribes or secretaries though time, which is made more complex by the fact that it is hard to ascertain how much of the result is down to the scribe or secretary as they may have been writing down dictation or typing out a letter. Both mentioned possibilities would give different amounts of “interference” from the scribe or secretary depending on the additions, subtractions or rewrites they do to the letter before writing. Challenge number two relates to how by studying the contents of the letter, one may accidentally forget that the act of writing the letter can be seen as a speech act as they are, to a certain extent, dialogue exchanges of their own (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre 2015: 17-18).

Following on from the new view of letters as sources of information, the chapter goes on to focus on previous studies of letter collections, such as the 2009 paper Lifespan changes in the language of three early modern gentlemen by Raumolin-Brunberg, which focused primarily on the rate at which –(e)s replacing –(e)th in third person singular present. In addition, the paper also looked at the increasing use of affirmative periphrastic *do*, the rate of use of the same pro-form in negative statements and the spread of *who* in restrictive relative clauses to the detriment of *which* in the letters of Sir Walter Raleigh (1554-1618) Philip Gawdy (1562-1617) and John Chamberlain (1553-1628). The paper's findings showed that there was a change in all three participants over time, strengthening the argument made by Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre (2015: 18-23).

To show this change further, they go on to study the Paston letter collection, more specifically the eleven prominent male members going from William Paston I (1378-1444) to William Paston IV (1479-1554), with the focus being on the adaptation of <th> to the detriment of old runic <þ>. The preliminary results of the analysis indicated a strong likelihood that the writers were changing their usage over the period, but it was not conclusive as the results also hinted at a potential generational difference over a solely time one (2015: 18-23). The conclusion of the study points to the importance of delving deeper when dealing with this sort of material collection; the changes in the letters may need extra information if one is to make sense of the changes. In this study, attention is drawn to the social-climbing of William Paston II and John Paston III and the impact this may have had on their standing and, in turn, writings, suggesting the climb may have been a strong push behind their adoption of <th> (2015: 32-24).

## Chapter seven

Chapter seven, written by Alexander Bergs, as mentioned in the previous chapter, deals with the vital question of proving authorship and the fingerprints left by anyone involved with any given work. These issues raise three specific questions Bergs aims to answer in the chapter; Who is, linguistically speaking, responsible for the manuscripts and texts that have survived? Whose language do they represent? How much influence did scribes actually have on the final product? (2015: 114) Berg notes that in order to understand the material thoroughly, we need to think about who produced the material that has survived. Sociolinguistic textbooks show a noticeable difference between the materials produced by males or females, rich or poor, old or young. These points also relate to and bring in others, such as stable and dynamic social factors that play a role in a person's choice of linguistic variables, e.g. what is the gender of the writer and what network do they belong to at the time in question (2015: 114-115). The close link between this chapter and the paper at hand lies within Bergs' meticulous work on checking to see the extent of scribal influence over the materials they produced. While the materials gathered for this paper will always show the same shift in usage and thus is not at risk of direct influence, this line of investigation will have an impact on all studies that try to track the changes in more detail than a more straightforward year after year model. For the Paston letters, Bergs notes that there are fifteen family members with surviving letters, eleven males and four females, but the letter collection includes at-least twenty-two different hands, that is, separate writers throughout the materials (2015: 114-115).

Bergs primes the further reading of the study by stating that scribal influence on the level of morphosyntax was somewhat limited, and the present changes are suggested as minor non-conscious changes. According to Bergs, this points to the scribes being aware of the language used by the people they were writing for and making an effort to avoid distorting it in any meaningful way. This notion comes at first with a warning that for it to be accurate, the letter collection must show that the scribes were flexible with their language when writing for different family members and that their writing style does not dominate in any field, which is confirmed by the study in conclusion (2015: 115-116, 130-132).

Following this, the chapter goes on to focus on the literacy rates of people in pre-1500s England, where Bergs quoting Cressy (1980: 177), states that ten per cent of the male population and only one per cent of the female population had something akin to signature literacy, as in they could sign a document with their own hand (2015: 115). This is important when it comes to the Paston letters, as Davis, who wrote the authoritative version of the letters

in 1971, notes that no letters sent from female family members were written by them in full (xxxvii). An exception does, however, occur with Margery Paston, where three letters (nos 417, 418, 420) have the subscriptions *Be yowre seruant (and bedewoman)* that must have been written by her personally (Davis 1971: xxxviii). Bergs notes this brings up the natural question of literacy within the family, in terms of writing, where it would seem by the surviving material that only Margery Paston could write and read as the two were taught separately in the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, the unfortunate truth is that an answer to this does not exist as there are no records or other information on people's reading skills in this period. (Bergs 115).

Another conundrum that pops up when it comes to looking at scribes and their effect on the Paston letters under study is the very nature of the letters in the collection, i.e. they are not all finished letters. The core issue here is the letters sent from the family to external recipients, where most are only available as the original drafts as the fair copies that were posted have since been lost to time (Bergs 2015: 116-117). Once again, the direct result of the study is debatable as we have no way to thoroughly check what the changes would have been from the draft to the finished letter, but it still needs a mention as letters addressed to men and women of a higher or equal standing may have been altered by the scribes to suit the status of the recipient better. This notion is backed up by the fact that large parts of the drafts show heavy corrections indicating an intent to adjust before sending. Davies also notes that there are letters written to family members where the draft was sent off directly, and as a result, the final text was "in a very untidy state" (1971: xxxix)

Bergs conclusion to the study is directed yet open; the materials hint at the conclusion that the letters studied showed the authors and not the scribes' personal language use in them which would be suitable for this thesis. However, this conclusion is cautioned as the materials may still be a result of the scribal influence, which is to say that the language in the letters may be what the scribe wanted to see from specific authors (2015: 130-132). Concerning the thesis, this uncertainty may have an impact on the precise placement of word changes, i.e. it may now no longer be possible to clearly state that a change in word form from one of Margaret's letters came from her, but on the other hand the change is still written down in the letter and shows usage and change, more attention will simply have to be done around placing changes in the timeframe.

Bergs backs this view in the final part of the conclusion, remarking that the extent is uncertain and there is simply not enough information to draw a finite conclusion, so the letters should be studied with care, and one should pay close attention to the history and culture of the period to have the best possible foundation in further studies. Letter writing in the period was also, as noted previously, a very important activity as it was the only long-range communication available, so the words carried a lot of communicative weight and value, necessitating that they were the intended words and meanings of the author (2015: 132).

### [Social Networks and Historical Sociolinguistics Studies in Morphosyntactic Variation in the Paston Letters](#)

Alexander Bergs' 2005 book *Social Networks and Historical Sociolinguistics Studies in Morphosyntactic Variation in the Paston Letters (1421-1503)* is the book that started the aim of this thesis and one of the core books on which it is based. The other is *Letter Writing and Language change* by Anita Auer, Daniel Schreier, and Richard J. Watts (Eds.) covered in the previous part.

#### [Introduction to historical sociolinguistics](#)

Chapter two of the book aims to place the study undertaken in the broader field by giving a substantial introduction to the field of Historical Sociolinguistics and the underlying fields that contribute to it. The initial core of this argument is that Historical sociolinguistics as a field of study is a delicate balance between the three fields, History, Social Sciences and Linguistics, all contributing to giving the seemingly best possible toolbox for the study of historical language data. Bergs notes that the fields themselves add further questions regarding their naming; what exactly are “Social sciences”? Moreover, how do you describe History in this context? What about linguistics, for that matter? Social sciences are described as not being a wholly separate entity but rather a fully integrated part of linguistics as it helps contextualize the results. “Identity” or “Gender” are sociological factors at their core, but they have a direct and profound impact on languages as they permeate the entire usage sphere. For example, a working-class woman speaking English will describe herself and her world from these two factors, making them inseparable from the result in a sound study (Bergs 2005: 9-10). This common notion of social sciences and linguistics, traditionally named sociolinguistics, covers a vast area of study, and at the time of Bergs' book, there were still significant debates on the very nature of the field and what it covered. These debates are still

around and focus on all aspects of the theories being employed; the approaches used to gather the data goes down to the core, asking if sociolinguistics is a separate field or the only way to do linguistics properly (2005: 10).

Historical linguistics, or the merger of history and linguistics, is painted in a different light by Bergs, noting that it has similar issues such as oral versus written transmission, the history and role of writing, along with issues such as the provenance of texts. However, while similar, Bergs notes quoting Burke 1987: 1 and Clanchy 1993 that these differences are of a milder nature as they are related more to the material rather than the toolkit.

The third meeting point in Bergs' chapter is that of history and social sciences, which he states is as disputed and debated as the first point, linguistics and social sciences indicating that social sciences bring along a good toolkit that requires care when transplanted into other disciplines. This partial collision is based around the notion that history must be social and social sciences must be historical if any study is to be complete. However, according to Burke (1992), on pages two through four and nine, sociologists seem to have had few issues adopting historical principles, whereas historians have had greater issues adopting sociological principles (Bergs 2005: 10-11).

Bergs addresses these considerations at the end of the sub-chapter bringing attention to how these different fields colliding as they are, is to be expected. All the mentioned fields have their own principles, methods, foundations and traditions that have all shaped them in specific ways. All disciplines or fields that are welded together in such a way will undoubtedly bring with them their conflicts as mentioned earlier, and they will need to be imported as they form a part of the core of the discipline, and when addressed in full, they may help to create the best possible foundation for the new discipline.

#### Extent and intentions.

In subchapter 1.2 of the book, Bergs combines all the different fields and goes on to debate the extent and intentions of Historical sociolinguistics (J. Milroy 1992a) or socio-historical linguistics (Romaine 1982b) depending on one's preferred descriptor. Bergs bases this subchapter on the notion that the new subdiscipline aligns more with sociolinguistics as it attempts to combine social sciences and linguistic enterprises from the viewpoint of linguistics (Bergs 2005: 12). However, it must be noted, as discussed previously, that the subfield is not locked to traditional, correlative sociolinguistics. It is free to be used as a tool to study questions relating to all the fields it borrows from, such as politics and language,

anthropology and language, geography and language, for example., as it deals with linguistic variation of some sort. The core question of a study such as this then becomes, according to Crystal 1977 “What kind of person can say what, how, using what means, to whom, when, and why? (196). In order to answer the question or questions asked, one must make sure all the neighbouring disciplines are thoroughly incorporated, and not only shallow supplementary theories and evidence. In the same vein, Bergs also notes the importance of remembering that Historical sociolinguistics is historical at its core as the focus is and should be on linguistic variation in the past (2005: 12). This, as Bergs points out, does not mean that no mention or inclusion of current data is allowed nor possible, as a change in the past may shed important light on the current state of a language. There should, however, be no requirement of present relevance as some questions only hold interest and importance in specific periods (2005: 12). Another essential point to this debate is the fact that Historical sociolinguistics is not necessarily concerned with language change or diachrony, a view held by Bergs, Mattheier (1987: 1432) and Townend (2002). Instead of focusing on change, the alternate approach would be to study the synchronic state of a language and all its varieties, such as that of socially motivated variation (2005: 12). Bergs notes that these points show why the projection of present-day sociolinguistics into the past is only one part of historical sociolinguistics. The discipline must be more than that; it should seek to develop new ways of doing sociolinguistics and form its own frame of reference to grasp its potential (2005: 12).

The need for a separate frame of reference partially comes from the data difference between historical sociolinguistics and modern sociolinguistics. While the modern field may freely choose and design their experimental set-up to alter the data collected to perfectly fit their intended use, historical sociolinguistics have to make do with what is there. For example, in the case of this thesis, we cannot go back and query the Paston family to ascertain their linguistic skill and meaning; we simply have the collection and nothing else, giving us what some may call a necessarily defective database. Labov, with this in mind, describes historical sociolinguistics as “the art of making the best use of bad data” (1994: 11).

#### Issues of the spoken and written split.

Bergs goes on to discuss the third point of consideration, which is focused on the issues surrounding spoken and written, specifically the delay in when changes appear between them. For example, a word may be introduced in the spoken variety of a language and then naturally, after a time, enter the written side of the language, which is a common occurrence in language change. However, the same word may be introduced on the written side instead

and then slowly make its way into the spoken, or it may be introduced simultaneously on both sides. All of these are examples of situations that are simple to find with a rigid sociolinguistic study of modern language data; in historical sociolinguistics, they can become significant obstacles as the data is very limited and we have no spoken data to work from. This means that there is no conclusive way to show which event happened first, be it spoken or written introduction; this is further complicated by the fact that the new words or word changes may go in and out of fashion in the written or spoken side as cultural and social factors change. This change is comparatively much harder to prove as the data is once again limited, and a gap in it may be due to changes, or it may simply be that we have a gap in the material giving off the illusion of change (Bergs 2005: 14-15). Bergs notes that these issues have been widely debated and quotes Chafe's model of diffusion in speaking and writing to show how these changes may relate to each other; it is, however, noted that Chafe's system has flaws relating to the transmission between the spoken and written or vice versa (Chafe 1984 97-99). A remedy to this is found in Samuels (1972: 6), which has a system that more clearly considers the possibility of delayed transmission (Bergs 2005: 15-16).

An example of spoken changing the written can be found in Noah Webster's spelling reform of American English, which saw some words take on a more spoken character: <theatre> became <theater>, and <centre> became <center>, for example. This further holds true when one looks at "phonetic spelling", which is now commonly found in electronic communications with examples including <Light> as <Lite>, and <Through> as <Thru>, as Bergs notes, this is, however not a guaranteed outcome, and the two sides may run separately for quite some time (2005: 16). While outside the scope of this thesis, a comparison between the "phonetic spelling" of modern electronic text and historical sources such as letters could well lead to interesting results. Bergs' notion from this discussion is that the written may be generally seen as more conservative, but states that this is not a given as Smith (1996: 15-17) gives <waistcoat> as an example of a word that may have been influenced by the written over spoken. The example relies on the fact that the traditional pronunciation of the word is [ˈweɪskɪt], while the modern form is [ˈweɪst, ɔt], hinting at the potential influence.

### The vernacular, holy grail or pitfall?

In Bergs' opinion, these questions regarding the nature of the words and their spelling brings up the matter of the language itself, its variations, and the vernacular: The supposed Holy Grail of sociolinguistics. The initial issue of this notion is that no utterance can be solely denotational or without any "style". All utterances spoken by people, according to Bergs

quoting Traugott and Romaine (1985: 8-9), are located in and influenced by the Hymesian coordinates: form, topic, genre, channel, speaker, setting. This, in turn, goes in line with Labov's notion that speech styles exist on a linear continuum from the most public, monitored and constrained ("high") style to the most private, least monitored, and relaxed ("low") style (Bergs 2005: 17). Of these, the lowest and most relaxed "low" style is commonly defined as the "vernacular", which is the favoured goal of sociolinguistic research. This interest comes from the notion that it gives researchers "the most systematic data for [their] analysis of linguistic structure" (Labov 1972b: 208). This notion has issues, however, as pointed out by J. Milroy, which points out that this concept of a vernacular must be an idealization along the lines of "social class" or "dialect" (1992a: 66). Furthermore, all known interactions with the interview object may interfere with the speaker's speech monitoring, and it is virtually impossible to tell when speakers are most relaxed (Bergs 2005: 17).

This, Bergs argues, makes the case that the search for any kind of vernacular is futile at best but, realistically, impossible. The core issue is the need to nail down a specific trait that marks it as the vernacular, but what can be observed is an infinite number of structured varieties on a continuum going from the perceived standard to the unreachable true vernacular (2005: 17). More simply, the question becomes where one draws the line between the standard and the variety if we, for example, mark down Written Standard English as the default, with the Houses of Parliament as the start of it and then arrange every city, town, village and house from there to Glasgow on a straight line, where can we say we have moved on from Written Standard English?

This notion pushes on us the thought that varieties and styles may instead be defined by their distance from the expected norm of the source; when reading a piece of English writing, one is subconsciously primed to expect the standards one has been told are a part of English. However, for Middle English, this immediately encounters issues like the language, as discussed before, generally had no standards one had to follow. Bergs does note that there have been arguments for a possible standard named "the four 'standard' as described by Smith 1996: 68-73 and Smith 2000), but it is not seen as a credible option. With this lack of a standard to anchor the expected side of the graph down, Bergs gives a likely substitution that charts the change from a state of 'Greater Formality' on one side to a contrasting point of 'Greater Vernacularity' on the other (2005: 18).



### Observers' paradox.

Another related issue here is the problem of the observer's paradox in historical sociolinguistics. The issue stems from the fact that according to sociolinguists such as Labov, the task of all sociolinguistics is to record and analyse the vernacular or language as the best possible variety of speech. This comes with the issue that it requires a subject to be monitored in some way, and if the subject knows or learns of this monitoring, they will generally alter their speech and not act as naturally as they would with no surveillance (Bergs 2005: 18). This can also lead to a negative feedback spiral where an increase in recording through more formal situations, the further the subject will alter their speech in an attempt to appease. Interestingly, while this shift diminishes the usability of the "vernacular" in a situational sense, it increases the quality of the material, such as better sound quality.

With uncertainties such as these, a stable framework to work out from is a necessity to avoid the pitfalls; Bergs notes that Tieken-Boon van Ostade's argument offers a comprehensive three tenets: (a) the objective of the historical sociolinguist should be the same as that of the present-day linguist, namely the description and analysis of the vernacular language; (b) there must be a spoken as well as a written form of the vernacular (if the definition of vernacular as the "least conscious variety" is accepted); (c) it is possible, on the basis of the written vernacular, to reconstruct, hypothetically, the spoken vernacular of past/ language states (2005: 442-443). While these three points are well structured and offer a good insight into the general methodical problems of historical sociolinguistics, they are not complete and offer potential pitfalls of their own that must be discussed before use.

The first issue lies in the usage of vernacular, which, as previously debated, has no clear definition and, in most cases, cannot be quantified to an acceptable degree. This means that while point a's core idea is valid, its tone is flawed, and the search for a vernacular in historical sociolinguistics should not be seen as desirable, as referenced in the debate of the Holy Grail earlier. This lacking definition also appears because the Labovian framework does not account for nor allow for a "written vernacular". Therefore, including it in the Labovian framework would also not be possible as it does not see written as a legitimate vernacular (Bergs 2005: 19). One of the reasons behind this is the point that writing is a self-conscious and monitored act. It is noticeable different from spoken in structure and development and does not allow for a fully unmonitored act of writing; it is dependent on some form of planning. When it comes to limitations such as these, it is essential to note that written language does have its own continuum of changing styles; they are simply less varied than

their spoken counterparts. Examples of this in a modern sense would be the difference between a text message between close friends, compared to one between a job applicant and a recruiter, or that of a Curriculum vitae compared to a shopping list on the fridge (Bergs 2005: 19-20).

Considering this, it may be more prudent to view the written version of the continuum discussed above as a fluid point going from a more self-conscious or formal, if you please, style to an infinitely distant free point standing in for the debated vernacular. This also ties into the third point and the issues one may face when using the written to recreate the spoken. One must first make sure that the search for the spoken does not come at the loss of any written data gathered. Much can be inferred from the written, but it is still limited and must be used cautiously and in context to avoid misinterpretation. Following on from this, the second issue pertains to how the third point surmises the written to be a tool for recreating the spoken, seemingly marking spoken as the higher variety. This Bergs argues, using Laing (1989) and Smith (1996), should be reconsidered as it has been convincingly shown that the written mode of a language is more than a mere derivative; it is an independent, self-governing linguistic system related but not bound by the spoken (2005:20).

These considerations also bring us back around to the past discussion on the observer's paradox, specifically on its connection with historical sociolinguistics. The core issue to be aware of here happened at the time of writing, before any historical sociolinguist was involved, and it relates to the nature of privacy, literacy and the nature of letters from the start of writing up to possibly the early nineteenth century. Literacy during these early parts of human history was low in all layers of society, and thus specific considerations regarding written material had to be made, the chief of which is that letters and other materials were never truly *private*. People writing or authoring text knew it would be read by several different people, be it the intended recipient or any curious person along the way, such as officials or the people relaying them. This is particularly important for this thesis as large parts of the Paston letters under study are of such a nature that they would have to be read by multiple people as they deal with issues such as tenure farmers, the division of land, and debates on how to best proceed with complex matters. Another related point here would be that people's writing was also influenced by the current norms of the period and the shifts within these norms. This can be seen in the formulaic way the Paston Letters all start with a long, religiously themed blessing aimed at the recipient and related people. After this compulsory blessing is complete, the letter starts discussing the reason behind its creation

before finishing on the same notion with a short formulaic sentence giving wishes before the final signature.

The parts discussed above summarise that historical sociolinguistics, as shown, is a conglomeration of the three fields that made it, but it has expanded from them and should now be considered a separate field in its own rights. Its focus is on language and the forces and principles behind its status and potential change. To study these changes to the fullest, historical sociolinguistics are quick to use and employ frameworks from the three base disciplines, but also to mould old ones or make new frameworks to fit the goal of a study. This adaptability is also why it does not inherently suffer from the lack of any spoken linguistic data, social data or any other natural data. The challenges these shortfall causes are examined, and solutions for this possibly “bad” data are found. Another part of understanding the Paston letters, the change within them, and the general trend behind these changes lies in a sound knowledge of the social structure of the Paston family itself and relevant connections with others outside the family, such as employees and acquaintances, friend and so forth. In order to get this sort of information, specific vital points need to be addressed in terms of technical aspects and the problems of the data.

### Potential data problems.

With the technical issues fresh in mind, we are left to contend with the problems of the data, specifically the lack of complete data; most sources only offer fragments of the whole picture. As discussed in the previous segment, a sound network analysis requires two types of linguistic data to establish any structures: Social data making up the independent variables on one side and linguistic data forming the dependent variables on the other. These requirements are comparatively easy to fulfil in modern sociolinguistic studies, as any issues with the material can, in most cases, be quickly remedied by going back and interviewing the subjects again for clarification. The problem can also be reasonably fixed by deciding beforehand just how much material must be gathered for a complete analysis. As earlier discussions have shown, this is an impossible prerequisite as there is no such thing as sufficient data in historical sociolinguistics. There is a finite amount available, and it was not gathered with later language studies in mind, so it is fragmented and of highly varied quality (Bergs 2005: 45). Also, as is expected from the dates, all the relevant subjects are long gone preventing any additional data collection, and there is no way to go back and plan a more extensive study if more material is needed.

Social data, in contrast, appears at first glance to be in a much better place for these kinds of studies as the requirements are different. The lowered data requirement is linked to the previously discussed notions of structure and content. Of the two, content is the most compact, as a decent social network may be reconstructed using very little data; all one needs is information on who is part of the network and who in its talks to whom. The participant dots here may come from individuals, villages, families, monasteries, and other institutions. With the lowered requirement, it is essential to ensure that all available data is found and used no matter how small, as the devils may lie in the details. For this, Bergs stresses the important note that “even the slightest evidence of some entity may prove its existence, but a lack of evidence never disproves it” (2005:46). Here it needs to be noted that the amount of data available to recreate social networks is not as bleak as the debate would suggest. Macfarlane (1977) makes a very compelling argument that the thirteenth century created a significant shift in this regard with the introduction of manorial books, and a second wave in the sixteenth century with other documents (1977: 31)

MacFarlane goes on to argue that the material available in the manorial books is of such quality that any detailed analysis would almost be an impossible feat. He presents this by detailing how “a detailed study of a 1,000-strong parish on a three-hundred-year scale would take a single researcher twenty years” (1977: 31-32). MacFarlane also gives an interesting notion of how historical sources often give detailed pictures of human behaviour within communities while rarely engaging with attitudes and mentalities such as group values and norms, with present-day sources doing the opposite (1977: 31-32). However, with this notion, it is important to remember that it should be applied sparingly as it has not been widely tested, and social norms have changed. This is to say that an important event in the fifteenth century may be seen as mundane today and vice versa, wanton disregard will therefore bring issues.

#### [The Pastons and the surrounding history.](#)

Now that a firm understanding of the different topics that will be studied has been achieved, the natural continuation is a deep dive into the Paston Family. Doing it this way ensures that one has a firm understanding of their potential reasons for language change. To start, it is important to note that the family’s letter history (1422-1509) happened during a rough part of British history known as the War of the Roses (1455-1487), and as such, this had an impact on their lives and political goals. To this end, this discussion will touch on the importance of the war, but it will primarily focus on the family and their dealings as the war, while prominent, had no significant conflicts in the home region of the family Norfolk, but several members fought in it on both sides.

To these ends, this chapter will start by outlining the core history relevant to the period of the Pastons; this will then move on to an introductory discussion on the war of the Roses.

Following this will be a timeline of the reign of English kings with the dates of Paston family members added for context. Finally, this will be followed by a deeper individual discussion on the different family members and how they relate to the broader sphere of it all.

#### [Introduction to the period.](#)

As stated throughout this thesis, the period of the Paston family was a turbulent one with significant changes happening within England. The Black Plague, having gone endemic, was still springing up on occasion, and the still-recovering population was experiencing a boom (Hastings, Prestwich). The lowered population and lack of control from the land-holders had

caused a mass movement of people that led to the gradual end of Villein labour, a version where the worker was an unfree low-class tenant that worked the land of his lord's manor per the OED (“villein n1”). This is to say, the workers were often far more locked to their place of employment as the lord held all ownership, and the worker received little he could use to go elsewhere. This changed during the start of our investigated period into a system based around copyhold tenure that later in the period brought on the change from payment being given through labour dues to being provided as a monetary payment (Postan 1937, 169). This period being a golden age for the English labourer is one of the reasons the Paston family rose, as it allowed for the first head William to gain the base he needed to expand. Another significant change this brought on was the rise of cities across England. The workers leaving the countryside caused significant worker shortages for the landowners, which slowly forced them to move away from farming in favour of sheep giving rise to the wool trade. This remarkable rise in financial status and standing amongst the people and, in turn, England is part of what brought on Henry the fourth usurping Richard the second in 1399, ushering in the war of the roses.

#### War of the Roses.

The rebellious period started, as said, with Henry IV acting on his own interests in 1399, and it was a massive gamble that paid off, giving him the crown he sought. However, the darker backside is that set in motion events that eventually led to the bloody war of the roses that troubled England for 32 years, starting in 1455 and ending with Henry VII as the sole victor in 1487 (Powell, 457). The times leading up to the civil war, these being the reigns up to the deposition of Henry VI, were dominated by three major themes: warfare, service, and finance (Powell, 458). A good example comes shortly after the first rebellion. Henry IV's backers, dissatisfied with their rewards, rebelled in 1403 and 1405; this happened again during a Welsh rebellion in 1407, followed by war with Scotland and France. These issues considered the Lancastrian reign of England up to 1455 was relatively stable, without extreme incidents, but as discussed, this changed with the Yorkist rebellion the same year where they managed to crush the Lancastrian forces at Towton, earning them the kingship of England.

What followed the change in leadership was a period of significant unrest and strife that initially lasted up to the capture of Henry VI in 1465, when the new king Edward IV could finally call an end to the past king's rebellion (Horrox 477-478). However, this period of peace was very short-lived as unrest brewed with France, and Henry IV rose up in rebellion in 1470, leading to a short return to the throne before Edward IV retook it following the battle of Barnet in 1471 (Horrox 481-484). This change was followed by a period of partial peace in England before Edward IV died in April 143, leaving the throne to his twelve-year-old son Edward V. This new rule only lasted three months as the new king was deposed by his uncle Richard III casting England into another rebellion (Powell 486). Richard III's reign only lasted just above two years as his rebellion led to Henry Tudor, son of Henry VI's half brother returning to England with an army, eventually killing Richard and his army at the Battle of Bosworth field in 1485 and assuming the throne as Henry VII starting the now famous Tudor dynasty (Horrox 487-489).

### Paston Family Timeline

Within these significant times of political, cultural and societal unrest, the Pastons found the means to rise from their humble origins into a well respected and known landholding family worthy of royal pardons, missions and aid. Following on from this introduction to the period, the following subchapter is an easy to read timeline of the royal families of England and the Pastons alive during these periods. It is primarily meant as an additional tool to aid in understanding the time relations of different Paston family members and mentions within the discussion regarding specific years as one cannot be readily expected to remember every king and person in the family and the years they lived.

The list and dates for the sovereigns were pulled from the web version of Encyclopædia Britannica for ease of use ("Sovereigns of Britain"). Paston family dates came from Bergs (2005) and Bennet (1951)

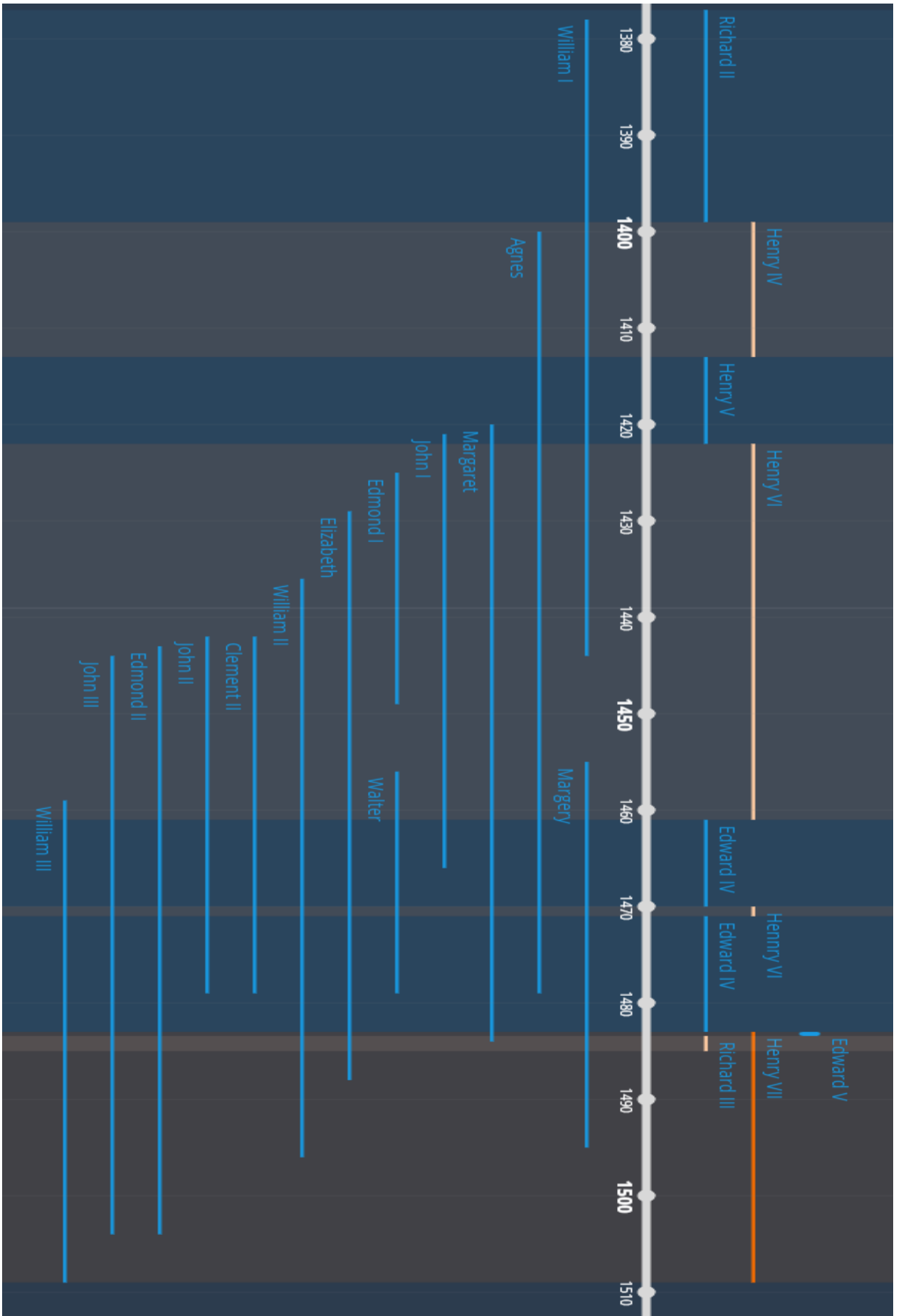


Figure 1 Paston Family timeline.



## Family member discussions

When it comes to the discussion and introduction to the different members of the Paston family over the generations, this thesis goes through them in a generational order starting with William Paston I, born in 1378. It will then go through The significant members of the family ending with John III's death in 1504. William IV was the last of the core Paston dynasty, and the exact date of his death is not fully known.

The size of this section is related to the importance it holds for the broader understanding of the materials discussed in this thesis; specifically, these introductions give an essential insight into the Paston family history from its humble beginnings to its place among the nobility in no more than three generations. It provides the reader with a solid understanding of the family's hard work to raise its position, their struggles, and the difficult choices and challenges that hit them. While hard for the family, all these different challenges ended up being a blessing for the academics of the period that came after due to the need for undeniable data. Undeniable data in this context relies on the difference between the spoken and written word now and back during the time of the Pastons; while spoken material still held weight, written evidence for disputes was on the rise, which will be shown in the introductions in matters such as family members and friends making wills that clearly state to all who can read them the exact wishes and plans of the deceased. The same guarantee could also be found in letters between business partners, friends and family. A man's word may change for many reasons, but a written and signed letter cannot easily be altered nor disputed as the writer signed off on it when sent. As mentioned before, the introductions will show the extent to which the Pastons fought for every piece of their holdings. This fight and need for rebuttals against would-be attackers and real attackers likely prompted the family to safe keep such personal letters instead of disposing of them.

### *William Paston I*

William I is the man who can be seen as the founding father of the Paston dynasty, as one might describe it. His father, Clement Paston, had the critical foresight to acquire money by any means necessary so that he could afford to send his son to school. The exact origin of the funds is disputed, but some of his enemy's made remarks about it being borrowed, which shows this early stage of the Paston family may not have held much wealth (1951: 2).

However, this schooling was vital as it enabled William I to be sent off to law school in London, where he studied in one of the Inns of court. While at court, he quickly rose in stature and found himself appointed Steward to the Bishop of Norwich, which saw his clientele swell before he was promoted to a serjeant in the court of common Pleas in 1421. Eight years later, his hard work was rewarded by his raising to the bench earning him a yearly salary of 110 marks with a mark equalling two-thirds of a pound at the time and the title of Justice. He, in turn, had no qualms in using his highly elevated position and started purchasing land around the family estate at Paston, making him the chief landowner of the area, further increasing his standing and power. This thinking carried over into his marriage plans. After due consideration, he went with Agnes Berry, heiress of Sir Edmund Berry of Harlingbury Hall in Hertfordshire, which in turn gained him the manor of East Tuddenham in Norfolk as part of the marriage settlement. Agnes' status also earned him the manors of Marlingford, Stanstede and Harlingbury through inheritance at the passing of her late father. In turn, these significant land gains were used to buy up all the land around his family home of Paston, making him the lord of the area. He also set to work buying up all the land he could around his imagined new home at Oxnade Hall, halfway between Paston on the coast and Norwich. The hall became one of the family's favourite homes, and it was promised to his wife, Agnes. His final major land purchases were the manor of Gresham and a grant for a market, a fair and free warren for his manor of Shipden, along with a man named Thomas Poye. Here it should be noted that William I's expansion and rise was not viewed as a great thing by all he encountered; following his death, Agnes faced harsh struggles in keeping hold of Gresham and Oxnade, but the issues were resolved, and the lands kept. The full extent of how this happened is a matter of debate, as following William I's death, a man complained that because he was fighting the lordly Pastons, he was unable to get the aid of counsel due to the Bar's respect for the late Justice (1951:3).

### *Agnes Paston (née Berry).*

Agnes Paston was the daughter of Sire Edmond Berry of Harlingbury hall in Hertfordshire and a very practical business-focused woman who had a sound mind for managing the households and manors the family held. Her letters and those of others portray her as a very resolute, focused woman, even harsh at times, a far cry from the stereotypical shy or oppressed medieval woman. Elizabeth Paston, her daughter, was the primary recipient of these harsher outbursts, many of which were focused on the importance of attaining an

agreeable marriage partner to strengthen the family. When Elizabeth refused to accept her first arranged marriage partner Agnes “kept the girl shut up so that she could not see nor speak to any man, and was even suspicious of her conversing with the very servants in the house. As if this were not enough, she had attempted to break the girl's spirit by other means” (Bennet 1951: 30). In addition to this, she beat her daughter up to twice a week for three months, which broke her head in two or three places (Bergs 2002:62). These harsh attacks did eventually succeed, and Elizabeth agreed to marry Scorpe, a man she abhorred, but the marriage fell through in the end due to unknown reasons. However, her fiery spirit also extended to the other family members, Clement II’s teacher was told to use stricter teaching methods, and John I’s behaviour with her property rights supposedly left much to be desired (Bergs 2002: 63). William I and Agnes had five children in total, four boys: John I, Edmond I, William II, Clement II, and one daughter, the previously mentioned Elizabeth.

### *John I*

John Paston I was the oldest son of William I, and therefore at the young age of twenty-two, took control of the family estates, wealth and troubles after his father’s death. Following on from the example set by his grandfather, John was educated at Trinity Hall and Peterhouse, Cambridge, and the Inner Temple in London so that he would have an education equal to or greater than his father. His father’s past planning also included his marriage partner, Margaret Paston, née Mauteby, whose marriage gained the Paston Family the manors of Mauteby, Sparham and others (1951: 3). John’s entire time as the head of the Paston family would be rife with disputes and legal issues, large parts of which came as a result of his late father's work as a judge and aggressive rise through the ranks at the time. His comparatively young age further emboldened his enemies as they envisioned a young inexperienced novice; these views were, however, mistaken as John’s schooling had left him well equipped to fight back to the extent of the law. One of his first significant hurdles came in 1448/49 when he lost Gresham manor due to scrupulous actions by Lord Moleyns and a man by the name of John Heydon, a Norfolk lawyer. This loss spiralled into a three-year conflict between the families wherein Moleyns reinforced the manor with armed retainers as a deterrent against any reaction from John. John’s initial attempts all aimed at a calm legal challenge to the claim. Still, he was fighting an uphill battle as Lord Moleyns was the heir apparent to a barony, giving him a stronger standing in upper society than the comparatively upstart Pastons, whom the lord could freely ignore when they tried speaking to him.

Following the dismissals, John went to Gresham on October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1449, and took possession of another mansion within the town to establish a stronger claim to the area. This action led to Lord Moleyns, on January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1450, while John was away in London, attacking with a fully armed force of some thousand men. Margaret Paston was in the new manor at the time, and the attackers breached the room she was hiding in, threw her out of the manor and tore down the buildings before sacking the area and threatening John and some of his allies with death if they were to be caught (Bennet, 1951: 6). Following the attack, John petitioned Parliament and the Lord Chancellor for redress but was overturned as Lord Molyne had a higher standing, giving him the power to brush off John's appeals. What followed next is uncertain, but following the troubled days of 1450, John peacefully walked into the manor of Gresham in the spring of the following year. Following its recapture, John once again tried to press the matter before the court, but it was again pushed back with the Sheriff of Norfolk warned friends of the Paston family that he had been informed the king wanted him to form a panel to acquit Lord Molyne (Bennet 1951: 7). In an important twist of fates, John was eventually victorious when Lord Molyne, due to unknown reasons, decided his claim over the manor and the two parties began negotiations regarding the damage done at Gresham that came out to a hefty sum of £200 along with a surety of £100 for the Sheriff of Norfolk (Bennet 1951: 7).

While these struggles were major and often biased against John and the wider Paston family, he made sure to use every chance available to increase his standing in high society further and in the county of Norfolk, where he became an important figure in the opposition toward people such as John Heydon. His biggest success in this regard came with his close friendship and employment to Sir John Fastolf starting in 1450, where his hard work earned him such admiration that Sir Fastolf, in 1454, declared that John I was "the heartiest kinsman and friend that he knows". The Paston family frequently visited Fastolf on his estates at Caister near Yarmouth. The fact that these visits happened even without John I's presence indicates a strong bond with the remaining family. These interactions built a strong friendship and bond that continued until Sir Fastolf's death in 1459, where, two days before his death, the will was changed to make John I the sole inheritor of all property owned by Fastolf in Norfolk and Suffolk. However, as before, this massive jump in status made him a prime target for attack, which ended up coming from the Duke of Exeter laying claim to Fastolf's house and goods in Southwark, and the Earl of Wiltshire entered it and lived there for some time. Nevertheless, through quick-witted action, John I was, as before, able to outlast the claims of the Duke and

Earl wherein an inquisition was held, and it was to prove that John I and Sir Thomas Howes, Sir Fastolf's old steward were the rightful heirs to Fastolf's lands.

A further issue arose following the lawlessness brought on by the deposition of King Henry VI in 1461, with John Howard the Duke of Norfolk marching on and seizing Caister Castle. Thankfully for his case, the succession of Edward IV in 1461 had raised his favour immensely with the royal court, granting him a seat in parliament and the attention of the King. This change in standing placed him higher than the Duke of Norfolk, so it aided him as the backing he needed to sue for redress. It worked as intended, and the request was not brushed aside, which led to the Duke of Norfolk being instructed to return the castle, to which he replied that Paston was not the rightful owner. Still, John I's evidence was overwhelming, so Caister was returned to him (Bennet 1951: 11-12).

These sort of discussions, while long and descriptive, are important for the understanding of how the Paston family patriarchs ensured the rise of the family and how they went about protecting what they had gained in the best possible manner. In the case of John I, his work was overall successful yet troubled, but things started to decline for him starting a bit earlier in 1457 when he was fined because he refused to accept the offer of a knighthood. In 1458 John I, his brother William II, and twenty-six others were accused of riotous behaviour. A commission was formed to arrest them (Which, notably, included the family's antagonist John Heydon). The earlier dispute with the John Howard Duke of Norfolk led to John I being arrested in 1461, and following his release, he was sued in 1464 by William Yelverton over a financial matter. The following year saw him accused of trespass in the Suffolk County court, declared an outlaw, and imprisoned. The same issues appeared in 1465 when he was incarcerated in Fleet Prison London for the third time (Bergs 2002: 64). His last three years were just as uncertain, with the inquisition dragging on further as both sides stalled for time as he was dragged into several court cases surrounding the ownership of the lands left to him by Fastolf. In 1465 he was involved in an ownership quarrel over his manor at Cotton, which was quickly resolved by Margaret taking up residence there shortly in the summer to collect rents staking their claim to the land. However, this move was a ruse by the John de la Pole 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Suffolk, that used the opportunity to stage a series of attacks on Pastons friends that culminated in the 15<sup>th</sup> of October attack on the Pastons' house at Hellesdon. With John being taken by surprise, the house and surrounding areas were wholly unprepared, and over the next two days, the whole place was pillaged, with the house being entirely wrecked down to the walls. The attack also saw the local tenant's homes robbed, and most regrettably, the church

was violated; these actions won the Pastons significant amounts of support amongst people, and Margaret wrote to John I telling him:

There cometh much people daily to wonder thereupon, both of Norwich and of other places, and they speak shamefully thereof. The duke had better than a thousand pound that it had never been done; and ye have the more good will of the people that it is so foully done (Bennet 1951: 17).

As the news of the event spread, support for the Pastons and their cause rose, giving them a further boost amongst the common classes at the time, but it was regrettably too little too late. The attacks on Paston properties continued throughout the fall and winter, and in May 1466, prematurely worn down by his enemies, John Paston I passed in London.

#### *Margaret Paston (née Mautby)*

Margaret Paston was the daughter of John Mautby of Mautby and Margery, the daughter of John Berney of Reedham, which makes her a relative of Sir John Fastolf. Like Agnes before her, Margaret was known as a businesswoman with a strong mind and sense of self-determination. During his frequent absences, her central role as John I's wife was to manage the family properties and deal with any issues. Looking back at the sack of Gresham, this was not always an easy nor safe task at the time, but as the letters discussed in this thesis show, she made good work of keeping herself up to date on the family dealings. Her home base before 1459 was Norwich, followed by stays at Caister or Hellesdon, and finally, her family home at Mautby. Compared to her husband, Margaret travelled very infrequently; the only major trip she undertook aside from moving homes was to visit John I while he was imprisoned in London in 1465 (Bergs 2002: 64). Her strong mind about how the family should be run frequently ended in confrontations with her children and husband; when a quarrel began between John I and John II, she sided with her son, and after her husband's passing in 1466, she kept an iron hand on the family possessions. One of her most significant family quarrels came shortly after when her daughter, Margery, proclaimed her intention to marry the family Steward Richard Calle. The action infuriated Margaret, but she could not prevent the marriage, and the newlyweds were cast out from her good graces. However, the expulsion did not last long as Richard Calle was a good Steward, and she needed his skills to help manage the estates, so in 1469 he was welcomed back to work for them, while rumours

from the time state she never forgave Margery (Bergs 2002: 64). The same period also saw her quarrelling with John II about his inability to defend and rescue his brother under siege at Caister. She also had issues with his supposed extravagance and worrying neglect of his father's grave, but the two made up shortly before her death. John I and Margaret had seven children, five boys: John II, John III, Edmond II, Margery, Walter, William III, and two daughters, Margery and Anne.

### *Elizabeth*

When it comes to Elizabeth, the only daughter of William and Agnes, we know more about her in general, as mentioned in the Agnes discussion. She was born around 1429 and passed in 1488 after two failed marriage attempts and two marriages. Following on from Agnes' harsh treatment over Stephen Scrope, she was set to marry one John Clopton, but the matchmaking failed once more, so in 1457 she was sent off to live with a Lady Pole in London. Here she met and eventually married Robert Poynings, the second son of Robert the fourth Lord Poynings, and they had a son who became Sir Edward (Bergs 2002: 65). After Robert Poynings' passing in 1461, she met and married Sir George Browne of Betchworth Surrey and had a son and daughter. This union lasted longer than the last but came to an end in 1483 when Sir Browne seemingly rebelled against the rule of Richard III, lost, and was promptly executed and attainted for his crimes. Following this blow, little is known about her last years, but the attainting stripping her and her children of all titles would not have been easy. However, her will gives some indication of her status not falling too far as it mentions fine sheets, tablecloths, napkins, towels, and more (Bennet 1951: 54).

## *John II*

John II was born in 1442 to John I, and Margaret Paston was their first-born child and the principal heir to the Paston family fortunes. When it comes to John II, or Sir John Paston II as he should be named due to his knighting when he came of age in 1463, it must be said that while the past Pastons took care to grow and protect the fortune, Sir John II instead spent more of it in an attempt to strengthen their position further. Little is known about his earlier education yet, the penmanship of his surviving letters indicate that he was a well-educated and read man. What we do know of the situation is that he was sent off to court in 1461 as an attempt to improve the family standing there, and he travelled with the king's entourage until late 1462 before he came home to his parents in early 1463 (Davis 1971: lviii). While there, a writ of attachment was issued against him, alleging that he had committed felonies in Suffolk. Still, no direct consequence came off it, and following his knighting, discussed earlier, he was found at Caister in November 1463. His stay at Caister was apparently not to his liking as he leaves the family home to join the king in the north, seemingly to maintain relations within the royal court. This action went against the wishes of his father, and it is the beginning of a series of quarrels between the two that led to Sir John II falling out of his father's favour, resulting in his banishment around 1465/1465 at the age of 22 (Bergs 2002: 66).

However, the banishment was short-lived as he was back at Caister by May 1465 to hold the family estate during his mother's absence at Hellesdon. Increasing pressure from his late father's adversaries regarding the will of the late John Fastolf led to Sir John II moving to London from 1466 onwards as the court cases were being dragged out with no easy solution available. By July 27<sup>th</sup>, 1466, he had managed to acquire a warrant from the King returning Caister and other Fastolf properties recently lost to him. This faint lull in the attacks gave him the time needed to represent Norfolk as an M.P in 1467 and 1468 (Davis 1971: lviii).

One advantage of the court cases dragging on as they did was that it allowed Sir John II to further press his presence at court, which gained him important regard with the King and his family. This influence led to Sir John II attending a tournament at Eltham with the King and Lord Scales in April 1467, which led to Sir John II and Thomas Howes gaining probate of Fastolf's will on August 26<sup>th</sup>, 1467, which in January 1468 led to the complete handover of all owed lands in Norfolk and Suffolk (Davis 1971: lviii). A culmination of this newly gained prestige at court came in late June 1468 when Sir John II and John III travelled to Bruges to attend the marriage of Princess Margaret, King Edward IV's youngest sister, to Charles the



Bold, Duke of Burgundy, not as onlookers, but part of the princess' official retinue. However, going by his letters, the work he did wooing the royal court came with a hefty price as they contain several mentions of his financial woes. While this is known as fact, there is a debate to be had regarding the true extent of these money issues as Sir John II can be seen complaining of low funds in his letters while at the same time lending a large sum of money to George Neville, Archbishop of York. A reason for this two-sided nature is not readily available as we lack the necessary primary sources but considering his father's earlier dealings with the Bishop of Winchester, this may be another case of gaining religious favour for protection.

Another point pressed during this short lull in hostilities was the question of a wife and, by extension, an heir to the family fortunes. In this matter, he became engaged to marry Anne Haute, a cousin of the Queen and Lord Scales, sometime in early 1469, no doubt another result of his hard work at gaining the court and king's favour. Despite the excellent start, negotiations over the marriage stalled, and the engagement was broken off in 1477 (Davis 1971: lviii-lviii). The lull was short-lived as the Duke of Norfolk, who laid claim to Caister, attacked and besieged it for five weeks in August 1469. John III was at Caister when it came under attack and took charge of defending it while awaiting help from his brother, which regrettably never came leading to the castle again falling out of Paston's hands. The exact reasons behind his refusal to send aid are not entirely known. Still, it is not unimaginable that his position as J.P in Norfolk at the time and his lack of a comparable aristocratic rank may have played a part.

In an odd twist of fate, the following year Sir John II finally reached an agreement as to how Fastolf's disputed estates were to be split amongst the parties: Sir John II was to retain Caister and a string of smaller manors, and the rest was to go to Magdalen College Oxford.

Finalization happened on July 14<sup>th</sup>, but the Duke of Norfolk refused to leave Caister; an opportunity for change came in October when Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, restored Henry VI to the throne and the Paston brothers joined the Lancastrian side of the war. By joining the Lancastrians in the war, Sir John II was given a commission as over and terminer under Clarence. Finally, in December, the Duke of Norfolk released Caister to the Pastons, the real reason is unknown, but it may have been to protect against the interference of the royal court (Davis 1971: lix).

The reacquisition was short-lived as the brothers fought at the Battle of Barnet in April 1471, where the Yorkists crushed the Lancastrian side, and with the king being driven out by June,

the Duke of Norfolk seized the opportunity to retake Caister on June 23<sup>rd</sup>. Thankfully both brothers survived the battle, and Sir John received his pardon on December 21<sup>st</sup> and following it, he spent 1472 looking for further opportunities, which he found in Calais. In February 1473, he was in Calais serving under the command of Lord Hastings, a role that saw him returning to the town often during the next four years, but he also took the opportunity to visit Bruges and Neuss in Germany (Paston 2002: 66). However, January 1476 featured the sudden death of the Duke of Norfolk, and Sir John II wasted no time sending a messenger to claim the still contested Caister. While the act proved unpopular, the king's council chose to recognize the title, and he regained control of the castle and estate in June of the same year. With Caister in hand once more, Sir John II wrote a will in October 1477 before he took a posting as M.P for Yarmouth in 1478. While in London, he saw to the family's business interests but became worried about his health, writing a letter in October 1479 where he wrote "in fear of the sickness", which regrettably proved true as he passed the following month only 37 years old (Davis 1971: lix).

Sir John II never took a wife during his life and therefore bore no official heir to replace him. His only child was a daughter he fathered with Constance Reynforth, so the mantle passed to his brother John III, who was well versed in running the family affairs. The lack of an heir is one of the bigger mysteries surrounding Sir John II; he was known amongst his friends as "the best chooser of a gentlewoman" and seemingly held great favour with the ladies at the time. He also lectured his brother on the importance of finding a suitable partner to further the family prospects, further adding to the mystery. While, as before, no direct answer may be found, H. S. Bennet, in his book *The Pastons and Their England Studies in an Age of Transition*, argues that the choice may well have been deliberate (36-37).

### *John III*

Born in 1444, possibly at Geldeston, John III had all the same basic social parameters as his brother; despite this, their lives took two very different turns and led them down their own, at times colliding paths. Following in the line set by his brother, we know very little about his childhood years, but it can be safely assumed that he would have received a very similar education to ensure his family's prospects. The first proper mention of him comes in 1459 when he is working as a scribe for his mother, a job that lasted until early 1462. Unlike his

brother, who was sent to serve the king at a young age, John III was sent to serve the Duke of Norfolk at Holt Castle Denbighshire and Newcastle-Upon-Tyne in late 1462 as part of his education. The posting lasted just shy of two years, and in June 1464, he was back with the family in Norfolk, aiding his mother in the running of the estates, and he was put in full charge of the estates during his mother's trip to London in September 1465 (Davis 1971: lix). Upon his mother's return, he was put in charge of the family manor at Cotton, possibly as a reward for the work done during her absence. The following month he was present at the Duke of Norfolk's coming of age ceremony as "one of our servants of household", indicating that he had a well-regarded position with the Duke of Norfolk's family at the time. In July 1468, as discussed earlier, he went with his brother to Bruges to attend Princess Margaret's wedding as part of her retinue.

By the summer of 1469, he was back in England again, defending the family manor at Caister against the aggression shown by the Duke of Norfolk. Here he also voiced a strong opposition towards his brother's inaction regarding the defence of the property and apprehension regarding the potential motives of the duke. This inaction proved troublesome when following on from earlier discussion, the Duke of Norfolk laid siege in late August, intent on seizing what he deemed his land. John III mounted a considerable defence of the castle, quite likely due to the experience he had gained serving under the former duke of Norfolk. He managed to hold the area for a good five weeks before surrendering around September 25<sup>th</sup> of the same year. Margaret Paston, as mentioned previously, spent this time quarrelling heavily with her son over his inability to send the required aid to lift the siege John III found himself under, which, while noble for the family, may not at all have been feasible (Davies 1971: lx). While the Pastons had amassed a great fortune and prestige since their humble beginnings, there is no definitive proof that they held the might required to stand up against a major player such as the Duke of Norfolk militarily. John II, by most accounts, knew this fact well and therefore did his best not to antagonize the duke further than necessary.

Following the defeat, John III spent the majority of 1470 in Norwich, apart from a trip to Esher in August to settle Fastolf's estates with the Bishop of Winchester and a journey with his brother to London in October. The Paston family went through the previously discussed loss at Barnet in April the following year, where John III was wounded but recovered. He quickly received his pardon in July the same year, but it was not finalized until February the following year. Wounds gained in battle, and a battered political standing owing to their fight on the losing side forced John III to spend most of 1472 at home in Norwich, where he set

about negotiating the return of Caister with the Norfolk council in return for payment (Davies 1971: lx). He planned a pilgrimage in the summer of 1473, but nothing came of it, and in 1474 he was in London looking for a fitting partner but had no luck. In 1475 and 1476, he spent his time travelling and managing the family estates before he, in early 1477, contemplated marrying Margery Brews. The negotiations were long, and they finally married late in the same year, with their first child Christopher Paston being born in 1478. They had their second child William Paston the following year.

Sir John II's death in November 1479 proved to be John III's big boon as it gave him the titles required to shape the family fortunes his way, and he took immediate steps to solidify his hold. However, this move was countered by his uncle William Paston II who disagreed with the inheritance owed, especially concerning the lands owned by Agnes Paston. Still, John III was by right the new caretaker of the Paston family lands, so the matter did not go much further.

Following his rise to the new stature as the head of the family, John III spent the early 1480s serving on a wide array of commissions and official postings, such as the commission of the peace for Norfolk. Outside this, the war of the Roses was still ongoing, and John III received another Pardon, this time from Richard III, on March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1484. Building on this, he became M.P for Norwich and Sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk in 1485-86, and by early 1487 had landed himself a new position as a trustworthy councillor to the Earl of Oxford (Davies 1971: lx). This new position with the Earl led to John III participating in the battle of Stoke on June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1487, which resulted in a decisive Tudor victory which led to him being Knighted on the field for the participation. The knighting gave him a further political boost which led to the Earl, who was the Lord High Admiral making the now knightly Sir John III his deputy. This new posting took up most of his time in the early 1490s before he once again took up a seat as a J.P for Norfolk from 1494-1497. His wife Margery sadly passed away in 1495, and after mourning, he married one Agnes Morley of Glynde Sussex, a two-time widow. His past postings as before led to Sir John III being commanded by the king to attend to the arrival of Catherine of Aragon in 1500, but this was postponed, and Catherine did not arrive until November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1501. His last noted commission was on May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1504, and he passed on August 28<sup>th</sup> the same year; his widow Agnes survived until 1510.

### *Margery Paston (née Brewes)*

Margery Paston was the daughter of Sir Thomas Brews of Topcroft, Norfolk. The earliest letters we have from her are dated to around February 1477, the same year she married John Paston III. From the letters, we know she lived in Norwich around 1481 but had moved on to Caister by the start of 1486, possibly to further strengthen the family claim following the successful re-acquisition. Then, in 1489 we have her going to London on a trip and as a pilgrimage, and lastly, we have records of her death in 1495 (Davies 1971: lxi). Through the letters, we also know they had three confirmed children; Christopher Paston (1478-14xx) was their firstborn but is not mentioned in the will of his Grandmother Margaret Paston who died in 1482, so he must have died young sometime before then.

### *Margery Paston (Calle)*

Like many of the Paston family members, Margery Paston's birthdate is uncertain; the first mention of her by name is in a letter by William II Paston dated to around 1458 reporting on a marriage offer they had received. A possible mention can be found in a 1450 letter from Agnes where she talks about "all your sons and daughters", but Davies argues that it should more be seen as an inclusive phrase, not fact (1971: lxii). Margaret only speaks of one daughter in a 1451 letter, and Agnes is said to "wax high" in 1470, telling us she could not have been born that much earlier than 1455. With these notions, Bergs puts her date of birth just around 1455, which would make her 1458 marriage offer quite early, but not unheard of at the time. John III greets her in a letter dated to 1462, and in 1463 Marriage was again being discussed, the same happening on her trip to London with her mother in 1465. The Paston at this time were well placed amongst the upper parts of British society and therefore likely saw their daughters as prime marriage partners for strengthening bonds, hence the strict control of who they married. Margery's notable fall from grace came in 1469 when she insisted on being married to Richard Calle, the family's head steward, in direct opposition to her family's wishes. Margaret's mother strongly forbade this action and made her unwelcome at the Paston family homes. This strong disapproval went on for years, but Margaret did eventually relent on some of her principles. Richard Calle, as mentioned previously, was taken back in, and their eldest child was given a legacy by his grandmother, with the following two children being given some aid. Importantly the will made no mention of Margery at all; Walter Paston, who passed in June 1479, also made no mention of her in his will, raising the question if she had passed sometime before the will was made. Davies suggests that the evidence likely shows that she had passed young at some point close to 1479 (1971: lix).

## Family network

With a sound understanding of the family history and dynamics of the Paston family, it becomes possible to delve deeper into the Pastons. The background history and debates above help the thesis build up the social and historical background data needed for more in-depth sociolinguistic studies. We can now draw early conclusions as to reasons for potential change in the Paston letters. Three significant findings of how the family worked can be drawn from the introductions:

The male Pastons beginning with William I Paston going all the way to the end, placed the importance on attaining a good education for all their children so that they could later down the line aid the family in all ways possible. The core focus of this needed family service came in the form of most family heads receiving a solid education at Cambridge or similar school sites before being sent off to study law or the workings of the court in one of the inns of London. William Paston I received all his schooling in such a manner, and it gave him the tools to birth the Paston dynasty and to shape his heirs to further his goals. While this line of education was the preferred norm, it was not the only way male family members worked to advance the family. Another option which was used for John III had the education expanded by the heir being placed in the service of a higher family, often a duke or earl, with the intention that they would learn essential skills and knowledge and form friendships and acquaintances amongst the houses they served. However, John III also raises the question of this scheme's usability as he served under the Duke of Norfolk's house following his schooling, only for the same house to attack him some years later.

The female Pastons were treated much like their male counterparts: as people capable of strengthening the Paston family. To this extent, we see that their mothers extensively controlled them in the earlier generations, where we read beatings and social control was seen as acceptable solutions to control the vices of young girls and women. While some of these punishments were eased up in the later generations, they still held total control over their daughters' lives and naturally, in turn, decided how they were to further the family through marriage. Margery's marriage to Richard Calle shows how any member of the family breaking these norms faced the full wrath of the family, which entailed being cast out of the family. Anne Paston gives us the answer to what happened to the women that were brought back under control: Marriage to a suitable gentleman with the expectation of grandchildren. These matters of marriage also highlight another tool of the Pastons, which it must be noted

was not specific to the family, as it was an ordinary happening at the time and continues to be a common occurrence across the world today: Planned marriage. The young sought after daughters of the family were all married or planned to be married to partners that had been vetted and approved off beforehand. One question that pops up from such harsh measures is why they felt the need to take such significant steps, and the answer may lie in the humble beginnings of the family.

Going back to William Paston I, we learn that his father, Clement Paston started out as a poor man, possibly of no higher standing than that of a working farmer. Clement's birth being right around the Black Death put him at a particular time in English history where the deaths caused by the plague had crippled the labour market, giving workers the chance to demand higher wages from their employers, in turn raising their social and financial status. While this is commendable and in line with the ambitions of the family, it was also the sort of story that no "good" family of the time wanted to be attached to them as it would mark them as the descendants of mere peasants, and not someone worthy of socialising with nobility. Stated in different terms: The Pastons made every effort to control all parts of their family fortunes, history, and members to clear away any notion that they were not full-fledged nobility and that they had always been noble.

### *Network models*

The questions discussed above also highlight the vast array of interactions the family must have had with people of varied standing. This sort of significant mingling is the perfect base from which language change can enter, change what is there, and grow. To highlight this vast network the family took part in, both externally and internally, this thesis will make use of models made by Bergs in his 2002 book used earlier in the historical sociolinguistics debate. With the models shown below, it is essential to remember that they only show the attested links of the different parties at the time and make no effort to include any links, no matter how probable textual sources or other materials cannot prove that.

## Internal Links

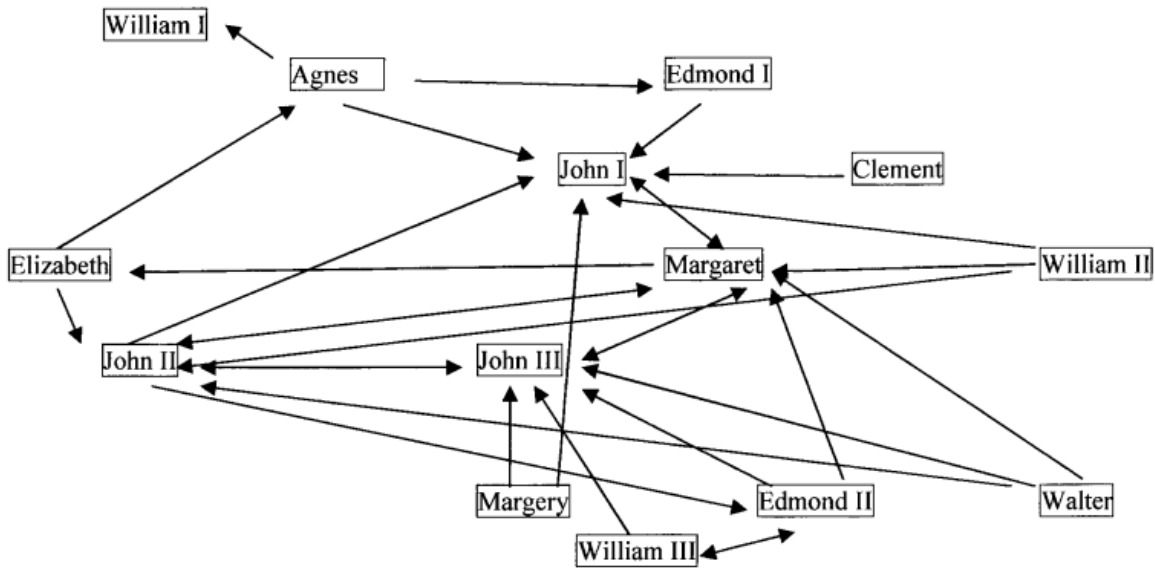


Figure 12. The Paston network(s): internal links

Figure 2 Internal links of Paston family (Bergs 2002:69)

This does naturally have a weakness in the way that it may come off as relatively shallow and odd, especially with the internal links in figure two, where it can give the impression that some members-only communicated one way. However, as we are dealing with close family members, they are sure to have spoken with each other extensively. These personal



communications would not necessarily have made it onto paper, making it impossible for us to make use of them. This network also gives us a rudimentary view of the family's core members from a letter's perspective, and as one could expect from the background material, these members are the three Johns and Margaret, with Edmond II and Agnes taking the following places. In terms of letters, we also see that the three Williams of the family, along with Walter and Clement, are placed further on the periphery, giving them a more marginal position.

External links.

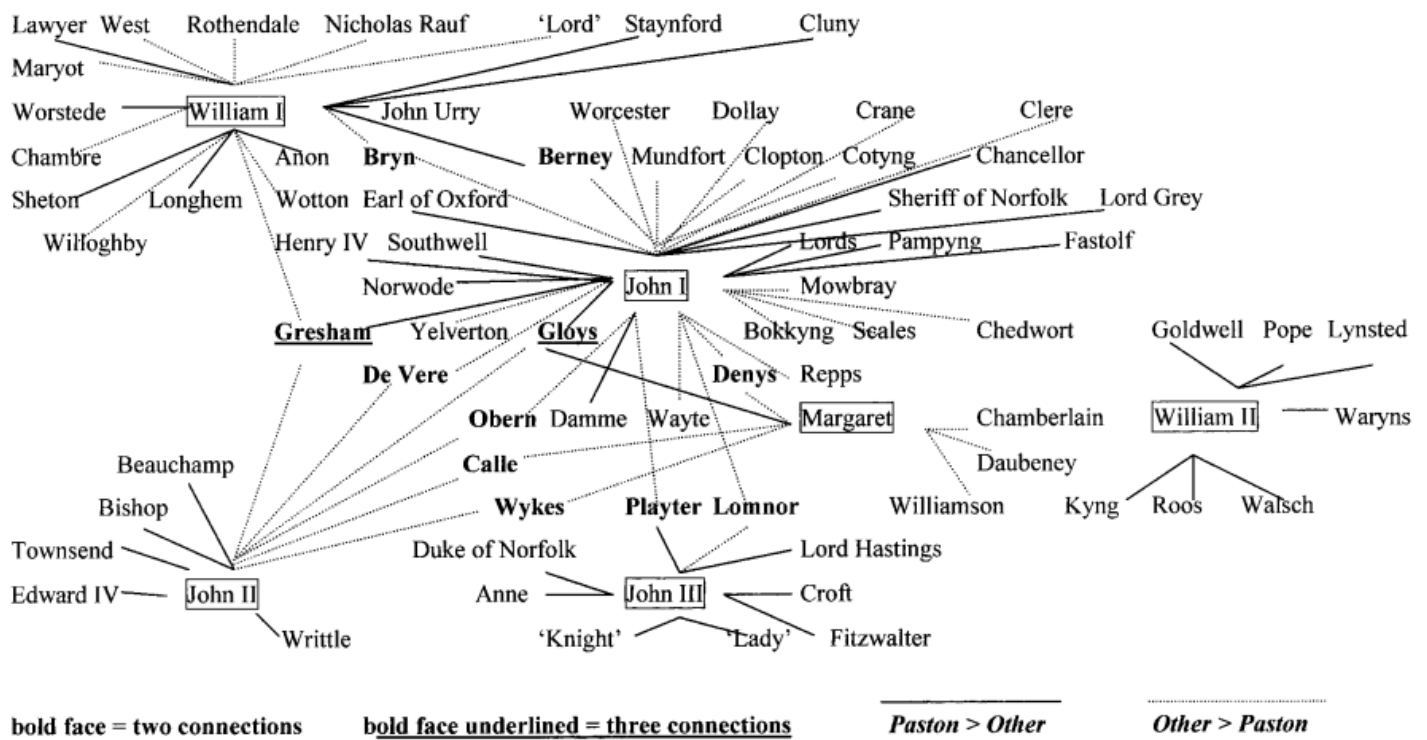


Figure 13. The Paston network(s): external links

Figure 3, or Figure 13 as it is marked in Berg's work, focuses on external connections, and by looking at these, we see the major family players changing. Here William I and John I hold the highest number of links, followed by John II, John III and Margaret. This wider spread also helps correct the odd position of William I Paston found in figure 1, where his lack of connections made him the second most isolated member of the family. The figure also shows us that incoming letters were seemingly far more frequent than outgoing mail. Still, it is also likely that this is being affected by the material nature of the collection, as noted by Bergs. He describes how the letter collection is primarily made up of the different materials that the family chose to keep themselves, and as such, most known letters will be addressed to a member of the family. The remaining letters are copies of letters that were sent and letters that were found in possession of the addresses (Bergs 2002: 71).

Another interesting feature of figure two is that it lets us make a note of known cross-contact between different family members and the same addressee; examples here would be James Gresham, a lawyer who served under William managing the family estates. Here Gresham provides a direct link between William, John I, and II, with James Gloys, a chaplain and scribe for the family, binds John I, John II, and Margaret. However, these links also paint another point of uncertainty, which is that it raises the question of how acquainted the different people working for or known to the Paston were. Gresham and Gloys, for example, had very integrated and important jobs for the family, but in terms of available letters, they hardly knew the wider family. This is further shown by the connection lines surrounding Richard Calle, who worked for the Pastons as their bailiff from 1450 to, at a minimum, 1479. This would have placed him in the core years of the family struggles and changes, yet no direct letter line exists between him and John III as an example.

When taken into consideration, these questions appear to build up the notion that this thesis should be able to identify and describe semantic change within the letters chosen. However, as will be discussed in the following segment of the data analysis, this is not entirely given as some of the family members, such as Margaret and Calle, that we know discussed farming matters appear to have relatively restricted circles of contact. While this may be the case, it should be noted, as discussed extensively above, that we do not have a complete picture of the period. Richard Calle, for example, may simply have done the dealings with other family members in person, leaving no paper trail, which reminds us that the Absence of evidence isn't evidence of absence.

## Semantic change

### The theory behind Semantic Change.

Along with Historical sociolinguistics, which will be discussed later in the essay, semantic change is the first of this thesis's two major building blocks. As in most fields within linguistics, the field of semantic change is constantly evolving, and as such, a clear definition of what "semantic change" entails is not readily available. The closest one can find could be what is found within the Oxford Companion to the English language 2 ed., where the initial description is "Change in the meanings of words, especially with the passage of time" This initial, short and lacking description is thankfully agreed upon by all the sources used in this thesis, with the caveat that the change often also happens suddenly. The defining arguments focus on where to draw the lines between the different categories, what to name them, and what is not included. To get the broadest possible viewpoints for this discussion, two primary sources have been chosen as they represent their notions on the matter or offer additional views of an older source. Out of these two sources, both have attained significant support, the first being Leonard Bloomfield's 1933 book *Language*.

### Discussing Bloomfield's Typology

In the introduction to Semantic Change in his 1933 book *Language*, Bloomfield describes it as the innovations that change the lexical meaning rather than the grammatical function of a form, as it is primarily interested in the change of a word's meaning, not its role in a sentence. Actual examples of this, according to Bloomfield, can be found in the 1611 King James translation of the Bible, where the sentence reads that the herbs and trees (Genesis 1, 29) *to you they shall be for meat*. Furthermore, he notes that the Old English translation used the word *mete*. This, in turn, hints at the fact that *mete* must have undergone some form of change from the OE period to the Middle English period. Further proof of the change happening can be found in a Latin glossary to the Old English translation, where it states *mete* is the translation used for Latin *cibus*, meaning *food* (1933: 425).

A second example of how related languages show the change is given using *chin*, where it matches with German *Kinn* and Dutch *Kin* to mean the forward part of the mandible. The modern Scandinavian forms, evolving from the Old Norse form *Kinn*, are used to name the *cheek*. Going further back, Bloomfield shows how Greek ['genus] means *chin* and therefore

matches with the West Germanic meaning while the Latin name *gena* means *cheek*, aligning it with the Scandinavian view (1933: 425).

His third example, structural analysis of forms, comes with a warning that the field is far less understood and should be approached with caution. The core argument focuses on the word *understand* where it is argued that the word holds the same meaning today as it did in Old English but that its constituent words do not match up. *Understand* is argued to be a compound of *stand* and *under*, from which one can infer that the compound originally meant *stand under*. This is, in turn, supported by the fact that *under* also once meant *among*, which aligns with the German and Latin cognates *unter* and *inter*. The argument then becomes that the word and its associated meaning *I understand these things* may have had a more literal sense, instead of equating to *I stand among these things* (1933: 425-426)

While the examples have all adhered to Bloomfield's core arguments, he does warn that some may trip the unaware researcher, chief of which are words where the makeup of the form may be older than its meaning. The examples given are *crayfish* and *crawfish* replacing Old French *crevisse* and Middle English *crevise* due to their adaptive and contaminative nature. They can be seen as irregular and semantically obscure forms that are replaced by newer forms with a more stable structure and semantic content. This drop-off may also happen because part of the replaced word becomes obsolete, leading to potential confusion (1933: 423,426). All the points raised here are what contribute, according to Bloomfield, to the need for a system to order these changes in a way that makes it possible to see them, study them and understand them. The nine resulting classes should not be seen as a catch-all, as there will be words that cross between them, but they offer a good tool for further study and categorisation of language change.

## Bloomfields Typology

**Narrowing**, the word goes from having a broader meaning to taking on a specific one.

Old English *mete* "food"> *meat* "edible flesh"

Old English *dēor* "beast"> *deer* "a specific wild animal"

### **Widening:**

Middle English *bridde* "young birdling"> *bird*

**Metaphor** (the definition here lies in the word being of a similar nature):

*Broadcast* "to cast seeds out"> *broadcast* to cast out programs of a varied sort.

**Metonymy** (the meanings are near each other in space or time):

Old English *cēace* "jaw"> *cheek*

Old French *joue* "cheek > jaw"

**Synecdoche** (Change is based on whole-part relation).

Examples here would be the part taking on the sphere of the whole, such as national capitals standing in for the whole country.

*Washington condemns the attacks* > *The United States of America condemn the attacks.*

**Hyperbole** (from stronger to weaker meaning):

**Litotes** (From weaker to stronger meaning, can also be found as *meiosis*):

pre-English [*kwalljan*] "to torment"> Old English *cwellan* "to kill"

### **Degeneration:**

Old English *cnafa* "boy, servant"> *knave*

### **Elevation:**

Old English *cniht* "boy, servant"> *knight*

(1933: 426-427).

While these categories may seem substantial and inclusive at first, they do bring about specific questions and issues that are not covered and hamper their usefulness—the first concerns the notions of rising and falling meanings and the questions of degeneration and elevation. The core issue here is that these notions cannot be objectively classified; what one person would mark as degradation of meaning, one could argue as a neutral or elevated change. The categories may also be incorporated into the others due to their open nature. Old English *cniht*, for example, did increase in standing but seeing how a knight in the Middle Ages was still seen in most cases as a servant of his lord or someone else of authority, one may argue it should instead fall under *Synecdoche*. The same could also be described as a case

of narrowing, as in it was in collision with *cnafa* and therefore shrunk in meaning to only cover one specific type of servant and all entailed by that role.

When it comes to this debate, it is essential to note that Bloomfield was a very early adopter of the field and his initial findings and subsequent classes were, at the time, and to some still are, considered a ground-breaking work in the deeper study of Semantic Change. They were, however, not the first classes attempted. For example, one of the more prominent papers before Bloomfield's came from the French linguist Michel Bréal in 1899, which only had four categories: Restriction of sense, enlargement of sense, Metaphor, and Thickening of Sense. Bloomfield's later quoting of Bréal's materials for his earlier 1914 Book, *An Introduction to the Study of Language*, shows how Bloomfield's findings were, in part, a continuation of earlier debates (1983: 172).

### Discussing Blank's Typology

A different yet similar approach to this that partly aims to clear up the issues and potential misunderstandings of earlier works such as Bloomfield's book can be found in Andreas Blank's chapter "Why do new meanings occur? A cognitive typology of the motivations for lexical Semantic change" in the 1999 book *Historical Semantics and Cognition*. In contrast to Blomfield's work, Blank focuses much closer on the potential motivations behind the different changes that occur, why people would change how they view these items, and how they may have gone about choosing what to change.

Blank starts the introduction to this new idea of semantic change, or lexical semantic change, as he describes it by proclaiming that traditional historical semantics have not succeeded in conceiving a consistent theory for the motivations behind the semantic change. He further argues that the notions put forward to provide a mix of mechanisms, such as metaphors mentioned in Bloomfield, insufficient conditions such as collocation and actual causes, but they are all incomplete (1999: 70). One of the core arguments is focused on the typology written by Stephen Ullmann in 1957, which Blank describes as an eclecticism, being inadequate to cover the field compared to a more empirical approach. Blank describes the reason as: "one should favour an empirical approach to this matter in order to reduce the risk of omitting types that are less striking than others" (1999: 70)

To understand the reasoning behind the sharp attack on Ullmann's work, one must first understand how Blank views the question of semantic change and the driving force behind it. The key question linguistics should be asking here, according to Blank, is why seemingly

well-balanced linguistic systems should, and do change, destabilising a seemingly secure system. To answer this sort of question, one must first find a usable description of what a language is. Eugenio Coseriu, according to Blank, has one potential answer, stating that language is a process (Energia) rather than a product (Egon) that exists in the speaker's mind as a mere potentiality (Dynamis) and finds reality only in concrete utterances. While communicating, we reify what is in our mind and thereby reinvent language every time we speak (1999: 61). This is, in turn, used to argue that the dynamic view of the speaker when forming their language is a motivator for later language changes.

Blank argues that this may show that people, while communicating, reify what is in our minds and thereby reinvent language every time we speak, with speaking and writing being the only way to introduce innovations that may be adopted by other speakers, in turn becoming the new rules for a language (1999: 61-62). The split between innovation and adaptation by others is what leads us to what Blank describes as the first probable motivation, which is focused on the motivation of a speaker while he is innovating, and on the motivation, others feel about adopting the invention based on the speaker's prestige or the perceived status of the change (1999: 62).

The subsequent adaptation of the innovation hints at a pragmatic and cognitive element, wherein the receiver is making a pragmatic choice by accepting the change, and the speaker made an excellent cognitive choice by stating it. Blank's example of this exchange is using *trash* to express the action of erasing files from a computer, which has no direct link, unlike *delete*. It does, however, have a strong Metaphoric link in the way *trash* is strongly connected with the notions of *throwing away waste* and *being waste* linking logical in the sense that deleting items off a computer is akin to taking out the proverbial trash for disposal (1999: 62).

These changes in a language bring one back to the core question asked by Blank at the start, which is: Why change something that is not broken? In line with the previous arguments, one of the answers to this question, according to Blank, can be found in the work of others, specifically George K. Zipf and his 1949 book *Human Behaviour and the Principle of Least Effort*. "Man talks in order to get something" is the core argument, which is further backed by Zipf detailing how man's usage of it should be seen as a set of tools engaged in achieving the speakers' goals, which are to get what they want (1949: 19). The link Blank is trying to draw here using Zipf is primarily focused on the last notion discussed, a language is a tool for getting what one wants, whatever it may be, and this becomes a significant motivator for the speaker or writer, for that matter to innovate with their language to positively change the receiver's

perception. Another example of how these changes can become distinct and permanent would be words such as *Google*, which started as the name for the search engine but is now at a point where people subconsciously use it over, for example, *search* in computer-related fields. The typical usage of this metaphor would be people stating they *googled it* rather than *searched/looked/asked for it* when looking for information, and it is easy to see why the change happened as *googling it* covers all the standard phrases one might use to mention information searching.

These sorts of detailed empirical debates are what separates Blank's later typology from the earlier examples given in this debate and the field of semantic change. As mentioned at the start by Blank, the goal is to create an all-encompassing, sound framework that aims to lower the chance of mishaps or forgotten changes to an absolute minimum. Despite these efforts, there will always be some outliers that refuse classification, as, according to Blank, the specific conditions and motivations for their creation have yet to be established (1999:70-71).



## Blank's Typology

**Metaphor:** Change based on similarities between concepts:

*mouse* "rodent"> "computer device"

**Metonymy:** Change based on contiguity between concepts:

*horn* "animal horn"> "musical instrument"

**Synecdoche:** A type of metonymy involving a part to whole relationship:

Old English *bēam* "tree"> *Beam* "log of a tree."

**Specialisation of meaning:** Downward shift in a taxonomy

*corn* > Wheat (UK) > Maize (US)

**Generalisation of meaning:** Upward shift in taxonomy

*Hoover* "Hoover brand Vacuum cleaner"> "Any type of vacuum cleaner."

**Cohyponymic transfer:** Horizontal shift in a taxonomy

The American robin, seen and named as a robin, would be one example (They belong to two different genus)

**Antiphrasis:** Change based on a contrastive aspect of the concepts

ModE slang *perfect lady* "to mean prostitute."

**Auto-antonymy:** Change of a word's sense and concept to the complementary opposite

Slang form of *bad* for *good*.

**Auto-converse:** Lexical expression of a relationship by the two extremes of the respective relationship

Happens in dialects, examples are *take* in dialect use as *give*, and *teach* used to denote *learn*.

**Ellipsis:** Semantic change based on the contiguity of names

*car* "cart"> "automobile" as a result of the invention of the "motor" *car*.

**Folk-etymology:** Semantic change based on the similarity of names

Old English *brydguma* "bride-man"> *bridegroom*.

## Parallels and debates

Having discussed the different theories considering any earlier work they draw from and their critiques of these works, one can now start to draw parallels between them and find the key points of disagreement. In this regard, both typologies agree on the core notions of semantic change, but they highly differ in the more notable cases. For example, Antiphrasis up to and including Folk Etymology in Blanks typology has no direct counterpart in Bloomfield's

examples. In the opposite direction, Blank's typology does not concern itself with any of the classes relating to the strengthening or weakening of meaning, which are a core idea of Bloomfield's examples. The answer to this is that Blank does not consider these changes to be objectively classifiable, per the earlier debate on the field needing a solid empirical framework. This is not to say the notion should be discarded entirely, as there is proof available showing how words can take on a negative trait and, in turn, lose their former place; it is merely that the actual effect the loss of prestige had is hard to quantify and generally cannot be described. An example of this decline locally and internationally would be the last name *Quisling*. Before World War 2, it was a normal last name anyone could hold, but during the war, the Norwegian politician Vidkun Quisling formed a puppet government in Norway with the blessing of the German state, which in the eyes of the people made him a traitor to the nation. This mark as a traitor led to people using *Quisling* as the name or mark of a traitor to one's country or values. With this word, it should be noted that the extent to which it replaced *traitor* is a significant matter of debate, and its hard decline in use since World War 2 indicates that it did not overtake *traitor* in any meaningful way.

The second major clash of the typologies lies in Blank's focus on semantic change that happens at the extremes of language use and the initially very contradictory results these swaps bring. However, despite the odd naming, they focus on essential concepts in the understanding of language change over time as, for example, auto-antonymy deals with words that have taken up several meanings, where one is the reverse of another. Blank's example of how this can help linguistic understanding comes from the way Latin *plicare* "to fold" ended up at opposite semantic ends in Ibero-Romance and Rumanian:

Lat. *plicare* "to fold"> Rum. *a pleca* "to leave"

Lat. *plicare* "to fold"> Spanish: *llegar*, Portuguese: *chegar* "to arrive."

(1999: 74-75)

Blank argues that the reason behind the development may be that the Shepherd focused society of Rumania viewed folding the tents as associated with leaving, while the marine society of Spain associated the folding of sails as a part of arriving somewhere.

While Blank's arguments for a more empirical typology for Semantic change are agreeable and well-defended, his rebuttal of Ullmann's proposed 1957 typology is harsher than what may be warranted. The supposed reasons behind semantic change that Ullmann discusses are perfectly in line with earlier works and feature no significant erroneous steps in thought, as

they are soundly grounded in the past works. His initial example of the systems at play even comes with a strict warning that it is only a simplified skeletal structure made to show the main points of the theory. The structure is comprised of two parts, the first discussing association between the senses that is made up of *Similarity (Metaphor)* and *Contiguity (Metonymy)*. Examples are how the human neck shares certain features with the narrow top part of a bottle and obstacles leading to a narrowing of business machines, leading to the metaphor *bottleneck* (1957: 80). Metonymy is shown by noting the connection of the human tongue and speech production with its usage as a term for a language where *mother tongue* and *English tongue* are two examples. The first example also brings up the debate of how the land of one's mother is seen as the most important in certain countries and languages.

Ullman's second point, the association between the names, deals with *similarity (Popular-etymology and formal readjustment)* and *Contiguity (Ellipsis)*. *Popular-etymology* is shown through Old English "sam-blind" becoming associated with the phonetically similar "sand", leading to a semantic change into "sand-blind". Ellipsis has a more straightforward example, discussing the way "private" and "soldier" have come to hold the same meaning due to frequent usage within similar areas, leading to the form "a private" being a common way to describe a soldier. For the last example, it is essential to note that "private" is specifically the lowest rank an enlisted man can have in most English-speaking armies, and it is not meant to be a general catch-all for all lower-ranking soldiers in an army. This, in turn, raises the question of whether the example should instead be discussed under *similarity (metaphor)* instead of as the change is a generalisation. The same question could also be asked regarding degradation or pejoration as the new meaning downgrades the status of "private" to that of a lower class.

This discussion on the notion of words taking on negative traits once again brings us back to Blank's argumentation as it is a significant collision point between it and all the other typologies discussed in this chapter. Following earlier discussions, it must be noted that Blank's disregard of it does hold water, with the most substantial proof lying in the notion of pejorative words themselves. That is to say that there are no agreed-upon criteria for what makes a word pejorative or degrading; the final reception lies almost wholly in the mind of the recipient. Examples of this complex divide are a dime a dozen across different countries and cultures; English examples would include words such as *Brummie*, which in its simplest take merely means a man from Birmingham. In the wider usage sphere, however, it can be seen used as a derogatory mark *He's a Brummie!* or it can be found in a positive sense, *I'm an*

*incredibly proud Brummie*. In line with this, the word *Brummie* itself can have a minimum of three connotations simultaneously, those being neutral, positive, and negative, all depending on the speaker interaction discussed above. Examples from other countries would be words such as *southerner* for Americans and, more locally, *Bergenser* for Norwegians, all of which can be found in the three cases discussed above.

This split is the thing that must be thoroughly studied and understood before any further judgment on the issue can be passed, and the resulting question is if it can be fully understood at all. This uncertainty clearly shows why Blank refutes the notion and urges a more empirical approach to Semantic Change. We know that the words are being used in a derogatory manner, but they are at the same time embraced by others and can be found used in books to neutrally denote someone from that specific place, giving us a shaky three-way split. So, there is no clear answer for these significant three-way examples splits beyond the fact that the speakers are in two of the examples intentionally using the language in one way. The uncertainty this creates is undoubtedly one of the reasons Blank refuted the idea in the first place, as the feelings-based focus does not agree well with an empirical approach as human emotions are fickle and unpredictable. This solution is, however, not satisfactory as *Quisling* showed that people's strong emotions towards a particular word could alter it substantially in such a way that it takes on a newly accepted form, but in recent years the word has weaned and can be found used positively in names, so the extent of the change is debatable. All that can seemingly be agreed upon regarding the debate is that people's perceptions of a word may significantly affect its usage and alterations, leading to the same categorisation issues as before.

These exact questions also appear in the opposite direction when dealing with words that take on a positive connotation due to people's perception of them, and this is also lacking in firm debate, especially as positive twists to words may have a more substantial effect on its transformation and stability. However, as before, there is a good chance that these positive changes may be covered by other classes such as Blanks generalisation or Bloomfield's Narrowing affecting *Hoover* and turning its positive image into the default name for vacuum cleaners in some countries such as the United Kingdom. The same could also be argued for the negative examples, and these may change readily due to a change in people's opinions. A double classical example of this negative name changing would be the name *Pyrrhic victory* from the Roman Republics' battle with Pyrrhus of Epirus in 279BC, a victory gained at too great a cost to be worthwhile as it forced Pyrrhus to abandon his campaign. However, it was

not the first name for such a catastrophic victory that goes to Cadmus, founder of Epirus, who lost all his men fighting the Lernaean Hydra, giving birth to the term Cadmean victory.

Going by these notions and discussions, the best answer is regrettably that more study is needed. All the debate has shown us that the lack of a discussion on this matter leads to undue uncertainty on the transformation of certain words making a clear statement on how a change happened needlessly hard.

Going on from what has been discussed in parts throughout this discussion on semantic change ideas built on a foundation of Bloomfield and Blank, it is crucial to keep in mind how this all relates to the thesis at hand and how to best use the new toolkit to its best possible ability. As for the first part of the question, the direct usability of this lies in the study of potential changes in language use throughout the period covered by the Paston Letters, with the focus, as discussed in the introduction being on nouns related to the world of farming. These limitations will have implications for the broader study; the first is that we will be dealing with a very narrow timeframe for the potential language change. Blank's example of how *to fold* in the earlier discussion on Semantics possibly led to two different outcomes that would have taken place over a minimum of some 400 years, while this thesis only deals with letters encompassing some 200 years. While not impossible due to significant events or shifts, as shown by the *Quisling* example above, we are dealing with seemingly simpler words in this study. Middle English *Ferm(e)* would be the best example of these issues in the period; according to sources such as the Middle English Dictionary, it has three significant usage groups: first as a term for an agreement to use the land for payment, second to describe the payment itself, the payment given for the right to collect revenue, or royal rent, and third to farm out something, revenue rights or rent and lease something. The first two categories have direct results from the Paston letters in the Middle English Dictionary entry, indicating that the usage was there and varied. This uncertainty highlights how the further study of the material will have to be extensive to find further proof.

Discussion and analysis of data.

Discussion of materials.

Initial discussion and separation of attestations into subcategories for more straightforward debate.

One initial question raised by a thesis such as this is how to break down the materials and discuss them in due course. For this thesis, the choice has been made to study them in groups ordered by relevance to each other, with the groups being: The farmed grains, the animals farmed, the people doing the farming, and the areas in which it is done and sold. The category choices presented above were made to fit the most relevant words together into a grouping, and while care was taken, Farm and Beef, in particular, raised some questions regarding their assigned group, and they will be discussed when the groupings are introduced and in detail when they appear in their respective categories. The structure of the following discussion is set to first look into and shed light on the infrequent attestations given by some of the most significant users of the terms in the letters paying close focus on the reasons behind them. Following these issues, the focus will initially be split based on the categories, with a core focus on building up from the attestations.

This structure will be seen in the points first discussing the materials at large to categorise whether they fit the definition given by the Middle English Dictionary, and if not what definition they have. With a deeper focus, the segments will then analyse the uses to fully ascertain any trends within them and how they may or may not be indicating change in the term. Change here would primarily focus on change in the words apparent meaning, i.e., does BARLEY go from only relating to the crop to describing a related item? Notes of any change in the word proper will also be discussed as it may hold relevance, but such changes are not a key focus of this thesis as changes in spelling are frequent in period and generally only stylistic. Building on the previous discussions, the final segment of the discussion is an initial look into the potential semantic prosody of the terms, a complete comparison between the different attestations to see which show change, which may have undergone any change, and which show no apparent signs of change. With the full extent of the attestations discussed, the final section will be the concluding remarks and a discussion on any shortcomings of the thesis and ways in which it may be avoided or improved upon in further research on the subject matter.

The terms also raise questions regarding their spread throughout the letters, and potential factors relating to the people that wrote them. This structured examination raises and

addresses these issues through a series of deeper dives into six major writers in the letters, John Paston I through III, Margaret Paston, Richard Calle, and James Gloys. The resulting discussions focus primarily on any abnormalities that appear in the attestations found from them. James Gloys for example, has his first attestations between 1448 and 1451, followed by a sixteen-year period until 1466 with only one attestation, a mention of CORN in 1461. Considering the position these people had within the family, studying gaps such as these are of interest as they help shed light on the surrounding challenges of the family while also aiding the thesis by helping clear doubts of materials possibly being missed. Along with showing the gaps these deep dives also help paint the important picture of why the found attestations are there. John I's lack of material for example is firmly linked with major external shifts in the family standing and importance, points that will be addressed in the relevant study below. Without these it would, along a similar line to the previous discussion on missed materials be possible to draw unsuitable conclusions on the lack of material.

Studying the potential impact of gaps in the letters and the influence this may have had on the attestations.

### John Paston I-III

<b>Corn</b>						X	X						
<b>Grain</b>						X							
<b>Malt</b>						X		X					
<b>Barley</b>						XX	XXX	X					X
<b>Wheat</b>													
<b>Tenant</b>					XXX	XX							
<b>Beef</b>													
<b>Field</b>						XX	X						
<b>Market</b>													
<b>Farm</b>						X	X						
<b>Farmer</b>					X	X				X			
<b>Crop</b>							X						
<b>Acre</b>					X								
<b>Cattle</b>					X	X	X						
<b>Sheep</b>						X							
<b>Harvest</b>													
<b>Pasture</b>													
	144 0	144 5	145 0	145 5	146 0	146 5	147 0	147 5	148 0	148 5	149 0	149 5	150 0

John Paston I

John Paston II

John Paston III

### *John Paston I (1421-1466)*

John I along with his wife Margaret, who will be discussed later can be seen as the power couple that sprung the Pastons from a status of minor importance to one of a regional power through his previously discussed work on attaining a high standing with John Fastolf his eventual beneficiary. The first point of note here per the table above is that this thesis has found no indication of John I writing to others about any part of the family's agrarian holdings prior to the 1460s. We know he was involved to a fair extent from his wife Margaret's letters to him, the earliest of which is from 1449. The initial gap is a matter of uncertainty as William Paston's death in 1444 made John and Margaret the heads of the estate, a task that would surely have included letters with employees and family. John I's first letter that relates to farming is TENANT.24 in the appendix, dated to June 1460 it informs Margaret of what instructions she should give Richard Calle regarding the managing of tenants and farmers. When it comes to explanations as to why letters only started appearing from the 1460s onwards, John Fastolf's death in 1459 offers the most plausible reason. Following on from earlier discussions in this thesis, the death and subsequent naming of John I the executor of Fastolf's lands painted a large target on the family's backs increasing the need for more accurate records of their holdings. We especially see this in the major uptick in attestation across the field from 1465 onwards as John I worked towards the future of the family. This is further shown in how the attestations grew from simple discussions around tenants to focusing on all agricultural aspects the family worked in. His 1465 writings also show us that malt grain had grown to become an important revenue stream for the family as it is his highest attested word at 15 total attestations in 1465 alone. The immediate drop-off post-1465 in the table is attributed to John I's death in 1466 which led to John II inheriting the family fortunes.

### *John II (1442-1479)*

While John Paston fought hard for his fortune and held onto major lands up to his death, his son John II, had a very different view of the properties and their management, a view that quickly caused a major string of losses. While his father had aimed to fight all challengers to their newly gained lands, John II held a more pragmatic view, focusing on what could realistically be held, and as such a deal with Bishop Waynflete was struck. With strong backing from the courts, the deal saw Fastolf's former lands in Essex, Surrey, Norfolk, and Suffolk divided between the two parties in a deal that can be seen as rather unfavourable for the Pastons and one that Bennet doubts John I would have accepted (1951, 19). These issues



brought on a second major issue for the Paston's, which was a critical lack of capital, with the letters showing the family at times had issues raising a few pounds (1951, 21). In the same letters, we also learn that John II was at times forced to order his bailiffs to gather taxes early from his tenants, which did not always go as wished. Proof of this attempted overcharging can be found in TENANT.68, a 1466 letter from James Gloys, one of the family servants, to John II warning him that overcharging the tenants will destroy his tenants and lordships. Further evidence can be found in the first two farming-related attestations we have from John II: BARLEY.14 is a letter to his brother John III asking him to get a good deal on some barley so that he may have money upon his return to England, and BARLEY.15 is a letter to Margaret his mother asking how her servant Pekok has done in selling his barley for money.

While John II's frequent and noticeably direct letters regarding his finances appear to paint him as a more involved landowner, Margarets letters to him often paint another picture, that of a disinterested noble that only cared if the rents were late or missing. Bennet notes that John II was at the time troublingly not spending the limited money on defending Paston landholdings at court or using it to raise appeals, he was instead spending it on wagers and to fund his notions of being a courtier through activities such as jousts (1951, 22). This squandering led to other family members such as John III growing impatient with the lack of progress as evident in an April 1467 letter where he congratulates his brother on his match at Eltham but notes that he would "love to see him once at Caister Hall over all the tournaments between London and Eltham" (Paston 535.175.5350).

The points and questions above raise another important question regarding the family matters seen in the letters: If the family finances were in such a bad condition and in dire need of work, some of which was done despite John II's tendency to spend frivolously, why do we have so few examples of him discussing the family estates? Some potential answers to this question can be found in the letters of other family members and the servants, Margaret as discussed previously ruled the family estates she owned with an iron hand and tended to take care of them with her own goals in mind giving John II some managerial release there. John III, that will be discussed in more detail next has eighteen attestations to John II's seven showing a potentially important difference in farming related discussions. While these discrepancies appear to show a potentially important difference, it is important to take them in the wider context of the letters, where we see per Bennet that John II did not stop writing or doing work on his lands. John II appears to instead have merely stopped using farm related nouns to describe the lands and holdings he was trying to sell or discuss with other family

members, friends or clients. These discussions culminated in Margaret threatening to separate her inherited holdings from the general family, a threat that suggests the family was heavily strapped for cash and that John II's financial plans did not have the wide support of the family (1951, 23-24).

The only two remaining major consideration regarding John II would be the possibility of missing letters from them not making it back into the hands of the family, and John II's continued presence in London making it possible for him to sell the lands to other nobles in person without the need for extensive letter communications. Both potentials are closely linked, and both may easily have influenced the other, but considering the number of very high ranking important people whose letters exist within the collection it would be very odd for letters from a family head to be missing to such an extent. The selling of lands in this period would have required extensive conversations on price and contents, and considering the conflict heavy history of the Family it would appear out of character to not have secure paper trails to show ownership. The latter option of John II simply making the deals in person with other nobles is plausible as he spent a considerable time at court where he would have met all the nobles needed to make quick and easy sales of land for money, one of the first issues that pop up with this idea comes from the previously discussed letter from John III partially ridiculing John II's absence from his land in favour of attending royal tournaments across the country. Such questions of his priorities and ridicule of them may suggest the notion that John II was not spending his time at court making the necessary connections to sell lands, instead focusing on building relations off of his jousting record. While his direct thoughts are unknown the time spent jousting was not wholly wasted as the acquaintances, which included the inner court, eventually came to his aid in regard to his pleas for Caister to be returned to him from the Duke of Norfolk in 1476 (Bennet 1951, 26). Following Caister's return which was discussed further in the family history, John II passed in autumn 1479 leaving John III in charge.

### *John III (1444- 1504)*

John III, later to also be known as Sir John was the third John to become the head of the family inheriting the title after his brother's death in 1479. A key point of discussion when it comes to John III is the mere fact that he inherited the family fortunes from his brother, a notion that was rare in medieval England as the main inheritance of noble families went to the first born sons of the family, and passed on to their sons in turn. This means that in terms of

inheritance the firstborn son held all the power and all the other children, while still being loved and cared for were only granted a suitable education, and some support but beyond those short aides they had to make their own way in life. This need for schooling, yet not to train to be the heir likely had a fair influence over his parents' decision to place him under the tutelage of the Duke of Norfolk. The time he spent under the Duke gave John III a sound education while also allowing for him to spy on the Duke's household and report relevant rumours back to his family. The placement started in 1461 when John III was Seventeen and lasted for an uncertain time, but we have farming related attestations from letters he wrote to his father in 1461 and 1464, but none in 1462-63 potentially indicating that he at that time was not involved in managing the family farm holdings giving us a tangible end date of early 1464.

When it comes to relevant attestations of his work on the family farm holdings, they as stated above start in 1461 with the attestations ACRE.7, ACRE.8, and TENANT.45 dated to at the latest November tenth. Both letters are also tellingly addressed to his father and the relevant parts deal with John III discussing land ownership and the issues of several people claiming ownership of the same pieces of land, a common gripe found amongst farm workers of the time as the *de jure owner* and *de facto owner* were often not the same person or family (Bennet 1951, 253). His work for the family business continues onward from then and three fourths of the seventeen attestations found are letters between him and other family members primarily John I and John II.

This spread of material also makes John III along with his mother Margaret one of the longest chains of attestations within the letters, his writings span forty years and cover a vast change in his circumstances. The first interesting point in this timeline is that John III does not appear to have been fazed much by early major events in his life. He continued to work for the family while being placed out with the Duke, and upon returning quickly returned to the expected duties that eventually led to him complaining about his brother's distant management. This lack in firm management led to the siege of Caister in 1469 which is partially found in the lack of any farming letters from that year, but BARLEY.13 tells us that he was back working for the family again by January the following year. Going on from this there are two letters from him to John II in 1472 discussing corn, harvest and crop, with the latter, CROP.1 being the only mention of crops found in the letters. Following on from 1472 is when we see the first major skip in his attestable letter writing with the next result being a draft FARMER.62 written sometime between 1487 and 1495 well into his reign as the newest family head. John

III's final personal attestations BARLEY.23 and BARLEY.24 are in a letter to Richard Croft a family servant dated to around 1500 discussing the sale and ownership of Barley for payment. With John III's earlier writing being numerous and well spread out without any mentionable deviations from his work, the major drops that start appearing post 1472 naturally raise questions, and there are a couple of potential explanations.

The first answer ties into the major change going in throughout England at the time, The War of the Roses and the Paston family involvement in it. Per the earlier history introduction, it is known that John II and III fought in several battles for both sides, and the important one for John III's absence was the Battle of Barnet in 1471 where he fought for the losing Lancastrian side against King Edward IV. Edward IV won the battle and John III was wounded, captured by the Yorkists and importantly, put on trial for treason. The trial and imprisonment went on for an unknown number of months, but it is known that John III was eventually pardoned by the king in 1472. Circumstantial evidence for the length of the pardon can also be found in the previously discussed attestation CORN.10 dated September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1472, which indicates that he was back working for the family by then.

This period also saw other major challenges to the family structure and availability, specifically Richard Calle's surprise marriage to John's sister Margery in 1469 that in turn led to the family casting Calle who was their most trusted bailiff out causing them managerial issues. Calle's absence did not last and as is expanded upon under Calle's letter discussion, the took him back in as an employee, by most accounts solely due to his managerial skills (Bennet 1951, 45-46). The Lancastrians and John III's failure at Barnet had also ushered in a second reign for Edward IV, a major change that considering his very recent pardon John III lacked sufficient favour with. Here it may be prudent to again note how all Paston family heads spent considerable amounts of time in London courting the court itself and other nobles present to further the family, a posting that took its due time. Alongside the need for royal courting, John III also had to pay mind to courting suitable women for a marriage match, and by the letters this match was found in Margery Brewes in 1476. John III's Marriage talks with Margery and her parent were tough and demanded a dowry higher than what John III could afford, but thankfully for him Margaret interceded and helped negotiate the dowry securing the marriage. The pair were married in late summer 1477 and had their first child Christopher in 1478. Following these major changes to John III and the family, we know that the next major event was his brother's death in late autumn 1479 granting him the role of heir, we also interestingly have two attestations of tenant, TENANT.93 and TENANT.94, in a letter dated

November 25<sup>th</sup> the same year to John III discussing the family farming business so we can assume that the new responsibilities came without delay. Margery is the next proof of John III discussing farming matters, with all her 1481 attestations stemming from letters to him discussing the state of the holdings at that time. While not direct writing evidence these show that John III was fully involved in the business and that the Pastons still fully followed the notion that the wife took care of matters at home while the husband worked away. FARMER.62 found in a letter addressed to John Radcliffe 9<sup>th</sup> Baron FitzWalter dated to somewhere between 1487 and 1495 gives us the next relevant usage from John Paston III wherein he discusses the lacking management of Baron FitzWalters land at the hands of his farmer. This letter is followed by another break in his farming writing until the last attestations we have of his, BARLEY.23 and BARLEY.24 come in a letter to Richard Croft a servant dated to around 1500 where he discussed the sale and provision of barley for his lord. The most logical explanation for the supposedly up to thirteen-year gap seen here is the rekindled instability of the War of the Roses. From 1483 to 1485 England had four different kings holding the throne with before Henry VII ended the strife when he claimed the crown in August 1485. These major changes in the political structure of the country, drew John III away from housekeeping matters and towards politics. The same year he was, per the history, Member of Parliament for Norwich, and Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk (Davies 1971, lxi). In 1487 while serving under the Earl of Oxford he fought for Henry VII at the battle of Stoke field, whereupon he was knighted after the battle for his services. His new Knighthood led to a rapid increase in his standing and by 1500 he was Deputy Lord Admiral a position that again led to him being invited to help organise the marriage between Katherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur. This major rise in fame and power came to a halt upon his death on August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1504, where he was succeeded by his son William Paston.

These continued discussions on the ebbs and flows of the farming related letters of the three main Paston Family heads in the 1400's highlights, as has been discussed before, how the family functioned on the notion that the husband worked hard at securing their needs politically while the wives took care of the just as important management of their landholdings and all the problems this caused. We have also seen how they communicated extensively to keep each other up to date on important happenings and to make sure major decisions were made in unison. This discussion has also highlighted how, despite ample findings in the letters, there are still major gaps that may at first appear to be periods of no communication when there likely was far more than thought, just none written down. Some of

the gaps will be further explained next as the key servants of the family, James Gresham, James Gloys, John Pampyng, and Richard Calle will be discussed as they make up a substantial part of the attestations and at times offer a differing perspective from their masters.

<b>Corn</b>													
<b>Grain</b>													
<b>Malt</b>					X	X							
<b>Barley</b>					XXX								
<b>Wheat</b>					XX								
<b>Tenants</b>					XXX	X							
<b>Beef</b>					X								
<b>Fields</b>													
<b>Market</b>													
<b>Farm</b>					XX								
<b>Farmer</b>					XX	XX	X						
<b>Crop</b>													
<b>Acre</b>					XX								
<b>Cattle</b>					XX								
<b>Sheep</b>													
<b>Harvest</b>													
<b>Pasture</b>													
	144	144	145	145	146	146	147	147	148	148	149	149	150
	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	0

Richard Calle (c. 1432- c1515).

With the core family members discussed in the segments above, the next major part of the letter attestations falls on the family servants. Richard Calle was the premiere and known for being an excellent bailiff for the family and marrying their daughter Margery out of love without their blessing. When it comes to his surviving letters, they as with those of the past Johns line up well with known historical events, but there is a lack of materials explaining the details behind his initial employment with the family, and his later departure.

The full meaning of this is that we know for certain that Calle was in the employ of the family as a bailiff managing lands by roughly 1450. Attestations only start from 1460 onwards giving us a ten-year gap that is not readily explained, as there should logically be letters from Calle discussing farming matters with the family proper and external employees or acquaintances. John Fastolf, as before gives the most likely answer with his now much discussed death in 1459. Per the John I debate this had a major effect on the family's need to collect letters and to fully map out what lands they owned and Calle, being the bailiff, would have been the natural

choice for the job. Evidence for Calle taking and fulfilling the job can be found in BARLEY.<sup>5</sup> where he discussed lands held around Boyton and the farmers requesting that the Pastons pay for repairs before they move in to farm the land. Further proof may also be found in the simple fact that fifty-two out of fifty-eight found attestations are dated between 1460 and 1464 leaving only six or ten percent for the remaining years of his employment.

While this perfectly matches the attestation pattern found in John I's letters, we interestingly see a drop in mentions of farming matters upon his passing, raising the question of how Calle was communicating these matters with John II, if at all to the same extent. Here it may be prudent to call back to figure 3, to pay attention to how the links between Calle, Margaret and John II places him in a very central role that he may have used to do some of the business in person instead of letters.

Evidence for Richard Calle's work being mentioned between family members and not by himself can be found in CATTLE.<sup>8</sup>, a 1465 letter from Margaret to John I and GRAIN.<sup>2</sup> and MALT.<sup>12</sup> dated January 1465 where we see John I describing Calle's work to Margaret. These descriptors tell us that the family members were well informed of Calle's movements and discussed them internally without the need for him to write updating letters. These discussions may in turn be a part of the explanation of why we have the drop in attestations.

All the explanations so far have been focused on using the working side of Richard Calle's time with the Pastons to explain the rise and fall of found attestations. While this angle appears to offer sound arguments, earlier discussions have shown that the post 1465 period was not all focused on work for Calle, as he also spent this time courting Margery whom he wed in 1469 after a lengthy quarrel with the family and the clergy of Norfolk. Per these earlier discussions we know that Margaret threw the couple out following the confirmation of their marriage, and this included Calle being fired from his position. These events line up with the attestations we have from Calle where there is a gap from 1469 to 1472 where we find the last attestation FARMER.<sup>56</sup> from him dated November 27<sup>th</sup>, which is importantly a letter to Margaret, informing us that he at that point was again in their employment, and talking with the core family. Beyond this letter we know that Calle and Margery had three sons before she passed in 1480, which is where Calle appears to have left the family and moved to Bacton with his new wife where he lived until 1515 outliving all the John Pastons.

## The Farmed Grains

The farmed grains, being the first category, focuses on the related grains mentioned in different variations within the attestations. CORN, GRAIN, MALT, BARLEY, and WHEAT form the apparent core of what cash and food crops the Paston family grew at the time and offer a wide range of information regarding the cost, quality, and importance of these crops in the 1400s. With crops holding major significance to people in the period as they were the primary way farmers made their money, this category was expected to show some degree of change due to the heavy usage of the words. The vast number of people using it, from the aristocracy down to the common Tenant or farmer, gives these words a wide area of usage ideal for the wanted language change to occur.

## Crop

CROP is the minor outlier in this grouping as its unspecific nature makes it applicable to all things one might grow from the ground. Still, it only has one attestation within the collection that mentions throwing crops upon the ground and thus appears to be best suited for the farmed grains category. Therefore, per earlier discussions in this thesis, initial expectations on the terms were that they would be found in ample numbers throughout the letter collection. The reasoning behind this argument lies in the status of grains in the period. Their wide usage for food and drink and their position as necessary for survival.

## Corn

For CORN, the initial searches of the material returned twelve attestations ranging from 1445 to 1481, with a notable spike in 1466. Corn's starting time of 1445 is late, considering the family owned several manors by then, but its rise does match the first rise of major legal troubles faced by the family starting in the early 1440s. Interestingly, the first mention, CORN.1, has Agnes writing to her son Edmond to discuss some disputed lands supposedly held for rent under William Paston. In the attestations, corn's usage entirely falls within the farming category, with each use having it act as a general descriptor of the various grains grown within Paston Lands. These terms are widespread, and only one, *his*, appears more than once in the twelve attestations, with a total of three in CORN.2, CORN.7, and CORN.8. The remaining nine terms are, apart from CORN.6 and CORN.11 single entries with no clear way of showing change over time. CORN.6 from James Gloys to John II dated 1466 is the first example where we find the statement *catelyns corn* giving us an example of the term being connected to a named individual. Following this, CORN.11 from Margery to John III dated 1481 possibly gives us an example of the corn mentioned being specified beyond its general



character in the sentence *ther wynter corn*. Along with these examples, a possible case may be made for CORN.3 dated 1462 that has *certein corn*, but the term here contains no further information making it far more uncertain.

While these examples prove Corn's use in more specific ways in the letters, they do not provide clear examples of mentionable change over time. Per the previous terms, CORN.6 and CORN.11 offer a difference, but two singular uses spread apart by some fifteen years do not make a sound argument of change happening. *His*, which does have three attestations, also lacks any evidence of change in the word, and with the term matching modern usage perfectly, one would not expect it to show any mentionable change. The remaining term usage offers a variety of ways corn can be discussed, but they do not display any trends. Looking at these results using the middle English dictionary for reference, the usage of corn is within what one would expect from period usage. (MED "corn, n.1") The MED quotations beginning in the late 1100s feature a definition near to what is found in the letters and suggest little change in meaning. With the spelling showing no signs of change over time, CORN does not appear to offer any mentionable change within the letters.

### Grain

Regarding GRAIN, the searches only returned three results, one from GRAIN.1, a letter from John I to Margaret dated January 15<sup>th</sup> 1465, and two from GRAIN.2, again from John I to Margaret dated September 20<sup>th</sup> 1465. Here, as with CORN, the usage follows what is expected in the period per the MED's definition ("grain, n.1"). However, the low attestation count from one sender makes further analysis difficult as it does not offer enough data over time for a sound analysis. What can be seen from the material is that the term encompasses grains used for payment and which are to be delivered for malting. GRAIN.2 gives a deviation by the first sentence *moch barly and greyness* separating barley from grains; however, this fits within the standard usage shown in the MED and does not appear to be a particular usage case. These issues make Grain of minimal use as the lack of material makes comparing with the other terms impossible.

### Malt

The third category, MALT, with 30 attestations from 1445 to 1475, initially gives a higher chance of change, but the data is unclear. Per the MED, the expected usage is the word describing grains that have undergone the malting process, a required step of beer production ("malt, n.1"). However, when it comes to the usage, we see again that the word first appears

twice following the troubles around 1445, followed by scattered results before a spike to seventeen attestations in 1465. Moving on, this rise brought on by John I, saw malt in some limited usage before falling off by 1475. Within the attestation, the majority is related to specifying ownership or belonging using the terms: *of, youre, the, what, my, and place names*. Beyond these terms, we have one instance in MALT.8 where we see place names and time combined to date the malt discussed and four attestations of malt being counted for storage and sale.

Within these attestations, the named malts merit further study as the MED has no similar entries making them oddities. These name examples come from two letters. The first is from Richard Calle to John I, dated July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1462, containing the time and name attestations in MALT.8. Our second letter is from January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1465, between John I and Margaret. It has the named attestations found in MALT.15,16, and 17, with the first letter mentioning Castre and Mauteby and the second containing Cambriggeshire, Guton, and Lynstedes. These mentions show us first where the Paston's were making and storing their malt, with Mauteby being Margaret's family manor and castre being more unsure. Still, it may be Fastolf's Caistre as the two were within a day's travel of each other. Cambriggeshire is naturally Cambridgeshire, and the remaining two places must be in Norfolk as the same letter states the malt is to be shipped from Blakeney, a town on the coast due north of Norwich. The interest in these terms lay in the way that the Paston's chose to name the malt's origin directly, while all the other attestations opt for unknown sources. Why this choice was made is more uncertain; with them only taking up five out of thirty results, it would not appear to be standard practice. Considering the delay times for letters and uncertainty of writing in period, the likely explanation for this would be that it was done to ensure only the specific malt was discussed and dealt with. With Mauteby holding a high position and Caister only recently entering the family holdings by 1462, they would have been vital discussion points regarding appraising and selling their output. While these terms are curious oddities, the general trend of MALT is still within the definition given by the MED and thus shows no clear sign of change that may be studied further.

## Barley

BARLEY, the fourth researched term, comes in at twenty-five attestations starting in 1448 and going on, per the corpus, to a probable date of around 1500. Here the most prominent descriptions of BARLEY are *ferm, the, combe, and your*, that in turn describe the barley itself, designate it, state the amount, or assign the owner. Outside these descriptions, the remaining

are generally focused on ownership and amounts through terms such as *of*, *moch*, *fastolffes*, and *serteyn* as examples. While interesting, barley remains unchanged throughout these different uses. Comparing all the different uses to the MED, we find that they, as before, match up with the general trend of the quotations except for the *ferme* link, which notably has no similar results ("barlī, n.1").

The odd state of *ferme* and its usage with *barley* brings up some uncertainty about what it means explicitly in the context of the attestations. Unfortunately, the MED dictionary entry has no examples of this usage, but Mayhew and Skeat (2003, 173) have it as an adjective meaning firm, which answers that question but raises another regarding the use, is it the barley being firm, or the barley being firm(ly) in hand? However, in the attestations, BARLEY.14, 15, and 23, the usage and intent are identical, with the phrase being *my ferme barly* preceded by a notion that a good price for its sale is wanted. BARLEY.14 offers the best explanation, with the letter being John II asking his brother John III to sell his *ferme barley* so that he may have some money upon his return to England. Discussing the barley being firm would be an odd choice in this sentence as the need for money is pressing, and as such, the materials are needed in hand immediately. This discrepancy makes the barley being firmly in hand the more likely answer, as it is a prerequisite for any sale. With the other attestations following the MED, Barley, as the other grain terms, show no initial signs of the word changing with time.

### Wheat

Wheat, the final constituent, contains five attestations ranging from 1445 to 1475, giving some range despite the limited content. The MED has it down as the common name for the wheat plant and crop, and interestingly the second and third attestations WHEAT.2 and 3, is found as quotations, further confirming that this term is linked ("Wheat, n.1"). WHEAT.1 and 2, dated to 1445, feature an older spelling form from the rest written as *qwete* and *qhete*, which is in line with the earlier examples of the MED. Following this, the remaining attestations shift to a *wh* spelling servant and master alike. However, the usability of this is uncertain as the first two attestations are by John Osbern, the next two from Richard Calle, and the last from Margaret. This split means that we can see a change in the letters, but it is impossible to say if this is an actual shift or just varying preference as we have no later or earlier proof of their writing to compare with. The MED also brings up a further hurdle with an entry tagged 2.329 containing a *qwet* spelling supposedly dated 1447-8. The first issue is that this excerpt cannot be located within the digital corpus, nor can it be found in Davies'

three volumes on the letters, so where the writers found this fragment is uncertain. With these considerations, WHEAT gives us the first evidence of change within the letters, but a lack of further data hampers the usability.

## The Animals Farmed

### Beef

The next category, The Animals Farmed, begins slowly with the word Beef with a mere one attestation BEEF.1 in a letter from Richard Calle to John I dated to 1461 gives no evidence of use over time and, as such, is of little in any study of use over time. It does, however, tell us that the word was in use by the family at this point, and this usage is found in the MED, indicating that it is in line with language trends of the period and is, therefore, nothing major nor new ("bēf. N.1").

### Cattle

Following on from Beef, Cattle is the following subcategory, and it begins stronger with 21 attestations from 1452 to 1481, spanning the core business period of the family but not appearing in the early or late periods. Regarding usage, the family letters follow the MED entry but immediately raise questions regarding the exact nature of the word as it is used ("catēl, n.1"). The core issue raised is that the word in period can be found predominantly used in two different ways; the first and most numerous on the MED is to name property of any kind; goods, treasure, money, land, income, etc., and the second less used is to describe owned livestock. These two uses do not exclude each other, but they do increase the difficulty of finding the actual usage of the word in a text. A saving grace for the study performed here lies in how the Pastons discuss and describe the word in the letters, CATTLE.1, CATTLE.6, CATTLE.19 AND CATTLE.20, for example, all have words connected to words associated with Cattle keeping, such as driving "I wold **dryue** all the **catell** they haue" (CATTLE.19). CATTLE.5 gives an example of the opposite use, here with the common phrase "godes and catels» a distinctly plural form of the usage per the MED. Another interesting point of the usage is how the word does not undergo any change over the period covered by the letters, informing us that the change must have come later here and that the word shows little change in its meaning or use in the period.

### Sheep

Sheep, the last part of the subcategory, proved to be the most difficult when it came to agreeing upon the meaning of the word as some of the ME forms that exist also match the

word for ship in the period, a mix that muddled the available pool and as such of 31 initial results only 11 were found to be likely sheep related ("shēp, n.1", "ship, n.1"). However, all eleven results match the possible entries within the MED. For example, the first entry has Margaret Paston write CHEPE in a 1448 letter (SHEEP.1). The last is a 1472 letter where she writes it shep (Sheep.11). This information tells us that Sheep has undergone a noticeable change in spelling within the family letters. Still, it is essential to note that all the data comes solely from Margaret's writings, which comprise seven of the results, with the remaining four being John I writing SHEP twice in 1465 and William Worcester writing CHEPE twice in 1470. This transformation also aligns with the earlier discussions going from CHEPE to SCHEP/SCHEPE on to SHEP. While the spelling changes, the meaning does not and stays consistent throughout, which is expected as the term was wholly limited from the start. The change also helps avoid uncertainty as the spelling variations for SHIP no longer match the new word form.

### The People Doing the Farming

The People Doing the Farming is the following category, with 158 attestations spread over two categories; it is also the largest of the four.

#### Tenant

The first category is TENANT, with 97 attestation entries that all counted contain 107 total entries from 1450 to 1488, an expected range considering the previous examples. Regarding the form and meaning of the word, both perfectly match the MED and show no signs of any change over time, a surprising result considering TENANT is the largest category and was expected to show some variation ("Tenaunt, n.1"). Considering that the base ME spelling found in the letters is TENAUNT significant shifts in the word form were not expected, but the complete lack of any change as before suggests this word must have been firmly understood in period. Some proof of this can be found in the descriptors surrounding the word in the attestations, here, we see a wide variety of uses, but as the landlords write the letters, the most common descriptors relate to ownership. The five most common attestations of these descriptors are *the* with 43, *your* with 21, *my* with 8, and a tie between *and* and *said*. While the ownership question may be leading to some bias here, the general trend is still that the word did not per the data undergo any significant change in period, a move that confirms the MED definition.

## Farmer

FARMER is the second term of the category and, with 59 total attestations, is the second largest found in the letters and along with FARM which will be discussed next is the hardest to pinpoint in terms of exact meaning. The first point of importance is that farmer in period did not per the MED, hold the meaning it does today, with the word instead describing someone who collects rents or taxes, works as a bailiff or steward, leases land, a mill, or livestock ("fermōur, n.1"). In contrast the OED has the modern usage as the name of someone who farms the land or holds livestock, but their first entry is from 1528 so it may prove too new for the thesis. ("farmer, n.2"). These differences muddle the water when it comes to understanding the exact usage within the letters, especially as while information on the MED defined usage is easy to come by, the modern definition does not readily appear in the letters, and it may well have been a later development. For the MED definition attestation FARMER.31 gives an example of the steward and bailiff angle

he that shall speke with the **fermours** of Akthorp , whos name is  
Langham , he must inquere generally what mony he hath paijd to all men  
sith Ser John Fastolff dyed, and see his billes of payment

Here we read how John's servant is going to talk about the money Langham has paid to the men since Fastolf's death clearly excluding him from being a modern defined farmer. Another example of this can be found in attestations 33, 36, 46, 53, 57, and 58, which mention some examples where the letters state that the farmers are to pay the family for their rights as part of their contract. When it comes to potential angles for finding evidence of the modern definition the OED gives one example in farmer under 3b using a letter from James Gloys to John I dated 1451 that is tagged as attestation FARMER.3 in this thesis.

Right reuerent and wurchepfull ser , I recomand me to you , besechyng  
you to wete that Wharles told me that Partrych seid that his lord knewe  
wele that ye were entred pesibilly in the manere of Gresham ;  
where-fore he seid thow the **tenauntes and fermores** pay you the rentes  
and fermes the tyme that ye be in possession , his seid lord , thow he  
entre ageyn , wuld neuer aske it them

The argument there is that the usage here should be interpreted as *tenant-farmer* and not as the normal MED definition, which is an interesting interpretation, but the validity is questionable. Looking further into the other attestations, we can see that FARMER.18, AND 23 follow a similar albeit switched around to *fermores and tenauntes*, and FARMER. 21 writing it *fermurs nor tenauntes*. These differences raise questions as they do show there may have been a trend in period to write these two terms out this way, but the letters discuss them as separate topics, not conjoined in any meaningful way, the initial quote does this a swell with the text going on to discuss the *rentes and fermes* where *fermes* connects back to the MED notion that the term described someone who owned land and paid rent for it. FARMER.23 continues this trend by *and* appearing as nothing more than a simple conjunction to link relevant topics "*And as to other fermours and tenauntes , I schall ride to them thys weke*". Therefore, considering the evidence so far, the OED quote is best considered as a likely misidentification as the surrounding usage of the words do not match their identification and classification.

With the OED timeframe being overturned for the change of the word, the thesis is left with little evidence of the term changing in any meaningful way within the confines of the period. The only other example of the med definition being different comes in FARMER.47, AND 56 where the term *bailiff* is specified as separate from *fermour*. Of these two examples the largest comes from FARMER.47 written by William Worcester in 1470 where we are given a list of people and roles that are not allowed to do anything at John I's manor at Tychwelle with the exact list being "*tenaunt, fermour, officer, baylly, that fermyth, haldyth, or occupyeth the maner*", 56 written 1478 repeats this separation with the usage "*your baylly Pecok for to delyuer my fermour of Thyrcbye*". The final evidence for this being a potential change comes in FARMER.58 from Margery to John III dated 1481 where we see the description: "*fermour and baly*" twice. With these examples coming from two different sources spread across some eleven years the chance of this being a change is increased, but the numbering is still too low and may simply be a choice by any of the writers.

For *Farmer* the preceding words used fall into the trends seen before in *Tenant* with the top five being *the, your, a, my, and and*. None of these top examples gives us any further detailed information apart from the word being a title of some sort that may be owned or given to a person. Through letters such as FARMER.58 a 1481 letter to John III from Margaret, we see that a single person holds the title and that it follows the person after their involvement has ended, suggesting it is separate from other terms. Regardless, the total usage of the term

throughout the period does not appear to show any significant changes in usage over the whole period.

### Areas Farming Is Done and Sold

#### Farm

The last subcategory, Areas Farming is Done and Sold, begins with the term *Farm*, which, as mentioned above, under *Farmer* has a hard-to-pinpoint meaning in period as the usage appears wider than most of the terms studied so far. The initial issue can be seen in the MED definition, where the term is said to describe "*the arrangement by which one has the use of land in return for payment*", "*a payment made for the use of land*", "*rent and royal tax*" ("*ferme, n.2*"). When reviewing the materials, all these usage descriptions appear in the attestations found and reinforce the MED's accuracy. FARM.20 with the statement "*able man to take a ferme of lond that I knowe in your lordeschip*" Gives evidence that *ferme* in period may be used to describe a piece of land that people are either assigned to or take to farm. FARM.17 with the statement "*I shulde haue of hym for feerme xvj s. viij d. , and xlv comb and ij bushelz of barley*" Highlights the payment nature of the farm setup listing the payments to be requested of the owner, and lastly FARM.8, 9, 26, and 37 all highlight the usage of the term to describe a tax on the renter. FARM.37 especially shows this in the description "*he wold haue gadyrd the half yer ferm*" where we can see that the *ferm* is gathered at seemingly set intervals of six months in this case. FARM.9 further confirms this by writing "*for the yeerly payment of the same ferme,*" which tells us that the payments may also be yearly. The surrounding words, as before, appear to confirm the material and specific nature of the term, with *the*, *his*, and *and* being the three most used. In line with this, the general trend of the term outside the specific cases discussed follows the definitions given by the MED closely, and no significant deviations can be found within, making this another example of the search window possibly being too small for any change to occur.

#### Acre

Acre is the next word on the list, with twelve attestations across eleven letter fragments dated from 1450 to 1466, a comparatively short period for the attestations in general, and likely to affect any proof of change. Checking with the MED, the term is mainly used to describe "*a piece of arable land*" and "*a land measure of approximately 160 rods square.*" both appear to be generally countable, a new change to the attestations ("*āker, n.1*"). Going from this, the attestations back up this notion of countability by six out of twelve attestations being preceded



by a number indicating the size of said acre, with the remainder having it as a particular item to be owned. ACRE.9 and 10 are good examples of the former, with the fragments "*sey xl acre lond (...) the xl acre lond*" and "*for v acre lond*". The latter can be seen in ACRE.1 and 3 with the fragments "euery **half acre**" and "the **acre** lond", interestingly, a blend of these two varieties can be found in ACRE.6 and 7 where the sentences begin by specifying the payment one is to receive per acre of goods "*paye you for euery acre xij d.*" and "*vj d. for an acre*". While interesting, these examples do lack definitive proof of change over time; numbers preceding the term are found in the first and last attestations indicating that this practice continued undisturbed over the period, and the other definitions are scattered throughout, giving no proof making this category another example of exciting uses that do not alter over time.

### Field

For Field, eight attestations were found, and they all fall into two categories, a welcome change as the MED has nine different definitions of what Field was in period ("*fēld*, n.1"). The first match with the MED is definition nr 1, where it is the name of "*(a) Relatively flat open country; a plain*" and all attestations bar FIELD.3, 5 and 6 fall into this category, giving us a good array of descriptions of fields such as FIELD.1 and 4 AND "the **feld** is gold wyth iij bukkeles of syluere" followed by "gaderyng hony in the **feldes**". Category number two is *Field* used to denote a battleground with attestations FIELD.3, 5 and 6 being used this way; the best example comes from 5 where we have Elizabeth Clere writing to John II in 1467 about her husband, Robert Poynings, "*departyd towarde +te **feld** of Saint Albons*" where he would fall in battle. While notable from a historical perspective, these uses are wholly within the MED and the OED's definitions of the term and show that the term has, in these cases, undergone no change in meaning since the 1400s.

### Pasture

When it comes to Pasture the usage in the letters wholly lines up with the first definition given by the MED, that it is "*(a) Land on which animals graze, pastureland; a field, pasture;*" ("*pastūr(e)*, n.1"), which also lines up entirely with the modern definition found within the OED stating any chance of there being notable change over time ("*pasture*, n."). When studying the examples in more detail, the initial assumption is proven correct, with the usage showing no signs of changing in scope or meaning from the first 1450 result to the last dated 1470. The most significant example of the term in use comes from PASTURE.2 where we are shown the term used in conjunction with acre "*same **pasture** iij acres*", and as specific pastures that are

in use "euery half acre a netes **pasture** goyng (...) *the seid pasture*" giving us a complete picture of the usage and how it connects to other relevant terms in the period. Regrettably, while engaging, this usage only tells us that the term was at the time counted in acres, an expected use case considering the term encompasses grazing land for animals. Therefore in line with Acre and Field Pasture is another example of a word with great historical information embedded but no relevant change for this thesis.

### Harvest

Harvest, with a total of four attestations, is comparatively short and, with a usage spread from 1448 to 1472, outspans some of the terms discussed earlier. However, despite this minor advantage in length, the word itself shows no clear sign of change over time and agrees with the MED definition, which is that it is the "season of autumn (the harvest season)" ("hervest, n.1"). Outside this, the four uses show no significant changes in usage, and a mere four uses does not, as before, give enough evidence for change over time, making further study difficult.

### Market

The final attestations are the three found within *Market*, and they are dated from 1459 and somewhere between 1486-1486. Following on from earlier discussions, this usage is again within the definition given by the MED, which is that it is a "(a) *A periodical public assembly for buying or selling; also, an occasion of such a gathering*" ("market, n.1"). With three attestations not giving enough evidence for change over time, it is better to focus on the usage. Here we see the first example of a wholly proper noun named usage of the term, which is to say all the examples of harvest are introduced by the name of the town in which the Market is happening, with those being *Wycham*, *Swafham*, and supposedly *Newe Market* MARKET, 1.2, AND 3. The final entry here should raise some eyebrows as while it may simply be new + Market giving us a town by the strange name of new; it is far more likely to be a misread or writing by the corpus makers as there is a town called Newmarket in Suffolk some 72km southwest of Norwich founded in 1219 bringing the attestations down to two. With this, it is safe to say that Market does not offer any evidence of change over time.

### Semantic Prosody, a potential path for further study?.

With the initial question discussed for each found word in the thesis, the next step is a semantic prosody study of the materials to ascertain whether the terms are being used in a positive, negative, or potentially neutral manner in the letters. These issues raise the first question of semantic prosody and how it may apply to the thesis. Morley and Partington (2009) argue that in its simplest form, it is:

Semantic prosody is an expression of the innate human need and desire to evaluate entities in the world they inhabit as essentially good or bad. Different terms are used in the literature: positive and negative, favourable, and unfavourable, desirable and undesirable, but evaluation at its most basic is a two-term system (141).

Per their paper, A few Frequently Asked Questions about semantic — or evaluative — prosody, this view is a development from earlier ideas suggested by Sinclair (2004), Louw (1993), and Stubbs (1996), showing the development over time. Hong Zhang (2020) agrees with the core of this idea but goes further to argue that the usage is highly connected to concordances and that it should be seen on a seven-point spectrum from strongly positive to strongly negative to grasp the wide use of semantic prosody in any language (341-343). Both theories have their merits, and Zhang makes a strong argument around the need for more depth in the study. Still, for this thesis, the choice was made to go with Morley and Partington as the attestations do not contain enough similar collocations to do Zhang's suggestion justice.

Going by the subcategories, we immediately start to see the issues with how the attestations do not in general, have any collocations in common; the search pattern for this thesis did not concern itself with collocations, as the focus was solely on the words themselves and not the surrounding material. However, some examples can be found in BARLEY where attestation 9 states, "*haue had in moch **barly** and greyne*" Where *moche* can be argued to hold a positive connotation, another case can be made for "*grettest prys of **barly***" with the phrase praising the great price of barley again painting it positively. Crop gives an example of the continuing issue of this search where we are only given the sentence "*when he may dystreyn the cropp vp-on +te grownd*" from CROP.1 that at best tells us the person may spread the crop upon his ground, a statement that holds no significant negative or positive connotations. These issues continue on through the next subcategory and into The people doing the farming, where TENANT, and FARMER are the first to give some identical collocations that can be studied. For TENANT attestation 11 gives the best example where we are given the phrase "*pouer tenaunt symond sparre*" which, while a plea for help, paints the tenant negatively as a poor man in need of his lord's aid. This usage of poor is repeated in FARMER.41, where we are told of "*Thise pouere fermores are liche to be vndo*" again used in a plea letter asking for help, hinting at this being a known way of writing this phrase.

Nonetheless, this usage does not reappear and cannot be used as a significant anchor point for any study. These issues are also apparent in the final subcategory; Areas Farming is Done and Sold, where the usage is far too erratic to form any significant conclusions of use. The semantic

prosody study falls short of reaching a goal, and while a proper study may be doable in the letters, it would require a different approach to the one this thesis took.

#### Conclusion and remarks on shortcomings and points of improvement.

Having given the attestations a broad and thorough discussion above, the natural continuation to collating all the evidence to attempt an answer to the main question: Is there any evidence of semantic change within the letters, and if yes, what? In line with the materials discussed within Farm, Farmer, and Tenant, the answer to this question is a no, with several notes on what may have been improved. While there was intent on finding materials that would show change over time, the letters most likely did not contain enough data for a complete study which is regrettable as through the period; the Pastons owned considerable land holdings gained through inheritance, business, and marriage, among others discussed per the surviving letters. The size of the collection suggested that there may have been a wide array of yet-to-be-studied points in the letters. Still, the materials did not contain the required data, and as stated, this thesis fell short of discovering any examples of change within the chosen farming-related nouns.

In terms of future considerations, the first would be the list of attestations expanded further to aid in finding more in-depth evidence for semantic change. However, the counterargument to this idea is that the data collection time for the thesis was limited, and the search terms used contained a supposedly ample amount of words. Further, any new forms not chosen previously that were found during the initial search were added to the secondary search to avoid any material being missed. These issues also regrettably lead to the discussion on Blank and Bloomfeld's typologies of change

Two searches containing different terms should, in theory, be enough to gain a usable amount of data, but this was regrettably not the case for the thesis, as the results showed no real change.

The second would be whether the study should have been limited even further to increase the time available to study any given the word across time, as eleven different words may have been too big an undertaking for a study of this size taking time away from potentially better ventures. One opposing view would be how of the seventeen words discussed, only three contained a significant number of results, making the other examples comparatively easy to categorise and digest.

The third issue would be whether the roughly two hundred years covered by the letters was enough time for noticeable changes in a word's meaning. Per the discussion of Quisling, we know that the perception of a word may change notably in less than five years, at least in a more modern sense, so by this reckoning, a period forty times as long should offer ample space. Annoyingly, this proved to be far more nuanced than first thought, and despite efforts to find more evidence, no clear answers appeared after sifting through four generations of letters. Another related issue here that may have helped complicate the conclusion would be the networks discussed above, where they showed a high amount of mingling within and outside the family unit. This sort of mingling is an excellent place for linguistic change to occur and grow, but it would appear it did not go as far as one would hope in the farming noun field. A possible explanation for this could be, per the earlier discussion on Margery Paston and Richard Calle, that the family saw themselves as above that of a farmer or manager, distancing themselves from the mundane daily discussions of their lands.

A fourth and final issue within this category would be the noun category chosen for the study, farming. The core issue here is that, yes, the Pastons held lands and managed these to the best of their abilities, as did all prominent families of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the issue is more that the family heads were all trained as lawyers, knights and men of supposed noble birth, not farmers or landholder per se. This creates the issue where they will, on occasion, involve themselves in the running of the lands, as we see in our attestations. Still, they would leave most of the work to stewards and servants that would send general updates on how the lands were doing, leaving out most of the day-to-day business unless asked to do so, giving us a skewed look of how much a word was used in this context in the period. We only have the data that is there, so no good solution exists for the farming noun category. However, the overarching question of semantic change may have been easier to study and quantify if the focus was instead on the legal language used in the letters. Another possibility would have been to do the same study on the formulaic introductions to the letters where the same phrases are repeated, giving a good base for studies on change over time. Despite these issues and considerations, it is the belief of this thesis that the letters show evidence of change occurring in several words, but the lack of absolute proof suggests that further study of the materials is needed, preferably with the considerations discussed above taken into account to avoid the mistakes done by this work.

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## Appendix 1.

### Crop

#### Crop.1

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:BROTHER:1444:28

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER:1442:30

LETTER:PASTON\_189:M4:1472:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

nor non can get tyll haruest , when he may dystreyn the **cropp** vp-on +te

grownd . PASTON,I,576.189.5834 **1472**

**No new found.**

### Corn

#### Corn.1

AUTHOR:AGNES\_PASTON[N.BERRY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:EDMOND\_PASTON\_I:MALE:SON:1425:20

LETTER:PASTON\_007:M4:1445:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And there is a man in Truntche hy+ght Palmere to , +tat hadde of yowre

fadre certein londe in Truntche on vij yere ore viij yere agoone for

**corn** , PASTON,I,27.007.98 **4<sup>th</sup> February 1445**

#### Corn.2

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYNS:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:.\_:1421:27

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1448:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

for she dede seys his **corn** on the lond the last hervest

PASTON,II,27.243.7148 **22 November 1448**

Corn.3

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON\_406:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Ther was gatherd in that hundred xvij s. and certein **corn** , and som

other hundred vj marc. and **corne?** , PASTON,II,281.406.10511 **About July 1462**

Corn.4

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_035:M4:1465:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , I can yow thonk ye send me word the \$prise of **corn** .

PASTON,I,132.035.737 **27<sup>th</sup> June 1465**

Corn.5

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOY:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

And thei seid that whan ye were there last ye govyn them day till

Candilmesse , so that thei myght malt there **corn** and brynge it to the

best preffe ; where-fore I cowde gete no mony , though I wuld haue

takyn all there catell with-ought thei had be otherewyse warned be-fore

. PASTON,II,376.446.11449 **10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Corn.6

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOY:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

I haue seyn Catelyns **corn** with your tenauntes , bothyn-2 +tat lyght in

+te manere and in his owyn place , PASTON,II,377.446.11461 **10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Corn.7

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOY:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

and your tenautes seyn pleynly that his **corn** is abyll j-now to content

you ; PASTON,II,377.446.11462 **10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Corn.8

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOY:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

and in asmych as he can make \$you no mony with-ought he myght selle his

**corn** , I haue charged hym +tat a-geyn that Calle and I comen +tat he

shall kete redy a chapman most \$profitabill for you and hym that wull

byd a summe to-gedere and pay down , PASTON,II,377.446.11463 **10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Corn.9

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , the seyde tenauntys seyde vnto me that because they were not

ensured to have yt yn ferme at Cristmasse last , or thereaboute , they

coude not make the londes redye yn erthes and tylyng to do her

husbondrye vppon theyr londz to beere **corn** , hyred her londez to herye

and sowen yn othyr townes one myle \$or ij myle from hem .

PASTON,II,583.516.12530 **17<sup>th</sup> May 1470**

## Corn.10

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:BROTHER:1444:28

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER:1442:30

LETTER:PASTON\_190:M4:1472:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and then he may apoynt wyth hym for yow or +te ferm **corn** be gadryd .

PASTON,I,579.190.5935 **21<sup>st</sup> September 1472**

## Corn.11

AUTHOR:MARGERY\_PASTON[N.BREWS]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:HUSBAND:1444:37?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1481?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

nor make noon attornment , exept Thom Davy and John Water , weche

absentyng of the tenautes is to them a greet hurt and los for lak of

sedying of ther londes wyth ther wynter **corn** ; besechyng you for Godes

sake to remembre som remedy for them . PASTON,I,664.228.6851 **Perhaps 1<sup>st</sup> November 1481**

## Grain

### Grain.1

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

I praye yow see to the god gouernaunce of my housold and guydyng of

other thynges touchyng my profite , and +tat ye , with Daubeney and

Richard Calle and with other such of my frendes and seruautes as can

advise yow afir the mater requirith , wekely take a sad comunicacion

of such thynges as be for to do , or oftenner and nede be ; takyng  
avise of the master and of the viker and Ser Jamis in +tat is for to  
say , aswell for provision of stufte for myn howsold as for the  
gaderyng of the reveueus of my livelode or **greynes** , or for setting  
awerk of my seruauntes , and for the more poletik meane of sellyng and  
carijng of my malt and for all other thynges necessarj for to be do ,  
so +tat whanne I come home I haue not an excuse seying +tat ye spoke to  
my seruauntes and +tat Daubeney and Calle exkuse hem +tat +tei were so  
besy thei myght not attende ; PASTON,I,127.034.623 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

#### Grain.2

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_039:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Notwithstandyng , inasmoch that ye haue had in moch barley and **greynes**  
for dettes of your tenauntes of Mautby , therefore Pecokes acompt must  
be mad first , that such **greynes** as he hath deliuerid may be charged  
vpon the maltster or vpon any other that haue reseved it .

PASTON,I,142.039.945 **20<sup>th</sup> September 1465**

#### Malt

##### Malt.1

AUTHOR:JOHN\_OSBERN:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1445?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

and ye have there cc combes of **malt** . PASTON,II,26.242.7130 **Perhaps about 1445**

Malt.2

AUTHOR:JOHN\_OSBERN:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1445?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

And if it plese yow I pray yow +tat ye wyl send me word qwhedyre ye wyl

selle your **malt** and your qhete aftyre +te prise of +te countre` or it

shal be purveyid fore to kepe it til ye may se it .

PASTON,II,27.242.7135 **Perhaps about 1445**

Malt.3

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:1415?:43?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:80?

LETTER:PASTON\_512:M4:1458:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Frute of figes and reysyns be dere here at xvij s. the sort , whete at

x s. le quart , **malt** at v s . PASTON,II,534.512.12469 **Probably early March 1458**

Malt.4

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , as for the price of wheete here , xij d. a comb , barly viij d.

, **malte** ix d. and x d. the beste ; PASTON,II,257.392.10226 **20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Malt.5

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and wee can here non goode price of **malt** in no place savyng as we

vndrestand it is goode {ED:in} Flaunders , PASTON,II,257.392.10227 **20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Malt.6

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

but what price we can not witte verely . Wherfore inasmoche as John

Russe and Robert Glouer sendethe a schip with corne ouer we haue

a-venterd with hem c=a= comb **malt** . PASTON,II,257.392.10228 **20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Malt.7

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON\_405:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Plesith it you to witte that , where as ye wolde haue vndrestondyng and

knowleche of how moche **malte** ye haue at Castre , I can be in no

certeynte` verely PASTON,II,280.405.10493 **Probably 5<sup>th</sup> July 1462**

Malt.8

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON\_405:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

but be estimacion ye haue of newe **malte** of this yere at Castre cccc

quarters and of olde **malte** of Castre and Mauteby viij=xx= comb , wherof

schall be spent be estimacion in your housold be Halloumesse xl quartre

. PASTON,II,280.405.10495 **Probably 5<sup>th</sup> July 1462**

Malt.9

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:20



LETTER:PASTON\_440:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and gathereth whete , **malt** , money , and what so euer any man woll geve

, &c . PASTON,II,371.440.11362 **About July 1462**

Malt.10

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_033:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Also I send yow in the same <P\_I,126> lettir a bille of all the **malt**

+tat remaynid at Mighelmes . PASTON,I,126.033.605 **14<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Malt.11

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_033:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Also I woll +tat ye warne both Daubeney and Richard Calle +tat thei

disclose nat what **malt** I haue , ne what I shall selle , ne +tat on

marchaunt knowe nat what an other hath ; PASTON,I,126.033.608 **14<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Malt.12

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_033:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

for ther is gret spies leid here at London for ingrosers of **malt** to

heyghne the prise , hough be it myne is not but of myn owne growyng and

my tenauntes . PASTON,I,126.033.609 **14<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Malt.13

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

I praye yow see to the god gouernaunce of my housold and guydng of other thynges touchyng my profite , and +tat ye , with Daubeney and Richard Calle and with other such of my frendes and seruautes as can advise yow aftir the mater requirith , wekely take a sad comunicacion of such thynges as be for to do , or oftenner and nede be ; takyng advise of the master and of the viker and Ser Jamis in +tat is for to say , aswell for provision of stufte for myn howsold as for the gaderyng of the reveueus of my livelode or greynes , or for setting awerk of my seruautes , and for the more poletik meane of sellyng and cariing of my **malt** and for all other thynges necessarj for to be do , so +tat whanne I come home I haue not an excuse seyng +tat ye spoke to my seruautes and +tat Daubeney and Calle exkuse hem +tat +tei were so besy thei myght not attende ; PASTON,I,127.034.623 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Malt.14

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:.\_:

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , I send yow a titelyng +tat I mad whill I was at home , what **malt** I had by estimacion , set at the lest . Wherefore see +tat Brigge make a reknyng of his **malt** , and cast ye my book PASTON,I,130.034.691 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Malt.15

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:.\_:

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Cambridgeshire **malt** is here at x s . PASTON,I,130.034.696 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Malt.16

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , to remembir +tat Guton **malt** must be shipped at Blakeney .

PASTON,I,130.034.698 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Malt.17

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , Lynstedes **malt** at Walcote may be shipped there ;

PASTON,I,130.034.699 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Malt.18

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

therefore cast amonges yow what **malt** may best be sold .

PASTON,I,130.034.700 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Malt.19

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_: \_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_: 1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_420:M4:1465:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

And please youre maistirship to wete that my maistresse hathe dyuerse

tymez spokyn to me to helpe to purvey a marchaunt fore sum of youre

**malt** , but in good feyth I can gete no man that wyll geue at the most

more than xxij d. fore a quarter , PASTON,II,306.420.10818 **6<sup>th</sup> May 1465**

Malt.20

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_097:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , I hyre no word of Colte of New Castell , nor of no nothere from

you that shold haue youre **malte** ; PASTON,I,298.097.2855 **10<sup>th</sup> May 1465**

Malt.21

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_097:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

but I haue spoken to the vikere , John Rus , and Robert Botelere to

help for to sell youre **malte** , PASTON,I,298.097.2856 **10<sup>th</sup> May 1465**

Malt.23

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_036:M4:1465:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , I may sell \$yowr woll for xl d. +te ston redi mony , as

Arblaster can tell yow , and **malt** for iiij s. +te quarter at daijs xxj

for xx deliuerid of Yermoth mesur . PASTON,I,136.036.820 **13<sup>th</sup> July 1465**

Malt.23

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_036:M4:1465:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

If ye fayle mony ye most make it of yowr wole or **malt** .

PASTON,I,136.036.821 **13<sup>th</sup> July 1465**

Malt.24

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_104:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , as for the pris of **malte** , it is fallen here sore

PASTON,I,314.104.3143 **7<sup>th</sup> August 1465**

Malt.25

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1469:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Her is moche **malte** made and not solde . PASTON,II,396.452.11638 **22<sup>nd</sup> May 1469**

Malt.26

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1469:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

And if ye wol +tat we selle this **malte** like you to sende vs worde ,

+tat they may haue som money . PASTON,II,396.452.11643 **22<sup>nd</sup> May 1469**

Malt.27

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PAMPYNG:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:28

LETTER:PASTON\_455:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , as for the remnaunt of the mony bside this bille , ye owe to

the parson of Sent Edmondes Caster , for iiij comb **malt** and ij comb

whete , x s. whiche I promysid hym to pay ; and Robert Newton

lymebrenner for lyme xiiij s. iiij d. , he callith vpon me for it ; and

Robert Bery for shoyng x s. ; PASTON,II,401.455.11726 **15<sup>th</sup> July 1470**

### Malt.28

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1475:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

and but yt be at a bettyr prys I purpose for to do yt **malt** .

PASTON,I,372.122.3754 **28<sup>th</sup> January 1475**

### Malt.29

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1475:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

**Malt** ys sold her but for xiiij d. , and **whet** ij s. or xxvj d. at thys

time PASTON,I,372.122.3757 **28<sup>th</sup> January 1475**

### Barley

#### Barley.1

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:27

LETTER:PASTON\_060:M4:1448:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and prayith +gw +tat +ge wyl vwchesave to leten hym byn of +gw +te ferm

**barly** +tat +ge xuld have of hym , PASTON,I,222.060.1610 **April 1448**

#### Barley.2

AUTHOR:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:78?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:COPY:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

and pray yow that ye wil take the labour in the ende of the terme to

come homward by Dedham , and William Worcestre and Barker with yow ,  
that ye may see +te accompt taken +tere of +te **barly** and suche  
husbondrye as is vsed <P\_II,166> there , for I drede that it farith  
with me there as in o+ter places ; and that ye wil appoynte a day to be  
+tere and lete me knowe it , that I may sende a man +tidre to mete with  
yow with +te laste accomptes . PASTON,II,166.337.9194 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1456**

#### Barley.3

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_?  
RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?  
LETTER:PASTON\_366:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

for I can non other-wice feele be hym but that he wol not passe j combe

**barly** for an acre . PASTON,II,218.366.9692 **17<sup>th</sup> October 1460**

#### Barley.4

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_?  
RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?  
LETTER:PASTON\_366:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Also I shulde haue of hym for feerme xvj s. viij d. , and xlv comb and

ij bushelz of **barly** . PASTON,II,218.366.9704 **17<sup>th</sup> October 1460**

#### Barley.5

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_  
RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40  
LETTER:PASTON\_391:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Plesith your maystreship to vndrestande that as for the ferme that

Cheseman had in Boyton , that is to sey xl acre lond erable , j medwe ,

and other smale parcelles , payng yerly for it iiij li. , {TEXT:weche}

I can not lete the xl acre lond a-bowe xl comb **barly** or xl s. , and ye  
to bere al charges of the reparaucion and fense aboute the place ,  
weche schulde be gret cost . PASTON,II,256.391.10201 **5<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Barley.6

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_  
RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40  
LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , as for the price of wheete here , xij d. a comb , **barly** viij d.  
, malte ix d. and x d. the beste ; PASTON,II,257.392.10226 **20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Barley.7

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_  
RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:43  
LETTER:PASTON:M4:1464:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Plesith it your goode mastreschip to vnderstande +tat I haue receyued a  
byll of John Boteler weche speketh of your heygh at Heylesdon and of  
your <P\_II,297> **barly** in other places , but I vndrestand not what ye  
wold I schulde do therin . PASTON,II,297.417.10741 **27<sup>th</sup> February 1464**

Barley.8

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44  
RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE::\_  
LETTER:PASTON\_039:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , that ye see all acomptes be mad vp , and in especiall for my  
**barly** . PASTON,I,142.039.944 **20<sup>th</sup> September 1465**

Barley.9

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44  
RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE::\_



LETTER:PASTON\_039:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Notwithstandyng , inasmoch that ye haue had in moch **barly** and greynes  
for dettes of your tenautes of Mautby , therfore Pecokes acompt must  
be mad first , that such greynes as he hath deliuerid may be charged  
vpon the maltster or vpon any other that haue reseved it .

PASTON,I,142.039.945 **20<sup>th</sup> September 1465**

Barley.10

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_039:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , take good heed at the charge and discharge of the acompt of

Fastolffes **barly** in all plases , PASTON,I,142.039.947 **20<sup>th</sup> September 1465**

Barley.11

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_039:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

for the mesure of the **barly** in diuers plases is gretter thanne the

bussell at Caster , PASTON,I,142.039.949 **20<sup>th</sup> September 1465**

Barley.12

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:BROTHER:1444:23

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER:1442:25

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1467:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

We haue hom the most part of your **barly** saue fro Wynterton ,

PASTON,I,534.174.5333 **7<sup>th</sup> February 1467**

Barley.13

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:BROTHER:1444:26

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER:1442:28

LETTER:PASTON\_182:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and they wer letyn for xxx s. be yer and more , and serteyn **barly** .

PASTON,I,553.182.5599 **23<sup>rd</sup> January 1470**

Barley.14

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER:1442:31

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:BROTHER:1444:29

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1473:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

I pray yow make a goode bargeyn for my ferme **barly** in Fledge , so that

I myght haue mony now at my beyng in Ingelond , whyche shall not

contynew past a monyth by lyklyhod . PASTON,I,456.143.4473 **3<sup>rd</sup> February 1473**

Barley.15

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:32

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:.\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1474:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

Please it yow to weet +tat I thynke longe +tat I heere nott from yow ,

ore from Pekok yowre seruaunt , fore the knowlege howe he hathe doon in

+te sale off my ferme **barlye** , nere what is made there-off . Wherffore

I beseche yow , iff it be not answeyrd by that tyme +tat thys bylle

comythe to yowe , to hast hym and <P\_I,475> itt hyddrewardys ,

PASTON,I,475.148.4611 **20<sup>th</sup> February 1474**

Barley.16

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1475:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

As for yowyr **barly** in thys cuntre` , yt \$can \$not {TEXT:cannot} be sold

a-bove x d. or xj d. ; PASTON,I,372.122.3752 **28<sup>th</sup> January 1475**

Barley.17

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1475:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

+tat ys the gretest prys of **barly** her , PASTON,I,372.122.3753 **28<sup>th</sup> January 1475**

Barley.18

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1475:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

and he seth +tat , be than +tat +te owt chargys be boryn and +te

repracion of +te myll at Wyntyrtion , we ar lyke to haue but lytyll mor

mony be-syd the **barly** . PASTON,I,372.122.3756 **28<sup>th</sup> January 1475**

Barley.19

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1475:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

nor no more is like to haue this yere , as he telleth me , but for xx

quarter **barly** be-cauce of suche charges as hath be leide vpon your lond

this yere , as he sethe . PASTON,I,377.125.3836 **9<sup>th</sup> August 1475**

Barley.20

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER:1442:35

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:BROTHER:1444:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1477:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , as for thys mater off Mestresse **Barly** , I holde it butt a bare

thynges . PASTON,I,499.159.4895 **9<sup>th</sup> March 1477**

Barley.21

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_PECOCK:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:35

LETTER:PASTON\_460:M4:1477:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

As for **barly** I can non selle a-boue xiiij d. +te comb .

PASTON,II,421.460.11827 **19<sup>th</sup> November 1477**

Barley.22

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_PECOCK:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1477:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Sere , if it plese youre masterchep , I sold yet no **barly** nere non can

a-bove xiiij d. +te comb , as I sen word in a leter be John Russe .

PASTON,II,423.461.11885 **30<sup>th</sup> November 1477**

Barley.23

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:\_:1444:56?

RECIPIENT:RICHARD\_CROFT:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_?

LETTER:PASTON\_208:E1:1500?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

but I wyll not that John Wynne shall selle non of my ferme **barly** to

paye theym , PASTON,I,630.208.6370 **Probably about 1500**

Barley.24

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:\_:1444:56?

RECIPIENT:RICHARD\_CROFT:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_?

LETTER:PASTON\_208:E1:1500?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

for I woll haue all the **barly** in John Wynnys charge malyd for my Lord

Mountioye . PASTON,I,630.208.6371 **Probably about 1500**

Wheat

Wheat.1

AUTHOR:JOHN\_OSBERN:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1445?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

And +te parsoun and I have do throche your **qwete** ,

PASTON,II,27.242.7133 **Perhaps about 1445**

Wheat.2

AUTHOR:JOHN\_OSBERN:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1445?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

And if it plese yow I pray yow +tat ye wyl send me word qwhedyre ye wyl

selle your malt and your **qhete** aftyre +te prise of +te countre` or it

shal be purveyid fore to kepe it til ye may se it .

PASTON,II,27.242.7135 **Perhaps about 1445**

Wheat.3

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_366:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

He hath a xiiij acre lond resonably weele dyght to sowe on **wheete** ,

PASTON,II,218.366.9693 **Perhaps about 17<sup>th</sup> October 1460**

Wheat.4

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , as for the price of **wheete** here , xij d. a comb , barly viij d.

, malte ix d. and x d. the beste ; PASTON,II,257.392.10226 **20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Wheat.5

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1475:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

Malt ys sold her but for xiij d. , and **whet** ij s. or xxvj d. at thys

time and otys xij d . PASTON,I,372.122.3757 **28<sup>th</sup> January 1475**

847 results, 5 results, high number of identical word different usage.

Beef

Beef.1

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , as for **beef** to your howsold , we haue purveyd j-nough be-twix

this and Fastegang of your tenautes in Norffolk and Suffolk .

PASTON,II,258.392.10233

**1461 prob, 20 november**

Cattle

Cattle.1

AUTHOR:JOHN\_OSBERN:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_\_:1421:31

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1452:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

The dryvers ought of the **catell** fro Sparham ground to Lyng grownd wasse

Hugo Sadde of Baldeswelle , Byschoppis man , Nicholaus Gatesend ,  
Roberd Joye , Jacobus Baxter of Lyng . PASTON,II,80.279.8048 **1452**

Cattle.2

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:42?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:36

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1457:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

And many o+tere accomptantes that maken lyuere` of prouysyons of  
cornys and **catell** to the household by the resseyuour and by the  
bayllyfs can not approve theyr liberatz just tille the seyd housold  
bokes be made vpp . PASTON,II,171.341.9276 **1457**

Cattle.3

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_370:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Ferthermore ther is on Robert Wyghte , otherwice Furbusschour , aftre  
that your officer of Matelask had ceaced al <P\_II,224> Lyghtfot **catell**  
for suche dwtees as whas owyng the seid Robert Wyght , come vpon your  
bonde grounde PASTON,II,224.370.9770 **1460?**

Cattle.4

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:19

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

for they distreyned on my lordes of Suffolk fee , my lordes of Norwich  
fee , and on all men grounde so that they myght not haue her **catell** in  
reste , weche cauced hem to paye her money . PASTON,II,370.439.11325 **1461**

#### Cattle.5

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PAMPYNG:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:\_:\_:\_?

LETTER:PASTON\_430:M4:1463?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and by-cause the vndirshiref <P\_II,347> shall be on Monday at Hygham by Bastewyk brigge , he and we thought that it was best that Master Prowet shuld mete wyth the shireff there and require and charge hym that by colour of the forseid fieri facias that he make no levy of any **goodes and catels** of the seid Master Prowettes and Clement Pastons ayens the seid John Pastons , letyng hym wete that such goodes as the seid Paston had be now the seid Prowettes and Clement Pastons by vertu of a dede of gift mad to hem almost ij yere agoo ; and if the shireff woll be besy aftir +tat to take any **catell** +tat he be lettid in Master Prowettes name and Clement Pastons by Daubeney and other , wech besines of the shireff shall be on Tuisday or Wednesday , and as we vndirstand at Heylesdon . Wherefore ye must send thedir Daubeney wyth Pecok , and the may gete hym here more felaship by the avise of Master Ser John Paston and James Gresham . PASTON,II,347.430.11139 **1463?**

#### Cattle.6

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:20?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER:1421:43?

LETTER:PASTON\_172:M4:1464?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

but I haue sent word to Rysyng and to the tenauntys that they schold dryue a-wey ther **catell** . PASTON,I,527.172.5255 **1464?**



Cattle.7

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_097:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And the same aftere-non folwyng the parson of Haylesdon send hys man to Drayton wyth Stermyn for to speke wyth Maister Phylyp , to know a way yf they shuld haue a yen there **catell** or not . PASTON,I,296.097.2788 **1465**

Cattle.8

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_097:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Richard Calle axid the parson and Stermyn yf they wold take an accyon for there **catell** , PASTON,I,296.097.2798 **1465**

Cattle.9

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_097:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

he sayd he had leuer lose hys **catell** , PASTON,I,296.097.2801 **1465**

Cattle.10

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_099:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and desyryd to haue there **catell** a-yen , PASTON,I,301.099.2904 **1465**

Cattle.11

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_099:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and I awnsweryd hem yf thay wold do pay such dewtys as they oght for  
to pay to you , that then they shold haue there **catell** delyueryd a-yen  
; or els , yf they were not a powere to pay redy money , that then they  
to fynd suffycyant suerty to pay the money at such a day as they \$myght  
agrye wyth me , and there-to to be bonden to you by obligacyon .

PASTON,I,301.099.2905 **1465**

Cattle.12

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_099:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and Payntere seyde that there **catell** was taken vpon the Duché , whych  
they con not prove by non record saue only by there awyn sayng ;

PASTON,I,302.099.2924 **1465**

Cattle.13

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_036:M4:1465:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and if ye may make men with fors to take +te **catell** \$ageyn be waran of  
repleuyn , spar not rather than fayle . PASTON,I,136.036.824

**13 july 1465**

Cattle.14

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_104:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and so wer they answerd in all other places wher as any **catell** was ;

PASTON,I,313.104.3118 **7 august 1465**

Cattle.15

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_104:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

I can not wete how the **catell** wol be gotten <P\_I,314> ayen wythoute

other processe be had more than we haue yet . PASTON,I,314.104.3132 **7 august 1465**

Cattle.16

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYYS:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

And thei seid that whan ye were there last ye govyn them day till

Candilmesse , so that thei myght malt there corn and brynge it to the

best preffe ; where-fore I cowde gete no mony , though I wuld haue

takyn all there **catell** with-ought thei had be otherwyse warned be-fore

. PASTON,II,376.446.11449 **10 November 1466**

Cattle.17

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYYS:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

and he wote not where to kepe his **catell** . PASTON,II,378.446.11500 **10 November 1466**

Cattle.18

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

And at my commyng thedre , havyng a comunicacion wyth the olde fermours  
and wyth the cheff tenauntys of that towne , they ne none othyr wold  
take yt to ferme ne medle to occupye there tille vnto tyme that they  
hafe your \$wrytyng and a wrytyng vnder Ser John Paston ys seale  
promyttyng and warauntyng that neyther the seyde Ser John Paston ne none  
yn hys behalf , nother that none othyr havyng a rule late therebefore ,  
shall not distreyn her **catell and godes** . PASTON,II,583.516.12528 **17<sup>th</sup> May 1470**

Cattle.19

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:BROTHER:1444:26

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER:1442:28

LETTER:PASTON\_183:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

As for mony , I can non get neythyr at Snaylewell nor at Sporle tyll

Mydsomer , thow I wold dryue all the **catell** they haue . **1470**

PASTON,I,557.183.5654

Cattle.20

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:28?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1472?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

and thei ledde them a-wey so that euery man ferith to put any bestes or

**catell** +ter-in , to my grete hurt and discouragyng of my fermour +tat is

now of late come theder . PASTON,I,366.119.3649 **1472?**

Cattle.21

AUTHOR:MARGERY\_PASTON[N.BREWS]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:HUSBAND:1444:37?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1481?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

Ser , as for your tenauntes of Marlyngforth , they wythholde her **catell**  
and hem-selfe bothe from the coorte PASTON,I,664.228.6849 **1481?**

No new results.

### Sheep

#### Sheep.1

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:27

LETTER:PASTON\_062:M4:1448:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

I pray +gw +tat +ge wyl vowche-save to don bye for me j li. of almandis  
and j li. of sugyre , and +tat +ge wille do byen summe frese to maken  
of <P\_I,227> +gwr childeris gwnys ; +ge xall haue best **chepe** and best  
choyse of Hayis wyf , as it is told me . And +tat +ge wyld bye a +gerd  
of brode clothe of blac for an hode fore me of xliijj d. or iiij s. a  
+gerd , PASTON,I,227.062.1759 **1448**

#### Sheep.2

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:28

LETTER:PASTON\_064:M4:1449:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and +gowr **schep** ar not lokyd at as +tey xuld ben

PASTON,I,232.064.1915 **1449**

#### Sheep.3

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:30?

LETTER:PASTON\_071:M4:1451?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

I suppose if ye lyke to bye itt when ye com hom ye shall mou have itt  
of Toppis als gode **chepe** ?or bettere than ano+ter shuld .

PASTON,I,241.071.2083 **3 June 1451**

Sheep.4

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:30?

LETTER:PASTON\_073:M4:1451?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

for if I shuld purvey o+ter wood or hey it shuld be bowgth best **chepe**  
be-twyx +tis and Seynt Margretys masse , as itt is told me .

PASTON,I,244.073.2133 **Probably 6 July 1451**

Sheep.5

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , I remembir +tat myn heygh at Heylesdon the last yere was spent  
and wasted foull reklesly , and colored vnder my **shep** .

PASTON,I,129.034.660 **15 January 1465**

Sheep.6

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_036:M4:1465:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

I send yow hom writtis of repleuin for +te **shep** and +te hors +tat wer  
take , PASTON,I,136.036.822 **13 July 1465**

Sheep.7

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_104:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And so he sent ij of hes men wyth Richard Lynsted and wyth ij of \$your  
scheperdes to Cossey for the **schepe** , PASTON,I,313.104.3116 **7 August 1465**

Sheep.8

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

me semyth ye may wele excuse you be the money that she had last and be  
the wronges that were don be here and here men in fellyng of wood and  
pullyng doun of your place and logge at Heylesdon and takyn a-wey of  
the **shap** and your faderes goodes which were takyn a-wey at the pullyng  
don of the seid place ; wech wele considered she were wurthy to  
recompense you . PASTON,I,337.110.3391 **12 March 1469**

Sheep.9

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , they seyden that they had delyuered vpp the culettyes of **chepe**  
and beestes for doubt of distreynyng that they had ghedered to pasture  
vppon the mershes , and were bestowed vppon othyr pasturys yn othyr  
lordshyppys , that they coude hafe no culettyes to lay the pasture wyth  
beestys . PASTON,II,583.516.12531 **17 May 1470**

Sheep.10

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:NAME\_UNKNOWN\_11:MALE:\_:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_517:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , that a waraunt be made to help shyte vpp and make the see bankys before the pasturys of Tychewell that at hys spryngys the see brekyth yn to the pasturs and destroyeth the pasture and also bryngyth the salt sandes amongys the gras and makyth yt bytter , that the **chepe** wille not feede hem vppon yt . PASTON,II,585.517.12551 **June 1470**

Sheep.11

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:28?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1472?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

I grete you wele , letyng you wete that on Saturday last past wyth-in nyght the felesshep at Cayster tokyn ought of Mautby Cloos xvj **shep** of diuerse mennes +tat were put there-in to pasture ,

PASTON,I,366.119.3648 **23 October 1472**

Tenant

Tenant.1

AUTHOR:THOMAS\_SCALES:MALE:\_:1399?:51?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:29

LETTER:PASTON\_247:M4:1450:COPY:OTHER

And in cas +te said Danyell wold enter upon +te said Osberd o+ter-wise than lawe wold , seyng +te said Osberd is my **tenaunt** and homager it is my part to holde with hym rather than with Danyell in hys right , which I wyll do to my pouer . PASTON,II,34.247.7279 **22 April 1450**

Tenant.2

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WAYTE:MALE:\_:\_:\_



RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:29

LETTER:PASTON\_257:M4:1450:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

for thow my lord wrotte vnder hese seall of hys armes hese **tenauntez**  
wyll not obeyet ; jn someche whanne Syr Thomas Hoo mette with my lord  
of +Gork be-yon Sent Albons +te western men felle vp-on hym and wold a  
slayne hym hadde {ED:not} Syr William Oldhall a be ,

PASTON,II,47.257.7504 **6<sup>th</sup> October 1450**

Tenant.3

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:30

LETTER:PASTON\_268:M4:1451:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Right reuerent and wurcheffull ser , I recomand me to you , besechyng  
you to wete that Wharles told me that Partrych seid that his lord knewe  
wele that ye were entred pesibilly in the manere of Gresham ;  
where-fore he seid thow the **tenauntes** and fermores pay you the rentes  
and fermes the tyme that ye be in possession , his seid lord , thow he  
entre ageyn , wuld neuer aske it them . PASTON,II,64.268.7753 **1 March 1451**

Tenant.4

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:30

LETTER:PASTON\_268:M4:1451:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , the maner londes at Gresham , with othre **tenauntes** londes that  
be fallyn in your handes , ben letyn to ferme . PASTON,II,64.268.7763 **1 March 1451**

Tenant.5

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:30

LETTER:PASTON\_268:M4:1451:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

I can gete no **tenaunte** to dwell in the maner hous .

PASTON,II,64.268.7764 **1 March 1451**

Tenant.6

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYNS:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:30

LETTER:PASTON\_268:M4:1451:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And if the rede shuld be caryed thens the **tenauntes** shuld thynk that ye

fered sum new entre` PASTON,II,64.268.7765 **1 March 1451**

Tenant.7

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYNS:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:30

LETTER:PASTON\_268:M4:1451:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , the seid Gonnore seid after that I was gon to the **tenauntes** of

the seid town that his supersedias was nought , PASTON,II,66.268.7820 **1 March 1451**

Tenant.8

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYNS:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:30

LETTER:PASTON\_268:M4:1451:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Where-fore and it pleasyd you to send my mastres word how that I shuld

be demened with the seid Bettes , and wheder that ye wuld I shuld

a-rest hym ageyn or nought , and to purvey such a mene for Gonnore that

he myght ley his bost , jt shuld be gret comfort to all yowre frendes

and **tenauntes** there a-bowtyn . PASTON,II,66.268.7822 **1<sup>st</sup> March 1451**

Tenant.9

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOY:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:30

LETTER:PASTON\_268:M4:1451:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and dede set all the **tenauntes** vp-on me PASTON,II,65.268.7795 **1<sup>st</sup> March 1451**

Tenant.10

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOY:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:30

LETTER:PASTON\_269:M4:1451:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , Gonnore was wetched at Felbrygge Halle with xl persones of +te

Lady Felbrygges **tenauntes** and more that nyght that I lay on wayte vp-on

hym , PASTON,II,68.269.7891 **2 March 1451**

Tenant.11

AUTHOR:JOHN\_BERNEY:MALE:KIN:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:KIN:1421:30

LETTER:PASTON\_274:M4:1451:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_OTHER

Ryght worshipfull , &c. , please +gou to comfort and help my pouer

**tenaunt** Symond Sparre , whch ys a-restyd by warrant at the sute of +te

Lord Scalys for Ser T. Tudyndham shepp . PASTON,II,75.274.7999 **20<sup>th</sup> June 1451**

Tenant.12

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:41?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

Please yow to wete that , as for ease of my maister **tenauntes** in Dedham

, yff a lettre were devysed by Maister Geney yn my maister name or

yours to Thomas Higham , one of the justices of pease in Suffolk that

toke the veredyt , he my+gt do grete ease , as yn disavowyng of it or  
yn wythdrawyng it owte of the bok . PASTON,II,156.329.9008 **About 1456**

Tenant.13

AUTHOR:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:78?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:COPY:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

I hadde levest my sone Scrope hadde it , with suche suerte` founden as  
ye cowde thinke sufficient for me in +tat bihalue . And if ye take noon  
appoyntement with hym , +tat +tanne the Lord Vescy haue it , beynge  
bounde to cherishe +te **tenauntes** and supporte +tem and meyntenynge ,  
levyng it in as good plighte as {in}\_P he shall receyve it , or bettyr  
, as my right trusty frende and youres , John Grenefeld , mevid yow ;

PASTON,II,166.337.9197 Probably **10 November 1456**

Tenant.14

AUTHOR:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:78?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:COPY:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

And like it yow to wyte that I receyvid by Henre` Hansson on Thursday  
last passid at iiij after none certeyn lettres , amonges whiche I  
receyvid on from William Barker writen of Lukettes hande , and ij  
billes of supplicacions , of whiche on in the **tenauntes** names of Cotton  
I sente as I wrote vn-to yow and my seruauntes there .

PASTON,II,167.338.9205 Probably **15 November 1456**

Tenant.15

AUTHOR:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:78?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:COPY:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

and +tere toke of +te **tenauntes** suerte`s +tat +tei shuld aduowe and be demesned in all sutes as I wolde , and what bestes were deliuered ayen , PASTON,II,169.339.9241 **Probably 18<sup>th</sup> November 1456**

Tenant.16

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:1415?:43?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:80?

LETTER:PASTON\_511:M4:1458:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Please yow to wete that I rode wyth Maister Paston to Cotton , and there he had the **tenauntes** before hym and toke astate and seison yn the feffe` namys acordyng to the dede to your behofe .

PASTON,II,531.511.12425 **1 February 1458**

Tenant.17

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:1415?:43?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:80?

LETTER:PASTON\_511:M4:1458:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Hyt ys grete pitie of certeyn your **tenauntes** that lak her beestes and be destroyed thys snow seson yn Wentworth parkes .

PASTON,II,531.511.12428 **1<sup>st</sup> February 1458**

Tenant.18

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:1415?:43?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:80?

LETTER:PASTON\_511:M4:1458:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

but yff the parson or Spyrlyng may be at Nacton when they shall hold a

court there or tak the accomptes the **tenauntes** most attorne to Ser

Thomas yn your name and so be-com tenaunt . PASTON,II,532.511.12431 **1 February 1458**

Tenant.19

AUTHOR:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:81?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:38

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1459:COPY:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

and sendyth it now vpp to London to yow , whom I hafe graunted to hafe

xx s. a yere to be of my counsell and supporter of my **tenauntes** yn

Southwerk , to by wyth-all a goune . PASTON,II,181.347.9400 **3 July 1459**

Tenant.20

AUTHOR:THOMAS\_SCALES:MALE:\_:1399?:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_362:M4:1450S:COPY:OTHER

for in as mych as they be \$your **tenauntes** +ge aught to haue the reule

of hem before any o+ter , praying you to do youre part to put hem oute

of trouble . PASTON,II,197.362.9606 **Not after 13 April 1460**

Tenant.21

AUTHOR:ELIZABETH\_CLERE:FEMALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_364:M4:1450S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

and I seide if it had be a nother day I schuld a rehersed many mo

thyngges , but +tat is openly knowen among my **tenauntez** in this cuntre`

, and that is whan I sent to his place to \$distreyn for my dute`s ,

where he hath seid vntrewly +tat he was bete , vp-on which vntrewe

langgagge his maister hath take an <em> accion ageyn </em> me and my men

. PASTON,II,199.364.9631 **Not after Easter 1460**

Tenant.22

AUTHOR:ELIZABETH\_CLERE:FEMALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:~

LETTER:PASTON\_364:M4:1450S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

and +tis I bad my **tenauntes** schuld recorden , PASTON,II,199.364.9638 **Not after Easter 1460**

Tenant.23

AUTHOR:ELIZABETH\_CLERE:FEMALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:~

LETTER:PASTON\_289:M4:1450S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

And in +te same pasture I do pasture my bestys and certeyn bestys +tat

I have take to takke and come not in +te comoun pasture of +te seid

towne for gret ese of my **tenauntes** . PASTON,II,97.289.8254 **Probably before 25 May 1460**

Tenant.24

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:39

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:~

LETTER:PASTON\_029:M4:1460:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And lete Richard Kalle spede hym hidderward , and come by Snaylwel and

take suyche mony as may be getyn there ; and +tat he suffre not +te

mony +tat +te **tenauntes** owe to come in +te fermours handes .

PASTON,I,92.029.529 **19 June 1460**

Tenant.25

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:~?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_370:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and hath caryed it a-wey out of your lordschip ; wherfore the **tenauntes**  
desireth your maistreschip that ye woll take an axion a-yenst hym +tat  
he may be punyssched . PASTON,II,224.370.9773 **11 November 1460**

Tenant.26

AUTHOR:JOHN\_DE\_VERE\_SR:MALE:\_:1408?:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_371:M4:1450S:COPY:OTHER

And I am enfourmed that William Mathew of Norwich , bocher , hath  
brought an accyon of dette agayn Nicholas Hert , a **tenaunt** of myn ,  
berer herof , and hath supposid by his accyon that my said **tenaunt**  
shuld ow hym lxx s. for his hire of tyme that he shuld a ben seruaunt  
to my said **tenaunt** ; wher it is said to me for trouthe that he was  
aprentyce to my said **tenaunt** and neuer otherwise withholde but as  
aprentice , and owith no mony to haf of hym . PASTON,II,227.371.9783 **28 December 1460**

Tenant.27

AUTHOR:JOHN\_DE\_VERE\_SR:MALE:\_:1408?:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_371:M4:1450S:COPY:OTHER

I send to yow my said **tenaunt** to gif yow clere informacyon of the mater  
. PASTON,II,227.371.9784 **28 December 1460**

Tenant.28

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PAMPYNG:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_387:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT



Neuirthelesse as for mony thei get noon of hym redely , ner of the

**tenauntes** nowthyr , as he can thynk yet . PASTON,II,248.387.10074 **6 September 1461**

Tenant.29

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PAMPYNG:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_387:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and there chargid the **tenauntes** thei shuld pay no mony but to hym ,

PASTON,II,248.387.10076 **6 September 1461**

Tenant.30

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PAMPYNG:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_387:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and because of such tales yowr **tenauntes** owe hym the bettir will .

PASTON,II,248.387.10079 **6 September 1461**

Tenant.31

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PAMPYNG:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_387:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And I purposid to haue gon to Cotton and spoke wyth the **tenauntes** ,

PASTON,II,248.387.10080 **6 September 1461**

Tenant.32

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PAMPYNG:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_387:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and told hem ye merveylid that thei wold take any distresse or warne

any of yowr **tenauntes** that thei shuld pay yow no mony .

PASTON,II,248.387.10092 **6<sup>th</sup> September 1461**

Tenant.33

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_390:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And as for the **tenauntes** , they wolde not come at the place on-to the

tyme that I sent for hem , PASTON,II,254.390.10170 **13<sup>th</sup> October 1461**

Tenant.34

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_390:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and so the corte whas holden in your name , and the **tenauntes** ryght

weele plesed therof excepte Thurnberne and Agas ,

PASTON,II,254.390.10172 **13<sup>th</sup> October 1461**

Tenant.35

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_390:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and spake with all the fermours and **tenauntes** that longen to the maner

to vndrestande her disposessyon and to receyue money of hem ;

PASTON,II,254.390.10183 **13<sup>th</sup> October 1461**

Tenant.36

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_390:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

I haue receyved of the **tenauntes** that I vndrestod out you werst wyll

viiij marc. , &c . PASTON,II,254.390.10189 **13<sup>th</sup> October 1461**

Tenant.37

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_390:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

for the **tenauntes** fere hem they wol entre whan we be gon ,

PASTON,II,254.390.10192 **13 October 1461**

Tenant.38

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_390:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and than wol they distreyne the **tenauntes** , PASTON,II,254.390.10193 **13 October 1461**

Tenant.39

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_390:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

for they sey there that my lorde of Cauntyrbury and other lordes woll

relese to hem , notwithstanding +tat I haue enformed hem other-wice .

Wherfore , sayng your better advice , me semethe it were ryght weele

doo that ye had a letter of my lorde of Cauntirbury and other to the

**tenauntes** <P\_II,255> of Cotton that it is her wyll and entent that ye

schulde haue the rwle and gouernaunce and receyue the money of that

maner and other that were Ser John Fastolff , on whom God haue mercy ;

PASTON,II,255.390.10194 **13 October 1461**

Tenant.40

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_390:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

for I dought not and suche a lettre came downe to the **tenauntes** there

schulde no man sey nay to it . PASTON,II,255.390.10195 **13 October 1461**

Tenant.41

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:19

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

And , ser , your man tolde me that ye desired to knowe the demenyng at

Cotton of the **tenauntes** and other . PASTON,II,370.439.11320 **Late October 1461**

Tenant.42

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:19

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

I lete you wete the moste parte of alle the **tenauntes** haue bene here

with me for to see me , PASTON,II,370.439.11321 **Late October 1461**

Tenant.43

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:19

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

for the **tenauntes** myght not cheese but they moste nedes paye ,

PASTON,II,370.439.11324 **Late October 1461**

Tenant.44

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:19

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

And as for the keyng of the place , ther be therin iiij men , and on  
of Debenham men called Sokelyng and hes wyff , and on Mannyng a **tenaunt**  
, a fals knave . PASTON,II,370.439.11328 **Late October 1461.**

Tenant.45

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:17?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER:1421:40?

LETTER:PASTON\_168:M4:1461?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and they haue agreyd bothe +tat ther schall be set a **tenaunt** by bothe  
ther assenttys <P\_I,522> for to ocwpye the londys that they be at debat  
for tyll ye come home , PASTON,I,522.168.5130 **10 November 1461**

Tenant.46

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And as for the fermelondes that longeth to Calcotte , your fermours nor  
**tenauntes** woll ocupie non of thoo londes vnto the tyme they knowe ther  
be \$appoyntment {TEXT:appoyntment} made be-twix you and Debenham .  
PASTON,II,257.392.10218 **Probably 20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Tenant.47

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And as to other fermours and **tenauntes** , I schall ride to them thys

weke , be the grace of God . PASTON,II,258.392.10232 **20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Tenant.48

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , as for beef to your howsold , we haue purveyd j-nough be-twix

this and Fastegang of your **tenauntes** in Norffolk and Suffolk .

PASTON,II,258.392.10233 **20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Tenant.49

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Plesith it your maistreschip to witte that I haue been at Burnewylles

in Nacton to receyve the rentes and fermys of the **tenauntes** .

PASTON,II,271.398.10346 **1 February 1462**

Tenant.50

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

And I vndrestande be them and be Robert Goordon that Mastre Jenney whas

there and helde a coorte on the Mondaye next afre Tlwelthe , and

warned the **tenauntes** that they schulde pay no money to no man onto the

tyme they had worde from hym , seying that he whas on of the feffeyes of

the same maner and that he whas feed with Ser John Fastolff , of weche

fee he was be-hynde for ij yere ; wherfore he desired the **tenauntes**

that they schulde not be redy in payement onto the tyme they had word  
from hym , but that he myght be payed of hes seide fee lyke as the  
wylle of the deede was . Wherefore I can gete no money of them vnto the  
tyme they haue knowleche how it stond be-twyx your mastreship and  
Mastre Jenney ; PASTON,II,271.398.10347 **1 February 1462**

Tenant.51

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

for withoute Jenney write to hem , or come homward that wey and haue  
the **tenauntes** to-gether and lete hem witte that ye ought to haue the  
rentes and fermes of the seid maner , I can not see that ye be like to  
haue but litell money there withoute ye wol do distreyne throuout all  
the lordeschip . PASTON,II,271.398.10348 **1<sup>st</sup> February 1462**

Tenant.52

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_LOMNOR:MALE:\_:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:41?

LETTER:PASTON\_401:M4:1462?:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Also +ter be serteyn materz betwyn soom of your **tenauntez** and me .

PASTON,II,275.401.10410 Perhaps **11<sup>th</sup> April 1462**

Tenant.53

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_BARKER:MALE:\_:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON\_403:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

and the **tenauntes** have attorned and ben full gladde +tat myn lady shuld

reioyse hit and kepe here possession . PASTON,II,277.403.10430 **4<sup>th</sup> May 1462**

Tenant.54

AUTHOR:THOMAS\_PLAYTER:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON\_409:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And as for +te **tenauntes** , <P\_II,284> Mydsomer quarter is owyng and for

Esterne quarter ful lytyll owyng or non en effect ;

PASTON,II,284.409.10554 **July 1462**

Tenant.55

AUTHOR:THOMAS\_PLAYTER:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON\_409:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And as for to make ony schyft of your **tenauntes** here , I can not see

ony redy payment ; PASTON,II,284.409.10562 **July 1462**

Tenant.56

AUTHOR:THOMAS\_PLAYTER:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON\_409:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , as for Cristofers papers +tat longeth to your **tenauntes** , I haue

goten of William Worceter ; PASTON,II,284.409.10567 **July 1462**

Tenant.57

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:42

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1463:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

but I vndrestande ther is comen an other writte to the vndrescheryff of

Norffolk bothe for hym and me and for all thoo that ben jndyghted .



Wherfore I purpose me to ride to Hoonyng to the scheryff thys day to  
vndrestande how he is disposed and to desire hym to shewe favour to  
your pore **tenauntes** ; PASTON,II,289.414.10670 **February 1463**

Tenant.58

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:;:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:42

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1463:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

On Tentale hathe entred in-to parte of Felbregge lyvelod , and a corte  
holden and the **tenauntes** returned . PASTON,II,289.414.10677 **February 1463**

Tenant.59

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:20?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER:1421:43?

LETTER:PASTON\_172:M4:1464?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and they wold kep it tyll the Duches knew who schold be her **tenaunt** ,  
owthyr ye or Debnam . PASTON,I,527.172.5251 **2<sup>nd</sup> June 1464**

Tenant.60

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:;:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_033:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

for ther is gret spies leid here at London for ingrosers of malt to  
heyghne the prise , hough be it myne is not but of myn owne growyng and  
my **tenauntes** . PASTON,I,126.033.609 **14<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Tenant.61

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_:FEMALE:WIFE:;:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

for I trowe my **tenauntes** haue but litell gold to pay .

PASTON,I,127.034.630 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Tenant.62

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Also +tat ye see amonges yow +tat that is owyng me be not lost ne

forborn for lewdnes , for +tat shall bothe hurt me and do my **tenauntes**

harne . PASTON,I,128.034.646 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Tenant.63

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_104:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

The seid Thomas and James , as the <P\_I,312> Duke of Suffolk men , +tat

is to sey Harlesdon , +te parson of Salle , Mayster Phyllip , and

William Yeluerton , +te which was styward , wyth a lx persones or more

be estymacion , and the **tenauntes** of the same town , sum of hem hauyng

rusty pollexis and byllys , comyn in-to +te maner yard to kepe the

court , PASTON,I,312.104.3091 **7<sup>th</sup> August 1465**

Tenant.64

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_039:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Notwithstandyng , inasmoch that ye haue had in moch barly and greynes

for dettes of your **tenauntes** of Mautby , therfore Pecokes acompt must

be mad first , that such greynes as he hath deliuerid may be charged  
vpon the maltster or vpon any other that haue reseyved it .

PASTON,I,142.039.945 **20<sup>th</sup> September 1465**

Tenant.65

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_106:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and as many as thei may gete more of your men and **tenauntes** +tat thei  
may knowe that owe yow good wyll or hath be to you ward , thei be thret  
to be slayn or presoned . PASTON,I,323.106.3210 **17<sup>th</sup> October 1465**

Tenant.66

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

and it fortunod so that the most part of your **tenauntes** wern ought ,  
summe at Caunterbery and summe at othere places at mariages ,

PASTON,II,376.446.11447 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Tenant.67

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

for there be **tenauntes** +tat varyen fro his billes

PASTON,II,377.446.11457 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Tenant.68

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

and if ye vndo your **tenauntes** with ouer-chargyng of your fermes it

shall distroy your **tenauntes** and lordshepes . PASTON,II,377.446.11460 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Tenant.69

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

I haue seyn Catelyns corn with your **tenauntes** , bothyn-2 +tat lyght in

+te manere and in his owyn place , PASTON,II,377.446.11461 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Tenant.70

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

and your **tenauntes** seyn pleylnly that his corn is abyll j-now to content

you ; PASTON,II,377.446.11462 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Tenant.71

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Men of Fordham haue ocupied and pastored c acres of your grownd and

your **tenauntes** this ij yere that my mayster hath ben in trobill ,

PASTON,II,377.446.11470 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Tenant.72

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

and your **tenauntes** dare nowthere commune there with there bestes ner  
dryve a-wey there bestes , notwithstanding that thei pesibilly kept it  
euer a-forn and of old tyme bowndyd ought be old faderes for Snaylwell  
grownd . PASTON,II,377.446.11471 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Tenant.73

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GRESHAM:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_424:M4:1460S:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

for +te Priour of Norwich **tenantes** , your **tenauntes** , and John Cooes  
**tenauntes** shulde bere the reve \$at \$te {TEXT:atte} shirreves turn , and  
yche of tho lordshippes bere xvij d. to be payed \$at \$te {TEXT:atte}  
turn ; PASTON,II,327.424.10980 **Not after 1466**

Tenant.74

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GRESHAM:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_424:M4:1460S:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and by craft it is euey yeer leyd up-on your **tenauntz** ,

PASTON,II,327.424.10981 **Not after 1466**

Tenant.75

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GRESHAM:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_424:M4:1460S:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and if owght be by-hynde the shireves officeris by the menes of Cooes

**tenauntz** and +te Priours **tenaunt** {ED:z} distreygne your **tenauntz** to  
+teir right gret hurt . PASTON,II,327.424.10982 **Not after 1466**

Tenant.76

AUTHOR:JOHN\_DE\_VERE\_JR:MALE:\_:1443:26?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:27?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1469?:COPY:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

And it is agreed that Sir William Yeluerton , Sir Thomas Hoo , shalle  
be at the said court and wolle pay the amercyment and to deliuer the  
said Duchesse possession of the said seruice and palyng , and so by  
this meane to be-come **tenauntes** to the said Duchesse .

PASTON,II,391.451.11605 **Probably 7<sup>th</sup> January 1469**

Tenant.77

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Thei byd them lete there lond lye on-tilled but if thei pay them , so  
that if the **tenauntes** haue no remedy that thei may pesibily wyth-ought  
assaught or distresse takyng be the seid Yeluerton or his men , or of  
any o+ter in there names , at there liberte` herye there londes wyth-in  
this vij days , PASTON,I,336.110.3377 **12<sup>th</sup> march 1469**

Tenant.78

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And thei ride wyth speres and laungegays like men of werre , so that

the seid **tenauntes** arn a-ferd to kepe there owyn howses .

PASTON,I,336.110.3383 **12<sup>th</sup> march 1469**

Tenant.79

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Therefore purvey an redy remedye , PASTON,I,336.110.3384 **12<sup>th</sup> march 1469**

Tenant.80

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

or ell ye lese the **tenauntes** hertes and ye gretly hurt ,

PASTON,I,336.110.3385 **12<sup>th</sup> march 1469**

Tenant.81

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

for it is gret <P\_I,337> pety to here the swemefull and petowse

compleyntes of the pore **tenauntes** that come to me for comfort and

socour , sumtyme be vj or vij to-geder . PASTON,I,337.110.3386 **12<sup>th</sup> march 1469**

Tenant.82

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

for \$he hath right prowde and fowle langage , and right slaunders ,

to the **tenauntes** , as thei haue reported to me ; PASTON,I,337.110.3394 **12<sup>th</sup> March 1469**

Tenant.83

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

or ell Ser John Fastolfes lyvelode , thowgh ye entre it pesibilly ,  
shall not be worth to you a grote this yere wyth-ought ye wull on-do  
your **tenauntes** . PASTON,I,337.110.3401 **12<sup>th</sup> march 1469**

Tenant.84

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

for it is gret <P\_I,337> pety to here the swemefull and petowse  
compleyntes of the pore **tenauntes** that come to me for comfort and  
socour , sumtyme be vj or vij to-geder . PASTON,I,337.110.3386 **12<sup>th</sup> March 1469**

Tenant.85

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:\_\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1469:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

I take non but at Gughton , weche I am feyne to gadre it myselfe of the  
**tenauntes** for the baylyf woll not come there , at Saxthorp , <P\_II,396>  
Sporle , and Sneylewell , and xxvj s. weche I had at Techewell -  
PASTON,II,396.452.11636 **22<sup>nd</sup> May 1469**

Tenant.86

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA



and he hath sent for all his **tenauntes** from euery place , and othere ,  
to be there at Cayster on Thorysday next comyng , that there is than  
like to be the grettest multitude of pepill +tat came +ter yet .

PASTON,I,344.112.3456 **12<sup>th</sup> September 1469**

Tenant.87

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , my lord , a wrytyng wold be sent to the tenauntys from Ser John  
Paston , knyght , that he ne none yn hys name make no distreynyng ne  
manassyng or jnquietyng none **tenaunt** ne person that occupyeth the  
londes ne pastures . PASTON,II,584.516.12534 **17<sup>th</sup> May 1470**

Tenant.88

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:NAME\_UNKNOWN\_11:MALE:\_:\_:

LETTER:PASTON\_517:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , hyt were exspedyent that Ser John Paston wryte an opyn letter ,  
seled vndre hys sele knowen , to all the tenauntys and othyr yn  
generalle that he ne none yn hys behalf wille not distreyn , noye , ne  
vex none **tenaunt** , fermour , officer , baylly , that fermyth , haldyth  
, or occupyeth the maner of Tychewelle ne no part of yt , pastures  
aswell as herable londz ; PASTON,II,585.517.12547 **June 1470**

Tenant.89

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:26?

LETTER:PASTON\_113:M4:1470?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and send you Goddes blyssyng and myn , letyng you wete that sith ye departed my cosyng Calthorp sent me a letter compleynyng in his wrytyng that for asmych as he can not be payd of his **tenauntes** as he hat be before this tyme he purposith to lesse his howshold and to leve the streytlyere ; wherfore he desireth me to purvey for your suster Anne .

PASTON,I,348.113.3476 **6<sup>th</sup> July 1470**

Tenant.90

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:28?

LETTER:PASTON\_115:M4:1470?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

At the reuerence of God , gete you a licens of my lord of Caunterbery , in dischargyng of my conscyens and yowres , to mynystre a certeyn summe of iij or iiij=c= marc. , enfourmyng hym how that your lyffelod hath stond this ij yere in such trobill +tat ye myght right nought haue of it , ner yet can take of it wyth-ought ye shuld hurt your **tenauntes** .

PASTON,I,356.115.3545 **15<sup>th</sup> November 1470**

Tenant.91

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:26?

LETTER:PASTON\_116:M4:1470?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and told me that there were diuerse of the **tenauntes** seid that thei wost not what to do if that your brothere come home , and there was on of the Duk of Suffolk men by PASTON,I,360.116.3583 **Probably 7<sup>th</sup> December 1470**

Tenant.92

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1475:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

and there openly made the **tenauntes** to retourne be j d .

PASTON,I,377.125.3839 **9<sup>th</sup> August 1475**

Tenant.93

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_LOMNOR:MALE:\_:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:\_:\_:1444:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1479:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

My Master Paston , I recomaunde me to yow , preyyng God to haue mercy  
on my master your brothere sowle , to whom ye ar heyre , and also to my  
mastras your graunddam . Wherfore be th'auyse of my mastras your careful  
modere , your brothere Edmond on Sunday next before Sent Andrew rod to  
Marlyngforth , and before alle the **tenauntez** examyned on James , kepere  
there for Will Paston , where he was the weke next before Sent Andrew ;

PASTON,II,437.469.11991 **28<sup>th</sup> November 1479**

Tenant.94

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_LOMNOR:MALE:\_:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:\_:\_:1444:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1479:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

So be that your brothere dyyd sesid , and your brothere E. bad your man  
kepe possession to your behoffe and warned the **tenauntez** to pay noo man  
til ye hadde spoke them . So \$me \$semyth {TEXT:mesemyth} +tat is a  
remyttire to your old taylyd titell ; comon with your concell .

PASTON,II,437.469.11994 **28<sup>th</sup> November 1479**

Tenant.95

AUTHOR:MARGERY\_PASTON[N.BREWS]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:HUSBAND:1444:37?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1481?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

Ser , as for your **tenauntes** of Marlyngforth , they wythholde her catell

and hem-selfe bothe from the coorte PASTON,I,664.228.6849 Perhaps **1<sup>st</sup> November 1481**

Tenant.96

AUTHOR:MARGERY\_PASTON[N.BREWS]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:HUSBAND:1444:37?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1481?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

nor make noon attornment , exopt Thom Davy and John Water , weche

absentyng of the **tenauntes** is to them a greet hurt and los for lak of

sedyng of ther londes wyth ther wynter corn ; besechyng you for Godes

sake to remembre som remedy for them . PASTON,I,664.228.6851 **1<sup>st</sup> November 1481**

Tenant.97

AUTHOR:ELIZABETH\_BREWS:FEMALE:MOTHER\_IN\_LAW?:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON\_IN\_LAW?:1444:44?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1488?:COPY:FAMILY\_OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

and I moste pray you for +te reuerens of Jesu to help hym for youre

**tenauntes** and myne , PASTON,II,457.481.12125 **About 1488**

100 new results. How so many?

Farmer

Farmer.1

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_COTYNG:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_280:M4:1450S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Please it yow to wete that +te man whiche I wolde haue hadde to a be  
youre **fermour** at Snaillewelle hath tolde me that he will not therof ,

PASTON,II,81.280.8079 **April sometime between 1449-59**

Farmer.2

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_COTYNG:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_280:M4:1450S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

and as for this Briggeman I seide that he hath bought a faire place

sithe he was youre **fermour** , and payed therfor . PASTON,II,82.280.8087 **April sometime  
between 1449-59**

Farmer.3

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYNS:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:30

LETTER:PASTON\_268:M4:1451:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Right reuerent and wurchepfull ser , I recomand me to you , besechyng

you to wete that Wharles told me that Partrych seid that his lord knewe

wele that ye were entred pesibilly in the manere of Gresham ;

where-fore he seid thow the tenauntes and **fermores** pay you the rentes

and fermes the tyme that ye be in possession , his seid lord , thow he

entre ageyn , wuld neuer aske it them . PASTON,II,64.268.7753 **1<sup>st</sup> March 1451**

Farmer.4

AUTHOR:AGNES\_PASTON[N.BERRY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:SON:1421:32

LETTER:PASTON\_016:M4:1453:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and speke sadly for j nothyr **fermour** . PASTON,I,39.016.326 **6<sup>th</sup> July 1453**

Farmer.5

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

And as to Skilly , **fermour** of Cowhaugh , we enteryd there

PASTON,II,146.322.8838 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farmer.6

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

and seyde we wold haue payment for the half yeer past and sewyrte` for

the half yeer comyng , or ellys we wold distreyne and put hym out of

pocesseon and put in a newe **fermoure** ; PASTON,II,146.322.8839 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farmer.7

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , sir , as to the **fermour** of the maner of Bentley clepid Bentley

Houses , we haue hym bonde in lyke wyse for the ferme of the seyde maner

from Michilmesse last past tyl Mychelmesse next comyng , jn an

oblygacion of x mark payabil at Michilmesse next comyng , without ony

condecyon ; PASTON,II,147.322.8866 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farmer.8

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

and as for Kyrley Halle , I was with the **fermour** yistirday

PASTON,II,147.322.8870 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farmer.9

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

And we shal gete a copy of Sewalys endenture , **fermour** of Bradwelle ,

PASTON,II,147.322.8880 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farmer.10

AUTHOR:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:78?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:COPY:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , that the xvij and xix day of thys month Long Bernard , wyth a

preest of Kent to the nombre of xvj horses , have {ED:ben}\_BEN at

Nacton , Bentlay , and othyr places of F. and entred by colour of a

dede of feffement made to the Lady Roos and othyr , and hafe ryght

proude langage to the **fermours** that they wille obteyn theyr entent .

PASTON,II,150.325.8942 Probably **24<sup>th</sup> June 1456**

Farmer.11

AUTHOR:JOHN\_BOKKYNG:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Lete +te **fermours** be promised to be saued harmeles and chargid nought

to paie ony +ting to +tem . PASTON,II,161.334.9097 **8<sup>th</sup> October 1456**

Farmer.12

AUTHOR:THOMAS\_SCALES:MALE:\_:1399?:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_362:M4:1450S:COPY:OTHER

And for as mych as +tere is \$vareauce betwene William Wotton and hise

moder and the **fermour** +tere , wherfore I pray you +tat +ge wyll \$fynd a

weye accordyng to right for to put hem in rest and pees ;

PASTON,II,197.362.9605 **Not after 13<sup>th</sup> April 1460**

Farmer.13

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:39

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_::\_

LETTER:PASTON\_029:M4:1460:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And lete Richard Kalle spede hym hidderward , and come by Snaylwel and

take suyche mony as may be getyn there ; and +tat he suffre not +te

mony +tat +te tenauntes owe to come in +te **fermours** handes .

PASTON,I,92.029.529 **19<sup>th</sup> June 1460**

Farmer.14

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_COTYNG:MALE:\_:\_:

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:\_:\_:

LETTER:PASTON\_432:M4:1460S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Please it yow to wete +tat I haue receyved this day of Simond Miller ,

your **fermour** at Tichewell , ix li. ij d. for midsomer payment last



passed , whiche I sende to yow bi Rogier , seruaunt with +te parson of  
Thorp , as ye comaunded me bi +te seid Rogier ; besechyng yow to haue  
an acquitaunce +terof bi +te seid Rogier . PASTON,II,348.432.11157 **31<sup>st</sup> July 1460**

Farmer.15

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_366:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And as for that ye write to me for to gete you a **fermour** to the maner

<P\_II,218> londes at Mauteby , in good feyth sawyng your displesure I

can non geete therto in no wice ; wherfore I sende John Deye to you

that he may haue appoyntment how that he shall be rwled ,

PASTON,II,218.366.9691 **17<sup>th</sup> October 1460**

Farmer.16

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_366:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , as for Spittlynges , it is told me that the **fermour** is gon and

no thyng is ocupied ther nough ; wherfore I am purposed to be there on

Monday next comyng . PASTON,II,218.366.9713 **17<sup>th</sup> October 1460**

Farmer.17

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_370:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and he schal be a gret **fermour** of youre the next yere .

PASTON,II,223.370.9769 **Perhaps 11<sup>th</sup> November 1460**

Farmer.18

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_390:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and spake with all the **fermours** and tenauntes that longen to the maner

to vndrestande her disposessyon and to receyue money of hem ;

PASTON,II,254.390.10183 **13<sup>th</sup> October 1461**

Farmer.19

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:19

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

All the grete **fermours** haue payed . PASTON,II,370.439.11327 **Late October 1461**

Farmer.20

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_391:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And as for Spitlynges , I haue lete som of the lond in smale parcelles

because I cowde gete no **fermour** for it . PASTON,II,256.391.10206 **5<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Farmer.21

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And as for the fermelondes that longeth to Calcotte , your **fermours** nor

tenauntes woll ocupie non of thoo londes vnto the tyme they knowe ther

be \$appoyntment {TEXT:appoytment} made be-twix you and Debenham .

PASTON,II,257.392.10218 **20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Farmer.22

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , as for Aleynes **fermour** of Gresham , we can gete no money of hym  
son ye rode but xl s . PASTON,II,258.392.10231 **20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Farmer.23

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_392:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And as to other **fermours** and tenauntes , I schall ride to them thys  
weke , be the grace of God . PASTON,II,258.392.10232 **20<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Farmer.24

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , the maner of Stratton shuld paye of rente xxvj s. viij d. ,  
weche the **fermour** seythe my Mastresse Brandon is acorded with you .  
PASTON,II,272.398.10355 **1<sup>st</sup> February 1462**

Farmer.25

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:20?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER:1421:43?

LETTER:PASTON\_172:M4:1464?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

for he is Jenneys baly or hys **fermour** . PASTON,I,527.172.5241 **2<sup>nd</sup> June 1464**

Farmer.26

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:43

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1464:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , I rode ouer to Techewelle whan that I whas at Mastre Calthorpps

for to haue had money of the **fermours** , PASTON,II,299.419.10802 **28<sup>th</sup> June 1464**

[Farmer.27](#)

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Lete Richard Calle remembir +tat my **fermour** of Sweynesthorp is falle in

gret dette for defaut of callyng <P\_I,129> vpon but be on yere ,

PASTON,I,129.034.647 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

[Farmer.28](#)

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and I deme +tat bothe John Willeys and my newe **fermour** of Snaylewell

arn like to be in the same case , and paraventure Aleyn of Gresham ,

and other . PASTON,I,129.034.648 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

[Farmer.29](#)

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , Pecok told me of a **fermour** +tat wold haue had Mautby Merssh ,

paying xij mark , as it went afore ; PASTON,I,129.034.662 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

[Farmer.30](#)

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_038:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

a-nother , as sone as ye may , or ye breke this mater with John Russe ,  
make due serche with the **fermours** at Akthorp what mony Russe hath  
reseyvid there in my tyme : that is to sey for Mighelmes the first ,  
the ij , iij , iiij yeres of Kyng E. , of which he hath reseyvid ij  
paymentes , that is xij li. at the lest , or er the maner was trobelid  
by Jenney or Yeluerton . PASTON,I,139.038.878 **7<sup>th</sup> August 1465**

Farmer.31

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_038:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , he that shall speke with the **fermours** of Akthorp , whos name is  
Langham , he must inquere generally what mony he hath paijd to all men  
sith Ser John Fastolff dyed , and see his billes of payment and take  
therof a titelyng . PASTON,I,139.038.886 **7<sup>th</sup> August 1465**

Farmer.32

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_105:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

As for the examynacyon of the **fermours** , thay myght not be spoken wyth  
yet sythen I recevyd youre lettere , PASTON,I,316.105.3183 **18<sup>th</sup> August 1465**

Farmer.33

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_039:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Also he shall fynd , the xxij yere of Kyng Herry or therabought , in the acomptes of on of Fastolffes reseyvours at London , that ther was take of Ser Thomas Tyrell and of the Duchesse of Excestre , that was wif to Ser Lowes John , **fermours** of the seid maner , certeyn mony for repayment of part of the seid ccc mark . PASTON,I,140.039.912 **20<sup>th</sup> September 1465**

Farmer.34

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

for than shuld Richard Calle be <P\_II,377> with them and I bothyn , if ye wuld , to receyve it and to take a direccion for the ferme and to set in a **fermour** , PASTON,II,377.446.11451 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Farmer.35

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

All the town seth +tat it hath vn-don the **fermour** that had it last ;  
PASTON,II,377.446.11454 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Farmer.36

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

and he can best answeere there-to . And lete your lond +tat your **fermour** may leve and pay you , PASTON,II,377.446.11458 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Farmer.37

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOY:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:.\_:?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:.\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , I haue bodyn your **fermour** at Snaylwell sowyn certeyn whete lond

+tat he hat left on-sowyn , which shuld ben a hurt to hym +tat shuld

comyn in , PASTON,II,377.446.11475 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Farmer.38

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOY:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:.\_:?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:.\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

for ell that man +tat shuld be your **fermour** shall take an othere ;

PASTON,II,378.446.11485 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Farmer.39

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GRESHAM:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:.\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_424:M4:1460S:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

for +te **fermours** now may not selle it the better ,

PASTON,II,327.424.10975 **Not After 1466**

Farmer.40

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:25

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1467:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Your **fermours** goth out at Michelmes next comyng .

PASTON,II,380.447.11527 **3<sup>rd</sup> April 1467**

Farmer.41

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_COTYNG:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_COOK:MALE:\_::\_

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1469:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

This **pouere fermores** are liche to be vndo ; wherfore atte vertu of God

sende tidynges in hast what we shall do , PASTON,II,571.515.12520 **9<sup>th</sup> January 1469**

Farmer.42

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_COTYNG:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_COOK:MALE:\_::\_

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1469:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

and lete yow vnderstonde +tat this day in +te grey mornyng iij men of

my lord of Norffolk , as thei seide , with longe sperys haue take and

led away iij good hors fro John Poleyn , on of your **fermores** at

Tichewell , and ledde hem a-wey , and haue bode hym come and trete with

my lord of Norffolk . PASTON,II,571.515.12518 **9<sup>th</sup> January 1469**

Farmer.43

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER\_IN\_LAW:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1469:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , delyuerd to Dawbeney at diuers tymes for housold son Midlent ,

with xxx s. receyued of the **fermour** of the deyre` , xj li. xj s. iiij d

. PASTON,II,395.452.11622 **22 May 1469**

Farmer.44

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER



Please your gode lordshyp to wete that accordyng to your commaundment and wrytyng I was at the maner of Tychewell , that standyth destitut of a **fermour** , for to leete yt to ferme or ell to sett a man to approwe yt to the best availle . PASTON,II,583.516.12527 **17<sup>th</sup> May 1470**

Farmer.45

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

And at my commyng thedre , havyng a comunicacion wyth the olde **fermours** and wyth the cheff tenauntys of that towne , they ne none othyr wold take yt to ferme ne medle to occupye there tille vnto tyme that they hafe your \$wrytyng and a wrytyng vnder Ser John Paston ys seale promyttyng and warauntyng that neyther the seyde Ser John Paston ne none yn hys behalf , nother that none othyr havyng a rule late therebefore , shall not distreyn her catell and godes . PASTON,II,583.516.12528 **17<sup>th</sup> May 1470**

Farmer.46

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , yt was promysed that one called Bloy the yonger , late **fermour** of that lordshyp , wold come to your lordshyp for remedye yn thys behalf , whych owyth ix li. of money for ferme and most pay yt at Pentecost next <P\_II,584> by appoyntment made at Norwych at thys Pasch , or to the assignees of Maister William Yeluerton , yonger , beyng hym-sylf present , and to the assigne` of Ser John Paston .

PASTON,II,584.516.12533 **17<sup>th</sup> May 1470**

Farmer.47

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:NAME\_UNKNOWN\_11:MALE:\_:\_:

LETTER:PASTON\_517:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , hyt were exspedyent that Ser John Paston wryte an opyn letter ,  
seled vndre hys sele knowen , to all the tenauntys and othyr yn  
generalle that he ne none yn hys behalf wille not distreyn , noye , ne  
vex none tenaunt , **fermour** , officer , baylly , that fermyth , haldyth  
, or occupyeth the maner of Tychewelle ne no part of yt , pastures  
aswell as herable londz ; PASTON,II,585.517.12547 **June 1470**

Farmer.48

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:NAME\_UNKNOWN\_11:MALE:\_:\_:

LETTER:PASTON\_517:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

and thys lettre wille make the men to be better ensured that the  
tenauntys and **fermours** shall occupye her londz yn rest .

PASTON,II,585.517.12548 **June 1470**

Farmer.49

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:NAME\_UNKNOWN\_11:MALE:\_:\_:

LETTER:PASTON\_517:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , that an opyn letter be wryt yn my lord ys name to the seyde  
tenauntys and **fermours** , officers , or mynistrours yn my seyde lord ys  
name to warnty and vndretake that Ser William Yeluyrton ne none yn hys

behalf shall not distreyn , trouble , ne vex the seyd personys , &c. ,  
ne none othyr , but and ony so doo my lord wille deffend yt lafully .

PASTON,II,585.517.12549 **June 1470**

Farmer.50

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:28

LETTER:PASTON\_114:M4:1470:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

The **fermour** owyth me lxxx li. and more ; PASTON,I,351.114.3521 **28<sup>th</sup> October 1470**

Farmer.51

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:28?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1472?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

and thei ledde them a-wey so that euery man ferith to put any bestes or  
catell +ter-in , to my grete hurt and discoragyng of my **fermour** +tat is  
now of late come theder . PASTON,I,366.119.3649 **23<sup>rd</sup> October 1472**

Farmer.52

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:28?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1472?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

And the seid evyll disposed persones affraid my seid **fermour** as he came  
from Yarmoth this weke , PASTON,I,366.119.3650 **23<sup>rd</sup> October 1472**

Farmer.53

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER\_IN\_LAW:\_: \_?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1472?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , as for money of the **fermour** of Sporle , he telles me he is

bounde to Tounesende to pay hym at this Candelmesse ,

PASTON,II,357.437.11277 **Probably 27<sup>th</sup> November 1472**

Farmer.54

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1475:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

I send to Spoorle to your **fermour** for Midsomer pay last pasd ,

PASTON,I,377.125.3829 **9<sup>th</sup> August 1475**

Farmer.55

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1475:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

and charged your **fermour** to pay hym , PASTON,I,377.125.3831 **9<sup>th</sup> August 1475**

Farmer.56

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_\_:1415?:63?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_\_:1442:36?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1478?:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , I had foryete to hafe remembred your maystershyps to hafe a bille

to your baylly Pecok for to delyuer my **fermour** of Thyrkbye c or ij=c=

lawre and asshe , and than to plant yn my tenement at Thyrkbye , or for

as many ye lust ; PASTON,II,424.462.11918 **1<sup>st</sup> March 1478**

Farmer.57

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_\_:1436:44

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_KYNG:MALE:\_\_:\_\_

LETTER:PASTON\_051:M4:1480:COPY:OTHER

<font> To John Kynge , **fermour** of my maner of Harwelbury in Kelsall be

Royston , be this delyuerid . </font> PASTON,I,192.051.1353 **24<sup>th</sup> February 1480**

Farmer.58

AUTHOR:MARGERY\_PASTON[N.BREWS]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:HUSBAND:1444:37?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1481?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

Plese yow to wete John Howes , Alexander Qwharteyn , John Fille , wyth  
the parson and the newe myller of Marlyngforth , haue gotten Thom at  
Welles carte of Estetodenham , **fermor** to myn vnclle William Paston ,  
Herry Herby of Meelton Magna , **fermour** and baly to my seide vnclle ,  
Richard Barkers carte of the seide towne of Meelton , late **fermour** and  
yette is in daunger to my seide vnclle , and William Smythes carte of  
Brandon iuxta Bernham Broom , late **fermour** and baly and also in daunger  
to my seide vnclle , on Monday and Twesday last past caryed a-vey from  
Merlyngforth in-to the place at Seint Edmondes in Norwich xij of your  
greete planks , of the weche they made vj loodes , beryng a-bowte the  
seide cartes bowes and gleves for feere of takyng a-vey .

PASTON,I,664.228.6848 **Perhaps 1<sup>st</sup> November 1481**

Farmer.59

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:\_:1444:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_RADCLIFFE:MALE:\_:1452?:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_207:M4:1490S?:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Humbly besecheth your good lordshepe your dayly seruaunt and beedman  
John Paston , more kayteff than knyght , that it may please yow of your  
<P\_I,629> specyall grace to dyrect ought your lettres sygned wyth your  
hand and sealid wyth your seall to the dreedfull man Jamys Radcliff of

Byllingforthe , sqwyer , **fermour** of your wareyn ther - ought of whoys  
wareyn no maner of man nor vermyn dare take on hym for dought of your  
seyd dredfull {ED:man} to take or carye a-wey eny of your game ther for  
fere of hangyd vp among other mysdoers and forfaytours , as wesellis ,  
lobsters , polkattys , bosartys , and mayne currys - thatt the seyde  
Jamys shall vpon the syght of your seyde wryghtyng delyver or cause to  
be delyverd to your seyde besecher or to hys depute` delyuerer of your  
seyde lettres at hys fyrst syght of the same vj coupyll blake conyes or  
rennyng rabettys , or some blake and some whyght to the seyde nombre ,  
to store wyth a newe grownd of your seyde besechers at Oxenhed , more  
lyeke a pynnefold then a parke . PASTON,I,629.207.6360 **Draft between 1487 – 1495.**

#### Farm

Farming + actual farm + farmer

#### Farm.1

AUTHOR:JOHN\_OSBERN:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1445?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

And I have spoke to Laverauns Reede for +te **ferme** ,

PASTON,II,27.242.7136 **Perhaps about 1445**

#### Farm.2

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:28

LETTER:PASTON\_063:M4:**1449**:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

As for Herry Goneld , he was dystreynyd +gysterday for rent and **ferm** ,

PASTON,I,228.063.1775 **15<sup>th</sup> February 1449**

Farm.3

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:28

LETTER:PASTON\_063:M4:1449:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Al +te tenawntys ben chargyd to pay al here rent and **ferm** be Fastyngong

Sunday . PASTON,I,228.063.1778 **15<sup>th</sup> February 1449**

Farm.4

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:\_:1421:33

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1454:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

' But , seres , ' quod he , ' ye that be tenauntys to this manoyr , we

charge you that ye do nowthir seute nor seruisse , no {ED:r} paye ony

rentys or **fermys** but to the vse of John Paston and T. ;

PASTON,II,104.297.8353 **October-November 1454**

Farm.5

AUTHOR:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:\_:1378?:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_353:M4:1450S:COPY:OTHER

And , cosyn , hit is so , as I am enformed , that a fermoure of myn

maner in Saxthorp called John Bennes shuld come be-fore yow for to

appoynte for suche dewte` as he oweth to me vpon his **ferme** .

PASTON,II,191.353.9524 **9<sup>th</sup> August 1455**

Farm.6

AUTHOR:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:\_:1378?:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_353:M4:1450S:COPY:OTHER

And the **ferme** is but xx li. yerly , by wheche ye may vnderstande that he hath hadde greet faouere in his payementes , to his weel and myn greet hurt , as I reporte me to youre greet wysdom .

PASTON,II,192.353.9526 **9<sup>th</sup> August 1455**

Farm.7

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

for the **ferme** as yit remayneth on-gatherid in the **fermourez** handes .

PASTON,II,146.322.8843 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farm.8

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

But I seyde hym I wold be there ageyn for the recedu of the half yeer

**ferme** past withinne this xiiij dayez , PASTON,II,146.322.8844 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farm.9

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

But he spok with Wentworth sethyn , whiche yaf hym an vttyr rebuke , as

he swore to me , and seyde he wold haue hys payment of Skyilly and sewe

hise oblygacion this next terme whiche he is bounden in to Wentworth

for the yerly payment of the same **ferme** . PASTON,II,146.322.8846 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**



Farm.10

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

for there is on John Cook of Braunford hathe it in **ferme** of Wentworth

all , PASTON,II,146.322.8861 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farm.11

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , sir , as to the fermour of the maner of Bentley clepid Bentley

Houses , we haue hym bonde in lyke wyse for the **ferme** of the seyde maner

from Michilmesse last past tyl Mychelmesse next comyng , jn an

oblygacion of x mark payabil at Michilmesse next comyng , without ony

condecyon ; PASTON,II,147.322.8866 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farm.12

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

and Herry Deye shal brynge a copy of John Cookez endenture of the **ferme**

of the maner of Langston in Brustall ; PASTON,II,147.322.8876 **1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farm.13

AUTHOR:JOHN\_RUSSE:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

and as for Wareyn Bonde he mad neuyr endenture for the **ferme** of Kyrkley

Halle , PASTON,II,147.322.8877 **Farm 1<sup>st</sup> June 1456**

Farm.14

AUTHOR:JOHN\_FASTOLF:MALE:\_:1378?:78?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:COPY:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , I remembred Sir Simond for the restitution of my reuenues of

Dedham iij yer day and my dammage of a mille put doune for euere off xx

li. yerly **ferme** for trouth . PASTON,II,152.326.8968 **24<sup>th</sup> June 1456**

Farm.15

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:42?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:36

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1457:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

and I ensure yow full simplye approwed hys wollys and hys **fermys**

PASTON,II,171.341.9279 **1<sup>st</sup> May 1457**

Farm.16

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_366:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Also I shulde haue of hym for **feerme** xvj s. viij d. , and xlv comb and

ij bushelz of barly . PASTON,II,218.366.9704 **17<sup>th</sup> October 1460?**

Farm.17

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_370:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Also John Warles schal gather the rente and **ferme** of Basyngham this

yerre . PASTON,II,223.370.9762 **Perhaps 11<sup>th</sup> November 1460**

Farm.18

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_370:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Item , William Smythe schal occupie hes **ferme** this yere , and Croumer ;

PASTON,II,223.370.9763 **Perhaps 11<sup>th</sup> November 1460**

Farm.19

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_370:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and more-ouer he is the moost able man to take a **ferme** of lond that I

knowe in your lordeschip , PASTON,II,223.370.9768 **Perhaps 11<sup>th</sup> November 1460**

Farm.20

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PAMPYNG:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:.\_:.\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:.\_:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_387:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and a neyghbore there , vndirstandyng the bestes were Edward Dalis ,

and bond hym to pay the **ferme** or ellis to bryng in the bestes be a day

. PASTON,II,248.387.10069 **6<sup>th</sup> September 1461**

Farm.21

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PAMPYNG:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:.\_:.\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:.\_:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_387:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

and bond hym in an obligacion of x li. to pay hem his **ferme** at

Mighelmes , wech I told hym was not well do ; PASTON,II,248.387.10071 **6<sup>th</sup> September 1461**

Farm.22

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_391:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Plesith your maystreship to vndrestande that as for the **ferme** that  
Cheseman had in Boyton , that is to sey xl acre lond erable , j medwe ,  
and other smale parcelles , payng yerly for it iiij li. , {TEXT:weche}  
I can not lete the xl acre lond a-bowe xl comb barly or xl s. , and ye  
to bere al charges of the reparaucion and fense aboute the place ,  
weche shulde be gret cost . PASTON,II,256.391.10201 **5<sup>th</sup> November 1461**

Farm.23

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_394:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Plese you that ye remembre the bill I sent you at Hallowmesse for the  
place and londes at Boyton weche Cheseman had in his **ferme** for v mark .  
PASTON,II,261.394.10268 **29<sup>th</sup> December 1461**

Farm.24

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Plesith it your maistreschip to witte that I haue been at Burnewylles  
in Nacton to receyve the rentes and **fermys** of the tenauntes .  
PASTON,II,271.398.10346 **Probably 1<sup>st</sup> February 1462**

Farm.25

AUTHOR:THOMAS\_PLAYTER:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:42

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1463:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , my Maistres Clere besecheth you that syth here bro+ter , &c. ,

Edmund Clere is ough of +te bylle of atteyndre that sche mygth haue a

wrytyng of dyscharge fro the Kyng , to schewe it to suche personez as

wold , be ony old comaundement or ell by ony newe commandement gader vp

the **ferme** from hens forth as Croppell ded , PASTON,II,288.413.10655 **January 1463**

[Farm.26](#)

AUTHOR:NAME\_UNKNOWN\_13:MALE:\_:\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:21

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1463:COPY:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

Ryght worchepful sere and tendyrly belouyd in Oure Lorde God , I comend

me to you , sendyng you knowyng +tat I dede youre erand to my bro+ter

the persoon of Blofeeld on Wednysdaye was seuenyght after +te

vndyrstandyng +tat I had of you and from you be +tis bryngere , wech

man I felte ryght wele and fauorabelye dysposyd to you ward , and more

fauorable wole be +tan to ony o+ter jentylman levand , the wylle of +te

dede performyd and his conscyens sauyd ; and more +tinges seyde

fauorabely for yow , which I entytelyd in a scrowe to a certyfyed to

your seruaunt Calle yf he had come as ye sent me woord he xuld a do ,

and xuld as ye behestyd me a browte me oure **ferme** for Heylesdon ; which

not don causeth me to wryte , prayng your jantylnesse +tat I send no

more +terfore , PASTON,II,372.441.11369 **4<sup>th</sup> September 1463, Abbot of Langley**

[Farm.27](#)

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and I remembir he told me vij yere goo +tat my merssh shuld alwey apeyr  
till the prime were past the nombre of xix and thanne it shuld amend a  
ix or x yere , promittyng me he wold +tanne amend my **ferme** .

PASTON,I,129.034.669 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Farm.28

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_035:M4:1465:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Item , that as for distreyn for rent or **ferm** , thow the Dewk had tytill  
, as he hath not , he may non ask til the next rent day after his

entre` , that is Michelmes . PASTON,I,133.035.764 **15<sup>th</sup> January 1465**

Farm.29

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

LETTER:PASTON\_099:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Please it you to wyte that on Satour-day last youre seruauntys Naunton  
, Wykys , and othere were at Drayton and there toke a dystresse for the  
rent and **ferm** that was to pay , to the nombere of lxxvij nete , and so  
brought them hom to Hayllesdon and put hem in the **pynfold** , and so kept  
hem styll there from the seyd Satour-day mornyng in-to Monday at iij at  
clok at aftere-non . PASTON,I,301.099.2902 **Punishment? 20<sup>th</sup> May 1465**

Farm.30

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_&:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_037:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And thanne loke that ye enquire what mony he hath resevid of the seid maner in my tyme , wherof the **ferme** is vj li. yerly , whch I suffird hym to occupie to his owne vse by fors of the seid bargeyn all my tyme

; PASTON,I,137.037.849 **7<sup>th</sup> August 1465**

Farm.31

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_

LETTER:PASTON\_038:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

Richard Calle hath a bille of parcellis of euery mannes **ferme** ,

PASTON,I,139.038.887 **7<sup>th</sup> August 1465**

Farm.32

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

for than shuld Richard Calle be <P\_II,377> with them and I bothyn , if

ye wuld , to receyve it and to take a direccion for the **ferme** and to

set in a fermour , PASTON,II,377.446.11451 **Probably 10 November 1466**

Farm.33

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYES:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Item , William Yeluerton hath put ought the parson of Heynford of his

**ferme** , PASTON,II,378.446.11499 **Probably 10<sup>th</sup> November 1466**

Farm.34

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And though ye shuld kepe it here-after pesibilly , ye shuld lese the

**ferme** of this yere , PASTON,I,336.110.3380 **12<sup>th</sup> March 1469**

Farm.35

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:BROTHER:1444:26

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER:1442:28

LETTER:PASTON\_183:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and ther he wold haue gadyrd the half yer **ferm** ; PASTON,I,556.183.5637 **14<sup>th</sup> May 1470**

Farm.36

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , yt was promysed that one called Bloy the yonger , late fermour

of that lordshyp , wold come to your lordshyp for remedye yn thys

behalf , whych owyth ix li. of money for **ferme** and most pay yt at

Pentecost next <P\_II,584> by appoyntment made at Norwych at thys Pasch

, or to the assignees of Maister William Yeluerton , yonger , beyng

hym-sylf present , and to the assigne` of Ser John Paston .

PASTON,II,584.516.12533 **17 May 1470**

Farm.37

AUTHOR:MARGERY\_PASTON[N.BREWS]:FEMALE:WIFE:\_: \_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:HUSBAND:1444:37?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1481?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA



for he cursyth the tyme that euer he come in the **ferme** of Oxned ,

PASTON,I,666.229.6883 **4<sup>th</sup> November 1481**

#### Acre

##### Acre.1

AUTHOR:ELIZABETH\_CLERE:FEMALE:\_:\_: (Cousin)

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_289:M4:1450S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Liketh it yow to wete +tat +ter hath be purchased of many sundry men of old tyme a certeyn <P\_II,97> pasture and whynground conteynyng be estimacion an C=a= **acres** called N , lying in +te towne of N and longyng to +te manere of +te same towne , except +tat certeyn persones have withinne +te same pasture iiij acres in sundry smale parcelles +te wheche arn ny almost ouer growe with whynnes at +tis daye , not withstondyng +tei have for euery **half acre** a netes pasture goyng at large al somere in +te seid pasture , payand for +te heerdying of a best iiij d . PASTON,II,97.289.8253 **1450s**

##### Acre.2

AUTHOR:AGNES\_PASTON[N.BERRY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:SON:1421:30?

LETTER:PASTON\_014:M4:1451?:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And he bad me take iiij **acre** and goo no ferthere ; PASTON,I,37.014.262 **1451?**

##### Acre.3

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:41?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456?:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

And , ser , yff ye thynk to don to meofe Clere of the **acre** lond , but

gefe hym no credence yn the contrarye , PASTON,II,156.328.9004

**poss 1456?**

Acre.4

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_366:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

for I can non other-wice feele be hym but that he wol not passe j combe

barly for an **acre** . PASTON,II,218.366.9692 **1460?**

Acre.5

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_366:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

He hath a xiiij **acre** lond resonably weele dyght to sowe on wheete ,

PASTON,II,218.366.9693

**17 october 1460**

Acre.6

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:.\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:39?

LETTER:PASTON\_366:M4:1460?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

but I suppose and ye wolde aggre` to pay from you vj li. in money for

the brekyng therof I can thynk I shuld fynd you iij men wold take it to

ferme for vij yere , so that they myght not pay no money the furst and

the ij=de= yere , and at the iij=de= yere to paye you for euery **acre**

xij d. , and so yerely xij d. for an **acre** duryng v of her laste yeres ,  
weche schulde drawe clerely that schulde come to you xxiiij li. and the  
seid vj li. payed to them . PASTON,II,218.366.9697

### **ABOUT 17 OCTOBER 1460**

Acre.7

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:17?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER:1421:40?

LETTER:PASTON\_168:M4:1461?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and they wyle not geue but vj d. for an **acre** , and they to kepe the  
reparacion of the plase ; PASTON,I,521.168.5119 **1461?**

Acre.8

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:17?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER:1421:40?

LETTER:PASTON\_168:M4:1461?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and he desyiryth to haue the londys in Arleham for vij d. an **acre** as  
for thys yer . PASTON,I,521.168.5123 **1461?**

Acre.9

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_391:M4:1461:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

Plesith your maystreship to vndrestande that as for the ferme that  
Cheseman had in Boyton , that is to sey xl **acre** lond erable , j medwe ,  
and other smale parcelles , payng yerly for it iiij li. , {TEXT:weche}  
I can not lete the xl **acre** lond a-bowe xl comb barly or xl s. , and ye  
to bere al charges of the reparacion and fense aboute the place ,

weche schulde be gret cost . PASTON,II,256.391.10201

**5 November 1461**

Acre.10

AUTHOR:AGNES\_PASTON[N.BERRY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:SON:1421:40

LETTER:PASTON\_017:M4:1461:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and jn the ende of the sey d rentall , of Waryn Kynges hand , is wretyn

' Agnes Paston vij d. ob . Item , the same Agnes for v **acre** lond xx d .

' PASTON,I,42.017.344

**1 December 1461**

Acre.11

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYNS:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:1442:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1466?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

Men of Fordham haue ocupied and pastored c **acres** of your grownd and

your tenauntes this ij yere that my mayster hath ben in trobill ,

PASTON,II,377.446.11470

**Probably 10 November 1466**

Field

Field.1

AUTHOR:JOHN\_OSBERN:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:24?

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1445?:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

and I pray yow to wete that I was at Katefeld in Cobbes place for to se

the armes as ye comaunded me , and +te **feld** is gold wyth iij bukkeles

of syluere mad on +te wyse as it is here wyth floweres of syluer on +te

bukkelis mad of iij lyke a trewlove . PASTON,II,26.242.7125

**~Perhaps about 1445**

Field.2

AUTHOR:RICHARD\_CALLE:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT/SON\_IN\_LAW:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:FATHER\_IN\_LAW:1421:41

LETTER:PASTON\_405:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

for the **feldes** are resonably fayre here in Flegge , and so vp to

Norwiche ; PASTON,II,280.405.10502

**5 July 1462**

Field.3

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:BROTHER:1444:18

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER:1442:20

LETTER:PASTON\_170:M4:1462:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

and ther is to hem owte of Newe-castyll ordynans jnowe bothe for the

segys and for the **feld** in cas that ther be ony **feld** takyn , as I trowe

ther \$schall {TEXT:scall} none be not yet , PASTON,I,523.170.5156

**11 December 1462**

Field.4

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:44

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]\_:FEMALE:WIFE:.\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_034:M4:1465:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And hough be it +tat in his presumptuose and ondiscrete demenyng he gaf

bothe me and yow cause of displeasir , and to other of my seruauntes

ille exsaumple , and \$+tat also guided hym to all mennes vndirstondyng

+tat he was wery of bidyng in myn hows , and he not insurid of help in any other place , yet +tat grevyth nat me so evill as doth +tat I neur coud fele ner vndirstand hym poletyk ner diligent in helpyng hym-self , but as a drane amonges bees wech labour for gaderyng hony in the **feldes** and the drane doth nought but takyth his part of it .

PASTON,I,128.034.635

**15 January 1465s**

Field.5

AUTHOR:ELIZABETH\_POYNINGS/BROWNE[N.PASTON]:FEMALE:AUNT:1429:38?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:NEPHEW:1442:25?

LETTER:PASTON\_059:M4:1467?:COPY:FAMILY\_OTHER

And as of my seid husbondes lyuelode aswell in +te same shire as in o+ter shirez , besyde myn jountur , my seid husbond whan he departyd towarde +te **feld** of Saint Albons made and ordeyned his wille +tat I shuld haue +te rewell of all his lyuelode , and of Edwarde , his soon and myn , and to take +te issuez and profitez of +te seid lyuelode to +te fyndyng of his and myn seid son , to paie his detteez and to kepe +te right and title of +te same lyuelode which I myght nat accordyng occupie for Ser Edwarde Porynges , myn seid husbondes brother .

PASTON,I,208.059.1561

**15 December 1467**

Field.6

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:SON:1444:24

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:.\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1468:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

But the Bastard was on of the lordys +tat browt the Lord Scalys in-to  
the **feld** , PASTON,I,539.178.5430

### 8 July 1468

Field.7

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:27

LETTER:PASTON\_110:M4:1469:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

there tylth in the **feldes** \$shall be lost for all thes yere

PASTON,I,336.110.3378

### 12 March 1469

Field.8

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:SON:1442:32

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:MOTHER:.\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1474:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR\_CODE\_METADATA

and there in the **felde** I payed hym the iiij li. whyche I had borowyd

off hym , PASTON,I,476.149.4627

### Prob November 1474

Pasture

Pasture.1

AUTHOR:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:WIFE:.\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:HUSBAND:1421:28

LETTER:PASTON\_064:M4:1449:COPY:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

And but if +gowr bestys mown comown +ter jt xall ben grette hurt to hem

but if +te haue more **pasture** +tan +tei haue be-syd +tatt .

PASTON,I,232.064.1918 **28 February 1449**

Pasture.2

AUTHOR:ELIZABETH\_CLERE:FEMALE:\_:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_289:M4:1450S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Liketh it yow to wete +tat +ter hath be purchased of many sundry men of old tyme a certeyn <P\_II,97> pasture and whynground conteynyng be estimacion an C=a= acres called N , lying in +te towne of N and longyng to +te manere of +te same towne , except +tat certeyn persones have withinne +te same **pasture** iiij acres in sundry smale parcelles +te wheche arn ny almost ouer growe with whynnes at +tis daye , not withstondyng +tei have for euery half acre a netes **pasture** goyng at large al somere in +te seid **pasture** , payand for +te heerdying of a best iiij d . PASTON,II,97.289.8253 **1450s**

Pasture.3

AUTHOR:ELIZABETH\_CLERE:FEMALE:\_:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_289:M4:1450S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

And in +te same **pasture** I do pasture my bestys and certeyn bestys +tat I have take to takke and come not in +te comoun **pasture** of +te seid towne for gret ese of my tenauntes . PASTON,II,97.289.8254 **1450s**

Pasture.4

AUTHOR:ELIZABETH\_CLERE:FEMALE:\_:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_289:M4:1450S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER



And now +tei seyn +tat it hath be vused of old tyme +tat +te comoun  
heerde of +te seide towne schuld bryng into +te seid **pasture** his  
beestys on Lammesse Day to pasturen , PASTON,II,97.289.8255 **1450s**

#### Pasture.5

AUTHOR:ELIZABETH\_CLERE:FEMALE:\_:\_:

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:~

LETTER:PASTON\_289:M4:1450S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

for +te comoun bestys schulde ouer charge +te seide **pasture** .

PASTON,II,97.289.8261 **1450s**

#### Pasture.6

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , they seyden that they had delyuered vpp the culettys of chepe  
and beestes for doubt of distreynyng that they had ghedered to pasture  
vppon the mershes , and were bestowed vppon othyr **pasturys** yn othyr  
lordshyppys , that they coude hafe no culettys to lay the **pasture** wyth  
**beestys** . PASTON,II,583.516.12531 **1470**

#### Pasture.7

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , I seyde vnto hem that and theyr beestys breke and feede hem vppon  
the maner londz the oweners of hem be lyke to be sewed and make amendys

for the trespasse , yn deffaut they wille not take the **pastures** to  
ferme . PASTON,II,583.516.12532 **1470**

#### Pasture.8

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:WILLIAM\_WAINFLEET:MALE:\_:1400?:70?

LETTER:PASTON\_516:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , my lord , a wrytyng wold be sent to the tenauntys from Ser John

Paston , knyght , that he ne none yn hys name make no distreynyng ne

manassyng or jnquietyng none tenaunt ne person that occupyeth the

londes ne **pastures** . PASTON,II,584.516.12534 **17 May 1470 also under farming**

#### Pasture.9

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:NAME\_UNKNOWN\_11:MALE:\_:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_517:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , that a waraunt be made to help shytt vpp and make the see bankys

before the pasturys of Tychewell that at hys spryngys the see brekyth

yn to the **pasturs** and destroyeth the **pasture** and also bryngyth the salt

sandes amongys the gras and makyth yt bytter , that the chepe wille not

feede hem vppon yt . PASTON,II,585.517.12551 **1470**

#### Pasture.10

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_WORCESTER:MALE:\_:1415?:55?

RECIPIENT:NAME\_UNKNOWN\_11:MALE:\_:\_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_517:M4:1470:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

Item , hys were exspedyent that Ser John Paston wryte an opyn letter ,

seled vndre hys sele knowen , to all the tenauntys and othys yn

generalle that he ne none yn hys behalf wille not distreyn , noye , ne  
vex none tenaunt , fermour , officer , baylly , that fermyth , haldyth  
, or occupyeth the maner of Tychewelle ne no part of yt , **pastures**  
aswell as herable londz ; PASTON,II,585.517.12547

### **June 1470**

#### Harvest

##### Harvest.1

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GLOYNS:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_: \_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:27

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1448:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT\_CODE\_METADATA

for she dede seys his corn on the lond the last **hervest**

PASTON,II,27.243.7148 **1448**

##### Harvest.2

AUTHOR:THOMAS\_SCALES:MALE:\_:1399?:57?

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:35

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1456:COPY:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

Notwithstandyng I suppose lerned men wyll not be easy for to gete

be-cause of this besy tyme of **\$hervest** . PASTON,II,158.331.9038

### **11 August 1456**

#### Harvest.3

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_COTYNG:MALE:\_: \_:\_

RECIPIENT:MARGARET\_PASTON[N.MAUTBY]:FEMALE:\_: \_:\_

LETTER:PASTON\_432:M4:1460S:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER

and shall be do after **hervest** . PASTON,II,348.432.11165 **1460s**

### 31 July 1460-5?

#### Harvest.4

AUTHOR:JOHN\_PASTON\_III:MALE:BROTHER:1444:28

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_II:MALE:BROTHER:1442:30

LETTER:PASTON\_189:M4:1472:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_NUCLEAR

nor non can get tyll **haruest** , when he may dystreyn the cropp vp-on +te  
grownd . PASTON,I,576.189.5834 **1472**

#### Market

#### Market.1

AUTHOR:WILLIAM\_BARKER:MALE:\_::\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:38

LETTER:PASTON:M4:1459:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER\_CODE\_METADATA

Please youre maystership that as to-morwen a newe inquirendum shal be  
taken at Wycham **Markette** for the parsonage of Rendelesham for on  
Mayster John Clerke , a chapeleyn of the Lady Roos ;

PASTON,II,179.346.9372 **24 June 1459**

#### Market.2

AUTHOR:JAMES\_GRESHAM:MALE:FAMILY\_SERVANT:\_:\_

RECIPIENT:JOHN\_PASTON\_I:MALE:\_:1421:~

LETTER:PASTON\_424:M4:1460S:AUTOGRAPH:FAMILY\_SERVANT

And +tis is cause +tat I haue take no sewerte` ; wherfor yf it like yow  
to do write up th'endenture that I may haue it that oon part vndir your  
seall , they shall mete with me at Gressenhale on Seynt Bertilmew

{ED:is} Day and enseale +tat othir part , and +teir sewerte` also , so  
+tat they haue wetyng from yow at Swafham **market** +te Saturday next  
to-fore Seynt Bertilmewis Day ; PASTON,II,328.424.11000

**NOT\_AFTER\_1466**

Market.3

AUTHOR:JOHN\_DE\_VERE\_JR:MALE:\_:1443:\_

RECIPIENT:EDMOND\_PASTON\_II:MALE:\_:\_:

LETTER:PASTON\_502:M4:1480S:COPY:OTHER

Written atte Newe **Market** the vij=th= day of Aprill .

PASTON,II,491.502.12290 **7 April 1486-9?**