

town ditch, 'and the destruction of the houses to make room for it is thus explained'. There is no mention by Mrs. Armitage of that exclusion of the castle area from the borough on which Maitland insisted, although her view of the castle's position requires definite exclusion from the town, while his did not.

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The Etymology of 'Bay-salt'

THE word 'Bay-salt', which is often found in an English form from the fifteenth century onwards, has been interpreted as salt from Bayonne, salt from the Bay (of Biscay), or salt obtained from bays of the sea in general.¹ It can, however, be more precisely defined. The Patent Roll for 1364 contains a large number of licences to export cloth or money, and to bring back cargoes of salt from 'La Baye' or 'La Baie', which they all describe as in Brittany.² I venture to suggest that bay-salt means salt from the Baie de Bourgneuf in the department of the Loire-Inférieure. The identification of La Baie with this particular bay was proposed by Sir Harris Nicolas in 1847,³ and repeated by Kervyn de Lettenhove and Siméon Luce in their editions of Froissart.⁴

Of the shore of the small bay of Bourgneuf, situate just to the south of the estuary of the Loire, and shut in and sheltered from the Atlantic by the island of Noirmoutier, the northern and southern curves are in the departments of the Loire-Inférieure and La Vendée respectively, corresponding to the south-west corner of Brittany and the north-west of Poitou; whilst the town of Bourgneuf itself, situate near the middle of the bend of the bay, is just on the north or Breton side of the border-line between the two departments. Bourgneuf and its bay were so near the confines of Brittany and Poitou, that the Patent Rolls seem to indicate a doubt whether 'La Baye' was to be described as being in Brittany or in Poitou, and more often they leave its

¹ See the *New English Dict.*, s.v. Since this note was sent to the printer, the writer has learned that a work on *Der Baienhandel* was published by the German scholar Agatz in or about 1908. He has also been referred by Professor W. E. Collinson to F. Kluge, *Seemannssprache* (Halle, 1911), p. 59, s.v. 'Bai', where Eng. 'bay-salt', Germ. 'Baisalz', and Dutch 'baasizout' are derived from the name of the port of La Baie. This suggestion was not made in Kluge's earlier *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1894), nor is it made in Weigand's more recent *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 5th ed. (1909).

² *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1361-4* (1912), pp. 492, 507, 508, 511, 514, 515, all of the year 1364. The thirteen licences on pp. 514 and 515 are also in *Foedera*, Record ed., III. ii. 739, 740, with the heading: *De moneta usque la Baye in Britannia, pro sale emendo, ducenda*.

³ *Hist. of the Royal Navy*, II. 138.

⁴ Kervyn, xxiv (1877), 62; Luce, viii (1888), p. xix.

whereabouts unexpressed. Thus in 1317 Edward II requested the duke of Brittany to obtain satisfaction for a Southampton merchant who had bought from three merchants of 'Burenef', in the parish of St. Ciry in Roys, a consignment of salt, and had paid for it, but was unable to obtain delivery.¹

The earliest reference in the rolls to the importation of salt from 'La Baye' appears to be contained in a request by Edward II to the duke of Brittany in 1319 to restore a ship and its cargo belonging to a merchant of Southampton, who 'lately sent a ship . . . to La Baye for the purpose of buying salt for his use and of bringing the same to this realm'.² But the fact that La Baye is in Brittany is not explicitly stated until we reach the Patent Rolls of the year 1364, already mentioned. Another licence of the same year for a vintner of Sandwich to ship money and cloth to Gascony for the purchase of wine mentions a recent licence granted to him to ship money to 'La Baye in Brittany to buy salt with'.³

Twice at least, on the other hand, the place appears to be described in the rolls as in Poitou. Thus in 1323 the sheriff of Norfolk and other officers were ordered to make reprisals until satisfaction had been made by the count of Zeeland in respect of a Newcastle ship which had been captured by Zeeland pirates off Sandwich on its way to 'Le Bay in Poitou'.⁴ Again, in 1349, proclamation was ordered to be made in London that no merchant or other of the king's subjects should 'buy salt at La Bay or elsewhere in Poitou', from any one except Henry earl of Lancaster, appointed the king's captain in those parts, or his lieutenant or ministers.⁵

¹ *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1313-18* (1893), p. 455. The name of the place is printed in the text of the volume as 'Burtnef', but this is corrected to 'Burenef' in the index.

² *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1318-23* (1895), p. 209. The ship and its cargo had been seized and carried away by Breton pirates, when it lay at anchor near the duke's town of 'St. Matthieu'. The index does not identify 'La Baye' and 'St. Matthieu' more precisely than to locate them in Brittany. The latter is evidently the port of Saint-Mathieu, dep. Finistère, cne. Plougonvelin, con. Saint-Renan, arr. Brest.

³ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1364-7* (1912), p. 13.

⁴ *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1323-7* (1898), p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1349-54 (1906), p. 140; *Foedera* (6 November 1349), Record ed., III. i. 190: '... Ne quis mercator, aut alius qui de ligeancia nostra fuerit, salem apud la Bay, vel alibi in partibus Pictaviae ab aliquo, nisi a . . . Henrico comite Lancastri, quem capitaneum nostrum in eisdem partibus constituimus, aut ab eiusdem capitanei locum tenente, vel ministris suis ibidem . . .', the heading of the order being: 'Ne quis salem apud la Bay ab aliquo, nisi a comite Lancastriae, emere audeat.' 'La Bay' is indexed in the calendar as 'Bourgneuf, la Baie de, France', without mention of the department. The appointment of the earl as 'capitaneus et locum regis tenens in partibus Pictaviae' had been made on the preceding 18 October (*Foedera*). In this case the placing of 'La Bay' in Poitou may be explained by the circumstance that since the outbreak of the dispute between the houses of Blois and Montfort for the succession of Brittany, consequent on the death of Duke John III without heirs in 1341, Edward had kept in his own hands this southern corner of the duchy. See Sir James Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster*, II (1913), p. 20 n.

Generally, however, the rolls do not even implicitly mention the whereabouts of what was evidently a well-known place. Thus, in 1338, two orders were issued that certain ships which were about to sail to Aquitaine and 'la Bay' for wine, salt, &c., should for defence and offence sail together in one fleet.¹ Again, in 1342 a reprisal order was issued to remedy the grievance of a merchant whose father had in 18 Edward II caused a newly-built ship of his to be freighted in Gascony with wine, &c., and had taken it to 'la Bay', where he sold part of the wine, reloaded with salt, and took his ship to the port of Lire in Normandy to trade, where it was seized and confiscated by the agents of the king of France.² Similarly, in 1350 a merchant loaded a ship 'with salt at la Bay', and freighted it to Winchelsea to be unloaded.³ An order was made on 24 March 1360/1 for the restitution of a ship of Harfleur, which had been laden in the port of Noirmoutier with a cargo of salt of 'la Baye', and had been captured by English pirates.⁴ Another order, issued a few days later, deals with another long-standing grievance, that of a merchant who in 21 Edward III had freighted a ship 'to sail to la Baye to lade salt there' and bring it to Youghal, which ship had had an adventurous homeward voyage.⁵ In 1364 a general order was made to permit a merchant who, with the king's licence, was going 'to La Baie and other places for salt and other merchandise, to pass without impediment'.⁶ The same year two licences were granted to export and sell herrings, and to buy with the proceeds a cargo of salt at 'La Baye'; whilst in the following year a safe-conduct was granted to a merchant who had received a licence to take his ship 'for salt and other merchandise at La Baye and other places'.⁷ Safe-conducts were also given in 1370 for several Flemish ships which their owners were about to send to 'Le Bay and elsewhere to find salt and take it to Flanders',⁸ and in 1376 an order was made concerning a ship which had been 'laded at the Bay with salt', and had been brought thence to the port of Blakeney in Norfolk.⁹ Similarly, an order issued in 1391, in a suit about the freighting, &c., of a vessel for sailing to 'la Bay' for salt, loading her there, and bringing her back to Weymouth or Southampton, does not state where 'la Bay' is.¹⁰

¹ *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1337-9* (1900), p. 526.

² *Ibid. 1341-3* (1902), p. 435.

³ *Ibid. 1349-54* (1906), p. 197.

⁴ *Ibid. 1360-4* (1909), p. 256. The capture had been made the year before.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 178.

⁶ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1361-4* (1912), p. 542.

⁷ *Ibid. 1364-7* (1912), pp. 52 and 108.

⁸ *Ibid. 1367-70* (1913), p. 439.

⁹ *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1374-7* (1913), p. 404.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1388-92* (1902), p. 473. Cf. *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1385-9* (in the press), p. 329, an. 1387, a Winchelsea ship laden with salt at 'La Baye', and plundered off the coast of Brittany; and p. 592, an. 1389, a ship of Danzig

Finally, in one or two instances 'La Baye' is mentioned in the rolls as a trading centre, without any indication of the nature of the merchandise in which it traded. Thus in 1369 an order was made in regard to certain merchants who had lately loaded a Plymouth ship with 'divers merchandise' in 'the port of la Baye'.¹ And in 1388 the owner of a ship which had been prevented by order of the king from sailing to 'le Bay' for a cargo of 'goods' obtained licence to take it to Newcastle instead.² Of the 'divers merchandise' and 'goods' referred to in these two documents, it may be presumed that salt formed an important part.

In the rolls of the fifteenth century mentions of 'la Baye' are much rarer than in those of the fourteenth, and the tendency to leave its whereabouts unexpressed becomes the rule. The following are the only references to 'la Baye' which I have found in the Calendar of Patent Rolls as far as it goes, that is, down to the year 1509. In 1438 a licence was granted to take 'to the parts "del Baye"' a Newcastle ship which had been laden in the port of London.³ A commission was appointed in 1440 to arrest nine pirate ships of Holland and Zeeland which were waiting to capture five Yarmouth vessels laden with salt at 'le Baye', and lying off the Isle of Wight,⁴ whilst in the following year another commission was to inquire into the seizure and sale by pirates from Harfleur of a balinger of Brittany laden with salt of 'le Bay' and wine of La Rochelle.⁵ Several commissions were appointed in 1451 to inquire into the seizure of certain ships of Holland and Zeeland which had been driven by stress of weather into the port of Camber by Winchelsea, when on their way home from 'le Baye' with 'divers goods and merchandise'⁶; whilst in 1453 another commission was ordered to inquire and make restitution in the case of a German ship which had been laden with salt and other merchandise at 'le Bay', and had been driven by a storm into the Humber, and there attacked and plundered.⁷

The foregoing references to the mediaeval import trade in salt from the port of 'La Baye' in Brittany, or 'La Baye' salt, especially during the fourteenth century, leave no doubt that we have here the explanation of the term 'Bay-salt' found in

laden with salt at 'La Baye' (communicated by Mr. C. T. Flower, of the Public Record Office). Cf. also an order by the duke of Brittany dated 8 June 1418, to release a Portuguese ship, the owner of which was presumed to be English, and which, when on its way to the port of 'La Baie', had been arrested and taken to Blavet, i.e. Port-Louis, dep. Morbihan (*Lettres et Mandements de Jean V*, ed. R. Blanchard, no. 1217).

¹ *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1369-74* (1911), p. 53.

² *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1385-9* (1900), p. 400.

³ *Ibid. 1436-41* (1907), p. 155.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 502.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 572.

⁶ *Ibid. 1446-52* (1909), pp. 439, 440.

⁷ *Ibid. 1452-61* (1910), p. 118.

the sixteenth-century customs records as the equivalent of 'British' or 'Breton' salt. The Port Books of Chester mention a cargo of 'Baye or Britishe salt brought in 1570 to Liverpool from Pulgayne in Brittany,¹ and other examples of this use of the term British salt may be found in the Liverpool municipal records.² In course of time, as was natural, the original meaning of the name 'La Baye' salt was gradually forgotten in England, and it is not surprising that it came to be applied to coarse grey sea-salt in general, quite irrespectively of the place which produced or exported it. Thus in 1566 a bill was introduced and passed through parliament 'for making of Bay Salt and White Salt within the realm',³ and, a century and a half later, it even became possible to speak of 'Bay Salt of Guernsey'.⁴

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The Escheatrics, 1327-41

THE two escheatrics *citra* and *ultra* *Trentam* were in existence by 1258 and remained unaltered until 1323. The later system of making the escheatrics coincident with the shrievalties was established in 1341. The eighteen years between these dates formed the period of experiment. Professor Tout has summarized the changes of 1323,⁵ but the various alterations in the escheatrics between 1327 and 1341 and the relation of these changes to the politics of the period do not seem to have attracted attention.

The policy of two great escheatrics north and south of Trent was sanctioned by the ordinances of 1311, and was regarded as satisfactory to the baronial party.⁶ Hence we need not wonder that the policy of Edward II, after his victory of 1322, included

¹ Public Record Office, Port Books (Chester), 1323/12. I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. F. J. Routledge. Pulgayne is Le Pouliguen, on the northern shore of the estuary of the Loire.

² *Liverpool Town Books*, i (1918), p. 129, n. 2, p. 313, &c.

³ *Commons' Journals*, i. 80, 81; *Lords' Journals*, i. 663, 664; D'Ewes, *Complete Journal*, 2nd ed. (1693), pp. 113, 133, 134. As mentioned in *Liverpool Town Books*, i, p. 129, n. 2, 'bay-salt' occurs frequently in sixteenth-century municipal records, often in contrast with 'white salt'. To the examples there given from the *Records of Oxford* may be added a Portsmouth record of a ship called the 'Anne of saint Pole de lion in brytayn' (Saint Pol-de-Léon, dep. Finistère), with a cargo of bay-salt of 'burwang mesure', which it had taken on board at Burwang in brytayn aforesaid' (*Extracts from Records of Portsmouth*, new ed., by Robert East, 1891, p. 130, an. 1551). 'Burwang' may be Guérande, dep. Loire-Inférieure, a short distance inland from the northern shore of the mouth of the Loire. It occurs in the rolls, e.g. *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1377-81, pp. 322, 323.

⁴ Stat. 2 & 3 Anne, c. 16, § 17 (*Stat. of the Realm*, ad. loc.). Cf. the *London Gazette* of 1708: 'Her Lading, consisting of French Bay Salt' (cit. *N. E. D.*, s. v. 'Bay-salt').

⁵ *Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History*, p. 360.

⁶ *Ibid.*