

Colchester: A Smaller Medieval English Jewry

by David Stephenson

In approaching the study of the medieval Jewry of Colchester, it has to be accepted at the outset that it is not possible to produce a survey comparable in scope to Dr Lipman's magisterial work on the Jews of medieval Norwich.¹ The Colchester Jewry was by no means as large as that of Norwich, and thus attracted less contemporary notice: the volume and variety of the surviving records for Colchester is far more restricted than is the case for the Norwich community. Indeed, it may seem that a study of the Colchester Jewry is rendered somewhat superfluous by Dr Lipman's work, which he describes² with justice as 'a portrait of a medieval Anglo-Jewish community which might also broadly represent life in other similar Jewries of the period'.

There are nevertheless many respects in which the Colchester community merits attention. First, though never one of the major centres of medieval English Jewry, it consistently supported at least a handful of families, including at times some individuals of the first rank in terms of wealth. Again, Colchester itself presents some features of interest which make it worthy of study: it was a town of some consequence, a chartered borough, the centre of a local cloth manufacture with a national reputation (Colchester russet),³ and the seat of a major abbey and a formidable royal castle. As a trading centre, Colchester was on the edge of the populous area of East Anglia, and within reach of London, whilst through its port of the New Hythe it was linked to the seaports of the East coast and with the Low Countries, for already in the thirteenth century there were Flemings amongst the borough population.⁴ Placed thus in so favourable a situation, the restricted growth of the Colchester Jewry may prove somewhat surprising. Indeed, a study of the Colchester community, precisely because it fell into rather a different category from that analysed by Dr Lipman, may well suggest refinements of some of his more general conclusions. Finally, not the least important aspect of the present investigation is that it serves to give us a much firmer grasp of some previously puzzling aspects of the medieval history of Colchester.

There has in fact been one previous attempt to survey the medieval Jewry of the town: this took the form of a chapter in Dr E.L. Cutts' history of Colchester,⁵ written in the late nineteenth century. The chapter was substantially the work of the great scholar Joseph Jacobs,⁶ but is nevertheless full of inaccuracies, some of which are highly misleading.⁷ This, and the progress which has been made since Cutts' day, in printing and drawing attention to the sources for the history of medieval English Jewry, makes a fresh look at the Colchester community desirable.

Our initial problem is to form some idea of the size and distribution of that community. Population size is particularly difficult to estimate, for there exists nothing which even approaches a census of the community before the list

of properties prepared at the expulsion in 1290, which clearly portrays the Jewry in a run-down state.⁸ For the most part, therefore, we are forced to calculate on the basis of scattered and often incidental references to individuals in chancery enrolments, in cases recorded in the rolls of the Exchequer, and, later, the Exchequer of the Jews, and in the few Starrs and similar documents which have survived. Such sources are of uneven distribution, and any one category of them may not disclose the existence even of men of substance in the community. For example, it is only the chance survival of the text of a deed of 1258⁹ which tells us of the existence of Isaac, Joseph and Benjamin, sons of Yehiel, who made over for fifteen years their rights to parts of a house in Stockwell Street to a fourth son of Yehiel, Samuel.

It is moreover quite possible that such sources as we have mentioned neglect altogether the poorer members of the community — those without sufficient means to bring them to the notice of the government or to cause them to feature in deeds or legal wrangles. The size of such a class can only be a matter for conjecture.

Nevertheless, it is probably the case that a broad enough spectrum of sources has survived for some periods to enable us to glimpse most of the adult males of the community who were of much account. At no time can we trace more than a dozen such men, so that allowing five to a family we must assume a total of not many more than sixty souls at any one time. The list of Jewish properties at the expulsion names seven males, some of whom may no longer have been resident, as many of the properties were being rented to Christians. But, broadly speaking, the picture of a shrunken community of about half its former size, or less, at the expulsion, would accord with the apparent situation in other towns.¹⁰

Of course, calculations based on an assumption of five to a family are rather more reliable for the larger communities such as Norwich, for in them aberrational factors, such as childless couples, unmarried males, protracted survival of the aged or particularly prolific marriages, would tend to balance each other out. In a smaller community the chances of error caused by the intrusion of such distorting factors are relatively high. Dr Lipman calculates the population of the Norwich Jewry by examining the totals of fiscal levies from the whole of English Jewry and the percentage of these totals paid by the Norwich community, then calculating the same percentage of a total population of 4-5,000 for the Jewries of England.¹¹ Again, this method cannot be applied with an confidence to the smaller communities, where the distortion of the result caused by large fiscal contributions from one or two very rich individuals would be proportionately greater. Thus Colchester paid the ninth largest contribution to the Northampton Donum of 1194, but by 1221 seems to have fallen well back in terms of

relative wealth, being sixteenth and last in the list of contributions to an aid for the marriage of the king's sister.¹² As Dr Lipman has pointed out, these figures are problematic as they record receipts, not assessments; even so, the drop in Colchester's ranking is striking, and may well relate to the fact that Isaac of Colchester, by far the richest man in the community, was flourishing in 1194 but had recently died in 1221.¹³

A factor which may make even tentative conclusions about population size less meaningful is that of mobility. It is clear that many of the Jews of medieval England were highly mobile, with financial interests and family links in many places. Such a spread of interests is implied by reference to a Josce of Colchester, Jew of Lincoln, who held houses in Oxford.¹⁴ One who wandered even more widely was Aaron of Ireland, son of Benjamin of Colchester, who in 1283 gave up tenements in that town to the king.¹⁵ Again, Herbert Loewe argued¹⁶ that Isaac son of Benedict, prominent as a Colchester Jew around the middle of the thirteenth century, is to be identified with Isaac son of Benedict Gabbay of Lincoln. The identification perhaps falls short of absolute proof, but it is at least certain that the son-in-law of Isaac Gabbay, Josce son of Aaron, held houses in the centre of Colchester, yet also had interests in Lincoln and London, at at times lived in Dunwich.¹⁷

There is one piece of evidence which points to some spectacular international connections of the Colchester Jewry. In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is an object known as the Bodleian Bowl, of 13th-century date, which was found

in a moat in Norfolk in the 17th century.¹⁸ This bronze bowl has a Hebrew inscription, which, though difficult to interpret, contains the information that it was the 'gift of Joseph, son of the holy Rabbi Yehiel.' The bowl is apparently of French workmanship, and assuredly refers to Rabbi Yehiel of Paris, a famous Talmudic scholar, who, with his son Joseph, went to Palestine in 1260. It has in the past been assumed that the bowl was used in the *Yeshiva* at Acre, founded by Yehiel and directed, after his death in 1267, by Joseph and that it may have come into England as part of some Crusader's booty. But we have already noted a Colchester document of 1258 recording the transaction in which Rabbi Yehiel's sons Rabbi Isaac, Rabbi Joseph and Benjamin make over to their brother Rabbi Samuel their shares in a house in Stockwell Street, left to them by their grandfather. It may well be, therefore, that the Bodleian Bowl represents a gift by Joseph to the Colchester Jews, amongst whom lived his brother.

If an estimate of their numbers proves difficult, it is possible to be rather more confident in the matter of the distribution of the Jews throughout the medieval town, — and here Dr Lipman's conclusion that the Jewish communities were to be found in the vicinity of market places¹⁹ is fully borne out. In Colchester the medieval market was held in the High Street, running east to west through the centre of the town. There was no market square, but the central point of the market was close to the Moot Hall, at a point where St Runwald's church stood in the middle of the street.²⁰ Running off High Street to the north were the



Plate I. The Bodleian Bowl. Photo: Ashmolean Museum.

lanes now known as East and West Stockwell Streets. It is to the area just described that the bulk of records of Jewish properties relate. The 1258 deed of the sons of Yehiel already noted, mentions a property in Stockwell Street, whilst another, *roughly* contemporary deed records the purchase by Isaac son of Samuel of a house in East Stockwell Street.²¹ Again, at the expulsion, one Simon held a house in Stockwell Street, which may conceivably have been one of the two properties just described.²² Another mid-century deed relates to an exchange of property between Master Richard of Peldon and Aaron son of Samuel, who hands over a messuage in East Stockwell Street.²³ There are many more references which locate Jewish properties rather vaguely 'in the market'. This applies to several stone houses in St Runwald's parish: we have references to their acquisition by Aaron son of Samuel, and their disposal by his sons Samuel and Josce in the 1270s.²⁴ The stone houses were sold to William Fitz Warin, who probably held other properties in the market area, and in 1290 three members of the Jewish community were renting houses or stalls from the same William.²⁵

It was once believed that the Stockwell area was the sole site of the Colchester Jewry — on the assumption that the community was forced to reside in a restricted quarter. But in fact Jews are found holding property in other areas. Thus, in the deed which marks the exchange of properties between Richard of Peldon and Aaron son of Samuel, the messuage acquired by Aaron is clearly described as lying between the market on the north side and Culver Lane on the south side — that is to say, it lay on the south side of High Street, opposite the Stockwell Streets. A century later, it was recalled²⁶ that one of the Jews of the expulsion period, Armerin, had held a house 'opposite Cornhill' — which was the extreme western end of the High Street, perhaps two hundred yards from the Stockwell Streets. In addition, of course, the Jews held properties in various parts of the town which had been pledged as security for loans: such as the house which Ursel held in St Peter's parish, of the pledge of Ralph de Hays.²⁷

A new estimation of the limits of Jewish settlement enables us to suggest an answer to the mystery of two large thirteenth-century coin hoards discovered in Colchester. In 1902 and 1969 two hoards of silver pennies, totalling 24,000, were discovered close together under shops on the south side of the High Street opposite the site of the medieval Moot Hall.²⁸ It has, in the past, been argued that these hoards could not have been connected with the Jews because they were not located in the Stockwell Street 'Jewry', and some fanciful alternative theories have been advanced. One such theory would connect the hoards with the constables of the castle,²⁹ reputed to hold a stone house in the vicinity of the places of deposit. This whole explanation rests on a series of unproven conjectures, which it is not necessary to examine here. But the stone house alleged to have been held by the constables of the castle was probably amongst those held by the sons of Aaron son of Samuel, who brought them from Richard of Peldon.

The knowledge that Jews, and in particular Aaron and his sons, had houses on the south side of High Street makes it very likely that the hoards were deposited by them. They

had a motive: to conceal their cash in order to save it from the increasingly punitive tallages of the crown. Again, the expulsion of the community in 1290 would explain both the fact that the hoards remained hidden and that no deposits later than that date were made. Indeed, the dates of deposition which have been provisionally worked out make Jewish origin seem all the more likely. Three major deposition dates seem likely: 1248, 1256 and 1268-78.³⁰ Now the first of these coincides with the imprisonment of unnamed Colchester Jews *per preceptum regis pro auro ad opus regis*.³¹ The second date comes within a year of the demand for a tallage on the Jewish community, which may well have taken some months to bear fiscal fruit.³² Finally, we know that the early and mid 1270s were a period of increasing pressure on the community, and perhaps especially on Josce and Samuel the sons of Aaron who in 1274-5 were paying their arrears of tallage by selling their houses.³³ Such measures do not militate against the idea that these or other Jews had a large hoard of cash: in the darkening atmosphere of the 1270s, the impulse to conceal wealth and to liquify assets must have been strong. Whilst absolute proof of Jewish origin for the hoards is lacking, it is therefore suggested that this seems the most likely explanation of them.

There is one possible exception to the general distributional pattern of Jewish houses and associated buildings as set out above, though the information comes from a late and curious source. In a copy of several chronicles and kindred sources relating to the Colchester abbey of St John, which was written in the abbey in 1526,³⁴ there appears a sort of universal chronicle extending to AD 1382. The subject matter is diverse, but includes little of local relevance, with the principal exception of the following entries:

Anno domini Mccl Willelmus Spaldewic abbas huius ecclesie Index Iudeorum et Iusticiarius Regis Itinerans et de fforesta Regis a domino rege henrico tercio constitutus est.

Anno domini Mccli Purgatum Capitulum Iudeorum iuxta Colecestriam in loco qui nunc Campus Sancti Johannis vulgariter nuncupatur ab antiquo situm et quod ad consilia et ludicia sua facienda Rex Anglie henricus secundus dudum eis concessit idem Willelmus Abbas in honorem Sancti Thome Martiris consecrari fecit ipso die passionis eiusdem sancti.

The *capitulum Judeorum* is fairly clearly the site of a *beth din*,³⁵ and its 'purging' and consecration as a Christian chapel is of outstanding interest. But there are problems about this narrative. Internally it is perfectly consistent: 1250-51 are years which do indeed fall within the abbacy of William of Spaldwick,³⁶ and, as we shall see, there is nothing improbable in the donation to the Jewish community of this building in the reign of Henry II (*ob.* 1189). The problem arises from the fact that a reference to a chapel of St Thomas in the suburb of Colchester, found in the St John's abbey cartulary, clearly relates to the period before 1250-51.³⁷ Now St John's Green, which is probably how one should translate *campus sancti Johannis*, was indeed in the suburb of medieval Colchester standing just a few hundred yards beyond the southern walls of the town. It was there that a chapel of St Thomas stood in 1379,³⁸ but all

trace of this has since disappeared. It would seem that the only way of reconciling the apparent conflict of evidence is to suppose that the pre-1250 chapel of St Thomas was sited elsewhere, perhaps close to the building in which the *beth din* functioned, but that in 1251 the Jews were ejected from the latter and the events recorded in the chronicle took place. Such developments would indeed be consistent with generally increasing hostility towards the Jews on the part of the royal government.

If the account in the St John's chronicle is to be trusted, then it provides us with a glimpse of the Colchester community in the days of its inception. References to individual Colchester Jews appear from the 1180s onwards,³⁹ so that a date for their settlement, at which a royal grant of property might be made, late in the reign of Henry II is perfectly reasonable. Relative to other Jewries, Colchester is of fairly late growth, and this may explain why the community never became very large.

The Norwich Jewry was established by the 1140s, half a century before that of Colchester, and seems to have extended its role as the provider of cash for rural landowners and townsmen alike throughout Norfolk and Suffolk. Ipswich, for example, was treated as an offshoot of Norwich.⁴⁰ In the same way, south and central Essex fell within the sphere of influence of London's Jewry. However, the expanding town of Colchester, which received its charter of incorporation in 1189, lay between these two early centres of Anglo-Jewry, and, by the late twelfth century had become economically significant enough to attract a resident Jewish community, centred on the enormously wealthy figure of Isaac of Colchester.

The community which then developed, though relatively small, was remarkably buoyant. Every generation produced one or two central figures of wealth and importance: first Isaac,⁴¹ then Ursel and his sons, with Isaac son of Benedict and Aaron son of Samuel, and then, in the later thirteenth century the sons of Aaron: Samuel and, particularly, Josce.⁴² The community was, moreover large enough to require organization: the functioning of the *beth din* has already been noted, whilst it is clear that there was a synagogue in the town;⁴³ as well as the Jewish chirographers necessitated by royal financial administration, we hear of a Benedict *ballivus Judeorum*,⁴⁴ and of an Isaac *capellanus*.⁴⁵ It was in many ways a self-sufficient little community, marked off from the Christian burgesses not only by religious difference but by the fact that its members came under the jurisdiction of the sheriff of Essex rather than that of the borough's bailiffs and other officers.

The degree to which the Jews stood apart from the main patterns of life in the town can however be exaggerated. An examination of the identity of the Christian chirographers is instructive in this context. Of the six Christian chirographers of Colchester whose names are known, three and perhaps four, are known to have been bailiffs.⁴⁶ Given that our knowledge of thirteenth century bailiffs of Colchester is very patchy, this is a very high proportion. Dr Lipman has underlined the importance of the chirographers as agents of control of the Jewry,⁴⁷ so that we may say that although the Jews were beyond the jurisdic-

tion of the bailiffs *qua* bailiffs, they were nevertheless subject to the authority of men of the bailiff class.

Again the famous hunting incident of 1267 seems to portray the Jews as more closely integrated with the burghess community than might be imagined. In that year, we learn from the forest roll,⁴⁸ a group of Christians and Jews apparently co-operated in driving into the town a doe chased by the dogs of John de Burgh, lord of Lexden. However, a word of caution may be necessary here: some aspects of the incident will not bear the interpretation which has been put on them. Thus, too much should not be made of the fact that one of the Jews involved, Isaac Capellanus, had two Christians amongst the sureties for the payment of his fine for this forest offence. This need not imply friendship. In the first place, the two men, Richard Pruet and Saer fitz Ralph, had to be in court on this occasion, for they were the borough bailiffs for 1277,⁴⁹ when the case was finally dealt with, and thus were charged with responsibility for bringing the Christian offenders to court. Secondly, both were connected with the administration of the Colchester *archa*: Saer fitz Ralph was one of the chirographers in 1275, and in 1273 Richard Pruet paid the Jewish Exchequer 2s in order not to be made Christian chirographer.⁵⁰ It is thus not at all unlikely that in these men we have the Christian chirographers of 1277. If so, then they were appropriate sureties; capable of keeping a close eye on the finances of the malefactor. Their role as sureties may not, in short, have been assumed voluntarily.

But if the extent of friendly relations can be over-estimated, it remains true that Colchester does not seem to have been marked by the violence against Jews which characterized so many other towns. There is a suspicion that the outbreaks of 1190 found an echo in Colchester,⁵¹ but beyond that the records are silent. No tradition of conflict survived, and indeed the folk-memory of the presence of Jews seems to have been short: in contrast with other towns, where the identity of some buildings as Jews' houses was recalled for centuries, the latest reference to a former Jew's house in the Colchester records comes in 1337.⁵²

APPENDIX: A HITHERTO UNKNOWN JUSTICE OF THE JEWS?

In the entry for 1250 in the St John's abbey Universal Chronicle which has been quoted above, William of Spaldwick is alleged to have been created a Justice of the Jews. Examination of C.A.F. Meekings, 'Justices of the Jews, 1218-68, a provisional list' *B.I.H.R.* XXVIII (1955), reveals no Justice of that name. But from that list we only know for certain of two justices of that period, Philip Lovel and Robert de Ho, whereas there were often four men in office simultaneously. It is thus not impossible that the chronicle's record of William of Spaldwick's appointment is a valid one, giving us evidence of a hitherto unknown Justice of the Jews.

Notes

1. V.D. Lipman, *The Jews of Medieval Norwich*, London 1967.
2. *Ibid.*, vii.
3. See for the 'good russet' of Colchester, *Close Rolls 1247-51*, p.198 (where it is bought for clothing the King's servants), and *ibid.*, 1254-56, pp.8 (bought *ad opus regis*), 24 and 46.
4. *Close Rolls 1261-64*, p.91 gives an interesting case of an assize of novel disseisin in which the defendants were Hanekin the Fleming and Ursel the Jew of Colchester.
5. E.L. Cutts, *Colchester*, London, 2nd ed., 1889, pp.118-25.
6. *Ibid.*, Preface.
7. For example on page 121 we find the Jewish 'parliament' of Worcester dated 1250 rather than 1241; a deed of 1258 given as 1252, and a Patent Roll reference given as 1291 rather than 1293.
8. B.L. Abrahams, 'The Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290', *Trans. Jewish Historical Society II* (1894-5), p.90.
9. M.D. Davis, *Shetaroth or Hebrew Deeds of English Jews.*, 1888, p.365.
10. See Lipman, *op.cit.*, pp.46-47.
11. *Ibid.*, p.38.
12. *Ibid.*, p.6.
13. For Isaac, see reference in Joseph Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, London, 1893, p.353. For a reference to an inquest in 1220 regarding lands that had belonged to Isaac of Colchester see J.M. Rigg (ed.), *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, Vol. 1, London, 1905, p.25.
14. *Cal. Patent R.*, 1232-47, p.488.
15. *Trans. J.H.S.*, xii, p.168.
16. Herbert Loewe, *Starrs and Jewish Charters preserved in the British Museum*, Vol. II, 1932, pp.133-137.
17. For Josce see J.M. Rigg (ed.), *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1910, pp.20, 38, 76, 156, 162, 184, 186, 235-36, 268. See also H. Jenkinson (ed.), *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, Vol. III, London, 1929, p.43.
18. V.D. Lipman, *op.cit.*, pp.313-15.
19. *Ibid.*, p.n.
20. In Speed's map of 1610, the market-cross appears just to the west of St Runwald's.
21. See M.D. Davis, 'Some Ancient Colchester People', *The East Anglian*, N.S. III (1889-90), p.154. The names of the Christian witnesses place this deed around the mid-thirteenth century.
22. *Trans. J.H.S.*, II (1894-5), p.90.
23. M.D. Davis, *art.cit.*, p.153.
24. *Ibid.*, and *Plea Rolls*, Vol. II, pp.235-36, 276.
25. *Trans. J.H.S.*, II (1894-5), p.90.
26. I.H. Jeayes (trans.) *Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester*, Vol. I, Colchester, 1921, p.161.
27. *Cal. Patent R.*, 1266-72, p.629.
28. See G.A. Rickword, 'The Colchester Hoard' *British Numismatic Journal* i (1904), p.113; and D. T-D. Clarke, 'Discovery and Site', in 'The 1969 Colchester Hoard', *ibid.*, XLIV (1974), pp.41-43.
29. Rickword, *art.cit.*
30. *British Numismatic Journal*, XLIV (1974), p.39.
31. *Close Rolls 1247-51*, p.42.
32. *Cal. Patent R. 1247-58*, p.444.
33. *Plea Rolls*, Vol. II, pp.235-36, 276.
34. Bodleian Library MS Gough Essex I, f.7. Aspects of this manuscript are discussed in D. Stephenson, 'An analysis of the chronicle accounts of the foundation and early history of St John's abbey', in P. Crummy, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Colchester*, London, 1981, 28 ff.
35. Cf. Lipman, *op.cit.*, p.150 for the use of *capitulum Judeorum* to describe a *Beth Din*.
36. George Rickword, 'The Obits of the Abbots of Colchester,' *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, XVI (1922) p.125.
37. S. Moore (ed.), *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Colcestrie*, Roxburghe Club, 1897, Vol. II, p.597.
38. *Cal. Patent R. 1377-81*, p.399.
39. *Pipe Roll 28 Henry II* (Pipe Roll Society Vol. xxxi, 1910) p.69, provides a reference to Aaron, Abraham and Isaac of Colchester in 1181-82.
40. M.D. Davis, *Medieval Jews of Ipswich, The East Anglian N.S.* III (1889-90), p.105.
41. See Jacobs, *op.cit.*, p.277, for the record of Isaac's owing £390 of the Guildford tallage of 1197. The rest of the Colchester community owed £5 13s 4d. See also the references listed *ibid.*, p.353, and R.E.G. Kirk (ed.), *Essex Feet of Fines*, Vol. 1 (1899), p.16; *Curia Regis Rolls*, 1, p.110; *Plea Rolls*, 1, p.25.
42. For Ursel see *Plea Rolls*, 1, p.57; *Select Pleas, Starrs etc.*, p.10; *Close Rolls 1242-47* pp.395, 506; Isaac Abrahams and M.P. Stokes (eds.), *Starrs and Jewish Charters preserved in the British Museum*, 1 (Cambridge, 1930), p.11; *ibid.*, II (London, 1932), p.57. For his son Ursel see *Cal. Patent R. 1247-58*, p.444; *ibid.*, 1259-61, p.381; *Close Rolls 1261-64*, p.91; *ibid.*, 1264-68, p.170. For Vives son of Ursel see *Cal. Patent R. 1247-58*, p.444 where his widow is assessed at £10 in a tallage of £20 from Colchester. See *ibid.*, for Isaac son of Ursel, assessed at £5. *Plea Rolls III*, p.236 has an Isaac fil. Ursel, Jewish chirographer. On Isaac son of Benedict see note 16 above. For Aaron son of Samuel see notes 23 and 24 above, and *Plea Rolls*, 1, p.102. For his sons Samuel and Josce see *Plea Rolls*, 1, pp.156, 162, 184, 186, and *ibid.*, II, pp.27, 38, 236 (where Samuel is noted as a Jewish chirographer), 268 and 276.
43. *Trans. J.H.S.* II (1894-95), p.90.
44. *Plea Rolls*, 1, p.32 (*s.a.* 1220).
45. Cutts, *op.cit.*, p.122; of Lipman, *op.cit.*, p.177.
46. For chirographers see *Plea Rolls* 1, p.69 (1244: Ralph fitz Peter); *ibid.*, II, p.236 (1275: Elias fitz Robert and Saer fitz Ralph); *Trans. J.H.S.* n (1894-95), p.90 (1290: Walter Galigal (*recte* Galigul) and John Martyn); *Plea Rolls*, II, p.104 (1273: Richard Pruet fining to be relieved of the office). Pruet, Saer fitz Ralph and Ralph fitz Peter were certainly bailiffs, while Martyn was probably one.
47. Lipman, *op.cit.*, 72 ff.
48. See Cutts, *op.cit.*, pp.
49. See W. Gurney Benham (ed.), *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, Colchester, 1907, p.4.
50. See note 45 above.
51. Jacobs, *op.cit.*, p.113. Cutts, *op.cit.*, p.120.
52. I.H. Jeayes, *Court Rolls . . . Colchester*, 1, p.161.

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