

The rise of parliaments in England

02/11

- Review for Iberia
- Sequence:
 - repopulation
 - city charters (fueros) from X
 - assemblies with city representants (corts-Cortes) end of XII
 - Need for money

Evolution in the following centuries

- Strong tradition
- In the 16th century, the *Cortes* represent the main cities of the realm:
 - 2 delegates for each city
 - From 1536 on, Church and nobility don't participate anymore.
 - Main issue of discussion: taxation

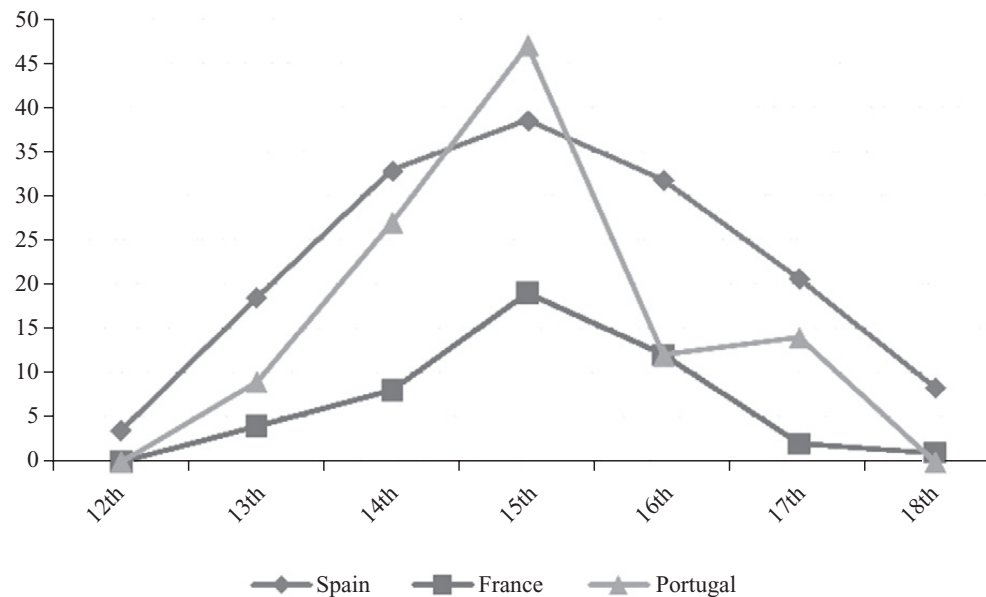


Figure 1. Activity index of parliaments in Spain, France, and Portugal, twelfth to eighteenth centuries

England

- Hostile takeover by the Normans and William the Conqueror in 1066, with barons (like a corporate board).
- William I, like after a corporate takeover:
inventory of the property: **Doomsday Book**.
- From the beginning, some control by a centralized government.
 - Barons were part of a team and did not come from long local family tradition. Tenants in chief.
 - King and nobles ruled the realm in concert. They were mutually indispensable. (Holt, *Magna Carta*, p.126).
 - We should not forget that England was a colony.
Mainland: Anjou and Normandy. Strong link with the continent (Normandy and after the marriage Henry II - Alienor of Aquitaine, the whole western part of France).
 - England the right size and the right borders.

Doomsday book (1089)

B ~~sedet~~ ~~or~~ ~~d~~. T. R. E. p dimidio hundi se defatib.
7 in facie. in expeditione 7 in nauib. Terri
de hac uilla nung. fute hidata. nez n est. pter
una hō que iacuit in ecclia s pauli in elemosina
T. R. E. 7 in iace. peccet. Sed Remig^{us} q^{ui}s posuit ea
ex elemosina ecclie s pauli iniuste ut hōc dicunt
7 in tener. 7 quicqd ad ea puenit. Valeat. c. solid.

.1. Rex Willelms
 .11. Ep̃s Bajocensis. .xxxv. Hugo pincerna.
 .111. Ep̃s Constantensis. .xxxvi. S. igrarus de cochef.
 .114. Ep̃s Lunelensis. .xxxvii. G. unfr̃s de cochef.
 .115. Ep̃s Dunelm̃sis. .xxxviii. R. iardus fili^{comar} Gillebr.
 .116. Ab̃s de s̃s Esmundo. .xxxix. R. iardus pungant.
 .117. Ab̃s de burg. .xl. Wills camerarius.

Bedford. In the time of King Edward (T.R.E.) it answered for tax by its hundreds, and in the royal estates, in the chapel holding, and in the manors. The land of this town was never assessed in hides, nor held in chief, except one hide which lies in the church of Saint Paul as alms in the time of King Edward and otherwise in lay hands. But Bishop Remigius placed it in alms for the church of Saint Paul, as they say, together with the manor and whatever belongs to it.

It is worth 100 shillings.

King William

The Bishop of Bayeux

The Bishop of Coutances

The Bishop of Lincoln

The Bishop of Durham

BEDFORD. T. R. E. p dimidio hund' se defeteb.
7 in facie. in expeditione 7 in nauib. Terra
de hac uilla nung. fuit hidata. nec n' est. pter
una' h'is que iacuit in ecclia s' pauli in elemosina
T. R. E. 7 in iacat p'ce. Sed Remig' ep' posuit ea
ex elemosina ecclie s' pauli inuiste ut h'oc dicitur
7 in tenet. 7 quicqd. ad ea p'ner. Valeat. c. solid.

Rex Willelmus
1. E ps barocens. xxxv. h ugo pincerna.
2. E ps constamensis. xxxvi. s' igarus de cochef.
3. E ps lincolniensis. xxxvii. G inisr' de cochef.
4. E ps dunelmensis. xxxviii. R. iac' fil' Gillebra.
5. A b' de s' Edmundo. xxxix. R. iac' fil' p'unguare.
6. A b' de burg. xl. Wills camegari.
7. A b' de Ramey. xli. Wills louet.
8. A b' de Westmon'. xlii. Wills
9. A b' de Torney. xliii. h enricus filius Azor.
10. A b' de Berchey. xliii. O b' filius Ricardi.
11. E anomei de lundon'. xlv. O b' filius Walteri.
12. E anomei de bedefors. xlv. O b' filius p'icetor.
13. E rnuus pbr. xlvii. I urstan camegari.
14. E uftachius comel. xlviii. G illebr' fil' Saloni.
15. Watorius q'fars. xlix. A b' lothariensis.
16. Wills de Wapema. l. d' aud de argencom.
17. Wills de dau. li. R. aduif de insula.
18. O u' crispinus. lii. G ozdon' b'ro.
19. E rnuus de helling. liii. l' uetera comissa.
20. E udo dapifer. liiii. A d'ez fen' h. de greyn.
21. Wills p'eucl. lv. A edina fen' h. talgeb.
22. h ugo de belap. lvi. B urgenfel de bedefors.
23. R. gill de albing. lvi. p' feca reg' 7 bedelli
24. Wills speib. 7 elemosinari.
25. R. o' de Todens.
26. G illebr' de gind.
27. R. o' de olu.
28. R. annul' ff' l'geru.
29. R. o' de fation.
30. A luep' de lincolia.
31. Wale' flandrensis.
32. Wale' ff' Seheru.
33. h ugo flantrensis.

TERRA REGIS.
LESTONE dñicu maneriu regis
p. xl. vii. h'is se defet modo. T. R. E. n' equi n'li. xcc. h'is.
De his. xl. vii. h'is fuit in mariu regis. xl. vii. h'is.
Tia. e. ad. l. ii. cap. In dño sunt. vi. car. 7 uilli h'ic
xl. vii. car. l'bi sunt q'ar. x. 7 u. uilli. 7. xcc. bord.
7 u. seru. 7 u. molin. de. xcc. sol. p'au. xl. car. Silua
c. pore. Theloneu de mercato p'ed. vii. lib. In
totu p'ed. p. annu. xcc. lib. ad p'entiu. 7 dimid die
ad firma regis. in frumto 7 melle 7 alus rebz. ad firma
p'neratibz. Ad op' regis. ii. uncas auri. 7 p. i. sumario
7 elucad. xvi. hoc sol. 7 c. sol. ad p'entiu. 7 xl. sol. de
albo argento. Hoc miste de crenio luo tallebote.
7 u. uno auri ad op' uiccomit' p. annu.
De hui' q'ia tenent Wens' camegari. x. h'is de
rege l'ed. quas Radulf' tallebote apposuit in lestone
ubi n' adiacent. 7. R. E. E. ten' ad Radulf' appo
sute alias vii. h'is h'ic uicario que ibi n' q'ar. T. R. E.
h'as. vii. h'is tenent Scarpeh' regis. R. E.
Etiam hui' an ten' Rem' ep'. cu. iii. h'is que ad ea
p'nerat. 7 he. iii. cop'ant in xl. vii. h'is maneru.
Tia. e. ad. iii. car. In dño. e. i. car. 7 uilli. i. car. 7 alus
p'olke fieri. l'bi vi. uilli 7 vi. bord. p'au. iii. car. 7. 8. 4.
cu ecclia uel 7 ualut. iii. lib. Wium ep' ten. T. R. E.

LORSTONE dñicu an regis p. xcc. h'is se defet. Tia. e.
ad q' x. 7 u. car. In dño. iii. car. Villi q' x. car.
ii. mii. l'bi. q' x. uilli 7 xl. vii. bord. 7 u. molin
p'ed. c. sol. p'au. iii. car. Silua. ii. m'ia pore. 7 de
elucad. x. sol. 7 u. u. don. de theloneu 7 mercato. c. sol.
In totu p'ed. p. annu. xcc. lib. ad p'entiu. 7 dimid die
in frumto 7 melle 7 alus elucad ad firma regis p'nerat.
Regis. iii. uncas auri. 7 de sumario 7 alus elucad m'ia
m'ia. hoc sol. 7 de elucad canu. vi. lib. 7 x. sol.
7 de crenio qd miste luo tallebote. vii. lib. ad p'entiu
7 xl. sol. albi argenti. 7 una' uncas auri. uiccomita
Etiam hui' an ten' Wills camegari de rege. cu. v.
h'is q'ie que ad ea p'nerat. he. v. h'is fuit de. xcc. h'is an.
Tia. e. vi. car. In dño. i. car. 7 uilli h'ic. v. car. l'bi. x.
uilli 7 u. bord. 7 u. seru. 7 u. molin. x. sol. Ecclia. x. sol.
p. annu p'ed. Silua. l. pore. In totu uel 7 ualut
lx. sol. hanc etiam cu q'ia tenent Mercar' pbr. T. R. E.



NORMANDY

ANJOU
Angevin kings

Burial in the abbaye of Fontevraud



Queen Alienor and King Henry II (1154-1189)



Henry II

- 1154-1189. Two important achievements, to develop:
 - a judicial system (this was only a beginning) with itinerant judges (circuit judges) trained in a central school and gathering fees. This is an excellent example of a ruler providing a public good (and law is an essential public good -as can be verified today in many countries-) and raising revenues from this service.
 - an administration to collect revenues: the Treasury. Pipe rolls.
- History
 - Richard I (1189-1199), absentee king.
Spent little time in England. Note that the administration was efficient.
 - John (1199-1216) weak king
 - (i) numerous previous taxes (repeated aids)
 - (ii) conquest of Normandy by strong king of France
 - Philip II, Philip Auguste (fall of Chateau Gaillard in 1204), victory in north of France against allies of England (1214).
- Rebellion of the barons against John (1215): great charter: **Magna Carta**

Magna Carta

- “rebellion” of the barons.
- More like the board not pleased with the CEO: quarrels within the system. (Property, land rights, etc), not against the system.
- Particular arbitrariness of king John (and Richard in raising taxes).
- Already with Henri II: tension between King and “magnates” who are willing to come to the king's protection but not to help him on his expeditions in Western France.
- King (national) danger: willingness to pay. Not for the king's private affairs (considered to be private).
- Some “national” unity is necessary in these assemblies for the bargaining and compromises between different interest groups.
- Charters were issued before. MC more important.
- Some of the provisions of MC were repealed soon after, but marked a strong step in the evolution of charters and discussions between Crown and barons.

Two clauses

- Numerous clauses in a kind of ‘social contract’.
- Critical issue is information about national emergency (and the true need for aids).
- Clauses 12 and 14.
- [12] **No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom unless by common counsel of our kingdom**, except for ransoming our person, for making our eldest son a knight, and for once marrying our eldest daughter, and for these only a reasonable aid shall be levied. Be it done in like manner concerning aids from the city of London.
- [14] And to obtain the common counsel of the kingdom about the assessing of an aid (except in the three cases aforesaid) or of a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls and greater barons, individually by our letters--and, in addition, we will cause to be summoned generally through our sheriffs and bailiffs all those holding of us in chief--**for a fixed date, namely, after the expiry of at least forty days, and to a fixed place**; and in all letters of such summons we will specify the reason for the summons. And when the summons has thus been made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the counsel of those present, though not all have come who were summoned.

Parliaments in England

- Henry III (1216-1272)
 - 1236 ? **1258, 1265** (three orders, with commoner elected from the boroughs)
 - 1242-1272: 23 summonses (about once a year)
- Edward I (1272-1307)
 - More than 45 summonses
- Edward II (1307-1327)
 - More than 25
- Edward III (1327-1377)
 - More than 45 total.
 - No summons in 13 years, but never 2 years in a row (except 49-50, 74-75).

Tax on the export of wool

- Negotiated with the exporters (to the continent)
- Collusion Crown – exporters
 - Monopoly for the exporters
 - Few points of exports, easy monitoring
 - Shift of the tax incidence up and down, no direct collection
- Role of geography
- System will be the basis for taxation in the most important century (18th): taxation of imports of wine and domestic taxation of alcoholic beverages.

Customs

- Tax on exports of wool and hides
 - Fixed rate per quantity
- Designated customs ports
 - In each port, two citizens “des plus leaux et plus pussanz” (among the most loyals and powerful) as collectors (information and enforcement)
 - On each tax document, additional controller of the king
 - Fines on evaders could be charged and collected by local authorities (incentive/administration solution)
- Steady and monitorable tax revenues (~Egypt)
 - Important for credit and foreign borrowing

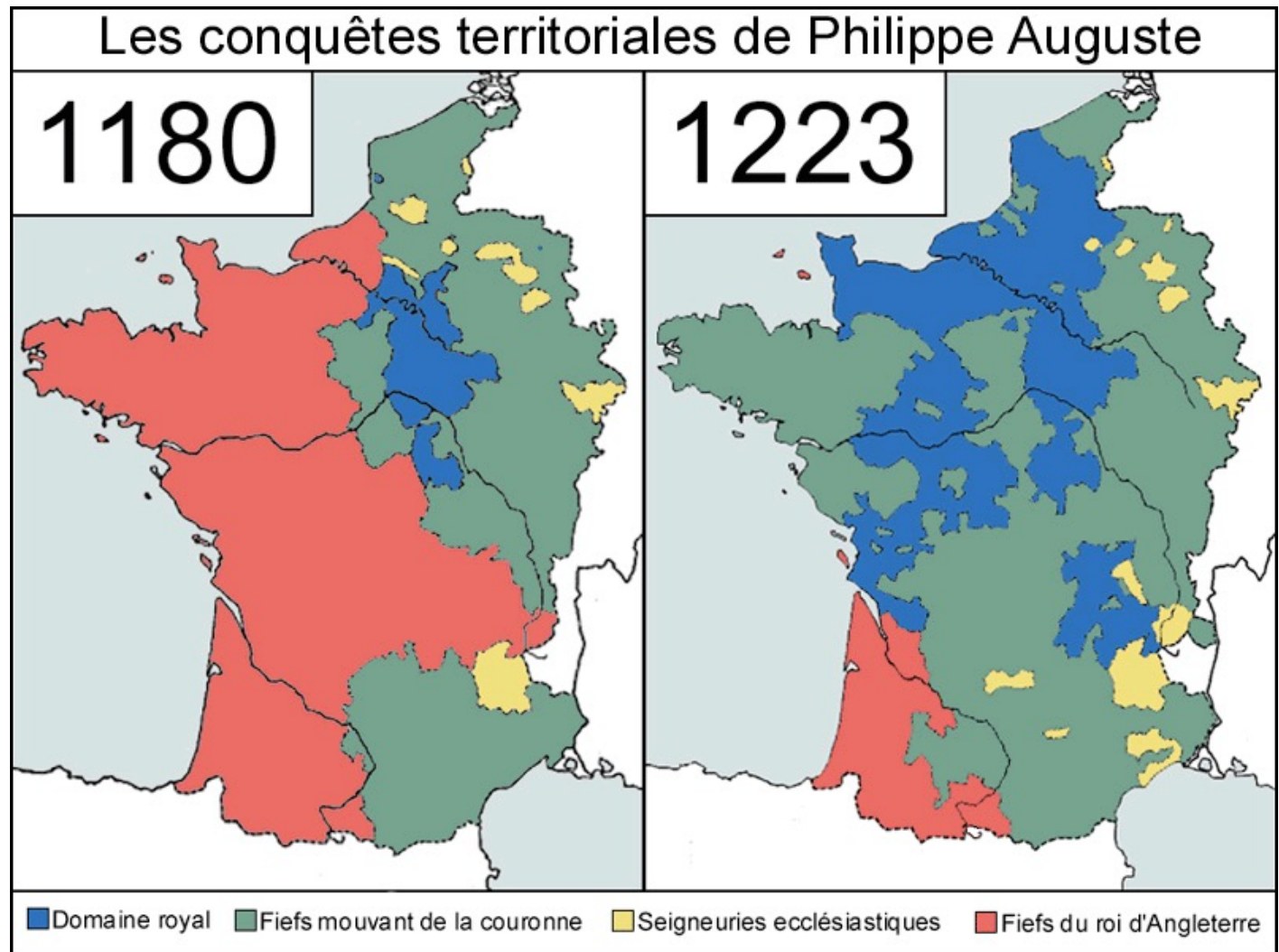
Reforms of Edward I (1272-1307)

- Shift from feudal manpower to financial dues
- Paid army
 - Banneret (commander of 10 mounted men): 2s per day
 - Footman: 2d
 - Pay every 3 or 6 days (bought their own supplies---as the Romans)
- New army
 - Professional (not a band)
 - New technology: long bow
 - New tactical maneuvers
 - Training in the the campaigns against Wales, Scotland.
- Introduction of customs
- Loans from foreign lenders
- Collaboration with representative assemblies

France

- No centralization as in England
- Regional interests
- Long drive toward centralization and the 'reconstitution of the country'

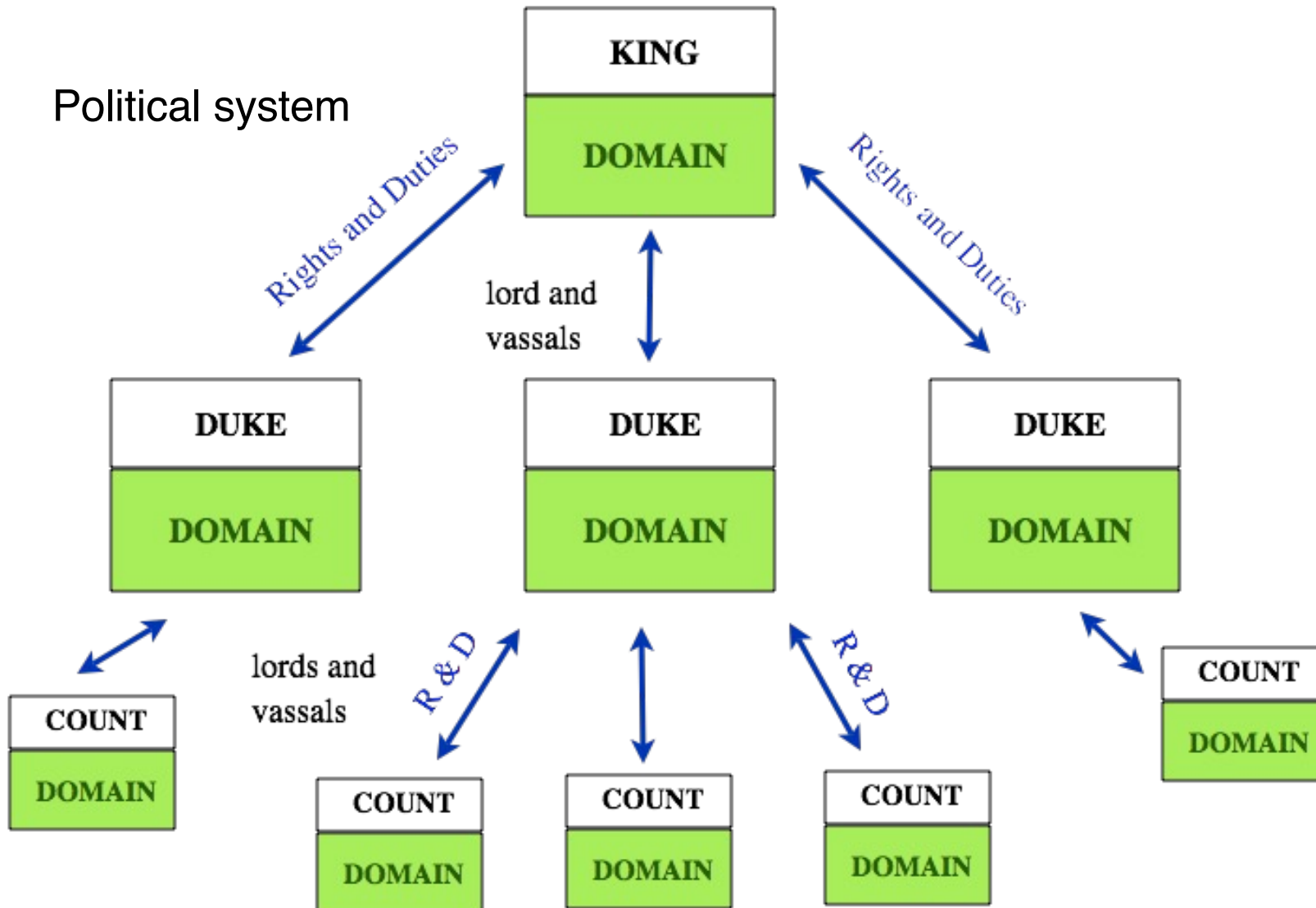
The construction of France



- Poor geography for the collection of taxes
 - More rural country, less trade
 - Few harbors
- Economy is much larger than England, but surplus (?), public finance relatively smaller.
- In the South, towns refused to contribute shortly before the invasion by the English in 1345.
 - Problem of information

“Textbook” feudalism

Political system



Decentralization (to think about)

- No overall state of legal structure
- No central collection of information
- Structure is decentralized
- Hierarchy is a pyramid where each member of a layer controls only a few subordinates in the lower layer.
- In the rural setting where all the production is agricultural, the pyramid is tied to the rights and titles of ownerships over the land
- To prevent “tax competition” between districts (fiefdoms), the labor force is fixed to the land (serfdom).

Enforcement

- When there is a need (always an emergency), an individual in the pyramid can call on his lower layers.
- Each vassal prepared to respond, and is responsible for his weapons and layers below him.
 - Feudal due: “scutage”: 40 days of service per year
- No central administration to enforce the (implicit) contract
- Hence, enforcement through a strong code of honor
 - Harsh punishment for defaults (loss of title and territory)
 - Comparison in 20th century: ??

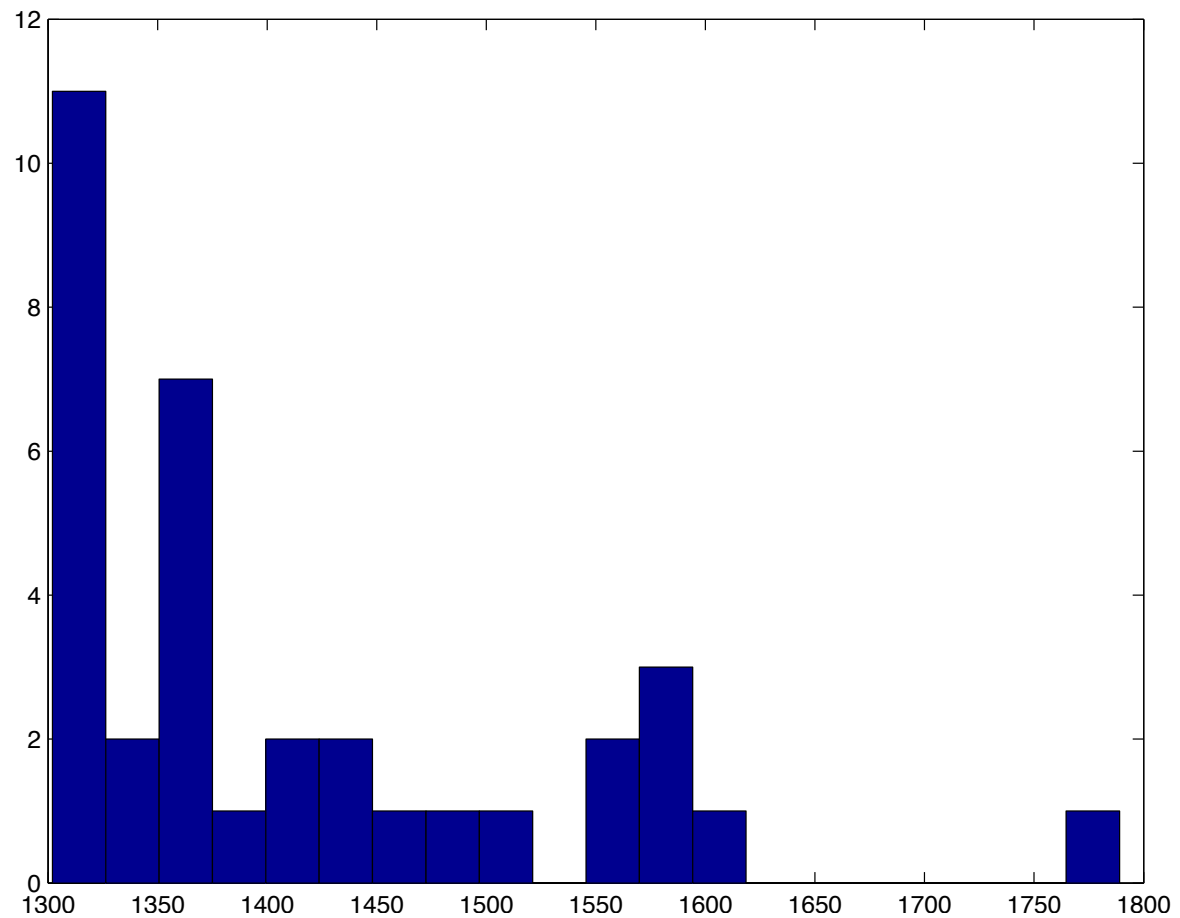
- Feudal system more effective for defense than offence.
- Conflicts because of
 - Merger and acquisitions through marriages (Eleanor of Aquitaine (12th century) fuel for the conflict between England and France, for centuries after)
 - Hostile takeover: William the Conqueror (1066)
- King is a lord above the others, but limited power.
 - Revenues for regular expenditures (not emergency) should come from his own **domain**.
 - Taxation within the domain like any landlord, but no money taxation of the vassals.
 - Emergency met with feudal duties
 - Emergency has to be proven: doctrine of **evident necessity**, supported by the Church: reinforcement of the *defensive* orientation of the system.

Parliaments in France

- Given the size of the country, division:
 - approximatively
 - North (Paris)
 - South (Languedoc)
- Meeting in time of crisis
 - Tax could be granted only with effective war going on
 - Doctrine of necessity applied by regions
 - Some grants to be spent locally

Estates Generals in France

- Number of meetings (time interval of 25 years)



England and France

Comparison

Country	England	France
Geography	moderate size base (England) to conquer adjacent states within the envelope (Wales, Scotland, island)	country is “too large” with strong semi-independent close neighbor: Burgundy
Public finance resources	good potential for taxation: type of trade, harbors	low potential for taxation
Institutions	monetization of the feudal dues	persistence of in-kind services for the feudal dues
Shocks and technology	stimulus from conquests and military innovations	old military technology, main stimulus from king ransom
Personalities	very strong kings: Edward I (1273-1307) : Wales, Scotland Edward III (1327-1277) : France	weak kings

Return to the cause of Parliaments

- Van Zanden, J. L., E. Burigh and M. Bosker (2012). “The rise and decline of European parliaments,” 1188-1789.
- Two main causes:
 - Consolidation of the King’s stat
 - Tax revenues
- Example of spurious regression:
 - Hidden variable: ?
 - What are tax revenues for?
 - War
- To be checked ?

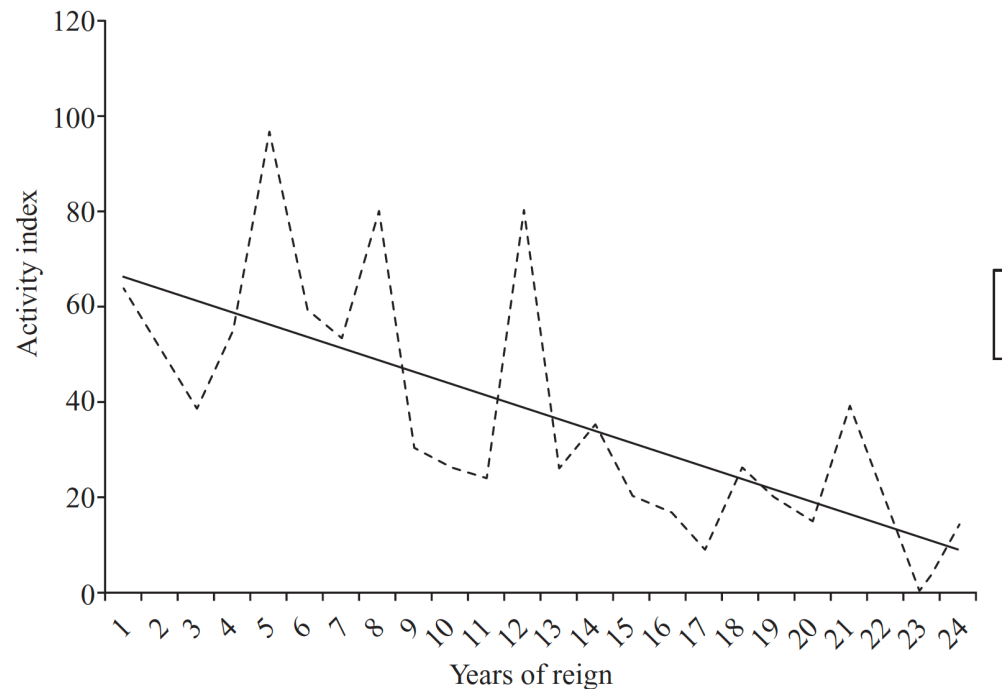


Figure 6. *Activity index of parliament (days per year) and y Edward II–Henry VII (1307–1508)*