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# DURHAM CATHEDRAL PRIORY AS A LANDOWNER AND A LANDLORD, 1290 - 1540.

RICHARD ARTHUR LOMAS

Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Durham, June 1973.

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Durham Cathedral Priory and a Landowner and a Landlord 1290 - 1540 : Ph. D. Thesis

R. A. Lomas.

This essay is based primarily upon three classes of administrative record : the annual account rolls of the eight obedientiaries who between them managed the priory's property; their rentals, which relate in detail what their accounts summarize; and the records of the several courts, particularly the halmote. Other records, although used and consulted, have not been subjected to systematic scrutiny. These documents have determined the period covered by the essay in that few have survived from the years before 1290, while after 1540 the prior and convent was replaced by a dean and chapter.

The essential purpose of the essay is to provide a broad and general account of the fortunes of one of the greatest estates of medieval England. Regrettably, because of the length of the period covered, it has proved impossible to give full and proper attention to work of individuals; this important task should be facilitated, however, by the existence of a general account.

In form the essay is divided into two major sections. The first is concerned with the properties managed jointly by the Bursar and the Terrar, which constituted by far the largest element; the second deals in turn with the smaller blocks of property assigned to seven other obedientiaries. This arrangement, superficially clumsy and repetitious, has been adopted because it reflects most accurately the fact that the priory's property was not in practice an entity, but was divided into eight loosely federated estates.

In considering each of these estates, the four principal concerns have been: the developing relationship between landlord and tenant; the changing policy towards the demesne; the fortunes of the ecclesiastical properties; and the fluctuation of income levels. The general conclusion is that, in spite of considerable difficulties arising from local crises and national problems, the priory largely retained control over and maintained the cohesion of its estates, and continued to secure from them a creditable level of income.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| AAR | Almoner's Account Roll |
| AR | Almoner's Rental |
| ARR | Almoner's Rent Roll |
| BAR | Bursar's Account Roll |
| BR | Bursar's Rental |
| CAR | Commoner's Account Roll |
| Cart. | Cartulary |
| CEC | Cartuarium Evidenciarum Communarii |
| CED(L) | Cartuarium Elemosinariae Dunelm (Large) |
| CED(S) | Cartuarium Elemosinariae Dunelm (Small) |
| Ch.AR. | Chamberlain's Account Roll |
| Ch.Cart. | Chamberlain's Cartulary |
| CR | Commoner's Rental |
| EcHR | Economic History Review |
| FAR | Feretrar's Account Roll |
| Halcrow | E.M. Halcrow, The Administration and Agrarian Policy of the Manors of Durham Cathedral Priory |
| HAR | Hostillar's Account Roll |
| HB | Halmote Court Book |
| HR | Halmote Court Roll |
| IAR | Infirmarer's Rentals and Cartulary |
| Loc. | Locellus |
| LS | Liber Sacriste |
| PMA | Proctor of St. Margaret's Account |
| PNA | Proctor of Norham's Account |
| POA | Proctor of St. Oswald's Account |

| | |
|---|---|
| RB 1395 | Rentale Bursarii 1395 |
| Reg. | Register |
| RDD | Rentale Domus Dunelm 1339 - 1349 |
| RH | Rentale Hostillarii |
| RFSDS | Redditus Firmarii ad Sacristarium Dunelm Spectancium |
| RSDPD | Rentale Scaccarii Domini Prioris Dunelm |
| SAR | Sacrist's Account Roll |
| SS | Surtees Society |
| Surtees | R. Surtees, History of Durham, Vols. I - IV. |
| TAR | Terrar's Account Roll |
| TESD | Tabula Evidenciarum Sacristariae Dunelm |
| VCH | Victoria County History |

# INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that the cathedral priory of Durham was among the greatest of the ecclesiastical corporations of medieval England. In part its stature derived from its guardianship of the shrine of a renowned saint, from the lack of any rival in the four northern counties, from the quality of its membership, and from the wide influence it exercised through cells located as far apart as Coldingham, Lytham and Oxford. There was, however, another base to its importance: the great income it commanded from its extensive properties in Durham, Northumberland, Yorkshire and Scotland. It is these which form the subject of this ~~essay~~ thesis. Here it must be said at once that this aspect of the priory's life is to a degree well known: since the 1830s the Surtees Society has published a number of volumes[1] of evidence of the composition, the administration and the value of the estate which have been much used and quoted by historians concerned with social, economic and monastic developments in medieval England. Since I freely acknowledge a considerable debt to these volumes, it may seem churlish to offer criticism of them; nevertheless, their limitations cannot be overlooked even though the assiduity of their authors is allowed the highest praise. Their most serious defect is that they are composed of extracts which illustrate but fail to demonstrate the course of the estate's development.

At the same time, and somewhat paradoxically, few pieces of secondary writing about the estate and its history have been produced. Shortly after the Second World War, Dr. (now Professor) Barlow, looked at the subject of Durham's jurisdictional peculiars;[2] his study concerned the priory only in part, and in any case is rather peripheral

1 See Bibliography.

2 F. Barlow, Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars.

to the history of the estate. About the same time Miss E. M. Halcrow undertook research into the system of demesne cultivation;[1] her detailed findings are still unpublished although she has made public some of her conclusions.[2] More recently, Dr. C.M. Fraser has written on the implications of the so-called Gillycorn Rental of 1424,[3] and, in conjunction with Mr. K. Emsley, on the state of law and order in the early 14th century as illustrated by the records of the Prior's free court.[4] What has been missing is a general account of the development of the priory in its capacity as a landowner and a landlord: this lacuna, it is hoped, will be partly filled by this present essay. Emphasis, however, must be laid on the adverb: as Professor Knowles has remarked; "there is a wide and promising field in the Durham archives for a succession of students".[5] To this I must give unqualified support: the wealth of surviving material is such that it is beyond the scope of a single research project to comprehend fully and properly all of the many subjects for which it provides evidence.

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1 E.M. Halcrow, 'The Administration and Agrarian Policy of the Manors of Durham Cathedral Priory' (unpublished B.Litt.dissertation, University of Oxford, 1949).

2 E.M. Halcrow, 'The Decline of Demesne Farming on the Estates of Durham Cathedral Priory', Ec.H.R., 7[2] (1954/5), 345-56.

3 C.M. Fraser, 'The Gillycorn Rental and the Customary of the Convent of Durham', Archaeologia Aeliania, 33[4] (1955), 35-60.

4 C.M. Fraser and K. Emsley, 'Law and Society in Northumberland and Durham, 1290-1350', Archaeologia Aeliana, 47[4] (1969), 47-67.

5 D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England II, p.315 n.i.

What follows, therefore, is based on a limited range of the extant records, in particular on three categories of them. The best known are the account rolls of the eight obedientiaries between which the priory's property was divided.[1] Compiled annually, and in most cases running from May to May, these documents are an immense mine of information. For the present purpose, however, research has been concentrated on their upper halves where income was recorded. The lower portions also contain useful information such as the wastage and decay of rents; in the main, however, they are concerned with expenditure so that their real importance is the evidence they contain of the complex domestic arrangements of a large monastic household.

The account rolls have become well known through the monumental labour at the turn of the century of Canon J.T. Fowler.[2] In contrast the rentals are virtually unknown because only one has been printed and that in an incomplete form;[3] yet at least one such document has survived from the office of every obedientiary except that of the Chamberlain. Their value is very considerable in that they were the working documents on which the account rolls were based, and record in detail what the accounts merely summarize. Those compiled during the 14th century include, in addition to the names of the tenants and the rents they owed, details of the size and composition of the tenements. The later examples largely exclude this latter information but they do record in great detail how, when, where, by whom and in what form rents were paid. All of them, however, indicate whether or not rents had been paid in full and the tenants acquitted.

1 The Cellarer and the Granator were unendowed.

2 SS 99, SS 100, SS 103.

3 SS 58, pp.392-31.

The third category of document consists of the records of the several courts through which the priory controlled and directed the lives and activities of its tenants. The most important of these, and the one for which we have the most abundant evidence, was the halmote court for the customary tenants of the Bursar's estate. It was a peripatetic institution which was held three times a year (spring, summer and autumn) at the more convenient centres of the estate. Every year its clerk produced three long rolls which contain a wealth of detailed information on a wide variety of subjects. Perhaps the most important is the tenure and transfer of land; in addition, however, they illustrate almost every sort of activity pursued by the lower orders of local society. In addition to the rolls, there are three halmote books covering the years 1400 to 1528 in which land transactions were recorded. Almost certainly the entries were abstracted from the rolls. This was not the only court, however; others for which some evidence has survived include the halmote courts of Shoreswood (Northamshire) and Shincliffe (Durham), the court of the Prior's free tenants, a similar institution for the Barony of Elvet, and the borough courts of Elvet and Crossgate.

The variety of content of these documents is enormous; nevertheless, they do have their limitations, and it is these that dictate the scope of the essay. What follows, therefore, will be concerned essentially with five major problems. Firstly, there is the question of what properties the priory possessed, a question to which no fully-comprehensive answer has yet been given. In part the answer will emerge through the text, although the appendix will be an essential supplement. Secondly, the forms and methods of administration will be studied. Here, in fact, are two separate problems: one is the allocation of properties to the different obediences; the second is how the men

holding these offices managed the properties assigned to them. Thirdly, there is the question of the income arising from the estate. Here, it will be more vital to discover the trends and fluctuations rather than the actual figures which are extremely difficult to calculate with accuracy. Fourthly, lengthy consideration will be given to the changing nature of the relationship between the priory and the men and women who lived on its estate. Although the primary purpose of the essay is to answer these questions about Durham, the wider world cannot be ignored. Consequently, there will be some attempt to determine the degree to which the Durham experience conformed to the generally-held beliefs about social and economic developments in late medieval England, and how it compared with that of other estates.

Having said what the essay will attempt, it is equally important to define those areas and aspects which will not be considered, or will be dealt with summarily. In the first place, although the priory was founded in 1083, little will be said about its history between that date and the end of the 13th century. In particular there will be no discussion of intriguing problem of the forged foundation charters and the means by which the monks obtained their original endowment: several historians have written on this subject;[1] the present writer does not consider himself competent to join their number. In addition, little can be said about the methods of estate administration before 1290 because almost none of the documents have survived. That they did exist is certain since it seems clear that the keeping of accounts was begun in 1235 on the orders of the Prior, Thomas Melsonby.[2] What clearly did occur during these years was a considerable growth in the size of the estate through the acquisition of new properties. Some

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1 SS 58, pp. x-lxxx; G.V. Scammell, Hugh Du Puiset, pp.300-7; SS 179, pp. 6 - 63.

2 SS 9, p.xl.

of the evidence of this and of the priory's dealings in land after 1290 has been printed; [1] much more, however, remains as yet unresearched. Indeed, there is sufficient material for separate studies of this aspect of the priory's history and of the changes in land ownership and tenure within the city of Durham. In order to explain changes revealed in other documents I have had recourse to this material; I make no claim, however, to have subjected it to exhaustive study.

Also treated less than fully are the accounts of the manor sergeants. One reason for this is that they formed the basis of Miss Halcrow's study of demesnes administration; a second is that while this present research was being undertaken most of them were under repair and so unavailable for inspection. Those that I have consulted, however, have convinced me of the essential correctness of her conclusions; my particular concern will be to set them in a wider context.

Having described the limits of the essay, some explanations of its form is required. All the properties with which it is concerned belonged to a single corporation with an individual at its head; consequently, they may be seen as constituting a single estate. In practice, however, there was not one but eight estates, differing in size, composition and origin, each with its own chief. A history of the estate, therefore, could reflect either point of view. However, I believe there are two good reasons for adopting the more disjointed approach: firstly, the records were the products of the division, and so any study of them should take account of their origins; secondly, the monks were accustomed to a permanently-divided estate and their view of matters ought to be considered. At the same time it must be admitted that this approach will produce a more clumsy and repetitive result which, if acceptable

1 SS 58 in numerous footnotes.

in a research thesis, would be inappropriate in a published work.

Finally, two "weaknesses" must be admitted in advance. The first is the absence of those mathematical forms of presentation so commonly found in estate studies. Although the raw material for these exists, I have chosen not to produce them in the belief that too often figures are presented as history; rather, I have made the salient statistics the skeleton of the story, but incorporated into and not detached from it. The second is the infrequent allusion to individuals. This is not to suggest that there were no men in the priory's history worthy of close attention: the stubborn and irascible Prior, Richard Hutton, who quarrelled so violently with the imperious Bishop Bek is known proof that this was not so,[1] and Dr. R. B. Dobson's forthcoming book on another Prior, John Washington, is certain to reveal another character of outstanding interest. It is, however, the nature of bureaucratic systems to diminish individual impact and for administrative documents to obscure personality. Thus, in a wide and general study such as this, the individual tends to recede into the background. Moreover, the absence of full administrative centralisation at Durham was against the emergence of a Thomas Chillenden. Nevertheless, there is scope and need for more studies of individual priors and also of the careers of monks who failed to attain the highest office.

1 C.M. Fraser, A History of Antony Bek, pp.153 - 75.

# PART ONE

## THE ESTATE

## OF

## THE BURSAR AND THE TERRAR.

In the fields of finance and estate management the most important obedientiary was the Bursar. He had charge of the bulk of the priory's property and the income arising from it: if the financial returns to the other obedientiaries are totalled for any time between 1290 and 1540 it will be found that they amount to no more than one third of those to the Bursar. He was in fact the major shareholder in all four geographical areas where the priory's lands were situated. To him belonged all the Scottish properties except the tiny holding in Gullane which was attached to the Sacrist's office. In Northumberland he was predominant although the Sacrist also had a major interest. His estate in Yorkshire was substantial; the Chamberlain, however, was the most prominent obedientiary in this county. Like most of his colleagues, however, the bulk of his property was in Durham although, in contrast to them, his borough interests were relatively insignificant.

If there is no doubt about the Bursar's role in estate management, there is less certainty as to his function within the house. When his fellow obedientiaries are considered it will be seen that each had a fairly narrow and specific role to perform; in contrast the Bursar's tasks were numerous and multifarious. Perhaps it is correct to see him as the officer charged with responsibility for everything apart from those tasks allocated to others and to have been responsible for those properties not specifically assigned elsewhere. In short, if they were specialists, he was a general factotum.

Such is the size, extent and complexity of the estate that it is difficult to decide how best to arrange a description and discussion of it. The basic form I have adopted is geographical, principally because the monks themselves made such distinctions; at the same time, however, I have tried to distinguish between the Bursar's roles as landlord and landowner. Thus, the first two sections are devoted to

the different categories of property situated infra aquas, that is, between the rivers Tyne and Tees; one section, however, will suffice for both types of property located elsewhere, that is, extra aquas. Also, I have considered it worthwhile to formulate some conclusions about the Bursar's estate before going on to discuss the estates of his fellow obedientiaries.

Before proceeding, however, some explanation is required of the title of this part, which links the Bursar with the Terrar. This latter officer is something of an enigma: his title suggests considerable importance; on the other hand, his property and income were trivial. It is not for convenience, however, that the two officers have been linked together. In the first place, the Terrar's income was drawn from sources within the Bursar's estate; more significant, however, is the fact that, wherever one looks the Terrar is closely concerned with the management of that estate. The records of the halmote court show that, almost invariably, the Terrar and the Bursar were joint presidents. In the controlling and directing of the manors when they were in hand, the Terrar, as Miss Halcrow has demonstrated, played a major role.[1] The same was true of the administration of the northern properties which were under the immediate control of proctors. Finally, it must be noted, there were times when the two offices were in the hands of the same monk.[2] At the same time, the Terrar's office was separate and distinct, and it did have its own income, which amounted to about £30. 0s. 0d.[3] and was enough to cover expenses. The bulk of it, however, consisted of customary rents[4] - cornage, metred, averpennies and elsilver - owed by tenants of the Bursar, which meant that there was no special problem

1 Halcrow, p.3.

2 Appendix XIX.

3 TAR.

4 Appendix II.

of collection.

Accepting that the estate was under dual control, which of the two offices had precedence? Although the evidence is indirect, it indicates that the Terrar was the senior. Miss Halcrow detected that this was so in the administration of the manors.[1] The idea is supported by the halmote evidence: in the headings of the rolls, the Terrar's name usually occurs first and, when the discretion of the court was exercised in such matters as the reduction of fines or amercement, it was the Terrar's voice that was heard in most instances. In addition, during the 14th century, the holder of the Terrarship was frequently a monk who had served as Bursar: Thomas Haswell, Alexander Lamesley, William Charlton, John Newton, Richard Birtley, John Berrington, William Aislaby, Thomas Corbridge and John Newburn all fall into this category.[2] In fact, it is tempting to think that the Terrar's lightly-burdened office was the senior to which an older monk was appointed in order to assist, perhaps to supervise, a less experienced but more energetic colleague. However, it is clear that there was no fixed rule in operation.

After 1400 there was no single pattern. For the years 1400 - 1450 only two Terrar's names are known, William Barry and Henry Heley; the latter served briefly as Bursar but the former did not. In the second half of the century there was a greater connection between the two offices: Thomas Ayer, William Burdon, Robert Ebchester, John Hamsterley and John Danby never acted as Bursar; on the other hand, John Gateshead, William Cuthbert, Thomas Haughton, John Swan, Geoffrey Forest and Henry Dalton did. After 1500, there seems to have been a reversion to earlier practice, although we must be cautious about this

1 Halcrow, p.13.

2 Appendix XIX.

as only two Terrars, Thomas Swalwell and Peter Lee, can be identified; neither, however, was ever Bursar.

In solving this problem, the Rites of Durham,[1] compiled in 1593, is of some help. Its author maintained that the Terrar was a guest-master, which makes nonsense of his title; at the same time, he made no reference to the Hostillar whose title clearly indicates an involvement with guests.[2] This suggests that the two offices were held by the same monk and that the author of the Rites considered that the Hostillar's office was subsumed under that of the Terrar. When the lists of known Terrars and Hostillars[3] are compared, sufficient evidence of coincidence emerges to make this a plausible hypothesis. Thus, it may be that in the list of Hostillars after 1400 we may have a more complete list of Terrars. If this is so, the pattern of relationship between the offices of Bursar and Terrar described above is confirmed.

The virtual combination of the offices of Terrar and Hostillar meant that their holders had a greater administrative burden to carry. That this was considered feasible and desirable may have been the consequence of the decreasing weight of the Bursar's administration as the direct exploitation of manors was abandoned. Moreover, it must be remembered that the Hostillar's estate was the most administratively convenient because, with a few minor exceptions, all its properties were situated within a three-mile radius of Durham.

Finally, something must be said about the Steward who was closely associated with the Bursar and the Terrar. Although the list of Stewards is by no means complete,[4] there are sufficient names to

1 SS 107.
2 Ibid., p.7 and pp.93 - 102.
3 Appendix XIX.
4 Ibid.

show that the post was held by members of the local gentry. More important is the fact that the role was always a subordinate one. At the meetings of the halmote court he sat as one of the presidents alongside the two monks; his function, however, was largely confined to keeping order and generally seeing to those matters appropriate to a layman. One may suspect also that he was responsible for the logistics of the perambulating court, and for the protection of its members and their valuables as they moved around a rather dangerous countryside.[1]

1 Fraser and Emsley, Law and Society, pp. 47-67.

## SECTION A: INFRA AQUAS: LANDLORD.

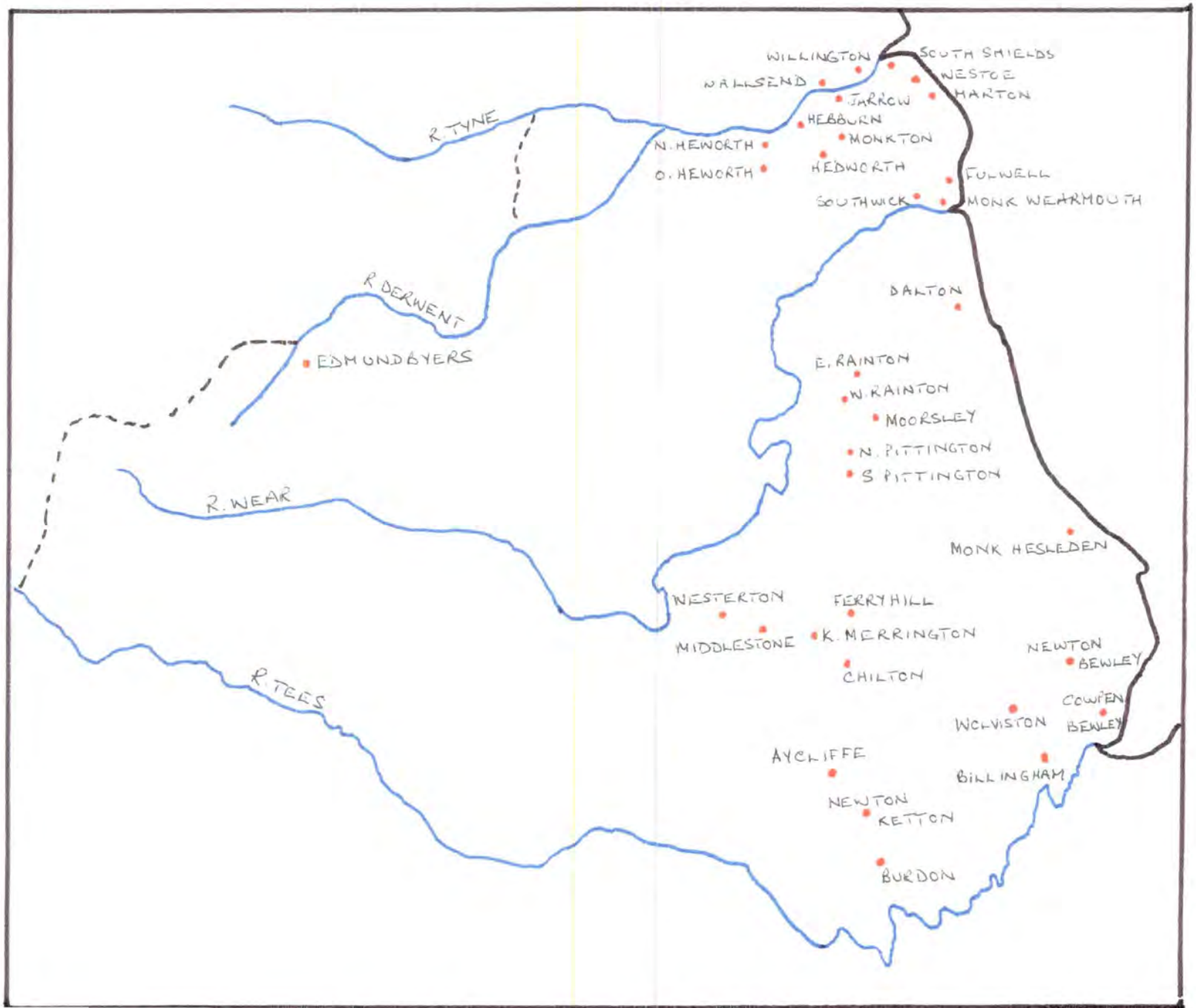
### 1. CUSTOMARY TENANTS

Despite their inferior status in law, precedence must be given to the customary tenants since they were the largest groups numerically and dealings with them consumed the greatest part of the landlord's time and effort. The term customary has been adapted although the monks were inclined to favour "tenants at will"; this term, however, also had a specific meaning which renders inadvisable its general application. The discussion is divided into four parts. The first will attempt a description of the tenants and of their relationship with the landlord in the period before 1349. Much more than this would be impossible owing to the paucity of the evidence, and any attempt to consider in detail a shorter period or to plot developments with any degree of certainty would be doomed to failure. Following this will be an inquest into the impact on the estate of the Black Death. Such was the enormity of this catastrophe in Europe that separate treatment of it is almost de rigueur in any study of social and economic developments in the 14th century. The third section will consider the development of the landlord-tenant relationship between 1350 and the dissolution of the house. It may seem surprising that such a long period should be treated as an uninterrupted sequence, the pattern of development was such, however, that any sub-division would be an unwarranted artifice. Finally, there will be a study of matters involving the priory and its tenants other than those relating to land; considerations of clarity require what would otherwise be an improper separation:

## BURSAR

CUSTOMARY

TENANTS



## a) Landlord and Tenant before 1349

The first problem, that of categories of tenant, is not straightforward since the monks themselves were inconsistent in their use of terms. At different times and in different documents six descriptive labels occur: bondmen, husbandmen, bovaters, molmen, cotmen and cotterells. Our purpose, however, will be better served by the adoption of a two-fold division between holdings of larger and smaller size.

The former comprised the bondlands and the husbandlands, terms in general use throughout the north. In size, there was considerable discrepancy between, for example, the forty-eight acres in Harton and Southwick and the eighteen acres in Newton Ketton;[1] thirty acres, or thereabouts, was most common, as it was on the Bishop's estate.[2] Occasionally, size was expressed in terms of bovates, two per holding being the norm, with bovate acreages varying as they did elsewhere in the district.

It is difficult to know precisely what were the differences between the two categories. It was not one of size since there were townships, Wallsend for example,[3] in which there were both bondlands and husbandlands identical in this respect. Nor would it be correct to see the division in terms of personal legal status, the bondmen being neifs while the husbanders were free men. If such ever had been the distinction, it was no longer the case in the 14th century. The most plausible explanation rests on tenant obligation and the best approach

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1 Appendix I.

2 SS 32.

3 RB 1395, f.6.

is by way of a comparison of the earliest Bursar's rentals[1] with the Gillycorn Rental compiled in 1424,[2] but reflecting early 13th century conditions.[3] In the Bursar's rentals the term bondage is used to describe those holdings which owed no money rent but were held ad servicium, that is, by labour service only. In the main their distribution and numbers are identical in the Gillycorn Rental. The husbandlands of that document appear in the Bursar's rentals as rent-paying tenements although the term itself was not used before 1411.[4]

The category of smaller holdings is equally complex. In size they ranged from two to sixteen acres with six acres being very common. The term most frequently applied to these holdings was cotlands, although cotterells was used at Simonside to distinguish the six-acre holdings from those of twelve acres.[5] In the early 13th century the holders of the fourteen-acre tenements in Westoe were known as bovaters,[6] but this term seems to have gone out of use by 1300. The bovaters of Monkwearmouth, however, were known in the early 14th century as firmarii.[7] Finally, the holders of certain tenements in Ferryhill known as ploughwainslands,[8] were called molmen.[9]

The distribution of holdings throughout the estate was not

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1 RDD.

2 CED(L) ff, 27v - 30r.

3 Fraser, The Gillycorn Rental, p. 37 - 9.

4 RB 1395.

5 Ibid., f.5, f.57, f.65.

6 CED(L), f.28r.

7 Fulwell Manor Account, 1336.

8 These also occur in Fulwell and Monk Hesleden.

9 Ferryhill Manor Account, 1316/7.

without pattern although this can be understood only with reference to the manorial arrangements. The significant fact is that most manors were serviced not by one but by two or three townships each of which had a different tenurial pattern. For example, Over Heworth consisted almost entirely of thirty-acre holdings, whereas its sister settlement, Nether Heworth, was largely made up of twelve-acre tenements.[1] Similar combinations of large and small holdings can be seen at East and West Rainton, North and South Pittington, Wallsend and Willington and Middlestone and Westerton. At the same time, some townships included holdings of all sizes: at Aycliffe, for example, there were husbandlands of twenty-four acres plus holdings of twelve acres and six acres.

The obligations of the customary tenants were of three sorts: rent, labour services and customary rent. The first two need to be considered together. The disappearance of the Landbok[2] makes a detailed and comprehensive account of labour services well-nigh impossible although evidence in other documents is sufficient for the general framework and some of the detail to be discerned. According to the account rolls of the second half of the 14th century, labour services were divided into two categories. The first, known as opera annualia, consisted of the obligation to be available for unspecified duties for a stated number of days per week, in other words, week work. The obligation was reserved almost exclusively to the bondlands and may be considered one of their distinctive characteristics. Other holdings owing week work such as those at Fulwell, appear to have been fragmented bondlands.[3] The normal burden was three days per week, although the

1 For these and other examples see Appendix I.

2 References to this lost volume indicate that in it were recorded the obligations of all tenements.

3 The Gillycorn Rental mentions four bondlands in Fulwell; in the earliest Bursar's rentals the township had a larger number of small holdings.

South Pittington bondmen had had theirs reduced to two days per week during the slacker period of the year between Michaelmas and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.[1]

The second category, opera autumpnalia, consisted of works specified in nature and limited in number, connected with the harvest. This category was universal among service-owing holdings. The division, however, is somewhat misleading; more accurate would have been a distinction between week work and task work since, in addition to harvest services, the tenants were required to perform limited services in connection with haymaking, weeding, sheep-shearing and transport. For example, a holding of twelve acres in Jarrow was burdened with four day s' reaping, four day s' harrowing with one horse, one day's scything and the carrying of hay for one day and fodder for the Prior and the Terrar.[2] At Westoe, one of the fourteen-acre holdings owed, in addition to 8d. rent, two days' reaping, two days' weeding, two days' harrowing with one horse, plus half of a herynglad worth 4d.[3] An even larger holding, sixteen acres, at Monkwearmouth was burdened with 8s.0d. rent, plus eight days' reaping, with one man, three day's harrowing with one horse, one day's threshing and the duty of carting corn and herrings to Durham.[4] It will be noted that of these three examples, two included a money rent element. This combination of cash and labour was not uncommon among the smaller holdings; whether or not the rent was the commutation of labour services is difficult to determine. Also obvious is the absence of uniformity; clearly the services of each holding were bespoke to the needs of the manor it served.

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1 Pittington Manor Account, 1339/40.

2 RB 1395, f.5r.

3 Ibid., f.4v.

4 Ibid., f.2r.

The performance of these works, as Miss Halcrow has shown,[1] was by no means total; in fact, the labour services of the tenants played the minor part in farming operations. The regular cultivation of the demesnes was largely sustained by permanently employed hinds, while the harvest was won principally by paid seasonal labour. Week work was dispensed with to a large extent and the only services exacted with any fulness and regularity were those concerned with harvesting. In lieu of labour the priory took cash compositions which were paid, not to the Bursar, but to the manor sergeants. Miss Halcrow also suggested that the move away from the "classical" manorial arrangement occurred during the second half of the 13th century. To this must be added the fact that, by 1349 the Bursar had ceased to operate seven of his twenty-two manors: Jarrow, Wallsend, Heworth, Hesleden, Burdon, Aycliffe and Rainton had been leased well before this date, and in some cases before 1270.[2]

These changes help to explain some of the discrepancies between the Gillycorn Rental and the early Bursar's rentals. For example, according to the former Over Heworth had twelve bondages of thirty acres each;[3] in the 1341 rental these holdings paid an annual rent of £1. 5s. 0d. each.[4] Similarly, at West Rainton, there had been six husbandlands and seven bondlands all of thirty-two acres;[5] by 1341 there were eighteen large holdings ranging in size from thirteen and a half acres to forty-eight acres, all of them owing money rent.[6] It seems

1 Halcrow, pp.90 - 112.

2 See below in B1.

3 CED(L), f.27v.

4 RDD, f.38r.

5. CED(L), f.28r.

6 RDD, f.39v.

reasonable to suggest that the changes in farming practice and the reduction in the number of manors in hand had rendered superfluous many labour services and that, as a consequence, a number of bondlands previously held ad servicium were converted into husbandlands held ad pecuniam. What seems impossible to explain is why tenemental regularity continued at Over Heworth but not at West Rainton. Nor was the conversion process confined to the bondlands: at Westoe, for example, four of the fourteen-acre holdings and nine of those of twenty-eight acres owed rents of 8d. and 1s. 4d. respectively, plus works, while a further three fourteen-acre and six twenty-eight acre tenements paid large money rents but no works.[1] Compared with those of the early 13th century as revealed in the Gillycorn Rental, the tenemental patterns and the tenurial arrangements of the early 14th century were complex and fragmented. One, perhaps the principal reason, was the changed policy as regards demesne cultivation.

It seems most likely that these conversions were made before 1290; after that date unwanted labour services were sold annually by the manor sergeants. This meant that tenants, although not performing their services, still held ad servicium so that work could be required of them at any time. This was the least permanent and most flexible of the possible solutions and was in direct contrast to the conversion of holdings into husbandlands. Mid-way between these two solutions was a third, the leasing of bondlands for a limited term of years. The early Bursar's rentals indicate that this practice was adopted, although on a very limited scale.[2]

In addition to rent and service, many tenants were liable for a

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1 RDD, f.39v.

2 Ibid., f.38v and f.40r.

number of customary rents. Long ago Miss Neilson[1] analysed the nature and origin of such rents and what follows will largely confirm her basic conclusions.

The most unique of the Durham customary rents was Blada Sancti Egidii, commonly called Gillycorn. In her recent study of it, Dr. Fraser concludes that there was a close connection between it and the rent paid to the Hospital of St. Giles, Kepier, by the tenants of the episcopal estate and a strong resemblance to the petercorn owed to the Hospital of St. Peter (later St. Leonard) at York.[2] The basic rate of the priory rent was one thrave of twenty-four sheaves from every holding, bond and free, although there were variations. Payment of the rent, however, was to the Almoner and not to the Bursar.[3]

Equally interesting are the possibly allied rents known as cornage and metred. Much ink has been expended on their origins and on their connection with the early form of lordship and society in the north. G.T. Lapsley concluded that cornage was a seigneurial due for the right of pasture paid originally by the community, but later attached to individual tenements.[4] Miss Neilson was not satisfied with this, preferring to see it as a species of geld whose incidence was based on animals rather than on land.[5] Nor was she happy with Lapsley's belief in a close connection between cornage and metred.[6] The evidence provided by the priory's records, consisting as it does of curt entries in

1 N. Neilson, Customary Rents.

2 Fraser, Gillycorn Rental, p.40.

3 Details of this and other customary rents are recorded in Appendix II.

4 G.T. Lapsley, 'Cornage and Drenage', American Historical Review, IX, 670 - 695.

5 N. Neilson, p.121.

6 Ibid.

the Terrar's account roles, is less substantial than that from the episcopal estate,[1] and is certainly insufficient to warrant any intrusion into this debate. In any case the argument concerns a period well before that presently under review.

The remaining rents were more universal and fall into three categories. Firstly, there were food rents of which the most common were the hens and eggs owed at Christmas and Easter. Rates are difficult to determine but were certainly not uniform. In some places the fowl rent included ducks as well as hens and the value of the produce was variously assessed at 1d. and 1½d. Of the remainder, messingpennies was widespread but colthaver and averpennies were confined to Billingham and Cowpen Bewley. Included in this group perhaps should be elsilver. Miss Neilson was uncertain about this rent but was inclined to the idea that it was a toll on cloth rather than a payment in lieu of a render of eels.[2] The records of this rent in the Terrar's accounts are unenlightening, but the widespread incidence of the rent may cast doubt on Miss Neilson's conclusion, at least with reference to the Durham estate.

Almost as numerous were rents in commutation of carting service. Averpennies was clearly a payment in lieu of some general form of transport service while woodladepennies derived from the more specific obligation of carting wood to theabbey or its manors. Both were widespread, but ladhors and cartsilver occur only in Billingham and Cowpen Bewley, while ladesilver appears in Cowpen only. Considering the size and geographical spread of the estate, it is not surprising to find so many carting services.

Equally unsurprising is the existence of several church rents.

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1 SS 25 and SS 32.

2 Neilson, p.107.

The most widespread was reekpennies which were owed by the thirty-eight parishes of the county. The Bursar received payment only from Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, the remainder went to the Sacrist in whose records the rent was called smokepennies. Miss Neilson identified them as Peter's Pence.[1] Jarrow and Monkwearmouth together with Kirk Merrington also owed oblations, and six parishes owed senagium which has been identified as synodaticum.[2]

Finally, there were two rents of limited incidence, wandpennies and eggegarthsilver, for the meaning and origins of which there is no evidence.

Although detailed information about many of these rents is lacking, it is fairly clear that in the majority of cases they were incumbent only on the husbandlands and the bondlands, which fits in well with the Miss Neilson's findings.[3] Of greater interest is the number of townships exempt from the payment of all or most of the customary rents. For this there are three possible reasons.

One is that the township was brought into existence after the rent had been established. Miss Neilson insisted that rarely does one find customary rents imposed on newly assarted land,[4] a point supported by Dr. Fraser's study of the Gillycorn Rental of 1424 in which she demonstrates that the rent was assigned by c.1200 and was not imposed on townships or tenements created thereafter.[5] This explanation almost certainly applies to Newton Bewley, a township where no customary rents were paid. This, combined with the first element of the name

1 Neilson, p.30 and p.200.

2 Ibid., p.197.

3 Ibid., p.8.

4 Ibid., p.10.

5 Fraser, Gillycorn Rental, p.37.

plus the absence of reference to the place in the summary rentals of 1270 and 1273,[1] suggests that the township was a very recent origin at the beginning of the period under review. Newton Ketton and Moorsley also came into this category. both had names indicative of late origin, and both were exempt from all customary rents apart from gillycorn.

A second possibility is that in some townships customary rents disappeared as the result of the creation of new tenements held ad pecuniam. The coincidence of rent paying tenements with an absence of customary rents at Willington, East Rainton, North Pittington and Chilton, seems more than accidental. If such was the explanation, it applied only to those rents paid to the Bursar; those owed to the Terrar, described in the halmote records as argentum Terrarii, continued as seperate payments.

Attention also needs to be drawn to the heavy incidence of customary rents at Billingham and Cowpen Bewley. This was not compensated by a diminution of other burdens with the result that the bondmen of these two townships were the most heavily burdened of all the tenants. There is no satisfactory explanation for this, but the fact does serve as a reminder of the diversity of conditions within the estate.

The life of the priory tenant was governed and controlled not only by the obligations just described but also by a body of custom, some aspects of which were to his advantage while others must have proved irksome and expensive. A discussion of these is vital for an understanding of the period under review, but there is added relevance in

1 Loc.IV, no.226 and Loc.V, no.30.

that the question of tenant right became extremely vexed in the middle of the 16th century,[1] and so what follows will illuminate the genesis of this quarrel. Unfortunately, any discussion of the pre-1350 situation is severely hampered by the almost complete loss of the halmote court records and by the rather abbreviated form of the earliest survivors. Nevertheless, they contain sufficient information, when supplemented by that from later court records, to permit a reasonably full and accurate picture to be drawn.

The first problem, that of the term of tenancy, was also the problem of tenant security. The best approach will be to consider the situation obtaining in the 1360s and 1370s, for which record is abundant and detailed, and then to assess the extent to which it corresponds with that of the earlier period. During this later period, the tenant held either for the term of his or her life or at the will of the lord. Theoretically, the former was the privilege of men of free condition, while the latter was imposed upon neifs. In addition, the tenant for life paid an entry fine called a gresuma whereas the tenant at will did not. In practice, matters were not so precisely ordered. The ratio of tenancies at will to those for life was very wide: of the approximately one thousand, three hundred demissions recorded in the period between 1369 and 1399 (for which there is an almost perfect record) less than sixty were at the lord's will. This suggests that the number of neifs was minute but, as we shall see later, this was not the case. It is possible to discover known neifs securing holdings for life. For example, John, son of Adam of Southwick, confirmed as a neif by an inquest held in 1380,[2] took a half-bond holding for life in 1381.[3]

1 VCH Durham, II, p.229.

2 HR 1380 (Spring).

3 HR 1381 (Summer).

Moreover, there are examples of men taking holdings at the lord's will who were not described as neifs. The imposition of the gresuma was more in accord with theory; in almost all cases of tenancy for life the gresuma was recorded even if payment was excused, whereas only eleven tenants at will were required to pay the entry fine.

The situation revealed by the court records of 1296/7 [1] differs in two respects. Firstly, in only three of the sixty-three dimissions was any record made of the term, and the form of the entries suggests that either the recording of such facts or tenancy for life was abnormal. Secondly, gresumae were not as universal as they were in later records: twenty-five out of sixty-three, well under fifty per cent. The brief record of 1345 [2] is not so variant; reference to term is equally absent but the entry fine was mentioned with every lease. Thus, there is some evidence to suggest that tenancy for life was a novelty at the beginning of the 14th century becoming less so during subsequent decades. But, because it is so meagre and of such a negative nature, it is far safer to suspend judgement on the whole question.

Concerning the problem of inheritance the early fragments of court record are more illuminating. They make it clear that there existed a well-established body of custom governing the descent of holdings, at the centre of which was the family. On the death of a male tenant, the succession was in the first instance to the widow. This is clear enough despite the absence of the phrase de jure vidue so frequently used after 1350. It is equally clear that, following the widow, the children of her marriage with her late husband had second claim. Normally, only one of the children entered the holding, but this was not invariable as is revealed by a case in 1345 when a holding,

1 HR 1296 (Summer and Autumn) and 1297 (Spring).

2 HR 1345 (Summer).

which admittedly was multiple, was divided between brother and sister. A similar case in the same year is even more remarkable in that not only was the holding divided but also that the recipients were under age and were provided with a guardian.[1] This indicates the extent to which family claims to holdings were respected.

The rights of widowhood were further defined. If a widow chose to take her late husband's holding she was required to pay a gresuma; in other words, she made a new tenancy agreement and did not perpetuate what had been a joint tenancy. In addition, she was not permitted to remarry without the lord's licence, and failure to secure this resulted in amercement. If a second marriage did take place it was the new husband who was regarded as the tenant although only by right of his wife. Moreover, the rights of the children of the first marriage were in no way diminished by the arrival of a step-father.

Thus, the rights of the family were paramount in all questions of succession. The records of the later part of the century contain many examples of men securing holdings because "no one of the blood wished to fine" for the tenement. No example of this occurs in the pre-1350 records mainly, it is tempting to think, because before the Black Death such a situation would not have occurred.

Having established the extent and strength of family rights, we must note that tenants had the power to convey their holdings, in whole or in part, outside the family. In the second half of the century there were numerous instances of tenants surrendering their holdings to specified successors whose names suggest they were not of the same family. Only one example of this occurred in 1345[2] and none in 1296/7,

1. HR 1345 (Summer).

2 Ibid.

making difficult any firm conclusion about the earlier period. Tenants were also allowed to sublet all or part of their holdings for short periods, and also to permit others to cultivate or harvest their land. In both cases the lord's agreement was required, and failure to secure it (for a small fine) resulted in the amercement of the lessee and the dispossessing of the lessor. Sometimes the offending tenant was allowed to resume his holding but only on the payment of another gresuma. It is clear that the priory did not object to tenant dealings in land, although it is equally obvious that it was very concerned to ensure that all transactions took place in its court and to its financial benefit.

The dispossession of tenants for contravening regulations demonstrates the limitation of their security. The court records also make it clear that serious failure to fulfil obligations could result in a like consequence. In some cases the tenant's downfall was the consequence of his own laziness and perversity; more frequently the cause was age and infirmity. Many tenants, accepting their growing debility, forestalled court action by voluntarily surrendering their holdings to their next-of-kin. Either way they could expect to benefit from a court order requiring their successors to give them room and board or a portion of their holdings by which they could maintain themselves.

Finally, something more must be said about the gresumae. They were clearly unrelated to the size of the holdings and may have become fixed by tradition since later in the century many gresumae were partially condoned or waived completely because of the poverty of the new tenant or as a means of financing repairs. In all cases, however, both the proper and the actual sums were recorded.

### b) The Black Death

The Black Death (known in the records as the prima pestilencia)

entered County Durham during the summer of 1349,[1] and probably remained virulent until the onset of winter. The results of its work were recorded by the monks as lists which included the names of tenants who died, the holdings of which they were possessed, and whether or not those holdings had been retaken.[2] Unfortunately not all the lists have survived and part of those that have are illegible; as a result we cannot look at every township. Equally regrettable is the total loss of the halmote court materials for 1349 and the vital years on either side of it; almost certainly they would have contained corroborative evidence. However, we do possess the rental for 1347/8[3] and an almost complete set of account rolls for the 1340s and 1350s. Analysis and comparison of the surviving material makes possible three important conclusions about the immediate impact of the plague and the extent of the recovery of the estate in the years immediately after.

The first is that the estate was severely mauled: the number of customary tenants alive in 1348 in the townships for which we have mortality figures numbered about six hundred, of these three hundred and eighteen or over fifty per cent died. It must, of course, be emphasised that these figures apply only to tenants and not to the overall population about which it is impossible to say anything. Nevertheless, despite this and despite the smallness of the sample it must be concluded that the mortality in the area was probably very high.

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1 J.F.D. Shrewsbury, A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles, p.114.

2 Loc. IV, no.146 and no.147.

3 RDD, ff.144r - 158r.

The second conclusion is that the incidence of mortality was uneven and varied considerably from township to township. Thus in the contiguous townships of the parish of Jarrow as few as three tenants of a possible total of fifteen died at Monkton and only seven of twenty-nine at Harton, whereas sixteen of twenty-five and fourteen out of nineteen died in South Shields and Jarrow respectively. Similar variation occurred elsewhere: forty-eight of about eighty tenants died at Billingham, but only twenty-eight out of seventy-five died at Wolviston, less than five miles away. Such discrepancy does not appear everywhere, several neighbouring townships having very similar experiences. In the Pittingtons, for example, ten out of seventeen died at North Pittington and fifteen out of twenty-three died at South Pittington. The Raintons were similar: four out of twelve and eleven out of twenty-nine died at East and West Rainton respectively. The reason or reasons for these variations is, of course, hidden from us.

Finally, there is the question of the speed of recovery in the years immediately following the catastrophe. The mortality lists show that three hundred and eighty holdings were made vacant by the plague and that two hundred and three, or less than two thirds, had been relet when the documents were compiled. The fact of vacant holdings is confirmed by the account rolls. Starting in 1350/1, the final balance at the end of the account included the total value of wasted and decayed rents, that is, the value of those rents that could not be collected because holdings were without tenants and the value of reduction in rent. In this connection, it is the former that are significant. In 1350/1, [1] the value of wasted rents came to almost £100., indicating the existence of many vacant holdings. During the remainder of the decade the annual figure showed a steady though gradual decline to £39. in 1359/60.[2] From this superficial evidence we may deduce that initially

1 BAR 1350/1.

2 BAR 1359/60.

there was no stampede on the part of the survivors to take up vacant holdings and that, even after ten years, there was still plenty of untenanted land. This is significant in view of the evidence of disruption and decline contained in the account rolls of the earlier decades of the century. They indicate that the estate was thriving up to the middle of the second decade when a sudden decline occurred. The loss of the account rolls for the years between 1318 and 1328 is unfortunate, but those of the 1330s and 1340s show the estate gradually recovering but not to its former level of prosperity. The nature and course of this decline will be discussed in more detail later on, but at this point it may be conjectured that the plague struck an estate considerably weakened by a previous disaster that had left it without the degree of surplus population necessary for a quick recovery after 1349.

### c) Landlord and Tenant 1350 to 1540

The intention to treat this period as a whole has already been stated; I hope that the following exposition will be a convincing justification of this decision. In fact, it is my opinion that the whole history of the estate during the period under review is one of slow uneven evolution unpunctuated by great policy or planning decisions on the part of the estate managers. The post-1350 developments, which can be traced with some exactitude, certainly seem to bear this out; almost equally evident is that so many of them were foreshadowed in the earlier period.

The first of the post-1350 changes was that from tenure by service to tenure by money rent. At this point it is worth restating that in 1348 only a minority of tenants held their land by service only, the majority owing money rent or a combination of cash and labour. Thus, the conversion of holdings after 1350 may be seen as

the final phase of a development already in train; the plague of course may have served to accelerate the pace.

In the years immediately following the plague of 1349 a move began towards the leasing of the bondlands held ad servicium. At first, income from this source was assigned to the miscellaneous receipts as though the move was tentative or experimental. In 1353/4,[1] however, a new section entitled bondagia ad firma dimissa was introduced in which bondland leases were recorded; this section was to remain until the form of the account rolls was completely revised early in the 15th century. Its entries indicate clearly that the move from labour to money rent was uneven. For example, the first leases at Monkton occurred in 1350/1,[2] and all eight bondlands were leased by 1359/60;[3] but at nearby Harton no leasing took place until 1358/9,[4] and the conversion process was not complete until 1383/4.[5] In fact, each township with bondlands had an individual history in this respect within the period 1350/1 to 1383/4.

The middle 1350s also saw the introduction into the account rolls of another new section, opera vendita, in which was recorded income from sales of works. The holdings appearing in this section were, with a few exceptions, not bondlands. The process of sale was the same as that before 1349 except that the income was assigned to the Bursar rather than the manor sergeants. As a solution sale of works was less finite than the lease, since the works could be resumed at any time; this in fact occurred at certain places on a number of occasions.

1 BAR 1353/4.
2 BAR 1350/1.
3 BAR 1359/60.
4 BAR 1358/9.
5 BAR 1383/4.

In addition, there were a number of variations on these two themes. The bondlands of Billingham and, with one exception, Cowpen Bewley were not leased but subjected to sale of works. At Southwick and Monk Hesleden both solutions were applied simultaneously, about half the bondlands being leased while the remainder were subject to sale of works; by 1384, however, all of the holdings were leased. Certain holdings in Fulwell and Monkwearmouth were included initially with the leased bondlands, but were soon transferred to the main body of the assized rents. Later the same happened to holdings in North Pittington and the two Raintons, originally subject to sale of works. The most complete solution to all problems was applied to Newton Ketton and South Pittington;[1] both were leased in toto to two individuals.

It is not really possible to provide a satisfactory explanation of these variations: tenant initiative probably played a part; so too, no doubt, did differing levels of population. Most important, however, was the policy as regards the manors: during the second half of the century there was a gradual but uneven drift towards leasing. Whatever the reason or reasons, the fact remains that before the end of the century the Bursar's customary tenants owed money rent and not labour service for their holdings.

The second development was rather later in starting. We have already noted how, in the third quarter of the century, the great majority of tenants took their holdings for life and how the alternative form of tenure, at the will of the lord, was disappearing. During the last quarter of the century and the first half of its successor this system was completely replaced by tenure for short terms of years. The

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1 RSDPD, f.14r and f.6v.

new form made its first appearance during the 1360s and became slightly more common in the twenty years before 1390: in the decade 1369 to 1378 twenty-two of the four hundred and twenty-nine demissions were for terms of years while in the following ten years to 1388 the number rose to seventy-one out of four hundred and sixty-three. It was not until the last decade of the century that the new form made rapid headway with one hundred and seventy-two out of a total of two hundred and thirty. After 1400 tenure for years triumphed, and in the first four decades of the new century the number of tenancies for life gradually fell away: eighty-seven out of three hundred and fifteen in the first; eighty-three out of four hundred and seventy-nine in the second; sixty out of four hundred and twenty-nine in the third; seven out of four hundred and seventy-five in the fourth. Thereafter, a few cases occurred each year until the mid 1450s. In the overwhelming majority of cases the term of years was three or a multiple of three up to thirty, although the number above nine was relatively small. No reason for the use of this multiple is given, but it may well have been linked with field systems or crop rotation-arrangements. Equally vital to note is the absence of the entry fine; with very few exceptions, gresumae were levied on tenants taking their holdings for life but were not mentioned when tenure was for years.

It is far easier to compile the facts and to compute the figures than it is to explain why the change took place. The immediate reaction is to see the development as being against the tenants' interest in that security of tenure was diminished, and to conclude that the initiative was the landlord's. Other evidence, however, suggests that tenant desire lay behind the whole movement. In the first place the new arrangement did not destroy or seriously modify the principle of family inheritance, and so tenant security was not impaired. Secondly,

the evidence of the rentals, the account rolls and the halmote court records point unerringly to the failure of the estate managers to fill all their holdings; in fact, the period during which tenure for years gradually became universal coincided with a period in which every year some holdings were in manu domini. This suggests that the economic tide was running so strongly against the landlord as to make it unlikely that he would have been able to force or cajole unwilling tenants into accepting unattractive terms. Finally, there is the fact that the new arrangement brought to an end the system of entry fines which, of course, implied a reduction in the Bursar's income. Between 1370 and the end of the century the total value of gresumae was about £220. In total this was a substantial sum of money, although when averaged over thirty years the annual amount was trivial, compared with other sums the Bursar handled. To the tenant, on the other hand, the entry fine could be a financial burden of some magnitude as is suggested by the fact that some were given as long as four years to pay. Moreover, it was likely to be an unwelcome stigma that most men would be glad to shed. On balance, therefore, the evidence seems to point to the tenants as the instigators of the change.

The remaining developments were all interrelated and concerned with numbers of tenants. The basic fact is that over the period under review there was a large reduction in the number of tenants holding of the Bursar on customary terms. Because of the difficulty in identifying many of the freeholds and because the bondlands were not recorded in the pre-1350 rentals, accurate figures can be obtained for twelve townships,[1] although the more conjectural data from the remainder tallies with that from the sample. Moreover, the twelve

1 Appendix III.

townships are so spread geographically as to preclude the possibility of significant regional variation.

Within this sample in 1341[1] were two hundred and five tenants, by 1396,[2] however, the number had declined by sixty to one hundred and forty-five. Figures are unobtainable for the following hundred years, that is, until 1495,[3] when the number was eighty-one, a decline of sixty-four. Thereafter there was only a small drop to seventy-four in 1539.[4] The total reduction was thus one hundred and thirty-one, or put more meaningfully, the loss of tenants between the decade before the pestilence and the dissolution of the house was almost two-thirds of the original total. These figures, however, provide a very simple and superficial picture, the remainder of this section will be devoted to an attempt to get below the surface and to establishing how and why the decline occurred and with what results.

We must begin by returning to the problem of untenanted holdings and ~~reminding ourselves~~ of the failure of the bursars of the 1350s to eradicate it. Indeed, the problem remained unsolved during the rest of the century. In only two years, 1378/9 and 1379/80, did the annual value of wasted rents fall below £30. In most years the figure was between £30. and £40. and on two occasions, 1365/6 and 1388/9 (or 1389/90),[5] rose to £47. and over £50. respectively. It is also tempting to explain these peaks as consequences of renewed outbreaks of plague;

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1 RDD, ff.38r - 44r.

2 RB 1395, ff. 25r - 47r.

3 BR 1495.

4 SS 58, pp.306 - 27.

5 BAR 1378/9, 1379/80, 1365/6, 1388/9.

plague chronology, however, is too confused and uncertain to permit such a conclusion to be made with confidence,[1] although the Shareswood court roll of 1362[2] makes it clear that an outbreak occurred in that district; unfortunately, there is no evidence in the records pertaining to the Durham properties.

What lay behind these figures is revealed in the account roll of 1396, a year close to the second peak and having a total (£43. 9s.5d) clearly above average. Analysis of the details provided shows that the state of affairs was more satisfactory than the total sum might suggest. In the first place, only ten townships were affected, the rest having no vacant holdings. Secondly, although the number of such holdings topped one hundred, the great majority were either peripheral or unsubstantial, the most obvious being the assarted lands of Spennymoor which accounted for £17. 6s.6d. of the total, some forty or so cottages, many of which were without land, and also a number of borough tenements. The most significant fact, however, is that only nine of the vacant holdings were large tenements that formed the basis of each township's tenemental structure and economic life; it was vital that these were not allowed to remain without tenants. Who was responsible for securing this tenurial continuity is obscure: sometimes individuals and groups were obliged to take on unwanted holdings; on the other hand it seems more than probable that there were thrustful and ambitious men eager and willing to obtain extra land. Perhaps it is not unfair to conclude that the concern of the landlord and the aspirations of certain tenants combined to keep to a minimum the number of such vacant holdings.

During the first half of the 15th century the situation appears to have been little different from that just described. Annual values

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1 Shrewsbury, pp.126-41.

2 Loc IV, no.98.

of wasted rents continued to fluctuate: during the 1430s the figure often fell below £20, but this is explained by the omission of Spennymoor; on the other hand, there were peaks of £58. in 1409/10, £74. in 1424/5 and £65 in 1449/50.[1] As none of these years coincided with known dates of either plague or Scottish invasion, any attempt to explain the high totals would be mere speculation. The occasional lists of details reveal patterns similar to that of 1396 as does the Inventarium of 1446.[2] This document, however, makes it obvious that by the mid-15th century the major reason for vacant holdings was want of repair and not want of tenants; clearly the estate managers had come to recognise their inability to tempt or oblige tenants to take ill-founded holdings. After 1450 wasted rent figures declined steadily, and from 1465 rarely exceeded £15. a year. A list of 1508[3] shows that the majority of vacancies were borough tenements. The reason for this improvement was a development to which we must now turn.

Returning to the decade prior to the pestilence of 1349, we can see from the rentals that the number of holdings was greater than the number of tenants. The reason for this was not the vacancy of holdings but the acquisition by certain tenants of more than one holding. Examples can be seen in many townships, but the number of spectacular instances is small, the most notable being William of Hylton who held seven tofts, a cottage and one hundred and twenty-two and a half acres in Westoe, and Thomas Wawayn of North Pittington who had acquired five tofts, a cottage and seventy acres.[4] It must be added, however, that in most places a number of holdings were in the hands of a single family though divided

1 BAR 1409/10, 1424/5, 1449/50.

2 SS 9, pp.ccxc - cccliii.

3 BAR 1508/9.

4 RDD, f.39v.

among different members of it. It would be incorrect I believe to regard this as a foretaste of the future; rather it was a legacy of the recent past, particularly of the 1320s and 1330s which were a period of difficulty, perhaps of disaster, for the estate. During these decades there may have been a decline in population resulting in some doubling up of holdings.

After 1350 the multiple holding became a normal feature. The rentals of the 1390s show clearly that in every township the reduction in the number of tenants was accompanied not only by vacant holdings but also by multiples of two, three or even more holdings in the hands of single tenants. At Hedworth, for example, nearly all the customary land had been acquired by three men, William son of Stephen, Robert Chiriman and Thomas Watson who between them shared eighteen holdings and individually held blocks of land of ninty-eight, eighty-five and one hundred and eight acres respectively.[1] At Fulwell, the situation was rather different in that one tenant, Thomas Egermond, had forged ahead of his fellows by acquiring seven of the fifteen holdings and eighty-six out of the two hundred and one acres of customary land.[2] In other places the trend was not so pronounced; at Monkton, for instance there were still nine tenants for the twelve holdings.[3] Clearly development in this as in other respects was uneven even if it was ubiquitous. It is impossible to say how soon or how suddenly after 1350 all this happened, although the incomplete rental of 1382/3[4] indicates a situation no different from that thirteen years later.

1 RB 1395, f.27r and f.60r.

2 Ibid., f.30r.

3 Ibid., f.26v.

4 RSDPD.

After 1400 there is no satisfactory rental evidence until 1495; consequently tracing this development becomes dependent on the halmote court books. These make it clear that the trend towards multiple holdings continued although in a fluid fashion. There is evidence of much chopping and changing of holdings among the tenants and of the tendency for accumulations to be broken up on the deaths of their holders. After c.1420, however, a greater degree of stability developed; in particular groups of holdings began to harden into permanent conglomerates and to be passed intact from one generation to the next. The overall effect was the emergence in each township of a small elite group which controlled all, or almost all, the customary holdings.

From this position it was a relatively simple step to the final form of the tenemental structure, the leasing of each township to a syndicate of its tenants. Included in the lease were all the major holdings and, in some cases, the demesne land; excluded were the freeholds and the smaller cottage holdings. Each member of the syndicate held an equal portion of the land involved and paid an equal share of the rent. In most cases membership consisted of those tenants already in possession of the large conglomerate holdings. These, while usually similar in size, were rarely equal, and so the formulation of syndicates involved adjustment to the size of each tenant's holdings. This factor also tended to govern the number of shares in the syndicate which ranged from as few as two at Newton Ketton and South Pittington to as many as thirteen at Billingham, Wolviston and Ferryhill. Once established, the number of shares tended to remain permanent, although there were exceptions: at Over Heworth the initial lease was to one man;[1] in 1461 there were eight portions;[2] in 1500,[3] the number was down to four and in 1520 to two.[4]

1 SS 9, p.ccxci.
2 HB II, ff.79v - 80r.
3 HB III, f.54v.
4 HB III, f.135r.

Although the syndicate was the final form of the tenemental structure, its adoption was not sudden nor rapid, nor was it confined to the last stages of the priory's life South Pittington was leased as early as 1359[1] and Newton Ketton as early as 1383,[2] in contrast the syndicate at Newton Bewley was not formed until 1521,[3] and examples can be found in almost every decade between these dates. Having made this point, however, we must admit that the syndicate was essentially a feature of the 15th century, particularly of its second half.

Having established the general pattern of change and development, we may usefully consider a single township in depth and detail. For this purpose I have selected Fulwell, partly because of its small size and relatively uncomplicated structure, and partly because it appears in almost all the records. It did not contain, and never had contained, any free land, nor were there any bondlands, it did, however, have a manor and demesne land with which the neighbouring township of Southwick and Monkwearmouth were associated. It is impossible to be certain as to the exact number and size of the holdings because of discrepancies between the evidence of the rentals and the halmote rolls. The most likely list is two holdings of thirty-two acres, three of sixteen acres, six of twelve acres, one of nine acres, one of six acres and two cottages without land. This list represents the situation in the middle and later decades of the 14th century, in the early 13th century, however, the land was divided into four holdings of forty-eight acres each.[4] Clearly the original arrangements had been much

1 BAR 1359/60.

2 RSDPD, f14r.

3 HB,III, f.139v.

4 CED(L), f.28r.

disturbed to bring about a more complex arrangement. Also complex were the obligation arrangements: six holdings appeared to have owed money rent only, in most cases at the rate of 1s.0d. per acre; a further six or seven holdings were liable for labour service only and so do not appear in the early rentals; the remaining three holdings owed both rent and service. Because of the absence of some holdings from the rentals it is impossible to compute exactly the number of tenants, although fifteen or sixteen seems likely since the nine recorded holdings each had a separate tenant.

The plague of 1349 took four tenants;[1] what proportion this represented cannot be known, although if the total number of tenants was maximal it would have been small. Much smaller in fact than at nearby Monkwearmouth,[2] where twelve of the eighteen customary tenants died, and probably smaller than at Southwick[3] where the number of deaths was eight out of a maximum possible total of fourteen. If we assume a small proportion it will help to account for the fact that all the vacated holdings were retaken at once, and for the fact that Fulwell appears never to have suffered from permanent or lengthy vacancies. Also settled quickly was the change from labour to money rents in 1352[4] four holdings were leased and the remaining two followed the following year; by 1358 all six rents were incorporated into the general body of assized rents.[5] As regards the terms of tenancy,

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1 Loc. IV; no.146.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 BAR 1352/3.

5 BAR 1358/9.

all holdings were leased for life, except for the six acre holding leased in 1372 "at the lord's will" to John Monkton "because he was a neif".[1] It is interesting to note, however, that the same man secured a twelve acre holding in 1379 and the nine acre holding in 1380, for life in both cases;[2] clear examples both of the declining use of tenancy at will and of the inconsistency of the monks in adhering to their own rules. The first example of tenancy for years did not occur until 1389 when William son of Adam took two holdings of sixteen and twelve acres respectively for six years.[3] During the following twenty years both forms were used, but after 1409 tenancy for years was invariable.

The most interesting feature of Fulwell's history in the years between 1380 and 1430 is the career of one man, Thomas Egermond. His name - there were various spellings - hints strongly that he was an immigrant from Egremont in Cumberland. That he was not the only stranger in the township makes this more likely. before 1349 there was a Simon of Moorsley, a Patrick of Wearmouth and a Lawrence of 'Litherpol';[4] after 1350 they disappeared but were replaced by John of Monkton, William of Burdon and Robert Pait of Usworth.[5] Egermond first appears in the 1383[6] rental which shows him holding five tenements and forty acres. His accumulation was topped only by William son of Adam with

1 HR 1372 (Summer).

2 HR 1379 (Autumn) and 1380 (Summer).

3 HR 1389 (Summer).

4 RDD, f.39v.

5 The names have been taken from HR.

6 RSDPD, f.5v.

seventy-four acres but with one holding less. The remaining land was divided fairly equally between Robert Pait (two holdings: twenty-eight acres), John of Monkton (two holdings: thirty acres), and Richard son of John (one holding: thirty-two acres). Here it should be noted that the number of tenants was down to five compared with between nine and sixteen in the 1340s. Thirteen years later Egermond's position was even more dominant. He was by then the largest single landholder with seven tenements and eighty-six acres, while his nearest rival, John Johnson, had only thirty-two acres.[1] By 1401,[2] or thereabouts, he reached the apogee of his career with a holding of nine tenements and one hundred and fourteen acres in his hands. There were only three tenants beside himself and one of these, William Burdon, held only the two cottages without land. After 1401, however, Egermond began to shed some of his holding so that by 1411[3] he was in possession of only six and a half holdings and eighty acres. Also during these years two new tenants of substance emerged, Robert Watson and John Nicholson, holding forty-nine and forty-two acres respectively. There was also a fourth tenant, the widow of John of Monkton, who held twenty-nine acres.

After 1411 there is no further rental evidence until 1495, thus making it necessary to rely on the halmote court books. These, while appearing full and complete, contain so many inaccuracies that a completely successful tracing of all tenants and holdings is impossible, although evidence is sufficient for three main phases to be discussed. During the first land holding in Fulwell was still dominated by Thomas Egermond. It is almost certain that he died in 1428 since his final appearance as a juror was at the spring court of that

1 RB 1395, f.30r.

2 Ibid., f.96v.

3 Ibid., f.3r.

year,[1] and in the following year the last of his holdings came on to the market.[2] If this date is correct he must have been a very old man, the period of his activity in Fulwell alone spanning almost a half-century. During it his efforts in building up and then dispersing a very large composite holding were a major factor in maintaining the fluidity of the land market in the township. With his death the second phase began during which the holdings were formed into three permanent blocks. In size they were unequal. eight holdings with eighty-one acres, six holdings with sixty-four acres, three holdings of forty-six acres. By 1440[3] formation was complete and they were in the hands of Thomas Nicholson, Junior, Nicholas Ayre and Robert Watson respectively. During the following thirty years the only changes were tenurial Nicholson was replaced by Robert Legh who was succeeded by Thomas Lambert,[4] the Watson holding passed first to Thomas More and then to Thomas Nicholson,[5] Nicholas Ayre, however, retained his holding throughout, renewing his lease on four occasions for periods of three, six, nine and six years.[6]

1 HB 1428 (Spring).

2 HB, I, f.102r.

3 HB, f.159r and HB II, 5r.

4 HB II, f.27r and 47r.

5 HB II, f.18v and 55v.

6 HB II, f.33v, f.40r, f.44r and f.92r.

The final tenemental pattern was created in 1470.[1] It involved the linking together of the customary holdings and the manor with its demesne land and the increase in the number of tenants from three to four. The syndicate they formed comprised Robert Wake, the erstwhile lessee of the manor whose family had occupied that position with only minor interruptions since 1220, Nicholas Ayre and Thomas Lambert plus a new man, William Mathow, from the adjacent episcopal township of Cleadon. The occasion for this restructuring seems to have been the death of Nicholson and the fact that all leases were up for renewal in or about 1470. According to the terms of the new lease each man took a quarter of the township and its land plus a quarter of the manor with its land and meadow but minus the stock which was returned to the lord. The rent of each share was £5. 8s. 6d. (£2. 5s. 2d. for the township, £3. 3s. 4d. for the manor) payable to the Bursar plus 16s.8d. to the Master of Wearmouth in lieu of garb tithe. After 1470 the only changes were ones of personnel, although the Mathow family was still holding its share in 1539.[2]

d) Non-Tenurial Matters.

Up to this point the study of the landlord-tenant relationship has been centred exclusively on land tenure. This, however, was but one of several strands in a very complex nexus and it is to the others that consideration must now be given. Long ago extracts from the halmote court rolls were brought into print by John Booth,[3] and have been much quoted by historians. The value of this volume is

1 HB II, f.115r and v.

2 SS 58, p.311.

3 SS 82.

limited in that it covers a period no later than 1384; moreover, in attempting a wide geographical coverage and in trying to include the most interesting entries, the editor inevitably produced a rather disjointed picture. The present study will, I hope, go some way to rectifying these weaknesses. However, the quantity of surviving material is such that a separate study would be necessary to do full and complete justice to it. I have therefore decided to concentrate attention largely, though not exclusively, on the three townships of Southwick, Monkwearmouth and Fulwell. By so doing I hope to illustrate that sense of community which pervades the court records. To look at only one of these townships alone would be inadequate; although they were separate they were clearly linked together and in a sense formed a single community. This phenomenon, visible throughout the estate, almost certainly derived from the common association of the townships with a single manor, in this case Fulwell. Before proceeding it must be noted that, although much record has survived, there is complete coverage only for the period 1365 to 1400. Consequently, it will be used as a nodal point from which the situation before and after will be viewed.

The matters with which the court was concerned were numerous and varied; consequently, some attempt to organise them into categories is essential. Five, in fact, seems to be the most suitable number: the problem of delapidation and repair, the regulation of farming activities; the control of commercial enterprise; the maintenance of public order; the problem of personal status. In coping with all of these problems the presidents of the court had to rely heavily on the co-operation of the tenants in general, and particularly on certain members of that body who were elected by their fellows to fill certain offices. The most important of these was the jury. In most townships four jurors

was the norm and this was the case at Southwick and Monkwearmouth. Fulwell, however, like some other smaller settlements, had only three, while some of the larger townships had five. The men 'elected' were normally important tenants and, once chosen, tended to retain the post for many years. Thomas Egermond, for example, became a juror in 1384[1] and, between then and the spring court of 1428, is known to have missed only four sessions. He, of course, was an exceptional figure in all respects, but similar longevity can be seen at Southwick where Elias Raven served continuously from the spring court of 1369 until the summer court of 1385, after which his place was taken by William Ka whose service was uninterupted until c.1401. The work of these men was arduous. Most of the cases with which the court had to deal were presented by the jury, though whether as a consequence of their own vigilance or of tale-telling by neighbours is impossible to determine. In addition, they were required by the court to investigate dilapidations, purprestures, the value of goods, neifty, and also to attach and distrain men whose presence was required not only in the halmote but also in the free court. In the main each jury acted within the confines of its own township, although there were many occasions when the business was such that the jury of one township was ordered to join with one or both of its counterparts.

In addition to its jury each township was required to elect a reeve. Normally this man was also a juror and may in fact have acted as foreman. There does not seem to have been any fixed term of service; men appear to have continued as reeve for several years, though not for the long periods normal for jurors. The work of the reeve appears to have duplicated that of the jury which tends to reinforce

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1 HR 1384 (Spring).

the idea that he was in fact the chief juror. Whatever the truth of the matter, his job was thankless and inevitably aroused the hostility of his neighbours; thus it is not surprising to read the injunction issued to the tenants of Southwick in 1372, ordering them not to molest their reeve, John Reid, while he was carrying out his duties.[1]

In addition to the reeve, each township had a collector, a constable and an ale taster or, in many years, two of each. The first had the responsibility of collecting rents, fines and amercements and also of receiving the professions of fidelity from neifs. The appearances of the constable are virtually nil so that any precise knowledge of his duties is impossible, although his title indicates the general area of his responsibilities. The duties of ale tasters will be more properly dealt with at a later stage. In the majority of cases the holders of these offices were either jurors or men who had served in that capacity. Record of their election is so spasmodic as to make it impossible to be certain how frequently elections were held, although the rolls of the late 1380s and early 1390s suggest that the event was annual. Service could not be enforced on the unwilling, although, as the case of William Carter who refused to act as the collector in Monkwearmouth in 1375 shows, refusal entailed amercement.[2]

The problem of dilapidation and repair must take pride of place in that it was closely allied with the terms of tenure. All tenants were required to maintain their holdings in a proper state of repair and to return them to the lord in the same condition as they were in

1 HR 1372 (Summer).

2 HR 1375 (Spring).

at the commencement of tenancy. The large numbers of entries relating to his problem indicates very clearly the predisposition of many tenants to neglect this aspect of their obligation, particularly with respect to barns and out-buildings. From time to time general injunctions were issued ordering all tenants to have their holdings in a proper state of repair by a given date and, on occasions, the jury was commanded to survey the entire township to determine what repair was required and to assess its cost. More common were cases involving the individual who was given a specific order to repair his holding by a given date (often the next meeting of the court) under pain of an amercement which normally amounted to 3s.4d. or 6s.8d., but could rise as high as 40s.0d. In most instances the tenant's immediate reaction was nil and the injunction had to be reissued. Not until several courts had passed, however, was an amercement actually levied, and even then it was rarely more than 6d. or 1s.0d. In extreme cases of reluctance the court would order the seizure of a tenant's chattels in order to finance repairs. If a tenant resigned his holding in a state of disrepair, he was required to rectify the dilapidation himself or provide his successor with the necessary cash to carry out the work. Occasionally, tenants did beat the system, as happened in 1381 when Alice Browning of Fulwell was declared impotens and her successor, John of Monkton, had to be given a rent allowance to finance the necessary repairs.[1] If, on the other hand, the vacancy of a holding was the result of the death of the tenant, the cost of any repairs became the responsibility of the executors of his testament.

The tenants not only had to repair their own holdings but also

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1 HR 1381 (Autumn).

had to co-operate with each other in maintaining a number of common properties. The most frequently mentioned of these was the common fold which was located in Fulwell but used by the tenants of all three townships. Also appearing regularly were the common oven and the common malt kiln. The mill, however, does not appear in this connection. Located at Southwick, it was operated by wind and its upkeep seems to have devolved partly on the landlord and partly on the farmers. In this respect Southwick, Monkwearmouth and Fulwell were unusual; in most townships the tenants had some obligation, particularly the carting of grindstones and timber and, where the mill was worked by water, keeping the pond and the race clear of sediment.

The entries in the rolls concerned with the farming arrangements were equally numerous, a slightly larger proportion relating to the pasturing and control of animals while the remainder concerned the arable fields. As regards the latter the court's main problem was to enforce and maintain the status quo against the attempts of the tenants to extend their own holdings. Of the two means by which this could be effected, the making of purprestures seems to have been the more common. The rolls show them to have been attempted in every conceivable place - in the lord's waste land, on the land adjoining the gardens, on public roads and even on the cultivated land of fellow tenants. Most of the cases of purpresture came into court as a result of presentation by the jury. The offender was amerced for his temerity and ordered to make good the land to its original condition under pain of an even heavier penalty. Where doubts existed, investigations were conducted by the jury or, on occasions, by the whole body of tenants. The other technique involved what were known as merstanes, stones set in the ground to mark the limits of each man's land and to indicate the boundaries of different flatts (furlongs). It was inev-

itable that some tenants should have attempted to enlarge their holdings at the expense of their neighbours by surreptitiously moving these markers, but the vigilance of the intended victims and of the tenants as a whole seems to have failed all such efforts. Those found guilty were usually amerced 6d.

The open fields of all three townships appear to have contained a number of water courses or ditches the purpose of which was to assist drainage. It was vital for these to be kept clean and free from blockage or else flooding resulted. The responsibility for keeping the ditches open appears to have belonged to all the tenants in general and those whose land abbutted them in particular. The roadways too were vital to the proper functioning of the townships as farming communities. There was a general obligation to keep roads repaired which the tenants were ordered to do from time to time. The inclinations of some tenants, however, were destructive, and injunctions against the digging of pits and ditches in the roads were required on occasions. It was even necessary in 1378 for the court to command the tenants of all three townships not to make an illegal track across the land of one of their fellows, Robert Pait.[1]

Turning to the pastoral aspect, it is clear that the court had two major problems, the fencing of land and the custody of animals. Every tenant was required to surround his toft with a boundary (frons) at both front and rear, probably in the form of a ditch. The purpose of this must have been to keep animals in. In addition, all had to join in the maintenance of the freths which appear to have been hedges (or perhaps wattle fencing) which surrounded growing crops and specific pasture grounds such as the oxclose. Hardly a session passed without

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1 HR 1378 (Summer).

general or individual injunction regarding garden boundaries and hedges, and without at least one tenant being amerced for allowing his animals to break the hedges.

This last would not have occurred had tenants obeyed the general rule that no animals were to leave the village without a custodian. The court repeated this endlessly, and also ordered each tenant that teneat hirsillum. The exact meaning of hirsil is not clear: The Revised Medieval Latin Word List suggests a pound;[1] the editor of the Durham Halmote Rolls favours the custody of animals.[2] As it is used in the rolls the latter version appears to be correct. In addition to these general injunctions, the tenants were also forbidden to graze their animals on the balks within the arable fields and to allow their animals into the stubble before the corn had been led. With all this laxity it is hardly surprising that many animals were found wandering and had to be impounded. This, inevitably, gave rise to another offence, the breaking of animals out of the pound.

It is possible that a real need as well as carelessness and anti-social attitudes lay behind this persistent contravention of the rules. The cotmen of Monkwearmouth were limited to five sheep each,[3] which makes it likely that stinting arrangements were in force generally. Breaches of this and the other regulations were presented to the court by the jury, although it was possible for any man whose crops had been destroyed to bring a plea of trespass against the owner of the offending animals.

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1 R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word List, p.226.

2 SS 82, p.xxix.

3 HR 1384 (Autumn).

The commercial activities of the tenants were also hedged about by restraints, although these were more clearly to the benefit of the lord than for the common good. As regards corn, the regulations were simple the tenant who wished to sell had to give the lord first refusal and thereafter secure the Terrar's permission before he could sell either inside or outside his township. Having mentioned corn, it will be convenient to discuss the milling regulations. As elsewhere, all tenants were required to grind their corn at the lord's mill, in this case at Southwick. From time to time injunctions against grinding elsewhere were issued; the threatened penalty was 20s.0d., but amercement actually imposed rarely exceeded 6d. Tenants so punished appear to have visited other mills and not to have used their own querns. Tenants also on occasions, attempted to defraud the farmers by withholding or carrying off the multure. This was ad XIII vas, the rate for almost all tenants. If the tenants erred, so on occasions did the miller, as is made clear by the order of 1375 which required the lord's tenants to have precedence over foreigners (clearly the priory did nothing to prevent incoming trade) and to grind whenever possible.[1]

Appearing more regularly in the record are cases concerning the brewing of ale since the prior was the local licencing authority in respect of the assize. There appear to have been two classes of brewer, the official one who paid 6d. at each court for his licence, and other tenants who sold their surplus. The barley for brewing had to be bought from the lord. As to the sales, no one was permitted without licence to buy or sell outside his township, although the lure

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1 HR 1375 (Autumn).

of the borough of Sunderland and the township of Bishop Wearmouth just across the river proved too strong for some tenants to resist. Ale tasters, normally two, were elected to oversee the whole business. They presented to the court anyone who refused to allow inspection of his product and anyone who did not abide by the rules of sale which included the use of a sealed measure, the erection of a sign outside the front door and a fixed, official retail price.

The landlord's exercise of this aspect of public authority leads naturally to a consideration of his role as the upholder of law and order. From time to time he commanded the tenants to behave in word and deed; the records provide abundant evidence of their disinclination to obey. Where words broke the peace, as often as not it was women who spoke them. A fair number were labelled as scolds and slanderers and were ordered not to quarrel among themselves. In the last resort, the court expected husbands to bridle their garrulous wives. All women, however, were not content with words alone, as the case of Margaret Miry of Monkwearmouth shows. She was fined 6d. at the spring court of 1380 for an assault on Richard Watson because of his failure to repay his debt to her.[1] In most cases of physical violence, however, men only were involved. On many occasions knives were drawn but much more rarely used; heads too were sometimes broken. Most instances involved only two protagonists, although there were occasions when several parties were involved. Only occasionally does the record indicate the reason for violence, but the evidence that does exist suggests that failure to honour agreements was its major cause. Personal differences apart, one of the most certain occasions of breach of the peace was the playing of football, hence the stern injunctions

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1 HR 1380 (Spring).

against the sport. Most incidents involved tenants of the same township, but the proximity of the foreign settlements of Hylton and Cleadon resulted inevitably in occasional clashes with men of other lords.

Much civil litigation appears in the rolls, most of it occasioned by trespass against crops and animals and the detention of such things as wages, articles of sale and testamentary bequests. All such cases between tenants had to come before the prior's court although some tenants were not above attempting to have their pleas heard elsewhere. Once a plea had been entered, it was an offence to settle out of court without the lord's licence, or to fail to proceed with it. Both offences were amerceable, as was a false plea. The majority of pleas were settled by compurgation, usually cum VI. manu, although the use of the sworn inquest occurred regularly.

The attitude of the tenants to the court itself was also an aspect of law and order. Almost every year at least one tenant was amerced for failure to attend the court, and in some years the number was quite large. In most instances no reason was recorded, but in others it is clear that the culprits were attempting to avoid unpleasant issues. Men were also fined for arriving late. Once in court, the tenants were generally well-behaved, although the occasional act of defiance did occur, such as refusing to sit down when ordered by the Steward, leaving early without the Steward's permission and forcefully expressing opinions as to the probity of the jury.

Finally, there was the problem of trying to confine sex within the bounds of wedlock. The stigma of failure fell harder on the women who were subject to the leyrwite fine if they succumbed to temptation. Every year at least one woman was presented and required to pay 6d. A

good many cases appear to have been no more than the anticipation of marriage since the payment of merchet was made at the same time or shortly afterwards. On the other hand two women, Agnes Hoby of Southwick and Matilda Creler of Monkwearmouth, were amerced fifteen and twelve times respectively between 1375 and 1396: one wonders if they were adding to their income or indulging their appetities or both.

Any attempt to pronounce on the condition of Durham society in the late 14th century on the basis of court record alone would be bold; nevertheless, some attempt must be made to draw out the salient features. Perhaps the most glaring to modern eyes is the mixture of democracy and paternalism. The tenants were regarded as children from whom misbehaviour was expected and to whom threats and punishment had to be handed out. At the same time they, particularly the more important of their number, were required to shoulder considerable responsibility. Equally apparent is the air of resignation surrounding the landlord's actions; injunctions and monitions were issued with such monotonous regularity and with so little variation that one is left with the impression that duty was done without real hope of success. Moreover, the bark was so obviously worse than the bite that tenants must have lived in the comforting knowledge that they had little of a really serious nature to fear. Perhaps this explains the general impression of stability that pervades the records, and the absence of any evidence of that serious discontent and desire for radical change so apparent in south-eastern districts of the country. Nor, apparently, was it an excessively lawless and violent society; quarrels and affrays were frequent enough, but mostly they were mild in form and prompted by genuine personal issues and differences.

Looking back to the earlier half of the century, the paucity of

surviving record makes any comparison virtually impossible, although such evidence as has survived hints at a very similar situation. The forward view from 1400 is not much more satisfactory. Records are far from complete so that conclusions drawn from them must be tentative. During the first three decades of the new century things appear to have continued on much the same lines as in the period immediately prior to 1400. After c.1430, however, a definite decline set in: the number of surviving rolls is small; the number of items of business at any one session of the court is much reduced; court income falls, and is below £1. a year from 1438 until some time after 1450.[1] No convincing reason can be given for all this, but it is significant that the period was one which saw the fortunes of almost all branches and aspects of the priory's economic life reach their lowest ebb.

After c.1470, however, there is a revival: record is more abundant; items of business increase in number; income rises. Thus it is possible to make a comparison between the last third of the 15th century and the corresponding period of its predecessor. In many respects little change is discernable. Tenants were clearly indulging in the same farming malpractices and the landlord was equally intent on trying to restrain them. Differences were minor; <u>freths</u> no longer appear although <u>spinas</u> may have been an equivalent term, while pigs seem to have played a larger part in livestock farming. The repairs of tenements was still important although the landlord had abandoned nagging in favour of the less irritating and more helpful practice of giving the tenants such things as cruks, rafters and ridge poles. The tenant officers too were still elected and at work. The selection problem was made easier by the reduction in tenant numbers, and in the

1 Figures from BAR.

smaller townships the jurors and the leasing syndicate were the same men. Reeves, collectors and constables were also jurors, the reeve and the constable normally serving for several years, but the collector's office changed hands annually on a rotatory basis.

In other respects, however, marked and important changes had taken place. The fine for sexual incontinence, for example, had all but disappeared. In Southwick, Monkwearmouth and Fulwell, only one case, that of Elizabeth Robinson, servant of Nicholas Ayre of Fulwell, occurred and that in 1467.[1] There may have been more since there are gaps in the record; but it is unlikely to have been many since over the estate as a whole only fifteen instances appeared between 1465 and 1505, compared with the forty-one for the three townships alone between 1365 and 1405. The last recorded instances occurred as late as 1502,[2] showing that the priory did not entirely lose its power and interest in this matter. Moreover, the payment of the marriage fine, merchet, continued.

The landlord's control over his tenant's trading activities likewise disappeared. There are no references to the brewing and selling of ale nor to the common malt kiln. In addition, there is no mention of the regulations governing the sale of corn and no cases related to it. On the other hand, both the mill and the oven continued in use, but the amercements were for the use of private querns rather than for visiting other mills. As regards litigation, there was no shortage of civil pleas, although there is noticeable decline in the number of cases of personal violence after c.1480. Football, too, no longer appears in the rolls, although the amercing in 1467 of sixty-two

1 HR 1467 (Spring).

2 HR 1502 (at Aycliffe and South Shields).

tenants of Billingham, Wolviston and Aycliffe for this offence must be mentioned.[1]

All in all two important facts emerge strongly. One is that the relationship between landlord and tenant was moving towards a more functional pattern. Where essential matters were concerned which could affect the basic health and vitality of the estate, the landlord continued to make his presence felt. In contrast, his control over the more general and social aspects of the tenants' lives was diminished. This loss of control appears to have stemmed from the middle decades of the century when the court system came near to collapse. Obviously, this trend was not unwelcome to the tenants, though to what extent it was regretted by the lord is uncertain, there is no evidence of any really vigorous attempt to get back to an earlier condition. The other major development was the control over the life of the township of a small, select group of tenants. We have already seen how they secured a permanent grip on the tenements and the land; the court records also make it clear that social domination went with economic control. The above conclusions are relevant only as far as the first decade of the 16th century, for the remainder of the period no direct evidence has survived although if the income from the court is any guide there were no major developments before the end of the priory's existence.

Finally, in this section, we must consider the problem of the legal status of the men and women inhabiting the priory's townships; a problem which amounts to the question: was a given individual a freeman or a neif? We have already noted that the neif was supposed to hold his land at the will of the lord rather than for life, and

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1 HR 1467 (Spring).

also was required to take an oath of fidelity to the prior and convent, promising not to remove himself from their land. How many men were in this inferior status and how long did it last? These are questions that cannot be answered with absolute certainty although the evidence is sufficient to shed some light. Principally, it consists of a series of inquests held during the period between 1380 and 1470; in addition, there are a few references in the account rolls and the registers.

The earliest extant inquest was held in Harton in the spring of 1380,[1] and was concerned with the townships of Tyneside and Wearside. It revealed the existence of twenty-six neifs distributed through six townships, Harton itself having ten and Southwick seven. Of the twenty-six, fourteen were no longer living in their native townships, and nine of these had left the priory's fee. Several of the people listed were related, and it is worth noting that although the number of persons was twenty-six, the number of families did not exceed twenty. The numbers represent a relatively small proportion; the total number of tenants certainly exceeded one hundred and fifty while the six townships were less than half of the total in this district.

Six years later in the spring of 1386 three more inquests were held at Harton, Kirk Merrington and Wolviston.[2] That at Harton covered the same district as before and presents a similar picture: twenty-three neifs (representing fifteen families) of whom eighteen were living away from their native townships, eleven of them off the fee. The inquest at Merrington produced only five names, three at Pittington, all brothers, and two at Middlestone, also brothers. The

1 HR 1380 (Spring).

2 HR 1386 (Spring).

third inquest covered the townships of Billinghamshire and revealed the existence of fifty-five neifs - eighteen in Cowpen Bewley, sixteen in Newton Bewley, fifteen in Billingham and six in Wolviston. This was a large number of individuals; the number of families involved, however, was only fourteen. It is difficult to estimate precisely the proportion of the total numbers of tenants this figure represents, but it was certainly higher than that in the northern group of townships. Twenty-one years later in 1407,[1] the situation was very similar in both Billinghamshire and the Tyne-Wear district, but there is no mention of Pittington and Middlestone.

These inquests make possible certain tentative conclusions about the period between 1380 and the early years of the 15th century. The first is that neifs still existed and that the landlord was sufficiently interested in them to make periodic checks. At the same time, it is clear that they represented only a small part of the population, perhaps no more than a curious minority; certainly their condition tended to arouse the derision of their more fortunate neighbours. Equally probable is their uneven distribution throughout the estate; if the inquests are in any way comprehensive and reliable, neifty had disappeared from many townships and the remaining neifs were concentrated almost exclusively in Billinghamshire and, less densely, in the Tyne-Wear district. At the same time is noticeable that very little decline in numbers took place over a thirty year period.

After 1407, there is no further information until the 1460s, when inquests were held in 1460 and 1469.[2] Significantly, only the Billinghamshire townships were involved. The earlier enquiry shows

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1 HR 1407 (Autumn).

2 HR 1461 (Spring) and 1469 (Autumn).

the existence of thirty-two niefs divided between eight families of which five were named Gibson. At the end of the decade the same families appeared although the number of individuals had risen to forty-one. The inevitable conclusion to which we are drawn is that, since the beginning of the century, the number of neifs and neifly families had dropped by almost two-thirds and that neifty had disappeared in all but one area of the estate.

How had this reduction been effected? There are instances of several ways, but insufficient evidence to establish relative importance. The fact that a fair number of neifs recorded at each inquest were living off the priory's fee suggests that some had absconded. Such unilateral action we know took place generally in the area.[1] On the other hand, many migrants may have secured permission from the priory to reside off the fee, if granted, an annual fine of 1s. 0d. (albanaria) was demanded. I have discovered only one example of this in the halmote rolls [2] and this, combined with a total absence from the account rolls, suggests that it was not a regular happening. For women, there was always the possibility of escape through marriage as happened to Alice, the daughter of John Monkton of Billingham who, in 1407, was declared to be living as the wife of a free man off the manor.[3] Finally, it was also possible for the neif to secure manumission. The registers record five cases in the second half of the century to which can be added another two from the account rolls.[4] The price was as high as £40. in the case of John Denom freed in 1386/7,[5] but only

1 V.C.H. Durham, II, pp.220-221.
2 HR 1384 (Autumn).
3 HR 1407 (Autumn).
4 Reg.II, f.294v and 295v, BAR 1386/7 and 1388/9.
5 BAR 1386/7.

half of that sum for Walter of Hesleden and John of Chilton who were released from servitude in 1361/2 and 1388/9 [1] respectively. After 1400 I have discovered only two further examples. One of them in 1440, was of a Billingham man, John May, who was becoming a priest and who subsequently became a Canon of Hexham.[2] The other, two years later, was a Robert Watson of Fulwell [3] who thus may have been the last neif in the Tyne-Wear district.

Of the period prior to 1350 even less can be said. There was one manumission, in 1318, but this ought to be regarded as the final member of a series beginning in the early part of the 13th century.[4] Evidence of albanaria is equally thin consisting of a single example in the records of the free court for 1336 when a neif of Middlestone, Richard, son of Gilbert Smoule, surrendered his holding and secured permission to migrate.[5] Sparse though the evidence is, it does prove that it was possible for tenants to purchase their freedom and to leave the fee. That this was happening is given some support by the rentals of the 1340s, a time when surnames had not become fixed. The rental of 1341 [6] includes over eighty tenants with names indicating an origin outside the township of their residence, and of this number sixty-two came from the fees of other lords. Slightly more than half (thirty-three) originated in townships within the modern county, the

1 BAR 1361/2, 1388/9.

2 Reg.III, f.251r and f.278r.

3 Reg.III, f.289r.

4 Reg.I, ff.70v - 72r.

5 Loc.IV, no.48.

6 RDD, ff.38r - 44r.

majority of the remainder came from the hither districts of Northumberland and the North Riding. There were a few, however, who had come from as far away as Scotland and Lancashire, although it must be added that the priory had interests in both of these areas. All of these immigrants may have been free; moreover, they were men who had come into the estate which tells us nothing of an opposite movement. Nevertheless, the fact that movement was taking place entitles us to wonder whether priory tenants were totally unaffected. Taken together, these flimsy shreds of evidence do indicate that the further back we go the greater is likely to have been the number of neifs. Whether there was a time when all customary tenants were neifs and, if so, when the movement away from servitude began, are questions we cannot answer.

The latter end of the story is equally obscure. After 1470 there is no further evidence on the subject, and this in itself may be significant. Having witnessed the decline during the first seventy years of the 15th century we are entitled to suspect that the trend continued and that, by the end of the priory's existence, neifty had disappeared. Support for this view may be the fact that the last known manumission on the Bishop's estate was granted in 1481.[1]

## 2. FREE TENANTS

Accurate discussion of the free tenants and their holdings is difficult since they formed large and heterogeneous groups in a constant state of flux. They may be viewed as four groups, although it must be remembered that the division is of our own and not of

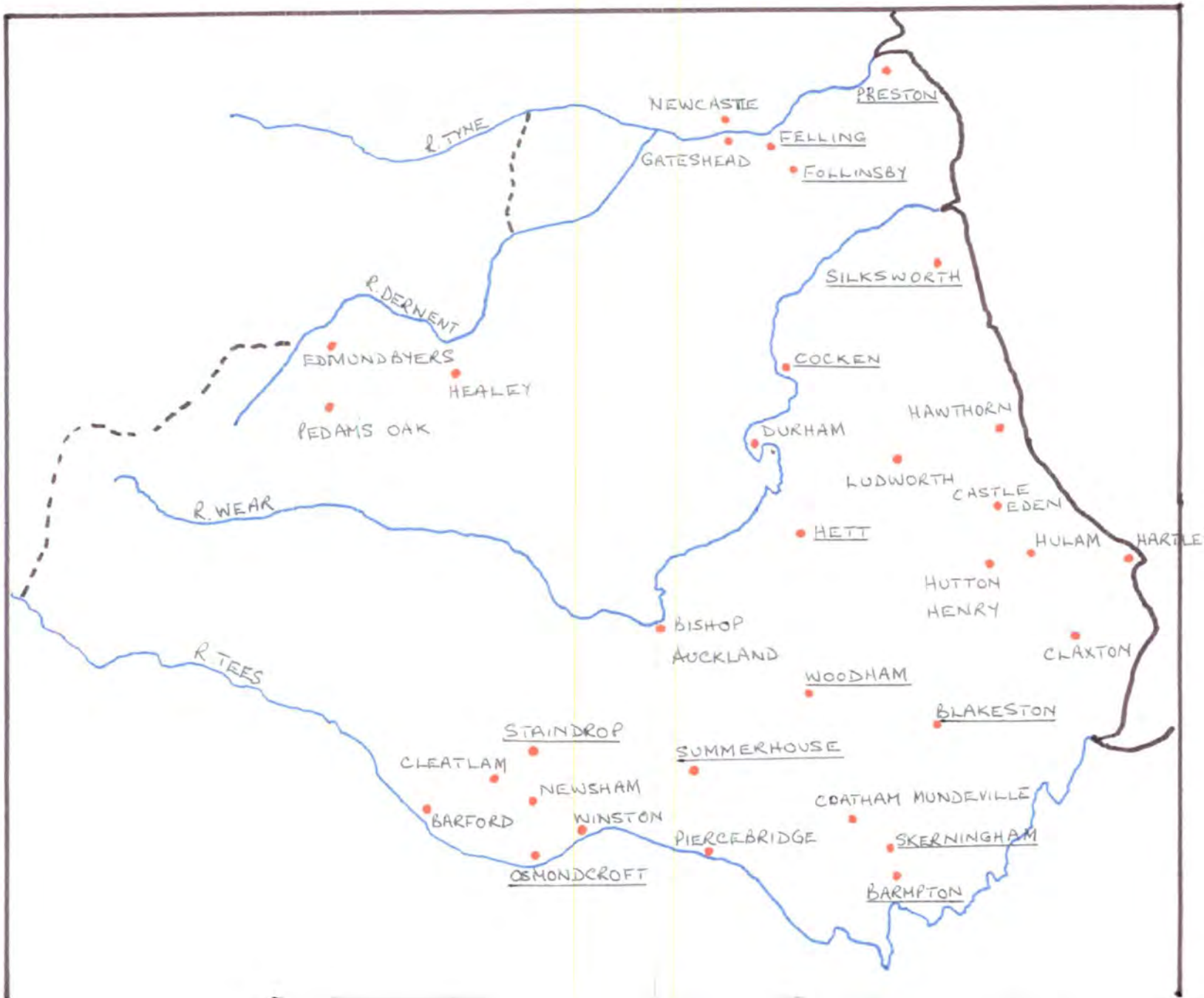
1 V.C.H. Durham, II, p.221.

# BURSAR

# FREE TENANTS

HETT - MAJOR HOLDINGS

HULAM - MINOR HOLDINGS



monkish devising, nevertheless it is essential in clarifying an otherwise confused picture. The most substantial holdings were those consisting of entire townships and manors.[1] Secondly were much smaller tenements existing alongside customary holdings in townships entirely in the priory's ownership.[2] Of similar size were a smaller number of freeholds located in townships not of the priory's fee and in which the monks had little or no other interest.[3] Finally, some of the boroughs of the area, particularly those forming the present city of Durham, had a small quota of freeholds.[4] Geographically, the freeholds were distributed throughout the estate; in fact very few constituent townships did not have some freehold land at some time. Closer examination, however, discloses a preponderance of freehold property in the southern half of the county. This was probably no accident, although the reasons for it will not be fully revealed unless the history of landholding in the 11th century can be traced. As regards size, there was a very considerable range. Many holdings were small and, as we shall see, corresponded in size to the customary holdings with which they were associated; many, in fact, were to become even smaller as the accidents of succession and sale took their toll. In contrast there was the massive holding of Staindrop and Staindropshire, consisting of twelve townships and covering a considerable district in the south-west of the county. Between the two extremes were many holdings of between fifty and one hundred and fifty acres.

### a) Origins of the Freeholds

Without exception the free tenancies were created before 1290

1 Appendix V.

2 Appendix I.

3 Appendix V.

4 Appendix VI.

and so a full analysis of their origins is beyond the scope of this essay; nevertheless, it would render what follows needlessly obscure if the question were avoided entirely.

It is clear that a number of freeholds were involuntary, the monks having no option but to have the land held of them on freehold terms. Some examples arose from the uncertain and inconclusive division of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert by Bishop William of St. Calais. For example, Blakeston (par.Norton) was secured in some way by the monks at a very early date since it was taken from them by Bishop Rannulf Flambard. Now, although a man of ambition and zealous for his rights, Flambard was not a gratuitous persecutor of his chapter, which suggests a real element of doubt as to the true ownership of the property. Having thus secured it, Flambard gave it to his nephew, Richard, in fee, but was obliged to make restitution to the priory at the end of his life in 1128. The new owner, however, was naturally disinclined to relinquish his gain, and the upshot was a compromise settlement whereby Richard retained possession while acknowledging the priory as his overlord.[1] A similar agreement was made shortly after this in 1131 with respect to Staindrop and its shire; Prior Algar's charter[2] to Dolphin, son of Uhtred probably did no more than formalise an existing situation, giving the priory a better title while diminishing its chances of securing direct control.

The same feature is characteristic of many of the transactions of the late 12th and early 13th centuries, a period when the priory engaged in a vigorous expansionist policy. In Barford, for example, Gilbert son of Maldred gave the priory sixty acres; what the monks

1 SS 58, p.144 n.4; SS 179, p.57, p.61, pp.100-1, pp.104-7, p.109.

2 SS 58, p.56 n.1.

gained, in fact, was no more than the service of Richer, brother of Richard the Chamberlain who thus became the first of the priory's tenants for this land.[1] Similarly at Cleatlam (par. Gainford), the two bovates acquired from the priory of Helaugh Park by Prior Hugh Darlington were held by Adam, son of Walter of Cleatlam who continued in possession.[2]

A significant point in the Barford charter is the donor's statement that the sixty acres were de vasto meo,[3] an indication that in making grants to the priory, the local feudatories tempered their generosity with circumspect self-interest so as to avoid any serious diminution of their demesnes. This feature is also observable in the grant of Osmondcroft by Robert, son of Maldred;[4] the charter describes the boundaries of the property in detail, which may indicate a new settlement in the making. This also may have been true in the case of Felling, although this was not an involuntary creation.[5] The area in which Felling lay was a stretch of unsettled land between the priory township of Heworth and the episcopal borough of Gateshead, known as the boscum de Heworth. The monks had coveted the land for some time and, despite sound episcopal claims, it was conceded to them by Bishop Richard Poor in 1229. Almost immediately Prior Ralph Kerneth (1214 - 34) created the estate of Felling and granted it to Walter of Selby; significantly the boundaries of the estate went right up to the Blackburn which also separated the boscum from the territory of Gateshead.[6]

1 SS 58, p.53 n.1.

2 Ibid., p.52 n.2.

3 Ibid., p.53 n.1.

4 Ibid., p.153 n.1.

5 Ibid., p.111 n.1., SS 179, p.62.

6 Ibid., p.111 n.1.

Other voluntary creations appear to have stemmed from the need or desire to reward priory servants. The recipient of a sixty acre grant in Monk Hesleden from Prior Bertram I was described in the charter as "Ralph de Hesilden, servienti nostro", [1] while some years later reversion of earlier grants in Moorsley, Heworth and West Rainton were made by Adam the mason (cementarius), Walter son of Patrick the pewterer (stanner) and Gilbert the coal miner (carboner).[2] Also here, we may include the grant by Prior Ralph Kerneth of a small property in Bishop Auckland to a man described as Ralph, the newphew of Geoffrey the Almoner of Durham.[3]

Finally, it must be noted that the free tenancies could be the consequence of exchanges. In order to secure complete control over Newton Ketton, Priors Bertram I and William I arranged exchanges of land which obliged them to create freeholds of one hundred and forty-four acres and forty-eight acres in Aycliffe.[4] Similarly, one of many transactions by which the monks gained control of Wolviston required the grant of Cocken (par. Houghton le Spring) by Prior German to Roger of Kibblesworth.[5]

If, on the basis of the rather flimsy evidence presented above, any conclusion is possible, it is that while the monks undoubtedly created many free tenancies of their own volition they had to tolerate many more because they were unable to do otherwise.

### b) The Tenants

The free tenantry was socially diverse, its ranks including

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1 SS 58, p.23 n.1.

2 Ibid., pp.126-7 and Cart.II, f.76r and 117r.

3 Ibid., p.71 n.3.

4 Ibid., p.59 n.1.

5 Ibid., p.20 n.1.

men and women from every walk of life from those whose condition was humble, hard and rural to those who were numbered among the greatest in the kingdom. The following discussion, however, will consider them under three headings.

The most important were those of the armigerous class. Of these the most consequential were the Nevilles who, in addition to Staindrop and Staindropshire, held the property known as Summerhouse (par. Gainford). The period covered by this essay coincided very largely with that in which this family emerged from its local and pre-Conquest origins to become one of the crucial members of the aristocracy with a major, at times dominant, voice in the affairs of the realm. In an essay of this nature nothing can really be added to its history except to note that throughout the period the properties held of the priory remained with the branch headed by the Earls of Westmorland. Of greater pertinence in this context is the Bowes family. Of obscure origins in the Richmond district of Yorkshire, the family fortunes really began with the marriage early in the 14th century of Adam Bowes, a successful lawyer, with the heiress to the Trayne estates in Streatlam and Stainton (chap. Barnard Castle). Successive generations built successfully on this foundation by marrying into families of local prominence such as Graystock, Conyers, Eure and Clifford, and also by giving valuable service, both nationally and locally, in military and administrative capacities. By the middle of the 16th century, when the priory was dissolved, the Bowes were landowners of substance in Durham and its neighbouring counties and were well poised for the 18th century elevation to the peerage through their union with the Earls of Strathmore.[1] Their connection with the priory was strong amounting to

1 Surtees, IV, pp.102-7.

the freeholds in Osmundcroft, Bar ford and Newsham (par. Winston) and Cleatlam (par. Gainford) together with a number of borough properties in Durham.[1] Another family with an even longer association was that of Surtees. Like the Nevilles it was of pre-Conquest origin although in contrast to them it never achieved more than moderate wealth and local significance. It was the donor of Dinsdale church[2] and, during the 14th and 15th centuries the tenant of the manor of Felling; the connection was broken shortly before the dissolution when the failure of the male line took the property into the hands of the Newcastle family of Brandling.[3] Other families with connections similar to these were those of Claxton, Blakeston, Eure, Esh, Tailboys and Hedworth.

To view the relationship between the priory and the local gentry solely through the medium of the priory's records will produce a false perspective. We must recognise that the Prior of Durham had a relationship with these families on a number of levels. As one of the "barons of the bishopric", the head of the cathedral chapter, the guardian of the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and as a landowner on a truly baronial scale, the Prior towered above most of his neighbours in wealth and social status and was never a man to be lightly ignored. At the same time, and from a purely tenurial angle, he did not necessarily loom large in their considerations. To study the priory evidence alone is to see how small the interest of some families was in the priory's estate; if the evidence of Bishop Hatfield's survey is also considered, it becomes clear that most of these families held more of the Bishop than they did of the prior. The Bowes, for example, had extensive property on the episcopal lands around Bishop Auckland

1 SS 58, p.78.

2 Cart. II, f.178v.

3 R. Welford, Men of Mark 'twixt Tyne and Tweed, I, pp367-74.

and holdings on the northern outskirts of Durham,[1] while the Hedworths, who held of the priory in Hedworth and Southwick, had extensive interests in nearby Boldon and in the borough of Sunderland.[2] In addition, the Nevilles with their centres at Raby and Brancepeth were another major source of land and patronage, and thus were a competing focus of loyalty for the local gentry. In fact, only two families of this class, the Blakestons holding Blackeston and the Gowers with half of Hett (par. Merrington), were without alternative connections. One final point to diminish still further the idea of an exclusive connection between priory and local gentry is the fact that during this period so many men became tenants as a by-product of land acquisition prompted by other considerations.

We must now consider tenants of very different origins those whose fortunes were based upon urban activities in the boroughs of the area. The most famous of these was the Newcastle merchant, Roger Thornton, whose spectacular career made him a legend in his own lifetime.[3] Success and wealth inevitably led him to a prominent role in local public-life and to land ownership. As with most Newcastle men of wealth, the bulk of his investment was made in Northumberland, although he did acquire the priory property at Follingsby. The circumstances of the acquisition are obscure, but it does appear to have been a deliberate move to acquire land rather than an accident of inheritance. The property remained with the Thorntons until the death in 1483 without male heir of Roger Thornton II, whereupon it passed into the hands of the Hylton family. Thornton's connection with the priory was more than that of tenant, the Bursar's accounts of the early

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1 SS 32, p.30, p.32, p.34, pp.83-5.

2 Ibid., p.98, p.137.

3 Welford, Men of Mark, III, pp.517 - 21.

15th century revealing him as the priory's principal wine merchant.[1]

A century earlier another prominent Newcastle citizen became a priory tenant. This man, Richard of Emildon,[2] played a leading part in Newcastle life during the first four decades of the 14th century, a time when the town was often at the centre of national affairs as a consequence of the Scottish war. He was mayor on a record eighteen occasions between 1307 and his death in 1333 as well as acting as the town's bailiff four times and representing it in the parliaments of 1311, 1314, 1324, 1325 and 1328. In addition, he was used by the government as a collector of customs on wine and as keeper of the confiscated lands of the Earl of Lancaster and his fellow rebels. For these and other services he was granted the manor of Silksworth by Edward II in 1324; as a consequence, he became the priory's tenant for the carucate of land granted to the monks by Philip, son of Hamo the Sheriff.[3] Emildon died leaving four daughters and a descendant[4] of one of them, Alice, who married another important Newcastle figure, Nicholas Sabraham,[5] was still holding a portion of the manor in 1539.[6]

Such outstanding figures apart, a number of other urban characters occur fleetingly. Robert of Rainton, for example, was both mayor and bailiff of Newcastle during the 1380s[7] when he also had a brief

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1 BAR Empicio vini section.

2 Welford, Men of Mark, II, pp.180-4.

3 SS 58, p.18 n.2.

4 T.E. Watson, The History and Pedigree of the Family of Lewen, pp.113-4

5 Welford, Men of Mark, II, p.184.

6 SS 58, p.312.

7 R. Welford, Newcastle on Tyne and Gateshead in the 14th and 15th Centuries, pp.204-10.

interest in the small priory freehold in East Rainton.[1] Other Newcastle citizens of the early 15th century such as Robert Langwath, John Simson (a goldsmith) and John Lintlaw held small properties of the monks;[2] unfortunately, they have left no trace of their urban lives and careers. Newcastle, although the largest and most important, was not the only borough in the district. On the opposite bank of the Tyne was the episcopal borough of Gateshead from which sprang a family called Guildforth,[3] which held of and finally bequeathed to the priory land in East Rainton,[4] while Robert Bellasis and Nicholas Randolf, both of Hartlepool, possessed priory freeholds in Billingham and Aycliffe.[5]

Finally, something must be said about the numerous names, many persisting over long periods, about whose owners it is difficult to discover anything except that they were of much lower social status. Evidence suggests that, like their social superiors, they were not dependent totally on their priory properties. The Steres of Wolviston, for example, served the Bishop as Bailiff of Middleham[6] and acquired land in the episcopal township of Norton,[7] while the Willys of Hebburn[8] produced one member who, having made good in London, severed his connection with the north-east.[9] On the other hand,

1 Cart.I, ff.238v - 239r.

2 SS 58, p.28, p.29, p.83.

3 Welford, Newcastle, p.96, p.256, p.268, p.271.

4 SS 58, p.19.

5 Ibid., p.83.

6 SS 32, p.236.

7 V.C.H. Durham, II,p.281.

8 SS 58,pp. 11-12.

9 Surtees, II, p.74.

the Wakes of Southwick prospered locally; in addition to their free land they secured a grip on the lease of Fulwell manor [1] and eventually participated in the lease of the entire township.[2]

### c) Obligations of the Free Tenants

When a free tenant entered his holding he was required to perform four important acts. Firstly, he had to do homage which required a personal meeting with the Prior; surviving descriptions from the 15th century suggest that the commonest venue was the prior's chamber or chapel at Durham.[3] Only two examples of the formula have survived, the one quoted being that used by Thomas Billingham on the occasion of his homage to Prior William Ebchester on 28th September, 1447: [4]

> " I be come your man fro this day, forth on liefe and lyme and faith sall bere to yow agayns all men that my liefe and dy for the tenement that I holde of yowe in the towne of Billingham Sawawnde the faith and liegeaunce that I owe to the king and his heyrs kings of Englande as gode helppe me and all seynts".

These ceremonies were witnessed by groups of people including other free tenants, officers of the priory, members of the Prior's household, episcopal and palatine officials and miscellaneous clerics. There was obviously no fixed composition, the group consisting of whoever was available at the time.

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1 BAR 1418/9 onwards.

2 HB II, f.115 r and v.

3 Reg.III, ff.57v - 65v.

4 Reg.IV, f.59r.

The tenant was also required to swear fealty. Many did so on the occasion of their homage, but this was not invariable since the ceremony did not require a personal meeting between the lord and man. Frequently the free court was the setting for the ceremony and also, on some occasions, the halmote court,[1] as the Steward was normally present at the meetings of both it was to him presumably as the Prior's proxy that the oath was taken. It is clear from the free court records that tenants were reluctant to come and swear and that in many cases summonses and distraints were required to secure their presence. The only surviving form of words is that of a general formula[2]

> "I be come zour man fro this day forth and faith sall bere zour for the tenementz whilke I clame to hold of zow savand the faith I awe to our lige lorde the king and to my other lordes whilke y holde of as gode helpe me and all hallows and sayntys".

On the occasion of his fealty the tenant was required to produce the muniments in his possession that established his title to his lands. Tenants were no less reluctant in this respect than they were as regards fealty, which may account for the general order in 1383 to all tenants to produce their charters for inspection.[3] From the landlord's angle, inspection was no formality, it enabled him to keep a check on the disposition of his freeholds, and was also a chance to detect forgery.[4]

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1 HR 1370 (Spring) for example.

2 Reg.III, f.57v.

3 Loc.IV, no.198.

4 SS 58, p.37.

Finally, each tenant had to pay relief, in most cases the value of one year's rent. A list of those reliefs paid between 1308 and 1400 was compiled early in the 15th century,[1] cash payments were recorded in the miscellaneous section of the Bursar's receipts.

Along with his land, every tenant inherited a specific set of duties and obligations, none of them, however, pertained to the free tenantry as a whole. Apart from those who held in socage, most tenants were liable to servicium militare. In discussing the meaning of this, three important facts must be borne in mind. Firstly, the period covered by this essay was one of endemic warfare across the Anglo-Scottish border. Apart from the first half of the 14th century County Durham, where most of the priory's lands lay, was rarely affected directly, although it was sufficiently close to the fighting to be considered as part of the border area. Secondly, the same period saw major changes in the raising of troops and the conduct of war which made both essentially non-feudal in character.[2] Thirdly, the priory, in respect of most of its land, came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop in his palatine capacity. In theory, this fact should have been significant; in practice it was not: as Lapsley demonstrated, the crown (and later its agents, the Warden of the March and the Council of the North) increasingly ignored or swept aside with bare formality the episcopal rights and organised the military capacities of the liberty directly.[3] This would seem to imply, in the absence of direct evidence from the records, that when priory tenants went to war they did so not as part of a priory contingent, nor as a direct consequence of their charters, but under the terms of the Statute of Winchester (1285)

1 SS 58, p.37.

2 M. Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England, 134 et.seqq.

3 G.T. Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham, pp.304-8.

and subsequent parliamentary legislation to which the county was subject like any other part of the country.[1] The one special and distinctive contribution made by the priory to the defence of the border was the banner of St. Cuthbert. This great talisman was present on several campaigns accompanied by a layman and a monk whose expenses were met by the Bursar.[2]

Another obligation all but universal was suit of the free court. The records of this body have survived in fair abundance for the period before 1425, after that there is no evidence except the record of annual income in the Bursar's accounts. The legal basis of the court was the agreement made in 1229 between the Bishop and the priory and known as Le Convenit.[3] By its terms the Prior was permitted to hold a free court but was denied its use for pleas of the crown and the assizes. Discussion of the place of this court in the priory's administrative arrangements and of what its records tell us of the priory's dealings with its tenants must be deferred; what must be considered at this juncture is the extent to which suitors fulfilled their attendance obligations. Before the question can be answered, it must be noted that suitors were permitted to absent themselves, unless required to answer a plea or show their charters, on the payment of fines ranging from 1s. to 3s. 4d.

The clearest evidence comes from the rolls of the year 1423/4,[4] that is from the end of the extant record. At the first session of the year twenty of the forty-six suitors fined for the right to be absent; the remaining twenty-six suitors failed to turn up and were

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1 G.T. Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham, pp.203-8.

2 BAR 1513/4 for example, i.e. the Flodden campaign.

3 SS 58, pp.215-6.

4 Loc.IV, nos. 195 and 209.

amerced 6d. each. At the subsequent sessions at least seventeen of the twenty-six were absent on every occasion. Thus, the number of suitors present at any one session was no more than a handful of those with liability. It is also noticeable that the list of the permanently contumacious included almost all the big names - Neville, Tailboys, Blakiston, Hedworth, Surtees and Thornton. These findings for the early 15th century tally with evidence from the previous century. A list of suitors drawn up in 1349 was used as an attendance register;[1] the pattern it reveals is very similar to that of 1423/4. A general perusal of the cases dealt with by the court makes it clear that the court's clientele was essentially of the lower levels of society. Smallness of attendance is proved by the number of cases which had to be suspended for want of sufficient number to form a jury.

Also incumbent on many tenants were obligations usually associated with customary or servile tenure. The most common were suit at the lord's mill and the liability to merchet, heriot and common aid; in addition, a number of tenants were required to perform labour services of a restricted nature at a nearby manor. There was no common pattern, however, and a wide variety of combinations is to be observed. In attempting to evaluate these tenures we are drawn inevitably into seeking equivalents on the episcopal lands which intermingled with those of the priory. The Hatfield Survey reveals the existence of three types of tenure displaying similarities but without being identical. The liberi tenentes were almost entirely rent paying tenants not burdened with labour services. On the other hand, the drengs did have obligations reminiscent of those of the priory free tenants but with certain crucial differences: the labour services consisted of riding and hunting duties which priory tenants did not

1 Loc. IV, no.228.

perform, military service was unknown except for castleman, a commutation of garrison duty; and the drengs appear to have come under the aegis of the halmote not the free court.[1] Lastly, there were the firmarii of Stockton ward who were the tenants of what had been demesne land;[2] there is no indication that any of the priory's freeholds originated in this way.

My own conclusion is that the freeholds with labour-service obligations were in most cases customary holdings shorn of some or all of their original obligations and given the normal rights of freeholds, namely fixed rent, heritability and the use of a special court. Three facts seem to point to this as the answer. The first is that the size of the freehold was the same as that of the customary holdings of the same township, or a multiple of it. Thus, at Southwick, the smaller freehold was forty-eight acres,[3] the size of the ten bondlands, while at East Rainton, the sixty-acre freehold was five times the standard customary holding of twelve acres.[4] Secondly, merchet, heriot, common aid and suit of mill were all obligations of the customary tenant. With regard to the last, it is worth noting that the freeholders paid multure at the rate of 1/13, that is, the rate for customary tenants. Finally, there is the nature of the labour services demanded. In the absence of the Landbok certainty is difficult to achieve on this point; nevertheless, the examples we have all look like customary tenures from which week work had been eliminated leaving some or all of the task works.

As far as the evidence permits, it can be said that the free

1 SS 32, p.193.

2 Ibid., p.170, p.175, p.187.

3 SS 58, pp.16 - 7.

4 Ibid., p.19.

tenants honoured these obligations, at least during the first half of the 14th century. There is no evidence at all regarding merchet and heriot, and common aid is nearly as obscure. Assuming it was a tallage, the only examples recorded occurred in 1302/3 and 1309/10,[1] when the bondmen and the molmen were tallaged; there is no reference to the free tenants on either occasion. The free court records make it perfectly clear that the free tenants were expected to share in the maintenance of the mills and that they, like their customary counterparts, sought to shirk their duties; the same is true of their obligation to grind. As regards labour services, the manor accounts leave us in no doubt that free tenants actually did what was required of them. As the 14th century progressed, however, manors were leased and labour services were commuted, but it is not clear what happened to the services of the freeholders.

Finally, almost all the free tenants owed rent. In most cases this was in the form of cash, but there were a number of instances of such things as cummin, wax, gloves and even pike.[2] Rents were generally small and, because they were fixed, declined in value. Many can be traced unaltered throughout the period, but others changed as the result of the division of holdings. As a rule, the Bursar secured regular payment of most of his free rents, particularly those from tenants with land in the townships of the priory's fee in which there was an elaborate system of rent collection. Equally virtuous were the holders of the large tenements of township and manor size. The holdings that gave the Bursar his biggest headache were those in townships of other lords. The holders of the freeholds in Ludworth, Hutton Henry, Claxton, Pounteys, Newsham, Cleatlam and Barford appear never to have

1 BAR 1302/3 and 1309/10.

2 SS 58, p.20, p.22, p.32, p.51.

paid rent, while the Bishop Auckland tenement ceased to be productive after its acquisition by the Eures early in the 15th century. The Inventories of 1446 and 1464 [1] reveal the powerlessness of the priory to coerce the really recalcitrant free tenant, an impression reinforced by the last rentals which omit many of these holdings, suggesting that they were regarded as hopeless causes.

### d) The Free Court.

The value of the halmote records in establishing in full the complexity of the relationship between landlord and customary tenant has been noted alread; the free court material is equally revealing about the landlord-free tenant relationship and several other matters. Inevitably, comparison between the two groups of tenants and between the two courts must be made, this is not a simple matter, however, because of certain basic differences in legal status, and partly because of the fact that the free court records are more abundant for a period from which little halmote record has survived, namely the early 14th-century.

The first aspect with which we must deal, that of inheritance, has been broached already. The free court was the venue for many of the acts performed by the incoming tenant; equally it was to conduct the necessary inquest post mortem following his death. The jury of twelve was composed of court suitors who were fellow tenants of the deceased; they were required to state on oath what property the deceased had held of the prior on the day of his death; what services and rents he had owed; who his heir was and whether that person was of full age. Thus in 1308, an inquest was held following the death of John, son of Hugh

1 SS 9, cexciv, p.cexcv, p.cexcviii; SS 58, p.123, p.131, p.136, p.153, p.155, p.177.

of Hebburn.[1] The jury agreed that his holding had consisted of two pieces of land of ten and forty acres together with a weir in the Tyne, all in the township of Heoburn. For these he had owed rents of 2s. 6½d. and 4s. 2½d. and the obligation of reaping the prior's corn for one and a third days with one man and of ploughing and harrowing a third of an acre when he was entitled to receive the same food as the famuli; moreover, he had been required to assist in maintaining the mill and to grind his corn there giving a thirteenth as multure. The jury also swore that the nearest heir was his son, William, who they declared to be of full age.

Occasionally inquests post mortem revealed that the heir was under age. In such cases he became a ward of the Prior who, as was the custom, sold the wardship rights. I have not come across any instances of the court being used for such negotiations, although in 1304 Alan Goldsmith (Aurifaber) did come to court to return documents given to him by Prior Hugh Darlington in connection with his wardship of John, son of William Stele of Ferryhill.[2] The court records also reveal what happened if the heirs were daughters under age. In 1312, John of Southwick died leaving two daughters, Agnes and Alice. On 15th January, 1313, Prior William Cowton issued letters patent to Margaret, the widow of the deceased and mother of the girls, awarding to her the custody of them and their land plus the maritagium.[3] Seventeen years later, in 1330, an inquest post mortem was held which established that Agnes was tenty-one and her sister nineteen and so of full age. They, therefore, swore fealty and promised to do homage

1 Loc. Iv, no.57.

2 Loc. IV, no.61.

3 Loc. IV, no.54.

to the Prior, whereupon the Steward gave them seizin of their lands.[1] A somewhat similar case occurred in 1389[2] involving a small freehold in Wolviston amounting to a messuage, twenty-four acres of land and an acre of meadow belonging to a family called Kent. Robert Kent apparently had died on the Monday after Christmas 1369, leaving an heir, William, who, since he had been christened in Billingham parish church on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 1366, must have been about three years old. In 1389, therefore, the jury was able to swear that he was of full age and to support his claims to the tenement. The claim was upheld and William Kent swore fealty and did homage to the Prior (Robert Berrington) who was present in court. During the period of his minority William had been in the custody of another Wolviston tenant, Thomas, son of William of Wolviston, who had secured the wardship in 1373 for 6s. 8d. a year: the priory's total profit on this transaction came to £5. 6s. 8d.[3]

The court was also used to settle disputes and differences between the prior and his free tenants regarding the terms of tenure. In 1338, for example, agreement was reached, <u>amicabiliter</u>, between Prior William Cowton and William of Hett concerning the latter's obligation to Hett mill.[4] It was established that William should do those things prescribed in the charter of his ancestors, that is, to grind his corn at the mill "ad XII vas" except for the corn grown on the forty-six acres and three rods of his demesne; to repair the mill pond, cart grind stones and timber for the repair of the mill, and to provide straw for the roof from all the bovates known as <u>wareland</u>.

1 Loc. IV, no.54.

2 Ibid., No.73.

3 SS 58, p.79.

4 Loc, IV., No.2.

Amicability may have been the keynote on this occasion, but at other times the prior was the subject of outrage at the hands of his tenants in respect of both his person and his property. In 1326[1] there occurred an unpleasant incident in which eleven men of Hebburn, among them several free tenants, attacked some of the Prior's men near Haining Wood and pursued them as far as Wardley manor where they continued the affray despite the presence there of the Prior (William Cowton) and some of his brethren. The Prior, prosecuting through the Steward, claimed damages of £20. for contempt of his person. The accused denied the charge and requested an inquest, promising to abide by its verdict; regrettably this has been lost. Equally inconclusive from our angle is the case of Thomas of Woodyfield,[2] a resident of Ferryhill, who was accused in 1342 by Prior John Fossor of maliciously diverting an underground water course so that the coal mine was flooded with the result that production was halted, and income, estimated at £100, was lost. Less seriously, although more commonly, the Prior was affected, indirectly at least, by disputes over suit of mill. In 1333,[3] for example, the farmer of Scaltok mill in Elvet, John of Barnard Castle, impleaded Gilbert of Duxfield accusing him of taking flour which he, John, had seized from two women of Crossgate borough as they were bringing it home from another mill. Gilbert's alleged offence was not only damaging to the farmer but also in contempt of the Prior. This case was settled by mutual agreement, hinting that there may have been unrevealed complications. Equally mundane but also involving contempt of the Prior were the infractions by free tenants of township bye-laws designed to promote

1 Loc. IV, no.12.

2 Loc. IV, no.45.

3 Loc. IV, no.197.

sound farming practice and social harmony, particularly those concerning the control of animals and the making of purprestures. Sometimes such cases could lead to more serious situations as in 1337[1] when Alan Bishop of Billingham was accused of perpetrating such a vicious attack on the township's pinder, William del Kirk, that his life was despaired of. Found guilty, he was required to pay damages of two marks although he did recover a half mark as the result of a counter-claim against the pinder. The occasion of the fracas was William's discovery of beasts belonging to Alan and others in the West Meadow as a result of failure to maintain the hedges. More directly, the Prior could suffer both damage and insult by the theft of his property. In 1355,[2] for example, John Creles was accused of stealing the Prior's corn in Monkwearmouth, what made matters worse was that he had broken arrest (for failing to pay his dues) in order to commit the crime.

Judicial contact between Prior and free tenant was not confined to the Prior's own courts but also occurred in those of the palatinate. The free court records illustrate the four possibilities of contact although in some the other party was not necessarily a priory tenant. According to the terms of Le Convenit the Prior had the right to try in his court any man accused of felony on his land and, therefore, when any such was brought before the palatine courts, it was customary for the Prior, through one of his officers, to apply for the case. In 1335,[3] for example, John Shephird of Follingsby was brought before the coroner of Chester ward accused of sheep stealing, whereupon the Prior's Bailiff intervened and secured the case for his master's court. Similarly, in 1375,[4] Adam Wright of Wolviston was accused of stealing

1 Loc. IV, no.2.

2 Loc. IV, no.154.

3 Loc. IV, no.52.

4 Loc. IV, no.157.

thirty-nine marks of the chattels of Sir John Laton while they were in the custody of the chaplain of Wolviston. The scene this time was the county court, where the Bishop's officers, William of Elmeden and John of Elvet, were engaged on gaoal delivery. Again it was the Prior's Bailiff, John of Hindley, who ended proceedings on behalf of the Prior. The only instance when the Prior's claim was not conceded immediately occurred in 1317 [1] when the palatine jurisdiction was in the King's hands.[2] Nine people, most of whom were not of the Prior's fee, were accused before the county court of a number of felonies. This time it was the Steward, Robert Greathead, who came to demand his master's rights. Because of the sede vacante situation, however, the Sheriff, Adam Bowes, refused to concede before a royal writ had been produced and an inquest held to determine whether or not the Prior's rights remained intact during a vacancy. A favourable verdict being returned, the Steward got his criminals.

In contrast to these cases were the occasions when the Prior was directed by the palatine courts. In 1348 and 1349,[3] Prior John Fossor was ordered by writs of right under the Bishop's seal to do justice to Geoffrey Hunter of Wolviston who had been deprived of his land by William del Hay, his wife Agnes and by Cecily Lam, and to Margaret the widow of Robert Ward of Shincliffe, who was seeking to obtain a third of her late husband's sixteen-acre holding as dower. It has not been possible to trace these cases to their respective conclusions; both, however, appeared to have dragged on over several sessions owing to the difficulty in getting all parties into court simultaneously.

1 Loc. IV, no.157.

2 Following the death of Bishop Richard Kellaw.

3 Loc. IV, nos. 78 and 65.

Conversely, in the dispute between the Prior and John Hedworth in 1345 and 1346,[1] it was the Prior who took his tenant before the palatine courts - the dispute concerned wrongfully appropriated land. Both this and the two previous cases serve to demonstrate that the restrictions placed on the Prior's judicial competence in 1229 were still in force in the middle of the 14th century.

The last of the four types of judicial contact between Prior and Bishop concerned the latter's ecclesiastical role, and may be illustrated by a case of 1338.[2] John Horne, accused of multiple burglaries against William of Stanhope of Elvet, claimed that he was a clerk. Nevertheless, an inquest was held at the following session; found guilty, the accused man was remanded to the Bishop's gaol because of his clerical status. In cases of criminous clerks the Prior's rights extended to the determination of guilt but not to the power of sentence.

We must now consider the due processes operative in the free court and the sorts of litigation that took place between tenant and tenant. A majority of actions were begun by the plaintiff appealing the defendant on a specific plea, although there were many instances when the accused stood before the court as the result of arrest; for the custody of such persons the Prior had a gaol, though its whereabouts is not known. The most difficult part of any case was getting the parties into court at the same time: the system of persuasion appears to have consisted of three summonses followed by three distraints. When at last all concerned were present, the case could be decided in one of four ways. In cases of debt and detention of chattels, the parties could reach mutual agreement with the consent of the court;

1 Loc. IV, no.151.

2 Loc. IV, no.2.

to do so without licence was itself an offence rendering the parties liable to amercement. Other cases were concluded without trial in that the accused admitted his guilt and either requested the court to assess damages and punishment or threw himself on the Prior's mercy. When neither party was prepared to give way, the usual method of decision was the sworn inquest, the twelve jurors being chosen from among the suitors. It is likely that the members of the jury were not imposed on the two parties but that they had some say in the matter: the record of the case between William del Kirk and Alan Bishop includes a list of twenty-two names with a mark against twelve of them to indicate that they composed the jury, together with a note to the effect that the two parties had agreed to the selection.[1] The use of this method was the consequence of defendant denying the charge and throwing himself super patriam; if he did not do so he was required to clear himself by compurgation with anything up to twelve hands.

Following the verdict, sentence was pronounced. If the decision went against the plaintiff, he was deemed guilty of a false plea and was consequently amerced, usually in the sum of 6d. On the other hand, if the accused was found guilty a number of courses were open to the court. In cases of debt and detention the defendant was required to pay damages to the defendant and to reimburse him; damages were also paid in cases of personal assault. When damages were demanded the sum was included in the original plea; plaintiffs exaggerated their demands outrageously and the sums awarded were invariably small fractions of those asked for. In cases of felony, punishment was capital, unless apparently, any goods involved were valued at less than 1s.0d:[2] the

1 Loc . IV, No.2.

2 Fraser and Emsley, Law and Society, p.67.

fact that the law was so harsh and inflexible on this point may explain why in almost all such cases juries found for the defendants. If guilty, the convict was handed over to the Bishop for execution; the Prior, apparently, had the right to have his own gallows but chose not to exercise it.[1] In addition to felonies and pleas of debt, detention and personal assault, there was another offence of a technical nature, the withdrawing of a plea: every plaintiff was required to find pledges that he would continue his prosecution; if he failed to do so both he and his sureties were liable to amercement. Clearly the court aimed at curtailing frivolous litigation.

To conclude, some comparison between free court and halmote court must needs be made. In general both were obviously necessary to those who came within their jurisdictions, even if at times and in some respects they could be very irksome. This said, it is also clear that both declined as organs of social control after 1400. As regards the halmote court, the abundance of its extant record makes proof of this relatively simple; the free court is more difficult, although the evidence does point in the same direction. The very absence of surviving record may in itself be significant, more so is the decline in income[2] so that after c.1460 it was always 6s.0d. a year, presumably non-attendance fines, most conclusive is the decline in the amount of business after c.1375.

There were, however, distinct differences between the two institutions. The most real and important was in the area of court attendance. The free court had four major weaknesses: it was stationary, it had no effective police or bailiff arrangements, it permitted licenced non-attendance, and it was concerned with people of

1 Fraser and Emsley, Law and Society, p.67.

2 Recorded in BAR.

superior legal status; the halmote court was opposite on all counts. Equally obvious was the problem of community co-operation. The halmote was dealing with communities which it required to act corporately in so many respects, with the result that much of its business consisted of the issuing of injunctions and ordinances and the punishing of their infractions. Many of the free court's clientele were also subject to these regulations in so far as they were participators in the farming arrangements of their townships. But they were not part of the community in a tenurial sense, and so their misdeeds had to be prosecuted by offended individuals and not by community officials who served only the halmote court. As to actual cases, there were of course great similarities although a far greater proportion of those coming before the free court concerned personal assault. It would be dangerous to assert that the free tenant was more inclined to violence than his customary counterpart. It is more likely that the corporate nature of the community of customary tenants may have prompted a degree of concealment; the free tenant, having a greater responsibility for himself, would be more inclined to bring his case to court. Basically, therefore, the differences rest upon the distinctions in tenurial status and the differences in court procedures.

e) The Decline of the Freeholds.

Passing reference has been made already to the priory's recapture of some of its freehold properties. In dealing with this more fully we must bear in mind that throughout the period of this essay the monks were subject to the restrictions imposed by the Statute of Mortmain which, in theory, debarred religious institutions from the acquisition of land. It is of course well-known that the effect of the statute was not so much to curtail monastic gain as to subject it to royal licensing and control.[1] As far as the priory was concerned

1 A. Hamilton Thompson, The English Clergy, p.109.

its superior in this respect and in most of the districts in which it had interests was not the crown but the Bishop in his palatine capacity. What difference this made cannot of course be determined, but it can be stated with certainty that during the period under consideration the priory was in receipt of many amortization licences;[1] in fact very few of the Bishops from Bek to Tunstal did not grant at least one licence to their chapter. Whether or not the monks were required to pay for their privileges is not clear, but episcopal generosity did have its limits in that episcopal property was specifically excluded from the licences, although in practice the Bishops did not insist on this absolutely.

The licences together with the inquests ad quod dampnum make a number of significant facts abundantly clear. Of these the most important is that the vast bulk of the priory's acquisition was of properties belonging to its own fee, that is, the monks regained freehold land granted by them at an earlier date. As no new freeholds were created after 1290, the effect was a substantial erosion of the quantity of land held on freehold terms. The total acquisition was massive: leaving aside borough tenements and land of other fees, the surviving documents (which do not cover all known licences) indicate a gain of almost two and a half thousand acres of arable and meadow land. The geographical incidence of this recapture tended to reflect the original distribution of free land so that the most seriously affected townships were Wolviston (over five hundred acres), Ferryhill (nearly four hundred acres) and Billingham (nearly three hundred acres) A number of townships - East Rainton, Moorsley, Cowpen Bewley, Westerton,

1 Cart.II, ff.285r - 296r; Cart.III, ff.293r - 294v and 331r - 336r, Rev. IV, f.228v.

Middlestone, North Pittington - finished up without any freeholds, while all townships still having such land in 1540 had it on a much reduced scale compared with 1290. The most important period of recovery was the second half of the 14th century during the pontificates of Thomas Hatfield (1345 -1381) and John Fordham (1381 - 1388). It is tempting to see in this a policy of counter-acting falling land values by the acquisition of additional land, in the absence of direct evidence such a bold conclusion would be rash, especially as later licences all specify repairs to the cathedral as the motive. As the 15th century wore on there was not only a decline in the amount of property acquired but also a shift from rural holdings to borough tenements. This was particularly so as regards Durham where the priory came to be the dominant landlord. Why the shift took place is not clear· perhaps there was a growing disinclination in the part of landowners to sell, on the other hand the monks may have wished to increase their influence on their own doorstep.

Consciousness of the Mortmain regulations must not be allowed to create the impression that the beginning of our period was a kind of watershed in this development in that the recapture of freeholds was a new departure. In fact the earlier half of the 14th century appears to have been at one with the previous century; both saw an irregular trickle of property coming back into the hands of the monks.

## 3. BOROUGH TENANTS

During the period with which this essay is concerned there were eleven boroughs within what is now County Durham. Six of them - Bishop Auckland, Darlington, Durham, Gateshead, Stockton and Sunderland - belonged to the Bishop; another two, Crossgate and Elvet, formed part of the priory's estate, while that of St. Giles belonged to another eccl-

lesiastical corporation, Kepier Hospital.[1] The remaining two, Hartlepool and Barnard Castle, were in the hands of secular lords. Both changed hands early in the 14th century as the result of forfeitures of the Bruce and Balliol families. Inevitably Bishop Antony Bek attempted to secure them, but his claims were firmly resisted by Edward I who awarded them to Robert Clifford and Guy Beauchamp respectively. Throughout the remainder of the period they remained with the descendants of these two men.[2]

Although the Bursar had holdings in seven of these boroughs and in Newcastle, they constituted a relatively insignificant part of his estate. Overall, however, the priory's urban properties were extensive but, in the main, they belonged to other obedientiaries to whom they were of far greater importance. The Bursar's interests are best considered under two heads.

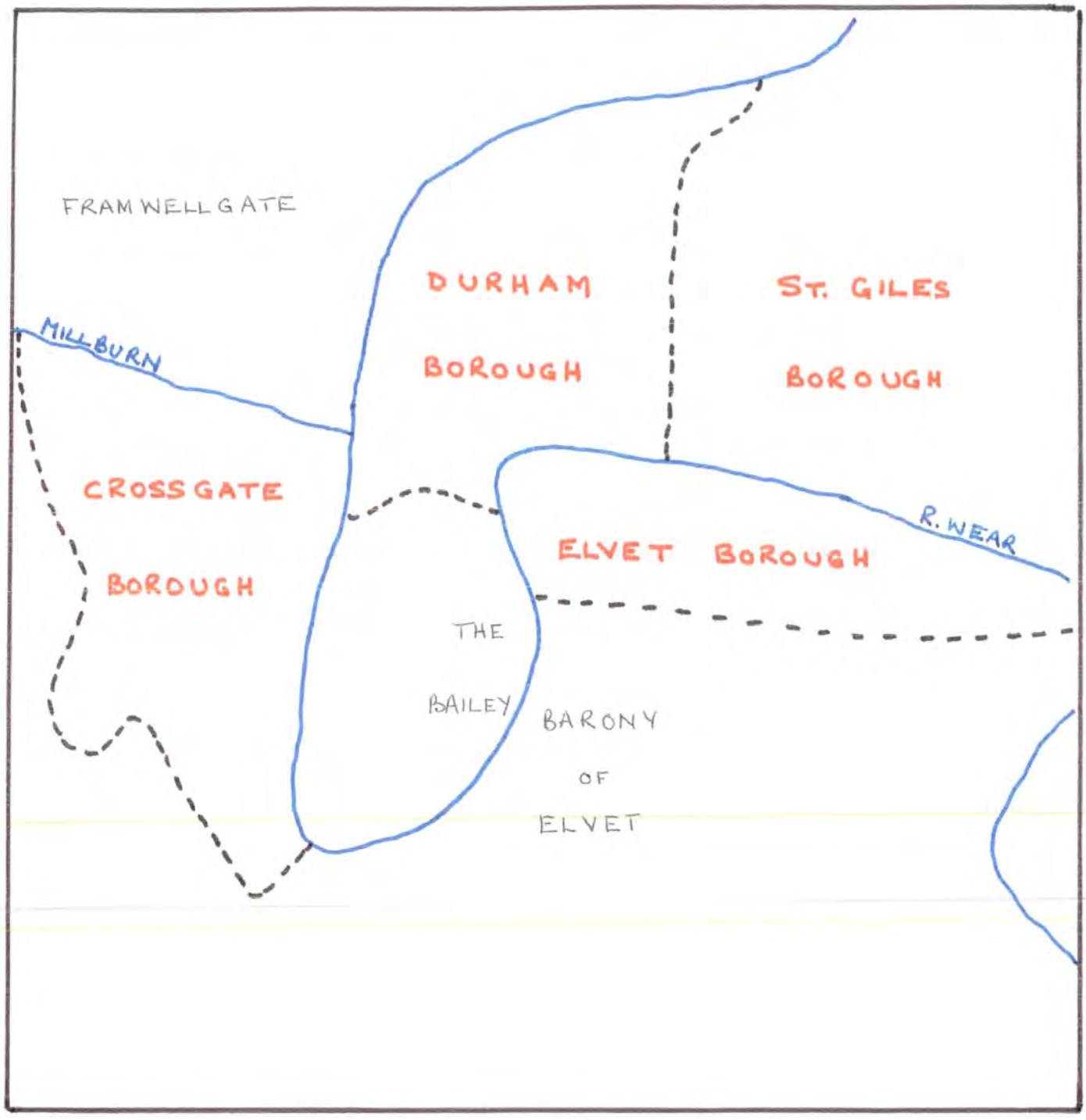
a) The Durham Boroughs

Although small in size, medieval Durham was very complex in that it was not a unit but divided into five distinctive districts.[3] At the centre lay the episcopal borough of Durham comprising the Market Place and the streets radiating from it. To the west and linked to it by Framwellgate bridge was the priory's borough of Crossgate, otherwise known as the Old Borough. In a corresponding position to the east and also belonging to the priory was the so-called New Borough of Elvet, which was linked to Durham by Elvet bridge. Beyond Durham to the north-east lay the fourth borough, that of St. Giles, which belonged to the

1 M. Hope Dodds, 'The Bishops' Boroughs' Archaeologia Aeliana, 12[3], 81 - 82.

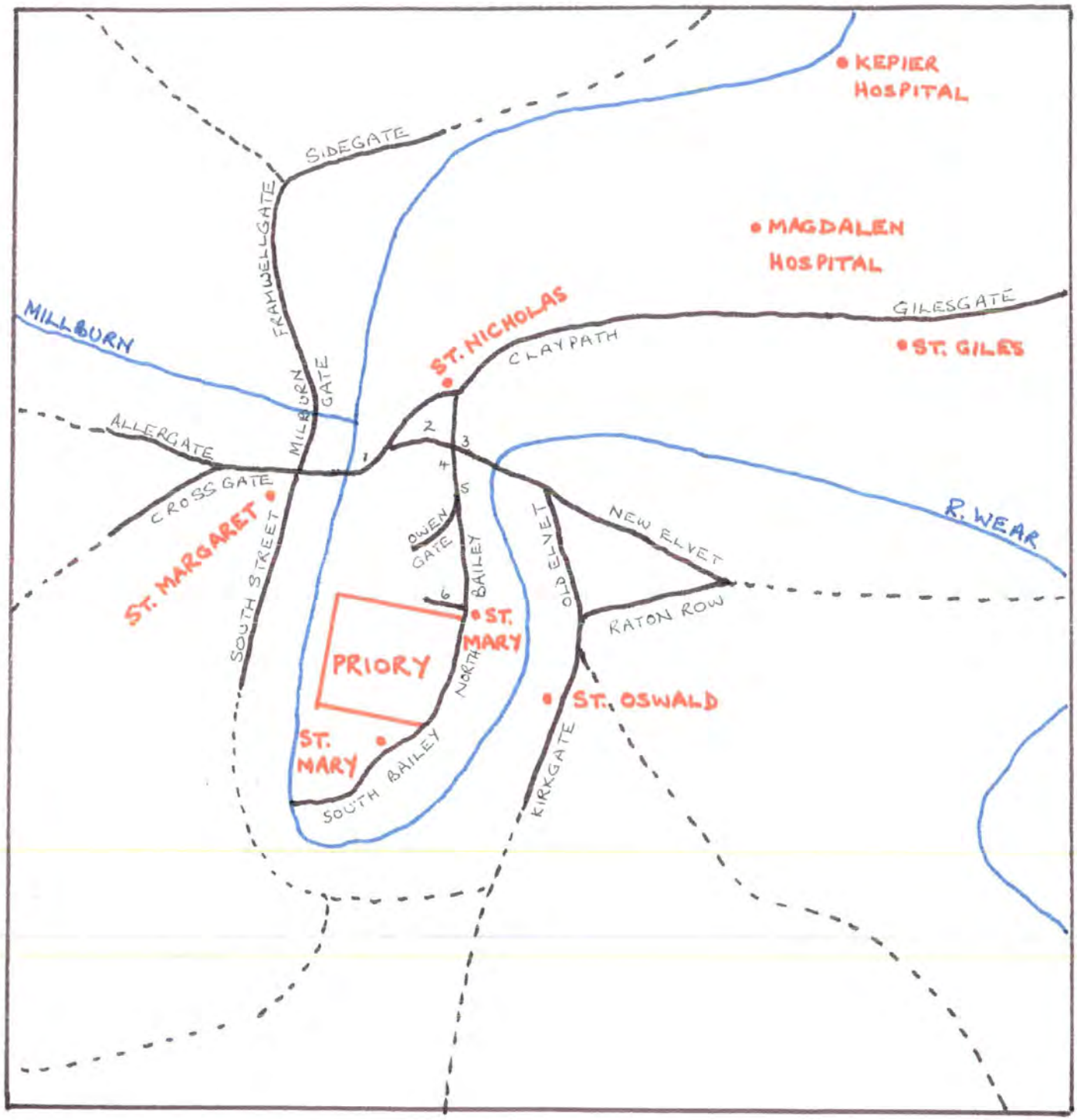
2 Surtees, III, p.93 and IV, p.51 and p.64.

3 See Map.




# DURHAM CITY

## JURISDICTIONS




# DURHAM CITY

1 SILVER STREET
2 MARKET PLACE
3 SOUTER PETH
4 FLESHEWERGATE
6 SADDLERGATE
6 LYKEGATE

hospital of St. Giles, Kepier. In addition to the boroughs, the streets known as North Bailey and South Bailey, together with their side streets, constituted a separate urban area without borough status.

In addition to this constitutional complexity, there was also great variety in the types of property within the five areas. As well as burgages, houses, tenements and shops which were of purely urban character, a great deal of land was used for agrarian purposes and appeared in the form of tofts, closes and small pieces of meadow land. Curiously, the only area which does not seem to have had a semi-rural appearance was the non-burghal Bailey whose streets and houses huddled in the lee of the cathedral and the castle. The rents produced by these properties were of three kinds. The most distinctive was called landmale and it was owned by the holders of burgages to the lord of the borough. Such rents were small in amount, usually 1s.0d. or less, and were fixed. Secondly, there were free rents which, like their rural counterparts, were small, although larger than landmale rent, and fixed. Finally, there were leases most of which ran for ten or fifteen years and were the largest of the rents as regards both size and number.

The first extant description of the Bursar's Durham property occurs in the rental of 1340,[1] which shows him receiving twenty-eight rents, fifteen from Elvet and thirteen from other unspecified parts of the city. In addition, he received the form of the landmale rents of Crossgate borough. The total value of all these rents was £8. 15s. 10d. Two hundred years later the picture was very different. He then received seventy rents, in theory worth £37. s. 8d. a year,[2] from nearly

1 Appendix VI.

2 BAR 1536/7; SS 103, pp.683 - 4.

one hundred properties. His holdings in Elvet do not appear to have increased, but in other parts of the city he had acquired many properties, especially in the Bailey and in the boroughs of Durham and St. Giles.[1] Moreover, the rent total did not include the landmale rents of Crossgate borough, which had been assigned to the Sacrist early in the 15th century,[2] or the rents of several pieces of land which had been transferred to the Cellarer.[3] These gains were not recent. The rentals of the 1380s and 1390s show that most of them had been made before 1400. the rental of 1396,[4] for example, shows that the Bursar's Durham income had already reached £34. 9s. 2d. After 1400, the only district in which important gains were made was the borough of Durham. As we shall see, this growth of borough interests was not confined to the Bursar.

The figures quoted above are those for potential income. It must be emphasised, however, that at no time after 1350 was this potential ever realised: throughout the period there was a substantial and significant loss of income every year as the result of untenanted holdings and rent reductions. In 1400,[5] for example, losses amounted to £5. 9s. 6d. divided almost equally between wasted and decayed rents. By 1446,[6] the total had risen to £7. 16s. 8d. These mid-century years were the time of leanest fortune in this as in other respects; by 1464 losses were down to £ 6. 12s. 2d.[7] and, by 1536, were no more than

1 SS 58, pp.325 - 7.

2 See below, in Part Two.

3 BAR 1536/7; SS 103, p.684.

4 Appendix VII.

5 BAR 1400/1.

6 SS 9, p.cccii.

7 SS 58, pp.325-7.

£4. 19s.4d.[1] Nevertheless, in contrast to the rural townships, the problem was never fully solved in the city.

There seem to have been four reasons for these annual losses. The first is that after 1400 it proved impossible to collect many of the free rents: in 1464[2] the monks were quite prepared to admit their inability to exact an annual rent of 2s. 0d. from William Bowes for his holding in the Bailey and that four free rents in Crossgate had not been paid for over fifty-eight years. The entries in the account roll of 1536,[3] indicate that this problem was never solved. Secondly, there was the difficulty in finding tenants. In 1446,[4] this seems to have been due in part to the sheer lack of population; more important, perhaps, was the ruinous state of many properties. In 1446,[5] the surveyors considered that repairs to property would cost £92. 15s.0d; eighteen years later the figure was still as high as £72. 13s. 4d.[6] To a large extent, however, these causes had been eliminated by the 1530s. Finally, there was the fact that many rents had to be reduced below their proper level in order to tempt men into tenancy.

Unfortunately for the Bursar, these losses were not the only reducers of his borough income. Much of the property he had acquired

1 BAR 1536/7; SS 103, pp.683-4.

2 SS 58, p.196 and p.194.

3 BAR 1536/7; SS 103, pp.683-4.

4 SS 9, p.cccii.

5 Ibid.

6 SS 58, pp.191-8.

carried with it the obligation to pay landmale, free rents or rent charges. By 1536, his outgoings in this respect totalled £3. 11s. 2½d.[1] To the Bishop he owed 5s. 2d. in landmale rents for tenements in Durham. His bill to the Master of Kepier Hospital was much higher; £2. 14s.3½d, in free rents for properties in St. Giles. In addition, he was required to pay 5s. 7d. and 1s. 2d. respectively to the Sacrist and the Almoner for holdings in Crossgate. Finally, there was a payment of 5s. 0d. to the chantrist of the chantry of St. Mary in the parish church of Durham. Thus, in that year, the Bursar's net income was no more than £28. 13s.1½d. out of a potential £37. 3s. 8d. This feature we shall see repeated when we come to consider the borough interests of the other obedientiaries.

b) Other Boroughs.

Of the Bursar's other borough interests, the most extensive were in Gateshead, the earliest references to which occur in the year 1382.[2] The rental of that year records twelve rents worth £5. 17s.0d; that of 1396,[3] however, mentions only ten rents worth £5. 11s. 6d. The Feodarium of 1430[4] makes it clear that not all the rent-producing tenements were owned by the priory: seven, in fact, belonged to other people who were required to pay annual sums to the monks under the terms of wills made by several Gateshead citizens in the 1340s and 1350s. The same document also reveals that the rents came from three parts of the borough known as Gateshead, Hillgate and Pipewellgate; of these, the last was of most interest since the Bursar's own tenements were located there.

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1 BAR 1536/7; SS 103, pp.704 - 6.

2 RSDPD, f.19r.

3 RB 1395, f.47r.

4 SS 58, pp.4 - 8.

Until well into the 15th century the Bursar appears to have secured most of his income from Gateshead. In 1400,[1] for example, waste and decay of rent amounted to only 15s.6d. and to only 16s.2d. in 1418/9.[2] By 1446,[3] however, the situation was parlous: only £2. 17s. 4d. was received, £1. 6s.8d. and £1. 13s.10d. respectively were lost as a result of wasted and decayed rents. The rent charges were not paid because most of the tenements were ruined and the priory's own property required an expenditure of £5. before it could be leased. In 1464, matters had improved somewhat £3. 3s.2d. was received but £2. was also lost through waste and decay.[4] After this there was no further improvement, and in 1539[5] income was still only £3. 2s.0d.

Across the river Tyne in Newcastle the Bursar had one tenement to which there are no references before 1430,[6] although it was acquired early in the 13th century. It was held in socage for a rent of £1. 6s.8d. a year, half of which pertained to the Commoner. All the available evidence suggests that this rent was paid regularly. The Bursar should have received in addition a pension of £9. 3s.4d. from the corporation of the borough, throughout the period, however, this was diverted to the master of the priory's cell on Farne.[7]

1 BAR 1400/1 (waste and decay).

2 BAR 1418/19 (waste and decay).

3 SS 9, p.ccxc.

4 SS 58, pp.106-7.

5 Ibid., pp.306-7.

6 Ibid., p.2.

7 Ibid., p.105, this also occurs in BAR.

The few properties in Hartlepool were acquired from the Bruce family while they were lords of that district.[1] In the 1330s and 1340s their annual value amounted to £2. 4s.4d;[2] by 1382,[3] however, it had risen to £5 17s.2d. The rental of 1396[4] records a similar total although £1. 15s.4d. and 6s.0d. respectively were lost through waste and decay of rent which reduced income to £3. 15s.10d. By 1446,[5] as elsewhere, there had been a serious deterioration: income amounted to no more than 10s.2d; all burgages owing free rent were ruined and so rendered nothing; repairs to one messuage alone were estimated at £20. In 1464,[6] things were little better. They did improve, however, and by 1495[7] a potential income of £2. 7s.4d. was established although only half of it was realised. The trouble was, and continued to be, the free rents.

Thus, despite a considerable growth of the estate in Durham, the total potential value of the borough properties was no more than £50. a year. In fact, the Bursar could expect to receive little more than £30; in 1539, for example, his income was £34. 4s.7d.[8] This, by his standards, was a paltry sum.

1 SS 58, pp.138.

2 RDD.

3 RSDPD, f.31f.

4 RB 1395, f.31r.

5 SS 9, p.ccxcvi.

6 SS 58, p.138.

7 BR 1495.

8 SS 58, pp.306-7 and pp.325 - 7.

## 4. RENT AND RENT COLLECTION

Comparisons between rent income at different times within the period can be made. However, their value is lessened somewhat by the changes in the composition of rent revenue throughout the period, new properties were acquired; and after 1350, bondlands were arrented, works sold and, eventually, demesne land was merged with tenant land. Changes in income, therefore, were not simply the consequences of the rise or fall in rents, but were the products of several influences including changes in the number of rents. Despite these handicaps, certain useful observations are possible.

The earliest available figures, those for 1291/2,[1] show that rents from the Durham estate were worth £356. 10s.1¾d. By 1316/7,[2] the total had risen to £455. 6s. 9¾d, an increase of £98. 16s.8d. in an eighteen-year period. Since it is unlikely that any of the changes listed above seriously altered the constituents of the rent roll, the increase must have been in large part the consequence of a determined effort to raise the rents at will. The only other factor of known influence was Spennymoor, an area of common land in which the townships of Kirk Merrington, Middlestone, Westerton, Hett, Whitworth and Tudhoe had rights. As Dr. Fraser has indicated,[3] during the early years of the 14th century, the priors were pursuing a vigorous policy of assarting in this area. The results can be seen in the large number of holdings recorded in the early rentals,[4] and also in the increase in rent income from £24. 3s.1½d. in 1291/2 to £38. 0s.5½d. by 1306/7.[5] Significantly perhaps, Spennymoor is not mentioned in the

1 BAR 1291/2.

2 BAR 1316/7.

3 C.M. Fraser, A History of Antony Bek, p.127; Reg.I, f.47v, f.47v, f.56r, f.56v.

4 Appendix VIII.

5 BAR 1392/2 and 1306/7.

rentals of 1270 and 1273.[1]

The next figure, that for 1329/30, reveals a marked decline in rent income to £391. 6s.3¾d [2] and is one piece of evidence that the priory suffered a sharp reversal of fortune between 1318 and 1328. By 1340/1, however, the situation had more than recovered with the rent total standing at £467. 16s.11½d. in that year.[3] A less serious set-back was experienced during the middle years of the fifth decade, but by 1349/50, the year of the plague, rent income was back to £420. 14s. 3½d.[4] These figures also were largely unaffected by changes in the constituents of the rent roll.

This trend of rising rents was strongly maintained in the years after the Black Death so that, by 1415, the total value of rents stood at £651. 9s.6½d. This increase was achieved partly by the arrentation of bondlands and by the sale of works which accounted for £89. 7s.4d. and £37. 5s.9d. of the total.[5] In addition, the halmote records reveal that a policy of rent increase was followed whenever possible. The influence of newly-acquired properties cannot be calculated.

During the second quarter of the 15th century, the trend was reversed and by 1446, the value of rents amounted to no more than £581. 12s.4d.[6] This period, in fact, seems to have been the one of

1 Loc.IV, no.226 and Loc.V, no.30.

2 BAR 1329/30.

3 BAR 1340/1.

4 BAR 1349/50.

5 BAR 1414/5.

6 SS 9, pp. ccxc - cccliii.

the leanest fortune in almost all sections of the priory's estate. Within a few years, however, a recovery is noticeable, the Inventarium of 1464 giving a total of £620. 5s.2½d. for rents.[1] Thereafter, the upward trend continued· in 1495,[2] rents were worth £680. 1s.10½d and by 1539,[3] the last year of the priory's existence, the figure had reached £761. 13s.2½d. By this date, however, all the factors listed at the beginning of the section had had their effect.

This story of almost continuously rising rents is, unfortunately, deceptive; the figures quoted were the totals of expected or potential rent and, to get a true account, it is necessary to set against these figures those for waste and decay of rent. These were only recorded in the account rolls after 1350, which suggests that before that date the two problems they represent were neither serious nor permanent.

In the years immediately after 1350, the total value of decayed and wasted rents was between £108. and £116. a year.[4] After 1358, however, it declined, although not spectacularly, and even during the most favourable period, the 1370s, it never dropped below £70. a year. Then, in the last years of the 1380s the total loss of income rose suddenly to over £100. below which it rarely dropped until after 1426. In fact, the available figures give an average annual loss of £127. for this forty year period compared with an average of £88. for the previous thirty-five years which included those immediately following the plague. Thus, the rise in potential rent was matched by an

1 SS 58, pp.104-202.

2 BR 1495.

3 SS 58, pp.306-27.

4 These and following figures from BAR, 1350/51 onwards

increase in the annual losses from wastage and decay.

In 1427/8, the total fell sharply to £61. 14s.7½d. This was not the result of a sudden improvement in the economic situation but of a reorganisation of rent structure carried out by the Bursar, probably in 1426,[1] by which more realistic rents were imposed. Unfortunately, this did not result in a permanent improvement; in fact by mid-century the annual loss of rent was again over the £100. mark. Thereafter, however, there was a considerable improvement: not only was the potential rent rising but the annual wastage by the end of the century was usually no more than £50. - £55.

After 1512/3, another sharp drop in the value of wasted and decayed rents occurred so that, as far as can be discerned from the limited number of surviving account rolls, annual losses were normally under £25. The details given in the 1513/4 account show that almost all the untenanted holdings were in the boroughs and South Shields; the boroughs also accounted for £3. 0s.5½d. of a total loss of £9. 4s.0d. through decay of rent. The total loss from these two sources was £18. 10s0½d. This is a little deceptive in that the arrears huius compoti, amounting to £4. 3s.8d., consisted of free rents which had not been paid for over a century. Nevertheless, the total loss was only £22. 13s.8½d., a figure which it would have been difficult to improve upon given the existence of 'lost' lands and the inevitable temporary accidents.

Unlike waste and decay of rent, arrears featured in the accounts throughout the period. Although arrears huius compoti were recorded in total and, in some years, in detail, the figures are not particularly

1 BAR 1426/7 is missing; clear differences can be seen comparing BAR 1425/6 with that of 1427/8.

helpful in this connection since many unpaid rents were recovered in the following years. Of greater importance is the evidence, recorded in the headings and the balances of the accounts, of bad debts composed of unrecovered rent arrears. These constituted in effect a record of lost income.

The Bursar began the year 1292/3 with an accumulated debt of £1368. 1s.8d; by 1309/9 this had risen to £3630. 0s.0d; and in 1317/8 it stood at £4219. 11s.1¼d, of which all but £17. 5s.0½d. was written off in the following year. When this sequence started is not known but, between 1292/3 and 1317/8, the increase in bad debt was £2851. 9s.5½d. which represented an average annual rise of £113. It is interesting to note that never again did arrears accumulate at so fast a rate or produce such a large corpus of bad debt.

Between 1318 and 1368 the picture is indistinct, there seem to have been frequent cancellations, although they are not described as such; arrears continued to mount, but not at such an alarming rate as earlier in the century. From 1368/9, a much clearer trace is possible, mainly because there was no write-off of debt until 1412/3. In 1368/9, arrears stood at £230. 18s.4½d; by 1412/3, the total had risen to £2880. 13s.6d, an increase of £2649. 15s.1½d. Of this, £1993. 18s.4d., covering the years 1368/9 to 1396/7 and the bursarships of Robert Berrington, Thomas Corbridge, John Newburn, Robert Claxton and Thomas Lith, were written off. Over the twenty-nine year period annual changes in total were erratic· that from 1377/8 to 1378/9 was about £350, while that from 1389/90 to 1390/1 was only about £25; moreover, in a few years there was actually a decline. Overall, however, bad debt increased at an average rate of almost £69. a year.

The next important write-off was in 1427/8 when the arrears accumulated by Roger Mainsforth, Richard Haswell, John Morris, William Drax and Henry Heley between 1400/1 and 1419/20 were eliminated from the accounts. Over this period the average annual increase in debt was almost £50. The next period for which there is clear evidence is that from 1447/8 to 1465/6 when the office was occupied by John Middleham, John Penshaw, William Cuthbert, John Eden and Thomas Haughton. The arrears of these years, which were written off in 1480/1, totalled £1581. 2s.3d., an average increase of £83. a year.

After 1490 significant changes occurred. In the first place, the practice was adopted of writing off the arrears every time the office changed hands. This may have been connected with the two other developments, namely, the sharp reductions in arrears huius compoti and in annual increase in bad debt. For example, between 1507/8 and 1513/4 when Robert Strother held the office, only £39. 11s.3d. of arrears accumulated, an average annual increase of less than £6. Moreover, the arrears huius compoti for the last year of his term amounted to only £4. 3s.8d., composed entirely of free rents that had been uncollectable for decades. Although there are very few extant accounts for the years after Strother's term ended, those that do exist confirm that this trend was maintained. Thus, in the last half-century of the priory's existence, the Bursar all but eliminated the problems of arrears and bad debt as he had the problem of wasted and decayed rents.

Up to this point we have spoken rather easily of rents and rent collection; it now behoves us to consider the formidable nature of the Bursar's annual task. At no time did he have fewer than five

hundred and fifty rents to collect and, to complicate the problem, the people from whom he had to extract the money were scattered over a very wide area, held their land on diverse terms, and were of greatly differing status and power, socially and economically. It is fortunate, therefore, that the records permit us to consider in some detail how the task was accomplished so that we may give to the holders of the office the credit they deserve.

In the townships owned by the priory and inhabited by customary tenants, the existence of Collectors can be proved from the 1360s. As we have noted, these men were members of the tenant body chosen at the meetings of the halmote court. Their title suggests that they were responsible for the collection of rent and for forwarding the money to the Bursar; the indentures between the Bursar and several Collectors surviving from the 15th century indicate that this was not so.[1] Their value to the Bursar was not so much as rent collectors but as prompters of the people among whom they lived; in addition, the indentures, as well as recording local facts, constituted means of ensuring that the central record was correct.

The rentals of the late 15th and early 16th centuries not only support the evidence of the indentures but also permit a detailed examination of the whole rent collection system. For the purpose of illustration, that of 1495 has been selected. The first and most obvious fact is that, if rent days existed, they were not observed, nearly all rents being paid in fragmentary portions at irregular intervals throughout the year. Moreover, payments were made in a variety of places. The most frequently mentioned were the meetings of the halmote court which is not surprising in view of the peripatetic

1 Loc. IV, nos. 3, 6, 61, 63.

nature of that institution and the permanent requirement of township representation. Another frequently mentioned venue was the Bursar's Exchequer, the central office in the abbey from which the estate was administered. Its chief clerk was the Cursor Scaccarii, a post held in 1495 by a Nicholas Wren whose name occurs over one hundred times in the rental. On some occasions he was receiving rent at the Bursar's Exchequer; but, it is also apparent that he perambulated the estate, doubtless with the court, but also perhaps independently, receiving rents in a variety of places. Rents were also paid in local churches, people's homes and even on the highway, presumably as the result of chance encounters. Many payments were made by tenants personally; frequently, however, they can be seen using intermediaries such as their relations, their neighbours and, in the case of the well-to-do, their servants.

Perhaps the most startling fact to emerge from a study of this rental is that rent was paid, not only in cash, but also in goods of various sorts and in the form of labour services. The most important of the commodities received was corn; five hundred and twelve quarters of barley, three hundred and fifty-three quarters of wheat, and two hundred and sixty-one quarters of oats; a total of one thousand, one hundred and twenty-six quarters with a value of £157. 0s.3d. No less than one hundred and thirteen tenants in twenty townships paid all or part of their rent in this way. Their distribution, however, was uneven only one tenant in the townships of Tyneside and Wearside rendered any corn, and very few free tenants anywhere paid in this fashion. In fact, corn rents came almost entirely from customary tenants in the townships of the central and southern parts of the county.

Next in value at nearly £40. was livestock. The most important elements were forty-six cows valued at £11. 11s.3d., twenty-six oxen worth £9. 12s.9d, and twenty-four bullocks worth £7. 18s.11d. The remainder of the income, amounting to £10. 2s.5d. in value, consisted of seventy-six hens and geese, seventy-four pigs and piglets, sixty-eight rams and three horses. Seventy-four tenants living in nineteen townships contributed to these totals; the pattern of their distribution was very similar to that of the corn-paying tenants. Of almost equal value at £36. 5s.10d. was fish. Naturally, this form of rent came only from those townships situated by the rivers Tyne, Wear and Tees. The most important by far was South Shields which acoounted for fifty-two of the seventy fish-paying tenants; moreover, unlike the other eighteen tenants, those at Shields paid exclusively in kind. In fact, this rental, when compared with that of 1396, provides considerable proof that, in the course of the 15th century, South Shields had increased in population and had prospered as a fish port. The great contributions made by the Shields tenants_were herring and cod_(dogdrave) of which the Bursar received over twenty thousand and over seven thousand respectively: their combined worth exdeeded £22. In contrast, the tenants of the Wearside village rendered salmon,while single tenants of Monk Hesleden and Cowpen Bewley provided a turbot and a quantity of cockles and mussels respectively.

The remaining goods were of less importance both individually and collectively. The Cowpen Bewley tenants paid forty-two quarters and six bushels of salt valued at £5. 10s.4d. Several tenants in Kirk Merrington and Ferryhill provided tewnty-nine cart loads of brushwood worth 14s.6d. Over one hundred and twenty-six ells of cloth of various sorts came from tenants in the Durham boroughs,

Aycliffe and Cowpen Bewley. Finally, two barrels of oil worth £2. 12s.0d. were paid by two tenants in Gateshead and Nether Heworth.

In addition to payments in kind, £11. 4s.7½d. worth of rent was allowed to tenants for work performed, for fees and for repairs to their holdings. Of these three categories, labour was the largest fifty tenants were involved, located principally in Durham, Billingham and Wolviston; the total value of their allowances was £5. 6s.0d.

Overall, of the £631. 8s.6½d. worth of rent actually paid, no less than £255. 11s.9d., or about two-fifths of the total, was received in kind rather than in cash. One curious by-product of this was that some twenty-five tenants overpaid in that the goods they rendered were of greater value than the balance of their owings; the difference was credited to them for the following year. In part they were compensation for the hundred tenants who had not completed their payments at the time the account was closed. Cash income amounted to £375.16s.9½d. In recording this, the clerk frequently specified that payment had been made in pecunia, in argento, or in auro; it is not clear, however, what precisely was implied by these terms.

The rental of 1495 clearly demonstrates that the relationship between landlord and tenant, on one County Durham estate at least, was far from being simply a matter of cash. In fact, it invites the conclusion that the region was still far from practising a cash economy. Such a conclusion, however, would be foolhardy. The fact that almost all tenants of the Tyneside townships paid in cash plus the fact that, as the subsequent rentals of the 16th century indicate, payments in kind were not haphazard, suggests that a mixed form of rent was either desired by the Bursar or not unwelcome to him. At the same time, the rental does serve as a warning against accepting

too readily the notion that, in the late middle ages, landlords were concerned only with cash income and that the cash nexus was universal.

## B. INFRA AQUAS : LANDOWNER

The subject matter of this section is the property over which the Bursar had direct control and which he could exploit by either direct or indirect means. On the secular side, the most important were the manors with their demesne land, but in addition there were mills for the grinding of corn and the fulling of cloth, fish yares, and several mineral extraction sites. Of equal importance were the revenues derived from appropriated churches.

### 1. MANORS AND DEMESNE LANDS.

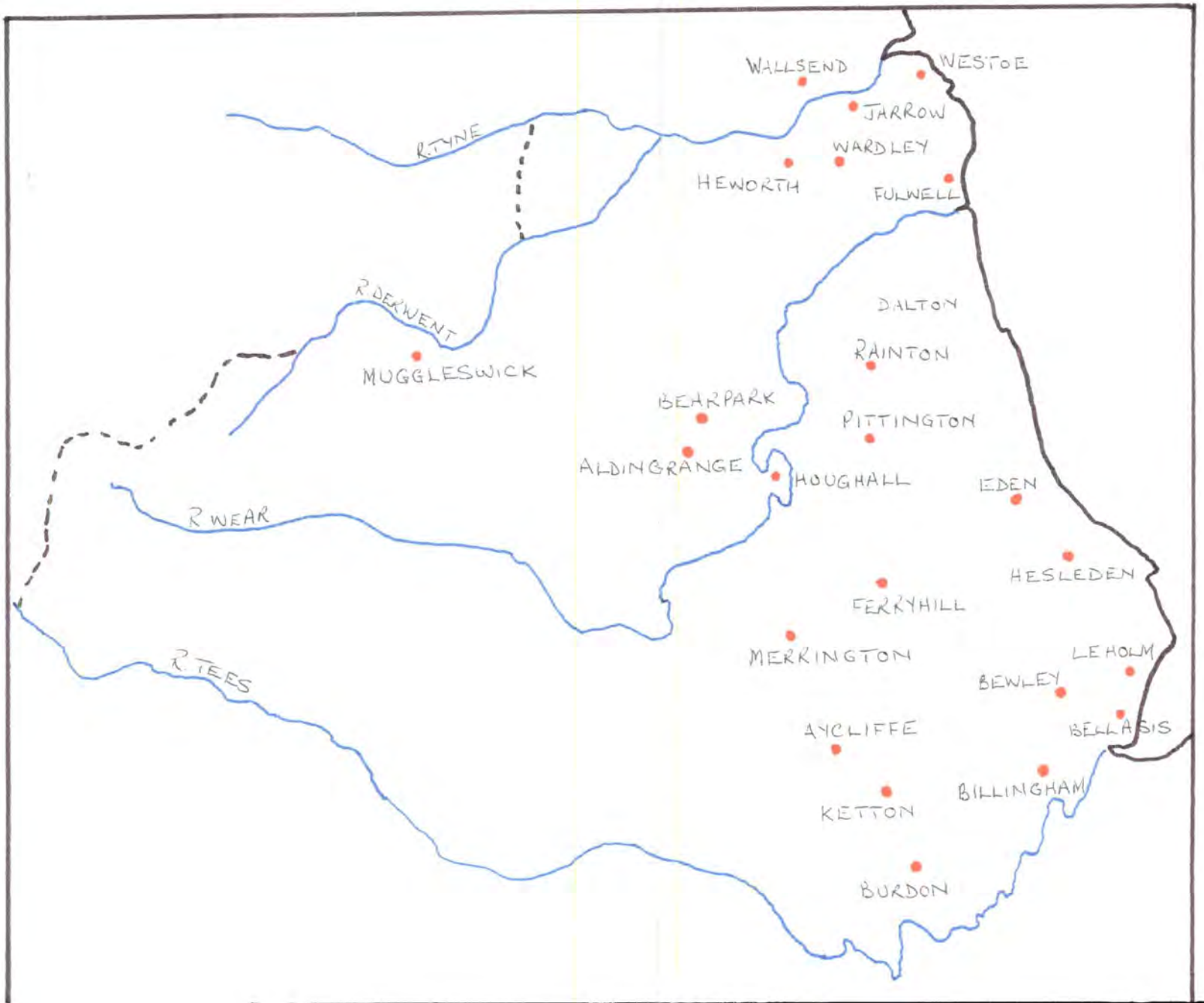
The Bursar had under his control twenty-two manors scattered over the eastern half of the county [1] together with a number of upland properties in Weardale and Derwentdale which were devoted to pastoral farming. Most of the manors were located in or near townships over which the Bursar had full control and from which labour services were supplied. In some cases - Wardley, Pittington, Bewley, Bellasis, Ketton - the demesne land seems to have formed a separate entity, whereas elsewhere it was intermingled with tenant land.

It is obvious that the manors varied in size although exact acreages are not recorded, except in the case of Billingham which consisted of about one hundred and eighty-six acres of arable land and about twelve acres of meadow. When leased, the value of Billingham ranked third after Pittington and Ketton, suggesting that the largest manors had somewhat over two hundred acres of land and that the remainder were correspondingly smaller. Lease values, however, cannot be regarded as fully accurate guides because variations in the

1 See Map.

# BURSAR

# MANORS



quality of land and the different methods and dates of leasing may have resulted in differences in value.

The main questions relating to the direct exploitation of the manors have been answered by Miss Halcrow, and consequently the first task is to give a precis of her findings. The control and direction of manorial activity was a matter of some complexity. At the centre were the Bursar, the Terrar and the Steward, all of whom played some part. Their roles, however, cannot be defined precisely, although of the three, the Terrar seems to have been pre-eminent: the Prior was not excluded, but his presence at administrative sessions was occasional and in no way essential.[1] The pattern in fact was similar to that observable in the running of other aspects of the estate.

Away from the centre, the administration was divided into two parts, one concerned with agrarian, the other with pastoral activity. As regards the agrarian aspect, activity was centred on the twenty-two manors referred to above. At each was a Sergeant who was responsible for the day to day running of his manor. The men who filled this office were drawn from the ranks of the tenantry but, unlike the other tenant officers, they were not elected by their fellows but appointed by the Bursar. They held office for several years (periods tended to lengthen towards the end of the 14th century) and could be transferred from manor to manor.[2] Supervision of their work was close and frequent: occasionally, there were formal visitations in which the Prior sometimes participated; these apart, the Bursar and the Terrar

1 Halcrow, pp.3 - 13.

2 Ibid., pp. 84 - 8.

visited the manors frequently during the course of each year, the most important occasion was Michaelmas when the annual audit of the Sergeant's accounts took place.[1] The role of the Sergeants was essentially supervisory: they had nothing to do with rents or fines; nor, until the later part of the 14th century, did they sell anything other than petty surpluses. Consequently, they were virtually devoid of income and had to be supplied by the Bursar with the cash they needed to cover their expenses. Under the Sergeants were the full-time employees of the manor, in particular the ploughmen and the carters; in addition, they were responsible for the hiring of seasonal labour and for the calling-up of tenant services. As to the upkeep and maintenance of the manors, here also the Sergeants were shorn of major responsibility; the Bursar financed all large-scale repairs leaving the Sergeants to deal with those of a minor sort.[2]

Before the end of the first quarter of the 14th century, the manors were operated almost exclusively for the production of corn for the priory's consumption. Hence all the grain not required on the manor for seed and fodder was sent to Durham where it became the responsibility of the Granator. Also during this period, grain production reached its highest levels.[3] As a result of this policy, the manors produced little cash profit for the Bursar. During the middle fifty years of the century certain important policy changes were effected. Instead of sending grain to Durham, the Sergeants were required to sell their harvest surpluses locally; the buyers were, in

1 Halcrow, pp.4 - 8.

2 Ibid., pp.38 - 40.

3 Ibid., p.52.

the main, local men.[1] The reason for this was that the Bursar was gradually adopting a policy of purchasing his grain needs in the market.[2] Here Miss Halcrow is adamant that the leasing of demesne land was the consequence of this new policy and not vice-versa.[3] The same period also saw a reduction of the total acreage under corn. The important outcome of this change of policy was that the Bursar received cash profits from his Sergeants.[4]

Pastoral activities were organised along separate and different lines. At the head of the organisation were the same three officials, the Bursar, the Terrar and the Steward, but immediately below them were two Stock Keepers, one stationed at Le Holm in Billinghamshire, the other at Muggleswick in Derwentdale. These places were the main centres for sheep and cattle farming respectively. Further down the scale were the shepherds and stockmen responsible for the individual flocks and herds located on the manors and the upland properties in Derwentdale.[5] In operation the system was made even more complex by the considerable inter-manorial traffic in both sheep and cattle.[6] When the manors were finally leased, these two centres were retained in hand and became comparatively more important, which no doubt accounts for the creation of a new obedience, the Keeper of the Stock, in the middle of the 15th century.

1 Halcrow, pp.51-6.

2 Ibid., pp.46-7.

3 Ibid., p.47.

4 BAR.

5 Halcrow, p.69.

6 Ibid., p.46.

Of the two aspects of pastoral farming, that concerned with sheep was by far the more important.[1] Wool in fact was the only item of farm produce which the Bursar permanently and consistently exploited for cash, and on this point it is possible to add to Miss Halcrow's work. As in the case of corn, the peak period for both production and sales was the early 14th century. Because of gaps in the record certainty is impossible, but it is most likely that every year at least four hundred stones of wool were sold. Moreover, this was also the period of highest prices: 4s.0d. per stone was the minimum and so income rarely fell below £100. a year. Thereafter, volume of sales seems to have been maintained until the last twenty years of the century, although annual figures are hard to compute since the practice was to sell (or record the sale of) the produce of several years in one year. Prices, however, were lower, rarely reaching 4s.0d. a stone and, by 1390, dropping as low as 1s.6d. After 1400, the recording of sales was more even so that progress can be charted with more confidence. Production declined to such an extent that sales rarely exceeded two hundred and sixty stones (ten sacks) a year: the principal reason for this must have been the permanent leasing of all but two manors by 1420. Prices fluctuated but rarely went above 2s.6d. a stone with the result that annual income seldom exceeded £30. Thus, for most of the 15th century, the picture is one of depressed stability. During the last fifty years of the priory's existence, however, improvements did occur: sales almost always topped two hundred stones a year; prices began to creep upwards towards the 3s.0d. mark and, after 1530, were as high as 3s.4d. a stone.[2]

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1. Halcrow, p.79.

2 All figures in this paragraph are from BAR.

Who were the buyers of the priory's wool? There is some evidence that early in the 14th century part of the clip was taken to Boston,[1] a logical outlet in view of the Bursar's visits to the fair there to purchase luxury goods.[2] There is also evidence of an Italian buyer, Gerard of Chytari,[3] and of more local men such as Thomas del Holme of Beverley.[4] During the 1330s and 1340s the most important buyers were a group of Hartlepool merchants, Thomas of Coldingham, John of Coatsay (Cotes), Ralph of Whitwell and William of Durham, many of whom also bought tithes and made loans to the priory. After 1350, with occasional exceptions such as William Pomfret and John of Appleton who were York merchants, the buyers were Newcastle men.[5] Almost certainly this reflects the important privilege of Newcastle merchants to purchase the low-quality wool of the northern counties and to export it direct to the Netherlands without recourse to the staple at Calais.[6]

Miss Halcrow's study was concerned with one form of manorial administration; of equal importance is the alternative to direct exploitation, namely leasing. The first point of major significance is that, from the beginning of the period under review, the Bursar

1 BAR 1302/3.

2 BAR.

3 Halcrow, p.74; BAR 1308/9.

4 Reg.II, f.94r.

5 All the names are from BAR.

6 E. Power and M.M. Postan, Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century, pp.41 - 3.

never held all of his manors in hand. Although direct evidence is scarce, it is apparent that during the decades before 1350, seven of the twenty-two manors were out of commission. As early as 1270, Jarrow had been handed over to the priory's cell there in return for an annual rent of £10.[1] Wallsend and Burdon also seem never to have been worked: in 1270 they were leased for £13. 6s.8d. and £6. 13s.4d. respectively;[2] moreover, there are no extant manorial accounts pertaining to them; nor do they appear in that section of the account rolls in which payments by tally to the manor sergeants were recorded. The last two points apply equally to the manors at Heworth, Hesleden and Aycliffe. Moreover, it is known that Heworth was leased in 1279 for a term of twenty-seven years[3] while references to the farmer of Hesleden occur in 1292, 1308 and 1333.[4] To the list must be added Rainton manor: although no manorial accounts have survived, payments by tally to the Sergeant there appear in the account rolls between 1297/8 and 1314/5; the absence of these thereafter suggests that the manor may have been put to farm about the middle of the second decade of the century. It was certainly leased during the 1340s as were all the other manors so far mentioned.[5]

Why the Bursar leased a number of his manors is a matter of speculation. The need for cash may have been a cause; alternatively, the priory may not have needed their produce in order to satisfy its

1 Loc.IV, no.226.

2 Ibid.

3 Reg.I, f.35v; SS 58, p.110.

4 BAR 1292/3, 1308/9, 1333/4.

5 RDD.

grain requirements. It is equally difficult to say why these seven in particular were chosen for disposal. The case of Jarrow is perhaps exceptional in that the priory was obliged to provide an adequate endowment for its own cell; it must be noted, however, that the endowment of the cell at Monkwearmouth did not include nearby Fulwell manor which remained in hand until 1416.[1] Both Wallsend and Burdon were awkwardly situated, the former being to the north of the Tyne while the latter was well away from Durham and the other main centres of the estate. On the other hand, Wallsend together with Heworth were close to Newcastle and Gateshead, and Aycliffe and Burdon were within easy reach of Darlington. As these boroughs were local markets of some importance, the leasing of these manors at an early date indicates that the Bursar had rejected a policy of commercial farming. It is also noticeable that the leased manors were widely separated and that each was near to a manor which was retained in hand until after 1350. This pattern may have been the result of local or accidental factors, but there is the possibility that it was the product of a deliberate policy.

Of the remainder, the survival of manorial accounts and references in the account rolls strongly indicate that direct exploitation was the norm at Wardley, Westoe, Dalton, Pittington, Billingham, Bewley, Bellosis, Merrington, Ferryhill, Ketton, Houghall and Bearpark. Even with these, however, there were times when some of them were not in hand. Wardley, for example, was at farm in 1270[2] and, in 1307, it was leased for seven years to Andrew Bouenye of Araste as a means of repaying a debt to him.[3] In addition, there are references to the

1 BAR 1415/6.

2 Loc.IV, no.226.

3 Reg.I, f.58v.

farmers of Merrington in 1308 [1] and Fulwell in 1314.[2] Finally, about Eden and Aldingrange nothing can be said since no manorial accounts have survived and there are no references to them elsewhere, in the absence of hard evidence, it will be safer to assume that they were in hand.

Thus, during the sixty years before 1350, the Bursar's policy towards his manors was relatively stable: approximately one third of them were leased; the rest were in commission for most of the time. In the seventy years after 1350, however, radical and permanent changes were instituted. Put briefly, by the end of the second decade of the 15th century, the Bursar had leased all but two of his manors.

In most cases the manor was handed over to a consortium of tenants who held equal shares in the land and made equal contributions to the common rent. As the number of tenants declined and conglomerate holdings became established, the customary tenants and the lessees of the manor tended to become one and the same group. When syndication occurred this fact was recognised by the amalgamation of demesne and tenant land. As a result, by 1539, only nine manors could be recorded separately. [3] Although Billingham must be included with this larger group, developments there were slightly different: the demesne land was divided into twenty-one unequal portions of between three and twenty-two and a half acres which were attached to the bondlands. There is no obvious reason for this, although it must be noted that

1 BAR 1308/9.

2 BAR 1314/5.

3 SS 58, pp.308 - 27.

Billingham was probably the first manor to be leased after 1350. This group, including Billingham, comprised those manors where the land was intermingled with that of the tenantry.

Where a manor was a separate entity, it continued to retain its separate identity and was leased to an individual or to a partnership of no more than two or three men. Many of these men were not priory tenants; nor did they form a socially homogeneous group.

The most socially superior of the lessees belonged to the minor gentry. For example, in 1499, Bellasis manor was leased for the unusually long term of seventy years to Percival Lambton,[1] a successful lawyer employed by Bishops Sherwood and Fox. Unfortunately, he was a younger son - his father was Richard Lambton of Great Stainton - and as such he did not inherit the family estates.[2] He died in 1501, but the family retained the lease, although the actual holders of the manor until c.1517 were Richard Errington and then Ralph Conyers; after that date Percival's heir, William, resumed control.[3] The connection between Bellasis and the Lambtons continued beyond the dissolution until c.1575 when Percival's grandson, Marmaduke, known as Blind Lambton, died without issue. The inheritor of Bellasis was his eldest sister, Elizabeth, who was the wife of John Eden.[4] From this example it is clear that the priory's manors were one means whereby the younger sons of the gentry could assist their fortunes.

1 BAR 1499/50.

2 Surtees, III, p.62.

3 BAR and BR 1507 - 1510, BR 1512, BR 1516 - 1517, BR 1538.

4 Surtees, III, pp.148 - 9.

A long association was also established at Pittington, although in this case the family origins are obscure. Roger Morland acquired the manor in 1475 [1] and his descendant, Christopher, was still holding it at the dissolution. [2] By this time the family was of some account, since, in 1553, in conjunction with Simon Welbury, Christopher Morland paid £1343. for the land of the dissolved priory of Guisborough in Castle Eden together with the holdings of Durham priory in Eden and Wingate. This business venture was entirely natural as Welbury's wife was Morland's sister. [3] As in the case of the Lambtons, the Morlands failed in the male line so that, on Christopher's death in 1574, Pittington manor passed to his daughter, Isobel, the wife of Sir Henry Anderson, a prominent citizen of Newcastle. [4] Although it cannot be proved conclusively, there is a strong suggestion that the Morlands used the Pittington lease to raise themselves into the ranks of the gentry.

Priory manors were equally attractive to successful urban men. Thus Robert Brandling, a prominent Novocastrian, leased Wardley sometime between 1517 and 1538; [5] this was a natural move for him to make since he was in the process of acquiring, albeit with difficulty, the priory's freehold at Felling. [6] In the middle of the

1 BAR 1475/6.

2 SS 58, p.313.

3 Surtees, I, p.112.

4 Ibid.

5 BR 1517 and 1538.

6 Surtees, II, p.86.

previous century the same manor had been leased to Robert Rhodes[1] who, in addition to being the outstanding figure in Newcastle,[2] was also the priory's Steward.

Further down the social scale, the lessees tended to be men with closer connections with the priory. For example, the Wake family, which had been minor free tenants in Southwick since the middle of the 14th century, became lessees of Fulwell manor in 1418,[3] retaining it, with only short interruptions, until 1470 when it was merged with the township lands.[4] Although Robert Wake participated in the new syndicate in 1470, the family connection was severed before 1500 even though they continued to hold in Southwick until the dissolution.[5] Also of a middling sort were the Raketts who held Houghall manor from 1457[6] until sometime after 1517. This is an extremely interesting family which made its living partly as lessees and tenants of priory land and partly as middle-rank administrators in the service of both diocese and cathedral. They successfully maintained themselves at this level in society from the late 14th century until the early 17th century.[7]

Of similar status but with a rural background were men like William Dycon and Ralph Holtby, lessees of Bellasis manor during the middle decades of the 15th century,[8] who were employed by the priory

1 SS 9, p.cxxcii.

2 Welford, Men of Mark, III, pp.286 - 91.

3 BAR 1418/9.

4 HB II, f.115r and v.

5 SS 58, p.311.

6 BAR and BR.

7 I owe this information to Mr. P. Musset of the Department of Paleography and Diplomatic.

8 BAR.

at the stock farm at nearby Le Holm.[1] Similarly, George Davidson, who was the Bailiff of Billingham,[2] leased Bewley manor in 1506.[3]

The foregoing names are but a few of the many known to us through the records as lessees of the priory's manors. It is regrettable that in so many instances nothing further can be discovered about them, thus producing a somewhat blurred picture. Some of course are more tantalizing than others. For example, the Strangeways family which, having secured the lease of Ketton manor in 1432,[4] clung on to it, sometimes alone, sometimes in partnership with others, until 1539.[5]

This example, along with several others quoted above, demonstrates the pronounced tendency for families, having once secured possession of a manor, to retain it through several generations. This in turn suggests that leases were long. Such, however, was not the case. The records indicate that manorial leases, like those of customary land, were for multiples of three years and, although longer, rarely exceeded thirty years. As to other conditions, it may be stated that leases invariably included the manor buildings along with the arable and meadow land. Initially, leases also included stock; with the passage of time, however, the tendency was for the manor to be de-stocked.[6] In most cases rent was required in the form of cash; corn rents, however, were imposed on the farmers of Eden, Bewley and Aycliffe until the middle of the 15th century. Like the customary tenants, lessees were required to maintain the manors in

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1 SS 9, p.ccxcvii and SS 58, p.208.

2 BR 1509 in Stipendia Famulorum.

3 BAR 1506/7.

4 BAR 1432/3.

5 SS 58, p.158.

6 e.g. Aycliffe, BAR 1365/6 and 1366/7, Merrington BAR 1366/7; Rainton, BAR 1370/1; Bellasis, BAR 1395/6; Fulwell, HB II.

good repair; the 15th century Inventaria, however, demonstrate that there was much dilapidation. that of 1446,[1] reveals damage to the value of £252. 14s.0d; the corresponding figure for 1464,[2] was £136. 6s.8d._

When were the manors finally put to farm? In most cases accurate, and in others narrow, dates can be determined by the use of rentals and account rolls, including the section on tithe sales.[3] The pattern that emerges shows that most of the manors in hand before 1350 were finally leased between 1380 and 1416, that is, during the period when the Bursar was also making radical changes in his policy towards the customary tenants. This surely is more than coincidence. It seems to suggest that in the last two decades of the 14th century that the Bursar was moving, or being forced to move, towards the status of a rentier whose tenants were all on short-term leases. The exceptions, as far as the manors were concerned, were Pittington and Bearpark. The former continued to be worked, producing an annual profit of between £20.(1440) and £45. 11s.0d.(1428),[4] until the middle 1440s. After 1446/7, however, income dropped below £10. a year which perhaps explains the leasing of the manor ten years later. The other exception, Bearpark, was unique in that it was a park in which a pleasant country residence for the Priors had been built and in which was located the Prior's stud. It is not surprising that it was retained in hand much longer than the other manors; nevertheless, it too was leased in conjunction with its immediate neighbour, Aldingrange, about 1465.

1 SS 9, pp.ccxci - ccci.

2 SS 58, p.98 - 206.

3 Appendix IX.

4 BAR 1440/1 and 1428/9.

Something must now be said about the value of the manors even though the changing methods of administration make this a difficult and, to a certain extent, an unrealistic task. Perhaps the best vantage point is the year 1418/9 when full details were recorded in the account roll at a time when all but one manor were leased.[1] Of the twenty-two, eighteen were leased for cash, producing an income of £138. 11s.6d., which would have been £153. 4s.6d. had not five of them been leased for sums below the value assigned to them by the Bursar. In addition, the lessees of three manors paid in corn which was valued at £25. 1s.0d. Finally, the manor of Pittington was in hand, the profits amounting to £34. 7s. 9½d. The total income was, therefore, £196. 13s. 7½d. compared with a total value of £212. 13s. 3½d.

Looking backwards from this date, it is possible to produce figures for most years from 1350 when the Bursar began the practice of recording income from manorial leases separately in his account rolls. These show an almost uninterrupted increase in income from £34. 6s.8d. in 1350/1[2] to £154. 8s.6d. in 1418/9,[3] due almost entirely to the rise in the number of manors at farm. In addition, cash income was received from the sergeants of those manors still in hand, in particular from Fulwell and Westoe, and recorded in the miscellaneous receipt section. In contrast to the receipts from leases, there was no regular pattern as regards the cash profits.

1 Appendix X.

2. BAR 1350/1.

3 BAR 1418/9.

After 1419, the gradual disappearance of so many manors from the records renders the exercise rather pointless; certainly, comparisons between the earlier and later parts of the period become impossible. Nevertheless, the figures that were recorded indicate that at the dissolution values had increased. In 1418/9, Wardley, Hesleden, Bellasis, Bewley, Aldingrange and Houghall had produced an income of £53. 0s.0d;[1] in 1539, the same manors were worth £71. 13s.4d.[2] It must be noted that all the increases, with the exception of Wardley, came in the years after 1500.

## 2. MILLS

The priory possessed mills both for the grinding of corn,[3] and for the fulling of cloth. The former, much the more numerous, were distributed very much according to the pattern of the manors, except that no mills were located close to the manors of Eden and Wardley. Suit of mill was organised along similar lines, that is, townships owing service to a manor were also dependent on its mill. In some places the arrangement was simple in that one manor and one mill were served by two or three contiguous townships. thus Southwick, Monkwearmouth and Fulwell had the manor at Fulwell and the mill at Southwick. In other areas the arrangement was more complex. For example, in Billinghamshire, there were manors at Billingham, Bewley and Bellasis whereas the mills were at Billingham, Wolviston and Newton Bewley. Both water and wind mills existed, probably as a

1 BAR 1418/9.

2 SS 58, pp.308 - 27.

3 Appendix XI.

result of geographical dictates, although some attempt may have been made to have one of each type close together in order to counteract the effects of drought and calm. Nether Heworth, for example, had both a water and a wind mill.

As elsewhere, the basis of the milling system was the obligation of tenants to grind their corn at a prescribed mill and nowhere else. This obligation rested on all the customary tenants and many of the free tenants, particularly those with small holdings in townships over which the priory had complete control. In return for this "service", the priory required a multure or percentage of the milled flour. For the overwhelming majority of tenants the rate was one measure in thirteen (ad xiii vas) which, by national standards, was probably rather high,[1] although it seems to have been the norm within the region. In some cases a more favourable rate had been conceded. For example, the tenant of Woodham owed suit to Aycliffe mill and rendered one measure in twenty although his tenants had to render one in thirteen.[2] The lessee of half of the township of South Pittington received even more favourable treatment when, in 1371, he secured a rate of one in twenty-four.[3]

To enforce this obligation the priory had at its disposal the judicial machinery of the free and halmote courts. The records of both contain much evidence of dispute and litigation arising from the efforts of the tenants to avoid the restrictions of the system. As we have seen, the normal direction of attempted evasion during

1 H.S. Bennett, Life on an English Manor, p.133.

2 SS 58, p.64.

3 H.R. 1371 (Summer).

the 14th century was towards a "foreign" mill, hand querns becoming more popular in the 15th century. The detection of evaders was the duty of the reeves and the juries who can be observed presenting offenders in court. The punishment of those found guilty consisted of amercement in the sum of 6d. in addition to the confiscation of the corn or flour and any transport used in committing the offence. The halmote court records of the 15th century indicate that, although the tenants succeeded to a considerable extent in loosening the priory's grip on their lives, they were not able to escape this particular obligation.

In addition to the obligation of grinding their corn at the mill, tenants were required to assist in its maintenance. In this respect the landlord's demands were not identical in every part of the estate. One fairly universal requirement was unskilled labour, in particular the task of keeping the mill pond and race free of sediment, repairing the road leading to the mill, and rethatching its roof. Another common obligation was the carting of such things as grindstones and heavy timber from their places of origin to the mill site. Inevitably, it was the reeves and the juries who had the responsibility of organising their fellow tenants for these duties. As might be expected, tenants were by no means enthusiastic about the idea of giving their time and effort unpaid and, as a result, complaints and litigation ensued. It is clear from some of these cases that very often the job did not require all available hands and that tenants banded together to pay one or some of their number actually to perform the task.[1]

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1 HR 1367.

In addition, the landlord and the lessees contributed to the upkeep of the mills. Every lease specified that the lessee should keep his mill in good repair; in addition most required the lessee to provide some of the mechanical parts, those most frequently mentioned were cogs and rungs and, in the case of wind mills, sail-cloths. For his part the landlord usually undertook to supply such necessary items as grindstones and heavy timber, most of which was obtained from the priory's own parks. It must be emphasised, however, that there was no standard, uniform pattern as regards the division of responsibility. During the 15th century the whole business of repairs and maintenance devolved increasingly on the landlord and the lessee with the tenants seemingly able to avoid this aspect of their obligations. Despite all precautions, mills continually fell into disrepair and the cost of their renovation was usually the largest item in the Bursar's annual repair bill.

Throughout the period under review, none of the mills was ever exploited directly by the Bursar. During the 14th century leases were of brief duration; three years was perhaps the commonest period, but one and two year leases also occur frequently. After 1400, three, six - or nine- year leases became the norm; in other words, leasing arrangements for the mills were made to coincide with those for customary holdings.

The lessees of the Bursar's mills fall into two principal groups. One consisted of professional millers. During the 14th century, before surnames had become properly established, many lessees bore the name Milner, a northern translation of the word molendinarius, while in the 15th century, when surnames had come into existence the word miller was added to the lessee's name. Not all of these men

were priory tenants: in 1409, for example, one of the farmers of Rainton mill was Robert Milner of Houghton le Spring;[1] in 1374, Pittington mill was leased to William Milner of Gilesgate;[2] in the same year Hesleden mill was leased to Peter Milner of Shotton;[3] and in 1368 one of the farmers of Aycliffe was Henry Milner of School Aycliffe.[4]

The other major group consisted of tenants. In many instances, leases were awarded to individuals, but partnerships of up to five people were not uncommon. In such cases one of those concerned was usually called Milner or described as a miller. Also occurring during the earlier part of the 14th century at Wallsend, Rainton and Dalton were leases of the mill to the whole tenant body. During the 15th century, however, the trend was towards the individual lessee. It is not surprising to discover that many tenant lessees were prominent and enterprising in other respects. Thus, William of Hylton, who accumulated so much land in Westoe in the years before the plague, was also the farmer of the mill there;[5] at Southwick, Thomas Egermond of Fulwell was the mill farmer for several years during the early 15th century;[6] and the Morland family secured as firm a grip on the mill at Pittington as it did on the manor.[7]

1 HB I, f.29v.

2 HR 1374.

3 HR 1374 (Spring).

4 HR 1368 (Autumn).

5 RDD, f.38v.

6 HB I, f.38v and BAR.

7 BAR 1475/6 onwards.

Perhaps the most glaring fact about the history of the corn mills is the decline in their worth. The earliest complete evidence, the rental of 1270,[1] shows that sixteen mills produced an income of £142. 2s.0d., a not inconsiderable sum of money. Towards the end of the second decade of the 14th century the total value was even higher, reaching £180. in 1318/9.[2] This was the apogee, and thereafter a serious decline took place. On the eve of the plague, the total value had declined to £98. 5s. 8d.,[3] and during the second half of the 14th century it fell still further, reaching £76. 10s.0d. in 1388.[4] By 1418/9, it was down to £42.,[5] but the lowest point was not reached until 1446 when the total was a mere £22.[6] After this a recovery took place so that in 1495 the figure was £49,[7] and in 1539, £61.[8] Thus it may be said that, while the Bursar's mills were an asset of some value before 1350, after that date they were of little financial significance.

Not only was there a decline in income, there was also a decline in the number of mills. Those at Dalton and Moorsley disappeared from the records during the second half of the 14th century. No reasons were given but, judging by their value in 1335,[9] (10s.0d. and £1. res-

1 Loc.IV, no.226.

2 BAR 1318/9.

3 RDD, f.139r.

4 RDD, f.159r.

5 BAR 1418/9.

6 SS 9, pp.ccxci - ccclii.

7 BR 1495.

8 SS 58, pp.306 - 27.

9 RDD, f.19r.

pectively), they were never of great worth, in a harsher economic climate they stood little chance of survival. Also missing after 1425 were the mills at Wallsend and Ferryhill, ruin and the want of tenants being responsible.[1] Muggleswick, too, disappeared about this time. On the other hand Hedworth mill, not mentioned after 1270, reappeared in 1470,[2] having been in the possession of the Jarrow cell during the intervening period.

About the fulling mills little can be said. Of the three that appear in the records, that at Aycliffe was the most important. The earliest reference to it was in 1365/6,[3] when it was worth £1. a year; by 1388, the rent had risen to £1. 6s.8d.[4] In 1422,[5] however, it went out of commission and was not repaired until the mid-1450s. Thereafter, it was in continuous use at a higher rent, £1. 13s.4d., rising to £2. after 1506.[6] Throughout the 15th and 16th centuries the lessees were Darlington men which hints at the existence of a fairly intensive cloth industry in the district. If this were so, it would help to explain the fact that, between 1495 and 1539, the number of small holders in Aycliffe rose from fifteen to thirty-two.[7] On the other hand, the two other fulling mills, at Burdon and Newton Ketton, were also near Darlington, but they went out of existence towards the end of the 14th century never to be rebuilt. The mill

1 BAR 1422/3 and 1425/6.

2 HB II, f.117v.

3 BAR 1365/6.

4 RDD, f.159r.

5 BAR 1422/3.

6 BAR 1456/7 and 1506/7.

7 BR 1495 and SS 58, pp.320-1.

at Newton Ketton was originally a thriving concern worth £3. 6s. 8d. in 1270;[1] that at Burdon, however, seems never to have been important.

3. YARES.

Yares were weirs thrown across rivers for the purpose of trapping fish, salmon in particular. They were created on the lower reaches of the Tyne and the Wear but not, apparently, on the Tees. Those on the Tyne were associated with the townships of Nether Heworth, Hebburn, Jarrow and South Shields on the south bank, and with Wallsend on the north side; those on the Wear belonged to Southwick. The number on the Wear is nowhere stated but there were twelve on the Tyne at the time of greatest prosperity. Several of them existed throughout the period while others had a more fitful and temporary life.

At no time were the yares exploited directly but were leased for periods of between one and thirty years, in most cases to tenants living in the same townships. During the years before 1350, income from the yares remained steady at between £18. and £20. a year.[2] Following the plague, however, income rose until, in 1365/6, it reached £40. 18s.8d. This rise took place at a time when all other sources of income were producing less and for it there is no certain explanation. The new level of income was sustained for about ten years after which it dropped sharply to £4. 12s.0d. in 1400/1. Thereafter, it recovered to about £8., a level maintained until the dissolution. During the 16th century, however, all the yares became waste except those in

1 Loc. IV, no.226.

2 These and other figures are from BAR.

Nether Heworth which increased in value.[1] This township, in fact, seems to have become the river fishing centre of the lower Tyne.

## 4. MINERALS

The extraction of minerals took place in several townships, most of which were in the northern part of the county. With the exception of coal, none was of great importance or value, a fact indicated by the absence of any system of co-ordinated exploitation, and by the relegation of income to the miscellaneous section of the account rolls. References to mineral working do not appear in every account thus making it difficult to know for certain what was happening. Of greater significance is the complete absence of reference to minerals before 1340, which suggests that the Bursar neglected these assets until well into the 14th century.

Coal is known to have been mined in both Northumberland and Durham during the 13th century, but not until the 14th century did the industry really begin to grow in size and develop in technique.[2] The appearance of records of mining in the Bursar's accounts and rentals after 1340 may indicate that the priory had decided to participate in a development of growing regional significance. The earliest efforts were at Rainton and Ferryhill; later, other pits were sunk at Heworth, Spennymoor, Aldingrange and Broom.

At Rainton, which was always the principal centre, mining began in 1341.[3] The regular sums recorded suggest that the mine was leased until 1350. During the following twenty years, exploitation was direct. part of each year's production (between ninety-seven and

1 SS 58, pp.306 - 11.

2 R.L. Galloway, A History of Coal Mining in Great Britain, pp.12-16.

3 RDD, f.43v; no mention in the earlier rentals in this volume.

two hundred and seventy-eight chaldrons) was sent to Durham for use at the abbey; the rest was sold to give the Bursar a cash income of between £3. 15s.0½d. in 1355 [1] and £26. 4s. 1d. in 1350.[2] Shortly after 1370, leasing was reintroduced, and this policy was in operation for the next thirty years. The rents secured fluctuated between £3. 6s. 8d. in 1381/2,[3] and £12. 0s.0d. in 1371/2.[4] Direct exploitation was resumed during the first decade of the 15th century, possibly because of a decline in rent. The treatment of Ferryhill was more straightforward: it was leased from its inception in 1341 until the first decade of the 15th century when it was brought into hand. The rent obtained varied between £3. and £5.[5]

The continuity of mining observable at Rainton and Ferryhill was not apparent elsewhere. Pits were sunk at Spennymoor in 1375,[6] but they were in continuous production no longer than 1381, despite the fact that a profit of £41. 0s. 1½d. was obtained in 1377/8.[7] After 1381 references to mining at Spennymoor are rare. About Heworth even less is known: an income of 18s.4d. was recorded in 1396,[8] and the expense of sinking two pits there was mentioned in 1376.[9] As regards Broom and Aldingrange, no references to mining at either place occur before the 15th century, although the Hostillar's accounts prove

1 BAR 1355/6.

2 BAR 1350/1.

3 BAR 1381/2.

4 BAR 1371/2.

5 Figures from BAR.

6 BAR 1375/6.

7 BAR 1377/8.

8 BAR 1396/7.

9 BAR 1376/7.

that mining was taking place in that area from the 1350s onwards.

Towards the end of the first decade of the 15th century fresh impetus was given to coal mining by the removal of responsibility from the Bursar and the creation of the office of Supervisor of Coal Mines.[1] This change coincided with the resumption of direct exploitation, and it resulted in higher levels of production and income. At Rainton, income rarely rose above £25. a year during the earlier period of direct control; after 1409 and until 1453, it rarely dropped below that figure and, in 1427, rose as high as £59. 13s.7½d.[2] Ferryhill also was more profitable, producing an annual income of over £10.[3] compared with the £3. to £5. derived from the earlier leases. The pits at Heworth, Broom and Spennymoor do not appear in the accounts of either the Bursar or the Supervisor after 1409, although a statement in the account roll at that time suggests that their produce may have been consumed at the abbey.[4] The mine at Aldingrange made its first appearance during the 1440s and produced over £10. a year in income.[5]

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There are no Supervisor's accounts for the years after 1453, nor do the Bursar's accounts mention coal mining, apart from that of 1462/3 in which it is stated that £82. had been received for the profit of the two previous years. Because of this lack of evidence, it is impossible to know what happened; in general, however, coal mining continued in Durham,[6] particular proof being supplied by the accounts of the Hostillar and the priory of Finchale.[7] Consequently,

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1 Extracts from his accounts are printed in SS 103, pp.708-13.

2 SS 103, p.708.

3 Ibid., pp.708 - 13.

4 BAR 1409/10.

5 SS 103, pp.712 - 3.

6 Galloway, p.19.

7 HAR and SS 6.

it may be reasonable to conclude that the want of evidence does not indicate lack of activity; indeed, the very absence of references to coal mining in the account rolls and the halmote records may be taken as suggesting that the system in operation in 1453 continued until the dissolution.

In addition to figures of production and profit, the records furnish other information about mining. The sinking of new pits, which happened frequently, was at various prices: in 1376/7, for example, two pits at Heworth cost £1. 18s.0d. and £6. 6s. 6½d. respectively, and one at Rainton cost £2. 1s. 4d; [1] in 1443, another sinking at Rainton required an outlay of £4. 0s. 8d.[2] To what depth they normally went is uncertain, although the figure of six and a quarter fathoms is mentioned in connection with one of the Heworth pits in 1376/7.[3] In addition to the costs of production, the Bursar had to pay tithe to the Rector of Houghton le Spring and wayleave to the Almoner for the right to cross his land at Moorhouses.[4]

In contrast to coal, the production of iron began late, was on a small scale, and was confined to a single place, Muggleswick, in Derwentdale.[5] The earliest reference to the mine occurs in 1456/7 and it was in production thereafter except for years 1472 to 1484 and 1489 to 1491. Production varied between thirty and one hundred and twenty-six stones in which were valued at 4d. each except in the 1480s when the price rose to 5d. and then to 6d. The highest income to the Bursar was £3., realised in the first year of production.

1 SS 103, p.585.

2 Ibid., p.713.

3 Ibid., p.585.

4 Ibid., p.709.

5 All details are from BAR.

From 1494/5, annual income was always £1. 6s. 8d, suggesting that the mine was leased.

In addition to coal Heworth produced other commodities. A pit (lutum) was opened in Over Heworth moor for the extraction of clay for pottery making. Production began in 1353[1] and was continuous, with minor interruptions, thereafter. The pit was always leased to men living in Gateshead. Some of them had potter as their surname, while one of their number, William Hylle, was described as "erthpoter".[2] The initial rent of the pit was 15s.0d. a year, but it had risen to £2. by the mid-1390s. Thereafter, it declined to between £1. and £1. 6s.8d. during the first half of the 15th century, and after 1460 it was no more than 6s.8d.[3] This evidence clearly indicates the existence of a pottery industry in Gateshead after 1350.

About the same time, stone quarries were opened up in nearby Nether Heworth. They bore the names Chilside, Haining, Wellhead and Grindstone, the last indicating the product. The lessees were in the main men from Gateshead and Newcastle. Unlike the clay pit in Over Heworth, quarrying ceased after the middle of the 15th century. None of the quarries ever produced more than £1. a year in rent. Quarrying also took place at Pittington, although the product there was limestone. The quarry was called Downside, and the earliest reference to it occurs in 1428.[4] From that date it was continuously in operation, and its rent rose from 3s. 4d. a year to 16s. 8d. after 1470. The lessees were invariably local men, including the vicar.[5]

Finally, there is evidence of salt production at Cowpen Bewley and at three places on the Tyne. Since all four settlements

1 BAR 1353/4.

2 HBI, f.93v.

3 Figures from BAR.

4 BAR 1428/9.

5. Figures from BAR.

were estuarine, production must have been by the evaporation and boiling of sea water. At Cowpen, the salt pans came into existence before 1290 and on monastic initiative since they were associated with the bondlands whose tenants were required to render salt as part of their rent.[1] This may have been an attempt by the priory to become self-sufficient as regards salt. If so, it was a policy that failed since, as his accounts show, the Bursar bought foreign salt.

In contrast, salt production on the Tyne did not begin until almost the end of the 15th century and, almost certainly, it arose through tenant rather than landlord enterprise. Initially, there were five pans, all in South Shields, which were leased for 11s.8d.[2] By 1539, the number in Shields had grown to nine worth £1. 10s.0d. a year; in addition, there were five pans in Jarrow and one in Willington.[3] The records provide no reasons for this development; in the absence of evidence, however, it may be suggested that one outlet for the produce of the pans was the fish industry of South Shields.

## 5. PAROCHIAL TITHES.

Considered as a whole, the tithes of the fifteen appropriated parishes constituted the largest single source of income under the Bursar's control. Of this number, the eight lying within the bounds of the modern county will be considered here. The questions relating to their appropriation have been discussed elsewhere;[4] here it will be sufficient to note that two of them - Jarrow and Monkwearmouth - were appropriated from the beginning of the priory's existence, while the remaining six - Pittington, Monk Hesleden, Billingham, Aycliffe,

1 The rentals of 1495 to 1539 reveal that salt still formed part of the tenant's rent.

2 BAR 1492/3.

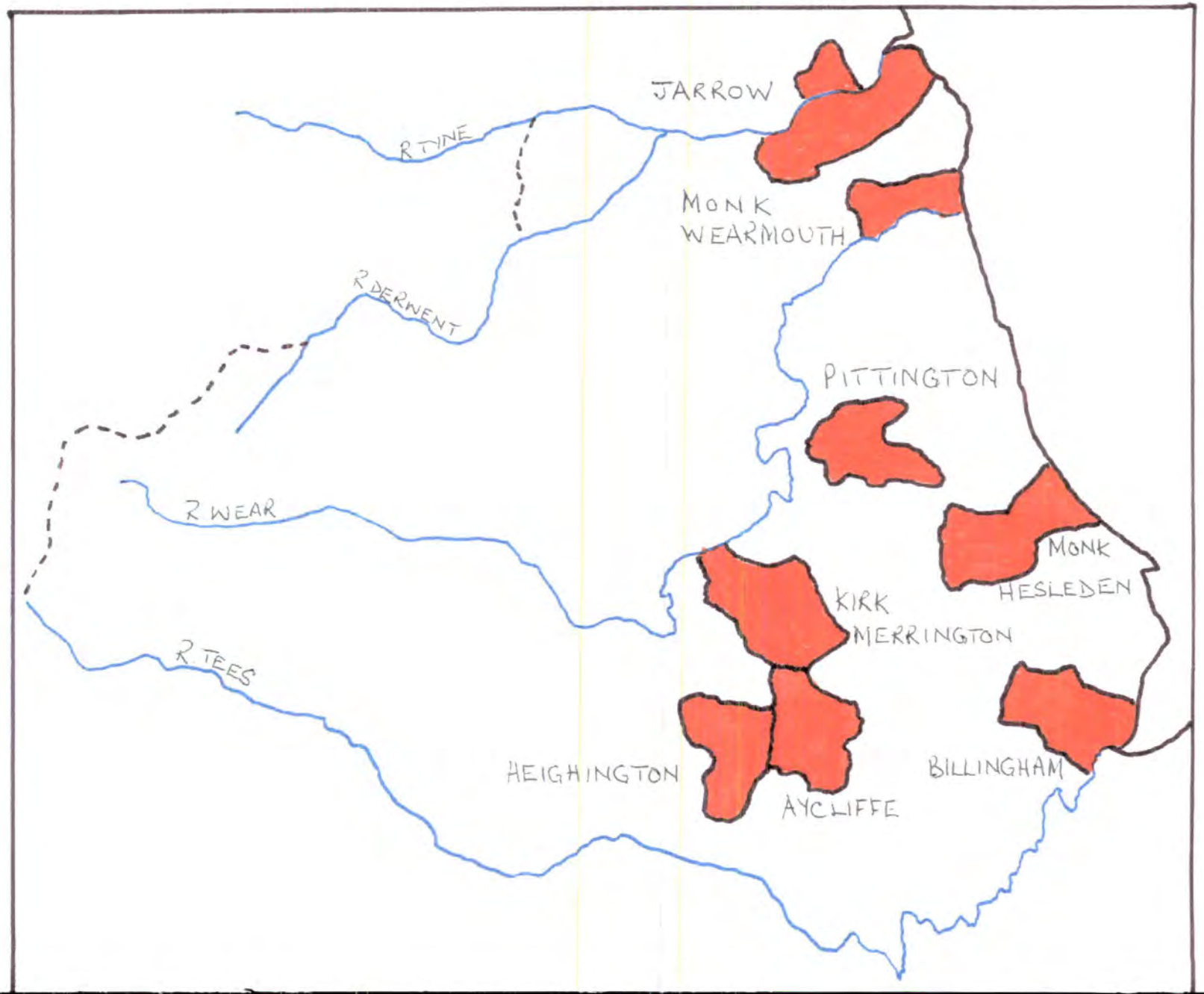
3 SS 58, pp.306 - 10.

4 Barlow, Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars.

## BURSAR

APPROPRIATED

CHURCHES



Heighington and Kirk Merrington - were appropriated between 1195 and 1271.[1] From each the Bursar was entitled to the tithe of corn; the other tithes pertained to the vicarage. All of them, as was common in northern England, were of considerable size and contained between six and twelve townships and a number of manors.[2] Not all of their constituent settlements, however, rendered their tithes to the Bursar. The townships of Jarrow and Hedworth in Jarrow parish and those of Monkwearmouth and Fulwell in Monkwearmouth parish were permanently assigned to the priory's cells at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. South Shields, also in Jarrow parish, never appears in the records; presumably its tithes formed part of the revenue of St. Hilda's chapel there. The tithes of Hett in Merrington parish were paid to the Bursar only until c.1320, after which they were awarded to the Commoner. The townships of Whitworth, Tudhoe and Old Park, which constituted the chapelry of Whitworth within Merrington parish, rendered their tithes to the Sacrist. Finally, the tithes of Haswell Grange in Pittington parish went to the cell at Finchale until the mid -15th century.[3]

It must also be noted that there was a variable coincidence between the priory's landed and ecclesiastical properties. For example, within the parishes of Jarrow and Billingham the priory was not the only proprietor of the church but also, directly or indirectly, of all the land. In contrast, the priory had no landed interest in the parish of Heighington apart from the small property known as

1 Barlow, Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars, p.38.

2 Appendix XII.

3 SS, p.1 et seqq.

Coatsay Moor. In the other parishes land ownership was divided between the priory and the other landlords, most notably the Bishop of Durham. Finally, several priory townships were in parishes which did not belong to the priory; for example, the two Raintons were in the parish of Houghton le Spring, an episcopal rectory.

In considering the methods of tithe administration, the first point of importance is that, throughout the period, tithes were used simultaneously as sources of cash and produce; at no time, except for a short period near the end of the 14th century, did the Bursar devote his rights exclusively to the increase of his cash income or to satisfying the corn requirements of the house.

As regards the obtaining of corn, two distinct methods were used. The more common was the retention of tithes in manu domini, that is, the direct exploitation of the asset. Before 1318 [1] the number of townships whose tithes were retained in hand fluctuated but never exceeded ten in any one year. After some time between 1318 and 1328, however, the number was increased to between ten and twenty; this phase lasted until mid-century when the earlier pattern was restored. After 1380 the number declined and, from 1386 until 1396, no tithes were retained in hand. In 1396 the practice of having some tithes in manu domini was resumed, the annual number of townships varying between one and ten until 1470. Thereafter, the number was normally five until some time between 1520 and 1536 when it was increased to fourteen.

An evolving policy as to which townships were retained can also be detected. Before 1350 the arrangements seem to have been

1 All the following details are from BAR.

haphazard: townships from all parishes were involved, but no township was retained in hand permanently. After 1350 a degree of regularity was introduced in that in most years the list of townships in hand included the four in the parish of Billingham and Westoe in Jarrow parish. After 1470 the regularity was absolute. five places were retained, namely, Billingham, Wolviston, Cowpen Bewley, Newton Bewley and Bewley Manor, the whole of Billingham parish in fact except Bellasis Manor. When the list was extended between 1520 and 1536 the same five places were included with Harton, Westoe, Southwick, Hetton Le Hill, North Sherburn, Heworth, Kirk Merrington and Ferryhill in addition.

The alternative means by which the Bursar secured produce was the sale of tithes for corn rents. In contrast to direct exploitation, this method enabled him to regulate the quantity and the variety of produce received; moreover, it eliminated the costs of collection, threshing and winnowing which, for example, amounted to £3. 8s. 6d. in 1333/4.[1] It is, therefore, rather surprising to discover that the use of this method was intermittant after 1360, and entirely discontinued after 1386. Until 1360 the principal purpose of this method was to secure a supply of barley malt, thereafter, wheat and barley were demanded of the purchasers. As regards the selection of townships for sale for corn, there was no clear pattern: the numbers varied between one and twelve annually, and examples can be found in every parish. The only significant fact is that the number of townships whose tithes were sold for corn was at its minimum during the period when the number of townships in manu domini was at its maximum, that is, between c.1325 and c.1350.

1 BAR 1333/4.

The most extensively applied method of administration was sale for cash, in fact, the tithes of the majority of townships were so treated in every year throughout the period. Moreover, many places were never or very rarely administered in any other way, particularly those which did not belong to the priory or were held of it on freehold terms. There was no hard and fast rule about this, however, and the tithes of such places as Walworth and Heighington in Heighington parish and Hylton in Monkwearmouth parish were frequently collected or sold for corn during the 14th century.

Thus, it may be said that the trend of tithe administration was from fluidity and complexity in the early 14th century to stability and permanence in the later 15th century, and for cash rather than kind to be increasingly important. Although no fully adequate explanation of these changes is possible, two points may be made. One is that, considering the numbers of people and places involved, accidents and local considerations must have played a big part in determining what happened in any given year. For example, the ownship of a township or manor by a secular lord meant the existence of problems which would not obtain in a similar place directly under the Bursar's control. Also, during the late 14th and early 15th centuries in particular, the suspicion exists that tithes were sometimes collected because no buyers could be found. On the other hand, tithes cannot be separated from the other elements of the estate, especially the manors. Both could be used to supply cash and/or foodstuffs of which the Bursar was the priory's principal provider. In the earlier part of our period, he seems to have been more inclined towards using his assets to secure food; after 1350, however, his policy towards both manors and tithes tended towards their use as sources of cash with which he could purchase of basic commodities elsewhere.

Who bought the priory's tithes? The large numbers of recorded

names constitutes a substantial body of information, the fact that so many of their bearers are obscure makes precise analysis difficult. Of the discernible categories, the largest was composed of the priory's own tenants. Where a township was directly under the Bursar's control, its tithes were frequently sold to its customary tenants. Occasionally the words et sociis suis were included, indicating that purchase was made by a consortium of which the named man was the leader or representative. Such consortia may have included all the principal tenants who were, in effect, buying exemption from the tithe. Even when the phrase was not added, the suspicion remains that more people than those named may have been involved in the transaction. Where townships or manors were held of the priory on freehold terms, the tenant was often the tithe purchaser. For those places owned by other lords certainty is more difficult, although the evidence indicates a similar arrangement. The clergy also played a fairly prominent part in tithe purchase, particularly in Monk Hesleden parish where the incumbent bought the tithes of one or two townships almost every year. In addition, chaplains and the heads of the priory's cells at Jarrow, Monkwearmouth and Finchale appear in the lists regularly. Finally, when manors were leased, it was usual for the tithes to be sold to the lessees. Sometimes, the money for the tithes was included with the rent of the manor; mostly, however, the two sums were kept separate. All in all, perhaps the most obvious and significant fact about the buyers of the Bursar's tithes was that they were local people, usually with strong interests in the parish. To complement and illuminate this somewhat general statement the analysis of a single year is necessary. That chosen is 1381/2, partly because an almost complete rental exists for that year, and partly because Bishop Hatfield's survey of the episcopal estate had recently been completed both are vital pieces of corroborative evidence.

In Jarrow parish, the tithes of Wallsend and Willington were bought by a consortium headed by William del Raw, a prominent tenant in Willington.[1] Those of Hebburn, Monkton and Harton were purchased by individual tenants in each place, John Willy, Thomas Lame and John Sadbiri;[2] Lame also bought the tithes of Simonside and Preston. Felling tithes were not bought, as frequently happened, by the free tenant, Surtees, but by a customary tenant of Nether Heworth, William Colinson.[3] Another customary tenant of the same township, Ralph del Kichin,[4] also bought the tithes of Heworth manor; he may have been the farmer of the manor. Of the buyers of the tithes of Over and Nether Heworth, John of Hexham, nothing is known. Normally, the tithes of these two places were bought by the Surtees of Felling or by the tenants of the township.

Only two townships in Monkwearmouth parish are mentioned. The tithes of Southwick were bought by John Reid, one of the customary tenants there;[5] those of Hylton, which was not a priory township, went to Adam Mallard who may have held land there.

In the parish of Pittington, the tithes of North and South Pittington were secured by Thomas Anneslay, an important customary tenant in North Pittington,[6] who was also involved with the mining of coal at Rainton.[7] Another prominent man, Thomas Menvil,[8] the lord of

1 RSDPD, f.2r.
2 Ibid., ff. 3r - 4r.
3 Ibid., f.2v.
4 Ibid., f.2v.
5 Ibid., f.5r.
6 Ibid., f.7v.
7 BAR.
8 SS 32, p.127, p.132, p.137.

Ludworth, and a free tenant of the priory, bought the tithes of Ludworth and the two Sherburns. The tithes of Shadforth were secured by Thomas Hewetson, one of the Bishop's customary tenants in that township.[1] Finally, the buyer of the Ravensflat tithes, John Barbour, may have been related to the Thomas Barbour who held part of that property from the priory.[2] Ralph of Maltby, the buyer of the tithes of Hetton le Hill, cannot be identified.

The tithes of Monk Hesleden township were sold for corn, the buyer being a group of tenants headed by John Mather,[3] while those of the manor at Hesleden went to the lessee, Richard son of Peter,[4] who also bought the tithes of Sheraton. The tithes of Hardwick were purchased by the lady of the manor, Margaret Ogle. The provenance of John Falowfeld, the buyer of Eden tithes is unknown; nor is that of William of Sheraton, the buyer of Hulam and Hutton Henry, although he was probably a local man.

In Heighington parish, the tithes of Walworth were secured by William Blacden who held the manor of East Shipley and a small property in Newtoncap from the Bishop.[5] Since little is known of the internal history of this township, it is impossible to discover whether Blacden had any close connection with it or with the parish. The tithes of Killerby and School Aycliffe, both episcopal townships, were bought by John of Killerby and Alice Blank respectively; the former held land

1 SS 32, p.147.

2 RSDPD, f.8r.

3 Ibid., f.8r.

4 Ibid., f.8v.

5 SS 32, p.47, p.54, p.56.

in Killerby and in Sherburn [1] while the latter was the free tenant of School Aycliffe.[2] The tithes of another episcopal township, Redworth, were bought by Adam Winship, the lessee of the priory's township of Newton Ketton.[3] Roger Morland (Heighington) and John Walker (Newbiggin and West Thickley) cannot be identified, unless Walker was the same man as the tenant of the Bishop's fulling mill at Evenwood.[4]

The buyer of Aycliffe tithes was William Power, a prominent customary tenant in that township.[5] Another Aycliffe tenant, John Teddi,[6] bought those of the episcopal township of Ricknall· this man may have been of a Ricknall family since a William Tedy was holding of the Bishop there.[7] The buyer of Nunstainton tithes was William Smith, the lessee of the priory's holding there [8] the Smiths, in fact, bought the tithes of Nunstainton in practically every year between 1371 and 1539. Of Thomas of the Isle (Preston le Skerne and Heworth), Richard Wright (Brafferton) and John Walker (Woodham), nothing is known.

The tithes of Kirk Merrington were bought by Thomas Claxton, a

1 SS 32, p.23, p.148.

2 Ibid., p.17.

3 RSDPD, f.14r.

4 SS 32, p.76.

5 RSDPD, f.14v.

6 Ibid., f.14v.

7 SS 32, p.25.

8 SS 58, p.163 n.1.

member of a prominent county family whose manor of Old Park, which he held of the Bishop,[1] lay within the parish. Those of Ferryhill were acquired by Hugh of Corbridge, the ex-vicar of Pittington,[2] who may have been related to the monk, Thomas of Corbridge, the Bursar from 1380/1 to 1387/8; Ferryhill manor tithes were secured by its lessee. Of John Custon, the buyer of the tithes of Great Chilton and Little Chilton, nothing is known.

Finally, in Billingham parish, the tithes of Billingham were purchased by two tenants, Richard Hardgill and Richard Walker.[3] The lessee of Bellasis manor, Thomas son of Richard, bought the manorial tithes while his counterpart at Bewley manor, William Jacson,[4] bought the tithes of Wolviston and Cowpen Bewley in addition to those of Bewley manor. Nothing is known of Robert Samson, the purchaser of the tithes of Newton Bewley.

This somewhat lengthy analysis is justified by the fact that a very similar result would be obtained if any other year between 1350 and 1539 were subjected to as close a scrutiny. It would also be true of any year before 1350 except that during this early period another group of tithe purchasers is discernible. The most notable members were Thomas del Holme of Beverley and Ralph of Whitwell, John of Kelloe, John of Nesbit, Nicholas of Burntoft, all of Hartlepool. These men were merchants who not only bought tithes but also wool and loaned

1 SS 32, p.34.

2 Surtees, I, p.117.

3 RSDPD, f.10r and v.

4 Ibid., f.10r.

considerable sums of money to the priory.[1] None of them held land of the Bursar's estate so it must be presumed that their interest in the estate was purely commercial and financial.

In conclusion, it is worth reiterating that the overwhelming majority of the men and women who bought the Bursar's tithes had strong interests in the townships and the parishes concerned. In addition, it must be noted that prominent among their number were the pushful and enterprising members of the customary tenantry who were active as accumulators of customary holdings and as lessees of demesne land.

The story of the income from tithes is a depressing one, being a tale of almost continuous decline throughout the period. Because of the fluctuation in the number of townships in hand and the gradual addition of the manors as the result of leasing, exact comparisons between different times within the period are impossible. Nevertheless, a brief account of overall income will be of some use.

The years of greatest income were those before 1318.[2] In 1292, tithe sales brought in £479. 14s. 4d. from fourty-four places; in 1307/8 the income from thirty-three places was £392. 0s.8d; and in 1316/7 it was £393. 16s.8d. from thirty-nine places. The differences between the figures arose from changes in the townships involved and not from trends in values. Where sales were for corn, returns were equally substantial. In 1307/8, one thousand, five hundred and twelve and a half quarters of barley malt were received from seven townships; in the following year ten places produced two thousand, three hundred and twenty quarters

1 BAR Mutuationes section.

2 All figures quoted subsequently in this section are from BAR, except those for 1539/40 which are from SS 58, pp.329 - 31.

of malt, wheat and barley. Peaks such as these were never achieved subsequently.

The loss of records for the years between 1319 and 1327 makes it impossible to know when these high levels of income ceased. The confusion and the lower income levels revealed in the accounts after 1328, however, suggest that the end was sudden and catastrophic. The period between 1328 and 1348 was one in which the Bursar struggled to achieve stability. Its earlier half was characterised by the anticipation of tithe revenue through sales pre manibus which reached a peak in 1340/1 when this device produced no less than £246. 11s. 8d. Prominent among the purchasers were the merchants mentioned above. Sale of tithe pre manibus makes it extremely difficult to assess total annual income with any real accuracy; figures for individual townships, however, show that income was at a much lower level than previously. After 1340, the Bursar succeeded in re-establishing a more stable position; in particular, the anticipation of revenue was eliminated so that, by 1349/9, he received a cash income of £281. 5s.4d. contributed by forty-two places. Nevertheless, his income was still far behind that of the beginning of the century.

The plague of 1349 reduced tithe income to a mere £61. 8s. 0d. in 1350/51. From this second catastrophe, however, the Bursar made a much better recovery: by 1365/6, income from forty-four places was £255. 16s. 0d., a level which was maintained for the next twenty years, and exceeded after 1386 when all tithes were sold. From 1400, however, there was a slow and gradual decline. During the first quarter of the century income rarely rose above £250. a year, and after 1430 never exceeded £200. The nadir was reached in the 1450s and 1460s when annual income was invariably less than £150. Thereafter, there was a recovery so that by 1480/1 an income of £187. 18s. 0d. was achieved.

This was not sustained, however, and in the early 16th century, income was about £10. below this figure. At the end of the priory's life, cash income was under £140. in cash, but this was the consequence of an increased number of places in manu domini.

Decline in income was also apparent where sales were for corn. Whereas the tithes of ten places were sold for two thousand, three hundred and twenty quarters in 1308/9, the same number produced only four hundred and fifty-nine in 1378/9; moreover, this was the highest income from sales of corn recorded during the period 1328/9 to 1386/7. It would be futile to attempt comparisons as regards tithes held in manu domini, partly because of the fluctuation in the number of townships involved, but also because income from these places was not recorded until 1379/80. Even after 1470 when the same five places were retained every year, recorded receipts varied considerably in 1486/7, income was only one hundred and sixty-eight quarters; in 1475/6, it was four hundred and eighteen quarters.

Having considered the developments on a broad front, it will be useful to look at them on the narrower front of a single parish. The most useful for this purpose is Heighington, because in most years throughout the period the tithes of all the constituent properties were sold for cash.

The peak year for this parish was 1292/3 when the tithes of all its townships were sold for £129. 17s. 9½d. In the following years not all of the tithes were sold for cash, but the 1316/7 total of £117. shows that when they were a high level of income still resulted. In 1330/1, following the disaster of the 1320s, tithe sales produced only £69. and the following years saw not a recovery but a further decline: in 1335/6, they realised £65.; in 1341/2 they produced £57.; and in 1347/8, income was no more than £49. 13s. 4d.

The year after the plague, 1349/50, saw the tithes of five townships and parts of two others produce an income of only £18. 18s. 0d. In the following years, however, things improved considerably, and by 1368/9, income had reached £75. 6s. 8d., higher than at any time since before 1320. This level was not maintained for long, and after 1380 income declined, reaching £33. 16s. 8d. in 1391/2. From this date there was a gradual improvement until 1437/8 when £48. 10s. 0d. was realised. Again, however, there was a slump, and by 1457/8 income was no more than £31. 4s. 0d. Thereafter, the level of income rallied to about £40., and in the 16th century was usually £38.

The history of the Heighington tithes was at slight variance with that of the eight parishes as a whole. Similar variations emerge when any other parish is considered individually. None, however, is of real significance, and does nothing to invalidate the conclusions arising from the general analysis.

What caused tithe income to decline? To this question the monks themselves have supplied the answer. In 1420, a document was drawn up to illustrate the fall in income from tithes after 1293, and to it the author added four reasons.[1] The first two concern the Scottish and Northumberland parishes and will be considered later. The third states that the most important cause was the reduction by other lords of the area of land under cultivation, and its conversion to pasture. The fourth asserts that many places had become desolate as the consequence of frequent recurrences of plague. The tithe records in the account rolls lend considerable support to these claims.

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1 Reg.II, ff.356v - 357r; SS 9, pp.ccxliii - cclii.

In the first place it must be noted that cereal production ceased entirely in many townships so that the Bursar received no income at all from them. The most notable example is Woodham, a priory freehold in the parish of Aycliffe. During the period of greatest prosperity before 1318, the tithes of Woodham were sold for as much as £21. 6s. 8d. (1295/6) which made it the most valuable and, presumably, one of the most populous places in the parish. This comparative position was largely maintained until the plague, although by 1346/7, cash income was no more than £12. Thereafter, the decline was comparative as well as absolute until corn growing was ended in 1427/8. In the years following nothing was received by the Bursar quia non seminatur. Grindon, also in Aycliffe parish suffered an earlier demise. In 1292/3, its tithes were sold for £5. 13s. 4d., but, from 1370/1 until 1509/1, nothing was received because the place was waste. From the latter date corn production was resumed, but on a small scale judging by the income of 13s. 4d. received by the Bursar. In another Aycliffe township, Ricknall, corn growing did not cease until 1493/4, although the value of its tithes throughout the 15th century was minute compared with the £17. of 1308/9. Monkwearmouth parish was also badly affected. Newton and the unidentified Threptend disappear from the records after 1370/1, and Hylton was not sown after 1425/6. Also worth including here are the Jarrow manors of Felling and Follingsby; from 1350 both rendered tithes in some years but were as frequently not sown. Finally, Archdeacon Newton in the parish of Heighington appears to have been waste after 1340.

To this list must be added another, composed of townships where the value of the tithes was severely reduced. Again, Aycliffe supplies some notable examples Heworth, with a value of £10. 6s. 8d. in 1311/2, was finally worth no more than £1. 13s. 4d; Newton Ketton, sold for

£7. 6s. 8d. in 1316/7, brought in only £1. 6s. 8d. in 1539/40; and Nunstainton, valued at £14 in 1307/8, was sold for a mere £1. in 1539/40. In the neighbouring parish of Heighington, the value of Newbiggin dropped from £4. in 1316/7 to 6s. 8d. in 1539/40; at West Thickley tithes, sold for £6. 13s. 4d. in 1295/6, fetched no more than £1. in 1539/40. Several places in the parish of Pittington are also notable: the value of Ludworth fell from £15. in 1316/7 to £1. 6s. 8d. in 1539/40, while Hetton le Hill tithes, sold for £6. in 1307/8, were worth only £1. 13s. 4d. in 1539/40. In all of these townships corn production continued, but on a much reduced scale. It is impossible, however, to say whether this was the result of a falling population, or of conversion of land to pasture or, indeed, of a combination of the two.

Taking the two lists together, it is interesting to note that many of the places appear on the modern O.S. maps as farms and not as townships.[1] This is certainly so as regards Woodham, Grindon, Follingsby, Heworth (Aycliffe), Newton Ketton, Nunstainton, Newbiggin, West Thickley and Hetton le Hill, while Archdeacon Newton is a known lost village site. The same may be true of Ludworth which seems to be a modern colliery settlement without trace of earlier shape or buildings. Unfortunately, Felling, Hylton, Newton (Monkwearmouth), Spennymoor and Ravensflat have been overlaid by modern urban sprawl.

It is equally apparent that most of them belonged to "other lords". Only Newton Ketton was directly under priory control. In 1340, it contained about twenty holdings, but before 1382, it had been leased to one man, an arrangement which proved to be permanent.[2]

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1 Ordinance Survey, 1" Sheets 78 and 85.

2 RDD and RSDPD.

Woodham, Felling and Follingsby also belonged to the priory, but they were held by free tenure, and were not under the Bursar's direct control.

It would be a mistake, however, to isolate too strictly the townships which have been discussed from the remainder. The value of tithes in all places was much less in 1540 than what it had been in 1290, and there is no reason why the causes of decline put forward in 1420 should not have applied equally to these other places. As we have seen, however, the Bursar was at pains to ensure that as little land as possible was out of tenancy, even if this meant a fall in the number of tenants and an increase in the size of their holdings. Whether the Bishop or any other lord was as assiduous in this respect is not yet known. Moreover, we have no means of knowing how the tenants, of the priory or of any other lord, used or were allowed to use the land in their possession.

Having considered the reasons for the decline in tithe income put forward by the monks, we must consider something that they did not refer to, that is, the decline in the price of corn about which so much has been written. Unfortunately, evidence for prices does not extend back further than 1379/80, when the Bursar began recording the value of tithes <u>in manu domini</u>. From that date, however, there is almost continuous evidence for wheat, oats, barley and peas and beans. The figures demonstrate very clearly that there was considerable fluctuation in prices from year to year; they do not indicate, however, any distinct upward or downward trends. This, combined with the fact that the price of wool was at a fairly depressed level until just before the dissolution, suggests that the influence of market forces was not very great.

## C. EXTRA AQUAS LANDLORD AND LANDOWNER.

Beyond the rivers Tyne and Tees, the Bursar derived income from a number of places in Northumberland, Scotland and Yorkshire. Although land was by no means negligible in quantity, the Bursar's principal financial assets extra aquas were ecclesiastical, in particular, the great tithes of nine appropriated parishes.

### 1. Northumberland.

In this section will appear all those possessions which lay inside the boundaries of the present county of Northumberland, during the period under discussion most of them were within the districts known as Norhamshire, Islandshire and Bedlingtonshire which were constitutionally part of the county palatine of Durham and, consequently, under the secular jurisdiction of the Bishop.

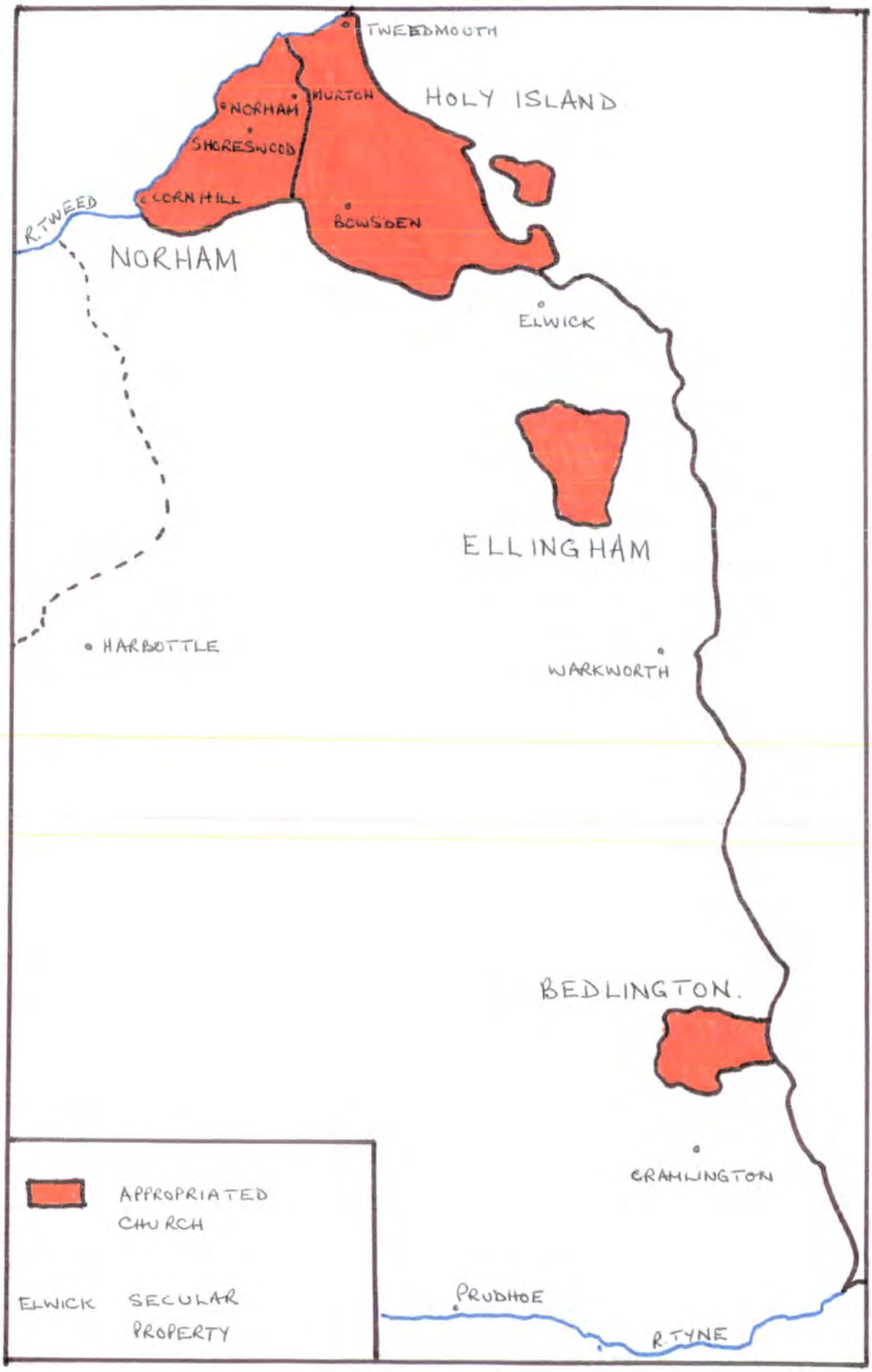
#### a) Land.

The lands controlled by the Bursar had their origins as priory property in two ways. some, deriving from the pre-Conquest patrimony of St. Cuthbert, were allocated shortly after the priory's foundation, others were donated by local feudatories during the 12th and 13th centuries. The most important of these possessions was the township of Shoreswood, situated a few miles to the south of Norham. It was entirely in the hands of the priory and consisted of fifteen husband lands of unknown size and seven cotlands, including the holding of the smith.[1] In Norham itself, rent was derived from three sources the glebe of the parish church; a few small rents of which nothing is known; and a ferry across the river Tweed. Not far away to the west, there was also the

1 BAR 1337/8.

# BURSAR

## NORTHUMBERLAND PROPERTY



glebe of the parochial chapel of Cornhill. Finally on Tweedside, there were a number of fish yares at Norham and Tweedmouth. Also within the parishes of Norham and Holy Island, the Bursar had properties at Elwick, Murton and Bowsden, acquired from local landlords in the 12th and 13th centuries.[1]

Further south and within the county, the Bursar had the glebe of Ellingham, one of his appropriated churches. At Warkworth, he possessed the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene and an estate consisting principally of one hundred and twenty acres of land and a meadow in Acklington Park all had been granted to the priory by John, son of Robert.[2] Another landlord, Walter de Insula, had granted to the priory one hundred acres at Newton near Harbottle in Coquetdale.[3] In Cramlington, the Bursar had three tofts, a carucate of land and another thirty acres of arable and meadowland, deriving from a grant of Nicholas Grenville of Ellingham.[4] Finally, in Prudhoe on the Tyne, there was a cottage which seems to have been acquired as late as 1507.[5]

Concerning methods of administration and exploitation, most is to be said about Shoreswood. At no time during the period under consideration does there appear to have been any demesne land worked by tenant services. The tenants paid rent for their holdings the husbandlands owed 12s.0d. a year; five of the cotlands owed 2s. 6d; another paid 7s. 0d; and the smith's land was worth 10s.0d. In addition, customary rent hens to

1 J. Raine, History and Antiquities of North Durham, p.198,p.254. Appendix, pp.139 -9.

2 SS 58, p.2 n.1.

3 Ibid., p.3 n.1.

4 Ibid., p.4.

5 It appears in BR 1507, but not in BR 1506.

the value of 5s. 7½d. were rendered by the tenants as a body. The total value of the Shoreswood rents amounted to £10. 15s. 1½d.[1] Of the lives of these tenants during the 14th century something is known from the handful of court records from the years 1345 to 1348 and 1361 to 1371.[2] The court itself was held at either Norham or Shoreswood and was presided over by the Bursar, the Steward and the Proctor of Norham. Conditions of land tenure closely resembled those operating in Durham at the same time. Inheritance customs were identical, but there seems to have been an earlier move towards tenure by short lease: of the thirty-two changes of tenancy recorded between 1361 and 1371, no less than twenty-one were short terms of years; in Durham at the same period, tenancy for life was all but universal. On the other hand, neifty appears to have been the condition of a majority of the tenants, although they, like their Durham counterparts, were seeking freedom in flight. the proximity of another kingdom was highly advantageous in this respect.

Direct supervision of this township did not outlast the 14th century. The Proctor's account of 1400/1 [3] indicates that the arrangements revealed in the court rolls was still functioning; that of 1405/6,[4] however, shows that the entire township had been leased to one man, Robert Ogle. The accounts of the Bursar and the Proctor prove the permanence of this arrangement, although the rentals of 1495 onwards show that the individual named elsewhere was no more than the principal member of a syndicate of six or seven lessees. The initial lessee, Robert Ogle, did not last long, and by 1408/9 [5] the township was in the hands of

1 BAR down to 1337/8.

2 Loc.IV, nos. 98 and 117.

3 PNA 1400/1.

4 PNA 1405/6.

5 PNA 1408/9.

Thomas Rutherford (Roderforth) who continued until 1437.[1] Thereafter, the lease belonged to a family named Sanderson until 1565.[2] The value of the lease rose from £2. in 1405/6 to £8. in 1437;[3] by 1508 it had become £8. 8s. 0d.[4] The late rentals show that rents were paid largely in the form of cattle and salmon rather than in cash. In most respects the history of Shoreswood followed fairly closely the pattern observed in the Durham townships.

Less is discoverable about the other Tweedside rents, although it is clear that after 1400 most of them were no longer paid, at least, they no longer appear in the Proctor's accounts. During the early 14th century the glebe and yares at Norham were normally worth £7. or £8. a year; in addition the small rents brought in 1s. 11½d. and the ferry 6d. The yares at Tweedmouth, more valuable than those of Norham, were worth as much as £13. 6s. 8d. in 1337/8.[5] The Cornhill glebe was normally worth £1. 10s. 0d. a year before 1340, but by 1348/9[6] its rent was down to 17s. 6d. After 1400, these properties brought in no more than 6s. 8d. from Cornhill.[7]

Of the others, Warkworth was in the hands of the Percy family throughout at a rent of £1. 6s. 8d. a year. The surveys of the mid-15th century suggest that this rent was not paid,[8] the late rentals,

1 HB.I, 1437.

2 Raine, p.310.

3 PNA 1405/6, HB.I, 1437.

4 BR 1508.

5 BAR 1337/8.

6 PNA.

7 PNA.

8 SS.9, pccxc and SS 58, p.102.

however, indicate that, after 1495 at least, payment was usual rather than exceptional.[1] The Cramlington and Harbottle properties were both held by free tenure. The former, worth 6s. 8d. a year, was not paid, but the latter, worth 13s. 4d., was still being paid in the 16th century, although at a reduced rate of 8s.0d. a year.[2]

The total possible income from all of these properties, even in the early years of the 14th century when rents were at their highest, was no more than £32. 4s. 2d; by the 16th century, the equivalent figure was £12. 19s. 4d. In addition, it must be remembered that in many years, income was in fact less than it was in theory.

b) Church

Of far greater importance were the revenues derived from the four appropriated churches. That of Holy Island had been appropriate from the priory's inception, but those of Norham, Ellingham and Bedlington were not appropriated until the 13th century.[3] The last remained with the Bursar only until 1359 when it was transferred to the Sacrist's office. This was probably a reversion to its proper place since its original appropriation had been to the Sacrist;[4] presumably its transfer was a move to ensure adequate incomes for both obediences. Also, it must be noted, the Bursar received income from part only of the parish of Holy Island.[5] the townships of Ross, Elwick, Buckton, Fenwick, Lowlin, Beal, Haggerston, Cheswick, Goswick and Scremerston never appear in the records of Bursar or Proctor; presumably their tithes were paid to the master of the cell at Holy Island. From all four parishes the Bursar was entitled

1 BR 1495 and onwards.

2 Ibid.

3 Barlow, p.38.

4 Raine, p.367.

5 Appendix XIII.

to receive the great or corn tithes and, in addition, the small tithes and altarage of Norham and Holy Island parishes. Throughout the period, the great tithes were sold for cash, an unsurprising fact in view of the distance from Durham and the difficulties of administering this particularly troubled district. The buyers were all local men, the most numerous being the members of local armigerous families such as Gray, Ogle, Muschamps, Manners, Heron and Clifford. In addition, parochial clergy, burgesses of Berwick and the Constable of Norham are well represented in the surviving lists.[1] It is clear that, as in Durham, the tithe-buying business was firmly in the hands of people with close connections with the places involved.

The income derived from the sale of the great tithes was considerable. Those of Norham and Holy Island reached the apogee of their value in 1313/4 when figures of £178. 3s. 4d. and £137. were achieved, a total of £315. 3s. 4d;[2] thereafter income was at a much lower level. The years following the battle of Bannockburn were ones of unmitigated disaster: income for the four years 1317/8 to 1320/1 was no more than £24. 13s.8d. in all;[3] during the remainder of the third decade the situation was probably no better since income in 1327/8 and 1328/9 was only £1. 5s. 7d. and £32. 18s. 0d. respectively.[4] After 1330 matters improved, doubtless as a consequence of the Treaty of Northampton; nevertheless, the highest recorded income from the two parishes was no more than £186. 2s. 8d. in 1338/9.[5] The fact that figures are available for only twenty-one of the one hundred and ninety years after 1350 makes firm conclusions difficult. Those we do have suggest that the 1370s were a period of relative prosperity

1 BAR and PNA.

2 BAR 1313/4.

3 PNA 1317/8, 1318/9, 1319/20, 1320/21.

4 PNA 1327/8, 1328/9.

5 PNA 1338/9.

when income exceeded £100. a year, by 1400, however, it was as low as £13.[1] During the 15th century between £40 and £60 a year was the norm, with the upper figure being achieved more frequently after 1500.[2] At the end of the priory's existence, income from the great tithes of these two parishes was no more than a fifth of what it had been in the palmier days before the battle of Bannockburn.

The decline in the value of the great tithes at Ellingham parish was not so pronounced. Although income was as high as £52 in 1292/3,[3] the norm for the pre-1314 period was between £40. and £45. a year; such figures were never achieved again. Between 1330 and the 1370s, annual income was usually between £20. and £30. with occasional good years when the latter figure was exceeded. By the end of the century, annual income had fallen below £20. and, during most of the 15th century, it was usually about £11.[4] After 1500, however, a slight improvement occurred so that by 1539 income was £12. 15s. 4d.[5] Thus, although the pattern at Ellingham was similar to that at Norham and Holy Island, the final level of income was proportionately higher, being between a quarter and a third of the pre-1314 norm compared with the fifth of the other two parishes. As regards Bedlington, the highest income, £55. 6s. 8d., was achieved in 1310/11.[6] As in the other parishes, a sharp decline occurred after 1314. During the 1330s and 1340s, income was running between £26. and £36. a year, but by the time that the parish was passed over to the Sacrist, the figure was only about £20.[7]

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1 PNA 1400/1.

2 PNA.

3 BAR 1292/3.

4 PNA.

5 SS 58, p.103.

6 BAR 1310/11.

7 BAR.

The explanation for this fall in income must be sought in two areas. In the first place, there is no reason to believe that Northumberland did not suffer from recurrent outbreaks of plague with the consequent decline in population as did other parts of England. To support this there is the evidence of the Norham court roll of 1362/3 and the statement of the monk-analyst of 1420,[1] which was intended to apply to all parts of the estate. At the same time, Northumberland suffered from its own particular affliction, the Scots. In all types of record direct references to destruction of property by the Scots occur frequently. In some years devastation was complete, resulting in total loss of income; in others, destruction and losses were partial. In those years when the Scots were inactive, recovery seems to have been rapid. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of this almost constant conflict must have been considerable, and there is no reason to suspect that the analyst of 1420 was not telling the truth when he referred to the adverse effects of Scottish activity. Perhaps one measure of its effects is the difference in decline in income from great tithes between the parish of Ellingham, situated in mid-Northumberland, and those of Norham and Holy Island which abutted the border.

c) The Proctor of Norham.

Up to this point, the discussion has been about the individual sources of income. Most of these revenues, however, did not come direct to the Bursar but were collected by an intermediate officer, the Proctor of Norham, to whom references have been made already. What the Bursar received was the profits of the Proctor's office after various charges in the income had been met. The Proctor's responsibility did not

1 Loc.IV, no.117 and Reg.II, f.357r.

extend to all the Northumberland properties; those at Warkworth, Cramlington, Harbottle and Prudhoe formed part of the Bursar's onus.

During the 14th century and the first half of its successor, the office was held in the main by monks who were stationed at Holy Island. Several of them, perhaps because of their experience of this office, subsequently became superiors at Holy Island and Farne.[1] The alternative to a monk was the Vicar of Norham, three of whom can be identified.[2] About 1465, however, the job was entrusted to the Sandersons who retained the office until the dissolution.

The surviving Proctor's accounts make it clear that, during the 14th century the task was no light one. The number and distribution of properties made rent collection a problem of some complexity. In addition, the Proctor had a considerable amount of work to do in administering the estate and caring for the churches at Norham and Cornhill. During the 15th century the burden was much lighter Shoreswood was leased, many rents disappeared, and expenditure was reduced to the payment of stipends to the Vicar of Norham and the Chaplain of Cornhill. This simplification may account for the willingness of the priory to hand over the proctorship to laymen.

Although responsible for the day to day running of this part of the estate and for the collection of income, the Proctor was clearly subordinate to head office. The Bursar's accounts, as well as the Proctor's own, demonstrate that, in the 14th century, the Bursar and the Terrar were very much involved with administration, visiting and

1 See Appendix XIX.

2 Ibid.

being visited by the Proctor frequently.

The profits of the Proctor's office were forwarded to the Bursar and, from 1337/8, were recorded in the miscellaneous section of the Bursar's accounts. The almost unbroken sequence of figures provides a readily readable account of the value to the Bursar of his Northumberland properties, and also lends support to the evidence from the Proctor's accounts. During the period between c.1330 and c.1375, the sums of money sent to the Bursar fluctuated considerably, although they invariably exceeded £100. a year. The highest recorded figure was £190. 6s. 2½d. for the year 1365/6;[1] the lowest, £101., occurred in 1356/7. Several factors could have influenced the total in any given year, in particular, the rise and fall in income and variations in the Proctor's expenses. In general, however, the only significant feature of the sequence is the smaller sums quoted during the 1350s, which presumably reflect the influence of the plague. The reasonably happy state of affairs ended abruptly in the late 1370s and, for the next thirty years, the Bursar's income from the Proctor never exceeded £30, and in eight of the years no income at all was received. Recovery began after 1406/7 and, by the end of the first quarter of the 15th century, the Bursar's annual income was running at between £70. and £90. This level was to be sustained without significant variation for the rest of the priory's existence. The exceptions were those years when border warfare occasioned serious but temporary falls in income. Thus, although the Northumberland properties produced lower levels of income and profit in 1540 than they had in 1290, they retained significant value and importance throughout the period.

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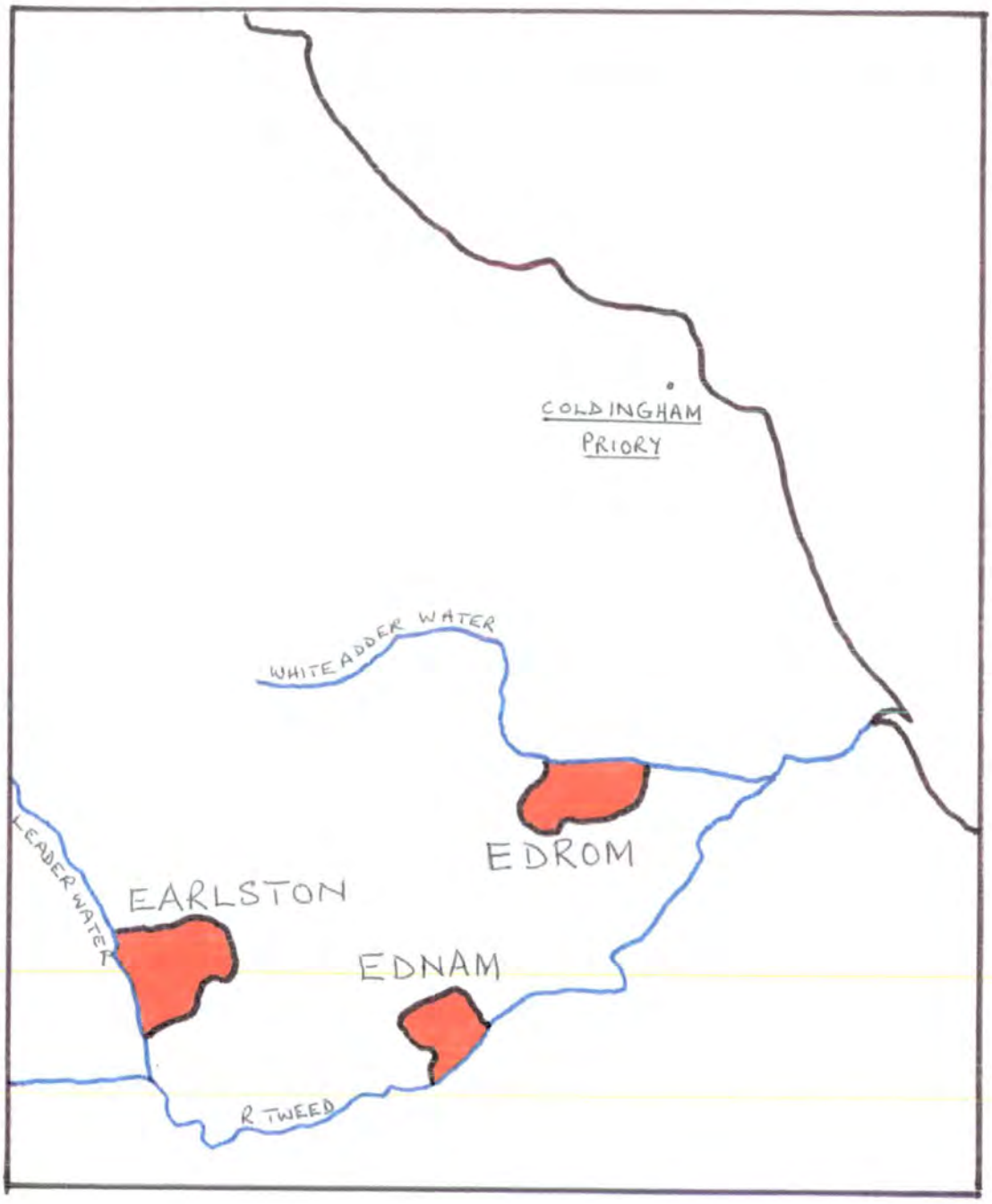
1 This and other figures from BAR.

2. Scotland.

The priory had considerable property in both land and churches in south-eastern Scotland. Much of it was granted to the monks at the end of the 11th century by King Edgar, although local feudatories also made significant contributions.[1] Most of it did not pertain to the Bursar's office, but formed the endowment of the priory's cell at Coldingham, founded shortly after Edgar's accession to the Scottish throne in 1097.[2] According to the Taxatio of 1294, Durham's share consisted of the churches of Ednam, Earlston and half of Edrom, and pensions from Coldingham, Ednam and Earlston.[3] The meagre evidence in the accounts of both the Bursar and the Proctor bears this out, although the same documents also make it clear that the division was not rigid or immutable. In origin, the division appears to have been based upon historical and geographical foundations the Coldingham cell was awarded those properties of royal grant which, coincidentally, were closest to Coldingham, the Bursar's share derived from the local feudatories and was located further to the west.

All three churches were appropriated at unknown dates during the second half of the 12th century,[4] and the division of Edrom decided towards the end of the following century by Prior Hugh Darlington.[5] As with the Northumberland properties, administration was in the hands of a Proctor, who was a monk residing at Coldingham. The few surviving accounts of this office[6] indicate that the duties of its holder were

1 Barlow, pp.118-20.
2 Ibid., p.119.
3 Quoted in SS.12, pp.cxiii - cxiv.
4 Barlow, p.130.
5 SS 12, p.242.
6 SS 12, pp.ii - xvi.




# BURSAR

## SCOTTISH CHURCHES

similar to those of his Norham counterpart, namely, the collection of revenue and the support of the churches. The Proctor of Scotland's task, however, was less arduous in that his charge consisted of the tithes, glebes and pensions of the three churches only.

These Scottish properties were contributors to the Bursar's income for less than one hundred of the two hundred and fifty years under review, and were really important for no more than thirty years. In 1278/9, the profits amounted to £104. 9s. 0d;[1] by 1292/3, they had risen to £149. 5s. 8d. In the later years of the same decade there was a serious setback which reduced income to £13. 13s. 8d. and £8. 16s. 0d. in 1297/8 and 1298/9 respectively. By 1309/10, however, the Bursar's position had recovered considerably and income stood at £100. 3s. 4d. After 1313/4, there is no record of the Scottish property until 1328/9 when £143. 14s. 8d. was received, this, however, was income for several years. In the accounts after 1330, references to the Scottish churches are intermittant, and sums recorded were paltry compared with those before 1314. The last reference to Scotland occurs in 1376/7.

Thus, from the end of the third quarter of the 14th century, the Bursar was without a source of income which, in the last decade of the 13th century, was capable of adding nearly £150. to his revenue. The reason for this total loss was stated by the analyst of 1420 the fact that the Kings of Scotland would not permit revenues to be collected and exported from their country.[2] Even without this state interference, income would have fallen, nevertheless, the Northumberland experience suggests that, given a free hand, the Bursar would have

1 This and other figures from BAR.

2 Reg.II, f.357r.

managed to maintain a worthwhile income from his properties north of the border.

3. Yorkshire.

a) Land.

The land belonging to the Bursar in Yorkshire was not extensive, consisting of three small estates in the North Riding and one in the East Riding. The largest of the four amounted to two messuages and eight bovates of land in Brompton which had been part of the pre-Conquest patrimony of St. Cuthbert. At an unknown date the estate was granted by the monks as a freehold to be held in socage at a rent of 15s.0d. a year.[1] From as early as 1382, it was in the hands of the Tempest family.[2] Of the estate at North Ottrington almost nothing is known, except that it was held freely at a rent of 1 lb. of cummin or 4d,[3] and that, by the middle of the 15th century, the monks themselves were ignorant of its extent and exact whereabouts.[4] The holding in Woodhall (originally called Grimesthorp) in the East Riding parish of Hemmingburgh is described in the rental of 1539[5] as amounting to two bovates of land, although the original grant to the monks by Bishop Geoffrey Rufus (1133 - 1140) mentions three bovates.[6] At an early date the land was made into a freehold but, throughout the period under discussion, it was not so regarded in the records. Its rent, which was £1. in 1335/6,[7] was no more than 11s.0d. in 1539.[8] Finally, in Northallerton, the Bursar had four cottages which had been

1 SS 58, p.203 n.1.

2 RSDPD.

3 SS 58, p.76.

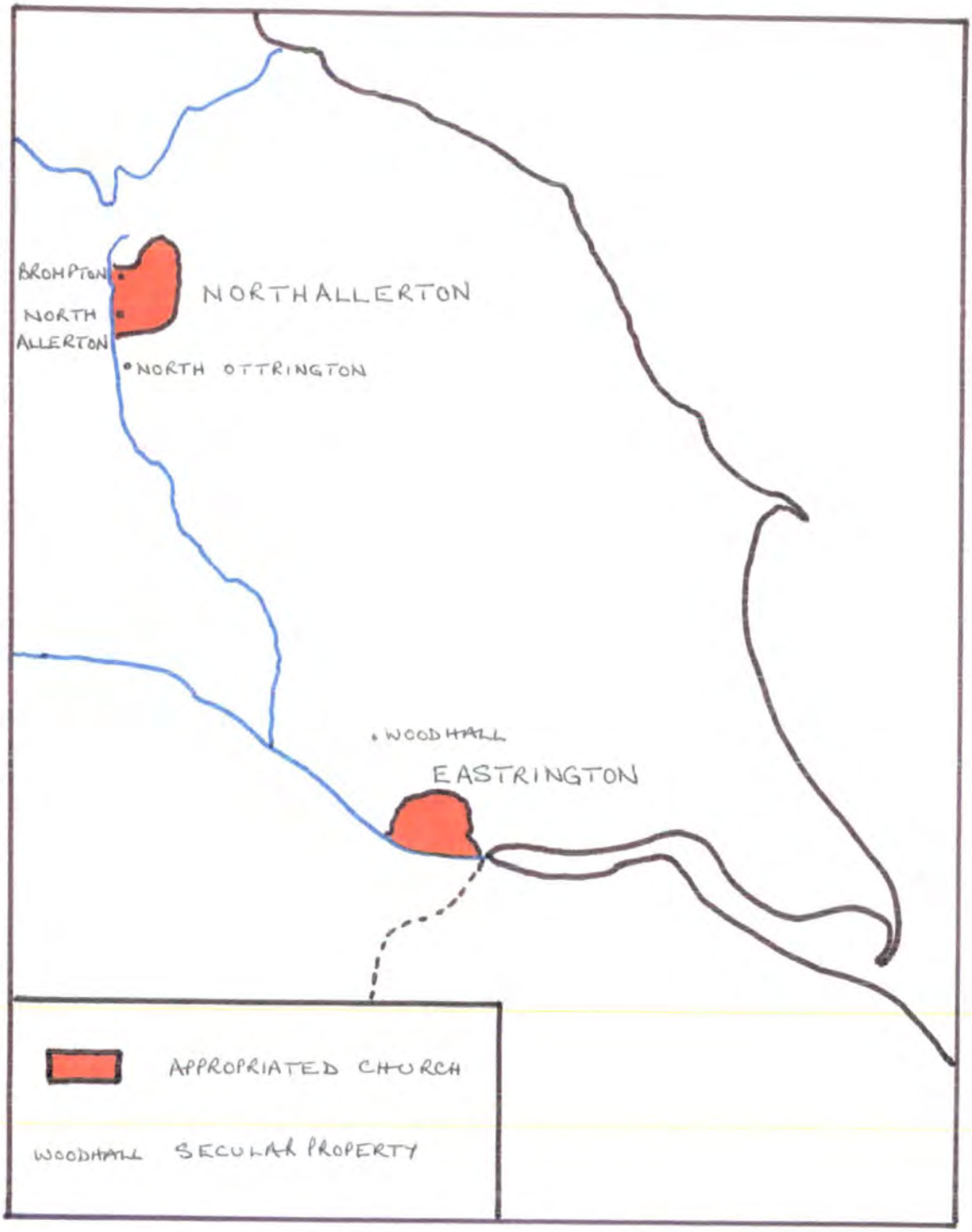
4 Ibid., p.205.

5 Ibid., p.327.

6 Ibid., p.205 n.2.

7 RDD.

8 SS 58, p.327.




# BURSAR

## YORKSHIRE PROPERTY

acquired by the priory during the early 13th century[1] although they do not appear in the Bursar's records before 1396.[2] The total annual value of all four estates was always less than £2. 10s. 0d. a year. As far as can be determined the Bursar never actually received as much as this. The rent of North Ottrington was never paid during this period and payment of other rents was fitful· the most reliable tenants seem to have been the Tempests for their holding in Brompton.

b) Churches

The Bursar controlled only two parishes in Yorkshire, but both were large and generated considerable revenue. They were widely separated geographically, Northallerton being in the North Riding and Eastrington far to the south near the Humber in the East Riding. Each formed part of one of the Durham liberties in Yorkshire, the former being in Allertonshire and the latter in Howdenshire. Both were appropriated in the 13th century.[3]

Throughout the period under review the Bursar almost invariably sold the tithes of both parishes for cash those occasions when this was not done were the result of accident rather than policy. Of the two, Northallerton was of greater value. Before 1318, the account rolls indicate that between £80 and £90 was the normal income from sales, although as much as £100 was achieved in 1308/9.[4] As elsewhere, it is impossible to know what happened during the 1320s, and even the 1330s are obscure because of sale pre manibus during the whole of that

1 SS 58, p.204.

2 RB 1395.

3 Barlow, pp.88 - 9.

4 These and all other figures are from BAR.

decade. When the picture clears in the 1340s, it is clear that income was lower, varying between £33 in 1342 and £66 in 1348/9. Clearly, there had been a decline in value here as elsewhere in the estate. The Black Death did not have a disastrous effect on the Northallerton revenue during the four years between 1350 and 1354 tithes were sold after they had been collected, and in 1352/3 and 1353/4 income dropped below £40; these apart, the pattern after 1350 was much the same as in the 1340s with income fluctuating between £44. 13s. 4d. in 1376/7 and £70 in 1368/9. After 1380, fluctuation became less pronounced with the annual figure tending to oscillate about the £50 mark and, after 1400, to become virtually stable at £50 or £51. After £1420, however, a decline set in so that, after about 1475, income was almost invariably £35. 3s. 4d.

The pattern of change at Eastrington was similar but not identical. Before 1318, annual income approached £80. As at Northallerton, and for the same reasons, the picture in the 1320s and 1330s is obscure. During the 1340s, income fluctuated between £40 in 1346 and £53 in 1343. The Black Death had no more than a slight and temporary effect and, during the twenty years after 1350, the picture is very much what it had been in the 1340s, except that in the 1370s income rose to about £60. Thereafter, there was a decline so that by 1394/5 income was no more than £26. 13s. 4d. After this, matters quickly improved and, until the early 1430s, an income of over £30 a year was normal. This improvement was not maintained and, by mid-century, the tithe sales usually achieved less than £20. From 1467/8, however, a stable income of £20 a year was secured, rising to £22 after 1492/3.

Although the names of a large number of tithe purchasers have survived,[1] it is difficult to know who many of them were.

1 In BAR.

The difficulty is worse as regards Eastrington in that the tithe of the whole parish was invariably sold to a single individual, whereas at Northallerton the constituent townships (Northallerton, Brompton, Romanby and Deighton) were treated separately. Possibly, this difference arose because of the greater distance from Durham of the former parish. Also noticeable at Eastrington, and doubtless due to the same reason, was the lengthy periods during which individual men or families bought the tithes. Thus, a Henry Faker was the purchaser between 1352/3 and 1381/2, and he was followed by the Ask family who were the sole buyers between 1382/3 and 1421/2. During the middle decades of the 15th century arrangements were less permanent but, during the last phase, long runs again became prominent with Thomas Jenetson from 1470/1 to 1495/6 and William Lowson from 1512/3 to 1540. Of these people, only the Asks are well-known: references to them in the Close and Patent Rolls suggest that they were active and influential people in Yorkshire politics and administration. Of the rest, it is tempting to believe that they had strong local connections since the regular sale of tithes to local people of wealth and importance would have been the simplest and most obvious way of dealing with a problem at such a distance from Durham.

A little more can be gleaned here and there about the Northallerton situation. Among the buyers were the clergy, in particular the Vicar of Northallerton who secured a permanent hold on the tithes after 1500. In addition, other clerics, such as the Master of St. James' Hospital and the Prior of Mount Grace, appear in the lists occasionally. Landowners within the parish also appear, most notably the Nevilles who bought the tithes of Deighton every year from 1370/1 to 1386/7. The remainder appear to have been local men, although it is possible to discover people from as far away as Darlington.

Overall, the pattern of change in both parishes was, from the Bursar's angle, essentially one of decline. Concerning the reasons for this there is no direct information and, consequently, it is necessary to rely on the analysis of ecclesiastical revenues drawn up in 1420.[1] The two parishes in question were too far away from the border to have been permanently or severely affected by the Scots, which eliminates from consideration two of the four stated reasons for decline in income. This leaves the two that have been applied to the Durham parishes. the decline in population and the conversion of land from arable to pastoral use. If these factors operated in County Durham, there is no reason to believe that they did not apply in Yorkshire. These reasons do not explain, however, why the income from Northallerton in 1539[2] was almost half of what it had been before 1318 while that from Eastrington was little more than a quarter: local factors may have played a part; so too may the difference in distance from Durham.

To conclude this section, it will be useful and illuminating to chart the trends in the extra aquas areas of the estate as a whole. Looking first at the years of maximum profit before 1314, it is fair to say that, in a year when all went well, the Bursar could expect to receive no less than £700 from his properties outside County Durham. Over half of this sum, about £450, would have come from Northumberland with Yorkshire providing over £150 and Scotland about £100. Following the disastrous and ill-documented period between 1318 and 1328 the maximum income that could be expected with any confidence was no more than

1 Reg.II, f.357r.

2 SS 58, p.331.

£350. Again, Northumberland was the major contributor with over £200, but the Scottish income would have been no more than about £50. A similar total could have been expected in the years immediately before the Black Death the Scottish contribution would have been almost non-existent, but the difference would have been made good by increases in the Northumberland revenues. In both the early 1330s and the late 1340s the Yorkshire properties would have produced about £100 a year.

Twenty years after the plague, the situation was not greatly different from that of the twenty years before 1349. The revenue from Northumberland was down to about £150, although this was partially the result of the transfer of Bedlington to the Sacrist. Something could still be expected from Scotland, and the Yorkshire properties were still worth £100. Between 1330 and 1370, there was certainly a decline in revenue, but it was not spectacular or catastrophic. By the end of the century, however, the picture was much darker nothing could be expected from over the border; the Northumberland income was no more than £50; and even the Yorkshire revenues had dropped below the £100 mark. At this time, a total income of about £125 a year could be considered good compared with twice that amount during the period 1330 to 1370.

In the last century and a half of the priory's existence, the picture did not change in any spectacular way. By mid-century, £140 was a reasonable annual income, by 1500 another £10 could be added to this figure, and by the time of the dissolution £170 a year was a fair expectation. During three years, the Northumberland revenues recovered to a satisfactory level, but against this must be set the decline in income from south of the Tees, the Scottish revenues, of course, remained lost. Thus, by the end of the priory's life, the value

to the Bursar of his properties extra aquas was approximately a quarter of what it had been about 1300.

## D. CONCLUSION

In conclusion four major points need to be made. Firstly, in the course of the period there was a fundamental change in the Bursar's role. At the beginning of the period he was quite clearly a landowner and a landlord in that he derived his income from the direct exploitation of his properties as well as from the rents of his tenants; by the year of the dissolution of the house the former role had been reduced almost to nothing. The contrast must not be drawn too strongly, however: even in 1290 several manors were not worked and other assets such as mills and the tithes of many townships were leased, at the other end of the period the pastoral centres of Le Holme and Muggleswick and the tithes of several townships were still in hand. Nevertheless, it is true to say that the Bursar retreated almost totally from a policy of direct exploitation.

Having established this point it is tempting to describe his position in 1540 as that of rentier. In so far as he obtained all but a minute faction of his income from rents this term is apt; however, the word carries the implication that nothing mattered to him other than cash. Such a conclusion would be unjust the evidence of the halmote court records in particular indicates that the tenants continued as a distinct social group and that their relationship with the priory was more than a simple economic agreement.

The second important change was essentially geographical. At the end of the 13th century a considerable part of the Bursar's income was derived from the northern parts of the estate, that is, from Scotland and Northumberland. In 1292/3, for example, these northern districts

supplied £647. 15s. 6d. as against £1366. 2s. 8¾d. from the areas south of the Tyne.[1] In contrast in 1536/7, the northern contribution was a mere £99. 5s. 11½d. out of a total income of £1462. 11s. 11½d. This decline was, of course, not recent in 1536, in fact the collapse of the northern half of the estate took place during the 14th century. Its basic cause was simple the constant warring of English and Scot across the border, a conflict which had nothing to do with the priory and was completely beyond its control. It was the Bursar's and the priory's misfortune to have such large and important assets situated at the centre of a battleground.

The third major development concerns the relative importance of secular and ecclesiastical sources of income. In 1292/3, revenue from churches amounted to £1397. 2s. 8½d. compared with only £766. 9s. 6¼d. from all secular assets. In 1536/7, on the other hand, secular sources produced £1047. 4s. 0d. as against only £415. 7s. 11½d. from the churches. Thus, not only was there an absolute decline in ecclesiastical income and an absolute increase in that from secular properties, but also a complete reversal in the importance of the two sources. When the reasons for this change are considered, it becomes apparent that they were more complex and slow working than those which caused the geographical shift. In the first place it must be remembered that the decline in revenue from Scotland and Northumberland was also a factor in this connection in that income from those areas was almost entirely ecclesiastical in origin. At the same time there was a general decline in tithe income resulting from developments that were in no way related to the border problem.

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1 These and subsequent figures from BAR.

Against this drop must be set the rise in income from secular properties. In part this was the consequence of the acquisition of new or freehold properties; more particularly, however, it stemmed from the leasing of manors, the arrentation of tenant holdings and the concerted effort to maintain those holdings in tenancy. The increase in the importance of the secular properties as providers of income must in large measure account for the changes in their administration.

Finally, there has to be considered the total income received by the Bursar annually. Enough has been said already to indicate that the task of producing completely accurate figures is virtually impossible. What can be discovered with greater facility is the amount he expected to receive, although even here there are snags in that every year the total income included sums which do not fall within our meaning of the word. Firstly, annual totals included the remains (frequently non-existent, invariably small) and the arrears inherited from the previous account. As we have seen, the latter accumulated to form large sums which were written off in whole or in part from time to time. Thus, total income could appear swollen or shrunken according to the proximity of a given figure to the latest write-off. Fortunately, the arrears and remains were recorded separately as well as with the income of the year.

Secondly, in many years prior to 1400 income was artificially high as the result of the inclusion of monies borrowed from external sources. Since these sums varied considerably their influence on income totals was capricious. Finally, there was the section in the accounts dealing with miscellaneous receipts. This grew greatly in length until the new form of account was introduced in 1420 when it became drastically reduced. Many items appeared in it regularly, but

there were occasional entries which, when large, distorted the true picture. Nevertheless, provided these factors are borne in mind, a study of income totals does serve to demonstrate in general terms how the Bursar fared financially over the period.

Undoubtedly, the time of highest income was before 1315 when up to and over £2000 a year was received. At the same time totals such as the £7362. 16s. 0¼d. recorded in 1309/10 are completely misleading, as a closer look at the account shows. Of the total sum no less than £3988. 14s. 9¼d. consisted of accumulated arrears, while £703. 10s. 7d. was derived from borrowings. In addition, the miscellaneous receipts, £753. 3s. 7½d, were abnormally high because of the inclusion of certain exceptional and large items· £175. from the Prior's wardrobe, £101. from a tallage, £219. of pension arrears. Finally, £429. were received from other obedientiaries and the heads of the priory's cells. When these sums are deducted from the grand total, the slimmer figure of about £1750. emerges which represents much more nearly the Bursar's normal revenue expectation at this period.

During the period between 1330 and 1349 the corrected figures are distinctly lower than those before 1315 of the twelve years for which we have record, in only five did income exceed £1500. In the second half of the century, once the immediate effects of the great plague had been overcome, figures tended to rise· in twenty-four years they were above £1500 compared with only nine years when they were below it, moreover, there were six years when income exceeded £1800. These higher levels were particularly a feature of the years after 1370 and show that income was, in theory at least, on a par with what it had been in the early decades.

After 1400 the most notable trend is that towards stability in no less than eighty-three of the one hundred and twenty-five years between 1400 and 1525, income was between £1400 and £1500. There were, however, other trends. Higher figures gradually ceased to occur there is no recorded instance of income above £1600 after 1416/7, and none of above £1500 after 1433/4. On the other hand, income of between £1300 and £1400 became more common only two instances occurred before 1450, but, between then and 1475, there were ten instances and, in the last quarter of the century, eleven. After 1500, however, the trend was clearly towards income above the £1400 mark.

Thus, at the end of the priory's existence, the Bursar's income expectation was in the order of £1400 to £1500, compared with up to £2000 at the end of the 13th century. Considering all the problems and difficulties with which he had to contend, the extent of the decline should be regarded as a retreat but not as a defeat.

# PART TWO

## THE ESTATES

## OF

## THE OTHER OBEDIENTIARIES

## A. HOSTILLAR

The Hostillar was responsible for the accommodation and entertainment of the priory's guests who, because of its standing as an institution and its strategic location, were numerous and often important.[1] His estate was the largest after that of the Bursar but was compact, being contained within the boundaries of the parish of St. Oswald, Elvet, which all but circumscribed the city.[2] In form it was a microcosm of the Bursar's estate in that it included a rural township, a demesne manor, an urban sector and ecclesiastical property.

### 1. SHINCLIFFE.

Shincliffe, the rural township, was a part of the ancient patrimony of St. Cuthbert assigned to the priory by its founder, Bishop William of St. Calais.[3] It was situated three miles from the centre of Durham just to the south of the river Wear astride the main road from Durham to Stockton. Although there is uncertainty about its tenemental structure, it is clear that it was relatively moderate in size. According to the Gillycorn Rental of 1424,[4] it contained in the early 13th century twenty-four bondlands each of twenty acres. This symmetry did not last; the court record for 1432, a year when almost all tenures were renewed, shows that there were at that date six tenements of seventeen acres, six of eighteen acres, two of nineteen acres and one each of twenty-one and thirty-six acres.[5] As on the Bursar's

1 SS 103, pp.xxxi - xxxiii.

2 Appendix XV.

3 SS 179, p.8.

4 CED, ff.27v - 30r.

5 Loc.IV, Nos. 100 and 106.

estate the original arrangements had been disrupted, although not to such an extent as to make the original pattern unrecognisable.

The court records also reveal the existence of four cotlands each with four acres of land. In addition there was a freehold of unknown size about which little is known. Apparently in 1434 it passed from a family called Aslakby (Aislaby) to the more prominent family of Danby.[1] After 1459/60,[2] however, an income of £3. 6s. 8d. was received annually from what was termed Danbyland; the size and regularity of the sum suggest that the freehold had been acquired and that the land was leased. This seems to be proved by the 16th century rentals which show Danbyland divided between several tenants and make no reference to free rent. Also there was land amounting to at least fifty acres called Newland or Exchequer Land (Terra Scaccarii); this makes its first appearance in the account roll of 1391/2, and was distributed among the tenants according to the size of their holdings. Finally, a portion of the township's territory was emparked; this was retained by the Hostillar and from it he derived a small but variable income from sales of timber.

There is no extant statement of the precise duties and obligations of the Shincliffe tenants; the existing clues, however, indicate that none was required to perform weekwork. The bondmen owed weeding and scything services and were obliged to perform opera autumpnalia, presumably in connection with the harvest: the extent of these services is unknown. As there was no demesne land in Shincliffe, it must be assumed that the services were owed to the manor of Elvethall. In addition, the bondmen paid rent which may have been in lieu of week

1 Surtees, IV, p.106.

2 This and all subsequent details are from HAR unless otherwise stated.

work. They were also liable between them for three customary rents: metred, for which they paid 7s. 8d; renthens and allerhens valued at 8s. 0d; and focale, which was probably a payment for fuel, for which they paid 8s. 11d. The cotmen do not seem to have been liable for anything except money rent.

It is clear that, from as early as 1303, the bond tenants did not perform their services. The account rolls for that and other years prior to 1350 show that weeding service was commuted for 1d. per holding, scything service for 6d. and autumn works for 2s. 0d. Clearly these works could have been used at any time but the evidence suggests that they never were. On the other hand, it is also clear that, with one exception, the bondlands were not leased before 1350. After that date, however, there was a change in policy which resulted in the leasing of all bondlands by about 1375.

As regards the other conditions of tenure the few extant court rolls of the late 14th and 15th centuries demonstrate that the customs obtaining on the Bursar's estate were operative in Shincliffe.[1] In particular the right of family inheritance was strongly entrenched and joint tenancies were more common than in the Bursar's townships. Tenure for life persisted until 1440, when short-term leases were introduced; as elsewhere this change meant the end of entry fines. Only three- and six-year leases appear in the records which, however, are so few for the years after 1440 that it would be rash to assert that longer terms were never granted.

The drift towards conglomerate holdings also took place in Shincliffe. The court records of the 1390s indicate that, although tenants were taking more than one tenement, each was subject to a separate

1 Loc.IV, nos. 97, 100, 105, 106, 110, 111, 112, 114, 121, 122, 125, 126, 133, 136, 138, 139.

contract. By the fourth decade of the 15th century tenements were more clearly joined together to form larger units. The 16th century rentals reveal the existence of thirteen holdings, which suggests that there had been little change since the 1430s. In contrast to the Bursar's estate, there was no formal syndicating of the township's lands.

In 1333/5, the first year for which there is fully reliable evidence, the income from Shincliffe amounted to £16. 14s. 6½d. made up of £10. 6s. 9½d. of rent from the freehold, the bondlands and the cotlands, and a further £2. 4s. 3d. from the one leased bond land; the commuted works and the customary rents of the bondmen brought in £3. 4s. 8d. and 15s. 4d. respectively; finally, rents of 5s. 0d. and 6d. were received from the tenants for a meadow called Coldwelleche and the common oven. This remained the pattern until after 1350; income in 1348/9, for example, amounted to £17.13s. 8d. After 1350, income from Shincliffe rose as a consequence of the new policy of leasing bondlands and, by the time that the change had been completed in the mid-1370s, annual income was usually about £29. After this time there was little variation, and none at all after 1411/2 when income consisted of £27. 18s. 0d. with an additional £1. 7s. 0d. for the Newland and 8s. 11d. for <u>focale</u>, a total of £29. 14s. 0d. The extra income from Danbyland after 1459/60 did in fact increase the value of Shincliffe although it was always recorded separately. Thus the policy of leasing the bond lands led almost to a doubling of the income drawn from Shincliffe. Moreover, although the evidence is not really strong, it seems likely that wasted and decayed rents were confined in the main to the urban parts of the estate.

In addition to land, the Hostillar had one other important source

of income in Shincliffe, the corn mill. This, as was the case with the Bursar's mills, was a wasting asset. In 1303 it was leased for £18., and by 1333/5 its value had risen to £19; in 1347/8, it was still worth £14. By 1366/7, however, income was down to £7, and the decline continued until the early 1440s when it was no more than £2. 6s. 8d. This was the nadir and, as with many of the Bursar's mills, there was an improvement towards the end of the period; by 1528/9, income from the mill stood at £3. 6s. 8d. Thus, the fall in the income from the mill just about offset the increase in income from land.

The Hostillar exercised control over and direction of the lives of his Shincliffe tenants through the medium of his court. Surviving records of its activity indicate that in all respects it was identical to the halmote court by means of which the Bursar controlled his estate. It met three times a year - early spring, mid-summer, the late autumn - and was presided over by the Hostillar and his Steward. As regards the latter, only one name has survived, that of William de Calthorn, who occupied the post at the beginning of the 15th century; it is uncertain whether he was also the Bursar's Steward or not. The court appears to have been held in the main at Elvethall, although Shincliffe was its venue on some occasions.

2. BOROUGH OF ELVET.

Like Shincliffe, Elvet was a part of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert awarded to the priory by William of St. Calais.[1] During the period covered by this essay it was divided into three parts known as the borough of Elvet, the barony of Elvet and the manor of Elvethall.

1 SS 179, p.8.

That part known as the borough consisted of an elongated rectangle of land formed by the course of the river Wear and the roads known as Green Lane, Court Lane (formerly Raton Row) and Hatfield View (formerly Water Lane).[1] Habitation was concentrated at the western end close to Elvet bridge which linked Elvet with Durham in a triangle of streets called Old Elvet (now New Elvet), New Elvet (now Old Elvet) and Raton Row; the rest of the land consisted of fields and closes, as it does still to a considerable extent.

Although there are references to the existence of merchants' houses in Elvet in the early 12th century,[2] it is probably safer to date the beginnings of true burghal status from the grant to the priory by Bishop Hugh du Puiset (1154 - 1195).[3] The acceptance of the later date would also explain the use of the term New Borough to distinguish Elvet from the Old Borough in Crossgate on the other side of the present city. It is also significant that du Puiset's grant was followed by that of Prior Bertram I (1189 - 1208) [4] by which the burgesses of Elvet were freed from all services except suit of the prior's court and of his mill ad XVIII vas; Bertram also granted to the burgesses the right of hereditary tenure and permitted them to farm the borough. Later, Bishop Richard Poor (1228 - 1237) confirmed to the Prior jurisdiction over bread, ale, cloth, weights and measures and the right to a half-share in the amercements levied on the Prior's men in the episcopal courts.[5] What the priory never acquired was the right to hold markets or fairs; presumably the Bishops were always jealous for their

1 Surtees, IV, p.73.

2 SS 179, p.8.

3 SS 58, p.198 n.i.

4 Ibid., p.199.n.

5 Ibid., p.216.

own borough of Durham and especially for its two fairs of St. Cuthbert held in March and September. Throughout the period under consideration, and indeed since the time of Prior Bertram I, the Elvet properties formed part of the Hostillar's estate.

There is no detailed evidence of the Hostillar's tenants and their holdings before the last two decades of the priory's existence. The rentals covering the years 1523 to 1534 show that, at that time, he was entitled to one hundred and two rents from one hundred and thirty-two properties. Ninety-nine of these were described as burgages; in addition, there were gardens, barns and shops. It is noticeable that, in contrast to Crossgate borough where a great many holdings had become grouped by this date, most of those in Elvet were still separate. Fifty-four of the rents were free rents, but they accounted for less than a quarter of the revenue. It is impossible to be certain about the remainder, although it is likely that the larger rents were from leases while the smaller ones, in particular those under 2s. 0d. were landmale rents.

Of the one hundred and thirty-two properties, no fewer than fifty-four were in the hands of religious bodies: fifteen were held by fellow obedientiaries, the Bursar, the Almoner and the Sacrist; twenty belonged to the chantries of St. Andrew on the Bridge, St. John the Baptist (St. Oswald's, Elvet), the Blessed Virgin (St. Oswald's, Elvet) and the Blessed Virgin (Pittington); another fourteen were held by the guilds of the Crucifix (St. Oswald's), the Holy Trinity and St. Cuthbert (Galilee Chapel in the Cathedral); finally, five had been acquired by the priory's cell at Finchale. Although it is difficult to prove in detail, it is safe to say that the ecclesiastical interest had grown during the course of the period. The other properties were in the hands of individuals; most seem to have been laymen, although one, Master

Christopher Wendall, the Vicar of Elvet, was a cleric.

During the early part of the period, down to about 1370, the borough and the profits of its court appear to have been farmed: [1] the annual rent was a regular, rounded sum of money, and the names of some of the farmers - Robert Pellipar, Henry Litster, Thomas of Appleby - were recorded in the account rolls. After c.1370, this method of administration was given up in favour of the direct collection of rents and court dues. During the period of farming income varied from as little as £1. in the immediate post-plague year of 1350/1 to £5. 6s. 8d. in 1364 and 1365. When direct collection was adopted, rent income amounted to no more than £3. 6s. 2½d; the court revenue was recorded separately. By 1400, however, the value of rents had increased to £6. 6s. 4d, but after that it declined slightly and, from 1440, became fixed at £4. 18s. 6½d. These figures suggest that the borough was never of great financial importance to the Hostillar; if the rents recorded in the 16th century rentals are totalled, however, the more respectable figure of £15. 9s. 1½d emerges. The reason for the difference is that, between 1391 and 1513, the Hostillar acquired or re-acquired the freehold of more than nineteen holdings, most of which were in the borough. These properties he was able to lease at economic rents which, in the 16th century, produced over £18 in additional income. Most of them cannot be identified in the rentals precisely and positively, although they are betrayed to a large extent by the size of their rents. The income from them was always recorded separately and individually in the account rolls and not incorporated into the borough total. Thus, at the end of the priory's existence, the Hostillar received each year from the borough £4. 18s. 6d½ from the fixed free and burgage rents and £10. 10s. 7d. from the new, variable rents.

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1 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from HAR.

These figures were, of course, theoretical; in practice the Hostillar received lesser sums in any given year. The rental of 1523/4 shows that, of the one hundred and nine rents, only seventy-eight were paid resulting in the loss of £2. 13s. 6d. This state of affairs was not new: the records of decayed and wasted rents which were kept after 1350 show that a serious problem had existed since the end of the 14th century. Moreover, in return for his new properties, the Hostillar was required to hand over certain monies by way of rent and pension to the Master of the Infirmary and the Feretrar.[1] Thus, the growth of the Hostillar's income was less in fact than it was on paper.

Of the borough court no records have survived apart from two fragments of 1329 and 1381/2;[2] the account rolls, however, demonstrate that the court existed and functioned throughout the period without ever producing more than a tiny income. The surviving fragments indicate that it was held fortnightly and that, in addition to litigation, it was used by the tenants to make their professions of fealty when they entered their holdings.

3. BARONY OF ELVET

The second part of the Elvet estate, known as the barony, and also as Upper Elvet, lay between the borough and the demesne land of Elvethall manor. From the records it is clear that it consisted of the south side of Raton Row, the southern part of Old Elvet (now New Elvet) and Kirk Gate (now Church Street); in addition, there was an area known as Elvet Wood, which seems to have been situated beyond the demesne land, and also a number of closes. It was, moreover, an area to which

1 See section on Feretrar and Infirmarer.

2 Loc.IV, nos. 123, 130.

it is difficult to affix a satisfactory label: all but a handful of the Hostillar's rents were drawn from holdings described as burgages; on the other hand, the area was definitely outside the boundary of Elvet borough, and there is no evidence that it had its own burghal constitution. Its court was a free court or court baron, which may explain its curious title. Perhaps it is best to regard it as a suburb with many urban features but lacking true borough status.

The Hostillar's holding in the barony amounted to one hundred and six tenements, all but sixteen of which were called burgages. From them he drew ninety-one rents, of which twenty-three were free rents; the other sixty-eight, judging by their size, were not landmale rents but the product of leases. As in the borough, many holdings had fallen into the hands of religious bodies: the Almoner and the Commoner had five and seven respectively; no less than thirteen belonged to the chantry of the Blessed Virgin in the parish church of St. Oswald; and the priory of Finchale had one. Thus, over a quarter of the tenements were held and almost a quarter of the rent was paid by religious bodies. In addition, other tenements were held by individual clerics such as the Vicar of St. Oswald's, Master Christopher Werdall, and George Carlyll, a chaplain.[1]

According to the rental of 1523/4, the total value of the barony rents was £18. 17s. 9d; the income recorded in the account roll of that year, however, was only £13. 18s. 0d., a figure which had been recurrent since 1440/1.[2] The reason for this discrepancy, as in the borough figures, was the existence of newly acquired properties the income from

1 RH 1523/4.

2 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from HAR.

which was noted separately in the accounts but not in the rentals.

Over the years the income from barony rents fluctuated considerably. In 1333/5, it amounted to £10. 2s. 10½d.; by 1368/9, it had risen to £15. 4s. 3½d, a level which was maintained until the 1370s. In 1381/2, however, the sum dropped to £10. 3s. 1½d. The possible explanation of these changes may be the inclusion of other land with the barony rents: this was certainly true of the Hostillar's small holding in Croxdale; also, it may be more than coincidence that the sudden drop in barony revenue took place in the year in which a new category, 'land in the fields leased', appeared in the account rolls. After 1381/2, income gradually rose to the £13. 18s. 0d. it was to be from 1440 onwards. These increases were the result of the raising of rents: in the account of 1435/6 for example, rents totalled £11. 13s. 11½d; in the following year they came to £13. 1s. 6d., an increase of £1. 7s. 6½d, which was precisely the sum of the eight rent increases recorded separately the year before. As in the borough, many rents were not paid: the 1523/4 rentals, for example, show that twenty-three were unpaid, resulting in the loss of £4. 9s. 1½d. The record of decayed and wasted rents indicates that this had long been a problem. Further diminution of profit also resulted from the payment the Hostillar had to make to the Master of the Infirmary, the Feretrar and also to the Bursar and the chaplain of the Chantry of St. Oswald on the Bridge.

The extant records of the barony court are more abundant than those of the borough court, and they pertain to a number of years between 1315 and 1402.[1] It was specifically described as a free court, and as such it bore a very close resemblance to the Prior's free court: it was held fortnightly with three capital sessions on or about the

1. Loc.IV, nos. 96, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 109, 116, 118, 119, 124, 128, 129, 131, 132, 134, 137. 192.

feasts of the Circumcision, St. Michael and Epiphany; it is clear that some suitors were required to attend all sessions, while others were liable only for the capital ones; the meetings were presided over by the Hostillar and his Steward; and the institution was served by a Bailiff who presented offenders against the by-laws and the lord's property, distrained people to be present, and empanelled juries.

From the record of the various cases it is clear that the court was responsible for the enforcement of the assizes of bread and ale. The same records also provide clues as to the connection between the different parts of the Elvet estate: for example, the tenants of the barony appear to have had the right to pasture animals on Smithhalgh[1] (now known as the Racecourse and used as playing fields by the University) which was within the boundary of the borough; also, tenants allowing animals to stray on to the Elvethall demesne lands were dealt with by the court.[2] Both suggest that originally the Elvet estate was one and that its subsequent division did not lead to completely separate and independent entities; in fact, the separation of the barony and the manor may be more apparent than it was real, an illusion fostered by the existence of separate accounts for the manor, and also by the separation of manor business in the account rolls.

## 4. ELVETHALL MANOR

The headquarters buildings of the manor of Elvethall, some of which are still in use, were situated in Hallgarth Street which has taken its name from the site. The demesne fields extended from this point southwards towards the boundary of the Bursar's manor at Houghall;

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1 Loc. IV, no.104.

2 Ibid., no.124.

unfortunately, their full extent and acreage in the pre-dissolution period are unknown. Unlike the Bursar and all the other obedientiaries except the Sacrist, the Hostillar retained his manorial property in hand throughout this period; even though there are gaps in the record, it is safe to assert that in no year between 1300 and 1540 was Elvethall as a whole put to farm. As regards supervision and control, however, it is clear that the Hostillar worked on the same lines as did the Bursar. The monk-obedientiary was very much in charge; in particular he controlled the purse strings, supplying the cash needed to meet expenses and incorporating the income into his own accounts. There was a sergeant, or reeve as he was usually called, at the manor but his role was that of a subordinate supervisor.

It has been noted already that the Shincliffe tenants, who theoretically were the labour force of the enterprise, had had their services commuted as early as c.1300. Thereafter, the main farming burden was carried by salaried famuli: from c.1370 until the end of the 15th century seven was the normal complement; the reeve, a carter and five others; in the 16th century, the number rose to eight or nine.[1] In addition to the permanent staff, workers were hired on a seasonal or temporary basis to weed, thresh and winnow the corn, and to cut and carry the hay. In his handling of the labour problem, the Hostillar anticipated the solution adopted by the Bursar during the middle decades of the 14th century.

The Hostillar's income from Elvethall was derived from the sale of its products. Before 1380 these were varied although corn was always the most important. For example, in 1344/5, total sales came

1 This and what follows based on the manor accounts in HAR.

to £33. 8s. 8d, of which £14 was produced by the sale of eighty-eight quarters of barley and sixty quarters of oats; most of the remainder came from the sale of stock (one cow, two bullocks, sixteen rams and sixty-six lambs) for £3. 13s. 10d, one and a half sacks of wool for £6. 3s. 8d, and five sheep skins for 5s. 0d.; the balance was made up of £8 received for a palfrey, an exceptional item. The evidence from this year indicates very clearly that Elvethall was a mixed farm, an impression supported by the fact that the Hostillar had, or had the use of, land at Heley and Wascrophead which he doubtless used in connection with the pastoral aspect of the enterprise. After 1380, mixed farming was abandoned in favour of exclusive concentration on corn production: thereafter, annual sales consisted almost entirely of corn; straw, herbage and worn-out draught animals provided minor additional income.

The records make it abundantly clear that barley was by far the most important crop as regards both production and sale. Oats occupied a substantial second place but were usually consumed by the Hostillar's establishment or sold within the priory to the Bursar or the Granator. Wheat was of little account until after 1470 when production was increased so that in many years, because of its superior value, it produced greater income than did barley. Rye, however, played an insignificant role throughout the period. Two examples will illustrate these points. In 1458/9, corn sales produced an income of £33. 3s. 2d. of which £20. 16s. 0d. came from the sale of one hundred and thirty-one quarters of barley, the remaining sum of £12. 7s. 2d. resulted from the sale of nineteen quarters of wheat, ten quarters of rye, and sixty-two quarters of oats (all but ten of them to the Granator), plus straw and herbage which were worth only £1. 2s. 0d. and 2s. 8d. respectively. In 1490/1,

sales income was £45. 7s. 0d, £39. 18s. 2d. of which came from the sale of corn. Eighty-one quarters of barley brought in £19. 18s. 6d, but wheat was now of considerable importance with thirty-seven quarters sold for £11. 7s. 0d. In addition, six quarters of rye were sold for £1. 6s. 0d, and eighty-eight quarters of oats valued at £7. 6s. 8d. went to the Granator. The rest of the income was composed of 18s. 0d. from the sale of straw, 6s. 8d. from the sale of a horse, and £4. 10s. 0d. from the sale of nine oxen. The buyers of the Hostillar's cereals, in addition to his fellow obedientiaries, seem to have been local men, including on occasions the manor reeve. Normally, the quantity purchased by any one individual was relatively small: for example, in 1472/3, two hundred and thirteen quarters of barley was sold. five men bought twenty-four quarters each, three bought twelve quarters and three bought eight quarters each, one bought six quarters, two bought five, and four bought four quarters each.

Coinciding with the decision to abandon mixed farming, and perhaps connected with it, was the leasing of certain portions of the manor lands. Income from this source rose from £2. 1s. 9d. in 1381/2 to over £9. during the period 1395 to 1415. Thereafter, income gradually declined until, by the 1470s, it was sometimes less than £1; from 1488/9 it was stable at £1. 6s. 3d. a year. In 1523/4,[1] the land leased was described as: a close called Flasherclose near Shincliffe bridge, Little Dedright, le Wellbank, one acre in Swallopleys. It is unlikely that the rise and fall of income from this source was the result of changes in the value of land since evidence throughout the estate does not indicate extensive fluctuations in land values at any time; the alternative explanation is that the amount of land involved was at

1 RH 1523/4.

first increased and then decreased. Although the leasing of these lands increased the annual income from the manor, the cash received was always recorded as a separate item in the account rolls.

Annual income from the manor fluctuated considerably: in 1409/10, it was as high as £72. 7s. 2d; in 1343/6, it was no more than £18. 2s. 11d. The figures were not without pattern, however: in the years 1364 to 1374, 1408 to 1415 and 1512 to 1528, extant figures suggest that income was normally in excess of £50 a year; in contrast, between 1376 and 1395, it was usually less than £30; at other times the sum was between these two limits. There is no obvious reason nor any significant trend to explain these variations changes in the amount, variety and price of corn were annual; sales of such extra items as straw and decayed stock were irregular.

Expenses were equally unstable ranging from £4. 19s. 0½d. in 1399/1400 to £52. 18s. 1d. in 1430/1. Down to 1406, and also between 1440 and 1470, expenses rarely exceeded £20 a year; between 1406 and 1440 they were usually higher and, after 1470, were frequently over £30. In most years the greatest expense was incurred in maintaining and replacing carts and ploughs, also high were the autumn expenses, that is, the cost of harvesting the corn; the third major item was the stipends of the famuli (the reeve was paid 13s. 4d. rising to £1 in the early 15th century, the carter got 18s. 0d. or 19s. 0d; the others received 16s.0d. until the early 16th century when some men were hired for 13s. 4d.). By comparison, the costs of weeding, threshing, winnowing and hay-working were slight. The cost of purchase of new draught animals could be considerable, but its incidence was not regular. As with income, the changing pattern cannot be attributed to any single or significant trends.

Using the figures recorded in the account rolls and the manor accounts it is a simple task to calculate the annual profit from

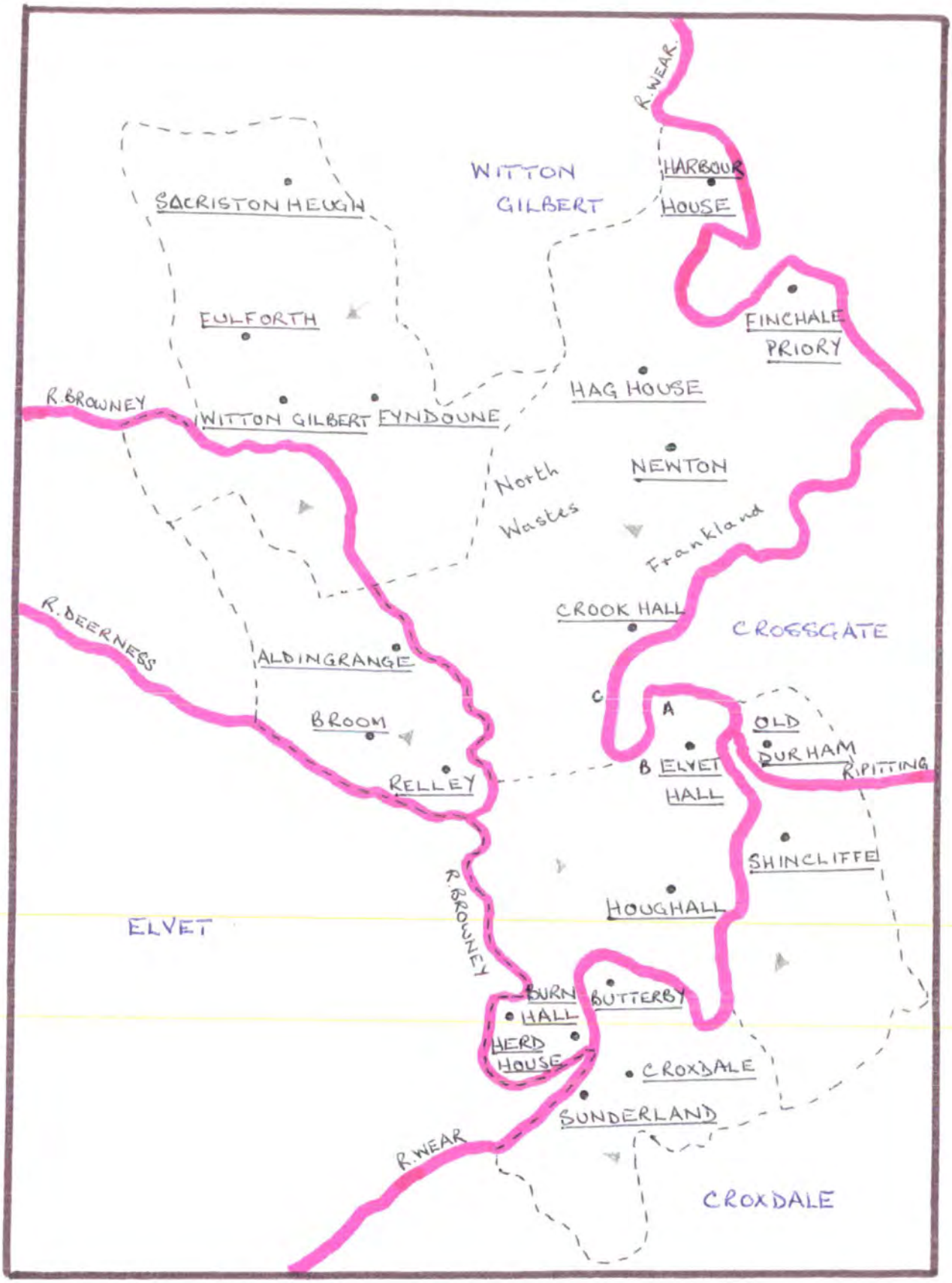
Elvethall. The only difficulty concerns the purchases made within the priory, since it is unclear whether cash changed hands or not. This need not be regarded as serious, however, since, even if cash was not involved, the value placed on the corn was realistic, that is, it represented the price that would have been obtained had the corn been sold to outsiders.

The most significant fact is that in only seven of the one hundred and twenty-three years for which we have figures did the manor fail to make a profit. Six of these occur between 1430 and 1442 suggesting that the fourth decade of the 15th century was a period of difficulty. Such was not the case, in fact, for losses were the result of temporarily high expenses and not of falling income; after 1442 profit levels returned to what they had been previously. As with both income and expenses, there was considerable fluctuation in profit. The highest recorded figure, £42. 15s. 8½d, occurred in 1409/10; the lowest, £1. 15s. 7½d, in 1495/6. The normal range, however, was £10 to £30; in no less than eighty-two of the one hundred and sixteen years in which it is known that a profit was made, the sum was between these two figures. As with income and expenses, there were no long-term trends of any significance.

The inescapable conclusion from a study of the Hostillar's efforts at Elvethall is that it was perfectly feasible for a land-owner to operate his demesnes successfully and profitably throughout the supposedly difficult period of the 14th and 15th centuries. Necessary for success, perhaps, apart from effort and determination, were convenience of location and closeness of supervision.

## 5. ELVET PARISH

The Hostillar's ecclesiastical income was drawn from the




# ELVET : THE OLD PARISH

A - BOROUGH OF ELVET

B - BARONY OF ELVET

C - BOROUGH OF CROSSGATE

extensive parish of St. Oswald's, Elvet which had been appropriated in 1198 after a violent quarrel with Bishop Philip of Poitou.[1] By the beginning of the period it was no longer undivided in the ecclesiastical sense, and during the subsequent two and a half centuries the divisions were to receive greater accentuation. The most distant part of the parish, the chapelry of Witton Gilbert, secured full independence in 1423;[2] neither before nor after was it of any interest to the Hostillar since it was a member of the Almoner's estate. Another chapelry, centred on the church of St. Margaret in Crossgate, became partially independent in 1384, and secured full autonomy in 1431.[3] It comprised the northern district of the parish and was separated from the district dependent on St. Oswald's by the roads at present known as Potter's Bank and Lowes' Barn Bank. The third chapelry, that of St. Bartholomew, Croxdale, was much smaller and less important and, consequently, remained dependent until modern times. The parish was never provided with an endowed vicarage; consequently, the Hostillar received all the ecclesiastical revenues (except those of Witton Gilbert), but in return the pensions due to the vicar and the two chaplains were annual charges on his income.

In addition to its extensive bounds, the parish also had a complex and varied settlement pattern. To the south of the river Wear were the two hamlets of Croxdale and Sunderland and the manor of Butterby which constituted the chapelry of Croxdale. Beyond them to the east was Shincliffe, the largest settlement in the parish and the one of greatest value ecclesiastically, and the hamlet of Old Durham,

1 SS 155, p.147; SS 9, p.19.

2 Surtees, II, p.370.

3 Surtees, IV, p.127.

separated from Shincliffe by the river Pitting, where the church of St. Nicholas, Durham, had its glebe.[1] On the hither side of the Wear was the borough of Elvet and its associates, the barony of Elvet and the manor of Elvethall. Beyond these lay the Bursar's manor of Hougall, and beyond that, lying in the angle formed by the Wear and its tributary, the Browney, was the estate known as Burnhall which belonged to the Brackenburys until 1381 when it was acquired by the Claxton family.[2] Also in this district was the property known as Herd House. As there are no references to this estate before 1505, it is possible that it was a late creation out of the Burnhall lands. North of Burnhall, and lying between the rivers Browney and Deerness, were the hamlet of Broom, the Bursar's manor of Aldingrange and the manor of Relley, which belonged to the Sacrist.

Like St. Oswald's, the chapelry of St. Margaret had an urban sector, the Old Borough of Crossgate, which belonged to the priory, together with the suburban districts of Framwellgate and Milburngate, which were episcopal properties. The rest of the chapelry consisted of moorland out of which a number of settlements had been carved. The most notable was Newton which was a manor and a hamlet. Adjacent to it were the manor of Sidegate or Crookhall and the episcopal property known as Frankland Park. To the north of these were the two manors called Harbour House and Hag House. The former belonged until 1433 to the Kelloe (Kellaw) family from whom it passed to the Forcers (who supplied one of the 14th century priors, John Fosser, 1341 - 1374) in whose hands it remained until the late 18th century.[3] The latter

1 SS 95, p.xiv and p.xxviii.

2 Surtees, IV, pp.94-5.

3 Ibid., pp.147 - 9.

belonged for much of the period to the Bowes family and probably included the land which was to become the separate estate of Gaber House in 1569.[1] Also in this part of the parish was land belonging to Finchale priory to which, however, no references are made in the Hostillar's records.

Finally, it must be noted that there were a large number of small closes located in all parts of the parish; there are no references to these in the account rolls since they were under the control of two subordinate officials; they do, however, appear in the rentals.

Before considering the evidence in detail, a number of general observations need to be made. First, with few and rare exceptions, most of which were priory manors, the Hostillar did not collect his tithes but sold them before collection. Secondly, the work of revenue collection was not handled by himself alone, but shared with two subordinates, the Proctors of St. Oswald's and St. Margaret's. Initially, the arrangement seems to have been for the Hostillar to take the income from the corn tithe, leaving the Proctors to collect that from lesser tithes and other church dues. In actual practice, the division was never quite as neat as this for, as the account rolls show, the Hostillar took the hay tithe of certain places; moreover, he progressively made over to the Proctor of St. Margaret's responsibility for all income from the chapelry. Whether this latter move was the consequence of the growing independence of St. Margaret's or of the diminishing size of the income from many of its settlements is uncertain. Finally, it is clear that, throughout the period, the southern part of the parish was the more valuable: taking the year 1348/9 as a

1 Surtees, IV, pp.143-4.

random sample, the income from south of the Potter's Bank - Lowes' Barn Bank line amounted to £51 compared with only £24. 13s. 4d. from the northern district.[1]

With minor exceptions, the Hostillar himself collected the revenues of that part of the parish directly dependent on St. Oswald's and from the chapelry of Croxdale. The most important sources of income was his own township of Shincliffe. Although meagre, the evidence suggests that before 1350 annual income was at least £20 rising on occasions to £24. The plague at mid-century caused little disruption and no early decline in revenue: between 1350 and 1400 annual income was rarely below £20, and in the 1370s was as high as £29. After 1400, however, there was a gradual decline until c.1460, after which about £9 was the normal annual expectation. Although the figures were lower, the pattern at Old Durham was very similar. Before 1350 annual income was between £5 and £6, a level which was maintained and often exceeded in the second half of the 14th century. The post-1400 decline was quite sudden, and after 1407 income was no more than £3 to £4 a year, dropping to a maximum of £3 by c.1440. After that there was some improvement, and from c.1480 the normal expectation was £3. 13s. 4d.

The story at Burnhall was somewhat different. The pre-plague norm was £5 to £6 a year which was again achieved before the end of the 1350s. After 1380, however, income never exceeded £2. 10s. 0d, and in some years was less than £1. Worse was to follow: between 1415 and 1440 no income was received from the garb tithe because corn growing had been abandoned; the only income was from the tithe of hay which was taken by the Proctor of St. Oswald's. Agriculture was resumed in 1440,

1 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from HAR.

and thereafter an annual income of between 6s. 8d. and £2 was received. The income from Herd House, recorded after 1505, was £1 rising to £1. 12s. 0d. in the 1520s; the fact that the appearance of this property caused no significant change in the Burnhall figures suggests that it was additional to and not part of that estate.

No tithe income was received from Houghall before 1409, presumably because the manor was still in hand, although not that of the Hostillar. Initially, an annual income of £2. 13s. 4d. to £3 was realised; but by the middle decades of the century no more than £1. 13s. 4d. a year could be expected, and in many years the tithes were not collected. After 1486, the level rose to between £2 and £2. 13s. 4d.

Before 1386, the tithes of Broom, Relley and Aldingrange were sold together, giving an income of about £5. 6s. 8d, a level that was regained by the end of the 1350s. During the early 1380s, however, it dropped rapidly to £1. 6s. 8d. Because of this, perhaps, changes were initiated: Aldingrange was separated and, from 1386 until 1410, its tithes were in the hands of the Prior who, after 1397, leased them to the chaplain ibidem. Between 1411 and 1437 and after 1472, they were sold in the usual fashion for a sum which never exceeded 10s. 0d; between 1438 and 1472, however, they were again in hand. Broom and Relley remained in association until 1440 when the tithes of the latter were assigned to the Cellarer. The value of the Broom tithes after that date rose from 13s. 4d. to £1. 3s. 4d. in 1496, an increase due in part to the addition of land known as Auton Field.

Unlike other places in the southern part of the parish, the settlements of Croxdale chapelry seem to have been badly hit by the plague: before 1350, a tithe income of up to £13 6s. 8d. could be expected; after that date the most received was £9. 6s. 8d, and income

was usually much less. During the 1430s and 1440s tithes were sold after collection; after the normal method was resumed in 1448, income was never more than £2 a year.

The Hostillar also received tithes from two very different enterprises. The more important was the coal mines at Broom and Aldingrange which, judging by the account rolls, began life in 1354 and 1365 respectively. During the remainder of the 14th century a very useful income was derived from these premises. in 1384/5, for example, the value of the tithes amounted to £4. 13s. 4d, although by 1397/8 it had dropped to £2. 13s. 4d. In the last year of the century a sharp decline occurred to 13s. 4d., and after that even the best years, 1410 to 1415, produced no more than £1. Thereafter, there was a gradual decline and, from 1472/3, income was no more than 3s. 4d. a year until some time after 1513/4, when production ceased completely, resulting in a nil income. The other enterprise was Lumley yare, the location of which is unrecorded. It was first mentioned in 1368/9 when it produced an income of £1. 2s. 0d; thereafter, sums were lower, especially after 1400. About 1485, it was abandoned permanently.

Because of the gradual take-over by the Proctor of St. Margaret's, the situation in the northern part of the parish cannot be traced in such detail as is possible for the southern area. Hag House, for example, is never mentioned in the account rolls; it must be assumed, therefore, that throughout the period it was part of the Proctor's responsibility, an assertion which must be tentative, however, since its date of origin is unknown. According to the 16th century rentals, the Hag House tithes were worth £1. 6s. 8d; if it was in existence in the 14th century, it is likely that the figure would have been much higher. The tithes of its neighbour, Harbour House, were taken by the Hostillar until 1360, after

which they were the responsibility of the Proctor, except in 1388/9, 1397/8 and between 1441/2 and 1446/7. Before 1360, they were worth between £1 and £1. 6s. 8d. a year; in 1388/9, their value was no more than 10s. 0d; and during the 1440s they brought in between 8s. 8d. and 15s. 0d.

Further south, the property known as the Bishop's Meadow near Frankland is mentioned in the account rolls only between 1360/1 and c.1380; it must be assumed that at other times its tithes were the responsibility of the Proctor. During these years annual income from the tithes was between 18s. 0d. and £1; in the 16th century rentals the figure was invariably 13s. 4d. The adjacent area, known as North Wastes, remained with the Hostillar until 1411/2. Before the plague and after 1358, it an income normally between £10 and £12. 13s. 4d. a year. In 1375/6, however, the figure was halved by the introduction into the accounts of Crookhall manor; as this property is known to have existed in 1200,[1] the change was administrative and not physical. After the separation, income from North Wastes fell away until, at the time it was handed over to the Proctor, it was less than £1 a year. The Crookhall section was retained by the Hostillar until 1447/8, but the value of its tithes also declined from between £5 and £6 in the late 1370s to less than £1 after 1435. In the previous year, 1446/7, the Proctor had acquired the tithes of the neighbouring settlement of Newton. In 1333/5, these had been worth £10, but their value declined to between £5 and £6 in the following decade. After 1350, this level was maintained for a time, but then it gradually declined until it was under £1 in the 1390s. During the first four decades of the 15th century, the income fluctuated between £1. 6s. 8d. and £4. 13s. 4d; from 1440, however, it was below £1.

1 Surtees, IV, p.137.

In addition to these major properties, there were others which appear only in the rentals; presumably their tithes always went to the Proctor. The list includes Hunter House, which cannot be identified; closes called Swallopleys, Bellasis and Whiteclose, closes near St. Oswald's church, Newton and Stotgate, a composite group called the little closes of the parish from all of these income represented the tithe of hay. From the suburbs in St. Oswald's and St. Margaret's, however, the crops tithed were leeks, onions, flax and hemp. In no case did annual income exceed £1. a year.[1]

Because of these administrative changes, comparisons of total income from tithes between different periods are of doubtful value; nevertheless, the figures do give some indication of the overall size of income and of general trends. Despite the paucity of evidence, revenue expectation before 1350 was probably in excess of £70 a year. Inevitably the plague caused some depression, and in 1350/1 total income was no higher than £43. 19s. 0½d; during most of the second half of the 14th century, however, the situation remained comparatively healthy with between £50 and £59 as the normal income, rising to over £70 in some years. It was after 1400 that a really serious decline occurred, and by 1460/1 income was no more than £16. 2s. 0d. Thereafter, some improvement took place, and by 1528/9 income had reached £21. 18s. 2d.

This general pattern of development reflects that of many

1 RH 1523/4.

of the individual properties, and also bears strong resemblance to that of other parishes as recorded in the Bursar's records. As to the cause for the general decline, there is no reason to reject the two points made previously: the decline in population as a consequence of recurrent outbreaks of plague, and the conversion of arable land to pastoral use, although Burnhall apart, there is no evidence that corn growing was abandoned entirely.

Altarage was always recorded separately because it consisted of those parts of the ecclesiastical revenue not collected by the Hostillar but by the two Proctors. Their surviving records[1] from the period after 1440 indicate that they were either monks or parochial chaplains, and that they were responsible for a variety of dues: they collected the tithes on hay, lambs, wool, poultry, hemp and flax; they received fees for blessed bread, wedding banns, the churching of women and interment; they took the oblations due from parishoners on certain feast days and the contents of offertory boxes; they received mortuary dues and the dues from lenten synods. Until 1447, a single figure representing the income from the whole of the parish was recorded; after that date, two figures were noted, one for St. Oswald's and the other for St. Margaret's. Before 1351, the figure also included the altarage of Croxdale chapelry; subsequently this was allocated to the chaplain as part of his stipend.

In 1333/5, altarage was worth £49. 18s. 5d., but by

1 POA and PMA.

1348/9 it had declined to only £28. 13s. 1d; the reason is uncertain. This low level of under £30 was maintained until after c.1360. Thereafter, there was a significant improvement, and from c.1370 until c.1420 income was frequently over £50, and on two occasions it topped £70. After 1420, there was a gradual fall-off so that from c.1470 the normal expectation was just under £40. In all periods, however, there were exceptional years when income fell below or rose above the norm to a considerable extent.

To conclude this account of the Hostillar's estate, something may be said of the way the balance between income from secular and ecclesiastical sources changed during the period. Throughout the 14th century there was an approximate equality between the two halves, sometimes one, sometimes the other making the greater contribution. Thus, in 1347/8, income from secular sources amounted to £124. 8s. 8¾d., and that from ecclesiastical sources to £114. 11s. 2½d., while in 1356/7, the two figures were £78. 16s. 0½d. and £82. 5s. 5d. respectively. On the whole, however, the secular side was slightly preponderant. After 1400, this equality was not maintained, partly through the growth of secular income, but mainly through the decline of ecclesiastical income. In 1400/1, the respective figures were £112. 9s. 11½d. and £88. 9s. 8d; in 1425/6 they were £121. 6s. 10¼d. and £75. 17s. 7½d; by 1528/9, they were £137. 1s. 1½d. and £58. 8s. 6d. Even when losses from wasted and decayed rents are deducted from the secular income, the altered balance was still very considerable. The inescapable fact is that the Hostillar

found it possible to maintain and to increase his income from secular sources but was unable to do so from his ecclesiastical properties. One particular reason for this was that the former were under his direct control to a far greater extent than the latter.

## B. ALMONER.

The Almoner discharged his charitable function through three separate establishments. The first of these was the Infirmary which stood opposite the gate of the abbey and separated the two streets known as North Bailey and South Bailey.[1] The date of its foundation is not known. About a mile away was the chapel and hospital of St. Mary Magdalen which, although within the parish of St. Giles, acquired separate and independent parochial status.[2] About the date of its foundation there is no real certainty. Earlier writers considered the mid-13th century to have been the most likely period;[3] recently, however, a date prior to 1150 has been plausibly suggested.[4] The third establishment was located three miles away from Durham at Witton Gilbert. A hospital for lepers was founded there by the then lord of Witton, Gilbert de la Ley, who donated it with an endowment to the priory sometime before 1180.[5] Thus, even if the Infirmary near the abbey had existed from the beginning of the convent's existence, there was a considerable increase in the size and scope of the Almoner's function during the middle decades of the 12th century.

This transformation helps to explain both the composition and the early history of the Almoner's estate. In the first place, he

1 SS 103, p.xl.

2 SS 95, p.xxix.

3 Ibid., p.xxxi; VCH Durham, II, pp.119-20.

4 SS 179, pp.170-2.

5 Surtees, II, p.369.

never controlled any of the endowment provided for the monks by Bishop William of St. Calais, except for small fragments which came to him at second hand. Secondly, the Almoner's cartularies [1] provide abundant evidence that the estate was created very largely during the second half of the 12th century and the first half of the 13th by means of piecemeal acquisitions. A great deal of land was obtained from local landlords by both gift and purchase; but in addition, the priors of the period transferred a number of properties to the Almoner's office. The result was that, by 1290, the Almoner controlled an estate of considerable size and value, albeit one of fragmentary appearance.[2] Thus, it seems fair to conclude that, even if the Almonry had existed c.1100, it was of no great size and significance, and that the office as it was known in the later middle ages was a product of the century between 1150 and 1250.

1. TENANTS

Throughout the period under review, about two-thirds of the Almoner's income came from properties which he did not exploit directly but were in the hands of tenants. Most of them were acquired before 1290, although a number of acquisitions were made after that date: as elsewhere on the estate dealings in land never ceased completely. For his own administrative convenience, the Almoner divided these many properties into two broad categories: those located within the present city of Durham, that is, *infra villam*; and those located elsewhere, that is, *extra villam*. The revenue derived from these two groups was approximately equal, although the county properties furnished slightly the larger share.

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1 CED(S) and CED(L).

2 Appendix XVI.

# ALMONER

## DURHAM

## TENANTS



According to the rent rolls of 1290 to 1345 the rents extra villam numbered sixty-five and were derived from forty places all of which, with the exception of Thirsk, were within the modern county of Durham. Some of the properties were of considerable size; that at Burntoft, for example, consisted of three messuages, one hundred and sixty acres of arable, and twenty-one acres of meadow, similarly at Bradbury, there were three messuages, one hundred and twenty acres of arable, and fourteen acres of meadow. On the other hand, many were exceedingly small: that at Houghton-le-Spring was no more than one and half roods of meadow, while that at Ferryhill amounted to a mere two acres of arable.[1]

Regarded geographically the distribution of these properties was without form or pattern. It is clear that the priory picked up what was going when opportunities presented themselves. In some cases, such as Burntoft, it is obvious that the monks did not prosper through the charity of the faithful but through their own ability and willingness to exploit the financial difficulties of the existing owners.[2] The other notable feature is the amount of property located in the westerly parts of the county, districts which were subject to extensive settlement during the 12th and 13th centuries. It seems clear that the priory, and the Almoner in particular, was seeking to increase its land holding at a favourable time.

Of the sixty-five rents, no less than twenty-nine, or just under half, were free rents: this was largely the result of the priory having acquired land already in the hands of tenants holding on freehold terms. During the course of the two and a half centuries after 1290, there was

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1 C.E.D.(L), f.15r and 2v.

2 C.E.D.(S), pp.165-77.

no increase in the number and very little in the disposition of these properties: the 15th and 16th century rentals make no reference to the lands at Aldingrange, Brandon, Thornley and Hutton Henry; at Greencroft and Iveston there was some internal reorganisation and renaming of the holdings, but this did not affect the Almoner's position.

In number, if not in value, the holdings in the city were greater than those in the county. The early 16th century rentals show that the Almoner controlled no less than one hundred and fifty-three tenements. These were scattered all over the city, although concentration was particularly heavy in the priory's own boroughs of Crossgate and Elvet and in the Bailey. It is clear from the evidence in the cartularies that the bulk of this property was acquired during the 12th and 13th centuries, partly from external sources and partly from internal transference by the Prior. A significant portion of it was chantry property, in particular property pertaining to the foundation in the parish church of Durham (St. Nicholas) dedicated to the Blessed Virgin which was endowed before 1250 by Reginald Mercer (also known as Reginald the Merchant) and augmented at the very end of the 13th century by Hugh Quarrington (Querindon).[1]

Comparing the early 14th century rent rolls with the rentals of the early 16th century, it is clear that two important changes had taken place in the composition of the Almoner's estate in the city by the latter date. In the first place, the Almoner had lost his six holdings in the Market Place; to whom they were transferred is not clear. Secondly, there was a considerable increase in the number of properties in the Bailey: the rent roll of 1313/4 records

1 C.E.D(L), ff.76r - 77v and f.80r and v.

twelve rents worth £1. 10s. 2½d; the rental of 1502/3, however, mentions thirty-seven tenements paying thirty-two rents worth £7. 7s. 2d. Moreover, in the earlier document all the rents were recorded under the one heading; in the latter document five headings - North Bailey, South Bailey, Owengate, Iulechare and Halfeten - were used. This growth occurred very largely during the second half of the 14th century,[1] and it may have been connected with the building of the Infirmary before the abbey gates during the early 1370s.[2]

The one hundred and fifty-three city properties produced one hundred and sixteen rents. Of these, forty-one were free rents which were predominant in Framwellgate, Sidegate, Allergate, New Elvet and Raton Row. In addition, there were seven landmale rents from South Street and another three from Crossgate. This is a little surprising since the Sacrist's records suggest that the landmale rents of Crossgate borough were divided between the Bursar and the Sacrist before 1422, and belonged exclusively to the latter after that date.[3] The remaining rents were from properties that were leased, usually for fifteen-year terms.[4]

The picture revealed in the earliest extant account roll, that of 1339/40, is one of lean fortune: assized rents produced an income of no more than £37. 5s. 4½d, compared with a potential sum of about £63. indicated in the rent rolls of the previous year.[5] This

1 C.E.D.(L), f.85 et seqq.

2 SS 103, p.xl.

3 See Below in section on Scarist.

4 Information from CED(L).

5 This and subsequent details are from AAR.

was clearly an exceptional situation since a note was added explaining that many tenements were wasted and that many rents were in arrears; unfortunately, no reasons for this state of affairs were recorded. Low income together with similar explanations continued for several years; in fact, it was not until the eve of the plague that a respectable income, £67. 8s. 1½d, was recorded.

Inevitably, the 1350s were a period of lower income, although the loss of many account rolls makes a precise tracing impossible. From the late 1360s, however, there was a steady increase in assized rents income from £59. 1s. 2½d. in 1368/9 to £76. 11s. 7½d. in 1533/4; apart from the late 1420s when certain changes were agreed between the Almoner and the chantrist of the Blessed Virgin in St. Nicholas, there was no period when rent income declined rather than increased. This impression of prosperity based upon rising income is, unfortunately, false; in fact, far from improving in the 15th century, the situation deteriorated to a marked degree. In the first place, the increase in income was not the result of rising rents but of additional rents: in some instances, such as the Bailey, rents came from newly-acquired properties; in others, the rents had been recorded elsewhere, for example, the leased demesne land at Relley, Burnhope and Rookhope.

More serious, however, was the waste and decay of rent for which there is extensive evidence in the account rolls from 1367/8. Between that year and 1430, the situation was not too serious, the total loss of income never exceeding £10. a year. In 1391/2, for example, there were wasted rents in Hartlepool, Hardwick, Brandon, Broom, Sunderland, Iveston and Houghton in the county, and a further six in the city; the figures for decayed rents were similar, eleven in the county and four in the city. The total loss of income was £7. 2s. 4d. made up of £2 wasted rents and £5. 2s. 4d. decayed rents. Considering the size of

the income, and more particularly the number of rents involved, the Almoner had grounds for reasonable satisfaction.

After 1430, however, there was a rapid deterioration so that, by the middle years of the 1440s, the total annual loss from wastage and decay had risen to £29. Moreover, the increase was made up entirely of wasted rents which accounted for over £24 of the total. Details recorded in the account roll of 1439/40 show that a loss through wasted rents of £16. 3s. 4d. involved thirteen properties in the county and no less than fifty-eight in the city. When, a few years later, the loss was one third higher, the number of properties involved was probably proportionately greater. Clearly, the estate, in particular its urban element, was hit by some sort of disaster the nature and causes of which are not apparent.

From mid-century the situation improved to a limited extent, although fortunes never fully recovered. The total annual loss of income was gradually reduced until, in the first decade of the 16th century, it was normally between £15 and £16. Moreover, the number of tenantless holdings was reduced almost to nil in the county and to less than twenty-five in the city. This meant that the loss of income attributable to wasted rents fell to less than £4. The price of this improvement was a considerable increase in the number of tenements leased at reduced rents: in 1501/2, for example, decayed rents numbered sixty-nine of which all but eight were in the city; loss of income amounted to £11. 13s. 7d. This improvement, however, was not sustained; after c.1520, extant figures suggest that loss of revenue from wasted and decayed rents rose again above £20 a year and that the increase was the result of a rise in the number of both. Thus, during the last century of the priory's existence, the Almoner lost between a quarter and a third of his city income.

## 2. MANORS

The Almoner had seven manors located in different parts of the modern county; only four of them, however, were ever worked fully as demesne farms during the period covered by this essay.

### a) Witton Gilbert.

The manor at Witton, which was closely associated with the hospital there, consisted of about two hundred and thirty acres of arable land, meadow and pasture.[1] About a hundred acres lay within the confines of Bearpark and were used as pasture; the remainder formed part of the township of Witton.

During all but the last few years of the 14th century, the manor was retained in hand and operated as a mixed farm. This is apparent in the earliest extant account rolls, although the details were recorded in too haphazard a fashion for a coherent account to be produced; the introduction of a more systematic form of records at some date between 1355 and 1366 makes a proper description feasible.[2] The control and direction of the whole enterprise was in the hands of the Almoner, although a sergeant and an animal keeper were employed to supervise the day to day running of the agricultural and pastoral aspects respectively. The entire work of the manor was done under their direction by permanently employed famuli, aided by extra and temporary labour at the crucial seasons of the farming year. In fact, the Almoner had no choice but to adopt this labour system since he had no pool of customary tenants whose services he could command.

The income of the manor was derived from the sale of its produce.

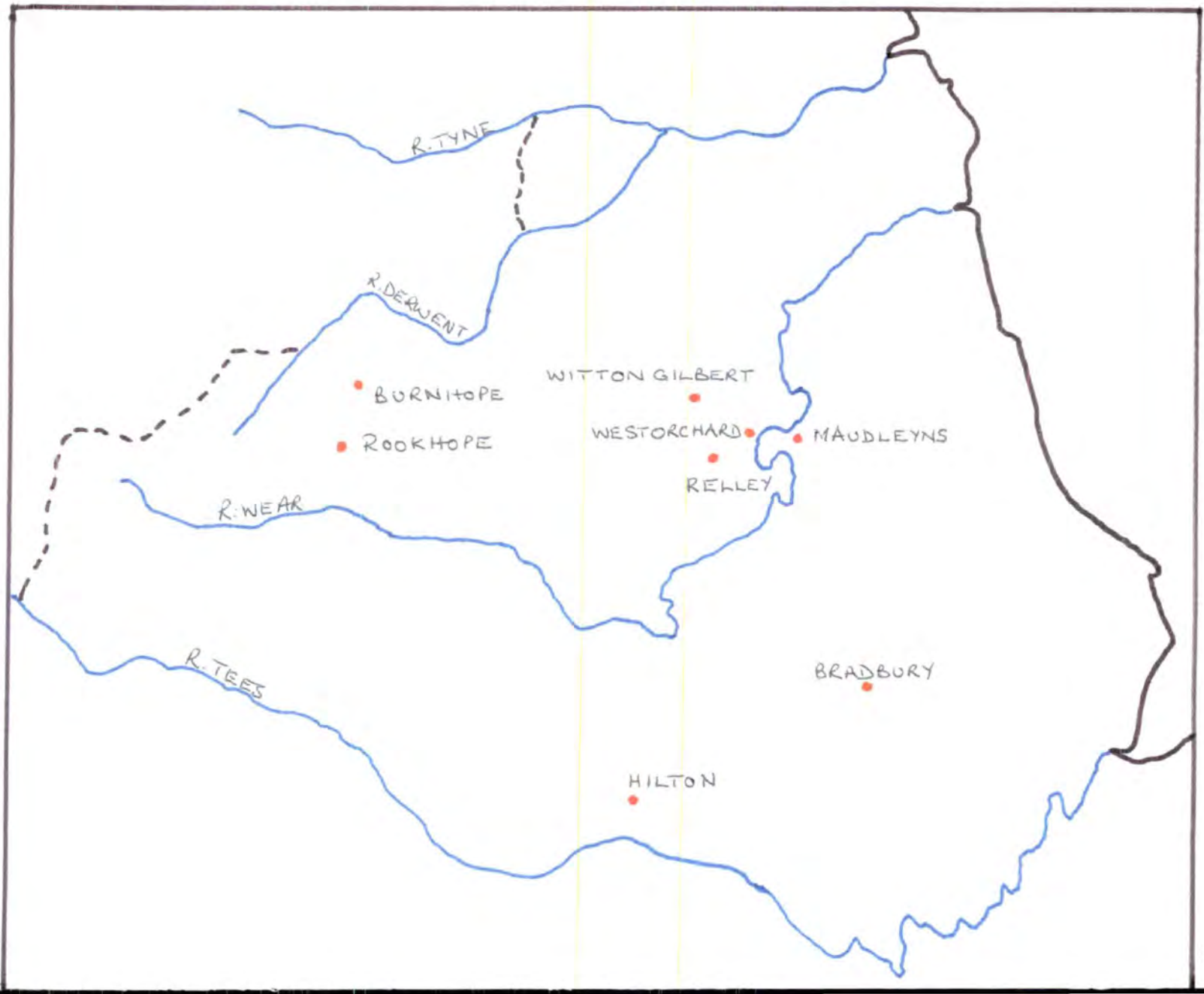
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1 C.E.D.(L), f.26v.

2 AAR 1355/6 - 1366/7 are missing.

# ALMONER

## MANORS



Corn, especially barley and oats, was the most important commodity; about twenty quarters were sold every year. In addition, a variety of cattle and sheep, including decayed draught animals, were sold regularly. Total annual income fluctuated considerably:[1] for example, it was no more than £1. 15s. 4d. in 1368/9; on the other hand, in 1376/7, it rose to £14. 7s. 9d. Annual expenditure was on the usual items: the salaries of the famuli, the wages of the seasonal labour, the purchase of seed and stock, repairs to buildings and implements. What is notable is that almost invariably the amount spent on the manor was greater, in some years very much greater, than the income received: for example, in 1367/8, income amounted to £6. 15s. 9d; almost three times that sum, £19. 4s. 1d, was expended. Consequently, it is a little surprising that the manor was retained in hand for so long unless, of course, a large part of the manor's produce was consumed by the hospital.

Direct exploitation ceased in 1390/1 and, from the following year until the end of the priory's existence, except for a brief period between 1401 and 1406, the manor was leased. Until 1430 or 1431 the lease included the church as well as the manor; thereafter they were in separate hands. Initially, a rent of £5 was obtained, but after 1450, £5. 13s. 4d. became the normal sum. The early leases were of short duration, three and six years being the most common terms; after 1450, however, longer leases of fifteen and thirty years were granted. The names of the lessees are known from the account rolls, but nothing further about any of them can be discovered. As on the Bursar's estate, one family came to secure a permanent hold on the property: the name of the family was Buckley and its hold was established in 1481/2.

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1 All the following details are drawn from AAR; there are no separate manor accounts.

b) Rookhope and Burnhope.

These properties must be discussed together since they were clearly associated with each other and also with the manor at Witton. Of the two, Rookhope was the larger, consisting of a farmstead and one hundred and twenty-seven acres of meadow and pasture;[1] the Burnhope property amounted to only thirty-seven acres of meadow and seventeen acres of pasture divided into four closes.[2] None of the land was owned by the priory but rented from the Bishop.

The farm at Rookhope was retained in hand until sometime after 1355. During the period of direct exploitation it was used as a vaccary with between thirty and forty head of cattle. Between 1355 and 1366, however, it was put to farm at a rent of £1. 9s. 6d. a year, which rose to £1. 10s. 0d. in 1376/7. Initially, this income was recorded as part of the Burnhope income; between 1380 and 1390, however, it was assigned to the assized rents. Burnhope was exploited directly somewhat longer. It is clear that it too was a pastoral enterprise and that it was used to support and to complement the more agricultural manor at Witton: animals were moved regularly between the two centres, and Burnhope supplied Witton with hay. In addition, it produced an income of its own deriving from the sale of stock and dairy produce: in 1370/1, £9. 2s. 6d. was derived from such sales; normally, however, income was between £2 and £4 a year. As at Witton, the enterprise was run by salaried labour under the control of an officer with the title of Instaurator. The leasing of Burnhope began at the same time as at Witton. The initial rent was 5s. 0d. a year, but it was raised to 6s. 8d. in 1406/7; in 1412/3, it was incorporated into the assized rents.

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1 C.E.D.(L), f.17r.

2 Ibid., f.16v.

## c) Magdalen Manor

This property, known as Maudlyn manor, consisted of two distinct parts: a sixty-acre field in front of the gates of Sherburn Hospital (known as Sherburnleys or Maudlynleys) which had been granted to the priory by Bishop William of St. Barbara (1143 - 1152);[1] and several small closes surrounding the hospital and chapel of St. Mary Magdalen in Gilesgate, amounting to twenty-three and a half acres.

Before 1367/8, the manorial arrangements are not very clear. In that year, however, an income of £12. 15s. 10½d. was secured made up of 2s. 4d. free rent, £1. 10s. 0d. from the Master of Sherburn Hospital for the lease of Sherburnleys, 13s. 4d. from the sale of hay and herbage of Ravensflatt, which the Almoner was leasing from the Bursar, 14s. 11½d. from parochial oblations, and £9. 4s. 4d. from the sale of corn and stock; in addition, arrears amounting to £2. 10s. 0d. were included in the recorded total of £14. 15s. 10½d. It is uncertain how long these arrangements had been in force: there is no evidence that Sherburnleys was leased before 1355 in either rent rolls or account rolls; on the other hand, it is known to have been leased as early as 1294.[2]

After 1367/8, however, there were no changes in the form of administration until the last years of the century. The two main sources of income continued to be the lease of Sherburnleys, which remained in the hands of the Master of Sherburn Hospital, although at the higher rent of £2. 13s. 4d. after 1391/2, and sales of corn and stock which usually produced between £2 and £5 a year. Direct exploitation was abandoned between 1395 and 1398/9. After the latter date a variable income of between £1 and £3 was obtained from the sale of

1 C.E.D.(s), p.154.

2 SS 179, p.171.

herbage until 1414/5 when the two larger closes were leased for £3. 3s. 4d; the smaller closes were not finally leased until some years later. Sherburnleys remained at farm with the rent rising to £4 by 1485/6; it was in the hands of the Master of Sherburn Hospital until 1431, after which it was held by the tenants of Shincliffe, except for a period in the 1460s and 1470s when the lessee was a William Cornforth.

a) Almonerorchard Manor

Also known as Westorchard manor, this property was situated on the edge of the urban part of the borough of Crossgate, and consisted of three pieces of land known as Almonerorchard, Codeslaw (twenty-six acres) and Howlcroft (thirty acres). Although evidence is confused, it seems likely that during most of the 14th century Almonerorchard itself was in hand, while the other parts were leased for £1. 8s. 0d. and £2 a year respectively. Then, for a brief period between c.1390/1 and 1397/8, Howlcroft and Codeslaw were exploited directly, and an income of between £2. 13s. 4d. and £9. 5s. 0d. was obtained from the sale of corn and herbage. In 1398/9, however, all three parts were leased together for £5. 6s. 8d. This arrangement remained permanent, except that the rent was raised to £6 in 1432/3, and to £6. 13s. 4d. in 1434/5.

e) Hilton Manor.

Hilton manor in the parish of Staindrop consisted of nearly one hundred acres in an area known as the Newmoor together with twenty acres of arable and eight acres of meadow in the adjacent township of Wackefield.[1] Throughout the period, except for two brief interludes, the manor was leased. In 1290/1 its value was £12; by 1313/4 it had

1 C.E.D.(L), f.16r.

dropped to £6. 13s. 4d; and in 1334/5 it was no more than £2. 6s. 8d.[1] After this there was little change in rent, although in the 16th century £2. 13s. 4d. was normal.[2] The lessees all appear to have been of the armigerous class, including members of the Wessington, Bowes, Fulthorp and Marley families. The two periods when the manor was in hand were the early 1350s and 1407 and 1408. Details recorded in the account rolls show that Hilton was a fully operational mixed farm supervised by a sergeant and an animal keeper. The brevity of the two periods of direct exploitation suggests that they were undesigned accidents.

### f) Bradbury Manor.

Bradbury manor in Sedgefield parish was similar in both size and history to that at Hilton. It consisted of three tofts, one hundred acres of arable and fourteen acres of meadow together with two separate holdings of one acre each.[3] Apart from two short periods it was leased, but not as a single unit. In 1338,[4] it was divided between six tenants; and in the 16th century there were still four.[5] Its value in 1290/1 was £6. 13s. 4d, a level that was maintained until the plague;[5] during the 15th and 16th centuries, however, its rents amounted to no more than £3. 13s. 0d.[6] Like Hilton, it was in hand during the early 1350s when an annual income was obtained from the sale of its produce. These and other details in the account rolls prove that it too was a fully operational mixed farm. The policy of leasing was readopted between 1355 and 1366 and was not abandoned, except in the years 1390/1 and 1391/2. It seems likely that these

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1 ARR 1290/1, 1313/4, 1334/5.

2 AR 1501-1503 and AR 1532-1537.

3 CED(L), f.15v.

4 AAR 1338/9.

5 AR 1501-1503 and AR 1532-1537.

6 CED(L), f.15v and AR 1501-1503 and AR 1532-1537.

brief interludes were forced on the Almoner by circumstances.

g) Relley Manor

The manor at Relley was small, consisting of sixty arable acres on the west side of the river Browney together with three acres of meadow and ten acres of arable on the east bank;[1] the manor buildings were probably at or near the present Relley farm. In 1290/1 the manor was leased,[2] and at no time thereafter does it appear to have been in hand. In the late 13th century the rent was £2. 6s. 8d;[3] but it had risen to £2. 13s. 4d. by 1424,[4] after which there was no change.

Associated with the manor was a fulling mill, the remains of which are still visible, powered by the water of the Browney. In the 14th century it and the manor were leased together, but afterwardsthey were in separate hands. Its nominal value was £2, but the Almoner normally had to be content with less.

When considered as a whole, the history of these manors reveals two salient points. One is that the Almoner never attempted a policy of full and extensive demesne exploitation. This is understandable as regards Hilton and Bradbury, both of which were at a distance from Durham and from other priory properties; it is less so of Relley and Almonerorchard. Secondly, it is noticeable that the Almoner gave up direct exploitation at those places where it had been practised at the time when the Bursar was putting most of his manors to farm; this seems more than coincidence.

1 CED(L), f.18r.

2 ARR 1290/1.

3 ARR 1313-1345.

4 CED(L), f.18r.

## 3. ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY

### a) Witton Gilbert Church

It has been noted in connection with the Hostillar that the chapelry of Witton Gilbert originally formed part of Elvet parish and that it secured its ecclesiastical independence early in the 15th century. Throughout the period under review, however, its ecclesiastical revenues pertained to the Almoner, presumably because of his extensive interests in the parish. The parish was not large, consisting of the township of Witton Gilbert and the manors of Fulforth, in part owned by the Almoner, and the manor of Sacristonheugh, which belonged to the Sacrist. As in the parent parish, there was no endowed vicarage, the whole of the revenue going to the Almoner.

In 1290/1, the chapel was leased for £4. 13s. 4d,[1] but throughout most of the 14th century all the revenues were collected. The confused state of the account rolls makes a precise and accurate account difficult for the period before 1367.[2] In 1367/8, the revenues were divided into four parts: altarage, comprising the small tithes except, oblations, quadragesimals and mortuary fees which were worth £2. 9s. 1½d; the tithe of wool, which produced two stones valued at 7s. 0d; the tithe of corn, which produced fifteen quarters of wheat and mixtil valued at £4. 11s. 8d; and the tithes of Sacristonheugh which were worth 5s. 0d. Total income amounted to £7. 7s. 9½d. This system of direct exploitation inevitably produced a fluctuating income: in 1375/6, the total was as low as £1. 16s. 0d; in 1370/1, however, it had been as high as £8. 2s. 0d.

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1 ARR 1290/1.

2 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from AAR.

In 1391/2, direct exploitation was abandoned and the revenues of the chapel were leased with the manor, an arrangement which remained in force for almost forty years except that, from 1405/6, the tithes of Sacristonheugh were leased separately. There was considerable fluctuation in the value of the lease from as little as £5 in 1407/8 to £10.13s. 4d. in 1428/9. The value of the ecclesiastical element is nowhere stated, although the fact that the manor was leased for £5 after its separation from the church gives some indication. This separation occurred in 1431/2 when the church revenues were again collected because no tenant could be found. In 1434/5, however, what proved to be the final solution was adopted: the lease of the chapel and its revenues for a small sum on condition that the lessee undertook its maintenance. Initially, the sum was 10s. 0d, rising to 13s. 4d. in the following year; in 1443/4, however, it was lowered to 3s. 4d, at which it remained thereafter with occasional exceptions. It is clear that most, perhaps all, the lessees were in fact the incumbents of the chapel.

In addition, the Almoner received the tithes of coal from mines sunk in the parish in the 15th and 16th centuries; this income remained separate. The sums received, never more than 2s. 0d., together with other statements in the account rolls, make it abundantly clear that mining was on a very limited scale and that pits were often abandoned. The first enterprise was at Fulforth and was begun in 1433/4 by the secular owner of the other half of the manor. This was followed a few years later by a mine sunk by several Witton men at Camheugh, the whereabouts of which is uncertain. The mine at Findon, next to the modern village of Sacriston, was not begun until 1506/7.

b) St. Mary Magdalen Church.

The parish of St. Mary Magdalene which, like Witton, acquired independent status during the period, was ridiculously small, extending to less than thirty acres.[1] As has been noted, the ecclesiastical revenues were included with the income from the manor; in the 15th century, with abandonment of direct exploitation, new arrangements had to be made. The tithe element was dealt with by making it part of the rent of the land involved; the oblations, however, were collected separately, but never amounted to more than a few shillings.

c) Gilly Corn.

Although this has been described elsewhere as a customary rent, there is good cause to regard it as an ecclesiastical due; indeed, it has been described as the local equivalent of church scot.[2] Its origins, unfortunately, are obscure: Dr. C.M. Fraser has demonstrated that it was in existence by c.1200 when its incidence was fixed;[3] on the other hand, it seems unlikely that it ante-dated the grant in 1112 of a similar rent to Kepier Hospital by Bishop Rannulf Flambard (1099 - 1128).[4] Even more puzzling is the name of the rent: why was it called gillycorn, that is, the corn of St. Giles, when the priory had no connection with the Hospital of St. Giles, Kepier to which the name undoubtedly refers? It may be (although there is no concrete evidence for this) that the Almoner's gillycorn rent was connected with the Magdalen Hospital in Gilesgate, and that this establishment was closely bound up in origin with the establishment at Kepier.

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1 SS 95, p.xxix.

2 Fraser, Gilly Corn, pp.37-8.

3 Ibid., p.41.

4 SS 179, pp.64-5.

For the period with which this essay is concerned the best evidence for gillycorn is the rental drawn up in 1424.[1] It indicates that the Almoner was entitled to three hundred and twenty thraves (each of twenty-four sheaves) and nineteen sheaves of corn from certain tenements, both bond and free, in almost all of the priory's townships in the parishes of Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Houghton le Spring, Monk Hesleden, Dalton, Pittington, Billingham, Haughton-le Skerne, Aycliffe and Merrington, together with Shincliffe in the parish of Elvet. The rental, however, was a statement of theory drawn up, in all probability, because of the confusion that had arisen as the result of changes in tenemental structure since the early 13th century. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that in practice things were very different. According to the rent rolls of the pre-1350 period, the Almoner obtained gillycorn only from the parishes of Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Monk Hesleden, Pittington, Billingham, Aycliffe and Merrington together with Shincliffe; that is, from the appropriated parishes in the hands of the Bursar and the Hostillar. In addition, gillycorn was owed by tenements in the Northamshire townships of Shoreswood, Elwick and Fenham, a fact no previous discussion has mentioned. Moreover, it is clear that the rent was secured from certain places only in each parish: for example, in Jarrow parish only Jarrow, Wallsend, Willington and Westoe are ever mentioned. Finally, it is also obvious that the rent was not secured from all parishes every year.

The rent rolls also demonstrate that the rent was treated as a species of tithe: it was sold annually, normally on a parish basis, for negotiated sums of money; the buyers were local men, among them

1 CED(L), ff.27v - 30r.

the parish clergy and the manor sergeants, and, as with the Bursar's tithes at this period, recourse was had to sale pre manibus. Sums varied little from year to year, giving the impression that the rent in each parish had become more or less fixed and that its incidence fell on certain holdings only. The fluctuations in total income from gillycorn (between £1 and £3) which are visible in the account rolls down to the end of the priory's existence were probably not the product of fluctuating corn prices, as Dr. Fraser suggested,[1] but of the success or failure of the Almoner in securing standard sums of money from the tenements to which they had become attached. Failure to maintain full control over the rent is also demonstrated by a comparison of the income received with what was possible: Dr. Fraser estimated that the rent would have produced about forty quarters of grain;[2] since this should have been wheat, the price of which varied between 5s. 0d. and 13s. 4d. a quarter,[3] annual income should have been between £10 and £33; in fact, it hardly ever rose above £3.[4]

1 Fraser, Gilly Corn, p.39.

2 Ibid., p.60.

3 This range of prices is taken from the tithe sales in BAR.

4 From figures recorded in AAR.

## C. SACRIST.

The Sacrist's responsibility was the general maintenance of the cathedral fabric and the provisioning of its liturgical activities.[1] The income which enabled him to carry out this function was drawn from an estate of considerable diversity; it included a very substantial urban element and a variety of rural holdings including two manors; moreover, it was geographically widespread, extending from Gullane in eastern Scotland to Ripon in central Yorkshire.[2] Apart from the Old Borough of Crossgate, however, none of the component properties were derived directly from the pre-Conquest patrimony of St. Cuthbert; in fact, the estate was built up from a wide variety of sources, principally in the 12th and 13th centuries, although gains continued to be made until the eve of the dissolution.[3]

### 1. TENANTS.

#### a) Durham City

The most substantial part of the Sacrist's estate, although not the most valuable, lay within the present city of Durham, in particular in that part which was then the Old Borough of Crossgate. The clearest picture of the Sacrist's position in Durham is that provided by the rental of 1500, drawn up at a time when his estate in the city was all but complete.[4] An analysis of this document reveals four important facts, the first three relating specifically to the borough of Crossgate.

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1 SS 103, p.x.

2 Appendix XVII.

3 Much evidence in LS for this.

4 TESD, ff.21 - 30.

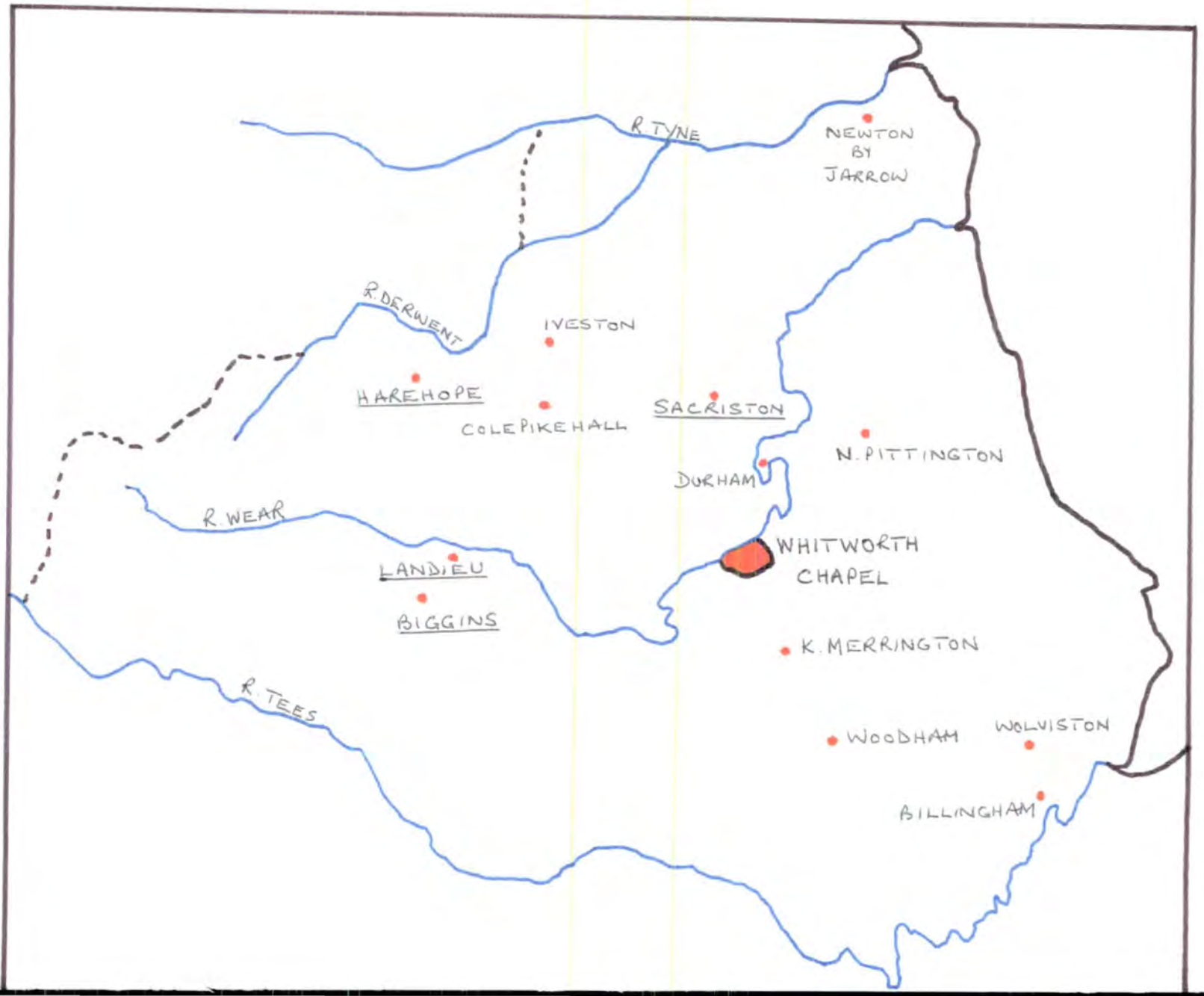
# SACRIST

# DURHAM

# PROPERTY

SACRISTON MANORS

IVESTON TENANTS



In the first place, there is evidence of considerable decay. Of the one hundred and sixty-six rents owed to the Sacrist, twenty-one were unpaid because no tenants could be found for the properties; these properties are particularly visible in that part of the borough known as Bellasis, an area of land that had been divided into a large number of small holdings. In addition, although there were one hundred and sixty-six rents, they covered no less than two hundred and thirty separate properties. Many of these had been combined to form larger holdings, in addition, a considerable number had been converted from burgages into gardens and orchards. Over all, it seems clear that at an earlier date Crossgate had been more heavily populated and had had a more genuinely urban character.

The second notable feature is the extent to which property was in the hands of religious bodies. No less than seven chantries,[1] all of them in Durham churches, paid between them twenty-six rents for thirty-five burgage holdings; in addition, nineteen rents covering a further thirty-one burgages were in the hands of three guilds, particularly the Guild of Corpus Christi. The third group of ecclesiastics was composed of the Sacrist's fellow obedientiaries, the Commoner and the Almoner in particular,who between them paid thirty-two rents for forty-six burgages. In all, one hundred and fourteen burgages and eleven other properties accounting for eighty rents were in the hands of religious bodies. In other words, about half the borough only was in lay hands.

The third feature is the contrasting nature of the Sacrist's position. In the social and legal senses, it was dominant; from the

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1 St. Katherine (St. Mary le Bow), Blessed Virgin (St. Margaret's), Blessed Virgin (St. Oswalds), Bishop Nicholas (St. Nicholas), Blessed Virgin (St. Mary le Bow), Holy Trinity (St. Nicholas), St. John (St. Nicholas).

financial angle, it was far less satisfactory. In spite of the large number of rents owed to him, the total income he could expect was no more than £16. 8s. 7½d: for this, there were two reasons. The more important was that of the one hundred and sixty-six rents, no less than one hundred and eighteen were landmale rents which were small and fixed. The lesser reason was the existence of fourteen holdings whose tenants owed nothing except suit of the borough court. Thus, there were only twenty-five properties which could be leased, and from which the Sacrist could hope to derive economic rents. They, in fact, accounted for nearly £13 of the total rent of £16. 8s. 7½d. Most of them are readily identifiable by the size of their rents, some of which were over £1, compared with the landmale rents most of which were under 1s. 0d. Had the Sacrist been able to convert all the landmale rents into leases, he would have increased his income several fold.

This point is underlined by a study of the Sacrist's holdings elsewhere in the city. These numbered thirty-four - eleven in Durham together with eleven in its suburb of Framwellgate; three in the Hostillar's borough of Elvet; and nine in the extra-burghal streets of the Bailey. Although a few of these properties were held freely, the majority were leased, and from them the Sacrist was able to secure substantial and economic rents. Between them, these thirty-four properties generated an income of over £17, that is, they had a slightly greater value than almost five times their number in Crossgate. Against this sum, however, must be set the £2. 8s. 2d. which the Sacrist was obliged to pay in landmale rents to the Bishop and the Hostillar, and in other rents to the Feretrar and others.[1] Nevertheless, despite the uneconomic level of so many rents, the Sacrist could expect up to

1 This and subsequent details are from SAR, unless otherwise stated.

£34 a year from his city properties, which made them his second most valuable asset.

Looking back to the early 14th century, it is obvious that the Sacrist's position had grown considerably. In 1329,[1] he controlled only seventy-eight rents, sixty-three of which were in Crossgate, which provided an income of £7. 13s. 4d. By 1381,[2] the number of rents had risen to ninety( the increase was outside Crossgate) and income to £9. 15s. 9½d. It is notable that in both years all tenements were in the hands of laymen. The greater number of rents and the increase in revenue visible in 1500 were the consequences of two changes. In the first place, in 1423/4, the Sacrist acquired by act of the Prior (John Washington) the landmale rents of the whole of Crossgate borough. Prior to this date he had accounted only for those in Allergate; those in Crossgate, Milburngate, Limekilngate, South Street and the vennels running between them had pertained to the Bursar. This transfer increased the length of the Sacrist's rent roll impressively, and concentrated the lordship of the borough in his hands; at the same time, it added little to his income. This increase was primarily the result of the acquisition of properties which could be leased for realistic rents. Many of these were in other parts of the city, although one very important group in Crossgate was acquired, consisting of nineteen burgages, formerly held by a William Whelpdale, which were acquired from William Stockdale and his family for the chantry of Isabel Lawson in the cathedral. When leased, these properties added no less than £13. 10s. 0d. to the Sacrist's revenue. This process of acquisition was not complete in 1500; by 1535/6, more new properties had raised the Sacrist's revenue from £34 to almost £40.

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1 RFSDS (1329).

2 RFSDS (1381).

The Sacrist's lordship over the borough was exercised through its court which in 1500 was held in a house in Crossgate called the Tollbooth. A handful of records of the 1390s are all that have survived,[1] but they are sufficient to indicate that it was in all respects identical to that of the Hostillar in Elvet Borough. Income from fines and amercements levied by the court appears regularly in the account rolls, proving that the court continued to function until the dissolution.

## b) Yorkshire

The Sacrist's Yorkshire property was located in the city of York and in the township of Holtby in the North Riding. In1329[2] he drew nineteen rents from the city which provided an income of £9. 8s. 0d; in 1381[3] the income was £9. 7s. 4d. and six pounds of wax, but the number of rents was only sixteen. Thereafter there is no information until 1535/6 when an income of over £20 was obtained from all the Yorkshire properties. What proportion of this sum was provided by the city rents is uncertain. The properties from which the rents were drawn were located in Ousegate, Goodramgate, Jubertgate, Petergate and the Pavement.[4] The priory began to acquire them in the late 12th century.[5]

The holding in Holtby consisted of three carucates of land which, together with the church, had been acquired by the priory sometime between c.1170 and 1189.[6] In the early 14th century[7] the

1 Loc.IV, nos. 95, 120, 127, 201, 229.

2 RFSDS (1329).

3 RFSDS (1381).

4 RFSDS.

5 LS, f.14r.

6 VCH, North Riding, II, p.144.

7 RFSDS(1342,1343, 1345).

holding was divided into fifteen separate holdings. Seven of these were held on freehold terms for rents amounting to 6s. 8d: one was of one bovate in size and carried a rent of 1s. 6d, while another four were each of half a bovate with a rent of 9d. each; the remaining two were tofts carrying rents of 1s. 4d. and 8d. respectively. The largest group consisted of eight customary holdings, seven of two bovates and one of one bovate, which bore rents of 3s. 0½d. per bovate. Finally, there was a manor with four bovates of land, which may have been the rectory glebe,[1] which was leased for £1. An almost identical picture is presented by the 1381 rental. These facts apart, however, little is known. During the 13th and 14th centuries the manor was leased for periods of up to fifteen years, often to the Rector of Holtby;[2] there is no reason to suspect that this practice did not continue. A court existed but no records of activity have survived, and there is little reference to it in the account rolls. Gresumae were levied, presumably on customary tenants, until c.1420; absence thereafter suggests that in this Yorkshire township the practice of short-term leases was adopted as it was in Durham. An officer called the Steward of Holtby was maintained in the district, presumably to preside over the court and to look after the Sacrist's interests generally. Rents were collected by another officer called the Receiver, who was also responsible for the York rents. This man rendered an account annually, but none of the documents have survived.

During the 14th century the total annual income from all the Yorkshire properties was about £13;[3] by 1535/6 it had risen to over £20. Whether this increase stemmed from the raising of rents or the acquisition of extra holdings is not apparent.

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1 LS, f.7.

2 Ibid., ff. 7-8.

3 RFSDS.

c) Miscellaneous.

In addition to the income discussed above, the Sacrist was entitled to nearly thirty rents from small and isolated properties scattered over the countryside between Ripon and Gullane.[1] Over half were grouped together in the rentals and described as miscellaneous rents in patria; they were drawn from properties acquired in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. The majority were leases, although there were a few free rents, and also out-rents from properties not actually owned by the priory. Some disappear from the records and most of them were never paid. Their potential value was never more than £5. The rest of this group consisted of a number of small holdings in Wolviston, Kirk Merrington and Pittington. With the exception of the single tenement in Pittington which was in the Sacrist's hands by 1375,[2] they were acquired after 1487/8.[3] All of them, together with lands in Billingham and a house in the Bailey, formed the endowment of the chantry of the Holy Trinity in St. Nicholas' church in Durham. In 1500, their annual value was £3. 9s. 0d.

It will be convenient to include here the payments known as smokepennies (denarii fumales). These were owed to the Sacrist by thirty-six places within the modern county.[4] The names suggest that they were parishes rather than townships, a belief supported by Miss Neilson's identification of smoke pennies as Peter's Pence.[5] Clearly this rent had been diverted from its proper destination. The total value of the rent was £7. 0s. 3d., but the 14th century

1 Appendix XVII.

2 RFSDS (1375).

3 There is no reference to these properties in the account before this.

4 Appendix II.

5 Neilson, Customary Rents, pp.200-1.

records show that little if any of the money was ever paid. After 1407, the entry was omitted from the account rolls.

With the exception of smoke pennies, all the rents so far discussed were classed as assized rents. In the decade prior to the Black Death, their annual value was just over £25, a level quickly regained after 1350. Thereafter, the value of these rents rose gradually but steadily until in 1445/6 it stood at £46. 10s. 10d. After 1486/7 further increase took place, so that in 1535/6 on the eve of the dissolution the total was £84. 15s. 0d. Thus, in a period of almost two centuries, the value of assized rents had more than trebled. This increase, as has been suggested already, was due to the acquisition of new properties. Unfortunately for the Sacrist, the increase was not all gain. In the first place, many properties carried free, landmale or out-rents payable to other landlords, by 1535/6, these outgoings amounted to £14. 6s. 9d. a year. Secondly, the Sacrist, like his fellow obedientiaries, had to contend with the problem of wastage and decay of rents. These do not seem to have been serious until the last quarter of the 14th century since there were no entries of decayed and wasted rents prior to 1378/9, moreover, from that date until 1415, losses were relatively light, amounting to no more than £1 or £2 in most years. After 1415, however, the sum began to rise, and by the 1430s it was over £30 a year; this remained the normal level until the 1480s when the figure rose above £20, a level from which there appears to have been little decline. Analysis of the figures recorded in 1487/8 reveals that in Durham twelve rents worth £2. 3s. 1½d. were wasted and seventeen were decayed, resulting in a further loss of £4. 10s. 2d; the total loss was £6. 13s. 3½d. The loss in York was even greater: twelve wasted rents worth £1. 14s. 4d. plus ten decayed rents worth £6. 7s. 6d; the total loss was £8. 1s. 0d. The remaining £6. 16s. 1½d. was made up of the waste and decay of several miscellaneous rents and two ecclesias-

tical pensions. By the end of the priory's life the Sacrist was entitled to about £60 more in rent income than he had been c.1340; his net gains, however, were no more than half of this sum.

## 2. MANORS.

The Sacrist had two manorial properties, both in County Durham, one of which was clearly more important than the other.

### a) Sacriston and Harehope.

The manor of Sacristonheugh, which is now overshadowed by a colliery, came into existence after 1312 when the Sacrist received grants of land in the north-west corner of the parish of Witton Gilbert from Bishop Richard Kellaw and his tenant, William of Edmondsley.[1] During the next one hundred years this land was retained in hand and worked as mixed farm, although with a marked pastoral bias. Records of the period prior to 1338 are missing; but, from that year until c.1370, the annual receipts from the manor was normally over £10 and, in 1342/3, was as high as £22. 10s. 7d.[2] These sums were the product of sales of manorial produce, in particular of pastoral produce. For example, in 1351/2, sales amounted to £15. 9s. 8d: £7. 10s. 2d. came from the sale of oxen, cows and heifers, another £5. 10s. 0d. was produced by the sale of sheep, twenty-six stones of wool fetched £2. 12s. 0d; and 7s. 0d. came in from the sale of dairy produce. The stock of the manor reflected this commercial interest: in 1347/8, for example, the manor carried fourteen oxen, twenty-nine cattle, one bull, one bullock, one hundred sheep and five hundred two-year old sheep (bidentes). Normally, some crops were grown. In 1352/3, four quarters and two bushels of wheat, three bushels of peas and eight quarters and two bushels of oats were

1 LS, f.74v.

2 Unless otherwise stated, all the details are from SAR. There were no separate manor accounts.

sown, only occasionally was anything of the crop sold; presumably it was for internal consumption.

During the 1370s and 1380s there was a sharp decline in the prosperity of Sacristonheugh with sales only once exceeding £4. After 1386, however, there was some improvement and sales normally topped £5. Despite this, in 1410 or 1411, the manor was leased and remained at farm until some date after 1424/5. Initially the rent was £2. 18s. 4d, but in 1413/4 it was raised to £3. 6s. 8d, and by 1420 it was up to £4. 13s. 4d. Only one lease has survived, that made in 1420 between the Sacrist (Thomas Rome) and Hugh Boner, a Durham merchant, Nicholas Hayford, a Durham draper and William Aldinsohett, a spicer of Elvet.[1] The duration of the agreement was six years, and the annual rent was £4. 13s. 4d. plus one load of hay; the lessees took the stock as well as the land and the buildings. This lease, assuming it ran its full course, would have terminated in 1426. This may well have been the point when direct exploitation was resumed; unfortunately, there are no records for the years between 1424/5, when the manor was leased, and 1438/9, when it was in hand.

The decision to restart farming was connected almost certainly with the acquisition of extra land. In 1429 Bishop Thomas Langley granted to the priory twenty acres of waste between Sacriston and Fulthorp on a ninety year lease;[2] he also granted for ninety years fifty acres at Harehope in Weardale, to which his successor, Robert Neville, added four acres.[3] These two grants did not account for the whole of the Sacrist's property in Harehope. In 1494, the holding apparently amounted to ninety acres.[4] What is not certain is whether the Sacrist

1 LS, f.75v.

2 Ibid., f.76r.

3 Ibid., f.81r.

4 Ibid., f.80v.

sought land in order to start farming again, or started farming because of the acquisitions.

Whatever prompted it, the decision was justified by the results: the records testify to the financial success of the enterprise and demonstrate that it was conducted with greater vigour and on a more extensive scale than in the 14th century; moreover, it was run as a commercial enterprise devoted exclusively to stock. Recorded figures show that annual income from sales of produce rarely fell below £30, and in some years were much higher in 1439/40, for example, income reached £51. 13s. 10d. Every year three major products were sold, namely cattle, sheep and wool. Although the balance fluctuated from year to year, the largest sum was usually derived from cattle sales: in 1443/4, for example, no less than seventy-one were sold for £33. Wool was normally second in importance, the peak year being 1444/5 when an unrecorded quantity brought in £18. The number of sheep sold varied between ten, worth 15s. 0d., in 1443/4, and one hundred and ninety-eight, worth £18, in 1439/40.

Against this income, expenditure on stock purchases has to be set. This varied considerably between £42. 14s. 9½d. in 1438/9 and £8. 13s. 2d. in 1473/4, and bore no relation to the value of sales. As a result, net gains also fluctuated to a marked degree; normally, however, they were over £10 a year, and in 1440/1 rose to £28. 18s. 2½d. These sums, however, were not profit since annual expenditure on salaries came almost to £5. Between 1487 and 1535 evidence is lacking completely; nevertheless, there is nothing to suggest that farming was not continued and continued successfully. There may have been some decline, however, since the income in 1535/6, £15. 2s. 5d, was the lowest recorded.

As regards administration, it is clear that Sacristonheugh and Harehope were two complementary halves of the same manor. It may be that one was used for cattle and the other for sheep; alternatively, there may have been seasonal migration of stock between the two centres. Both seem to have been of equal standing; certainly the men in charge received similar salaries; in 1486/7, for example, Robert Taillour and Robert Bales, Keepers of the Animals at Sacristonheugh and Harehope, received £2. 3s. 4d. and £2. 6s. 0d. respectively. In addition, there was a reeve who operated at both places; he was clearly of less importance since his salary was only 6s. 8d.

The success of this enterprise supports the verdict reached on the Hostillar's efforts at Elvethall: given the determination, there was nothing to prevent the successful and profitable exploitation of a demesne farm in the 15th century. Indeed, the two examples complement each other very nicely, since the Hostillar was running what was basically an arable farm, while the Sacrist chose to concentrate on stock.

b) Landieu and Biggins.

The Sacrist's other manorial property was located entirely in Weardale, and was based upon a grant of land by Laurence the Chamberlain, to whom it had been granted by Bishop Hugh du Puiset after 1174.[1] The 14th century rentals disclose the fact that the land was in two distinct halves: the manor Landieu (represented by the farm of that name)[2] and the hamlet of Le Biggin (now two farms known as East and West Biggins).[3] There exists only one piece of evidence that Landieu was worked directly

1 LS, f.75v.

2 OS 1" Sheet 84; 046368.

3 Ibid., 045358.

at any time during the period under review: in the account roll of 1322/4, direct exploitation is implied by the entries in the section expense Sacriste per manerii. By 1329/30, however, it was leased for £3. 6s. 8d;[1] this arrangement seems to have continued, although by 1381[2] the rent was down to £2. 13s. 4d. During the same period the tenements at Le Biggin were rented separately for small sums totalling 12s. 4d.

In 1388 a new arrangement was introduced: the manor at Landieu, the mill and the holdings at Le Biggins were leased as a unit to three men for a term of fifteen years at a rent of £3. 6s. 8d. a year.[3] This arrangement was never abandoned, except for a short period after 1400. Leases continued to be for terms of fifteen or twenty years; the rent, however, rose to £4. by 1500,[4] and to £4. 6s. 8d. by 1535/6.

## 3. ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY

The Sacrist drew a considerable income from a variety of ecclesiastical sources; the most important, however, were four appropriated churches, three of which were in Northumberland.

### a) Tithes.

The only Durham church was the chapel of Whitworth within the larger parish of Kirk Merrington and consisting of the township of Whitworth and the manor of Old Park. It had been founded at an early but unknown date by the lords of Whitworth who had endowed it with a messuage and twelve acres of land.[5] In 1458 their successors, the

1 RFSDS (1329).

2 RFSDS (1381).

3 LS, ff.68-72.

4 TESD, f.29v.

5 Surtees, III, p.293.


SACRIST
NORTHUMBERLAND
CHURCHES
R. TWEED
EDLINGHAM
BEDLINGTON
R. TYNE
BYWELL
ST. PETER
R. DERWENT

the Claxtons, secured the right to have a private chapel at Old Park; this did nothing to diminish the rights of Whitworth, however.[1]

During the first three-quarters of the 14th century the tithes of the parish seem to have been sold annually since there was a considerable fluctuation in the Sacrist's income from as much as £12 in 1347/8 to as little as £2. 7s. 0d. in 1352/3.[2] After 1376/7, however, the fruits of the church invariably were leased to the chaplain, the sum paid being the value of the chapel in excess of his stipend. Initially, the sum secured was £8, but this steadily declined until after 1422/3 nothing was obtainable. This state of affairs persisted until sometime between 1458/9 and 1465/6 when it became possible to secure 13s. 4d. a year. After 1487/8, however, the figure dropped to 6s. 8d., and the absence of reference to Whitworth in 1535/6 suggests that the conditions of the mid-15th century may have returned.

Two of the Sacrist's Northumberland churches, Edlingham and Bywell St. Peter, had been obtained by the priory in 1174 as recompense for the loss of Tynemouth priory to the abbey of St. Albans.[3] In respect of Edlingham this was a just recovery since the church had been given to St. Cuthbert as early as the 8th century.[4] It is uncertain when it was appropriated, although an endowed vicarage was in existence by 1273.[5] Unfortunately for the priory, its position in the parish was complicated c.1225 when Robert de Ros founded and endowed at Bolton a leper hospital, the supervision of which he gave to the Abbots of Rievaulx and Kirkham. Shortly after its foundation the

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1 Surtees, III, p.298.

2 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from SAR.

3 A History of Northumberland, IV, pp.102-4.

4 Ibid., VII, p.143.

5 Ibid., VII, p.146.

hospital received licence from Prior Ralph (1216 - 1233) to have a chapel with the right to the tithes of hens and garden produce. A few years later in 1244, however, Prior Thomas II Melsonby (1233 - 1244) retrieved the tithes in return for an annual pension;[1] this was represented by the sum of £2. 13s. 4d. paid annually by the Sacrist to the Prior of Kirkham.

During the first half of the period under review, the Sacrist had no connection with Bolton which formed part of the Bursar's responsibility. His income consisted of the great tithes of Edlingham, Newton, Lemington and Learchild; the tithes of Bolton and Abberwick went to the Bursar.[2] In the early years of the 14th century, the Sacrist's share was reckoned to be worth £26. 13s. 4d. a year, but during the 1340s the highest recorded income was no more than £12; the decline almost certainly was the consequence of Scottish incursions. The plague inevitably caused further set-back, but this proved to be temporary, and, by 1360/1, an income of £13. 6s. 8d. was secured. In the decades that followed, however, income was always lower than this, fluctuating considerably between 13s. 4d. and £10; again, the Scots must be regarded as the major cause.

Then, in 1410, the Sacrist secured control over Bolton chapelry as the result of the settlement of a long-standing internal dispute between him and the Bursar.[3] This enlargement led to a period of administrative experiment which lasted until sometime between 1424/3 and 1438/9. The arrangement finally adopted was for the great tithes of the whole parish to be sold while the small tithes of Bolton and Abberwick were leased to the master of the hospital for 10s. 0d. a year,

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1 A History of Northumberland, VII, pp.202-6.

2 Recorded in BAR.

3 A History of Northumberland, VII, p.214.

the remainder of the income being the chaplain's salary. Initially no more than £6. 13s. 4d. was obtained for the great tithes; by 1458/9 the sum had risen to £12. 5s. 0d. This improvement did not last, however, and by 1484/5 income was down to £10, and in 1535/6 it stood at £9. 6s. 8d.

There is no firm evidence as to the date of the appropriation of Bywell St. Peter; the priory appears to have been the rector before the end of the 13th century, however. The parish, like so many in Northumberland, was large, consisting of the townships of Bywell, Acomb, East Newton, West Newton, Stelling, Broomley, Apperley, Fotherley, Ridley, Temple Healey, Whittonstall, Newlands and Eppershields.[1] This fact may account for the division of the income between the Sacrist and the Commoner, each receiving a half-share. When the division took place is uncertain; it may have been during the first half of the 14th century since the income recorded in the Sacrist's records slumped from £50 in 1318 to about £10 in the 1340s. The income was derived from the great tithes and also from the tithe of animals.

Like Ellingham, Bywell produced an extremely variable income during the second half of the 14th century: for example, in 1380/1, income was £16. 13s. 4½d, but five years later in 1385/6 it was no more than £4. Moreover, it is clear that in many years it proved impossible to sell tithes before collection: sums recorded for great tithes were irregular and lambs were sometimes moved south to augment the stock at Sacristonheugh. In the 15th century a greater stability was achieved, although income levels were low. At the beginning of the second decade income was £8 a year, but by the 1460s and 1470s

1 A History of Northumberland, VI ,pp.102-4.

it had declined to £5. 6s. 8d; thereafter, there was some improvement, and after 1480 £7. a year appears to have been the norm.

The tithes of the parish of Bedlington were part of the Bursar's onus until 1359/60, and their earlier history has been discussed already. When the Sacrist took over, annual income was just over £20, but it rose to nearly £30 a year by the mid-1370s. Thereafter, the records show that it fluctuated considerably from year to year, but with a downward trend so that in the early decades of the 15th century no more than £10 or £11 a year was received. During the 15th century annual income was more stable, although it continued to decline so that in the early 1440s no more than £5 or £6 a year was received. The last quarter of the century saw an improvement, and £9 a year seems to have become the normal income.

b) Other Income.

In addition to tithes the Sacrist had other ecclesiastical sources of income; none, however, was very important, and the records of arrears and the waste and decay of rents indicate that more income was lost than was ever received. The rectories of the Northumberland parishes were leased for terms of up to fifteen years, often to the parochial incumbents, for sums of less than 10s. 0d. a year.[1] Of greater potential value were the pensions. In 1290 the Sacrist was entitled to £2. 13s. 4d. from the vicarage of Heighington, one of the Bursar's churches, and £2. each from the church of Bishop Middleham, appropriated to the cell at Finchale,[2] and the rectories of Dinsdale in Durham and West Rounton in Allertonshire. In 1381 the sums were reduced to £1. 6s. 8d, 13s. 4d. and 10s. 0d. and 10s. 0d. respectively, because of the inability of the incumbents to bear the charges.

1 LS, ff.82-3.

2 SS 6, pp.148-9.

Further changes were made early in the 15th century in 1414 the Sacrist gained an annual pension of £1 from the newly-founded chantry college at Staindrop,[1] in 1422, however, he relinquished the Heighington pension to the Bursar in return for the landmale rents of Crossgate borough.

Finally, it must be noted that during the period there was a pronounced shift in the balance of the Sacrist's income, as there was in the Bursar's and the Hostillar's, from ecclesiastical to secular sources. In 1346/7, the Sacrist received £52. 17s. 0d. from tithes, pensions and religious dues and offerings, and £42. 10s. 2d. from rents, fines and sales of produce. Just over a hundred years later, in 1438/9, he received on £26. 8s. 9d. from the ecclesiastical sources, despite the acquisition of the Bedlington tithes, compared with a secular revenue of £98. 4s. 8d. By 1535/6, the discrepancy was greater still secular income had risen to £104. 11s. 1d., whereas the ecclesiastical sources produced no more than £27. 3s. 0d.

1. Surtees, IV, pp.134 - 6.

## D. COMMONER.

The Commoner's estate consisted of a large number of widely scattered properties and rents, both secular and ecclesiastical.[1] It appears to have originated no earlier than the first decades of the 13th century,[2] but from that time it grew fairly steadily in size and value until the end of the 15th century.[3] In one important respect it differed from those of the other obedientiaries: supervision and control of the Commoner's management rested with the Sub-Prior and not the head of the house. This is most clearly seen in the surviving leases,[4] most of which were issued jointly by the Sub-Prior and the Commoner. This feature almost certainly derived from the fact that the Common House was particular to the bretheren. It also suggests that there was a move towards a division of the estate between the Prior and the rest of the community. Closer examination, however, reveals that this was not so: in some leases it was the Prior who acted with the Commoner;[5] also, he can be seen ordering new additions to the estate.[6] Finally, it must be noted that effective study of the Commoner's estate is possible only for the 15th century because of the loss of almost all material relating to the period prior to 1416.

### 1. TENANTS

The story of the Commoner and his tenants is best considered

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1 Appendix XVIII.

2 See below.

3 Evidence in CEC and CAR.

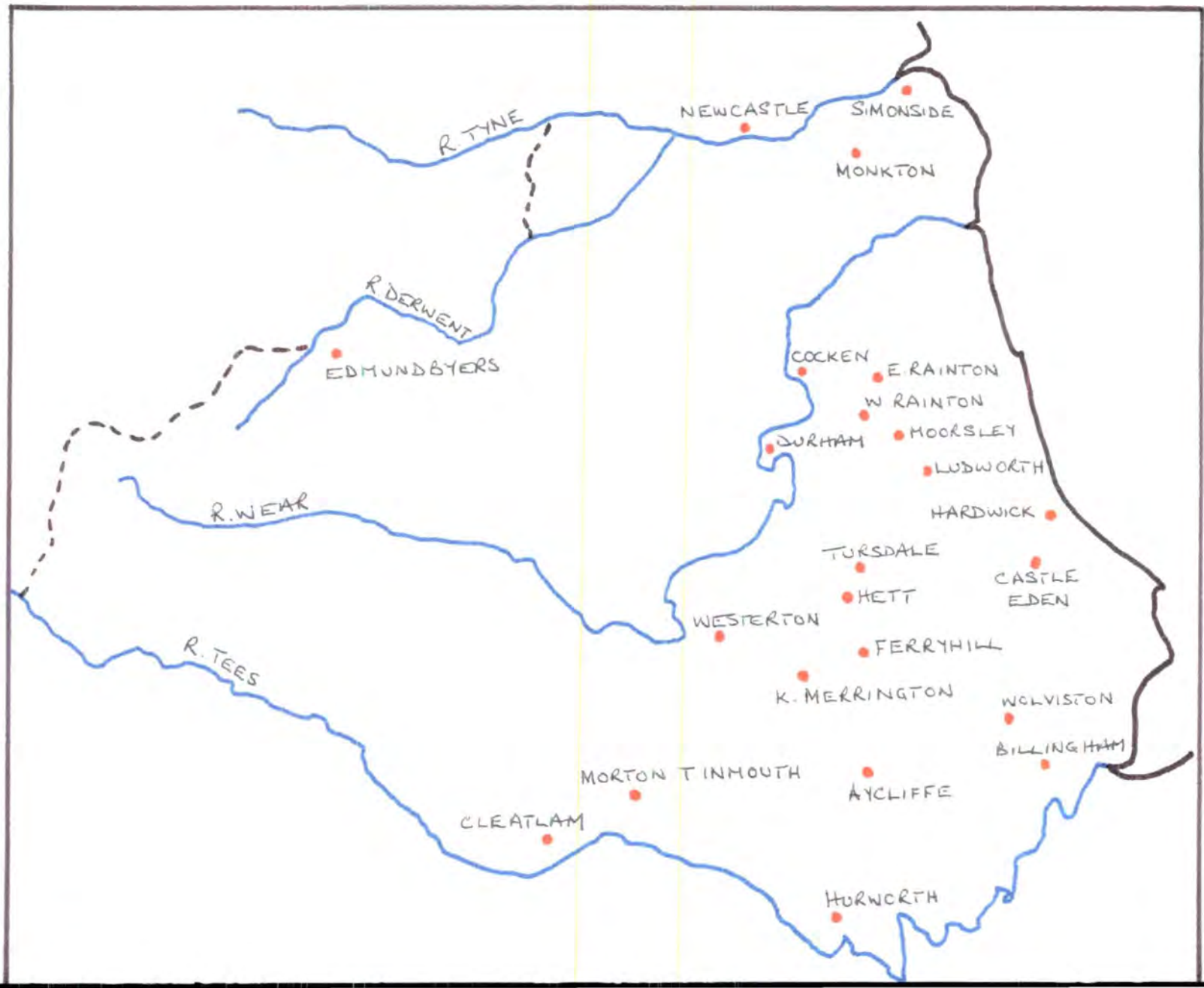
4 In CEC and CR.

5 CEC, f.66.

6 CAR 1505/6.

# COMMONER

## DURHAM PROPERTY



under three heads.

a) Durham City.

The properties within the present city of Durham were the most numerous, eventually numbering more than sixty.[1] They produced fifty-five rents worth nearly £30 a year. From the Commoner's point of view the most important areas of the city were the Bishop's borough of Durham and the priory's own borough of Crossgate. In the former he had over twenty-one properties from which he drew twenty rents worth £14. 18s. 6d. a year; from the latter he drew nineteen rents, but these had an annual value of only £6. 7s. 3d. The other parts of the city made lesser contributions: in Elvet there were seven rents worth £1. 5s. 10d; the seven in the Bailey produced £2. 9s. 2d; and the two from Gilesgate gave an annual return of 13s. 6d. In addition holdings in three closes called Swallopleys and Mountjoy in Elvet and Langbake in Claypath produced a further £3. 6s. 8d. a year. None of the city rents were free rents or landmale rents; all the properties were leased, usually for terms of ten or fifteen years.

The total annual value of the rents was very much a gross figure; actual income was considerably lower. One cause of income loss was the fact that almost every one of the Commoner's properties carried some sort of charge:[2] landmale rents were owed to the Bishop for the property in Durham and to the Sacrist for the holdings in Crossgate; free rents were owed to the Hostillar for the Elvet tenements, to Kepier Hospital for land in Claypath and Gilesgate, to Blanchland Abbey for Claypath holdings, to the Bishop for tenements in the Bailey; finally, payments were owed to a number of chantries for several holdings

1 Appendix XVIII.

2 Recorded in CAR under Redditus Resolutus.

in different parts of the city. In all, the Commoner was required to disburse £3. 12s. 3d. annually.

Income was even more severely reduced by the waste and decay of rents.[1] Judged by the evidence of the single account roll of 1416/7, the problem was not too serious during the early years of the 15th century. It had become so, however, by the middle of the century: in 1453/4, for example, no less than £4. 16s. 8d. was lost because fourteen holdings were without tenants; a further loss of £4. 12s. 9d. was sustained through the reduction of thirty-two rents. Thus, of the fifty-five rents owed to the Commoner, no less than forty-six were affected resulting in a loss to him of £9. 8s. 5d. This depressing state of affairs continued: all the extant account rolls show that there was little change either in the number of properties involved or in the degree of income loss until after 1530; in 1537/8, however, losses from waste and decay were down to £4. 0s. 8d. Nevertheless, during most of the period for which record is available, the Commoner lost about £12 every year of an income which was less than £30.

b) Hett.

The township of Hett, or more accurately about half of it, was the one place over which the Commoner exercised lordship. It probably formed part of the original endowment of the priory and was granted on freehold terms by Prior German (1162 - 1188) to Hugh, son of Walter of Hett.[2] In the early years of the 13th century, however, large parts of it were regained by the monks from the grantee's son, Walter: the charters he issued show that the priory secured six bovates and fifteen

1 In CAR.

2 SS 58, p.172.

acres of tenant land, forty acres of demesne, a wood and a mill.[1] It was these that constituted the Commoner's holding; the remainder continued as a freehold, the rent of which was owed to the Bursar.[2]

Most of Walter's charters specify that the grants were made to the monks ad eorum communam, which may be evidence of the existence of the Common House at that date. If so, the Hett lands were probably its initial endowment, since the extant evidence indicates later acquisition dates for other properties. Against this idea is the fact that the Commoner owed the Chamberlain £1. 6s. 8d. a year for Hett,[3] which suggests that the property was originally assigned to the Chamberlain and made over to the Commoner only at a later date. If this was the case, the Commoner's office was probably of later origin.

The 15th century evidence[4] reveals the existence of eleven major tenements in Hett. Whether at an earlier date they had been of uniform size cannot be proved; by the 1450s, however, their sizes ranged from nine to forty acres. Their holders discharged their obligations solely by means of money rents. These may have replaced an earlier system of works, customary dues and cash payments;[5] if so, it was probably a long time before, since there is no evidence that the Commoner ever operated a demesne farm in Hett. In addition to these eleven holdings, there were three cottages, a mill and three small closes called Forland, Sub-Prior Meadow and Woodhall.

The annual income from these properties in the 1450s was £6. 7s. 4d, although it should have been £9. 9s. 11d.[6] The lower level

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1 SS 58, p.172.

2 Recorded in Bursar's account rolls and records.

3 Recorded in both CAR and Ch.AR.

4 In CR.

5 It is interesting to note the gillycorn was owed by the holdings in Hett: CED(L), f.30r.

6 Unless otherwise stated, all the details are from CAR.

resulted from the loss of 7s. 4d. from two cottages which were wasted, and £2. 15s. 3d. through rent decay. The total loss, £3. 2s. 7d, was greater than it had been in 1430 when the figure was £1. 12s. 1d. After the middle years of the century the situation improved once more so that by 1500 all decay and waste had been eliminated.

The Hett estate was controlled by a court. Although none of its records have survived, it is safe to assume that it was a halmote court and that it was run on the same lines as that of the Bursar. It was presided over by a Steward; whether he was the same man who served the Bursar, however, is not clear. In most years the activities of the court resulted in an addition to the Commoner's income, although it was usually less than 10s. 0d. Although proof is missing, it may not be unreasonable to suggest that the social situation and the tenurial system in Hett were very close to those obtaining elsewhere on the priory's lands in County Durham.

Income was also drawn from two sources which the Commoner retained in hand. The wood, the extent of which is not recorded, was sufficiently large to warrant the employment of a forester at a fee of 6s. 8d. a year. In some years, but not all, this outlay was partially recovered by the sale of bark and toppings; but since the highest recorded income in 1474/5 was no more than 7s. 0d., it can be assumed that the main purpose of the wood was the provision of timber for internal use rather than for commercial profit. In addition, the Commoner had a coal mine which was of greater value. In 1416/7, it produced an income of £10. 12s. 6d, but this may have been an exceptional year since the largest sum generated thereafter was £3. in 1474/5; moreover, in most years the mine was completely idle. Neither of these assets produced a regular income, and when there was an income it was not very large.

## c) Other Rents.

Apart from Hett and the city of Durham, the Commoner drew thirty-nine rents from twenty-two places in the county together with Newcastle and Bowsdon in Northumberland.[1] The most important township on this list was Wolviston from which twenty-two of the rents came. Free rents accounted for twenty-four of the total, while another three were rent charges; this meant that there were only twelve rents over which the Commoner had any real control. Theoretically no less than £46. 19s. 0d. should have been received annually from these rents; in fact nothing like that amount came in during the 15th and 16th centuries. The rent charges from the Bishop and the Prior and the rents owed by the tenants of the Newcastle, Bowsdon and Ludworth holdings were rarely, if ever, paid. Moreover, waste and decay were prominent: in 1453/4, total losses amounted to £14. 3s. 9d, a level from which there was no serious decline.[2] Finally, the net income was further reduced each year by the rents which the Commoner had to pay for many of these properties to the Bishop, fellow obedientiaries (Bursar, Terrar, Almoner) and secular lords (Neville and Bowes) amounting to £3. 11s. 11d. Thus, in any year the Commoner actually received little more than £25. of the total.

Considering the rent income as a whole, several important features need to be emphasised. In the first place, there is ample evidence that potential income from rents had been growing before 1416, and that it continued to grow until the beginning of the 16th century. In 1430/1, total rent income was £76. 10s. 11½d. An accurate figure for 1416/7 is not possible, but it seems unlikely that it was substantially different. What the account does mention, however, is that about

1 Appendix XVIII.

2 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from CAR.

£27 of the total was derived from land and tenements de novo imperatis. By 1505/6, the rent total had grown to £94. 1s. 11¾d. The increase since 1430 was the result of the acquisition of new properties, most of them in the city. This process can be charted with some accuracy since, initially at any rate, new properties were recorded separately in the account rolls.

Secondly, a significant part of the Commoner's rent income came from land belonging to chantries, four of which were in the cathedral. The earliest was that founded in 1355 by Ralph Neville, by which the Commoner gained an income of £10. This proved to be a temporary gain, however: at sometime between 1416 and 1430, the priory waived its right to the income, and in return John, Lord Neville, released the monks from a debt of £400.[1] It should be noted, however, that in 1416 this rent was over £280 in arrears. Another mid-14th century chantry was that of Prior John Fossor, the lands of which brought the Commoner an annual income of £4. 6s. 2d. Of slightly less value, £3. 8s. 0d, was the chantry of Bishop Walter Skirlaw founded in the early 15th century.[2] The last of these foundations was that of Robert and Agnes Rudd, who have been identified as Robert and Agnes Rhodes of the famous Newcastle family.[3] This was a 15th century foundation, and was worth £4. 8s. 0d. a year to the Commoner. The remaining income consisted of smaller sums from land pertaining to three chantries in the parish church of Durham.[4] In all, about £15. in rent came to the Commoner from chantry property at the end of the period. Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify all the tenements concerned.

1 SS 103, p.lviii.

2 Ibid., pp.lix - lxi.

3 Ibid., p. lxii.

4 BVM, Holy Trinity, St. James.

As regards loss of income, it seems clear that the problem did not become acute until about the middle of the 15th century: the total loss from waste and decay was only £2. 16s. 6d. in 1416/7; by 1430/1, it had reached £11. 4s. 1d; and in 1453/4 it was up to £19. 7s. 3d, when the number of rents involved was eighty-four. Thereafter, there was no substantial change until the improvement of the 1530s. To these figures must be added between £10 and £15, representing uncollectable rents, which were classed as arrears. Finally, the money, amounting to over £7, owed by the Commoner to other people must be taken into calculation. Thus, in almost every year after 1450, the Commoner's income was at least £30 less than the recorded gross. This more than cancelled out the gains arising from new property, and may well explain why that property was acquired.

The surviving evidence suggests that tenements not held freely were leased for periods of up to fifteen years; generally the term was a multiple of three years. There were exceptions, however: in 1465, for example, two tenements in Durham were leased for seventy-nine years.[1] Rents were collected by an officer known as the Collector Firmarii who appears to have operated in both Durham and the county; some chantry rents were collected by the Commoner directly. All rents were expressed in money terms, but the rentals of the 1450s show that payments were not confined to cash: produce, both agrarian and industrial, was rendered; labour services of various sorts were performed; and there were several oddities such as the bagpipe rendered by the Edmunbyers tenant at Whitburn, 1454.[2] Whether these mixed payments continued is uncertain; the evidence of the Bursar's estate suggests that they did.

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1 CEC, ff.14r - 15r.

2 CR (1454).

## 2. ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY

The ecclesiastical side of the Commoner's estate was composed of both tithes and pensions, but was of less importance financially than the secular elements. Tithe income was derived from two sources, Hett in the parish of Merrington, and the Northumberland parish of Bywell St. Peter which the Commoner shared with the Sacrist. At the beginning of the 14th century the Hett tithes were collected, along with those of the rest of the parish, by the Bursar; they were handed over to the Commoner c.1320.[1] At that date, their annual value was about £15;[2] by 1416/7, it had dropped to £2. 13s. 4d.[3] By 1430/1, it had risen to £3, at which level it seems to have remained until after 1480. By 1489, it had dropped to £2. 6s. 8d, from which there was no subsequent deviation. Little evidence has survived of the way they were administered: in 1453/4 there is mention of a three-year lease, and the rentals of the decade show that the purchasers were members of the Hett tenantry; it is likely that such arrangements persisted. In addition to the corn tithe, the Commoner was entitled to a tithe of the produce of the coal mines belonging to the Gower family in the township. It is clear that these, like those of the Commoner himself, were frequently idle; consequently, income was irregular; moreover, only once did it exceed 10s. 0d. The income from Bywell was identical in every year with that received by the Sacrist. Together, the two places provided the Commoner with an annual income of about £10.: in 1416/7, the sum was £10, 13s. 4d; by mid-century it had slipped to just over £8; by the early 16th century, however, £9. 6s. 8d. had become the rule.

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1 The evidence in BAR is not absolutely clear.

2 BAR.

3 Unless otherwise stated, details are from CAR.

Of the four pensions, two came from Yorkshire churches, Kirkby Sigston in Allertonshire and Walkington in Howdenshire. Both had belonged to the priory since its inception,[1] so it is likely that the pensions were of long-standing; indeed, a document drawn up before 1267 refers to that from Kirkby as antiquam pensionen.[2] The Kirkby pension was supposed to be £6. 13s. 4d; in fact it amounted only to £3. 6s. 8d. since the remainder was allowed to the Rector each year. That from Walkington was only £5; this, however, was only one fifth of the sum owed, the rest pertaining to the Chamberlain. The Kirkby pension was paid directly to the Commoner by the Rector; that from Walkington was received from the Chamberlain. The other pensions were much smaller and also of later origin. That from the nunnery of St. Bartholomew in Newcastle was a mere 3s. 4d., and was the consequence of the appropriation to that convent of the chapel of St. Edmund in Gateshead. The necessary licence was issued by Bishop Robert Neville in 1448, but it was not until ten years later that papal confirmation was secured.[3] Since the earliest reference to the pension in the Commoner's records occurs in the account roll of 1474/5, it seems most likely that payments did not commence until after the issue of papal documents in 1458. The other small pension, which was no more than 6s. 8d, was paid by Blanchland Abbey in recompense for the appropriation of the Northumberland church of Bolam. The earliest reference to this pension occurs in the 1453/4 account.

During the period for which there is extant record it is clear that there was little variation in the annual sums received from ecclesiastical sources; it is also obvious that these sources contributed

1 SS 179, p.48 and p.57.

2 SS 155, p.133.

3 Welford, Newcastle and Gateshead, pp.319-20.

far less to the Commoner's revenue than their secular counterparts. At the beginning of our period, however, the picture may have been very different. The known values of the tithes of Bywell and Hett were several times what they were in the 15th century; in addition, all the available evidence suggests that the Commoner's secular income was less than the £70. he was supposedly receiving by 1416. Consequently, it would not be unreasonable to accept the idea that a considerable shift took place in the relative contributions of secular and ecclesiastical properties during the course of the period.

## E. CHAMBERLAIN

This obedience, which existed to provide the clothing of the community,[1] appears to have been of early foundation since its estate was composed to a large extent of property that had been with the priory since its inception. This estate differed from the others in three important ways: apart from a few holdings of minor importance, it was located in Yorkshire and not in County Durham; in addition, it was devoid of any city property; finally, it remained unaltered throughout the period under consideration. It is therefore regrettable that its court records and its rentals, which would have provided so much vital information, have been lost. As a consequence, compared with the accounts of other estates, that which follows must be less exact.

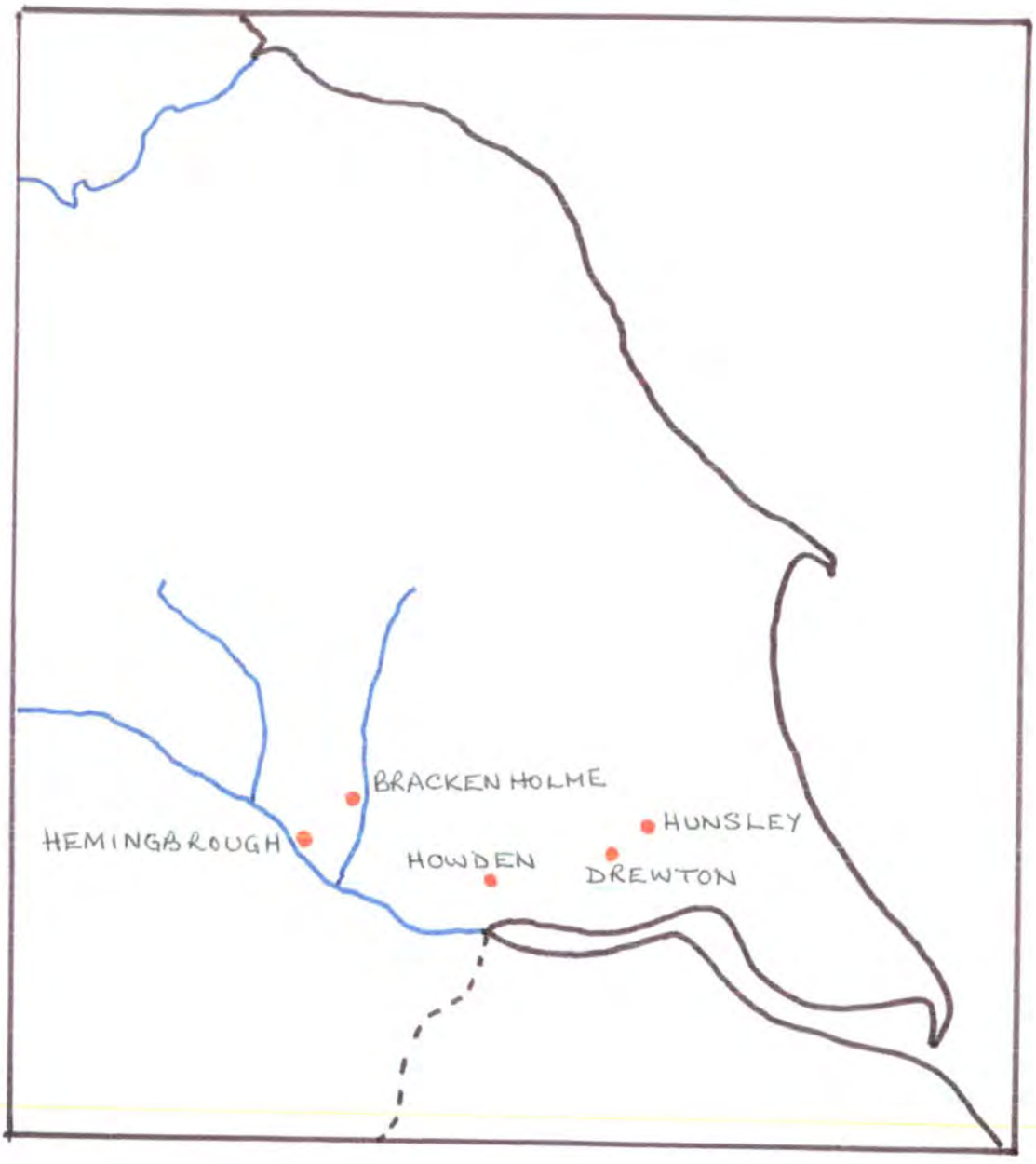
### 1. TENANTS.

#### a) Yorkshire.

The Chamberlain's Yorkshire property was concentrated in Howdenshire, far to the south of the county. The most important section comprised the townships of Hemingbrough and Brackenholme which were geographically close and invariably lumped together in the account rolls. Although the charter of King William I granting Hemingbrough and land in Brackenholme to the monks has been shown to be spurious,[2] it is clear that the priory possessed these lands from a very early date. Of the two, the Heminbrough property was the larger, amounting to three carucates of one hundred and twenty acres each. Apparently these three hundred and sixty acres were divided into two hundred and forty-five acres of bondland and one hundred and fifteen acres of demesne; in addition, there were four hundred acres of assarted land,

1 SS 103, p.xxxv.

2 W. Farrer, Early Yorkshire Charters, II, p.315.




# CHAMBERLAIN

YORKSHIRE PROPERTY

making a total of seven hundred and sixty acres.[1] Hemingbrough was obviously a large township. The Brackenholme holding amounted to two carucates.[2] Assuming the size of the carucate to have been the same as at Hemingbrough, the priory had two hundred and forty acres in the township. These carucates represented half the township; the other half was divided unequally between the Bishop of Durham and a secular lord.[3]

It is obvious from the account rolls that, from the 1340s at least, the Chamberlain had all his land in these two places in the hands of tenants and that he had no demesne in hand. It is most likely that this situation had long been in existence since, in 1430, it was believed that, shortly after the lands came into the priory's possession, the bondlands were farmed for 7d. or 8d. per acre plus 1d. for works, that the demesne was leased to the bondmen for 9d. or 1s. 0d. per acre, and that the bondmen took the assarted land at 8d. or 9d. per acre, except for eighty-three acres of woodland and fifty-three acres which belonged to a chantry.[4] Unfortunately, no such information about Brackenholme has come down to us.

The bulk of the Chamberlain's income from these townships was from land rents; unfortunately, there is no evidence as to number and status of the rents. In the earliest extant records all assized rents were lumped together, and it was not until the early 1350s, when the disruption caused by the plague was at its greatest, that a separate total for Hemingbrough and Brackenholme was recorded. By 1358, however, the value of the assized rents of the two townships had recovered to £41. 4s. 4d.;[5] thereafter there were very few changes in the annual

1 Cart.III, f.34v.

2 Farrer, II,p323.

3 Ibid.

4 Cart.III, f.34v.

5 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from Ch.AR.

figure, and those that did occur were very slight; the latest figure, that for 1532/3, was £42. 8s. 10½d. The changes were apparently due to minor adjustments in rents. In addition to rent, the tenants, or some of them, owed autumn works at Michaelmas. These were commuted for £1. 6s. 4¾d. in 1349. Thereafter, this figure was altered slightly, but became fixed at £1. 4s. 0d. sometime between 1414 and 1440. This also was the case with the renthens, ninety-two of which were owed at Christmas; between 1414 and 1440 the money paid in lieu became fixed at 12s. 6d, having fluctuated a little before that time. Also in Hemingbrough there was a mill, a ferry, known as Barnby ferry, across the Derwent, and certain fisheries. Their combined value was under £3. Thus, throughout the period after c.1340, the Chamberlain's income from these two townships was remarkably stable at about £47. a year.

Next in importance was the land in Hunsley, which had been given to the monks early in the 12th century by two major local feudatories, Robert de Stutville and the Bishop of Durham, Rannulf Flambard.[1] Unfortunately, there is no record of the size of this holding. From 1340 and, it may be suspected, from a long time previously, all the land was in the hands of tenants. Between 1342 and 1376 the annual value of the rents was £14. 13s. 1d; in 1377 it rose to £14. 19s. 9d; at which it remained until sometime between 1414 and 1440 when it dropped to £13. 9s. 9d. Then, in 1442 or 1443, the figure fell to £5. The reason for this sudden decline was the Chamberlain's acceptance of the permanent decay of many rents. Between 1443 and 1521 the total gradually increased until it stood at £12 a year. It is noticeable that the totals were always round figures suggesting that the land was leased as a whole to an individual or a syndicate. Prior to 1414 at least one tenement was held by a free rent of 5s. 0d. a year.[2]

1 Farrer, III, p.499; Cart.III, ff.48r - 49r.

2 Four bovates in size and known as the land of Sir Ralph Babthorp.

It appears to have been regained by the Chamberlain at some time between 1414 and 1440 and to have been leased. In addition to land, there was also a mill worth 8s. 0d. a year.

The remaining Yorkshire properties were of less significance. At Drewton the Chamberlain had one carucate of land and a mill, both acquired at the time of the Hunsley grant, the former from Robert de Stutville and the latter from Norman, son of Malcolumbe.[1] From some time in the 13th century at least the land was held on freehold terms at a rent of £1. 6s. 8d. a year.[2] The annual value of the mill was £1. 6s. 4d. The property in Howden, referred to in the account rolls as houses, consisted of five tofts with land and service of a sixth; all were held as a single fee-farm for a rent of £1 a year.[3]

Throughout the period for which there is extant record the value of these Yorkshire rents was always between £60 and £65 a year. Inevitably, net income was always below that level as the result of wasted and decayed rents. In the difficult post-plague years losses rose to over £14, but for most of the second half of the 14th century and until 1414 they were usually between £6 and £8; the mid-1360s were an exceptional period when figures of between £10 and £14 were recorded. After 1414 the position again worsened and, by 1441/2, total loss was £14. 7s. 1d. The reorganisation of the Hunsley rents brought the figures down to between £4. 10s. 0d. and £5, but after 1475 losses were again above £6 in most years. When looked at more closely several features emerge. Firstly, the mills were almost worthless: those at Drewton and Hunsley seem never to have paid anything;

1 Farrer, III, p.499; Cart.III, ff.48r - 49v.

2 Cart.III, f.49v.

3 Cart.III, f.102r.

that at Hemingbrough was not permanently occupied between 1350 and 1450, and after that was always in receipt of a rent allowance. The fisheries and the ferry at Hemingbrough also were waste or let at reduced rents. Secondly, the freehold at Howden never rendered anything; that at Drewton was waste for several years after 1350, and eventually had its rent reduced by 4s. 0d. As regards the holdings in Hemingbrough and Brackenholme, a permanent loss of £3. 7s. 1d. a year had developed by 1440, rising to £5. by 1527/8. The losses at Hunsley immediately before the reorganisation amounted to £10. 6s. 8d.

The importance of the Yorkshire properties and their distance from Durham meant that the Chamberlain had a serious problem of administration. He solved this in part by regular personal visits; these, however, needed support from a local organisation. That created by the Chamberlain had at its head an officer called the Steward of Hemingbrough, who appears to have been a local man and not the same person who served the Bursar. His importance can be measured by his salary which rose from £1. and a 15s. 0d. robe in the 14th century, to £2. and a £1. robe in the 15th. After 1414 he was provided with an assistant, the Sub-Steward, who was entitled to a fee of 6s. 8d. His principal support, however, was the Bailiff of Hemingbrough, who also was a local man. His salary in the 15th century was £1. a year. Finally, there was a Rent Collector. In the 14th century this man was called the Collector of Rents in the County of York and was paid 6s. 8d. a year; in the 15th century he became known as the Receiver and had a salary of £1. 6s. 8d. Clearly the office had been up-graded, although why and in what ways is not clear.

The medium through which the Steward and the Bailiff worked was the court. Until the second decade of the 15th century there are references to courts at both Hemingbrough and Hunsley; it is not clear,

however, whether there were two separate courts, or whether the same court met in two places. After 1414 there are no further references to the Hunsley court. Although none of its records have survived to provide clear proof, the existence of tenants at will indicates that it was a halmote. On occasions it generated considerable income: in 1350/1, judicial profits amounted to £7. 1s. 4d; in 1379/80, they exceeded £9; in 1453/4, they amounted to £10. 5s. 3d. The usual figure, however, was between £1 and £3. The fact that income from the court was recorded in every account suggests that the court remained active, which in itself is strong evidence of the Chamberlain's enduring control over his Yorkshire properties.

b) County Durham.

The Chamberlain's property in County Durham was of little importance. The largest holding was at Murton and consisted of a toft and two bovates (twenty-four acres) of land and one separate acre; it had been acquired by two grants, one of which was made in the late 12th century.[1] In 1342, this holding was leased for £1;[2] after 1370, however, its value fell until, between 1450 and 1474, it was worth no more than 6s. 8d. In 1475, the rent was doubled to 13s. 4d. at which it remained thereafter. Leases seem to have been for terms of six years and the lessees to have been local men.

The property in Tursdale, known as Chamberlain's Meadow, was even smaller, amounting to no more than three and a half acres. It was retained in hand for its hay until some date between 1380 and 1402, after which it was leased for between 8s. 0d. and 12s. 0d. a year. At Dalton, the Chamberlain had a chamber over the manor gate and the right

1 Cart.III, ff.126v - 127r.

2 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from Ch.AR.

to the herbage of the manor garden. These too were retained in hand during the 14th century but leased for a few shillings thereafter. From the bondmen of Over Heworth the Chamberlain was entitled to one measure each of soathaver. This was sold annually for various prices until c.1440 when it became a rent charge of 5s. 0d. a year. Another rent charge, £1. 6s. 8d, was owed by the Commoner for his land in Hett; the amount was reduced to 6s. 8d. during the first decade of the 15th century. Finally, for the sake of convenience, the tenement in Boston (Lincolnshire) can be included here. This remained part of the Chamberlain's onus until the early years of the 15th century, although its rent of 1s. 6d. was never paid to him; for this reason no doubt it was transferred to the cell at Stamford in 1402.[1] In all, the properties outside Yorkshire were never worth more than £3 a year.

## 2. ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY

The bulk of the Chamberlain's ecclesiastical revenues were drawn from the parish of Dalton which comprised the four townships of Dalton, Dalden, Murton and Cold Hesledon. The church was appropriated in the 13th century and a vicarage was in being by 1273. The division of the income of the church gave to the Chamberlain the corn tithes of all four townships and the hay tithe of Murton.[2] Until the last quarter of the 14th century it was the usual practice for the corn tithes to be collected and threshed and the corn then sold.[3] This was abandoned in favour of leasing at some time between 1380 and 1402. At first, leases were usually for three years; after the middle of the 15th century, however, they lengthened to between nine and fifteen years. Greater detail recorded after 1440 reveals that the

1 I am grateful to Mr. Alan Piper of the Department of Paleography and Diplomatic for confirming this from his study of the records of the cell at Stamford.
2 Surtees, I, p.2.
3 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from Ch.AR.

townships were treated separately and that the lessees were local men. The armigerous family of Bowes had already secured a firm grip on the tithes of Dalden and extended its hold to Dalton at the beginning of the 16th century. Other lessees included priory tenants of the yeoman class such as Freeman, Jackson and Portgate, and also the parish vicar.

The value of the corn tithe before 1350 was a very respectable sum: in 1342/3, for example, sales produced £45. 6s. 8d. Inevitably the plague caused some disruption, but recovery was swift and fairly complete: by the mid-1350s income was running at £32 or £33 a year and, by 1364, it had risen to £40. 13s. 0d. The 1370s, however, saw the beginning of a decline which continued until the middle of the 15th century: in 1374/5, income was £27; by 1450/1, it was no more than £7. 19s. 8d. After this period, however, there was some improvement, and by 1521/2 income stood at £15. 8s. 4d.

The hay tithe of Murton was always treated separately. Until 1475, it is unclear whether this asset was sold annually or leased; the former seems the more likely in view of the considerable and regular fluctuations in income between 3s. 4d. and 10s. 0d. After 1475, however, the annual sum was invariably 9s. 4d, which included the price of hay, the tithe barn and land called le parke.

The only other ecclesiastical income consisted of pensions from the Howdenshire churches of Hemingbrough, Walkington, Welton and Brantingham. In the years before 1350 these amounted to £14. 13s. 4d; that is, £2, £4, £2 and £6. 13s. 4d. respectively. These figures did not remain static, however: by 1377, the Hemingbrough pension had gone up to £3. 6s. 8d, and by 1411 that of Walkington to £5;after 1411, the total income was £17 a year. Moreover, the pensions seem to have been paid regularly and in full. In both respects the Chamberlain's exper-

ience was sharply at variance with that of other obedientiaries with ecclesiastical pensions. The reason seems clear: the Chamberlain had a major interest in Howdenshire and had created the necessary organisation to ensure that his property there produced its full value.

Finally, a word must be said about the balance between secular and ecclesiastical revenues. In the decade before the plague there was close approximation of the two sources: secular revenue was a little over £60 a year; that from ecclesiastical sources, a little less. By the last decade of the priory's existence the gap had widened considerably: in theory at any rate, secular income was still over £60; ecclesiastical income, however, had dropped to not much more than £30; the fact that the net income from secular sources was £7 less than the gross does not seriously detract from the point.

## F. FERETRAR AND INFIRMARER.

These two obedientiaries may be considered together since their estates were minute in size and value and of late origin.

### 1. FERETRAR.

The Feretrar's concern was the shrine of St. Cuthbert, a place of popular pilgrimage and a store-house of miscellaneous gifts of considerable value.[1] Until 1385, there was no estate attached to the office, its income deriving solely from offerings. The most important were the coins placed in the pix of St. Cuthbert by visiting pilgrims;[2] in addition, the Feretrar collected the offerings of the incumbents of the priory's churches on the occasion of the Whitsun procession and the fines of those who did not attend. The earliest extant accounts reveal that income from these sources was sizeable: between 1375 and 1385,[3] when the Feretrar began to acquire property, the lowest income was £32. 19s. 6d.(1379/80) while the highest was as much as £63. 17s. 8d.(1385/6). From this time, however, there was a slow but gradual decline in income; after 1500, it seems unlikely that annual receipts ever exceeded £10. In 1456/7, the proceeds of another pix, that of an obscure local saint, John Wharton, which was in St. Oswald's church, were added to the Feretrar's income. Initially, this new source produced about £5 a year; but it too declined and, by the 1537/8, no more than 1s. 0d. was received.

Here it must be noted that the Feretrar was not responsible for all the pixes in the cathedral, apart from that of St. Cuthbert, the rest pertained to the Sacrist. The most important, that of Holy Cross in the Galilee chapel, had a history very similar to St. Cuthbert's:

1 SS 103, p.xviii.

2 Before 1460, Scottish coins were recorded separately.

3 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from FAR.

in the period 1360 to 1384 annual income was usually about £10; by 1486/7, it had fallen to a mere 5s. 2½d.[1] In fact, of the Sacrist's offertory income only that at the shrine of the Venerable Bede did not decline; it must be added, however, that this was never very popular. Thus the evidence of the Sacrist's accounts lends support to the obvious conclusion to be drawn from the Feretrar's records: that there was a decline in the popularity of this particular form of religious devotion from the beginning of the last quarter of the 14th century. Whether this decline had begun earlier cannot be demonstrated with certainty, although the fact that the offerings at the pix of Holy Cross were higher in the period 1360 to 1384 than they were in the 1350s may indicate that this was not the case.

The Feretrar's estate originated in the years 1385 to 1387 when he acquired a number of houses in Elvet and a meadow in Claypath from which he derived an income of £3. 6s. 2d. In 1388/9, however, all these properties were taken over by the Hostillar who paid £2. 13s. 4d. to the Feretrar in lieu of the rents. This arrangement lasted until 1403/4 when the Feretrar again acquired property in the boroughs of Elvet and Crossgate. Initially, their rents came to £3. 15s. 6d, but, by 1428/9, income had risen to £5. 2s. 0d, only to fall back to £5 in 1432/3. In 1441/2 two more tenements in Crossgate and Elvet were acquired, adding 4s. 0d. to the Feretrar's income. Then, in 1444/5, all the properties were handed over to the Hostillar in return for an annual payment of £2. 6s. 8d. This change did not result in serious diminuition of the Feretrar's income since he was relieved of landmale payments and the costs of rent collection which had reduced his net

1 Recorded in SAR.

income to little more than the £2. 6s. 8d. now paid to him by the Hostillar.

This sum of £2. 6s. 8d. continued to be paid by the Hostillar until the dissolution. Between 1460 and 1480 the Feretrar began once more to acquire property; by c.1530 nine tenements had been added to his estate; all but one, however, were taken over by other obedientiaries who paid money to the Feretrar in lieu of the rents. Thus in 1537/8 the Feretrar's income from his estate amounted to £7. 4s. 10d., of which only 10s. 2d. from a holding in Claypath was rent, the remainder was made up of £4. 1s. 4d. from the Hostillar; £2 from the Almoner and 13s. 4d. from the Sacrist.

Also between 1460 and 1480 the Feretrar secured four new sources of income. The sum of £4 was paid annually on the orders of the Prior by the Bursar, the Hostillar, the Almoner and the Chamberlain. Secondly, a pension fluctuating between 13s. 4d. and £1. 0s. 8d was received from the Boy Bishop. Thirdly, the bretheren made contributions ex devocione amounting to between 3s. 4d. and £1. Finally, there was an annual pension of 1s. 8d. from the church of Seaham which was appropriated to the Yorkshire abbey of Coverham in 1475.[1] These additions, like those to the estate, did not suffice to maintain the Feretrar's income at its former level: in 1537/8, his total income was £16. 15s. 7½d., of which only £4. 8s. 5½d. came from the pixes; in 1378/9, for example, he had derived £38. 16s. 9d. from one pix alone.

2. INFIRMARER.

The Infirmarer's estate was no bigger than that of the Feretrar, and his income was certainly smaller. On the other hand, he had

1 Surtees, I, p.271.

begun to acquire an estate at an earlier date: in 1247, Prior Bertram II Middleton ordained that the Infirmarer should receive annually a pension of £1. 6s. 8d. from the Prior's Exchequer and £1. 2s. 0d. from the Hostillar, the money being the rents of certain properties in the barony of Elvet.[1] Between that date and 1354/5 [2] this income was augmented in two ways: five obedientiaries - Hostillar, Commoner, Almoner, Sacrist, Chamberlain - were required to pay, presumably by the Prior, 2s. 0d. each to the Infirmarer every year; in addition, property with a rent value of 18s. 6d. a year was acquired. These augmentations raised the Infirmarer's income from £2. 8s. 8d. to £3. 7s. 2d. a year.

During the following twenty-five years further revenue was acquired: Prior Robert I Berrington required the Hostillar to hand over the rent of 13s. 4d. from a tenement in Baton Row;[3] in addition, the Infirmarer acquired a number of properties of his own. The result was that, from 1380, the Infirmarer's income exceeded £5 a year. The rental of 1430,[4] which almost certainly represents the position c.1380, reveals that the Infirmarer collected fourteen rents: five came from Old Elvet and three from New Elvet; another three came from Framwellgate; one each came from Fleshewergate, Claypath and Silver Street in Durham borough; finally, there was the rent from two acres in Monk Hesleden.

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1 IRC.

2 Unless otherwise stated, all details are from IAR.

3 IRC.

4 Ibid.

A few years later, in 1437/8, these arrangements were altered, although the size of the income was not affected. The Hostillar took over all the Infirmarer's property not held on freehold terms, that is, from tenements in Old Elvet and one in New Elvet; in return he paid to the Infirmarer an annual pension of £1. 6s. 8d. Thereafter, the only rents the Infirmarer collected were eight free rents worth 10s. 2d. a year. This new arrangement seems to have lasted until after 1500; the only variation in income resulted, rather surprisingly, from the fluctuations of the free rents. By 1526/7, however, as new holding in Framwellgate was acquired and, between that year and 1534/5, the Hostillar's payment rose from £3. 2s. 0d. to £4. 2s. 10d., and the free rent income dropped to 6s. 6d. The effect of these changes was to hoist the Infirmarer's income above £6.

The foregoing descriptions make it clear that both the Feretrar and the Infirmarer had very small estates. They also reveal that neither can be regarded as having estates in the normal way; rather, they were pensioners of other obedientiaries, the Hostillar in particular.

# CONCLUSION

Having studied the development of the estate in some detail, and established a number of significant facts about its several parts, it is now necessary to attempt to answer the questions posed in the Introduction. In doing so it will be useful to ignore the order in which they were asked, and to allow for the particular characteristics of the estate.

## 1. ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

It was noted in the Introduction that one aspect of the problem of administration was the division of the priory's property between the obediences. Until now there has been little scope for discussing this, apart from considering the relationship between the Bursar and the Terrar and noting the functions of the other officers. It is now essential to look at the scheme of management as a whole and to say something about its origins, even though these lie largely outside the period of the essay.

It has long been recognised that the problem of what Professor Knowles has called "the higher control of monastic estates" [1] brought forth a variety of solutions. The same authority [2] has pointed out that Durham was one of a distinguished group of monastic houses including Norwich, Ely, Winchester and Westminster that assigned the bulk of their endowments to a single obedientiary. The exact form of the Durham arrangements as they were after 1290 has long been available in the volumes of Canon Fowler;[3] what is far from obvious, however, is the process by which they came into being. Unfortunately, direct evidence is lacking, sufficient clues exist, however, to make

1 Knowles, Religious Orders, II, p.312.

2 Ibid.

3 SS 99, SS 100, SS 103.

possible a tentative account. Perhaps the most obvious of them is the haphazard and illogical nature of the arrangements, which in itself argues that they were the product of a slow and piecemeal process of evolution.

Firstly, it is necessary to consider the role of the Prior, a figure who has received as yet scant attention. The simple reason for this neglect is that he had no endowment of his own, although he did have his own household headed by his chaplain and including his personal exchequer.[1] The cash handled by this office came, in part at least, from the obedientiaries who made regular payments to the Prior. This exchequer did not pay all of the Prior's expenses, however, for the obedientiaries' accounts reveal that many of the Prior's bills were met by them. This apparent lack of financial independence may seem surprising; in fact it is not when the strength of his position within the convent is considered. Complete control over the appointment and dismissal of the obedientiaries was granted or confirmed to him by his superior, the Bishop, early in the 13th century.[2] This power seems never to have been seriously challenged by his inferiors; consequently, there was no good reason for him to have his own estate and to be involved in the toils of property administration. Moreover, this position was supported by the law: the free tenants secured their lands by his grant, and his was the will at which the customary tenants held theirs; courts, both free and halmote, were held in his name.

The Prior thus had the power and the right to interfere in the affairs of the obedientiaries if he so desired. The most spectacular example of such interference occurred in 1437 when Prior John

1 SS 103, p.viii.

2 SS 58, p.213.

Washington reduced the status of the Bursar by assigning about half of his estate to the Cellarer, an arrangement which lasted until Washington's retirement in 1446. In addition, as has been noted, much of the Almoner's property was assigned by the Prior in the 12th and 13th centuries, while the Commoner acquired land on prioral orders towards the end of the 15th century. All this said, however, the fact remains that, exceptional occasions apart, the individual obedientiary controlled and directed his estate according to the dictates of custom and his own judgement. Whether, when considering important departures from previous practice, he consulted the Prior, is difficult to say; it is hard to imagine, however, a condition of complete obedientiary independence.

It is generally agreed that in the pre-Conquest period monasteries had few officers, and that control of estates was vested exclusively with the one known as the Cellarer. In the decades after 1066, however, additional offices were created and several of them - Sacrist, Chamberlain and Almoner in particular - secured their own endowments.[1] Since the cathedral-priory at Durham was of post-Conquest foundation, there is reason to doubt whether there was ever a time when the whole of its property was handled by a single monk. Although the evidence is tenuous, there is reason to think that the offices of Chamberlain and Hostillar came into existence and were endowed at an early stage in the priory's history: both had estates composed of properties allocated to the priory at its inception which remained virtually unchanged thereafter.

The position of the Sacrist is uncertain: Professor Knowles avers that this was an office of early creation in most houses;[2] the

1 Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.429-30.

2. Ibid.

evidence does not encourage the view that this was the case at Durham. Only the rather uncertain connection with the Old Borough suggests an early origin, and the earliest date that engenders any real confidence is 1174 when the priory acquired the churches of Edlingham and Bywell St. Peter. On the other hand, the office may well have existed long before it received endowment. This may also have been true of the Almonership which, as we have seen, began to acquire its estate in the middle decades of the 12th century.

Whatever the exact truth may be, all four obediences existed in 1235 when Prior Thomas Melsonby issued his constitutions.[1] This same document, however, makes no reference to the offices of Commoner, Infirmarer and Feretrar. As we have seen, estate evidence indicates that the first two probably came into existence during the later part of the 13th century; so too may the Feretrar, even though the office remained unendowed until almost the end of the 14th century.

Finally, there remains the question of the origins of the Terrarship and the Bursarship. The Terrarship was certainly in existence in 1235 since it is mentioned in the Melsonby constitutions.[2] The orders requiring obedientiaries to keep accounts were phrased in such a way as to suggest the distinctive role of the Terrar in property management: the other obedientiaries (Hostillar, Chamberlain, Almoner, Sacrist) were ordered to prepare account rolls (<u>faciant inrotulari</u>); the Terrar, however, was required to render true account (<u>reddat fidelem computacionem</u>). All this gives the impression that each of the four obedientiaries, while subordinate, had a distinct and independent status, but that the Terrar was merely the Prior's agent.

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1 SS 9, p.xl.

2 Ibid.

Further, the fact that no more than these five officers are listed indicates that the Terrar's responsibility extended to all properties not specifically assigned to others.

The earliest known reference to the Bursar occurs in 1265[1] in the constitutions of Prior Hugh Darlington. By 1270, the office had acquired all the property pertaining to it after 1290.[2] It looks, therefore, as if the division of responsibility between Terrar and Bursar in evidence after 1290 was laid down in or about 1265. Unfortunately, we cannot be certain as to the reasons which prompted this move. They may have been internal, that is, in a period of "high farming" which had also witnessed an expansion of the estate, it was felt that the burden of management was becoming too great for one officer. Alternatively, it is known that central treasuries or bursaries were established in many of the larger monasteries in the course of the 13th century in order to effect greater awareness of and control over finances.[3]

## 2. THE PRIORY AND ITS TENANTS

The main interest here is the customary tenants; before considering them, however, two points concerning the free tenants require emphasis. One is that their number, and consequently the amount of land in freehold tenure, declined over the period. Perhaps the most notable example is the township of Hebburn: in 1340,[4] it consisted entirely of freeholds; by 1540,[5] all the land had been recovered and should have been let out on lease. The other point is that, as a

1 Knowles, Religious Orders, II, p.315.

2 Loc.IV, no.226.

3 Knowles, Religious Orders, I, pp.55-63.

4 RDD, f.22r.

5 SS 58, p.308.

result of the changes in the conditions of customary tenure, the differences between free and customary tenants were considerably diminished.

As regards the customary tenants there were three major changes. The most obvious was the decline in number and the allied phenomenon of the increased size of holding. In many instances these changes can be computed with a fair degree of accuracy; what is not possible is equal precision as regards the reasons. That the population fell as a result of recurrent outbreaks of plague (or other epidemic diseases) is acknowledged by the analyst of ecclesiastical revenue in 1420; that peasants fled the estate is strongly suggested by the inquests into neifty. What we do not know is when plagues occurred, by how many the population declined as a result; nor can we say how many tenants fled, nor the extent to which losses were made good by immigration. Thus, it is impossible to assess the degree of correlation between the fall in population and the contraction of the number of tenants. The effect, however, is very obvious. the townships of the priory's estate came to be dominated by tenant farmers of considerable substance who must have been the employers of those members of their townships who were without land.

The second major change concerned the terms on which tenants held their land. In the first place the elimination of labour services, usually regarded from the landlord's angle, was of great importance to the tenant since it simplified his obligations and removed a socially degrading burden. Secondly, the tenant's lot was alleviated by the removal of the entry fine which often had been large Finally, the introduction of the short-term, renewable lease, the benefits of which are not obvious, must have been regarded favourably since there is no evidence of resistance to it. Thus, the customary

tenants improved their conditions of tenure in three important ways; moreover they did so without relinquishing any of the benefits accruing from the strongly entrenched custom of family inheritance.

The third area of change, concerning personal status, is full of uncertainties. The first of these is the number, proportion and distribution of neifs before 1350 and, indeed, what exactly that term implied. All that can be said with any degree of confidence is that less than one hundred per cent of the customary tenants were of that condition. When the disappearance of the so-called marks of servility is considered the confusion becomes greater. Labour services can be ignored in this connection since they were clearly a condition of the land rather than of persons. Tallage occurs only twice, very early in the 14th century when it was taken from the bondmen and the molmen.[1] No reference was made to neifty, however. Leyrwite was exacted frequently in the 14th century, and persisted until the 16th century. There is no suggestion in the records, however, that it was applied solely to women of the neif class; rather it seems to have been a punishment for sexual laxity levied on all women except freeholders. A similar point can be made about merchet. In this case there was no decline in incidence even at the end of the 15th century when all other evidences indicate that neifty had all but ceased to exist. In fact, it seems to have been a payment which was not peculiar to any class since it was paid by the daughters and widows of many freeholders as well as by customary tenants. Thus it would be dangerous to regard the conventional marks of servility as badges of the neifly condition. Rather, the essential condition of the neif was that he was without the right to withdraw himself from

1 BAR 1302/3 and 1309/10.

the priory's fee or, indeed, from the township of his nativity. The liability to tallage, merchet and leywrite seem to have become detached from the condition of neifty but to have continued as marks of customary tenant status. The fact that two of them persisted so long is, therefore, not so much evidence of the precise legal condition of the people of this part of England as of what a recent writer has called "the intensely patriarchal nature of farming society".[1] Given the extreme northern location, the peculiar constitutional framework of the palatinate and the dominating position of the community of St. Cuthbert, it is not surprising perhaps that social conditions changed more slowly, and that the patriarchal tradition remained pronounced.

There is also uncertainty as to the means whereby neifty was eliminated. The existence of so few examples of manumission suggests that it was not a popular way out: this is not surprising when the cost is remembered. The inquests into neifty indicate that emigration was the more usual solution. The absence of references to albanaria suggest that the withdrawals were largely unlicensed.

Looking at matters from the landlord's angle, three points stand out. Perhaps the most important was that he was able to keep his land in tenancy. The evidence of the Bursar's estate suggests that after the plague of 1349, holdings were quickly taken up by surviving tenants. There were times in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, however, when all obedientiaries with rural townships experienced some difficulty in finding tenants for all of their holdings. On the other hand, the number of tenements out of comm-

1 R.H. Hilton, The Decline of Serfdom in Medieval England, p.57.

ission was at no time very large, nor were the periods of vacancy long. In part the problem was solved by the willingness of the landlord to accept multiple holdings and, later, the syndicating of townships. By the end of the 15th century the problem had ceased to exist. There was equal success in the struggle to maintain rent levels. Despite evidence of rent reductions in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, all the obedientiaries were able to restore what they regarded as correct rents by the end of the 15th century. Moreover, the amount of income from land rents grew, although it must be admitted that this was largely the result of changes such as the commutation of labour services and the acquisition of new holdings. The final point is that the priory continued to maintain a fair degree of control over the lives and doings of its tenants in Durham and in Yorkshire; although the evidence is meagre, this was probably not the case in Northumberland.

Finally, it must be noted that the changes described took place very largely in the century between 1350 and 1450. This is not to suggest that society was static before 1350; it is difficult, however, to be certain of the changes that were taking place during that period. After 1450 a condition of stability gradually came to prevail so that in 1540 little change had taken place for the best part of a century.

## 3. THE PRIORY AND THE CITY OF DURHAM.

Of all the priory's property that in the city of Durham has the most obscure history, mainly because it was divided between so many obedientiaries. When the story is unravelled, its most notable feature is the great complexity that developed during the course of the period. If the situation about 1300 is considered, two features emerge: one is that the priory's interest was largely confined to its own

boroughs of Crossgate and Elvet; the second is that tenements were in the main in the hands of lay tenants. By 1540 this relatively simple pattern had been replaced by one of greater complexity. One major change was the increase in the amount of property held by the priory in the boroughs of Durham and St. Giles and in the extra-burghal district of the Bailey. These gains, by purchase and bequest, meant that the monks acquired an increasingly dominant position in the city as a whole.

Secondly, there was a shift from lay to ecclesiastical tenure of properties, which stemmed principally from the growth in the number of chantries and guilds. To this must be added the fact that many free and burgage holdings were regained so that there was a growth in the number of tenements held by obedientiaries from each other. One important by-product of this was that by 1540 every obedientiary had an important section in his accounts entitled redditus resolutus. These diminished his income somewhat, but they also indicate the extent to which his estate had become interwoven with that of his fellows.

As regards the city as distinct from the priory's interests in it, the records suggest that it suffered a considerable decline in fortune. In the first place there is the fact that so many burgages and tenements were linked together. Too much should not be made of this, perhaps, as they were no more than the urban counterparts of the conglomerate holdings of the rural townships. On the other hand, it is clear that in many cases the amalgamation was physical, and that groups of burgages were converted into gardens and orchards. In addition, there were wasted and decayed rents. These do not seem to have been too great before 1430; between 1435 and 1445, however, the number of holdings without tenants increased alarmingly. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to explain this sudden catastrophe. Later records rev-

eal that, although there was some recovery, the earlier situation was never completely retrieved. The result of these changes must have left the city looking distinctly less urban and possibly more forlorn than it had been earlier.

The records also reveal distinct differences between the histories of Elvet and Crossgate. As regards the former, it is clear that, although other obedientiaries acquired property there, the borough remained to a large extent under the direct control of the Hostillar. Moreover, that office retained the lordship of the borough undivided and undisputed throughout its existence. Crossgate, on the contrary, was in a state of confusion: practically all obedientiaries acquired large interests in it; in addition there was obviously some division of the lordship which lasted until the Bursar handed over the landmale rents to the Sacrist in the 15th century; moreover, the manorial parts of the borough belonged to a third obedientiary, the Almoner. Finally, Crossgate seems to have experienced a greater decline: amalgamated holdings and wasted rents are certainly more in evidence than they are in Elvet.

The last point worth making is that the priory's records provide some useful evidence as to how the citizens earned their livings. In particular there is evidence that Durham had a cloth industry. This is indicated by statements of tenant occupation, rents paid in kind, surnames and by two street names, Walkergate and Tenter Terrace (then Tenters' Close), which have survived to modern times.

## 4. THE PRIORY AND ITS DEMESNES

With regard to the demesne properties four points need to be underlined. The first is the change in policy towards the most important asset, the land: at the beginning of the period direct exploitation

prevailed; at the time of the dissolution of the house leasing had become the norm. It is important to emphasise, however, that neither policy was ever applied totally or universally. Nevertheless, if the pattern is clear enough, it is not so easy to explain. The evidence provided by Pittington, Elvet, Sacriston/Harehope and Le Holm/Muggleswick makes it abundantly clear that there was no absolute necessity to abandon direct exploitation: given good management, a demesne farm could be run successfully and profitably throughout the period. Moreover, there is no evidence to suggest that prices of produce or costs of labour changed sufficiently to cause the shift in policy. Why then was direct exploitation abandoned at all but a few places? The most plausible explanation is the need for cash. In this connection it must be remembered that in the course of the 14th century the priory's income from Scotland disappeared, and that from Northumberland was drastically reduced; moreover, there was a sharp drop in the receipts from appropriated churches. To compensate for these losses it was necessary to increase income from elsewhere. The records of all the obedientiaries reveal a tendency for income from land to increase and for that from ecclesiastical and/or northern sources to decline. This need for cash may also have lain behind the move towards the sale of grain before manors were leased. Inevitably the sale of grain and the leasing of manors meant that the bulk of grain supplies had to be obtained from outside sources, thus offsetting to some extent the cash gains. This may well explain why Elvet manor, which may be regarded as a home farm, was retained in hand, and why in the first half of the 15th century some rents were in corn. To these economic reasons we may add the fact that leasing was an easier and less tiresome form of administration, and that direct exploitation was an arduous and time-consuming activity justifiable only by guaranteed profits. Also we must allow for fashion: the drift away from direct exploitation by large

landowners after 1350 was so general that we are entitled to wonder whether some were motivated in part by the example of their fellows. Finally, there was the willingness of men to take leases. It may well be that the decision to lease a particular manor was prompted by the approach of a man or group of men eager to lease land to their own profit.

Before leaving the problem of manorial administration, it is worth considering again the fact that two of the minor obedientiaries opted to continue direct exploitation. Given the fact that the Durham obedientiaries were largely independent, it is possible to see within the Durham estate something of what was probably happening throughout the country. The evidence for the adoption of a policy of leasing comes mainly from large estates, and it tends to create the impression that farming was an unprofitable business which nobody wished to pursue. It is as well to remind ourselves that leasing implies lessees who, presumably, were confident of their ability to make farming pay. The evidence is that such men were of lesser substance who were in a position to devote more of their time to a single enterprise and that, in this sense, they were akin to the lesser landowner. It is arguable that within the Durham estate the Bursar should be regarded as an example of the large landowner who, like his kind, found it more profitable or convenient to discontinue direct exploitation. If so, the Hostillar and the Sacrist should be seen as middling landowners with smaller and more compact estates who could make a manor function efficiently and profitably without too much difficulty.

The remaining points concern the other manorial assets. The first is that, with the exception of the coal mines, no attempt was made at direct exploitation. This may be seen as supporting the contention that leasing was a natural policy for a landlord to adopt.

Of these other assets, only the corn mills ever made a serious contribution to income. Where evidence exists it can be seen that corn mills were most valuable before c.1320. Thereafter, their value decreased until, after c.1400, they were of relatively minor importance. Presumably, the reason for their decline in value was that less corn was being ground; to what extent this stemmed from a general decline in corn production, or from the inability of the landlord to enforce the grinding obligation, is uncertain. Finally, it is clear that many of the minor assets, such as coal mines and stone quarries, did not come into being until after 1350. Although they never made anything but small contributions to income, it is possible that they were started in the hope that they would help to off-set losses of income from other sources. Alternatively, it is also possible that the initiative which brought them into existence came from outside the priory.

## 5. THE PRIORY AND ITS CHURCHES.

Of the churches belonging to the priory only those that were appropriated were of any real importance financially; indeed, the pensions from other churches were the most unrealizable of all the priory's revenues. Of the appropriated churches, three (Earlston, Ednam, Edrom) were in Scotland, six (Norham, Holy Island, Bedlington, Ellingham, Edlingham, Byewell) were in Northumberland, nine (Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Dalton, Monk Hesleden, Pittington, Merrington, Aycliffe, Billingham and Elvet) were in Durham, and two (Northallerton and Eastrington) were in Yorkshire. At the beginning of the period they were clearly a major, and in many cases the major, source of income for the obedientiaries who had one or more as part of their endowment. By 1540, however, their value and, consequently, their importance had declined to a considerable degree. These facts and the priory's awareness of them are clearly revealed in the brief analysis made in

1420.[1]

The same document also serves to emphasise that the priory was unfortunate in having nearly half of its appropriated churches in areas plagued by the Scots. The revenues of the Scottish churches were lost completely during the 14th century, while those from Northumberland were reduced to a greater extent than was the case elsewhere. It is possible, therefore, to argue that had the priory's estates been located further south or had there been no border conflict, the decline of its ecclesiastical income would have been less than it was. At the same time, the Scots cannot be used as a blame-all since the decline of income from churches was general and for reasons which had nothing to do with the border.

It must also be noted that only the Bursar made any serious or prolonged attempt at direct exploitation of ecclesiastical revenue, probably because of his responsibility for the provision of corn for the community. This attempt was confined largely to the period before 1400; thereafter, like his fellows, he preferred the annual sale or the short-term lease. At the same time, it must be remembered he did retain in hand the revenues of Billingham parish. This, and the gradual move away from direct control, supports the thesis that the drift of the Bursar's administration was towards a system which increased his cash income while at the same time making some direct contribution to the basic provisions of the house.

## 6. TRENDS IN INCOME.

Consideration of the priory's administrative records leads to the conclusion that there were six phases in its financial history

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1 Reg.II, ff.356r - 357r.

after 1290. Inevitably, there were exceptions and variations in timing, but they do not negate the general validity of the pattern.

The first phase began in 1290 or sometime before, and lasted until between 1318 and 1328. Its outstanding features were large and rising income: this was the time when the priory was worth most. For the northern properties this phase ended with the battle of Bannokburn in 1314 which began the long travail of the border. The rest of the estate, however, was not seriously disturbed by the Scots who cannot be blamed for the fall-off in income. The most obvious alternative explanation is the great famine and pestilence which seems to have afflicted most parts of Europe during the latter half of the second decade of the 14th century.[1] However, while agreeing that this was the most likely cause of the catastrophe, it must be admitted that there is no direct evidence in the records to substantiate the theory. Whatever the reason, the fact is, that by the end of the third decade of the century, almost all sources if income were producing much less than they had been ten years earlier. In fact, this proved to be the most serious financial reversal the priory was to experience.

The second phase lasted from this collapse until 1349, and was a period when the estate managers strove to retrieve the situation. Although they had some success, in most respects they were still behind when the Black Death arrived. Its immediate effects were disastrous but, in contrast to the earlier catastrophe, they were not prolonged: within a decade most sources of income were producing as much as they had in the 1340s. Indeed, the recovery led to a period of substantial prosperity during the 1370s and 1380s when some revenues were on occasions as high as they had been before 1320. Appearances, however, are to a

1 H.S. Lucas, 'The Great European Famine of 1315, 1316 and 1317', Speculum, 5(1930), 343-77.

certain extent deceptive in that this was the time when the financial benefits of commutation and leasing began to be felt.

The fifth phase began towards the end of the 14th century and was characterised by a slow but gradual erosion of income levels. Recovery began during the middle decades of the 15th century and was general and clearly evident by 1480. The final phase was essentially one of stability, disturbed only by occasional and small increases in income.

## 7. THE PRIORY AND THE WIDER WORLD.

A study such as this must of necessity concentrate on the material relating to the subject; inevitably this lends to narrowing of perspective and the isolation of the subject from its proper context. In the final part of this section, therefore, it is essential to provide redress by considering how the Durham experience compared with that of some other estates.

The first comparison must be at the local level with the estate of the Bishop of Durham whose lands were interwoven with those of the priory. Although the substantial episcopal records of the 15th century have not been subjected to full analysis, most of the meagre survivals from the 14th century have been printed, making possible a comparison between the estates during an important period of change.

As regards the structure of the two estates, the Hatfield Survey of c.1380 [1] and the Bursar's rentals of the 1380s [2] reveal very similar pictures. Although larger and more widespread, the episcopal estate

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1 SS 32.

2 RSDPD.

was made up of the same types of free and customary holdings and, although evidence about the priory's tenants is incomplete, there seem to be few differences between the obligations of the respective tenants. When development is considered, the two estates appeared to have changed pari passu in three important respects. On both the number of tenants was, by 1380, less than the number of holdings: clearly, both landlords were allowing their tenants to take two or more holdings in order to avoid the burden of tenantless land. Moreover, the Hatfield Survey suggests that multiple holdings had acquired no greater permanence than they had on the priory's estate at this date. The same document also reveals that the works of the episcopal tenants had been commuted, as they had with a few exceptions on the priory's lands.

It has been noted that the changeover to short-term leases was under way on the priory's estate by 1380, although it was not seriously to challenge the earlier system for another ten years. The Hatfield Survey suggests that a similar stage had been reached on the episcopal estate by the same date: thirty and a half bondlands in Cockerton, Heighington, Middridge, Auckland, Shotton and Sherburn were held at pennyfarm,[1] which was an agreement whereby the tenant held his land at an all-but comprehensive rent for a fixed term of six years. The Survey also indicates that two other arrangements known to the priory were in operation. The township of Ricknall was leased to one man, William Tedy,[2] who, interestingly, was a priory tenant in Aycliffe;[3] significantly, perhaps, an identical arrangement was in existence at the priory's township of Newton Ketton in the same parish.[4]

1 SS 32, p.15, p.19, p.21, p.38, p.139, p.149.

2 Ibid., p.25.

3 RSDPD, f.14v.

4 Ibid., f.14r.

Secondly, the idea of the syndicate had been evolved: shortly after Bishop Hatfield's death the bulk of the township of Boldon was leased to a syndicate composed of the bond tenants.[1] Unfortunately, until more work has been done on the episcopal records, it will be impossible to know whether these trends continued as they did on the priory's land.

Turning to the manorial aspect, it is clear that the twenty-seven manors belonging to the Bishop of Durham were very similar to those of his chapter. In particular it is clear that in most cases demesne land was intermingled with tenant land, and at only a few places such as Beaumont and Coatham Mundeville[2] did the manor lands form a separate entity. By 1380, all manors had been leased except at Stockton, Middleham, and Heighington and half of that at Haughton le Skerne.[3] It seems certain that a trend towards leasing land had developed during the 14th century. The incomplete Receiver's account of 1339[4] indicates that nine manors - Auckland, Coundon, Middridge, Coatham Mundeville, Heighington, Ricknall, Quarrington, Stockton and Middleham - were still in hand and that an income of £107. 1s. $1\frac{1}{4}$d. per term was derived from the remainder. Further back, in 1307/8,[5] the earliest extant Receiver's account shows that termly income from leases was only £71. 6s. $6d\frac{1}{2}$; although an additional £84. 9s. 4d. was received from the farmers of Easington, Houghton le Spring, Newbottle and Bishop Wearmouth which had been leased recently. Looking beyond 1380, the Receiver's account of 1386/7, while providing no positive proof, does give the impression that all manors had been leased.

1 SS 32, p.101.

2 Ibid., pp.6 - 7.

3 Ibid., p.169, p.183, p.19, p.8.

4 Loc.V, no.32.

5 SS 25, xxv - xxix.

Interestingly, this account, in contrast to the earlier ones, has a geographical rather than a categorical form. This new form was appropriate only when rent was the sole concern, and it is worth noting again that it was not adopted by the Bursar until 1420, that is, when he had gone over to leasing. One final comparison must be noted· as on the priory's estate, manors where the land was integrated with tenant holdings were leased to tenants, whereas separate manors were taken by individuals or small consortia, often compowed of outsiders.

Although the evidence is not conclusive, it seems as though the two estates were developing along very similar lines, but with changes being introduced or completed somewhat earlier on the episcopal estates. Given the circumstances, neither fact should be surprising: since the two estates shared the same geographical conditions and historical experiences, similarity of development was more than likely; on the other hand, the fact that the Bishop was more of an absentee landlord meant that he was likely to appreciate more readily the advantages of an indirect system of administration.

Another estate worth considering is that of the Percies since it included extensive holdings in both Yorkshire and Northumberland, although none in Durham.[1] Unfortunately, our knowledge of this estate does not extend back further than 1416; nevertheless the evidence from the 15th and 16th centuries suggests that many developments were similar to those on the priory's estate.

Despite incomplete records Dr. Bean has demonstrated that in the first half of the 15th century the value of the estate fell by

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1 J.M.W. Bean, The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416 - 1537.

about a quarter.[1] In Northumberland, the decline was greater than this average, amounting to between a third and a half. In contrast, the decline in Yorkshire was only between a fifth and a quarter.[2] He was not inclined, however, to lay too much stress on border warfare as a cause of the difference.[3] After 1470 the downward trend was halted, and thereafter stability of revenue was the principal feature: if there was movement it was towards an increase in income.[4] Thus, as regards both trends and their chronology, the experience of the Percy estate was very similar to that of the priory.

At a more detailed level, it seems clear that the two estates operated similar inheritance customs although, as on the Durham estate, there was no attempt to make a formal record of these until after 1540.[5] On the Percy estate, in contrast to the priory's, entry fines continued to be paid; indeed, in the second decade of the 16th century there was a move to exploit them more thoroughly as a source of income.[6] As regards the demesne lands, it appears that throughout the 14th century there was no direct exploitation in Northumberland.[7] In Yorkshire, however, it was otherwise: in 1352, five manors were in hand; by 1405, the number was down to two; shortly after 1416, all were leased.[8] Thus, the policy of the earls was akin to that of the Bursar. Equal affinity is observable as regards longer persistence with pastoral farming: as late as 1471/2, the Percies had extensive pastoral activities in hand at Hulne Park, near Alnwick.[9]

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1 J.M.W. Bean, The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416 - 1537, p.41.

2. Ibid., p. 35 and p.41.

3 Ibid., pp.34-5.

4 Ibid., p.48.

5 Ibid., p.57.

6 Ibid., p.67.

7 Ibid., p.12.

8 Ibid., pp.12-3.

9 Ibid., p.14.

The estates of the Bishops of Durham and the Earls of Northumberland were located principally in those areas where the priory had its properties; consequently, it is not surprising to discover similarity of condition and development. It is perhaps more important to discover whether parallels existed in other areas of the country well away from the north-east, which has always enjoyed a reputation for singularity.

Taking first the problem of the tenant and his relationship with the landlord, the most useful and extensive study to date is that by Dr. Raftis of the system in operation on the estate of Ramsey Abbey.[1] His work is of particular interest to the Durham student since it suggests that there were few differences between the estates. In particular, it is apparent that the inheritance customs were all but identical: the only important difference seems to be that the widows of Ramsey tenants did not pay entry fines in order to succeed to their husbands' holdings.[2] It is also clear that conveyancing, sub-letting and exchanging of land by customary tenants occurred to the same extent and according to the same rules at Ramsey as at Durham.[3] There was too a close similarity in the general regulations of rural community life through by-laws enacted in the halmote court, often with the consent of the tenantry, even to the fact that the most 'popular' subject on both estates was the control of animals to prevent damage to crops.[4] As regards the movement of peasants on to and off the estate and the gradual decline of neifty, the Ramsey records contain more abundant and more detailed evidence, which raises the suspicion that the Abbot of Ramsey was more concerned with this problem

1 J.A. Raftis, Tenure and Mobility.

2 Ibid., p.36.

3 Ibid., pp.63-77.

4 Ibid., p.111-7.

than his counterpart at Durham.[1] At the same time, it is clear that at both places the situation was similar and the developments parallel. In fact, apart from the instance already cited, only two differences between the estates are apparent: at Durham the system of personal pledges was maintained, whereas at Ramsey it faded away in the middle decades of the 14th century;[2] contrarily, the levying of entry fines was abandoned at Durham, but was continued at Ramsey.

Lest this be considered an isolated case of similarity, it may be noted that a like set of customs was in operation on the other side of the country on the estates of the bishopric of Hereford. The document printed by Canon Bannister, although drawn up in 1581, was based upon its author's researches in the bishopric court rolls going back to the time of Edward III.[3] The examples cited reveal clearly the inheritance of customary holdings within the kindred group according to a fairly strict system of precedence reminiscent of the arrangements at both Ramsey and Durham. In addition, the various reasons for which a customary tenant could forfeit his holding were almost identical with those in force on the priory's estate; the few exceptions, such as fornication by widows, appear to have been of late origin.

The examples at Ramsey and Hereford must not be allowed to induce the idea that the customs of Durham were part of a universal pattern: as Professor Du Bouley has shown, there were areas such as Kent where conditions and developments were very different.[4] Nevertheless, they do serve to show that Durham was not markedly or significantly different from many other parts of England.

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1 J. A. Raftis, Tenure and Mobility, pp.139-88.

2 Ibid., p.103.

3 A. T. Bannister, 'Manorial Customs on the Hereford Bishopric Estates', E.H.R., 43, (1928), 218-30.

4 F. R. Du Boulay, The Lordship of Canterbury, pp.114-92.

As regards policy towards the demesnes, it is clear that the priory followed paths trodden by the owners of other large estates. Miss Harvey's investigations of the Abbot of Westminster's manors [1] has shown that the retreat from direct exploitation was a gradual process covering the period between 1350 and 1420, the same period during which the Bursar put all but a handful of his manors to farm. As at Durham, the land of some manors was divided between the customary tenants, while at others it was leased intact. As regards the latter, the lessees as at Durham, were mostly local men with estate officers and minor gentry forming distinct groups. As regards rent, there was a marked stability on both estates, although rent levels at Durham seem to have been fractionally higher. In fact, the only significant difference between the two estates was, as Miss Harvey noted, the extensive dilapidation on the Durham manors. On this point, however, it must be noted that the evidence was drawn from the surveys of 1446 and 1464, [2] which were made during the period when the fortunes of the priory's estate were at their lowest ebb.

An equally strong resemblance can be seen between the history of the Durham manors and those of the archbishopric of Canterbury. Professor Du Boulay [3] has revealed that the crucial period of retreat from direct exploitation was the decades after 1350, although the process was not completed until the middle of the 15th century. As we have seen, although the Bursar had all but completed the change-over to leasing by 1420, he did retain a few manors in hand until shortly after 1450. The Canterbury lessees, like those at Durham and Westminster, were mainly local men, including tenants, estate servants

1 B. Harvey, 'The Leasing of the Abbot of Westminster's Demesnes in the later Middle Ages', Ec.H.R., 22 [2] (1969), 17-27.

2 SS 9, cxxc - ccciv and SS 58, pp.98 - 211.

3 F.R. Du Boulay, 'Who were farming the English demesnes at the end of the Middle Ages', Ec.H.R., 17 [2] (1964), 444 - 52.

and minor gentry. Other similarities between Canterbury and Durham include the imposition of corn rents in the 15th century, the general stability of rent, the length of leases, and the general success of the farmers judged by the fact that they retained their leases to the end. All in all, the Durham evidence lends added weight to Professor Du Boulay's conclusion that the development of the demesne lease "depended more on period than on region".[1]

Finally, it is necessary to attempt to relate the development of the Durham estate and its inhabitants to that of the country as a whole. The end of the 13th century was a time when a number of trends which had been at work for a century or more were reaching a climax, in particular, the rise in the numbers of the population and the practice, by large landlords at least. of "high farming". Throughout the century conditions generally favoured the landlord. Rising population implied increased demand which in turn stimulated a rise in prices. It also meant increasing competition for land, which kept rents high, and for work, which kept wages low. These same factors, however, militated against the well-being of the peasant. The 13th century saw the maintenance and, in many places, an increase in labour services, and it was probably the period when the greatest proportion of English people were bound in the condition of serfdom. In short, the landlords prospered while their tenants struggled and, in many cases, suffered poverty and even starvation.

At the beginning of the 14th century, and more clearly as it progressed, there were signs of a reversal of trends. Population was no longer increasing and may have begun to decline in some places. Prices began to drop while wages started to rise. Some soils were

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1 F. R. Du Boulay, 'Who were farming the English demesnes at the end of the Middle Ages', Ec.H.R., $17^2$ (1964), 444.

suffering from exhaustion, and marginal lands, brought into cultivation when the pressure on land was at its height, were allowed to revert to waste or pasture. As a result, some landlords, albeit tentatively and partially, began to withdraw from direct exploitation and to lease demesne lands and commute labour services.

Then, just before mid-century, England, like the rest of Europe, was ravaged by the Black Death. Although this epidemic caused a large and significant number of deaths, it was not by itself a complete catastrophe; indeed, it is arguable that a reduction of population was needed and would have been generally beneficial. What really did the demographic damage were the recurrences of the plague, which prevented any recovery of numbers and, by the end of the century, reduced the level of the population to something like half of what it had been in 1347.

The great pestilence of 1348/9 may be said to have ushered in a century of change, although many of the changes that took place had been foreshadowed earlier in the 14th century. The essential feature of this period was the decrease in population which swung the advantage from the landlord to the tenant. By the middle of the 15th century rural society and its economy were significantly different to what they had been a century earlier. Those landlords who had practised "high farming" had ceased to do so under the double burden of falling prices and rising wage bills. The only exceptions were in the field of pastoral farming since the wool market retained its buoyancy. Moreover, they had been forced to acquiesce in the conversion of their villeins into rent-paying tenant farmers and in the virtual disappearance of serfdom: to a greater extent than ever before their relationship with the men who held their land had a purely commercial basis. Finally, they had been engaged in a constant struggle to keep the

reduction of their incomes to a minimum.

For the peasants, however, this was a time of opportunity. Wages were rising, land was available in some abundance, lower rents could be negotiated, and better opportunities and greater freedom could be found by migrating. The outcome was a radical change in the structure of rural society. Formerly, villages had consisted of large numbers of villeins with relatively small but standard holdings. Now they were dominated by smaller groups of tenant farmers with holdings of much larger and more irregular size beneath whom was a class of landless, or near landless, labourers. Rural society had, in fact, become stratified. Finally, it must be remembered that even the physical appearance of the countryside had changed. Villages that had survived were smaller but, in addition, the land was scarred by "lost" villages which must have had a new and raw ugliness.

During the second half of the 15th century the population ceased to decline in number, largely because the plague had become a local and mainly urban phenomenon. This, together with a relative stability of wages and prices, resulted in a state of equilibrium which was to last until some way into the 16th century. Such changes as are observable were in an upwards direction, forecasting the developments and upheavals of the 16th century.

Such a brief and general survey as this fails to allow for the many exceptions and variations arising from local differences of all sorts in which medieval England abounded. It might have been predicted that Durham, located as it was at the northern extremity of the kingdom, would have had distinct and peculiar variations in its history. With the exception of the Northumberland and Scottish parts, which were subject to a particular and local affliction, this was not

so. The development of the rest of the estate seems to have been within the mainstream. except for a few properties in the Pennine foothills, the estate lay within what may be called the northern extension of the Midland Plain and, as a consequence, to have experienced a history remarkably similar to the rest of that area. The only aspect for which there are no close parallels elsewhere is the collapse of the 1320s, and even here the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

Perhaps it would be fair to conclude that the interested and perceptive visitor to these northern parts, while observing a smaller and more thinly spread population, a colder climate and, perhaps, a cruder society, would have left with the impression that things were not fundamentally different from what they were elsewhere in the country.

## APPENDIX

N.B. the following points apply throughout:

1) place names are those currently in use;

2) personal names have been modernized wherever possible;

3) names which cannot be identified or rendered in modern English have been placed in inverted commas;

4) freeholds have been indicated by asterisk;

5) rents are for the full year.

## I. BURSAR : RURAL TENANTS c.1340.

The following lists are based on RDD, particularly the rental for Whitsun 1341 (ff 38 - 45). The supplementary information about bondlands has been taken from RSDPD, RB 1395 and from the Gillycorn Rental (CED(L), (ff 27v - 30r). The Feodarium (SS 58, pp.1 - 92) has been used to identify freeholds; unfortunately, even with its aid, it is impossible to identify all of them, particularly those in Billingham, Wolviston and Ayoliffe.

| | | | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **WALLSEND** | | | | | |
| 1 Toft | + | 24 acres | William son of Walter | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 22½ acres | Richard the reeve | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Toft | + | 22½ acres | Henry Snell | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 22½ acres | Adam Rede | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft | + | 22 acres | Walter son of Henry | 10. | 8. |
| 1 Toft | + | 22 acres | Andrew Snell | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft | + | 16 acres | William son of Walter | 5. | 8. |
| 1 Toft | + | 9 acres | Walter son of Henry | 1. | 2. |
| 1 Toft | + | 9 acres | Walter Hogg | 1. | 2. |
| 1 Toft | + | 4 acres | Robert the smith | 1. | 0. |
| 2 Tofts | + | 2 acres | Roger the pinder | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | + | 3½ acres | Patrick Yarewood | 7. | 0. |
| ALSO 7 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 24 acres. | | | | | |
| **WILLINGTON** | | | | | |
| 1 Toft | + | 46 acres | William son of Paul | 14. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 46 acres | William son of Richard | 10. | 8. |
| 1 Toft | + | 45 acres | John son of Alan )<br>J. son of John Tendman) | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 44 acres | Christine widow of John Tendman | 21. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 40 acres | William of Ryton | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Toft | + | 40 acres | Roger son of William | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Toft | + | 40 acres | Richard of Moorsley | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 30 acres | John Mayrson | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 30 acres | John of Hebburn | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 30 acres | Agnes Kebard | 14. | 7½ |
| 1 Toft | + | 30 acres | John son of Emma | 13. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 30 acres | William of Ryton | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft | + | 23 acres | John of Hebburn | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft | + | 23 acres | Robert son of Adam | 11. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 23 acres | Patrick son of Thomas | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | + | 16 acres | John Attegate | 2. | 8. |
| 1 Toft | + | 4 acres | William of Ryton | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | | Agnes Kebard | 3. | 0. |

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **OVER HEWORTH** | | | |
| 1 Toft + 72 acres | Simon of the hall | 40. | 0. |
| 2 Tofts + 64 acres | Richard the reeve | 50. | 0. |
| 2 Tofts + 64 acres | John of the kitchen | 50. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | Richard son of John of the kitchen | 25. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | Walter of 'Wath' | 25. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | William Wamill | 25. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | Richard son of Ralph | 25. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | Cecily daughter of Richard the miller | 25. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | Robert Gray | 25. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | John the clerk | 25. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 7 acres | Richard the miller | 5. | 3. |
| 1 Cottage + 7 acres | William son of Simon | 4. | 4. |
| 1 Cottage + 3 acres | Richard son of Ralph | 4. | 4. |
| 1 Cottage | William Scot | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Robert of Wardley | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Cottage | Robert Joy | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Cottage | Thomas of Harton | 1. | 4. |
| **NETHER HEWORTH** | | | |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Isabel of Fawdon | 8. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Cissor's wife | 3. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Roger of Bothal | 3. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Adam Bermag | 3. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | John Haxby | 3. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Thomas son of William | 3. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | William son of Agnes | 3. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 11 acres 1 rood | Isolda Lyte | 3. | 11. |
| 1 Toft + 11 acres | Richard the miller | 3. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 11 acres | Tessa | 3. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 10 acres | Simon son of Waldo | 6. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 9 acres | The smith | 0. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Geoffrey son of Simon of the hall | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Geoffrey Tendman | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 5 acres | Roger Figgy | 7. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + 5 acres | Juliana wife of Simon | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 1½ acres | The messor | 0. | 0. |
| **HEBBURN** | | | |
| 2/3 of the township [M] | William son of William Mayr | 26. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 48 acres [M] | William son of John | 5. | 1. |
| 1 Toft + 48 acres [M] | William Lardener | 5. | 1. |
| 1 Toft + 48 acres [M] | Nicholas son of Jacob | 1. | 3. |
| 1 Toft + 16 acres [M] | John Willy | 5. | 4. |
| Land of Nicholas Scot [M] (52 acres) | John of Hedworth | 13. | 4. |
| **HEDWORTH** | | | |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres [M] | John of Hedworth | 3. | 3. |
| 35 acres [M] | John of Hedworth | 1. | 0. |

| | | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 5 acres* | John son of Robert) John of Hedworth ) Robert Fraunceys ) | 1 lb. cummin. | |
| | 19½ acres* | ? | ½ lb. pepper. | |
| 2 Tofts + | 69 acres | John of Hedworth | 32. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 38 acres | Agnes widow of Walter | 36. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + | 31 acres | John son of Robert | 30. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 26 acres | John Huet | 30. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 24 acres | Richard the reeve | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 24 acres | John son of Robert | 17. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 24 acres | John son of William ) John son of Simon ) | 17. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 21 acres | Richard the reeve | 12. | 10. |
| 1 Toft + | 17 acres | John son of Walter | 11. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 14 acres | Agnes widow of Walter | 17. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + | 14 acres | Richard the reeve | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 13½ acres | John son of Simon | 15. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 10 acres | John son of Walter | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 8 acres | Sybil of Fulwell | 8. | 9. |

MONKTON

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + | 70 acres* | Walter the smith | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 40 acres* | John of Bywell | 1. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + | 40 acres* | John of Hedworth | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + | 30 acres | John son of William | 16. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 30 acres | Robert, Sergeant of Fulwell | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 24 acres | Thomas Toller | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 15 acres | Juliana Toller | 8. | 4. |
| 1 Cottage | | Master of Jarrow | 1. | 0. |

ALSO. 6 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 30 acres.

JARROW

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + | 24 acres* | William of Denholme | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 24 acres* | William son of William | 3. | 0. |
| 2 Tofts + | 24 acres | Robert of Monkton | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 18 acres | William Shepherd | 2. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 12 acres | John son of Marjory | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 12 acres | John of Heworth | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 12 acres | William son of Nicholas | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 6 acres | William Shepherd | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | Robert of Monkton | 2. | 0. |

HARTON

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + | 16 acres | Siward | 10. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | croft | Thomas of Carlisle | 1. | 5. |
| 1 Toft + | croft | Roger Freeman | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | Roger Proud | | 6. |

ALSO: 21 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 48 acres.

WESTOE

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 38 acres* | Richard of 'Milneton' | 9. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres* | Thomas Herring | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 26 acres | William of Hylton | 26. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | William of Hylton | 2. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | William of Hylton | 2. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 22 acres | Richard son of Siward | 2. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 21 acres | Adam of 'Hartlaw' | 2. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres | William of Hylton | 22. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Robert Lupet | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Henry the miller | 15. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Thomas of the row | 15. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Adam of 'Hartlaw' | 15. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Adam of 'Hartlaw' | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Richard son of Alice | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | William Swan | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Henry the miller | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Richard Russell | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | William of Hylton | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | William of Hylton | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Alexander of Cleadon | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Robert Lupet | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Thomas of the row | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Alice Syre | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Thomas of the row | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 4½ acres | William of Hylton | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 4 acres | Alice Syre | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | William Maymound | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | William Lamhird | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Siward Maymound | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Agnes Bullok | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Matilda Maymound | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Matilda the weaver | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Swan | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Alice Syre | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Adam servant of Richard | 1. | 8. |
| 1 Cottage | Richard Maymound | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | William Swan | | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | William of Hylton | | 6. |

ALSO: Land of Richard Hostillar : 1 toft + 98 acres in 14 holdings.

SOUTH SHIELDS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 Tofts | John son of Patrick's widow | 3. | 0. |
| 2 Tofts | Odinell | 2. | 0. |
| 1½ Tofts | Matilda of the church | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Toft | Alice wife of Geoffrey Herp | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Richard of 'Milneton' | 1. | 10. |
| 1 Toft | Adam Scot | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Toft | William of Hylton | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Toft | William of Burdon | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Thomas Durray | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Amicia | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Adam of Whitby | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | John son of Agnes | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Thomas Lownes | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Rhomas the smith | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Robert Sele | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Patrick the clerk | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Walter Yole | 1. | 0. |

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2/3 Toft | John of the stone | 1 | 0. |
| ½ Toft | Agnes widow of Alan Bolt | 1. | 0. |
| ½ Toft | Gilbert son of Alan | 1. | 0. |
| ½ Toft | William of the stone | 1. | 0. |
| ½ Toft | Agnes of Kyloe | | 6. |
| ½ Toft | Hugh Bakester | | 6. |
| ½ Toft | Leo son of John son of Patrick | | 4. |
| 1 Cottage | Adam Cape | | |

SOUTHWICK

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 100 acres* | John of Hedworth | 27. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 63 acres* | Richard Ayer | 11. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | William Bullock | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | John son of Ralph | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Marmaduke | 2. | 0. |

ALSO. 10 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 48 acres.

MONKWEARMOUTH

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 48 acres* | Reginald of Wearmouth | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 48 acres* | Robert de Castro | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 48 acres | Isolda daughter of Reginald | 48. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 48 acres | Henry son of Thomas | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 40 acres | Thomas of Usworth | 30. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 22 acres | John Chapman | 22. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 16 acres | William son of Patrick | 17. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 16 acres | Elias son of Ralph | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 16 acres | Adam son of Roger | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 16 acres | Walteriman's widow | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 16 acres | Thomas son of Ralph | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 13½ acres | Agnes widow of Mak | 14. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Dionysia of Hetton | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Richard son of Walteriman | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Ralph Dey | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 9 acres | Adam son of Michael | 9. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 1 acre | Marjory of Southwick | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Thomas son of Adam | 3. | 0. |

FULWELL

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | Richard son of Sybil | 32. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | John son of the widow | 11. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 16 acres | Simon of Moorsley | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 16 acres | Thomas son of Michael | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 16 acres | Adam son of Alan | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Patrick of Wearmouth | | 10. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | William the smith | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Lawrence of 'Litherpol' | 3. | 2. |
| 1 Cottage | Ivetta Sewester | 2. | 0. |

ALSO: 6 Holdings of 1 Toft + 12 acres.

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **DALTON LE DALE** | | | |
| 1 Toft + 40 acres | Lord Robert the vicar | 40. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 39½ acres | Cuthbert's wife | 39. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 18 acres | Robert nephew of the vicar | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 18 acres | Robert the pinder | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 18 acres | Stephen servant of the Chamberlain | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Reginald son of Hawys | 9. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | William Langbayn | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 4 acres | John of Hesleden | 4. | 3. |
| 1 Cottage + 3 acres | William of Dalden | 3. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | William son of William Langbayn | 2. | 6. |
| ½ Toft + 1 acre | Robert Ward | 5. | 0. |
| ½ Toft | John son of Nicholas | 4. | 0. |
| **EAST RAINTON** | | | |
| 1 Toft + 60 acres* | John Freeman | 11. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 36 acres* | William of Masham | 7. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 36 acres | Robert Freeman | 24. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | Robert Scouland | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | Ralph Ralfreyman | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | William of Masham | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Walter Hardshaw | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Christine Paternoster | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Robert Scouland | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Robert son of Agnes | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Robert the smith | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | William Masham | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Christine Paternoster | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Richard Courour | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 11 acres | Ralph Palfreyman | 5. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 10 acres | Robert Freeman | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | Thomas of the wood | 5. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2½ acres | John Couper | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Robert Freeman | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + ½ acre | Thomas of the wood | | 4½. |
| 1 Cottage | Christine Paternoster | | 6. |
| **WEST RAINTON** | | | |
| 2 Tofts + 50 acres* | William Whitehead | 4. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres* | William Whitehead) Roger of the ford) | 2. | 2. |
| 1 Toft + 48 acres | William son of Reginald | 26. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 43 acres | Christine widow of Thomas of Haswell | 19. | 2½. |
| 1 Toft + 37½ acres | Isolda wife of Ralph of Cornforth | 40. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 37 acres | Ivetta of Fishburn | 19. | 2½. |
| 1 Toft + 36 acres | John son of Elias | 18. | 8½. |
| 1 Toft + 35 acres | Dyota Newman | 35. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 34½ acres | Richard son of Stephen | 24. | 2½. |
| 1 Toft + 27½acrees | John of the row | 7. | 11. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | Cecily widow of Peter | 27. | 2½. |
| 1 Toft + 18 acres/rood | William Whitehead | 7. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 18 acres | Adam Forester | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 14½ acres | John son of Richard son of Stephen. | 15. | 0½. |

| | | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ¼ Toft + | 14 acres | Agnes of Hamsteels | 2. | 4. |
| ¼ Toft + | 14 acres | Scholastica the widow | 2. | 4. |
| ¼ Toft + | 14 acres | Thomas son of Cecily | 2. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 13½acres | John son of Richard son of Stephen. | 3. | 6½. |
| 1 Toft + | 13½acres | William of Ludworth | 4. | 6½. |
| 1 Toft + | 13½acres | William Whitehead | 2. | 0½. |
| 1 Toft + | 9 acres | Ralph Palfreyman | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 7⅓ acres | John son of the widow | 5. | 3½. |
| 1 Toft + | 7 acres | Adam Bok | 5. | 0½. |
| 1 Toft + | 5⅓ acres | Scholastica the widow | 6. | 2½. |
| 1 Toft + | 5 acres | John of the row | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 5 acres | Elias of Kepier | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 4 acres | Thomas Wilkinson | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 4 acres | Robert Rose | 7. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 4 acres | Agnes of Hamsteels | 3. | 10½. |
| 1 Toft + | 3½ acres | Hugh of the wrang | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 3 acres | Agnes of Chester | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 3 acres | Thomas son of Cecily | 3. | 2½. |
| 1 Toft + | 2 acres | John Froys | 3. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + | 2 acres | Roger of Gilesgate | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | ½ acre | Emma daughter of John of the kiln. | 3. | 0. |

MOORSLEY

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + | 32 acres | John son of William | 32. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 28 acres | William the clerk | 22. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 28 acres | William of Wolviston | 13. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + | 28 acres | Whole township | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 26 acres | Alan son of Hawys | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 20 acres | Alan son of Hawys | 14. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 20 acres | William the clerk | 18. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 20 acres | Elias Paternoster | 14. | 1. |
| 1 Toft + | 18 acres | Alan son of Hawys | 15. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 15 acres | Thomas son of William | 33. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 8 acres | William of Wolviston | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 6 acres | Peter son of William | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 4 acres | Isabel of Guildford | 1. | 6. |

NORTH PITTINGTON

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + | 36 acres | John the miller | 26. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 32 acres | Robert Punchon | 26. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 31 acres | Hugh son of Alice | 14. | 10. |
| 1 Toft + | 29 acres | Hugh son of Alice | 14. | 10. |
| 1 Toft + | 28 acres | Christine daughter of Robert Punchon | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 28 acres | Thomas Wawayn | 18. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 28 acres | Thomas Wawayn | 16. | 8½. |
| 1 Toft + | 27 acres | William Forester | 22. | 2. |
| 1 Toft + | 20 acres | Hugh the vicar | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 14 acres | John the miller | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 7 acres | Thomas Wawayn | 10. | 0. |

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 7 acres | John Porterson | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 4 acres | Thomas Wawayn | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 3 acres | Thomas Wawayn | 4. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage + 3 acres | Thomas Wawayn | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 2 acres | Adam the pinder | 5 | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 2 acres | John Shepherd | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 1½ acres | William of the church | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 1 acre | William Lymbrinner | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 1 acre | Hugh son of Alice | 2. | 0. |
| 2 Cottages | Hugh Gray | 3. | 3. |
| 2 Cottages | Alice Webster | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Hugh Gray | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | William Lymbrinner | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Richard Earl | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Robert Punchon | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Thomas Wawayn | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | John Ka | 1. | 0. |

SOUTH PITTINGTON.[1]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 8½acres | John of Pittington | 9. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 7½acres | William son of W. Dove | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Simpn Danays | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Alice widow of William son of Robert | 4. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | William son of W. Dove | 4. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | John son of Roger | 4. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | John son of Roger | 4. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Stephen servant of Lord Ralph | 4. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | William Carter | 4. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + 4 acres | William of Murton | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Alice Dove | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | ? Champion | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + croft | William of Lytham | | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Reginald Carter | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John of 'Lungston' | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Richard Shepherd | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Matilda Taylor | 1. | 0. |

ALSO 8 Bondlands each of 1 Toft & 24 acres.

MONK HESLEDEN

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 20 acres[※] | Alexander Freeman | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres[※] | Robert of Norton | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres[※] | Matilda daughter of Reginald | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | Richard son of Walter | 32. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | Robert son of Ralph | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | John son of Lawrence | 6. | 0. |

1 In the 15th century this became known as Little Pittington.

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Walter son of Stephen | 5. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | John of Cowpen | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 10 acres | Isabel of 'Buston' | 11. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 9 acres | Alice Gundry | 9. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | William of Sedgefield | 4. | 0. |

ALSO. 15 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 32 acres.

BILLINGHAM

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 90 acres* | William son of John | 13. | 4. |
| 3 Cottages + 21 acres | John Tidd | 24. | 8. |
| 2/3 Toft + 20 acres | Lord William the vicar | 35. | 10. |
| 1 Toft + 18 acres | William of Le Holm | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 15 Acres | John of Elmden | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres | Joan of Etton | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | John Wetherherd ) William Taylor ) | | 10. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | William Shett | 40. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | John Tidd | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | John the miller | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | John Lanerd | | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 9 acres | Atteoven | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 8 acres | John of Burntoft ) William the clerk) John the clerk ) | | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 8 acres* | William son of John | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Thomas Lascell | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Alan Bishop | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Henry Pilling's widow | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 4 acres | Thomas Lascell | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | John the miller | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | Thomas Raynold | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | John Young | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 1½ acres | William Nouthird | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 1½ acres | John the miller | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 1½ acres | Gilbert Derwent | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 1½ acres | William Shepherd | | 10. |
| 1 Toft + 3 roods | William Ferryman | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 3 roods | John Chapman and Alice his wife | 13. | 4. |
| ½ Toft + 1½ roods | John Grys | 6. | 8. |
| ½ Toft + 1½ roods | Robert Ajoy | 6. | 8. |
| ½ Toft + 1½ roods | John Champion | 6. | 8. |
| ½ Toft + 1½ roods | John Hamond | 6. | 8. |
| ½ Toft + 1½ roods | Matilda of Le Holm | 6. | 8. |
| ½ Toft + 1½ roods | John Homace | 6. | 8. |
| ½ Toft + 1½ roods | Robert Cherry | 6. | 8. |
| ½ Toft | John of Stockton | 6. | 8. |
| ½ Toft | Ralph Carter | 6. | 8. |
| ½ Toft | Michael Swineherd | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + croft | John Cocern | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + croft | Thomas Dey | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft | Gilbert of Beechburn | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Cottage | Dyota of Weardale | 7. | 1. |
| 1 Cottage | John Page | 4. | 0 |
| 1 Cottage | William Aydrunken | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Boner | 3. | 0. |

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Cottage | John Galeway | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John of Hesleden | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Carter | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Gerrays | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Gilbert Codhorn | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Peter Scot | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Agnes Fisher | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Alice Atteoven | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John son of Peter | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Adam Whitehead | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Cottage | Gregory Sutheren | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John son of Agnes | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Alice of the bridge | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | William Homace | | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | John Child | | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | John of the row | | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Robert Boterell | | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Thomas Chandler | | 3. |

ALSO: 16 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 30 acres.

WOLVISTON

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 120 acres | John of Wolviston | 9. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 89 acres | Thomas of Greatham | 18. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + 70 acres | Thomas of 'Grym' | 22. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 60 acres | Richard of the hall | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 60 acres | Robert Homace | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 48 acres | Robert Ayer | 9. | 7. |
| 1 Toft + 40 acres | John Sergeant | 24. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 36 acres | Matilda of Burntoft | 26. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 34 Acres | Thomas of Etton | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | Thomas Chapman | 8. | 2. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Cuthbert of the hall | 23. | 2. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | William Stere | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | W. son of J. of the hedge | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | J. of Bellasis | | |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres* | Walter of Kent | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 23 acres | William nephew of Gilbert | 19. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres | John Marshall | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres | William Stere | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres | Robert son of Adam | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres | William of Offington | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres | John of Dunbar | 27. | 0. |
| 18 acres | William nephew of Gilbert<br>Hugh son of Gilbert<br>Richard son of Gilbert<br>William Skinner<br>J. Grys<br>J. of Bellasis<br>J. son of Ralph | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 16 acres | Hugh son of Gilbert | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres | John son of Hugh | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Simon son of Ralph | ? | |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Hugh Bakester | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Alice Greathead | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | William Mous<br>Robert Ayer<br>William son of John | | |

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Richard son of Ralph ) | 3. | 0. |
| | Hugh son of Gilbert ) | | |
| | Agnes Tew ) | | |
| 1 Toft + 10 acres | John Seymour | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 9 acres | John Marshall | 3. | 9. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Alice of Kent | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | John of the Isle | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Alice widow of Robert the smith | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | William Skinner | | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 4 acres | Matilda of Kent | 3. | 0. |
| 2 Tofts + 2 acres | Hugh Horner | 2. | 2. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Richard son of Ralph | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | John Seymour | 1. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Christine of Claxton | | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | William of Frosterley | | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Agnes daughter of John | | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Cecily daughter of William son of John | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Thomas Dulleson | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | John Spicer | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Robert Overall | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Richard son of Ralph | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | William Chapman | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Robert Schodd | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | John of Linton | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Robert Sound | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Robert Rash | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | John of Claxton | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Alexander of Burntoft | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Robert of Kent | | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Alice Fisher | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | William son of Walter the pinder. | | 6. |
| 1 Toft | Thomas of Etton | 4. | 1. |
| 1 Toft | Thomas of Etton | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Toft | Thomas of Etton | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | John son of John | 1. | 0. |
| Land of W. Bellasis | Thomas of Etton | 1. | 9. |
| | Richard of the hall | 1. | 2. |
| | John of Bellasis | 2. | 0. |
| Land of Marshall | Cuthbert of the Hall | | 3. |
| | Richard son of Gilbert | | 3. |
| Land of R. of Hutton | Thomas of Etton | 3. | 4. |
| | John of Bewley | | 10. |
| | John Sergeant | | 4. |
| Land of J. Bewley | John sergeant of Bellasis | 3. | 10. |
| | John Ayer | | 6. |
| | John of Billingham | 2. | 3. |
| | John of Bewley | 2. | 4. |

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **COWPEN BEWLEY** | | | |
| 1 Toft + 100 acres* | Alice widow of William son of Richard of Ferryhill | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 5½acres | John Scowty | 8. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage + 1 rood | John of Cleveland | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage + 1 rood | John son of Roger | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage + 1 rood | Stephen of Le Holm | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage + 1 rood | John Fawkes, Jnr. | 2. | 6. |
| 1½ Cottages | William Barker | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Gilbert son of John | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | John Fayre | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John of Monkton | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Fawkes | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Ruffyn | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Gilbert Pulter | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Shepherd | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Greys | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Gilbert of the row | | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | John Grys | | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | John Sprott | | 6. |

ALSO, 16 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 30 acres.

**NEWTON BEWLEY**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 Tofts + 60 acres | John son of Geoffrey | 60. | 0. |
| 2 Toft + 60 acres | William Barry | 60. | 0. |
| 2 Tofts + 60 acres | John of Chilton | 60. | 0. |
| 2 Tofts * 60 acres | Robert of the hall | 60. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | William son of Robert | 30. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Nicholas of Hurworth | 30. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | William Barry, Jnr. | 30. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | John son of Roger | 30. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | John son of Thomas | 30. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Hawys Lukelyn | 30. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | John son of J. Lukelyn | 30. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | John Barry | 30. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | John Couper | 30. | 0. |
| ½ Toft + 15 acres | John Barry | 15. | 0. |
| ½ Toft + 15 acres | John son of Thomas | 15. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Hawys Lukelyn | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | John Couper | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | William son of John | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Nicholas Taylor | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Margaret daughter of Geoffrey | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Gilbert Attetounend | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Widow of Robert the smith | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Dyota daughter of Nicholas | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | John Couper | | 6. |
| 1 Toft | Joan daughter of John Couper | | 6. |
| 1 Toft | John son of Roger | | 6. |

| | | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **AYCLIFFE** | | | | |
| 1 Toft + | 40 acres* | ? | 7. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 24 acres* | Eleanor of Witton | | |
| 1 Toft + | 13 acres* | Cecily Warand | 3. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 12 acres | John of Heworth | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 12 acres | Gilbert son of John the farmer | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 12 acres | John of Heworth | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 12 acres | Alexander of Ketton | 7. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 12 acres* | Hers of Gilbert Algodesson | 1. | 2. |
| 1 Toft + | 6 acres | Henry Rappok | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 6 acres | Nicholas son of Thomas | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 6 acres | William son of Thomas Warand | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 6 acres | John Rappok | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 6 acres | William son of Henry Rappok | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + | 6 acres* | William Renegill | 1. | 10. |
| 1 Toft + | 3 acres | Roger the smith | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 3 acres | Henry the miller | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 3 acres | Lord Gilbert the chaplain | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | John of Merrington | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | Gilbert son of the farmer | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | John Rappok | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | Adam son of Enota | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | Henry the miller | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | John Walker | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | Nicholas son of Walter | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | John son of Roger the smith | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | John Webster | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | Simon Scherthewynd | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | John Hoperfot | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | Roger the smith | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | | John of Cleveland | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | | Walter Sutor | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | | Geoffrey the miller | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | | Walter the clerk | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | | Lord William the chaplain | 1. | 0. |
| Land of John the farmer | | John of Merrington | 15. | 0. |
| | | William Rose | 15. | 0. |

ALSO: 6 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 24 acres.

**NEWTON KETTON**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + | 18 acres | John son of William Nesbit | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 18 acres | John son of William Nesbitt | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 18 acres | William of Hartburn | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 18 acres | William of Windhill | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 18 acres | Richard Taylor | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 18 acres | John Grys and Joan his wife | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 18 acres | Robert of Fenham | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 6 acres | Robert of Fenham | 7. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 3 acres | William Harding | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 3 acres | Philip the collector | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + | 3 acres | Alice Wetherherd | 4. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 3 acres | Walter of Guisborough | 4. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + | 3 acres | John Wyli | 2. | 4. |
| ⅓ Toft + | 1½acres | John of Ketton | 2. | 0. |

ALSO; 7 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 18 acres.

## BURDON

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 Tofts +105 acres* | William of Walworth | 4. | 2. |
| 1 Toft + 60 acres* | Roger of Bewley | 1. | 3. |
| 1 Toft + 45 acres* | Master Gilbert of Burdon | ½ lb. | cummin |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres* | Adam of 'Towcotes' | 1 lb. | cummin |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres* | Henry of the 'chippes' | | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres* | Hugh son of Gilbert | | 7½. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres* | John of Burdon | | 7½. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | John of Scarston | 30. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres | William of Chilton | 15. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + croft | William of Hilton | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Adam Towes | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | 2. | 0. |

## KIRK MERRINGTON[1] and "SHELOM"[2]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 60 acres* | John son of Alan | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 45 acres* | William of Heighington | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 45 acres* | John son of Robert<br>Robert son of William Taylor | 26. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres* | John son of Alan | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Richard the reeve | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Richard of Heighington | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Richard the reeve | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Peter son of Richard | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Thomas Currour | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Thomas Currour | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Richard of Heighington | 2. | 3. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | John son of Robert | 2. | 3. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres | Richard the reeve | 8. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres | Richard of Heighington | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres | John Little | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres | Thomas Currour | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres | John of Bradbury | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Thomas Currour | 11. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | William Taylor | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 5 acres | John of Bradbury | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | Thomas son of Robert | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Robert the smith | 2. | 8. |
| 1 Cottage | William Kay | 3. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | William Taylor | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Thomas Currour | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | Simon Shepherd | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John son of Godfrid | 1. | 7. |

ALSO: 6 Bondlands in Shelom each of 1 Toft + 24 acres.

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1 The modern names for the three Merringtons came into use in the 15th century. Before then the townships were known as East, Middle and West Merrington respectively.

2 The exact whereabouts of Shelom is uncertain.

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **MIDDLESTONE** | | | |
| 1 Toft + 48 acres* | Peter the clerk | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 25 acres | John Little | 13. | 4. |
| 2 Cottages + 15 acres | Nicholas of Galloway | 15. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 5½ acres | John son of Geoffrey | 9. | 2. |
| 1 Toft + 5 acres | Richard Mabbeson | 3. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 2½ acres | Hugh son of Geoffrey | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + croft | Peter Smoule | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John son of Alan | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Roger Warrok | 2. | 0. |

ALSO: 12 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 30 acres.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **WESTERTON** | | | |
| 1 Toft + 18 acres* | William son of Peter the clerk | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 9 acres* | William son of Peter the clerk | 4. | 0. |
| 3 acres* | William son of Peter the clerk | | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 48 acres | Nicholas of Galloway | 6. | 2. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | Alan son of William the reeve | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 27 acres | Peter Patesson | 20. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | William the reeve | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | William the reeve | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | William son of William the reeve. | 16 . | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | Alan son of Thomas | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | Adam of Mainsforth | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 21 acres | Gilbert Alkesson's widow | 22. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Nicholas of Galloway | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | William Dry | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Adam of Mainsforth | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | John Patesson | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 4 acres | William the reeve | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | John son of Peter | 5. | 3. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | William son of Thomas | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | Cecily widow of Nicholas of Chilton. | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | William the reeve | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 2 acres | Matilda daughter of Roger | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Cottage | John Cowherd's widow | 2. | 0. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **FERRYHILL** | | | |
| 1 Toft + 90 acres* | William son of Richard | 16. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 90 acres* | Peter the clerk | 2. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 90 acres* | Roger of Ferryhill's widow | 2. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 45 acres* | Peter the clerk | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres* | Hugh son of Hawys | 2. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres* | Robert Hudd | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 9 acres* | John son of Peter the clerk | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 9 acres* | Richard Mabbesson | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 4 acres* | John son of Hawys | 1. | 8. |
| 1 Toft + 32 acres | John son of Peter the clerk | 41. | 3. |

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | John son of Hawys | 24. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 30 acres | John son of Gilbert | 15. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres | John Gabriel | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Toft + 18 acres | John son of Simon Gabriel | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres | John son of Hawys | 13. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 15 acres | Simon Gabriel | 13. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | Hugh the smith | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 10 acres | Roger of Ferryhill's widow | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 8 acres | Simon Gabriel | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 7½acres | John son of Simon Gabriel | 7. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 7½acres | Roger Taylor | 7. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Thomas of Woodyfield | 9. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | William Taylor | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | Richard Gaudy | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | John Bakester | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | Robert Ferrour | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 2 acres | Robert Priestman | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 3 acres | Nicholas son of Hugh | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Shepherd | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Stephen of Newbottle | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | William of Newbottle | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Gilbert of Stainforth | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | John Taylor | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | Emma daughter of Anota | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Lord William the chaplain | | 4. |

ALSO: 10 Bondlands each of 1 Toft + 30 acres.

CHILTON

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 46 acres | Thomas son of Roger | 46. | 8. |
| 3 Tofts + 36 acres | Richard Hew | 36. | 0. |
| 2 Tofts + 24 acres | Thomas son of Roger son of Andrew | 24. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 28 acres | Robert son of Roger | 28. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Thomas son of Roger | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 4 acres | Thomas son of Roger | 4. | 0. |

EDMUNDBYERS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Toft + 40 acres | John of the shiel | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 24 acres | William the reeve | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 14 acres | Roger of the head | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 14 acres | Adam Scot | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 14 acres | Richard Walker | 7. | 3. |
| 1 Toft + 12 acres | William Cowherd | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 8 acres | William of Cowton | 4. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 8 acres | John son of John of the crook | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 8 acres | William the carpenter | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Adam son of John of the crook | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | Robert Short | 4. | 6. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | John Sutor | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 6 acres | John of the shiel | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 3 acres | William Cowherd | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft + 3acres | William the carpenter | 1. | 6. |
| 1Toft + 1 acre | Alan Hird | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft | Lord Roger the chaplain | 2. | 0. |

## II. BURSAR : CUSTOMARY RENTS

The following lists are derived from a variety of sources. Cornage, metred, elsilver and overpennies occur in TAR, the gillycorn evidence is from CED(L), ff.27v - 30r, the list of parishes owing smokepennies or reekpennies comes from SAR and RDD; the remainder are from RDD. The obedientiaries to whom the rents were owed are placed in brackets after each title.

| | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|
| **CORNAGE** (Terrar) | | |
| Wallsend | 7. | 0. |
| Over Heworth | 8. | 0. |
| Nether Heworth | 4. | 0. |
| Monkton | 9. | 0. |
| Harton | 28. | 0. |
| Southwick | 10. | 11½. |
| Monkwearmouth | 6. | 0. |
| Fulwell | 2. | 8. |
| Dalton | 5. | 0. |
| West Rainton | 3. | 6. |
| South Pittington | 12. | 0. |
| Monk Hesleden | 12. | 0. |
| Billingham | 13. | 4. |
| Wolviston | 12. | 10. |
| Cowpen Bewley | 13. | 4. |
| Shelom | 2. | 8. |
| Middlestone | 12. | 0. |
| Westerton | 7. | 0. |
| Ferryhill | 6. | 10. |
| **METRED** (Terrar) | | |
| Over Heworth | 1. | 8. |
| Nether Heworth | 1. | 0. |
| Monkton | 2. | 8. |
| Hedworth | 1. | 4. |
| Harton | 2. | 8. |
| Westoe | 1. | 4. |
| Southwick | 2. | 8. |
| Monkwearmouth | 1. | 4. |
| Fulwell | 1. | 4. |
| West Rainton | 1. | 10. |
| East Rainton | 1. | 0. |
| South Pittington | 2. | 8. |
| Monk Hesleden | 2. | 8. |
| Billingham | 2. | 8. |
| Wolviston | 6. | 10. |
| Cowpen Bewley | 2. | 8. |
| Shelom | 1. | 10. |

| | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|
| Middlestone | 1. | 10. |
| Westerton | 1. | 8. |
| Ferryhill | 1. | 10. |

AVERPENNIES (Terrar)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Over Heworth | 16. | 0. |
| Monkton | 10. | 8. |
| Harton | 28. | 0. |
| Southwick | 13. | 4. |
| Dalton | 9. | 4. |
| West Rainton | 9. | 4. |
| South Pittington | 10. | 8. |
| Monk Hesleden | 21. | 4. |
| Billingham | 21. | 4. |
| Wolviston | 1. | 9. |
| Cowpen Bewley | 21. | 4. |
| Middlestone | 21. | 0. |
| Ferryhill | 10. | 8. |

ELSILVER (Terrar)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wallsend | 5. | $5\frac{1}{2}$. |
| Over Heworth | 1. | 0. |
| Monkton | 1. | 0. |
| Harton | 2. | 0. |
| Southwick | 1. | 0. |
| Dalton | 1. | 0. |
| West Rainton | 1. | 0. |
| South Pittington | 1. | 0. |
| Monk Hesleden | 2. | 0. |
| Cowpen Bewley | 2. | 0. |
| Billingham | 2. | 0. |
| Aycliffe | 1. | 0. |
| Middlestone | 1. | 0. |
| Ferryhill | 1. | 0. |

MESSING PENNIES (Bursar)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wallsend | | $7\frac{1}{2}$. |
| Willington | 1. | 0. |
| Over Heworth | 1. | 0. |
| Southwick, Monkwearmouth, Fulwell | 1. | 3. |
| Monk Hesleden | 1. | 0. |
| West Rainton | | $5\frac{1}{4}$. |
| Billingham | 1. | 0. |
| Cowpen Bewley | 1. | 0. |

WOOD LADE PENNIES (Bursar)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Over Heworth | 12. | 6. |
| Monkton | 10. | 0. |
| Harton | 26. | 3. |
| Southwick | 12. | 6. |
| West Rainton | 7. | 6. |

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | South Pittington | 10. | 0. |
| | Monk Hesleden | 20. | 0. |
| | Billingham | 20. | 0. |
| | Middlestone | 15. | 0. |
| | Ferryhill | 12. | 6. |

CARTSILVER (Bursar)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Billingham ) | 24. | 0. |
| | Cowpen Bewley) | | |

AVERMALTS (Bursar)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Billingham | ? |
| | Cowpen Bewley | ? |

COLTHAVER (Bursar)

| | |
|---|---|
| Billingham | 2 bushels of oats per bondland. |
| Cowpen Bewley | 2 bushels of oats per bondland. |

LADHORS (Bursar)

| | |
|---|---|
| Billingham | ? |
| Cowpen Bewley | ? |

WANDPENNIES (Bursar)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Cowpen Bewley | 10. 8. |

LADESILVER (Bursar)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Cowpen Bewley | 16. 8. |

EGGEGARTHSILVER (Bursar)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Harton | 2. $6\frac{1}{2}$. |
| | Westoe | 2. $6\frac{1}{2}$. |

SENAGIUM (Bursar)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Dalton | 2. 0. |
| | Pittington | 2. 0. |
| | Monk Hesleden | 2. 0. |
| | Billingham | 2. 0. |
| | Aycliffe | 2. 0. |
| | Kirk Merrington | 2. 0. |

REEKPENNIES or SMOKEPENNIES (Sacrist)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Jarrow | 13. 0.(paid to Bursar) |
| | Monkwearmouth | 10. 3.(paid to Bursar) |
| | Chester le Street | 7. 4. |
| | Washington | 3. 0. |
| | Boldon | 1. 4. |
| | Whitburn | 2. 0. |
| | Houghton le Spring | 7. 4. |
| | Pittington | 4. 0. |
| | Kelloe | 6. 8. |
| | Bishop Wearmouth | 7. 4. |

| | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|
| Monk Hesleden | 1. | 4. |
| Elwiok | 2. | 0. |
| Billingham | 3. | 6. |
| Sedgefield | 7. | 4. |
| Bishop Middleham | 4. | 0. |
| Lanchester | 4. | 0. |
| Ryton | 2. | 0. |
| Whickham | 1. | 6. |
| Bishop Auckland | 8. | 0. |
| Croxdale | 1. | 0. |
| Elvet | 6. | 8. |
| Easington | 7. | 4. |
| Dalton le Dale | 3. | 4. |
| Sedham | 1. | 4. |
| Edmundbyers | | 4. |
| Brancepeth | 2. | 4. |
| Bishopton | 2. | 0. |
| Egglesoliffe | 2. | 0. |
| Grindon | 2. | 1. |
| Norton | 8. | 0. |
| Redmarshall | 2. | 6. |
| Sockburn | | 6. |
| Aycliffe | 7. | 4. |
| Darlington | 6. | 8. |
| Haughton le Skerne | 2. | 4. |
| Staindrop | 5. | 0. |
| Winston | 1. | 4. |
| Heighington | 5. | 6. |

GILLYCORN (Almoner)

Jarrow Parish

| | |
|---|---|
| Wallsend | 13 thraves |
| Willington | 14 thraves |
| Over Heworth | 12 thraves |
| Nether Heworth | 3 thraves |
| Hebburn | 4½ thraves |
| Monkton | 11 thraves |
| Jarrow | 2½ thraves |
| Hedworth | 7 thraves |
| Simonside | 4½ thraves |
| Harton | 21 thraves |
| Westoe | 15 thraves |

Monkwearmouth Parish

| | |
|---|---|
| Monkwearmouth | 8 thraves |
| Southwick | 12 thraves |
| Fulwell | 4 thraves |

Dalton-le Dale Parish

| | |
|---|---|
| Dalton | 3 thraves |

Monk Hesleden Parish

| | |
|---|---|
| Monk Hesleden | 9½ thraves |

Houghton le Spring Parish

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| East Rainton | 13½ | thraves | 6 | sheaves |
| West Rainton | 10½ | thraves | | |

Pittington Parish

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| North Pittington | 8 | thraves |
| South Pittington | 4 | thraves |
| Moorsley | 8 | thraves |

Billingham Parish

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Billingham | 9 | thraves | 17 | sheaves |
| Wolviston | 12 | thraves | 14 | sheaves |
| Cowpen Bewley | 8 | thraves | 16 | sheaves |

Haughton le Skerne Parish

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burdon | 5 | thraves | 22 | sheaves |
| Barmpton | 13 | thraves | 6 | sheaves |
| Skerningham | 4 | thraves | | |

Aycliffe Parish

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aycliffe | 4 | thraves |
| Newton Ketton | 8 | thraves |
| Newhouse | 1 | thrave |
| Chilton | 4 | thraves |
| Woodham | - | |

Kirk Merrington Parish

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kirk Merrington | 3 | thraves | 3 | sheaves |
| Shelom | 9 | thraves | | |
| Middlestone | 6 | thraves | | |
| Westerton | 12½ | thraves | | |
| Ferryhill | 11 | thraves | 21 | sheaves |
| Hett | 6 | thraves | 6 | sheaves |

Elvet Parish

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shincliffe | 12 | thraves |

## III. BURSAR : DECLINE IN CUSTOMARY TENANT NUMBERS, 1341 - 1540.

| | 1341[1] | 1396[2] | 1495[3] | 1540[4] | No. of Holdings.[5] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Willington | 15 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 18 |
| Over Heworth | 16 | 12 | 10 | 4 | 19 |
| Nether Heworth | 15 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 17 |
| Hedworth | 10 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 15 |
| Westoe | 29 | 17 | 9 | 9 | 36 |
| Monkwearmouth | 16 | 13 | 4 | 4 | 16 |
| East Rainton | 12 | 13 | 8 | 8 | 19 |
| West Rainton | 30 | 19 | 8 | 8 | 33 |
| Moorsley | 8 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 13 |
| North Pittington | 17 | 16 | 7 | 7 | 28 |
| Newton Bewley | 20 | 17 | 11 | 11 | 30 |
| Westerton | 17 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 20 |
| | 205 | 145 | 81 | 74 | 266 |

Decline. 1341 - 1396 = 60
1396 - 1495 = 64
1495 - 1540 = 7
131

1 RDD, ff.38r - 43r
2 RB 1395,ff..26r - 43v.
3 BR 1495, ff. 4r - 72v.
4 SS 58, pp. 306 - 23.
5 RDD, ff.38r - 43r.

## IV. BURSAR : RURAL TENANTS 1495

The following lists are based on BR 1495.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **WALLSEND** | | | |
| John Coupland, chaplain | 1. | 15. | 4. |
| William Yate | 1. | 13. | 3. |
| William Doff | 1. | 13. | 1. |
| Gavin Taylor | 1. | 12. | 2. |
| William Ponchon | 1. | 10. | 7. |
| William Durham | 1. | 9. | 6. |
| John Chicken | 1. | 9. | 6. |
| Alice Rakett | | 5. | 0. |
| Richard Gateshead | | 5. | 0. |
| **WILLINGTON** | | | |
| Robert Robinson | 1. | 12. | 7½. |
| Robert Ponchon | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| Richard Wilkinson | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| John Robinson | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| George Robinson | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| Thomas Johnson | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| William Hunter | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| John Unthank | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| **OVER HEWORTH** | | | |
| William Nicholson | 1. | 16. | 10. |
| Thomas Haydock | 1. | 16. | 10. |
| Thomas Person | 1. | 16. | 10. |
| John Taylor | 1. | 16. | 10. |
| John Haydock | 1. | 16. | 10. |
| John Elwold | 1. | 16. | 10. |
| John Wilkinson | | 18. | 5. |
| Thomas Lyn | | 18. | 5. |
| John Atkinson | | 18. | 5. |
| Henry Lowick | | 18. | 5. |
| **NETHER HEWORTH** | | | |
| Roland Sotheron | 5. | 3. | 6. |
| William Watson | 3. | 6. | 8. |
| Thomas Willy | 2. | 11. | 9. |
| Robert Nicholson | 2. | 11. | 9. |
| **HEBBURN** | | | |
| William Watson | 1. | 6. | 8. |
| Prior of Finchale | | 2. | 8. |
| William Watson[*] | 1. | 6. | 0. |
| William Watson[*] | | 13. | 4. |
| Thomas Lyghton[*] | | 6. | 8. |
| Commoner[*] | | 6. | 8. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEDWORTH** | | | |
| William Gray | 2. | 4. | 5½. |
| John Waite's widow | 2. | 4. | 5½. |
| William Wright | 1. | 2. | 2¾. |
| Thomas Derman | 1. | 2. | 2¾. |
| William Lamb, Jnr. | | 9. | 0. |
| John Hedworth[*] | | 5. | 9. |
| **MONKTON** | | | |
| Thomas Brampton | 1. | 19. | 1. |
| Robert Brompton | 1. | 18. | 1. |
| William Oxenhird, Jnr. | 1. | 18. | 1. |
| William Oxenhird | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| John Oxenhird | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| Commoner[*] | | 2. | 2. |
| John Hedworth[*] | | 1. | 6. |
| **JARROW** | | | |
| No entry under this heading. | | | |
| **HARTON** | | | |
| Robert Taylor | 2. | 14. | 4. |
| William Newton, Jnr. | 2. | 14. | 4. |
| William Bartram | 2. | 14. | 4. |
| John Person | 2. | 14. | 4. |
| Jacob Atkinson | 2. | 14. | 4. |
| Richard Betson | 2. | 14. | 4. |
| Thomas Graydon | 2. | 14. | 4. |
| Robert Alanson | 2. | 14. | 4. |
| Richard Newton | 2. | 14. | 4. |
| John Newton | 2. | 14. | 4. |
| **WESTOE** | | | |
| William Atkinson, Snr. | 2. | 12. | 8. |
| William Atkinson, Jnr. | 2. | 12. | 8. |
| Robert Wood | 2. | 12. | 8. |
| Robert Chalmer | 2. | 12. | 8. |
| Robert Robinson | 2. | 12. | 8. |
| John Green | 2. | 12. | 8. |
| William Simonside | 2. | 12. | 8. |
| Robert Nicholson | 2. | 12. | 8. |
| William Green | 2. | 12. | 8. |
| William Robinson[*] | | 16. | 0. |
| All Tenants[*] | | 10. | 0. |
| **SIMONSIDE** | | | |
| Tenants of Fulwell, Southwick, Monkwearmouth | 6. | 13. | 4. |
| Tenants of Westoe | 5. | 3. | 4. |
| Tenants of Harton | 4. | 17, | 4. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **SOUTHWICK** | | | |
| John Atkinson | 7. | 12. | 0. |
| John Bartram | 3. | 13. | 4. |
| John Cape | 1. | 16. | 8. |
| Thomas Wake* | 1. | 4. | 8. |
| John Hedworth* | 1. | 3. | 7½. |
| **FULWELL** | | | |
| Robert Swan | 5. | 8. | 6. |
| Thomas Atkinson | 5. | 8. | 6. |
| John Atkinson | 5. | 8. | 6. |
| John Ayre | 5. | 8. | 6. |
| **MONKWEARMOUTH** | | | |
| John Ayre | 2. | 17. | 2¼. |
| Robert Atkinson | 2. | 17. | 2¼. |
| Robert Newton | 2. | 17. | 2¼. |
| Robert Shadforth | 2. | 17. | 2¼. |
| | | 16. | 2. |
| **DALTON LE DALE** | | | |
| John Freeman | 4. | 3. | 0. |
| Richard Freeman | 2. | 1. | 6. |
| John Portgate, Snr. | 2. | 1. | 6. |
| John Portgate, Jnr. | 2. | 1. | 6. |
| William Littlefare | 2. | 1. | 6. |
| **EAST RAINTON** | | | |
| John Cresswell | 2. | 12. | 3½ |
| Robert Biddick | 2. | 12. | 3½. |
| William Tunstal | 2. | 12. | 3½. |
| William Philip | 2. | 12. | 3½. |
| John Trafforth | 2. | 12. | 3½. |
| John Gatehird | 2. | 12. | 3½. |
| John Chilton | 2. | 12. | 3½. |
| John Robinson | 2. | 12. | 3½. |
| **WEST RAINTON** | | | |
| Robert Redhead | 2. | 10. | 7. |
| Richard Fletcher | 2. | 10. | 7. |
| Robert Runstal | 2. | 10. | 7. |
| Richard Wilkinson | 2. | 10. | 7. |
| John Woodowson | 2. | 10. | 7. |
| Thomas Gibson | 2. | 10. | 7. |
| John Collier | 2. | 10. | 7. |
| Henry Cragg | 2. | 10. | 7. |
| Commoner* | | 4. | 6. |
| Robert Todd* | | 2. | 8. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **MOORSLEY** | | | |
| Thomas Todd | 2. | 5. | 0. |
| Henry Atkinson | 2. | 5. | 0. |
| William Robinson | 1. | 3. | 4. |
| **NORTH PITTINGTON** | | | |
| Roger Morland | 3. | 12. | 5½. |
| Thomas Bee | 3. | 13. | 1. |
| William Ingland | 2. | 1. | 5. |
| John Younger | 1. | 14. | 8½. |
| William Webster | | 6. | 8. |
| John Nicholson | | 4. | 2. |
| Richard Smith | | | 6. |
| **SOUTH PITTINGTON** | | | |
| John Henryson | 8. | 0. | 0. |
| **MONK HESLEDEN** | | | |
| William Twedall | 3. | 13. | 10. |
| William Wilkinson | 3. | 13. | 10. |
| John Calvert | 3. | 13. | 10 |
| Robert Birden | 3. | 13. | 10 |
| John Ranaldson | 3. | 13. | 10 |
| Thomas Wilkinson | 3. | 13. | 10. |
| **BILLINGHAM** | | | |
| Richard Consett | 8. | 6. | 6. |
| Robert Lawson | 4. | 2. | 5. |
| Robert Walsh | 3. | 17. | 0. |
| John Wearmouth | 3. | 14. | 6. |
| Vicar of Billingham | 3. | 13. | 6. |
| William Merryman | 3. | 13. | 6. |
| William Lawson | 3. | 10. | 0. |
| William Johnson | 3. | 4. | 0. |
| William Bell | 3. | 0. | 0. |
| John Jekill | 2. | 17. | 2. |
| Robert Thorpe | 2. | 16. | 8. |
| Edward Smith | 2. | 9. | 2. |
| William Jekill | 2. | 7. | 8. |
| John Dikeburn | 2. | 5. | 8½. |
| John Hodgson | 2. | 3. | 6. |
| All Tenants | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| John Clerk, Snr. | 1. | 7. | 7½. |
| Ralph Lowson | 1. | 6. | 0. |
| Cuthbert Billingham | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| Richard Consett | | 16. | 8. |
| Robert Pert | | 13. | 4. |
| John Stevenson | | 12. | 2. |
| George Ditchburn | | 12. | 0. |
| William Johnson | | 12. | 0. |
| John Watson | | 10. | 0. |
| John Henryson | | 8. | 0. |
| John Robinson | | 8. | 0. |
| John Lowman | | 8. | 0. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Richard Consett | | 8. | 0. |
| Andrew Carr | | 8. | 0. |
| Vicar of Billingham | | 7. | 4. |
| Vicar of Billingham | | 5. | 0. |
| Robert Taylor | | 4. | 0. |
| John Stevenson, Snr. | | 4. | 0. |
| John Pert | | 3. | 4. |
| William Lowson, Jnr. | | 3. | 4. |
| John Wearmouth | | 3. | 4. |
| John Clerk | | 3. | 4. |
| William Guld | | 3. | 0. |
| Richard Colynson | | 3. | 0. |
| John Stevenson | | 1. | 0. |
| John Johnson | | | 8. |
| Robert Bellasis | | | 1. |
| Bailiff* | | 3. | 4. |
| John Stevenson of Cocken* | | 1. | 4. |

WOLVISTON

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Robert Robinson | 4. | 0. | 0. |
| Robert Markham | 3. | 13. | 0. |
| Robert Wodroff | 1. | 15. | 0. |
| Robert Wild | 1. | 13. | 4. |
| Robert Sharp | | 15. | 4. |
| William Wright | | 13. | 4. |
| Robert Kirkham of Norton | | 13. | 3. |
| William Heighington | | 8. | 8. |
| John Wodroff | | 8. | 4. |
| Robert Shepherd | | 8. | 0. |
| John Forman | | 8. | 0. |
| John Robinson | | 6. | 2. |
| John Saunderson | | 4. | 10. |
| Robert Kirkham of Norton | | 4. | 9. |
| William Sharp | | 4. | 0. |
| Alan Taylor | | 4. | 0. |
| Thomas Smith | | 3. | 4. |
| John Smith | | 3. | 4. |
| Alan Taylor | | 3. | 4. |
| John Robinson | | 3. | 0. |
| Robert Richardson | | 2. | 6. |
| Stephen Dixon | | 2. | 0. |
| Thomas Thorpe | | 2. | 0. |
| Proctor of the Guild | | 1. | 6. |
| Commoner's Tenants | | | 2. |
| John Thorpe* | | 17. | 0. |
| William Markham, Jnr.* | | 11. | 0. |
| Commoner* | | 10. | 4½. |
| William Booth* | | 8. | 0. |
| John Leventon* | | 4. | 9. |
| Thomas Smith* | | 3. | 9. |
| William Booth* | | 2. | 9. |
| John Stere* | | 2. | 7. |
| Sir Roger Conyers* | | 2. | 1½. |
| Robert Thompson* | | | 5½. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **COWPEN BEWLEY** | | | |
| Robert Sheraton | 4. | 17, | 2½. |
| William White | 4. | 15. | 5½. |
| Robert Clifton | 3. | 2. | 2½. |
| William Clifton | 2. | 19. | 9. |
| John Stevenson | 2. | 19. | 5. |
| Thomas Sheraton | 2. | 18, | 5. |
| Edward Dawson | 2. | 13. | 8. |
| Thomas Marshall | 1. | 9. | 7½. |
| William Law, Jnr. | 1. | 8. | 2½. |
| William Law | 1. | 6. | 10½. |
| Thomas Cook | 1. | 1. | 6. |
| Robert Law | | 10. | 1. |
| Thomas Marshall | | 9. | 0. |
| William Hodgson | | 8. | 0. |
| William Cleveland | | 6. | 10. |
| John Robinson | | 6. | 8. |
| Thomas Sheraton, Snr. | | 5. | 10. |
| John Baker | | 4. | 0. |
| John Law | | 4. | 0. |
| Robert Sheraton's widow | | 3. | 4. |
| William Calvert's widow | | 3. | 0. |
| John Shepherd | | 3. | 0. |
| John Sheraton, Snr. | | 1. | 6. |
| All Tenants | | 1. | 6. |
| **NEWTON BEWLEY** | | | |
| William Hart | 5. | 18. | 7. |
| John Milner | 3. | 19. | 0½. |
| Robert Gibson | 3. | 19. | 0½. |
| Richard Smith | 3. | 19. | 0½. |
| Robert Laton | 3. | 19. | 0½. |
| Thomas Bellasis | 3. | 19. | 0½. |
| Robert Marleman | 3. | 19. | 0½. |
| John Milner | 3. | 19. | 0½. |
| John Marleman | 3. | 19. | 0½. |
| William Smith | 1. | 19. | 6½. |
| All Tenants | 1. | 4. | 0. |
| Alan Dawson | | 2. | 6. |
| William Smith | | 3. | 0. |
| **AYCLIFFE** | | | |
| John Patonson | 3. | 2. | 0. |
| Cecily Clakmalan | 2. | 19. | 0. |
| William Colson | 2. | 10. | 0. |
| Richard Wilson | 2. | 2. | 0. |
| John Hobson | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| John Heddon | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| Roger Heddon | 1. | 8. | 0. |
| John Serell | 1. | 8. | 0. |
| William Henman | 1. | 8. | 0. |
| Nicholas Colson | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| Vicar of Aycliffe | | 13. | 0. |
| Robert Brown | | 6. | 8. |
| Thomas Harrison | | 6. | 8. |
| Robert Kirkham | | 6. | 0. |
| William Smallwood | | 5. | 0. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas Masham | | 4. | 4. |
| Thomas Calson | | 4. | 0. |
| George Heddon | | 4. | 0. |
| John Smith | | 4. | 0. |
| Armery Harperley | | 4. | 0. |
| Thomas Dixon | | 4. | 0. |
| William Jollybody | | 4. | 0. |
| Henry Robinson | | 4. | 0. |
| John Thompson | | 4. | 0. |
| Richard Colson | | 4. | 0. |
| William Taylor | | 4. | 0. |
| George Patanson | | 4. | 0. |
| William Bell, Jnr. | | 4. | 0. |
| John Kirkham | | 4. | 0. |
| John Hurworth | | 3. | 0. |
| Patrick Billet | | 3. | 0. |
| William Bell | | 3. | 0. |
| William Pottow | | 3. | 0. |
| William Henman | | 3. | 0. |
| John Harperley | | 3. | 0. |
| Thomas Bowman | | 3. | 0. |
| Nicholas Colson* | | 1. | 8. |
| Nicholas Randolf* | | 1. | 8. |
| Richard Denom* | | 1. | 2. |
| William Smallwood* | | 1. | 3. |
| Thomas Coundon* | | | 6. |
| John Lancaster* | | | 1. |
| **NEWTON KETTON** | | | |
| Edward Cotesforth | 5. | 6. | 8. |
| John Stelling | 5. | 6. | 8. |
| **BURDON** | | | |
| John Stainton | 4. | 7. | 6. |
| Norman Maynard | 2. | 8. | 0. |
| William Blackwell | 1. | 17, | 6. |
| Thomas Bewley | | 1. | 10½. |
| Almoner* | | 1. | 8. |
| John Ingleby* | | 1. | 3. |
| Jacob Tolooth* | | 4 | 4. |
| John Leming* | | | 1. |
| **KIRK MERRINGTON/SHELOM** | | | |
| William Willy | 3. | 9. | 2. |
| Thomas Willy | 3. | 9. | 2. |
| Richard Willy | 3. | 9. | 2. |
| Ralph Willy | 3. | 9. | 2. |
| Robert Lax | 1. | 19. | 0½. |
| William Hickson | 1. | 19. | 0½. |
| John Willy | 1. | 19. | 0½. |
| Thomas Hickson | 1. | 12. | 8. |
| John Whetley | 1. | 12. | 8. |
| Thomas White | 1. | 12. | 8. |
| John Clerk's widow | 1. | 12. | 8. |
| Robert Wawen | | 13. | 4. |
| John Pape | | 7. | 0. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thonas Willy | | 6. | 0. |
| Robert Edgar | | 6. | 0. |
| Thomas Willy | | 3. | 4. |
| Richard Willy | | 3. | 4. |
| John Grayson | | 2. | 0. |
| William Heighington | | 1, | 8. |
| Commoner* | 1. | 13. | 4. |
| William Heighington* | | 11. | 0. |
| Thomas Windleston* | | 2. | 5. |
| ? | | 2. | 3. |

MIDDLESTONE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Robert Person | 2. | 5. | 3½. |
| Henry Person | 2. | 5. | 3½. |
| William Person | 2. | 5. | 3½. |
| William Todd | 2. | 5. | 3½. |
| John Duket, Jnr. | 2. | 5. | 3½. |
| John Person | 2. | 5. | 3½. |
| John Robinson | 2. | 5. | 3½. |
| All Tenants | 1. | 6. | 8. |
| John Lax and John Robinson | | 6. | 8. |
| Henry Person | | 3. | 4. |

WESTERTON

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| John Robinson | 3. | 13. | 10. |
| John Lax | 2. | 11. | 4. |
| William Robinson | 2. | 11. | 4. |
| William Lax | 2. | 11. | 4. |
| John Robinson* | | 4. | 0. |
| John Lax | | 3. | 4. |

FERRYHILL

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Robert Richardson | 5. | 5. | 0. |
| William Richardson | 5. | 5. | 0. |
| Thomas Woodyfield | 3. | 5. | 0. |
| John Wardon | 2. | 12. | 8. |
| John Person | 2. | 6. | 8. |
| Ralph Woodyfield | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| John Stampter | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| Thomas Woodyfield | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| Richard Woodyfield | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| Nicholas Holme's widow | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| William Woodyfield, Jnr. | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| Thomas Stodhird's widow | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| Thomas Lax | 1. | 2. | 0. |
| John Pulter and Nicholas Lawson | | 11. | 0. |
| Joan Richardson | | 6. | 0. |
| John Being | | 6. | 0. |
| Thomas Woodyfield | | 3. | 4. |
| Heirs of Thomas Fery * | | 7. | 0. |
| Heirs of Roger Stainton* | | 2. | 0. |
| William Cornforth* | | 2. | 0. |
| Heirs of Robert Eure* | | 1. | 9. |
| Heirs of Thomas Fulthorpe* | | 1. | 8. |
| Heirs of Thomas Brown* | | | 11. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **CHILTON** | | | |
| Thomas Kay | 2. | 6. | 8. |
| William Maltby | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| John Robinson of Westerton | | 3. | 4. |
| **EDMUNDBYERS** | | | |
| Included with Muggleswick Manor | | | |
| **SPENNYMOOR** | | | |
| Tenants of Tudhoe | 1. | 6. | 8. |
| Tenants of Hett | | 16. | 0. |
| Tenants of Sunderland | | 13. | 4. |
| John Claxton | | 2. | 0. |
| **SOUTHSHIELDS** | | | |
| William Atkinson and Richard Betson | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| John Fonk | | 16. | 0. |
| Robert Hesleden | | 13. | 4. |
| John Rede | | 13. | 4. |
| John Kitchin | | 12. | 0. |
| Thomas Green | | 12. | 0. |
| John Rampney | | 11. | 0. |
| John Mopp | | 10. | 0. |
| Robert Tosson | | 10. | 0. |
| Thomas Parkley | | 10. | 0. |
| Edward Were | | 10. | 0. |
| William Robinson | | 10. | 0. |
| John Ponchon's widow | | 10. | 0. |
| William Appleby | | 10. | 0. |
| John Forster | | 10. | 0. |
| William Ponchon | | 10. | 0. |
| John Robinson | | 10. | 0. |
| Robert Lister | | 10. | 0. |
| John Beset | | 9. | 0. |
| Margaret Barrow | | 8. | 0. |
| Henry Brown | | 8. | 0. |
| Leonard Bell | | 8. | 0. |
| Thomas Dayse | | 7. | 0. |
| John Nichol | | 7. | 0. |
| Cuthbert Fenton | | 7. | 0. |
| John Person | | 7. | 0. |
| John Brown, Snr. | | 6. | 8. |
| William Person | | 6. | 8. |
| William Tosson | | 6. | 8. |
| Thomas Taylor | | 6. | 8. |
| John Lamb | | 6. | 8. |
| Robert Betson | | 6. | 8. |
| William Lorimer | | 6. | 8. |
| John Lister | | 6. | 8. |
| Robert Morton | | 6. | 8. |
| Robert Thompson and Thomas Clerk's widow | | 6. | 8. |
| William Denand | | 6. | 8. |
| John Stedeman | | 6. | 0. |
| John Wood | | 6. | 0. |
| John Thompson | | 6. | 0. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jacob Andrewson | | 5. | 0. |
| John Freeman | | 5. | 0. |
| Robert Mawer | | 5. | 0. |
| Robert Green, Jnr. | | 5. | 0. |
| William Johnson | | 5. | 0. |
| Thomas Fonk | | 5. | 0. |
| Robert White | | 5. | 0. |
| William Atkinson | | 5. | 0. |
| Joan Fonk | | 5. | 0. |
| Robert Johnson | | 4. | 0. |
| Robert Jackson | | 4. | 0. |
| Cuthbert Smith | | 4. | 0. |
| John Shincliffe | | 4. | 0. |
| Thomas Trym | | 4. | 0. |
| John Brown, Jnr. | | 4. | 0. |
| Andrew Plompton | | 3. | 4. |
| John Alan | | 2. | 0. |
| SHIELD HEUGH | | | |
| Tenants of South Shields | 8. | 0. | 0. |

## V. BURSAR : FREE TENANTS.[1]

### A. MAJOR HOLDINGS

| | |
|---|---|
| Felling | manor |
| Follingsby | township |
| Simonside/Preston | third of manor and township |
| Silksworth | manor |
| Cocken | township |
| Blakeston | township and manor |
| Barmpton | township |
| Skirningham | manor |
| Summerhouse | manor |
| Woodham | township |
| Hett | two-thirds of township and manor |
| Staindropshire | twelve townships, viz. Staindrop, Snotterton, Shotton, Raby, Wakerfield, Evenwood, Aycliffe, Lutrington, Eldon, Ingleton, Thickley, Middleton.[2] |

### B. MINOR HOLDINGS

| | |
|---|---|
| Hawthorn | 1 carucate |
| Fordhouse | 1 garden |
| Ludworth | 1 messuage + 46 acres |
| Castle Eden | 1 messuage + 24 acres |
| Hulam | 1 messuage + 12 acres |
| Hutton Henry | 1 messuage + 30 acres |
| Claxton | 1 messuage + 2 bovates |
| Pounteys | unknown |
| Newsham | unknown |
| Osmundcroft | 120 acres |
| Cleatlam | 2 bovates |
| Barford | 1 messuage + 2 tofts and crofts + 70 acres |
| Coatham Mundeville | 2 tofts and crofts + 60 acres + 4 acres of meadow |
| Bishop Auckland | 2 tofts and crofts + 31 acres |
| Edmundbyers | 2 messuages & 34 acres + 6 acres of meadow |
| Woodyfield | 1 messuage + 40 acres |
| Heley | 1 toft and croft + 6 acres |

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1 Almost all details from the Feodarium in SS 58, pp.1 - 92.

2 Surtees, IV, p.127.

## VI. BURSAR . DURHAM PROPERTY 1340.

The following details are derived from RDD, f.34r and SS 58, pp.73 - 5.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **ELVET** | | | |
| 1 House* | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 House + smithy* | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 House* | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 House | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 House* | | 1. | 3. |
| 1 House | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 House (on the bridge) | | 3. | 8. |
| 1 House (on the bridge) | | 3. | 8. |
| 1 House (on the bridge) | | 3. | 8. |
| ½ House* | | 3. | 0. |
| ½ House* | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Toft* | | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Place | | 2. | 0. |
| Common Oven | | 6. | 8. |
| | £2. | 14. | 11. |
| **ELSEWHERE IN THE CITY** | | | |
| 1 House* (in Claypath) | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 House | | 7. | 0. |
| 1 House | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 House | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 House | | 1. | 9. |
| 1 House | | | 3. |
| Houses of John of Stockton | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Garden | | | 8. |
| 1 Garden | | | 6. |
| 1 Place | | | 8. |
| Land of William Newsom | | 10. | 0. |
| 13 acres in Bearpark Moor | | 10. | 5. |
| ? acres near Crossgate | | 4. | 0. |
| | £2. | 4. | 3. |
| Old Borough | 3. | 6. | 8. |

Total Value = £8. 5s. 10d.

## VII. BURSAR : DURHAM PROPERTY 1396.

The following details are derived from RB 1395, ff.44v - 45r, and SS 58, pp.73 - 75.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **ELVET** | | | |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement* | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement* | | 1. | 3. |
| 2/3 Tenement* | | 6. | 8. |
| ⅓ Tenement* | | 3. | 4. |
| ½ Tenement* | | 3. | 0. |
| ½ Tenement* | | 3. | 0. |
| Houses | 1. | 13. | 8. |
| 1 Garden | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Shop | | 2. | 0. |
| Common Smithy | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| | £7. | 9. | 3. |
| **CROSSGATE** | | | |
| Old Borough | 2. | 13. | 4. |
| South Street | | | |
| 1 Tenement + garden | | 6. | 8. |
| Porterheugh | | 7. | 0. |
| 3 acres of meadow | 1. | 6. | 8. |
| Spittalflat near Relley | | 6. | 8. |
| Crossgate | | | |
| 1 Tenement* (on the Millburn) | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement* | | 1. | 9. |
| 1 House* (on the Millburn) | | | 3. |
| Houses* (next to the Millburn) | | 1. | 0. |
| 13 acres in Bearpark Moor | | 10. | 5. |
| 5 acres in Bearpark Moor | | 2. | 0. |
| 3 acres | | 10. | 0. |
| Park below Almoner's Wood | | 5. | 0. |
| | £9. | 3. | 9. |

| | £. s. d. |
|---|---|
| **DURHAM** | |
| 1 Tenement | 1. 0. 0. |
| 1 Tenement (next to Claypathgate) | 16. 0. |
| 1 Tenement[H] | 1 lb. Cummin |
| Houses (in Claypath) | 4. 0. |
| | £2. 0. 0. |
| **ST. GILES** | |
| 3 Burgages | 1. 6. |
| 2 Burgages + 1 garden | 6. 0. |
| 2 Burgages | 8. 0. |
| 1 Burgage + ½ acre of meadow | 14. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 14. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 10. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 7. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 7. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 4. 0. |
| 1 Cottage | 6. 8. |
| 1 Cottage | 4. 6. |
| 1 Cottage | 4. 0. |
| 1 Cottage | 2. 6. |
| 6½ acres of meadow | 3. 11. 0. |
| 3 acres of meadow | 1. 13. 0. |
| 1 acre of meadow | 8. 6. |
| 3 roods of meadow | 7. 0. |
| ½ acre of meadow | 3. 0. |
| Meadow called Ferthing | 3. 0. |
| 1 acre | 6. 0. |
| | £11. 0. 8. |
| **BAILEY** | |
| 2 Tenements | 10. 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. 0. 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 8. 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 8. 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 8. 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 7. 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 5. 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 5. 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 5. 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 5. 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 2. 6. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. 8. |
| 1 House | 13. 4. |
| 1 House + garden | 7. 0. |
| | £4. 15. 6. |

Total Value = £33. 8s. 2d.

## VIII. BURSAR : SPENNYMOOR c.1340.

These lists are taken from RDD.

| | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **KIRK MERRINGTON** | | | | |
| 30 acres | Richard Mabbeson | | 15. | 0. |
| 10 acres | Richard Mabbeson | | 6. | 8. |
| 8 acres | William of Heighington | | 5. | 4. |
| 6 acres | John son of Robert | | 3. | 0. |
| 4 acres | John son of Adam | | 2. | 8. |
| 4 acres | William Tailbour | | 2. | 8. |
| 2½ acres | Martin Sutor | | 2. | 3. |
| **MIDDLESTONE** | | | | |
| 8 acres | Peter Smoul | | 5. | 4. |
| 7 acres | John Wat | | 4. | 8. |
| 7 acres | Henry Smoul | | 4. | 8. |
| 6 acres | Nicholas the pinder's widow | | 4. | 0. |
| 6 acres | Robert son of Elias | | 4. | 0. |
| 5 acres | Peter Smoul | | 3. | 9. |
| 4 acres | Richard son of Geoffrey | | 2. | 8. |
| 4 acres | Henry Smoul | | 2. | 8. |
| 4 acres | Roger Bullok | | 2. | 8. |
| 3½ acres | William son of Simon | | 2. | 4. |
| 3 acres | Richard son of Simon | | 2. | 4. |
| 3 acres | Robert son of Peter | | 2. | 0. |
| 3 acres | Hugh son of Geoffrey | | 2. | 0. |
| 2 acres | John son of Geoffrey | | 1. | 8. |
| 1½ acres | John Lanlyn | | 1. | 3. |
| **WESTERTON** | | | | |
| 20 acres | Juliana widow of Gilbert Albeson | | 16. | 8. |
| 10 acres | Alan son of Thomas | | 7. | 6. |
| 10 acres | William Dry | | 7. | 6. |
| 7 acres | William the reeve | | 5. | 3. |
| 6½ acres | William son of William the reeve | | 4. | 11. |
| 6½ acres | Alan son of William the reeve | | 4. | 11. |
| 9 acres 3 roods | William the reeve | | 7. | 4. |
| 9 acres 1½roods | Adam of Mainsforth | | 7. | 0. |
| 7 acres 3 roods | William son of William the reeve | | 5. | 10. |
| 7 acres | William the reeve | | 4. | 8. |
| 6½ acres | William son of William the reeve | | 4. | 10½. |
| 5½ acres | Peter Pateson | | 4. | 1½. |
| 5½ acres | Alan son of William the reeve | | 4. | 1½. |
| 5½ acres | Alan son of William the reeve | | 4. | 1½. |
| 5 acres | John Pate | | 3. | 11½. |
| 5 acres | Alan son of Thomas | | 3. | 11. |
| 4 acres | William Dry | | 3. | 0. |
| 4 acres | William son of Thomas | | 2. | 10. |
| 3 acres | Gilbert Alkesson | | 2. | 6. |
| 2 acres 1½roods | John son of Peter | | 1. | 9½. |
| 2 acres | John Cowhird | | 1. | 6. |
| 1½ acres | Peter Patesson | | 1. | 1½. |
| ½ acres | Matilda Mous | | | 6. |

| | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 rood | William the reeve | | | 3. |
| 1 place, 1 acre, 1½ roods | William son of Thomas | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 place | Isabel Pate | | 2. | 0. |

HETT

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 acres | William of Tudhoe | | 8. | 0. |
| 15 acres | William of Tudhoe | | 11. | 3. |
| 10 acres | William son of Richard | | 5. | 0. |
| 8 acres | Richard Marescall | | 3. | 8. |
| 8 acres | Henry Denny | | 5. | 4. |
| 8 acres | Robert son of John | | 6. | 8. |
| 8 acres | Robert Makand | | 6. | 0. |
| 8 acres | William of Tudhoe | | 4. | 0. |
| 7 acres | Hugh son of Ralph and William Wasp | | ? | |
| 7 acres | Hugh son of Ralph and William Wasp | | 5. | 3. |
| 6 acres | Robert Makand | | 3. | 0. |
| 3 acres | Richard of Hett | | ? | |
| 3 acres | William of Tudhoe | | 1. | 6. |
| 3 acres | Peter Collier | | 2. | 6. |
| 1½ acres | Robert Brand | | 1. | 3. |
| Land of William Horton | Robert Brand | | 10. | 0. |

TUDHOE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 acres | Alice widow of Thomas of Teesdale)<br>William Peelhole )<br>John Sergeant ) | | 9. | 4. |
| 4 acres | Stephen Gottesson | | 33. | 4. |

WHITWORTH

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 acres | Hugh of Windleston | | 9. | 4. |
| 10 acres | John of Hartlepool | | 6. | 8. |
| 10 acres | John of Hartlepool | | 6. | 8. |
| 10 acres | Thomas of Ferryhill | | 6. | 8. |
| 10 acres | Thomas of Ferryhill | | 6. | 8. |
| 10 acres | Hugh of Windleston | | 6. | 8. |
| 4 acres | Roger of Burdon | | 2. | 8. |

SUNDERLAND

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 59 acres | John of Morpeth | | 39. | 4. |
| 7 acres 1½ roods | John son of Adam | | 4. | 11. |
| 7 acres 1½ roods | William of Hett and John the pinder | | 4. | 11. |
| 7 acres 1½ roods | John Whitehead | | 4. | 11. |
| 7 acres 1½ roods | Robert son of Thomas | | 4. | 11. |
| 7 acres 1½ roods | John of Hett | | 4. | 11. |
| 7 acres 1½ roods | Alan of Sunderland | | 4. | 11. |
| 7 acres 1½ roods | Richard son of Robert | | 4. | 11. |
| 7 acres 1½ roods | John of Shincliffe | | 4. | 11. |

## IX. BURSAR : FINAL LEASING OF MANORS

| | |
|---|---|
| Wallsend | by 1270 |
| Jarrow | by 1270 |
| Burdon | by 1270 |
| Aycliffe | by 1290 |
| Heworth | by 1290 |
| Hesleden | by 1290 |
| Rainton | by c.1320 |
| Billingham | 1359 |
| Dalton | 1348 - 1366 |
| Bellasis | 1373 |
| Ferryhill | 1381 |
| Wardley | 1386 |
| Merrington | 1386 |
| Aldingrange | 1389 - 1397 |
| Eden | 1399 |
| Bewley | 1409 |
| Houghall | 1409 |
| Westoe | 1409 |
| Ketton | 1412 |
| Fulwell | 1416 |
| Pittington | 1456 |
| Bearpark | 1465 |

## X. BURSAR : VALUE OF MANORS IN 1419.[1]

| | £. | s. | d. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wallsend | 13. | 6. | 8. | |
| Heworth | 5. | 6. | 8. | |
| Wardley | 6. | 0. | 0. | |
| Jarrow | 10. | 0. | 0. | |
| Westoe | 13. | 6. | 8. | |
| Fulwell | 10. | 13. | 4. | |
| Rainton | 6. | 13. | 4. | |
| Pittington | 34. | 7. | 9½. | (profit) |
| Dalton | 6. | 13. | 4. | |
| Hesleden | 6. | 13. | 4. | |
| Eden | 4. | 11. | 0. | (value of corn ren |
| Billingham | 18. | 10. | 7¼. | |
| Bellasis | 6. | 13. | 4. | |
| Bewley | 11. | 10. | 0 | (value of corn rent |
| Aycliffe | 9. | 0. | 0. | (value of corn rent |
| Ketton | 22. | 0. | 0. | |
| Burdon | 4. | 7. | 6. | |
| Merrington | 9. | 3. | 4. | |
| Ferryhill | 7. | 6. | 8. | |
| Houghall | 13. | 6. | 8. | |
| Bearpark | 1. | 6. | 8. | |
| Aldingrange | 3. | 0. | 0. | |
| | £222. | 16. | 10¾. | |

This list includes Warkworth and Ellingham in Northumberland and Woodhall in Yorkshire which are discussed in the section dealing with the Bursar's property extra aquas. Also mentioned are the manors of Newhouse (par. Aycliffe) and Coatsay Moor (par.Heighington). Although included with the other manors and always described as such, these properties have no place here. Both were probably of late origin and Newhouse did not become convent property until 1380(SS 58, pp.159-60); moreover, they were never in hand at any time during the period under discussion. They should be regarded therefore, not as manors in the sense of demesne farms, but as holdings which were leased. In 1418/9, the leases were worth £2. 13. 4d. and £6. a year respectively.

1 BAR 1418/9. Figures represent cash rent unless otherwise stated.

## XI. BURSAR · CORN MILLS.

| | 1270[1] | | | 1347/8[2] | | | 1418/9[3] | | | 1539[4] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| Willington | 6. | 0. | 0. | 5. | 6. | 8. | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Nether Heworth | 4. | 0. | 0. | 3. | 0. | 0. | - | - | - | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| Hedworth | 1. | 6. | 8. | - | - | - | - | - | - | | 16. | 8. |
| Westoe | 17. | 6. | 8. | 7. | 6. | 8. | 6. | 13. | 4. | 10. | 0. | 0 |
| Southwick | 10. | 0. | 0. | 10. | 0. | 0. | 2. | 0. | 0. | 2. | 13. | 4. |
| Rainton | 10. | 0. | 0. | 4. | 13. | 4. | 2. | 0. | 0. | 2. | 13. | 4. |
| Pittington | 9. | 6. | 8. | 5. | 0. | 0. | 2. | 0. | 0. | 3. | 0. | 0. |
| Moorsley | | | | 1. | 6. | 8. | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dalton | | 16. | 8. | | 10. | 0. | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Monk Hesleden | 4. | 0. | 0. | 4. | 0. | 0. | - | - | - | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Billingham | | | | | | | 5. | 6. | 8. | 6. | 13. | 4. |
| Wolviston | 26. | 8. | 8. | 24. | 0. | 0. | - | - | - | 2. | 13. | 4. |
| Newton Bewley | | | | | | | - | - | - | 4. | 0. | 0. |
| Aycliffe | 8. | 6. | 8. | 6. | 13. | 4. | 2. | 13 | 4. | 4. | 13. | 4. |
| Burdon | 3. | 10. | 0. | 2. | 0. | 0. | - | - | - | 5. | 0. | 0. |
| Newton Ketton | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Shelom | 12. | 6. | 8 | 7. | 6. | 8. | 2. | 13. | 4. | 2. | 13. | 4. |
| Ferryhill | - | - | - | 5. | 0. | 0. | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Elvet | 28. | 13. | 4. | 13. | 6. | 8. | 6. | 0. | 0. | 13. | 6. | 8. |
| Muggleswick | - | - | - | 1. | 2. | 4. | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | £142. | 2. | 0. | £100 | 12. | 4. | £31. | 6. | 8. | £61. | 6. | 8 |

1 Loc. IV, No.226.

2 RDD, ff.144 - 158.

3 BAR 1418/9

4 SS 58, pp.302 - 331.

## XII. BURSAR . DURHAM PARISHES

The information in the following lists is derived from BAR and from R. Surtees, History of Durham. The places without added detail were in the hands of lay freeholders.

### JARROW

| | |
|---|---|
| Wallsend | Priory |
| Willington | Priory |
| Over Heworth | Priory |
| Nether Heworth | Priory |
| Felling | |
| Fallingsby | |
| Hebburn | Priory |
| Hedworth | Priory |
| Jarrow | Priory |
| Monkton | Priory |
| Harton | Priory |
| Westoe | Priory |
| Preston/Simonside | Priory |
| Heworth Manor | Priory |
| Wardley Manor | Priory |
| Westoe Manor | Priory |

### MONKWEARMOUTH

| | |
|---|---|
| Monkwearmouth | Priory |
| Southwick | Priory |
| Fulwell | Priory |
| Hylton | |
| Newton | |
| 'Threptend' | |
| Fulwell Manor | Priory |

### PITTINGTON

| | |
|---|---|
| North Pittington | Priory |
| South Pittington | Priory |
| North Sherburn | Bishop |
| South Sherburn | Sherburn Hospital |
| Shadforth | Bishop |
| Ludworth | |
| Hetton le Hill | |
| Pittington Manor | Priory |
| Haswell Grange | Finchale Priory |

### MONK HESLEDEN

| | |
|---|---|
| Monk Hesleden | Priory |
| Hardwick | |
| Hulam | |
| Hutton Henry | |
| Sheraton | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Eden | Priory |
| Eden Manor | Priory |
| Hesleden Manor | Priory |

BILLINGHAM

| | |
|---|---|
| Billingham | Priory |
| Wolviston | Priory |
| Cowpen Bewley | Priory |
| Newton Bewley | Priory |
| Bewley Manor | Priory |
| Bellasis Manor | Priory |

AYCLIFFE

| | |
|---|---|
| Aycliffe | Priory |
| Brafferton | |
| Preston le Skerne | |
| Ricknall | |
| Heworth | |
| Woodham | |
| Newton Ketton | Priory |
| Nunstainton | |
| Grindon | |
| Newhouse | Priory |
| Aycliffe Manor | Priory |
| Ketton Manor | Priory |
| Ricknall Grange | Bishop |

HEIGHINGTON

| | |
|---|---|
| Heighington | Bishop |
| Walworth | |
| Killerby | Bishop |
| Redworth | Bishop |
| School Aycliffe | |
| Newbiggin | |
| West Thickley | |
| Coatsay Moor | Priory |
| Middridge Grange | Bishop |

MERRINGTON

| | |
|---|---|
| Kirk Merrington | Priory |
| Ferryhill | Priory |
| Hett | Priory |
| Great Chilton | |
| Little Chilton | Priory |
| Spennymoor | Priory |
| Merrington Manor | Priory |
| Ferryhill Manor | Priory |

## XIII. BURSAR : NORTHUMBERLAND PARISHES

All the information regarding these parishes has been taken from BAR and PNA.

NORHAM

Norham
Castlefield
Shoreswood
Cornhill
Murton
Horncliffe
Heaton
Duddo
Thornton
Felkington
Newbiggin
Tillmouth
Twizill
Grindon
Unthank [1]
Longridge [1]
Tundall House [1]
Edmundhills [1]
Upsetlington [2]

HOLY ISLAND

Tweedmouth
Ord
Spittal
Lowick
Berrington
Ancroft
Kyloe
Bowsden
Barnmoor
Allerdean

ELLINGHAM

Ellingham
Tineley
North Charlton
South Charlton
Preston
Doxford

BEDLINGTON

BEDLINGTON
East Sleekburn
West Sleekburn
Netherton
Choppington

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1 These properties do not appear in the records before the later part of the 15th century.

2 Upsetlington lay across the Tweed in Scotland; nevertheless, it was always included with Norham parish.

## XIV. BURSAR : SCOTTISH PARISHES

All the information regarding these parishes has been taken from BAR and from PNA.

EDROM

Edrom
East Nisbet
West Nisbet
Kelloe
Blackadder
Kimmerghame

EARLSTON

Earlston
Mellerstains
Redpath
Fawnes

EDNAM

Ednam
Newton

## XV. HOSTILLAR'S HOLDINGS c. 1525.

The following lists are based on the rentals of 1523/4 and 1524/5 (RH 1523 - 1534).

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **A. SHINCLIFFE** | | | |
| William Selby [1] [2] | 3. | 3. | 7. |
| John Scurefeld | 2. | 17. | 5. |
| Robert Mainsforth, Snr. [2] | 2. | 16. | 8½. |
| John Hutchinson | 2. | 13. | 9. |
| John Pearson | 2. | 11. | 2½. |
| William Lam | 2. | 8. | 4½. |
| Robert Hutchinson | 2. | 6. | 7½. |
| Ralph Whitfield | 2. | 5. | 11¼. |
| Thomas Rogerson | 2. | 5. | 2½. |
| Robert Mainsforth | 2. | 4. | 7. |
| Edward Swalwell | 2. | 4. | 4½. |
| Robert Mainsforth, Jnr. | 2. | 3. | 10½. |
| Edward Swalwell | 1. | 3. | 7. |
| Thomas Rogerson and John Scurefeld | | 12. | 0. |
| Robert Hutchinson | | 9. | 4. |
| Robert Mainsforth | | 1. | 0. |
| All the tenants for Tunnokmere | | 6. | 0. |
| William Watson, miller (Mill) | 3. | 6. | 8. |
| **B. BOROUGH OF ELVET** | | | |
| 2 Burgages* (Bursar) | | 1. | 8. |
| 1 Burgage* | | 1. | 8. |
| 1 Burgage* | | 1. | 8. |
| 2 Burgages* | | 1. | 8. |
| 1 Burgage* | | 1. | 8. |
| 1 Burgage* | | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Burgage* | | 1. | 4. |
| 1 Burgage* | | | 6. |
| 1 Burgage* | | 1. | 2. |
| 2 Burgages* (Bursar) | | 1. | 0 |
| 1 Burgage* | | | 5. |
| 1 Burgage* (Almoner) | | | 7. |
| 2 Burgages* | | | 8. |
| 2 Burgages* | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage* | Suit of Court. | | |
| 2 Burgages* | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Burgage* | | | 7. |
| 1 Burgage* (Chantry of St.Andrew on the Bridge) | | | 7. |
| 2 Burgages* (Almoner) | | | 5. |

1 Although the evidence is inconclusive, it seems likely that this man and the eleven who follow him in the list each held one husbandland.

2 These tenants held portions of Danbyland.

| | £. s. d. |
|---|---|
| 4 Burgages* (Guild of the Crucifix) | 1. 1. |
| 3 Burgages* (Finchale Priory) | 1. 6. |
| 1 Burgage* | 10. |
| 1 Burgage* (Guild of the Crucifix) | 7. |
| 1 Burgage* | 10. |
| 1 Burgage* | 1. 0. |
| 1 Burgage* (Chantry of St.Andrew on the Bridge) | 8. |
| 3 Burgages now one* (Guild of the Trinity) | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage* (Bursar) | 2. 0. |
| 2 Burgages* (Chantry of St. John) | 1. 8. |
| 1 Burgage* | 1. 8. |
| 1 Burgage* | 1. 8. |
| 1 Burgage* | 1. 8. |
| 1 Burgage* (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald) | 1. 8. |
| 1 Burgage* | 1. 4. |
| 1 Burgage* (Finchale Priory) | 3. 4. |
| 1 Burgage now a barn* (Guild of the Crucifix) | 1 Rose. |
| 1 Burgage now a barn* (Guild of the Crucifix) | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage* (Guild of the Crucifix) | 7½. |
| 1 Burgage* (Bursar) | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage* (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | 5. |
| 2 Burgages* (Bursar) | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage* (Guild of St. Cuthbert) | 5. |
| 1 Burgage* | 1. 8. |
| 1 Burgage* (Sacrist) | 10. |
| 1 Burgage* (Sacrist) | 5. |
| 1 Burgage* | 10. |
| 1 Burgage* | 10. |
| 1 Burgage* (Chantry of St.Andrew on the Bridge) | 1. 8. |
| 3 Gardens* (Chantry of B.V.M. in Pittington) | 2. 0. |
| 1 Barn* (Sacrist) | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Garden* (Chantry of St.Andrew on the Bridge) | 7. |
| 1 Garden* | 5. |
| 1 Barn* (Guild of St. Cuthbert) | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Bakehouse* (Bursar) | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage | 1. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 13. 4. |
| 1 Burgage | 16. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 8. |
| 1 Burgage | 16. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 20. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 6. 8. |
| 1 Burgage | 8. 0. |
| 2 Burgages wasted | Suit of Court |
| 1 Burgage | 1. 6. |
| 1 Burgage | 8. |
| 1 Burgage | 5. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 5. 0. |
| 1 Burgage (Guild of the Crucifix) | 5. |
| 1 Burgage | 5. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 1. |
| 1 Burgage | 3. 4. |
| 1 Burgage | 4. 8. |
| 1 Burgage | Suit of Court |
| 1 Burgage now a garden | 4. |
| 1 Burgage | 4. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | 6. 8. |

| | | £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Burgage | | 1. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 10. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 8. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 13. 4. |
| 1 Burgage | (Finchale Priory) | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage | | 12. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 5. |
| 1 Burgage | | 1. 0. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 1. 13. 4. |
| 1 Burgage | | 1. 0. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 7. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. 0. |
| 1 Garden | | 1. 8. |
| 1 Garden | | 2. 0. |
| 1 Garden | | 4. |
| 1 Barn | | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Waste | | 8. |
| 1 Garden | | 8. |
| 1 Garden | | 8. |
| 2 Barns | | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Barn | (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | Suit of Court. |
| 2 Gardens | | 1. 4. |
| 1 Garden | | ? |
| 2 Gardens | | Suit of Court. |
| 2 Gardens | | Suit of Court. |
| 8 ? | (Chantry of St.Andrew on the Bridge) | Suit of Court. |

C. BARONY OF ELVET

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Burgage* | | 2½. |
| 1 Burgage* | (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | 2½. |
| 1 Burgage* | (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | 2½. |
| 1 Burgage* | (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | 8. |
| 2 Burgages* | (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | 1. 4. |
| 1 Burgage* | | 2½. |
| 4 Burgages* | (Almoner) | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage* | | 1. 0. |
| 1 Burgage* | (Commoner) | 3. |
| 1 Burgage* | (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | 2. 0. |
| 3 Burgages* | (Commoner) | 1. 0. |
| 1 Burgage* | (Commoner) | 3. |
| 2 Burgages* | (Commoner) | 6. |
| 3 Burgages* | (Church of St. Oswald) | 1. 0. |
| 1 Burgage* | | 10. |
| 2 Burgages* | | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage* | (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | 3. |
| 1 Burgage* | (Finchale Priory) | ? |
| 2 Burgages* | (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | 10. |
| 1 Burgage* | (Almoner) | 1. |
| 1 Garden* | | 1. 0. |
| 1 Close* | | 3. 0. |
| ? * | (Chantry of St.John the Baptist) | 1. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 3. 4. |
| 1 Burgage | | 3. 4. |
| 1 Burgage | | 11. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. 0. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Burgage | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Burgage | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | Suit of Court | | |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Burgage with close | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 8. | 0. |
| ½ acre of meadow | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Barn with close | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Close | | 3. | 0. |
| 2 Gardens | | | 8. |
| 1 Barn | | | 4. |
| 1 Waste | | | 8. |
| 1 Croft | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Byre | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Garden | | | 8. |
| 1 Garden | | | 8. |
| 1 Garden | | | 8. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Small Chamber above the Almshouse | | 2. | 0. |
| Site of the vicarage | | - | |
| ? | | 3. | 4. |
| ? | | 3. | 4. |

## XVI. ALMONER'S HOLDINGS c.1500.

This appendix is based on the rental of 1501/2 (AR 1501-1503).

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **A.** COUNTY RENTS | | | |
| Pallion and Barnes.[1] | | | |
| A rent owed from these properties to Witton Hospital.* | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| Follingsby | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 40 acres + ½ acre of meadow* | | | 6. |
| East Rainton | | | |
| 1 Tenement + 48 acres* | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| Hardwick | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 5 acres* | | 2. | 0. |
| Thrislington | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 12 acres + ½ acre of meadow* | | 2. | 0. |
| Wackerfield | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 15 acres + 2 acres of meadow* | | 2. | 0. |
| Rowley | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 20 acres* | | 3. | 4. |
| Stanhope | | | |
| 2 Tofts and Crofts* (one of 2 acres, one of 4 acres) | | 4. | 6. |
| Wigside (in Wysill) | | | |
| 5 acres* | | | 3. |
| Heley | | | |
| 20 acres* | | 6. | 8. |
| Iveston[2] | | | |
| 1 acre* | | | 4. |
| 10 acres* | | | 5. |
| 12 acres* | | 1. | 0. |
| Greencroft | | | |
| 6 acres* | | | 9. |
| Loudhouse | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 12 acres + 1 acre of meadow* | | 6. | 0. |
| 3 acres | | | 3. |

1 In the rent rolls 1290 - 1345 the heading was 'De Leya'.

2 Ibid - land in Iveston, Greencroft and Loudhouse all under Iveston.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Burnhouse** | | | |
| Land* | | 2. | 4. |
| **Knitsley** | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 15½ acres* | | 1. | 0. |
| **Bushblades** | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + a large close* | | 3. | 4. |
| **Kyo** [1] | | | |
| A rent from the land of St. Edmund's Hospital, Gateshead.* | | 8. | 4. |
| A rent paid by William Lownes* | | 18. | 4. |
| **Cornsay** | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 20 acres* | | 1. | 0. |
| **Consett.** [2] | | | |
| 20 acres* | | 6. | 8. |
| **Lintz** [3] | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 30 acres (North Lintz)* | | | 3. |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 40 acres (North Lintz)* | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 30 acres (South Lintz)* | | 1. | 0. |
| **Esh** [4] | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 70 acres in Underside | | 13. | 4. |
| 5 acres* | | 1. | 3. |
| **Broom** [5] | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 16 acres + ½ acre of meadow* | | 5. | 0. |
| **Denton** [6] | | | |
| 2 Tofts and 1 Croft + 7 acres* | | 1. | 1. |
| **Fulforth** | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 12 acres* | | 13. | 4. |
| Seventh part of the land of Fulforth* | ½ lb. cummin. | | |
| **Burntoft** | | | |
| 3 Tenements + 160 acres + 21 acres of meadow | 4. | 13. | 4. |
| **Houghton le Spring** | | | |
| 1½ roods of meadow | | | 10. |

1 Rental 1424 - rent of 15s. 0d. per term from land of St. Edmund's Hospital.

2 Ibid. - 1 Toft and Croft + 16 acres.

3 Ibid. - South Lintz holding had 32 acres.

4 Ibid. - holding had only 45 acres.

5 Ibid. - meadow amounted to 2 acres.

6 Ibid. - 6 acres.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Aycliffe**[1] | | | |
| 2 Tenements + 37½ acres + 1 acre of meadow | 1. | 13. | 4. |
| **Ferryhill**[2] | | | |
| 2 acres | | 1. | 6. |
| **Burdon** | | | |
| 2 Tenements + 60 acres + 3½ acres of meadow | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| **Shipley** | | | |
| 3 Tofts + 12 acres | | 13. | 4. |
| **Edmundbyers** | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 18 acres + 2 acres of meadow | | 5. | 0. |
| **Moorhouse** | | | |
| Moorhouse + 120 acres of meadow and pasture | 2. | 13. | 4. |
| **Heaton** | | | |
| 2 Tofts + 14 acres + 1½ acres of meadow | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| **Hartlepool** | | | |
| 1 Tenement | | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 3. | 4. |
| **Sunderland** | | | |
| 1 Burgage | | 1. | 0. |
| **Thirsk** | | | |
| 1 house + ½ acre | | 2. | 0. |

In the rent rolls 1290 - 1345 there were in addition holdings in Aldingrange, Thornley, Hutton Henry and Brandon bearing rents of £1., 6s. 8d., £1. and 13s. 4d. respectively.

B. CITY RENTS

**South Street** (Crossgate)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cellarerorchard* | 5. | 0. | |
| 1 Tenement* | 1. | 0. | |
| 1 Tenement* | | 4. | |
| 1 Tenement*[3] (Sacrist) | 5. | 0. | |
| Farthincroft[3] | 1. | 2. | |
| Le Haverbarn[3] | 1. | 2. | |
| Sacrist's House[3] | | 10. | |
| 1 Tenement[3] | 1. | 2. | |
| 1 Tenement[3] | | 4. | |
| 1 Tenement[3] | | 6. | |
| 1 Tenement[3] | | 8. | |

1 Rental 1424 - two holdings amounting to almost 55 acres.
2 Rent Rolls 1290 - 1345 - land said to be in Merrington.
3 Described as landmale rents.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Terrar's House | | | 4. |
| Almoner'sbarns + a close | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | | 4. |
| 1 Tenement | | | 6. |
| 1 Tenement | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 3. | 6. |
| 1 Tenement | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | ? | |
| 1 House | | | 8. |
| 1 House | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Close (Sacrist) | | 6. | 8. |
| **Crossgate** (Crossgate) | | | |
| Kepierhouses* | | | 6. |
| 2 Tenements* (Sacrist | | 3. | 0. |
| Northcroft* | | | 8. |
| 2 acres* | | | 2. |
| ½ acres* (Commoner) | | | 1. |
| 3 roods* (Commoner) | | | 6. |
| 2 Tenements[1] | | | 9. |
| 2 Tenements[1] | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement[1] | | | 9. |
| 1 Tenement | | | 10. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 2 Gardens | | 2. | 0. |
| **Allergate** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 4 Burgages* | | 3. | 0. |
| 2 Burgages* | | | 6. |
| **Milburngate** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 1 Tenement* | | 4. | 0. |
| Water Mill + tenements, garden and land | 2. | 13. | 4. |
| **Framwellgate** (Durham) | | | |
| 5 Tenements + 2 acres of meadow* | | | 3. |
| 2 Tenements* | | 1. | 8. |
| 2 Tenements* | | | 6. |
| 1 Tenement* | | | 4½. |
| 1 Tenement* | | | 4½. |
| Almoner's Oven | 1. | 15. | 0. |
| **Sidegate** (Durham) | | | |
| 1 Tenement* (Sacrist) | | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Tenement* | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement* | | 1. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement* | | | 6. |

1 Described as landmale rents.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Tenement ※ | | | 6. |
| 1 Tenement ※ | | | 6. |
| 1 Tenement ※ | | | 2. |

Claypath (Durham)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 Tenements + a large garden※ | | 8. | 0. |

Sowterpeth (Durham)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | | 1. | 0. |

New Elvet (Elvet).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 Tenements※ | | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Tenement※※ | | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 5. | 0. |
| 2 Gardens | | 4. | 0. |

Old Elvet (Elvet)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Tenement in Raton Row in the Barony※ (Hostillar) | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement in Raton Row in the Barony | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement in Raton Row in the Barony | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement in Raton Row in the Barony | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement in Raton Row in the Barony | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement opposite St. Oswald's※ | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement opposite St. Oswald's※ | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement in Kirkgate※ | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement on the hill | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement on the hill | | 5. | 6. |
| 1 Tenement on the hill | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement on the hill | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement on the hill | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement on the hill | | 4. | 0. |
| 1Tenement on the hill | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement on the hill | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement on the hill | | 4. | 0. |
| 10 acres below Elvet Wood (Commoner) | | 2. | 0. |

Raton Row (Elvet )

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1½ Tenements※ (Feretrar) | | 1. | 3. |
| 1½ Tenements※ (Feretrar) | | | 9. |
| 1 Tenement※ | | | 10. |
| 1 Tenement※ | | | 6. |
| 1 Tenement※ | | | 3. |
| 1 Tenement※ | | ½ lb. | cummin |
| 1 Garden | | | 6. |
| 1 kiln (Feretrar) | | 1. | 0. |

North Bailey (Bailey)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Archdeacon's Hospice※ (Master Kepier Hospital) | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 9. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 9. | 0. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Tenement | | 9. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 9. | 0. |
| **South Bailey (Bailey)** | | | |
| 1 Tenement * | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| **Owengate (Bailey)** | | | |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | | 8. |
| **Iulechare (Bailey)** | | | |
| 4 Tenements | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 7. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| Chamber within the Infirmary | | 2. | 0. |
| Chamber within the Infirmary | | ? | |
| Chamber within the Infirmary | | ? | |
| Solar | | ? | |
| **Halfeten** | | | |
| 2 Tenements | | 7. | 0. |
| 2 Tenements | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 1. | 4. |
| 1 small cellar | | 1. | 6. |

## XVII. SACRIST'S HOLDINGS c.1500

This appendix is based upon the rental of 1500 (TESD, ff.21 - 30).

### A. CITY RENTS

#### Crossgate

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 Burgages now 3 tenements (Commoner) | | 1. | 6. |
| 1 Burgage (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Margaret's) | | | 6. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 6. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 6. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 3½. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 3½. |
| 1 Burgage (St. Margaret's Guild) | | | 1½. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 1. |
| 1 Burgage (Proctor of St. Margaret's chapel) | | | 5. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 3. |
| 2 Burgages wasted (Kepier Hospital) | | | 4½. |
| 6 Burgages now 1 close (Commoner) | | 1. | 9½. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 1. |
| 1 Burgage wasted (Chantry of St. Katherine) | | | 6. |
| 2 Burgages (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Mary le Bow) | | | 6. |
| 1 Burgage | Suit of Court. | | |
| 2 Burgages now 1 house | | | 6. |
| 1 Burgage (Guild of Corpus Christi) | | | 6. |
| 1 Burgage wasted + 1 garden (Guild of Corpus Christi) | | | 9. |
| 2 Burgages (Guild of Corpus Christi) | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Burgage | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Burgage | Suit of Court. | | |
| 2 Burgages now 2 tenements (Guild of St.Cuthbert) | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Burgage | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Burgage | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Tenement | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Burgage called Tollbooth-in hand for use by the Court. | | 0. | 0. |

#### Allergate (Crossgate)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 Burgages now 1 close (Guild of Corpus Christi) | | 1. | 4. |
| 4 Burgages now 1 close | | 2. | 3. |
| 2 Burgages now 1 close | | | 6. |
| 2 Burgages | | | 8. |
| 1 Burgage now a garden | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage wasted + a garden | | | 5. |
| 1 Burgage (Corpus Christi Guild) | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage (Chantry of St. Katherine) | | | 4. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage (Chaplain of St. Margaret's) | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 4. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 8. |
| 8 Burgages now 1 close | | 3. | 2. |
| 5 Burgages now 1 orchard (Chantry of St.Katherine) | | | 5. |
| 3 Burgages wasted (Guild of Corpus Christi) | | | 9. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 Burgages now 1 garden | | | 8. |
| 2 Burgages now 1 garden (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Margaret's) | | | 4. |
| 1 Burgage | | 3. | 2. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Margaret's) | | | 6. |
| 1 Burgage now a meadow | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 close (Kepier Hospital) | | | 8. |
| 3 parcels in Chiltonpole (Chantry of St.Katherine) | | 1. | 0. |

South Street (Crossgate)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 Burgages now 1 close (Sacrist) | | 1. | 7½. |
| 3 Burgages now 3 tenements (Chantry of B.V.M. In St. Margaret's) | | | 6. |
| 3 Burgages (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Margaret's) | | | 7. |
| 3 Burgages | | 14. | 0. |
| 3 Burgages | | 14. | 0. |
| 2 Burgages (Commoner) | | | 4. |
| 2 Burgages now 2 tenements (Almoner) | | | 3½. |
| 2 Burgages now 1 garden (Guild of Corpus Christi) | | | 2. |
| 2 Burgages now 1 garden | | | 4½. |
| 2 Burgages now 1 tenement (Commoner) | | | 6½. |
| 1 Burgage (Sacrist) | | | 8. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 1½. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 garden | | | 1. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 1. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 garden | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 garden | | | 1. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 garden | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage (Chantry of B.V.M. in St.Margaret's) | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 house for paupers (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Margaret's) | | | 4½. |
| 1 Close | | 1. | 0. |
| 2 Burgages (Proctor of St. Margaret's) | | | 2½. |
| 2 Burgages | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Burgage | | | 4. |
| 1 Burgage (Almoner) | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage (Guild of Corpus Christi) | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Burgage (Proctor of St. Margaret's) | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Margaret's) | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Burgage wasted (Hostillar) | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Burgage | Suit of Court. | | |

Milburngate (Crossgate)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 Burgages wasted | | 1. | 1. |
| 3 Burgages | | | 5. |
| 1 Burgage (Cellarer) | | | 0½. |
| 1 Burgage (Guild of Corpus Christi) | | | 0½. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 3. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Burgage (Commoner) | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage (Proctor of St. Margaret's Chapel) | | | 1. |
| 1 Burgage | | | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage | | | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage + mill called Clockmill (Almoner) | | | Suit of Court. |
| 1 Burgage | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 14. | 8. |
| 1 Burgage | | 14. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Burgage | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 8. | 0. |

Framwellgate Bridge (Crossgate)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Burgage | 1. | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 9. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Burgage | | 6. | 0. |

Limekilngate (Crossgate)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 Burgages now 1 close | | 1. | 10. |
| 3 Burgages | | | 6. |
| 2 Burgages (Commoner) | | | 10. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 garden (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Margaret's) | | | 1½. |

Vennel to River Wear (Crossgate)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Burgage wasted | | | 7. |
| 1 Burgage + oven (Almoner) | | | 6. |
| 1 Burgage | 1. | 13. | 4½. |

Vennel to West Orchard.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 Burgages now 2 tenements (Almoner) | | | 4. |
| 3 Burgages now 2 tenements (Guild of St. Margaret) | | | 7. |
| 3 Burgages now 2 tenements (Commoner) | | | 5½. |
| 3 Burgages now 3 tenements (Commoner) | | | 3½. |
| 3 Burgages now 1 close (Chantry of St.Katherine) | | | 8. |
| 2 Burgages (Commoner) | | | 3½. |
| 2 Burgages now 1 tenement (Commoner) | | | 7. |
| 1 Burgage (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Margaret) | | | 2½. |
| 1 Burgage (Chantry of B.V.M. in St.Margaret's) | | | 1. |
| 1 Burgage (Guild of Corpus Christi) | | | 1½. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 garden (Guild of St. Cuthbert) | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage wasted | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage wasted | | | 1. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 garden | | | 6. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Road to Prior's Mill** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 4 Burgages now 1 dovecote | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Burgage wasted | - | | |
| 1 Close (Bursar) | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Close (Bursar) | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Close (Bursar) | Suit of Court. | | |
| 1 Garden | | | 3. |
| 1 Tenement + 1 haybarn | - | | |
| **Vennel to St. Ellen's Well** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 3 Burgages | | 1. | 0. |
| 3 Burgages | | 3. | 0. |
| 2 Burgages now 1 orchard | | | 7. |
| 2 Burgages now 1 garden | | | 5. |
| 1 Burgage | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Oswald's) | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 garden | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage (Commoner) | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 garden | | | 3½. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 garden (Almoner) | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage (Chantry of B.V.M. in St.Margaret's) | | | 1. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 5½. |
| **Common Vennel** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 2 Burgages (Guild of Corpus Christi) | | 1. | 2. |
| 1 Burgage | | | 4. |
| ¼ Tenement | | 6. | 8. |
| ¼ Tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| ½ Tenement | | 5. | 0. |
| ¼ Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 2 Burgages* | | 3. | 0. |
| **Between Westorchard and Sandypeth.**[1] (Crossgate) | | | |
| Farthincroft + 1 acre called Sclateracre (Commoner) | | 1. | 4. |
| 2 Burgages now 1 close | | | 8½. |
| **Bellasis** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 2 Burgages + 4 selions (Almoner) | | | 5. |
| 1 Burgage + 2 selions (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Margaret's) | | | 1. |
| 1 Burgage + 2 selions (Chantry of B.V.M. in St. Margaret's) | | | 3. |
| 1 Burgage + 4 selions | | | 2. |
| 1 Burgage + 2 selions + 1 headland | | | 5. |
| 2 Burgages + 2 selions + 1 headland | | | 5½. |
| 2 Burgages + 2 selions + 1 headland (Chantry of St. Katherine) | | | 5½. |
| 1 Burgage + 3 selions + 1 headland (Chantry of B.V.M. In St. Margaret's) | | | 3½. |
| 1 Burgage + 3 selions + 1 headland | | | 3½. |
| 2 Burgages + 4 selions + 1 headland (Guild of St. Cuthbert) | | | 3½. |
| 3 Selions + 1 headland (Sacrist) | - | | |
| 2 Selions | - | | |
| 4 Selions (Sacrist) | - | | |

1. Said to be extra villam.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15 Selions (Sacrist) | | - | |
| 8 Selions (Sacrist) | | - | |
| 10 Selions | | - | |
| 13 Selions | | - | |
| 10 Selions | | - | |
| 9 Selions (Guild of Corpus Christi) | | - | |
| 8 Selions (Guild of Corpus Christi) | | - | |
| 16 Buttes | | | 7. |
| 11 Buttes (Sacrist) | | - | |
| 5 acres (Guild of St.Cuthbert) | | - | |
| 1 acre (Guild of St.Cuthbert) | | - | |
| 1 meadow (Guild of St.Cuthbert and Sacrist) | | - | |
| 1 large parcel of land (Sacrist) | - | - | |
| Westorchard, Howlcroft, Codeslaw (Almoner) | | 3. | 1. |
| **Saddler Street** (Durham) | | | |
| 1 Tenement* (Chantry of Holy Trinity in St.Nicholas') | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement* (Bursar) | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 16. | 8. |
| 1 Close | | 13. | 4. |
| **Fleshewergate** (Durham) | | | |
| 1 Tenement* | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement (Chantry of St.John the Baptist in St. Nicholas') | | 5. | 6. |
| **Claypath** (Durham) | | | |
| 1 Burgage | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 Burgage now 1 tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement[1] | | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement[1] | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement[1] | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement[1] | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement[1] (Commoner) | | 1. | 0. |
| 1 Close (Chantry of Bishop Nicholas in St.Nicholas') | | 9. | 0. |
| **Framwellgate** (Durham) | | | |
| 2 Tenements | | 9. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | | 18. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 14. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0 |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Chamber | | 3. | 4. |
| **Sidegate** (Durham) | | | |
| 1 Burgage now 1 close | | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 2. | 0. |
| **Elvet** | | | |
| 1 Tenement | | 14. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| 1 Barn | | 4. | 0. |

1. The whereabouts of these holdings was not known.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Owengate (Bailey) | | | |
| 1 Tenement | | 5. | 0. |
| Lykegate (Bailey) | | | |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | | 5, | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 5. | 0. |

B. COUNTY RENTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Iveston | | 13. | 4. |
| Newton by Jarrow | | 1. | 8. |
| Woodham | | 6. | 8. |
| Coalpikehall | | 7. | 0. |
| Harehopeshiel | | 3. | 4. |
| Edmundhill (Northumberland) | | 13. | 4. |
| Norham (Northumberland) | | 1. | 4. |
| Holy Island (Northumberland) | | 1. | 4. |
| Gullane (Scotland) | | 14. | - |
| Thornton le Moor (Yorkshire) | | 2. | 6. |
| Hartburn (Yorkshire) | | 10. | 0. |
| Nunwick near Ripon (Yorkshire) | | 8. | 0. |
| Pittington - 4 cottages + land | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| Kirk Merrington - 1 tenement | 1. | 6. | 8. |
| Wolviston - 1 cottage | | 3. | 4. |
| 1 cottage | | 3. | 4. |
| 1 cottage | | 3. | 4. |
| 1 cottage | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 cottage | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 cottage | | 3. | 0. |
| 1 cottage + 2 tofts | | 2. | 0. |
| free rent from the Bursar | | 11. | 4. |
| 1 garden | | - | |

## XVIII. COMMONER'S HOLDINGS c.1455

This appendix is based on the Commoner's rentals 1454 - 1458, additional material has been drawn from CAR and the Feodarium (SS 58, pp. 1 - 92).

### A. HETT RENTS.[1]

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Tenement | | 14. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage + 1 acre | | 3. | 0.[2] |
| 1 Cottage + ½ acre | | 4. | 0.[2] |
| 1 Cottage + garden | | 3. | 0.[2] |
| Forland (5 acres) | | 4. | 0. |
| Sub-Prior Meadow (3 acres) | | | |
| Mill | 1. | 13. | 4. |

### B COUNTY RENTS

#### Wolviston

According to the rentals, the Commoner had

a) 16 free rents. 9s.8½d; 4s.5½d; 1s.6d; 12s.6½d; 4s.0½d; 1s.0d; 5s.0d; 7s.8d; 1s.0d; 5s.0d; 1s.4d; 2s.9d; 6d; 2d; 4d; 3s. 6d;

b) 5 leases: £2; £1.4s.0d; 8s.0d; 7s.6d; 5s.0d;
The holdings almost certainly comprised, respectively.

a) the approximately 68 acres of Knightland, Spensarland and Hiddesland which, according to the Feodarium, were held of the Commoner.[3]

b) the land pertaining to the chantries of Prior John Fossor (1 messuage + 4 cottages + 67 acres + 1½ acres of meadow) and Bishop Walter Skerlaw (2 messuages + 2 cottages + 68 acres and 4½ acres).[4] which the Commoner held of the Prior.

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1 This section is valid only until c.1460. There is no detailed information about Hett after this date.

2 Figures from wasted rents in CAR 1430/1.

3 SS 58, pp.27 - 40.

4 Ibid., p.29.

It is not possible to marry precisely the two sets of data.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Billingham** | | | |
| 1 Tenement* | | 1. | 2. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 6. | 0. |

Almost certainly these rents were for the two tenements (1 cottage + 4 acres + 1½roods of meadow and 12 acres + 1 acre 1 rood of meadow) held by the Commoner, from the Prior.[1]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Hurworth** | | | |
| ? * | 2. | 0. | 0. |
| **Kirk Merrington**[2] | | | |
| 1 Messuage + 60 acres* | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Messuage + 20 acres* | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| **Ludworth** | | | |
| ? * | 1. | 4. | 0. |
| **Castle Eden** | | | |
| ? * | | 16. | 0. |
| **Hunterfield** | | | |
| ? * | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| **Cleatlam** | | | |
| ½ carucate of land * | 1. | 4. | 0. |
| **Cocken** | | | |
| 1 Toft + 20 acres | | 16. | 6. |
| **Edmundbyers**[3] | | | |
| 2 Tenements + 34 acres + 6 acres of meadow | | 10. | 0. |
| **Tursdale** | | | |
| 2 Tofts and Crofts + 2 bovates | | 10. | 0. |
| **East Rainton** | | | |
| 1 Tenement + 12 acres | 1. | 4. | 6. |

1 SS 58, pp. 43.

2 Ibid., p.68.

3 Ibid., p.72.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| West Rainton [1] | | | |
| 2 Tofts and Crofts + 40 acres | | 5. | 0. |
| Moorsley | | | |
| 1 Tenement + 13 acres | | 13. | 4. |
| Aycliffe. | | | |
| ? | | 18. | 0. |
| Ferryhill [2] | | | |
| 1 Tenement + 30 acres | 1. | 4. | 0. |
| Monkton [3] | | | |
| 1 Messuage + 40 acres | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| Simonside | | | |
| Tenements and land | 4. | 8. | 10. |
| Morton Tinmouth | | | |
| 1 Toft and Croft + 7 acres | | 6. | 7. |
| Bowsden | | | |
| Mill | | 13. | 4. |
| Barn | | 3. | 4. |
| Newcastle [4] | | | |
| 1 Tenement * | 1. | 6. | 8. |
| Hardwick | | | |
| Rent from Prior's Exchaquer | 6. | 13. | 4. |
| Westerton | | | |
| Rent from Prior's Exchequer | 10. | 0. | 0. |
| Coldingham | | | |
| Rent from Priof of Coldingham | 6. | 13. | 4. |

1 SS 58, p.19.

2 CAR 1430/1 gives 40 acres.

3 SS 58, p.13.

4 Ibid., p.2.

| C. CITY RENTS | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Market Place** (Durham) | | | |
| ? * | | 10. | 0. |
| **Fleshewergate** (Durham) | | | |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 12. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 6. | 8. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| **Saddler Street** (Durham) | | | |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 7. | 0. |
| 1 Vault + 2 cellars | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Vault | | 2. | 8. |
| **Claypath** (Durham) | | | |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | 1. | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 15. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 13. | 4. |
| 1 Tenement | | 12. | 0. |
| 3 Wastes | | 1. | 8. |
| 1 Garden [1] | | | 6. |
| ? Tenements [2] | 2. | 10. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement [2] | | 8. | 0. |
| **Framwellgate** (Durham) | | | |
| 1 Tenement waste | | 6. | 0. |
| **South Street** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 1 Tenement | | 6. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 5. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement [3] | | 14. | 1. |
| **Crossgate** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 1 Tenement | | 16. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 6. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 6. |

1 Acquired 1453/4 - 1474/5 CAR.

2 Acquired 1480/1 - 1489/90. CAR.

3 Acquired 1480/1 - 1489/90: CAR.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 6. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 2. | 0. |
| 1 Garden | | 2. | 2. |
| 3 roods of meadow in Painterclose + 1 acre in Solaterclose | 1. | 0. | 0. |
| **Allergate** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 1 Garden | | 1. | 0. |
| **Limekilngate** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 2 Burgages | | 2. | 6. |
| **Milburngate** (Crossgate) | | | |
| 1 Tenement | | 9. | 0. |
| **Old Elvet** (Elvet) | | | |
| 1 Cottage | | 4. | 6. |
| 1 Cottage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | 4. | 0. |
| 1 Cottage | | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Cottage | | 3. | 4. |
| 1 Cottage | | 3. | 0. |
| **Gilesgate** | | | |
| 1 Burgage [1] | | 5. | 6. |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| **North Bailey** | | | |
| 1 Tenement | | 8. | 0. |
| 1 Tenement | | 7. | 0. |
| 4 Tenements | | 14. | 2. |
| **South Bailey** | | | |
| ? * | | 10. | 0. |
| **Closes** | | | |
| Swallopleys | 1. | 10. | 0. |
| Mountjoy - 2 acres | | 10. | 0. |
| Langbake | 1. | 6. | 8. |

1 Acquired 1475/6 - 1478/9 CAR.

## XIX. OBEDIENTIARIES AND OFFICERS.

The names in the following lists have been culled from the rentals, court records and account rolls. Most of them have been taken from headings, but others come from the statements of accumulated arrears in the account rolls. The majority of Durham monks were known by the name of their place of origin, these have been rendered in their present form. In cases of genuine surname, the modern equivalent has been adapted whenever possible, with the original spelling alongside. The lines before and after certain dates indicate the possibility that the man held the office earlier or later than the given date.

### A. BURSARS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1292/3 | to | | R. Mordon |
| - | 1297/8 | to | 1298/9 | Thomas Haswell |
| | 1299/1300 | | | Stephen Howden |
| - | 1302/3 | to | | Thomas Haswell |
| - | 1306/7 | to | | Roger School Aycliffe |
| - | 1308/9 | to | 1309/10 | John Herneby |
| | 1310/11 | to | | Thomas Haswell |
| - | 1313/4 | to | 1316/7 | Alexander Lamesley |
| | 1317/8 | | | John Herneby |
| | 1318/9 | to | 1319/20 | Alexander Lamesley |
| | 1320/1 | to | 1322/3 | John Seaton |
| | 1323/4 | to | 1324/5 | John Barmpton |
| | 1325/6 | to | 1326/7 | Michael Chilton |
| | 1327/8 | to | 1328/9 | John Lutterell |
| | 1329/30 | | | John of 'Crepping' |
| | 1330/1 | to | | Walter Scarisbrick |
| - | 1332/3 | | | Robert Middleham |
| | 1333/4 | to | 1334/5 | William Charlton |
| | 1335/6 | | | William Hexham |
| | 1336/7 | to | 1340/1 | Robert Middleham |
| | 1341/2 | to | 1344/5 | Robert Benton |
| | 1345/6 | to | 1346/7 | John Tickhill |
| | 1347/8 | to | 1348/9 | Thomas Stockton |
| | 1349/50 | to | 1354/5 | John Newton |
| | 1355/6 | to | 1356/7 | Adam Darlington |
| | 1357/8 | to | 1361/2 | Richard Birtley |
| | 1362/3 | to | 1363/4 | John Abell |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1354/5 | to | 1366/7 | Richard Birtley |
| | 1367/8 | to | 1371/2 | John Berrington |
| | 1372/3 | | | William Aislaby |
| | 1373/4 | | | John Berrington |
| | 1374/5 | | | Hugh Hawick |
| | 1375/6 | | | William Aislaby |
| | 1376/7 | | | William Killerby |
| | 1377/8 | | | Hugh Sherburn |
| | 1378/9 | | | Thomas Legat |
| | 1379/80 | | | John Berrington |
| | 1380/1 | to | 1386/7 | Thomas Corbridge |
| | 1387/8 | | | Thomas Corbridge and Roger Mainsforth. |
| | 1388/9 | to | 1391/2 | John Newburn |
| | 1392/3 | | | Thomas Lyth |
| | 1393/4 | | | Robert Claxton |
| | 1394/5 | to | 1395/6 | John Newburn |
| | 1396/7 | | | Thomas Lyth |
| | 1397/8 | to | 1399/1400 | Walter Teesdale |
| | 1400/1 | to | 1402/3 - | Roger Mainsforth |
| - | 1404/5 | to | | Richard Haswell |
| - | 1406/7 | | | Roger Mainsforth and John Ryton |
| | 1407/8 | to | 1408/9 | Richard Haswell |
| | 1409/10 | to | 1413/4 - | John Morris (Mores) |
| - | 1414/5 | to | 1416/7 - | William Drax |
| - | 1418/9 | to | 1419/20 | Henry Heley |
| | 1420/1 | to | 1426/7 | John Durham |
| | 1427/8 | to | 1428/9 | William Partrick (Partrike) |
| | 1429/39 | to | 1431/2 | John Oll |
| | 1432/3 | to | 1437/8 | Thomas Lawson |
| | 1438/9 | to | 1444/5 | John Gateshead |
| | 1445/6 | to | 1446/7 | William Eden |
| | 1447/8 | to | 1450/1 | John Middleham |
| | 1451/2 | to | 1452/3 | John Penshaw |
| | 1453/4 | | | William Cuthbert |
| | 1454/5 | | | John Eden |
| | 1455/6 | to | 1456/7 | John Middleham |
| | 1457/8 | to | 1458/9 | John Eden |
| | 1459/60 | to | 1465/6 | Thomas Haughton |
| | 1466/7 | to | 1476/7 | Robert Weardale |
| | 1477/8 | to | 1484/5 | John Swan |
| | 1485/6 | to | 1488/9 | Geoffrey Forest |
| | 1489/90 | to | 1491/2 | Henry Dalton |
| | 1492/3 | to | 1493/4 | Thomas Durham |
| | 1494/5 | | | Henry Dalton |
| | 1495/6 | to | 1506/7 | William Hawkwell |
| | 1507/8 | to | 1513/4 | Robert Strother |
| | 1514/5 | to | 1515/6 - | Thomas Barnes |
| - | 1519/20 | to | | Thomas Barnes |
| - | 1523/4 | to | | John Castell |
| - | 1536/7 | to | 1539/40 | Robert Bennet |

B. TERRARS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1313/4 | to | | Thomas Haswell |
| - | 1317/8 | to | | Alexander Lamesley. |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1329/30 | to | | | John 'de Crepping' |
| | | to | 1335/6 | | Robert Newton |
| | 1336/7 | to | | | Walter Scarisbrick |
| - | 1345/6 | to | 1348/9 | - | William Charlton |
| - | 1358/9 | to | 1361/2 | - | Robert Walworth |
| - | 1364/5 | to | | | John Newton |
| - | 1367/8 | to | 1368/9 | | Richard Birtley |
| | 1369/70 | to | 1371/2 | | John Hemingbrough |
| | 1372/3 | to | 1373/4 | | Thomas Hardwick |
| | 1374/5 | to | | | John Berrington |
| - | 1376/7 | to | 1379/80 | | William Aislaby |
| | 1380/1 | to | 1383/4 | - | John Berrington |
| | | to | 1387/8 | | Thomas Corbridge |
| | 1388/9 | to | 1390/1 | - | William Aislaby |
| | | to | 1393/4 | | Robert Claxton |
| | 1 394/5 | | | | John Newton |
| | 1395/6 | | | | Robert Claxton |
| | 1396/7 | | | | Thomas Lyth |
| | 1397/8 | to | 1398/9 | - | William Kelloe |
| - | 1401/2 | to | 1421/2 | - | William Barry |
| - | 1425/6 | to | 1435/6 | - | Henry Heley |
| - | 1459/60 | to | | | Thomas Ayer |
| - | 1463/4 | to | | | William Cuthbert |
| - | 1465/6 | to | | | William Burdon |
| - | 1472/3 | to | 1473/4 | - | Thomas Haughton |
| - | 1477/8 | to | | | Robert Ebchester |
| - | 1487/8 | to | | | John Swan |
| - | 1489/90 | to | 1491/2 | | Geoffrey Forest |
| | 1492/3 | | | | John Danby |
| - | 1497/8 | to | | | Henry Dalton |
| - | 1499/1500 | tp | | | John Hamsterley |
| - | 1504/5 | to | 1509/10 | - | Thomas Swalwell |
| - | 1523/4 | to | | | Peter Lee |

C. STEWARDS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1331/2 | to | | Adam Bowes |
| - | 1335/6 | to | | William of Walworth |
| - | 1345/6 | to | | Simon of Esh |
| - | 1367/8 | to | 1380/1 | Thomas Surtees |
| | 1381/2 | to | 1398/9 - | Thomas Claxton |
| - | 1430/1 | to | | Thomas Langton |
| - | 1443 | to | 1446 | William Hoton |
| | 1446 | to | 1461 | Robert Rhodes |
| | 1461 | to | 1476 | Geoffrey Middleton |
| | 1476 | to | 1496 | William Claxton |
| | 1496 | to | 1528 - | William Bulmer |

D. PROCTORS OF NORHAM

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1299/1300 | to | | William Ford |
| - | 1314/5 | to | 1320/1 - | William Meburn |
| | 1328/8 | | | Michael Chilton (monk) [1] |
| | 1328/9 | | | Thomas Hebburn |
| | 1329/30 | to | 1347/8 | Michael Chilton (monk) |
| | 1348/9 | to | 1350/1 | Robert Kelloe (monk) |
| | 1351/2 | to | 1360/1 - | Richard Chester (Vicar of Norham) |
| | | to | 1362/3 | Richard Talbot (Vicar of Norham) |
| | 1363/4 | to | 1364/5 | Richard Sedgebrook (monk) [2] |
| | 1365/6 | to | 1374/5 | John Scot (monk) |
| | 1375/6 | | | Thomas Hardwick (monk) [1] |
| | 1376/7 | to | 1378/9 | Thomas Legat (monk) [2] |
| | 1379/80 | to | | Simon Leventhorp (monk) |
| | | to | 1394/5 | Thomas Bywell |
| | 1395/6 | to | 1400/1 - | Thomas Hexham (monk) |
| - | 1404/5 | to | 1416/7 - | John Durham (Vicar of Norham) |
| - | 1446/7 | to | | John Penshaw |
| - | 1449/50 | to | 1451/2 | John Fenwick |
| - | 1457/8 | to | | Robert Knoute (monk) |
| - | 1460/1 | to | 1461/2 | John Kirk (monk) |
| | 1462/3 | to | | John Burn (Vicar of Norham) |
| - | 1468/9 | to | 1539/40 | Sanderson family |

E. HOSTILLARS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1325/6 | to | 1326/7 | Michael Chilton |
| | 1327/8 | to | | John Herneby |

1 Prior of Holy Island

2 Master of Farne

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1333/5 | to | | | Robert Middleham |
| - | 1338/9 | to | 1343/4 | | Ralph Twysil |
| | 1344/5 | to | 1348/9 | | Robert Hexham |
| | 1348/9 | | | | Robert Kelloe |
| | 1 349/50 | to | 1354/5 | | Roger Allerton |
| | 1 355/6 | to | 1357/8 | | Robert Walworth |
| | 1358/9 | to | 1360 | | Richard Beckingham |
| | 1360 | to | 1366/7 | | Thomas Hardwick |
| | 1367/8 | to | 1368/9 | - | John Herringbrough |
| - | 1370/1 | to | | | William Norton |
| | | to | 1375/6 | | John Lumley. |
| | 1376/7 | to | 1379 | | Thomas Launcell |
| | 1379/80 | to | 1381 | | Thomas Legot |
| | 1381/2 | to | 1383 | | Hugh Sherburn |
| | 1383/4 | to | 1387 | | William Killerby |
| | 1387/8 | | | | Robert Claxton |
| | 1 388/9 | | | | William Kelloe |
| | 1 389/90 | to | 1391 | | Roger Mainsforth |
| | 1 391/2 | | | | Richard Stockton |
| | 1392/3 | to | 1393/4 | | Robert Claxton |
| | 1394/5 | | | | John Newburn and Robert Crayke |
| | 1395/6 | | | | Robert Claxton |
| | 1396/7 | | | | Thomas Lyth |
| | 1397/8 | to | 1399 | | John Newburn |
| | 1399/1400 | | | | Walter Teesdale |
| | 1400/1 | to | 1404/5 | | Roger Mainsforth |
| | 1405/6 | | | | Robert Crayke |
| | 1406/7 | to | 1422/3 | | William Barry |
| | 1423/4 | | | | Henry Ferriby |
| | 1424/5 | to | 1436/7 | | Henry Heley |
| | 1437/8 | to | 1439/40 | | Thomas Nesbit |
| | 1440/1 | to | 1441/2 | | Thomas Ayer |
| | 1442/3 | to | 1446/7 | | Thomas Ward |
| | 1447/8 | | | | John Gateshead |
| | 1448/9 | to | 1450 | | Thomas Ayer |
| | 1450/1 | to | 1453/4 | | John Gateshead |
| | 1454/5 | to | 1456/7 | | Richard Bell |
| | 1457/8 | to | 1458/9 | | John Middleham |
| | 1459/60 | to | 1464/5 | | William Cuthbert |
| | 1465/6 | | | | William Burdon |
| | 1466/7 | to | 1480/1 | - | Thomas Haughton |
| - | 1485/6 | to | 1488/9 | | John Swan |
| | 1489/90 | to | 1491/2 | | Geoffrey Forrest |
| | 1 492/3 | to | | | John Danby |
| - | 1495/6 | to | 1496/7 | - | Henry Dalton |
| - | 1505/6 | to | 1513/4 | - | Thomas Swalwell |
| - | 1523/4 | to | | | Peter Lee |
| - | 1 528/9 | to | | | Christopher Blunt |

F. ALMONERS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1339 | to | 1345/6 | John Butterwick |
| | 1346/7 | to | 1354/5 - | Richard Bickerton |
| | | | | John Hemmingbrough |
| - | 1367/8 | to | 1372/3 | Thomas Hardwick |
| | 1373/4 | | | William Aislaby |
| | 1374/5 | | | John Berrington |
| | 1375/6 | to | 1380/1 - | John Bolton |
| | | | | Thomas Lamesley |
| | | | | John Newburn |
| | | | | John Billesfield |
| - | 1390/1 | to | 1391/2 | Robert Ripon |
| | 1392 | | | Robert Ripon and Robert Claxton |
| | 1392/3 | to | 1395/6 | Thomas Lyth |
| | 1396/7 | to | 1408/9 | William Appleby |
| | 1409/10 | to | 1411/2 | William Pocklington |
| | 1412/3 | to | 1419/20 | John Guisbrough |
| | 1420/1 | to | 1423/4 | William Drax |
| | 1424/5 | to | 1427/8 | John Fishburn |
| | 1428/9 | to | 1431/2 | John Durham |
| | 1432/3 | to | 1436/7 | Richard Haswell |
| | 1437/8 | to | 1444/5 | William Dalton |
| | 1445/6 | to | 1447/8 | Robert Westmorland |
| | 1448/9 | to | 1450 | Richard Bell |
| | 1450 | to | 1450/1 | Thomas Ayer |
| | 1451/2 | to | 1454/5 | Richard Kelloe |
| | 1455/6 | to | 1456/7 | William Seaton |
| | 1457/8 | to | 1459/60 | Thomas Hexham |
| | 1460/1 | to | 1464/5 | William Burdon |
| | 1465/6 | to | 1466/7 | Richard Wrake |
| | 1467/8 | to | 1468/9 | Thomas Darlington |
| | 1469/70 | to | 1470/1 | Thomas Halver |
| | 1471/2 | | | Richard Wrake |
| | 1472/3 | to | 1474/5 | William Rodburn |
| | 1475/6 | to | 1478/9 | Thomas Halver |
| | 1479/80 | to | 1484/5 - | Thomas Pickering |
| - | 1487/8 | to | | John Danby |
| - | 1492/3 | to | | Robert Balby |
| | | to | 1494/5 | John Hamsterley |
| | 1495/6 | | | Robert Bates (Baitts) |
| | 1496/7 | to | 1498/9 - | Richard Caly |
| - | 1501/2 | to | | John Riddell |
| - | 1504/5 | to | 1506/7 | Richard Denand |
| | 1507/8 | to | 1513/4 | Robert Herrington |
| | | to | 1515/6 | Thomas Swalwell |
| | 1516/7 | to | | Richard Caly |
| - | 1518/9 | to | | Thomas Swalwell |

G. SACRISTS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1318/9 | to | | Robert Durham |
| - | 1338/40 | to | 1341/2 | Thomas Greystones |
| | 1342/3 | to | 1348/9 | Walter Gategang |
| | 1349/50 | to | 1351/2 | William Goldsbrough |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1352/3 | to | 1354/5 | John Normanby |
| | 1355/6 | to | | John Durham |
| - | 1359/60 | to | 1363/4 | John Tickhill |
| | | | | Roger Allerton |
| | | | | John Billesfield |
| | | | | John Hemmingbrough |
| - | 1376/7 | to | 1384/5 | John Abell |
| | 1385/6 | to | 1399/1400 | Thomas Dautre |
| | 1400/1 | | | Richard Stockton |
| | 1401/2 | to | 1403/4 | Thomas Lyth |
| | 1404/5 | to | 1405/6 | Robert Masham |
| | 1406/7 | to | 1408/9 | Thomas Rome |
| | 1409/10 | to | 1416/17 | John Washington |
| | 1417/8 | to | 1418/9 | William Greystones |
| | 1419/20 | to | 1424/5 | Thomas Rome |
| | 1425/6 | to | 1437/8 | Henry Ferriby |
| | 1438/9 | to | 1457/8 | William Ebchester |
| | 1458/9 | | | Thomas Ayer |
| - | 1465/6 | to | 1470/1 | Richard Blackburn |
| | 1471/2 | | | Thomas Halver |
| | 1472/3 | | | John Eden |
| | 1473/4 | to | | Richard Bell |
| - | 1481/2 | to | 1487/8 - | George Cornforth |
| - | 1535/6 | to | | John Porter |

H. COMMONERS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1416/7 | to | | William Greystones and John Tynemouth. |
| | 1420/1 | to | 1422/3 | Thomas Nesbit |
| | 1423/4 | | | John Wycliffe |
| | 1424/5 | to | 1426/7 | William Lyham |
| | 1427/8 | | | John Oll |
| | 1428/9 | | | George Syther |
| | 1429/30 | | | Robert Moorby |
| | 1430/1 | to | | Robert Erghowe |
| - | 1439/40 | to | 1443/4 | William Eden |
| | 1444/5 | to | 1450/1 | Richard Kelloe |
| | 1451/2 | | | John Hutton |
| | 1452/3 | to | 1453/4 | Richard Wrake |
| | 1454/5 | to | 1460/1 | William Burdon |
| | 1461/2 | to | 1464/5 | John Green |
| | 1465/6 | to | 1471/2 | William Rodburn |
| | 1472/3 | to | 1478/9 | John Danby |
| | 1479/80 | to | 1481/2 | Robert Billingham |
| | 1482/3 | to | | William Ogle |
| - | 1489/90 | to | | John Hamsterley |
| | | to | 1494/5 | William Hawkwell |
| | 1495/6 | to | 1501/2 | John Porter |
| | 1502/3 | to | 1505/6 - | William Darnton |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1508/9 | to | 1509/10 | | John Riddell |
| | 1510/11 | to | 1513/4 | - | Robert Weardale |
| | | to | 1516/7 | | Ralph Blakiston |
| | 1517/8 | to | | | Richard Herrington |
| - | 1524/5 | to | | | Richard Wheldon |
| - | 1534/5 | to | | | John Brown |
| - | 1537/8 | to | | | Henry Brown |

I. CHAMBERLAINS

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1324/5 | | | | John Fossor |
| | | | | | William Charlton |
| | | | | | Thomas Greystones |
| - | 1344/5 | to | 1348/9 | | John Hartlepool |
| | 1349/50 | to | 1358/9 | | John Tickhill |
| | | | | | Adam Darlington |
| | 1362/3 | to | 1367/8 | - | William Vavasour |
| | | | | | Peter Durham |
| | 1370/1 | to | 1374/5 | - | John Akell |
| | | | | | John Berrington |
| | | | | | Robert Lanchester |
| | 1402/3 | to | 1414/5 | - | John Barton |
| - | 1440/1 | to | 1441/2 | | Thomas Nesbitt |
| | 1442/3 | to | 1444/5 | - | Richard Blackburn |
| - | 1447/8 | to | 1450/1 | - | John Penshaw |
| - | 1452/3 | to | 1456/7 | | Henry Rakett |
| | 1457/8 | to | | | Richard Wrake |
| | 1475/6 | to | 1481/2 | | William Rodburn |
| | 1486/7 | | | | John Danby |
| | 1494/5 | | | | Robert Bates (Baitts) |
| | 1498/9 | | | | Robert Weardale |
| - | 1504/5 | to | | | Robert Rake |
| - | 1509/10 | to | | | John Wrake |
| - | 1521/2 | to | 1523/4 | | Christopher Will |
| | 1524/5 | to | | | John Porter |
| - | 1527/8 | to | | | William Wylam |
| - | 1532/3 | to | | | Thomas Spark |

J. FERETRARS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | to | 1375/6 | Hugh Hawick and John Allerton |
| | 1376/7 | to | 1377/8 | William Goldsbrough |
| | 1378/9 | to | 1382/3 | John Allerton |
| | 1383/4 | to | 1384/5 | Richard Sedgebrook |
| | 1385/6 | to | 1391/2 - | Thomas Lyth |
| - | 1397/8 | to | 1401/2 | Thomas Lyth |
| | 1402/3 | to | 1408/9 | William Pocklington |
| | 1409/10 | to | 1410/11 | William Southwick |
| | 1411/2 | to | 1417/8 | Robert Crayke and John Durham |
| | 1418/9 | to | 1433/4 | John Durham and others |
| | 1434/5 | to | 1438/9 | Richard Barton |
| | 1439/40 | to | 1440/1 | John Burnaby |
| | 1441/2 | to | | Robert Emildon |
| - | 1444/5 | to | 1452/3 | William Dalton |
| | 1453/4 | to | 1456/7 | John Penshaw |
| | 1456/7 | to | 1460/1 - | John Warner |
| - | 1480/1 | to | | Richard Steel |
| - | 1488/9 | to | | John Manby |
| - | 1501/2 | to | | Robert Weardale |
| - | 1513/4 | to | | John Holywell |
| - | 1525/6 | to | | Richard Herrington |
| - | 1536/7 | to | 1537/8 - | William Wylam |

K. INFIRMARERS.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1352/3 | to | 1362/3 - | Michael Chilton<br>John Abell |
| - | 1369/70 | to | 1370/1 - | John Goldsbrough<br>John Newburn<br>Thomas Lyth |
| | | to | 1384/5 | Robert Picton |
| | 1385/6 | | | Richard Sedgebrook |
| | 1386/7 | to | 1398/9 - | John Bishopton |
| - | 1413/4 | to | 1418/9 | Robert Easby |
| | 1419/20 | | | Thomas Stapley |
| | 1420/1 | to | 1433/4 | Robert Easby |
| | 1434/5 | to | 1437/8 | Roger Lanchester |
| | 1438/9 | to | 1439/40 | Henry Ferriby |
| | 1440/1 | to | 1442 | Thomas Ward |
| | 1442 | to | 1446/7 | Thomas Nesbit |
| | 1447/8 | to | 1454/5 | John Gunnerton |
| | 1455/6 | to | 1459/60 | Richard Kelloe |
| | 1460/1 | to | 1464/5 | John Warner |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1465/6 | to | 1471/2 | | Richard Sherburn |
| | 1472/3 | to | 1475/6 | | Richard Wrake |
| | 1476/7 | to | | | William Elwick |
| | | | | | Thomas Houghton |
| - | 1485/6 | to | 1492/3 | | Richard Steel |
| - | 1496/7 | to | | | Thomas Staindrop |
| - | 1526/7 | to | 1534/5 | - | Thomas Holborn |

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PRIMARY SOURCES . UNPRINTED

With the exception of the Liber Sacriste, which is in the possession of Ushaw College (Manuscript 25), all the following documents belong to the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

### Account Rolls.

Bursar.

1278, 1292/3, 1293/4, 1297/8, 1298/9, 1300/1, 1302/3, 1306/7, 1308/9 - 1310/11, 1313/4, 1314/5, 1316/7 - 1318/9, 1328/9 - 1344/5, 1347/8 - 1363/4, 1365/6 - 1368/9, 1371/3 - 1381/2, 1383/4, 1384/5, 1386/7 - 1391/2, 1394/5 - 1397/8, 1399/1400 - 1402/3, 1404/5, 1406/7 - 1412/3, 1414/5 - 1416/7, 1418/9 - 1446/7, 1449/50, 1453/4, 1454/5, 1456/7 - 1458/9, 1462/3, 1464/5 - 1476/7, 1478/9 - 1489/90, 1492/3 - 1501/2, 1503/4 - 1515/6, 1519/20, 1523/4, 1536/7.

Also Tithe Sales. 1291/2, 1292/3, 1293/4, 1294/5, 1307/8, 1308/9, 1310/11, 1311/2, ? 1316, 1330/1, 1335/6, 1336/7, 1345/6, 1346/7,

Waste and Decay of Rent. 1396/7, 1397/8, 1399/1400, 1400/1, 1401/2, 1404/5, 1406/7, 1412/3, 1418/9, 1434/5

Although separate documents, many of the facts they contain also appear in the main body of the accounts. They may be regarded, therefore, as parts of the annual account.

Terrar.

1391/2, 1401/2, 1414/5, 1416/7 - 1421/2, 1425/6 - 1429/30, 1433/4 - 1435/6, 1463/4, 1504/5 - 1509/10, 1512/3.

Hostillar.

1302/3, 1325/6, 1331/2, 1333/5, 1344/5 - 1351/2, 1353/4 - 1358/9, 1360/1 - 1370/1, 1373/4 - 1377/8, 1379/80 - 1402/3, 1404/5 - 1474/5, 1479/80, 1481/1, 1485/6 -1492/3, 1495/6, 1496/7, 1505/6, 1508/9 - 1510/11, 1512/3, 1513/4, 1523/4, 1528/9.

Almoner.

1339/40, 1340/1, 1342/3 - 1344/5, 1347/8, 1350/1 - 1354/5, 1367/8 - 1380/1, 1390/1 - 1395/6, 1397/8 - 1408/9, 1410/11 - 1423/4, 1428/9 - 1445/6, 1447/8 - 1451/2, 1453/4, 1455/6, 1456/7, 1458/9, 1460/1 - 1466 /7, 1469/70 - 1472/3, 1474/5, 1477/8 - 1485/6, 1487/8, 1492/3 - 1498/9, 1500/1, 1501/2, 1504/5 - 1508/9, 1511/2, 1513/4, 1515/6, 1516/7, 1518/9, 1519/20, 1522/3 - 1524/5, 1526/7, 1529/30, 1523/4,

Also Rent Rolls: 1290, 1313/4, ? 1315, c.1325, 1328/9, ? 1331/2, 1323/4, 1334/5, 1338/9, 1344/5, 1345/6.

Sacrist.

1322/4, 1338/40, 1341/2 - 1353/4, 1355/6 - 1363/4, 1367/8, 1376/7 - 1383/4, 1385/6, 1386/7, 1388/9, 1390/1, 1393/4, 1395/6 - 1397/8, 1401/2 - 1409/10, 1411/2 - 1416/7, 1419/20 - 1424/5, 1438/9 - 1445/6, 1448/9 - 1458/9, 1465/6, 1472/3 - 1474/5, 1483/4 - 1487/8, 1535/6.

Commoner.

1416/7, 1430/1, 1440/1, 1441/2, 1445/6, 1453/4, 1474/5, 1480/1, 1389/90, 1496/7, 1499/1500, 1502/3, 1505/6, 1508/9, 1510/11, 1511/2, 1513/4, 1516/7, 1517/8, 1524/5, 1534/5, 1537/8.

Chamberlain

1334/5, 1342/3, 1344/5 - 1358/9, 1362/3 - 1367/8, 1370/1, 1372/3, 1374/5, 1376/7 - 1378/9, 1402/3 - 1404/5, 1406/7 - 1414/5, 1440/1 - 1444/5, 1447/8 - 1450/1, 1452/3 - 1457/8, 1475/6, 1476/7, 1478/9, 1480/1, 1481/2, 1486/7, 1494/5, 1498/9, 1509/10, 1521/2, 1523/4, 1525/6, 1527/8, 1532/3.

Infirmarer.

1352/3 - 1362/3, 1369/70, 1370/1, 1381/2, 1384/5 - 1390/1, 1392/3, 1396/7 - 1398/9, 1413/4, 1414/5, 1416/7, 1417/8, 1422/3 - 1426/7, 1428/9, 1431/2 - 1437/8, 1440/1 - 1442/3, 1447/8 - 1450/1, 1452/3 - 1473/4, 1475/6, 1476/7, 1485/6 - 1489/90, 1496/7, 1526/7, 1534/5.

Feretrar

1376/7 - 1390/1, 1397/8 - 1441/2, 1444/5 - 1460/1, 1480/1, 1488/9, 1501/2, 1513/4, 1525/6, 1536/7, 1537/8.

Also Indentures 1375/6, 1376, 1376/7, 1379, 1379/80, 1381/2, 1398/9, 1401, 1402/3, 1403/4, c.1405, 1406, 1407/8, 1409/10, 1410/11, 1411, 1411/2.

Proctor of Norham

1299/1301, 1314/5, 1315/6, 1317/8 - 1320/1, 1327/8, 1329/30, 1330/1, 1333/4, 1335/6, 1338/9, 1341/2, 1348/9, 1360/1, 1404/5 - 1408/9, 1421/2, 1425/6 - 1428/9, 1446/7, 1449/50, 1451/2, 1453/4, 1457/8, 1460/1 - 1462/3, 1468/9, 1469/70, 1471/2, 1472/3, 1478/9, 1479/80, 1482/3 - 1534/5.

Proctor of St. Oswald

1332, 1447/8, 1448/9, c.1460, 1467/8, 1471/2 - 1474/5, 1479/80, 1485/6, 1486/7, 1491/2, 1505/6, 1506/7, 1509/10, 1510/11, 1512/3, 1513/4, 1523/4, 1528/9.

Proctor of St. Margaret

1447/8, 1448/9, 1461/2, 1467/8, 1471/2 - 1474/5, 1488/9, 1489/90, 1491/2, 1505/6 - 1510/11, 1512/3, 1523/4, 1528/9.

## Rentals.

All the rentals are in bound volumes.

Rentale Domus Dunelm 1339 - 1349 (Bursar)

c.1332, 1335/6, 1340/1, 1341 (Whitsun term), 1342 (Whitsun term), 1342/3, 1343/4, 1344/5, 1345/6, 1346/7, 1347/8, ? 1388/9.

Rentale Scaccarii Domini Prioris Dunelm ( Bursar).

1382/3 - 1388/9.

Rentale Bursarii 1395 (Bursar)

1396, 1397, 1401, 1411.

Bursar's Rental 1495 (Bursar)

1495

Bursar's Rentals 1507 - 10 (Bursar)

1507, 1508, 1509, 1510.

Bursar's Rental 1512 (Bursar)

1512

Bursar's Rental 1516 - 1517 (Bursar)

1516, 1517.

Bursar's Rental 1538 (Bursar)

1538

Bursar's Rental 1539 (Bursar)

1539.

Rentale Hostillarii (Hostillar)

1523/4

Rentale Hostillarii 1525 - 1534 (Hostillar)

1525/6, 1526/7, 1527/8, 1529/30, 1530/1, 1531/2, 1532/3, 1533/4, 1534/5.

Almoner's Rentals 1501 - 1503 (Almoner)

1501/2, 1502/3, 1503/4.

Almoner's Rentals 1532 - 1537 (Almoner)

1532/3, 1533/4, 1534/5, 1535/6, 1536/7, 1537/8.

Redditus Firmarum ad Sacristariam Dunelm Spectarcuium (Sacrist).

1329 - 1384.

Tabula Evidenciarum Sacristariae Dunelm (Sacrist)

1501/2.

Commoner's Rentals.

1453/4, 1454/5, 1455/6, 1456/7, 1457/8, 1458/9.

Infirmarer's Rentals and Cartulary

1429/30.

## Court Records

Halmote Court Rolls.

Three rolls were produced every year, one for each turn of the court in spring, summer and autumn. Because the year began on 25th March the first turn of the court was that held in the summer. Thus, in terms of the modern calendar, the sequence is III, I, II, for example, 1376I, 1376II, 1376III, means 1376 (Summer), 1376(Autumn), 1377(Spring). The original form was reproduced by the editors of SS 82, recently, however, the rolls have been recorded according to the modern calendar, and it is in this form that they have been quoted. The dates under this and subsequent headings indicate the existence of some, but not necessarily the whole, of the record for the year.

1296, 1297, 1300, 1345, 1354, 1364 - 1401, 1404, 1405, 1407, 1409 - 1414, 1420, 1421, 1423, 1424, 1427, 1428, 1439, 1449, 1450, 1460, 1461, 1465 - 1467, 1472 - 1474, 1477 - 1479, 1482, 1483, 1487 - 1495, 1497 - 1507.

Halmote Court Books.

These are bound volumes containing record of land leases which were also recorded in the rolls until 1460.

| | |
|---|---|
| Book I | 1400 - 1439. |
| Book II | 1440 - 1491. |
| Book III | 1492 - 1528. |

Shoreswood Halmote Court.

1345 - 1371.

Prior's Free Court.

1302, 1304, 1306, 1307, 1309, 1310, 1312 - 1318, 1320 - 1343, 1345 - 1360, 1372 - 1374, 1376 - 1378, 1382, 1383, 1385 - 1388, 1394 - 1402, 1418, 1423, - 1426.

Shincliffe Halmote Court.

1344, 1345, 1395, 1396, 1398 - 1403, 1405, 1406, 1409, 1410, 1429 -1440, 1443 - 1445, 1463, 1465.

Borough of Elvet Court.

1329, 1381,

Barony of Elvet Court.

1352, 1360, 1361, 1398 - 1401.

Borough of Crossgate Court.

1389, 1391 - 1393, 1400.

## Other Documents.

Elvet Manor Accounts.

1383/4, 1392/3, 1396/7, 1424/5, 1430/1, 1433/4, 1434/5, 1447/8, 1455/6, 1457/8 - 1459/60, 1461/2 - 1463/4, 1465/6, - 1474/5, 1479/80 - 1481/2, 1488/9 - 1491/2, 1501/2, 1505/6, 1510/11, 1513/4, 1523/4, 1528/9.

Ferryhill Manor Accounts.

1316/7, 1331/2, 1332/3, 1333/4.

Pittington Manor Accounts

Registers I, II, III, IV and V.

Cartularies I, II, III and IV.

Cartuarium Elemosinariae Dunelm (Small)

Cartuarium Elemosinariae Dunelm (Large)

Cartuarium Evidenciarum Communarii

Liber Sacriste

Locelli IV and V various documents

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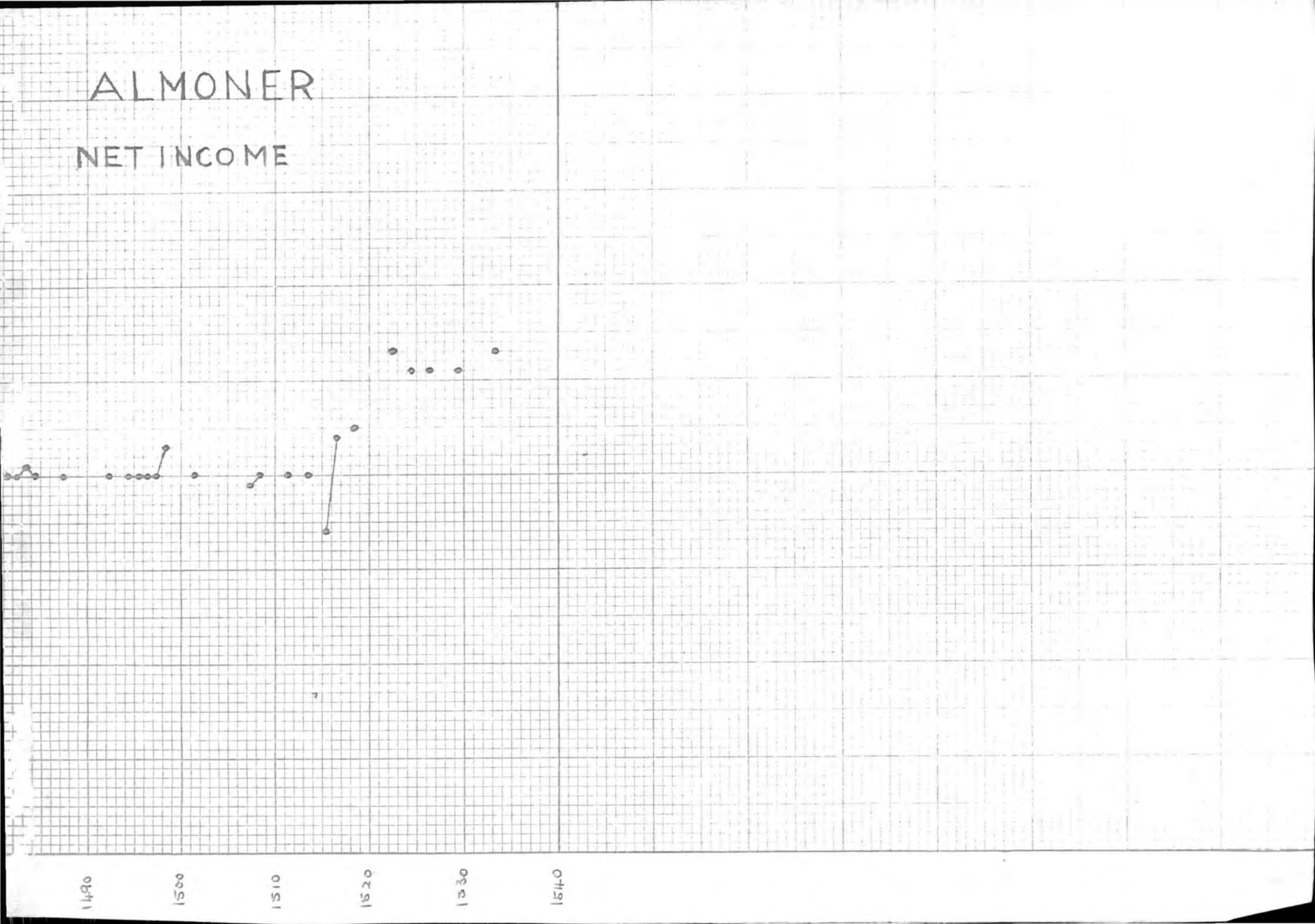
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# ALMONER

## NET INCOME



E60
E70
E80
E90
E100
E110
E120
E130
1340
1350
1360
1370
1380
1390
1400
1410
1420
1430
1440
1450
1460
1470

BURSAR.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1292/93 | 2373 | 8. | 2¾. |
| 1293/94 | 3975. | 16. | 11. |
| 1294/95 | | | |
| 1295/96 | | | |
| 1296/97 | | | |
| 1297/98 | 3624. | 9. | 0½. |
| | | | |
| 1308/9 | 4526. | 8. | 7. |
| 1309/10 | 3774. | 1. | 3. |
| 1310/11 | 2459. | 10. | 9¼. |
| 1311/12 | | | |
| 1312/13 | | | |
| 1313/14 | 2119. | 10. | 8¼. |
| 1314/15 | 2176. | 11. | 11½. |
| 1315/16 | | | |
| 1316/17 | | | |
| 1317/18 | 1843. | 16. | 0½. |
| 1318/19 | 1322. | 7. | 3¾. |
| | | | |
| 1328/29 | 2270. | ? | ? |
| 1329/30 | 1900. | 17. | 9½. |
| 1330/31 | 2220. | 13. | 0½. |
| 1331/32 | | | |
| 1332/33 | 2065. | 19. | 2¼. |
| 1333/34 | 1707. | 7. | 4. |
| 1334/35 | | | |
| 1335/36 | 1806. | 4. | 2¾. |
| 1336/37 | | | |
| 1337/38 | 1727. | 15. | 7½. |
| 1338/39 | 1616. | 19. | 11. |
| 1339/40 | | | |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1340/41 | 1931. | 14. | $4\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1341/42 | | | |
| 1342/43 | 1533. | 3. | 0. |
| 1343/44 | 1502. | 18. | $1\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1344/45 | 1401. | 7. | $11\frac{1}{2}$. |
| 1345/46 | | | |
| 1346/47 | | | |
| 1347/48 | 1587. | 0. | $8\frac{1}{4}$. |
| 1348/49 | | | |
| 1349/50 | 1212. | 8. | 1. |
| 1350/51 | 1317. | 2. | 10. |
| 1351/52 | 1246. | 18. | $10\frac{1}{2}$. |
| 1352/53 | 1440. | 5. | $5\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1353/54 | 1495. | 16. | $2\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1354/55 | | | |
| 1355/56 | 1393. | 12. | $2\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1356/57 | 1359. | 10. | $4\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1357/58 | | | |
| 1358/59 | 1744. | 6. | $10\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1359/60 | 1690. | 16. | $10\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1360/61 | | | |
| 1361/62 | | | |
| 1362/63 | 1579. | 6. | $5\frac{1}{2}$. |
| 1363/64 | 1309. | 18. | $6\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1364/65 | | | |
| 1365/66 | 1755. | 1. | 7. |
| 1366/67 | 1841. | 19. | $7\frac{1}{2}$. |
| 1367/68 | 1836. | 6. | $5\frac{1}{4}$. |
| 1368/69 | 1723. | 3. | $3\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1369/70 | | | |
| 1370/71 | 1736. | 14. | $7\frac{1}{4}$. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1371/73 | | | |
| 1373/74 | 2114. | 16. | 2. |
| 1374/75 | 1868. | 3. | 4½. |
| 1375/76 | 1771. | 11. | 8½. |
| 1376/77 | 1507. | 5. | 2¼. |
| 1377/78 | 1617. | 3. | 4. |
| 1378/79 | 1571. | 7. | 1. |
| 1379/80 | 2078. | 9. | 0¼ |
| 1380/81 | 1823. | 13. | 5¾. |
| 1381/82 | 2093. | 10. | 3. |
| 1382/83 | | | |
| 1383/84 | 2018. | 18. | 4½. |
| 1384/85 | 2060. | 12. | 2¾. |
| 1385/86 | | | |
| 1386/87 | 2189. | 18. | 7¼. |
| 1387/88 | | | |
| 1388/89 | 1733. | 3. | 10½. |
| 1389/90 | 1670. | 0. | 6¼. |
| 1390/91 | 2087. | 2. | 11¼. |
| 1391/92 | | | |
| 1392/93 | | | |
| 1393/94 | | | |
| 1394/95 | 1929. | 7. | 2¾. |
| 1395/96 | 1794. | 2. | 3¼. |
| 1396/97 | 1623. | 5. | 3¼. |
| 1397/98 | 1615. | 4. | 9¾. |
| 1398/99 | | | |
| 1399/1400 | 1780. | 11. | 11¼. |
| 1400/1 | 1581. | 7. | 6¼. |
| 1401/2 | 1505. | 10. | 1¾. |
| 1402/3 | 1702. | 0. | 9½. |
| 1403/4 | | | |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1404/5 | | | |
| 1405/6 | | | |
| 1406/7 | 1469. | 10. | 1. |
| 1407/8 | 1470. | 4. | 1½. |
| 1408/9 | 1681. | 0. | 8½. |
| 1409/10 | 1648. | 8. | 7½. |
| 1410/11 | 1569. | 3. | 2. |
| 1411/12 | | | |
| 1412/13 | 1507. | 13. | 6½. |
| 1413/14 | | | |
| 1414/15 | 1534. | 19. | 8½. |
| 1415/16 | 1514. | 11. | 6½. |
| 1416/17 | 1607. | 4. | 11. |
| 1417/18 | | | |
| 1418/19 | 1528. | 8. | 3¾. |
| 1419/20 | 1490. | 8. | 8¾. |
| 1420/21 | 1445. | 2. | 6¾. |
| 1421/22 | 1558. | 13. | 8½. |
| 1422/23 | 1492. | 14. | 6½. |
| 1423/24 | 1489. | 2. | 7 |
| 1424/25 | 1484. | 4. | 8. |
| 1425/26 | | | |
| 1426/27 | | | |
| 1427/28 | 1438. | 13. | 6. |
| 1428/29 | 1431. | 4. | 7. |
| 1429/30 | 1545. | 13. | 7. |
| 1430/31 | | | |
| 1431/32 | 1513. | 7. | 4½. |
| 1432/33 | 1434. | 1. | 8. |
| 1433/34 | 1556. | 14. | 3. |
| 1434/35 | 1471. | 14. | 1. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1435/36 | 1406. | 18. | 11. |
| 1436/37 | 1388. | 4. | 7½. |
| 1437/38 | 1438. | 8. | 2½. |
| 1438/39 | 1222. | 5. | 3. |
| 1439/40 | | | |
| 1440/41 | 1341. | 18. | 0. |
| 1441/42 | 1451. | 13. | 4¼. |
| 1442/43 | | | |
| 1443/44 | 1399. | 15. | 4. |
| 1444/45 | 1376. | 11. | 9½. |
| 1445/46 | | | |
| 1446/47 | 1341. | 18. | 2½. |
| 1447/48 | | | |
| 1448/49 | | | |
| 1449/50 | 1276. | 9. | 6. |
| 1450/51 | | | |
| 1451/52 | | | |
| 1452/53 | | | |
| 1453/54 | 1350. | 1. | 7½. |
| 1454/55 | 1319. | 12. | 2½. |
| 1455/56 | | | |
| 1456/57 | 1462. | 1. | 0½. |
| 1457/58 | 1410. | 7. | 9. |
| 1458/59 | 1430. | 18. | 11. |
| 1459/60 | | | |
| 1460/61 | | | |
| 1461/62 | | | |
| 1462/63 | 1487. | 12. | 9. |
| 1463/64 | | | |
| 1464/65 | 1372. | 17. | 3½. |
| 1465/66 | 1357. | 1. | 9. |
| 1466/67 | 1326. | 11. | 6¾. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1467/68 | 1478. | 5. | 7½. |
| 1468/69 | 1394. | 16. | 8. |
| 1469/70 | 1371. | 6. | 10½. |
| 1470/71 | 1414. | 19. | 4. |
| 1471/72 | 1395. | 6. | 4. |
| 1472/73 | 1395. | 13. | 5. |
| 1473/74 | 1399. | 4. | 1. |
| 1474/75 | 1419. | 0. | 8½. |
| 1475/76 | 1428. | 6. | 5½. |
| 1476/77 | 1422. | 17. | 4. |
| 1477/78 | | | |
| 1478/79 | 1459. | 11. | 5¾. |
| 1479/80 | 1421. | 17. | 7. |
| 1480/81 | 1399. | 17. | 8¾. |
| 1481/82 | 1398. | 5. | 9½ |
| 1482/83 | 1397. | 18. | 3. |
| 1483/84 | | | |
| 1484/85 | 1413. | 1. | 5. |
| 1485/86 | 1378. | 7. | 1¼. |
| 1486/87 | 1389. | 10. | 6½. |
| 1487/88 | 1408. | 7. | 1. |
| 1488/89 | 1402. | 15. | 4. |
| 1489/90 | | | |
| 1490/91 | | | |
| 1491/92 | | | |
| 1492/93 | 1381. | 0. | 10. |
| 1493/94 | 1439. | 3. | 10¼. |
| 1494/95 | 1425. | 18. | 6. |
| 1495/96 | 1388. | 7. | 5. |
| 1496/97 | 1308. | 5. | 10¾. |
| 1497/98 | 1335. | 4. | 0. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1498/99 | 1354. | 15. | 6¾. |
| 1499/1500 | 1399. | 17. | 4. |
| 1500/1 | 1397. | 17. | 6. |
| 1501/2 | 1381. | 6. | 9½. |
| 1502/3 | | | |
| 1503/4 | 1383. | 18. | 9. |
| 1504/5 | 1412. | 3. | 4½. |
| 1505/6 | 1420. | 15. | 4. |
| 1506/7 | 1385. | 0. | 8¾. |
| 1507/8 | 1400. | 2. | 0½. |
| 1508/9 | 1393. | 1. | 7. |
| 1509/10 | 1427. | 17. | 8¾. |
| 1510/11 | 1401. | 13. | 2. |
| 1511/12 | 1424. | 4. | 11¼. |
| 1512/13 | | | |
| 1513/14 | 1472. | 12. | 3. |
| 1514/15 | 1390. | 13. | 8. |
| 1515/16 | 1434. | 17. | 10. |
| 1516/17 | | | |
| 1517/18 | | | |
| 1518/19 | | | |
| 1519/20 | 1498. | 15. | 7. |
| 1520/21 | | | |
| 1521/22 | | | |
| 1522/23 | | | |
| 1523/24 | 1486. | 15. | 7¼. |
| 1536/37 | 1462. | 11. | 11½. |

## ALMONER.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1339/40 | 46, | 7. | 2½. |
| 1340/41 | 69. | 9. | 9¼. |
| 1341/42 | 69. | 2. | 6. |
| 1342/43 | 53. | 14. | 5¾. |
| 1343/44 | | | |
| 1344/45 | 53. | 8. | 6¾. |
| 1345/46 | | | |
| 1346/47 | | | |
| 1347/48 | 102. | 2. | 3½. |
| 1348/49 | | | |
| 1349/50 | | | |
| 1350/51 | 84. | 16. | 8½. |
| 1351/52 | 84. | 16. | 8½. |
| 1352/53 | 97. | 14. | 4. |
| 1353/54 | 89. | 12. | 7. |
| 1354/55 | 93. | 12. | 4½. |
| | | | |
| 1367/68 | 97. | 16. | 5½. |
| 1368/69 | 98. | 11. | 10. |
| 1369/70 | 138. | 13. | 6½. |
| 1370/71 | 132. | 14. | 3½. |
| 1371/72 | 128. | 0. | 2. |
| 1372/73 | 132. | 4. | 0¼. |
| 1373/74 | | | |
| 1374/75 | | | |
| 1375/76 | 103. | 10. | 11½. |
| 1376/77 | 113. | 6. | 6. |
| 1377/78 | 91. | 5. | 5½. |
| 1378/79. | 86. | 7. | 9½. |
| 1379/80 | | | |
| 1380/81 | 91. | 19. | 7. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1390/91 | 94. | 17. | 9. |
| 1391/92 | 92. | 9. | 11. |
| 1392/93 | 91. | 0. | 1½. |
| 1393/94 | 96. | 2. | 9½. |
| 1394/95 | 87. | 14. | 9½. |
| 1395/96 | | | |
| 1396/97 | | | |
| 1397/98 | 102. | 12. | 0¼. |
| 1398/99 | 104. | 15. | 0. |
| 1399/1400 | 101. | 16. | 9. |
| 1400/1 | 124. | 3. | 1½. |
| 1401/2 | 117. | 11. | 5. |
| 1402/3 | 130. | 2. | 9. |
| 1403/4 | 101. | 9. | 1½. |
| 1404/5 | 102. | 2. | 9½. |
| 1405/6 | 113. | 6. | 6. |
| 1406/7 | 104. | 19. | 6. |
| 1407/8 | 111. | 18. | 8. |
| 1408/9 | | | |
| 1409/10 | . | . | . |
| 1410/11 | | | |
| 1411/12 | 102. | 19. | 3. |
| 1412/13 | | | |
| 1413/14 | 97. | 19. | 0. |
| 1414/15 | 95. | 8. | 6. |
| 1415/16 | 97. | 3. | 4. |
| 1416/17 | 96. | 16. | 10. |
| 1417/18 | | | |
| 1418/19 | 99. | 6. | 7. |
| 1419/20 | 97. | 0. | 9½. |
| 1420/21 | 99. | 12. | 0½. |
| 1421/22 | 98. | 13. | 7. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1422/23 | 102. | 10. | 10. |
| 1423/24 | 97. | 1. | 9. |
| 1424/25 | | | |
| 1425/26 | | | |
| 1426/27 | | | |
| 1427/28 | | | |
| 1428/29 | 99. | 3. | 9. |
| 1429/30 | | | |
| 1430/31 | 101. | 19. | 3½. |
| 1431/32 | 99. | 13 | 4½. |
| 1432/33 | 92. | 9. | 3½. |
| 1433/34 | | | |
| 1434/35 | 87. | 15. | 0½. |
| 1435/36 | 87. | 18. | 6½. |
| 1436/37 | 89. | 2. | 9. |
| 1437/38 | 89. | 0. | 7. |
| 1438/39 | 87. | 14. | 8. |
| 1439/40 | 87. | 14. | 9½. |
| 1440/41 | 86. | 13. | 6½. |
| 1441/42 | 87. | 10. | 1½. |
| 1442/43 | 88. | 16. | 1½. |
| 1443/44 | 87. | 8. | 7½. |
| 1444/45 | 86. | 13. | 0½. |
| 1445/46 | 87. | 9. | 9. |
| 1446/47 | | | |
| 1447/48 | 88. | 6. | 6. |
| 1448/49 | 86. | 17. | 2. |
| 1449/50 | 87. | 7. | 2½. |
| 1450/51 | | | |
| 1451/52 | | | |
| 1452/53 | | | |
| 1453/54 | 87. | 11. | 9½. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1455/56 | 89. | 7. | 10½. |
| 1456/57 | 87. | 16. | 3. |
| 1457/58 | | | |
| 1458/59 | 87. | 11. | 10½. |
| 1459/60 | | | |
| 1460/61 | 89. | 8. | 3. |
| 1461/62 | 88. | 12. | 6½. |
| 1462/63 | 88. | 5. | 10½. |
| 1463/64 | | | |
| 1464/65 | | | |
| 1465/66 | | | |
| 1466/67 | 88. | 17. | 3. |
| 1467/68 | | | |
| 1468/69 | | | |
| 1469/70 | | | |
| 1470/71 | 90. | 16. | 3½. |
| 1471/72 | 91. | 3. | 9½. |
| 1472/73 | 92. | 13. | 11½. |
| 1473/74 | | | |
| 1474/75 | | | |
| 1475/76 | | | |
| 1476/77 | | | |
| 1477/78. | 90 | 14. | 9½. |
| 1478/79 | 90. | 13. | 1½. |
| 1479/80 | 91. | 1. | 0½. |
| 1480/81 | 94. | 4. | 9. |
| 1481/82 | 90. | 12. | 5½. |
| 1482/83 | 90. | 13. | 7½. |
| 1483/84 | 91. | 1. | 4½. |
| 1484/85 | 90. | 6. | 3½. |
| 1485/86 | | | |
| 1486/87 | | | |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1487/88 | 90. | 10. | 9½. |
| 1488/89 | | | |
| 1489/90 | | | |
| 1490/91 | | | |
| 1491/92 | | | |
| 1492/93 | 90. | 11. | 9½. |
| 1493/94 | | | |
| 1494/95 | 90. | 15. | 1½. |
| 1495/96 | 90. | 15. | 1½. |
| 1496/97 | 90. | 11. | 9½. |
| 1497/98 | 90. | 12. | 5½. |
| 1498/99 | 93. | 10. | 5½. |
| 1499/1500 | | | |
| 1500/1 | | | |
| 1501/2 | 90. | 19. | 5½. |
| 1502/3 | | | |
| 1503/4 | | | |
| 1504/5 | | | |
| 1505/6 | | | |
| 1506/7 | | | |
| 1507/8 | 89. | 14. | 6. |
| 1808/9 | 90. | 14. | 6. |
| 1509/10 | | | |
| 1510/11 | | | |
| 1511/12 | 90. | 14. | 4. |
| 1512/13 | | | |
| 1513/14 | 90. | 14. | 8. |
| 1514/15 | | | |
| 1515/16 | 84. | 8. | 3. |
| 1516/17 | 94. | 1. | 3. |
| 1517/18 | | | |
| 1518/19 | 95. | 16. | 2½. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1519/20 | | | |
| 1520/21 | | | |
| 1521/22 | | | |
| 1522/23 | 103. | 17. | $6\frac{1}{2}$. |
| 1523/24 | | | |
| 1524/25 | 101. | 1. | $3\frac{1}{4}$. |
| 1525/26 | | | |
| 1526/27 | 101. | 8. | $11\frac{3}{4}$. |
| 1527/28 | | | |
| 1528/29 | | | |
| 1529/30 | 101. | 7. | $1\frac{1}{4}$. |
| 1530/31 | | | |
| 1531/32 | | | |
| 1532/33 | | | |
| 1533/34 | 103. | 10. | $5\frac{1}{4}$. |

SACRIST.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1318 | 137. | 14. | 1½. |
| 1338/40 | 102. | 8. | 8½. |
| 1340/41 | | | |
| 1341/42 | | | |
| 1342/43 | 116. | 7. | 6½. |
| 1343/44 | 91. | 6. | 9½. |
| 1344/45 | | | |
| 1345/46 | 138. | 12. | 2¾. |
| 1346/47 | 129. | 18. | 4. |
| 1347/48 | 131. | 5. | 8¾. |
| 1348/49 | 128. | 5. | 3. |
| 1349/50 | | | |
| 1350/51 | 114. | 4. | 7¼. |
| 1351/52 | 106. | 7. | 2. |
| 1352/53 | 91. | 4. | 1½. |
| 1353/54 | 110. | 16. | 9½. |
| 1354/55 | | | |
| 1355/56 | 148. | 0. | 5¼. |
| 1356/57 | | | |
| 1357/58 | | | |
| 1358/59 | | | |
| 1359/60 | 118. | 4. | 9½. |
| 1360/61 | 151. | 4. | 2. |
| 1361/62 | 127. | 11. | 9. |
| 1362/63 | 132. | 11. | 10¾. |
| 1376/77 | 120. | 19. | 9¼. |
| 1377/78 | 128. | 5. | 8. |
| 1378/79 | 108. | 16. | 5½. |
| 1379/80 | 120. | 6. | 0. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1380/81 | 104. | 11. | 9½. |
| 1381/82 | 101. | 13. | 7½. |
| 1382/83 | 108. | 18. | 6¼. |
| 1383/84 | 106. | 5. | 9. |
| 1384/85 | | | |
| 1385/86 | 99. | 12. | 3¼. |
| 1386/87 | 99. | 6. | 6. |
| 1387/88 | | | |
| 1388/89 | 115.. | 16. | 8½. |
| 1389/90 | | | |
| 1390/91 | 92. | 17. | 9½. |
| 1391/92 | | | |
| 1392/93 | | | |
| 1393/94 | 105. | 1. | 9. |
| 1394/95 | | | |
| 1395/96 | 99. | 14. | 3. |
| 1396/97 | 104. | 7. | 1. |
| 1397/98 | 102. | 8. | 7. |
| 1398/99 | | | |
| 1399/1400 | | | |
| 1400/1 | | | |
| 1401/2 | 98. | 2. | 4½. |
| 1402/3 | 90. | 10. | 9½. |
| 1403/4 | | | |
| 1404/5 | 96. | 0. | 1. |
| 1405/6 | 62. | 12. | 1½. |
| 1406/7 | 80. | 16. | 10½. |
| 1407/8 | 85. | 1. | 7½. |
| 1408/9 | 54. | 1. | 4. |
| 1409/10 | 84. | 16. | 6. |
| 1410/11 | | | |
| 1411/12 | 83. | 13. | 11½. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1412/13 | 90. | 19. | 6½. |
| 1413/14 | 99. | 7. | 4½. |
| 1414/15 | 90. | 19. | 7. |
| 1415/16 | 87. | 2. | 9. |
| 1416/17 | 105. | 7. | 8. |
| 1417/18 | | | |
| 1418/19 | | | |
| 1419/20 | 112. | 8. | 9½. |
| 1420/21 | | | |
| 1421/22 | 99. | 15. | 10½. |
| 1422/23 | 90. | 11. | 11½. |
| 1423/24 | 91. | 14. | 1½. |
| 1424/25 | 93. | 4. | 0½. |
| | | | |
| 1438/39 | 134. | 6. | 11. |
| 1439/40 | 134. | 9. | 6. |
| 1440/41 | 125. | 8. | 10. |
| 1441/42 | 120. | 19. | 5½. |
| 1442/43 | 102. | 10. | 10. |
| 1443/44 | 120. | 17. | 3½. |
| 1444/45 | 125. | 0. | 11. |
| 1445/46 | 118. | 0. | 3½. |
| | | | |
| 1458/59 | 122. | 13. | 6. |
| | | | |
| 1465/66 | 118. | 9. | 4½. |
| | | | |
| 1472/73 | 132. | 12. | 8. |
| 1473/74 | 94. | 10. | 10½. |
| 1474/75 | 119. | 8. | 3½. |
| | | | |
| 1483/84 | 184. | 2. | 0. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1484/85 | 187. | 15. | 9½. |
| 1485/86 | 188. | 13. | 8. |
| 1486/87 | 185. | 16. | 3½. |
| 1487/88 | 187. | 0. | 5½. |
| 1535/36 | 131. | 14. | 1. |

## NET INCOME.

The figures in the following tables and graphs are from the account rolls of the respective obedientiaries.They are the annual recorded totals of receipt, less the arrears and the remains.The figures in the Bursar's list for the years 1438/39 to 1445/46 are drawn from the accounts of the Bursar, the Cellarer and the Granator: during that period the endowments of the Bursar's office were divided.Also, on the graph of the Bursar's income, it has proved impossible to include the very high figures for 1293/94 (£3975), 1297/98(£3624), 1308/9(£4526), and 1309/10(£3774).

## HOSTILLAR.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1333/35 | 229. | 3. | 8. |
| 1344/45 | 243. | 10. | 4¾. |
| 1345/46 | | | |
| 1346/47 | | | |
| 1347/48 | 222. | 1. | 5. |
| 1348/49 | 245. | 9. | 9¼. |
| 1349/50 | 183. | 2. | 5¾. |
| 1350/51 | | | |
| 1351/52 | | | |
| 1352/53 | | | |
| 1353/54 | 168. | 15. | 6. |
| 1354/55 | 160. | 4. | 1½. |
| 1355/56 | 184. | 6. | 0. |
| 1356/57 | 161. | 1. | 5¼. |
| 1357/58 | 212. | 7. | 1¾. |
| 1358/59 | 206. | 18. | 7½. |
| 1359/60 | | | |
| 1360/61 | | | |
| 1361/62 | | | |
| 1362/63 | | | |
| 1363/64 | | | |
| 1364/65 | 226. | 14. | 7¼. |
| 1365/66 | 227. | 0. | 9. |
| 1366/67 | 240. | 7. | ?¼. |
| 1367/68 | 232. | 12. | 11. |
| 1375/76 | 181. | 5. | 9¾. |
| 1376/77 | 224. | 3. | 0¼. |
| 1377/78 | 183. | 15. | 4¼. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1378/79 | | | |
| 1379/80 | | | |
| 1380/81 | 209. | 16. | 9. |
| 1381/82 | 180. | 1. | 2½. |
| 1382/83 | 174. | 18. | 3¾. |
| 1383/84 | | | |
| 1384/85 | 203. | 2. | 11. |
| 1385/86 | 219. | 16. | 0. |
| 1386/87 | 216. | 4. | 1¾. |
| 1387/88 | 192. | 9. | 0. |
| 1388/89 | 195. | 1. | 0. |
| 1389/90 | | | |
| 1390/91 | 197. | 8. | 3¾. |
| 1391/92 | 196. | 10. | 2½. |
| 1392/93 | 207. | 9. | 2½. |
| 1393/94 | | | |
| 1394/95 | 197. | 12. | 9½. |
| 1395/96 | 207. | 12. | 5½. |
| 1396/97 | 213. | 4. | 4. |
| 1397/98 | 203 | 13. | 0½. |
| 1398/99 | 210. | 9. | 9½. |
| 1399/1400 | 224. | 1. | 0½. |
| 1400/1 | 200. | 19. | 7½. |
| 1401/2 | 188. | 19. | 2½. |
| 1402/3 | 135. | 1. | 8¾. |
| 1403/4 | | | |
| 1404/5 | 171. | 9. | 6½. |
| 1405/6 | 168. | 1. | 7½. |
| 1406/7 | 183. | 15. | 0½. |
| 1407/8 | 175. | 16. | 5½. |
| 1408/9 | 200. | 13. | 4. |

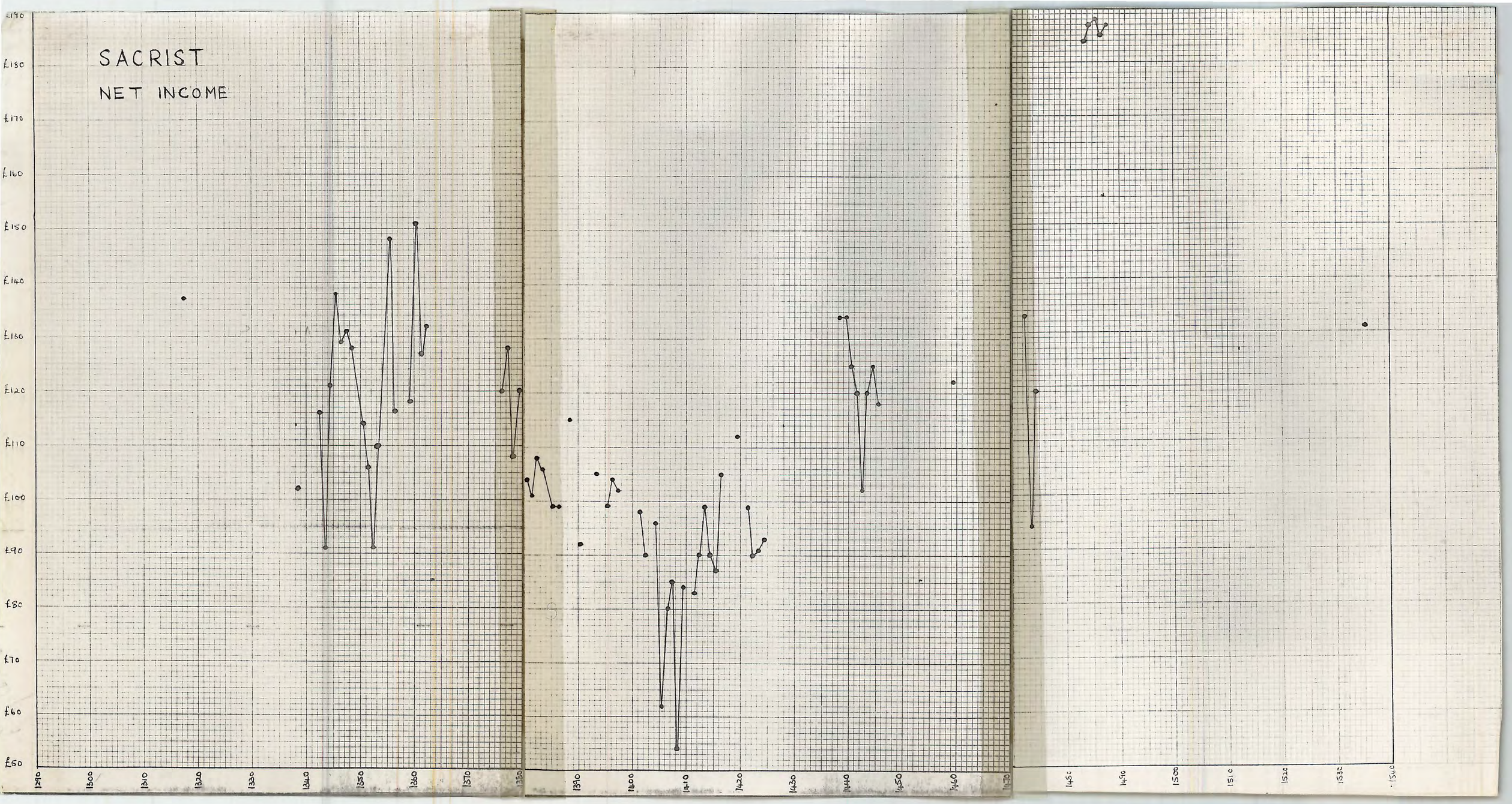
| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1409/10 | 230. | 4. | 4½. |
| 1410/11 | 210. | 8. | 0¾. |
| 1411/12 | 178. | 6. | 8. |
| 1412/13 | 211. | 1. | 0½. |
| 1413/14 | 212. | 9. | 10½. |
| 1414/15 | 214. | 9. | 9. |
| 1415/16 | 200. | 17. | 6. |
| 1416/17 | 219. | 12. | 6. |
| 1417/18 | 197. | 9. | 11¼. |
| 1418/19 | 184. | 8. | 3¼. |
| 1419/20 | 180. | 8. | 3¼. |
| 1420/21 | 159. | 2. | 10¼. |
| 1421/22 | 177. | 4. | 3¼. |
| 1422/23 | 190. | 10. | 1¾. |
| 1423/24 | 173. | 5. | 9¾. |
| 1424/25 | 189. | 7. | 9¾. |
| 1425/26 | 197. | 4. | 4¾. |
| 1426/27 | 175. | 7. | 3¼. |
| 1427/28 | 183. | 16. | 0¼. |
| 1428/29 | 201. | 5. | 1¼. |
| 1429/30 | 195. | 3. | 10¼. |
| 1430/31 | 187. | 16. | 6¾. |
| 1431/32 | 174. | 5. | 8¼. |
| 1432/33 | 157. | 1. | 5¼. |
| 1433/34 | 186. | 9. | 7¾. |
| 1434/35 | 191. | 5. | 2¼. |
| 1435/36 | 175. | 8. | 7¼. |
| 1436/37 | 199. | 1. | 4. |
| 1437/38 | | | |
| 1438/39 | 191. | 5. | 9½. |
| 1439/40 | 190 | 5. | 4¾. |
| 1440/41 | 154. | 11. | 9½. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1441/42 | 143. | 17. | 4. |
| 1442/43 | 166. | 0. | 8¾. |
| 1443/44 | 176. | 10. | 6. |
| 1444/45 | 179. | 6. | 10¾. |
| 1445/46 | 170. | 18. | 11. |
| 1446/47 | 182. | 13. | 5. |
| 1447/48 | 170. | 5. | 11¾. |
| 1448/49 | 164. | 14. | 3½. |
| 1449/50 | 153. | 5. | 10½. |
| 1450/51 | 166. | 15. | 5¾. |
| 1451/52 | 157. | 6. | 1¾. |
| 1452/53 | 158. | 3. | 2. |
| 1453/54 | 162. | 3. | 10. |
| 1454/55 | 159. | 2. | 9. |
| 1455/56 | 159. | 19. | 9½. |
| 1456/57 | 171. | 3. | 8¾. |
| 1457/58 | | | |
| 1458/59 | 166. | 0. | 0½. |
| 1459/60 | 167. | 13. | 4½. |
| 1460/61 | 162. | 18. | 10½. |
| 1461/62 | 161 | 5, | 7½. |
| 1462/63 | 164. | 14. | 2¼. |
| 1463/64 | 165. | 13. | 0½. |
| 1464/65 | 172. | 14. | 8¾. |
| 1465/66 | 160. | 19. | ? |
| 1466/67 | 173. | 16. | 4¼. |
| 1467/68 | 188. | 11. | 1. |
| 1468/69 | 179. | 15. | 7½. |
| 1469/70 | 174. | 2. | 10½. |
| 1470/71 | 187. | 4. | 5½. |
| 1471/72 | 198. | 7. | 10½. |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1472/73 | 195. | 12. | 4. |
| 1473/74 | 188. | 17. | 4. |
| 1474/75 | 186. | 19. | 2¾. |
| 1479/80 | 173. | 17. | 4¾. |
| 1485/86 | 173. | 2. | 1¾. |
| 1486/87 | 188. | 11. | 11¾. |
| 1487/88 | 175. | 18. | 7¼. |
| 1488/89 | 186. | 9. | 9½. |
| 1489/90 | 180. | 10. | 0½. |
| 1490/91 | 183. | 11. | 0. |
| 1491/92 | 185. | 19. | 4¼. |
| 1492/93 | | | |
| 1493/94 | | | |
| 1494/95 | | | |
| 1495/96 | 162. | 12. | 11½. |
| 1496/97 | 187. | 17. | 9. |
| 1505/6 | 180. | 17. | 1. |
| 1509/10 | 184. | 15. | 11. |
| 1510/11. | 176. | 7. | 9¾. |
| 1511/12 | | | |
| 1512/13 | 202. | 3. | 3½. |
| 1513/14 | 190. | 19. | 3½. |
| 1523/24 | 206. | 6. | 2½. |
| 1528/29 | 195. | 9. | 7½. |

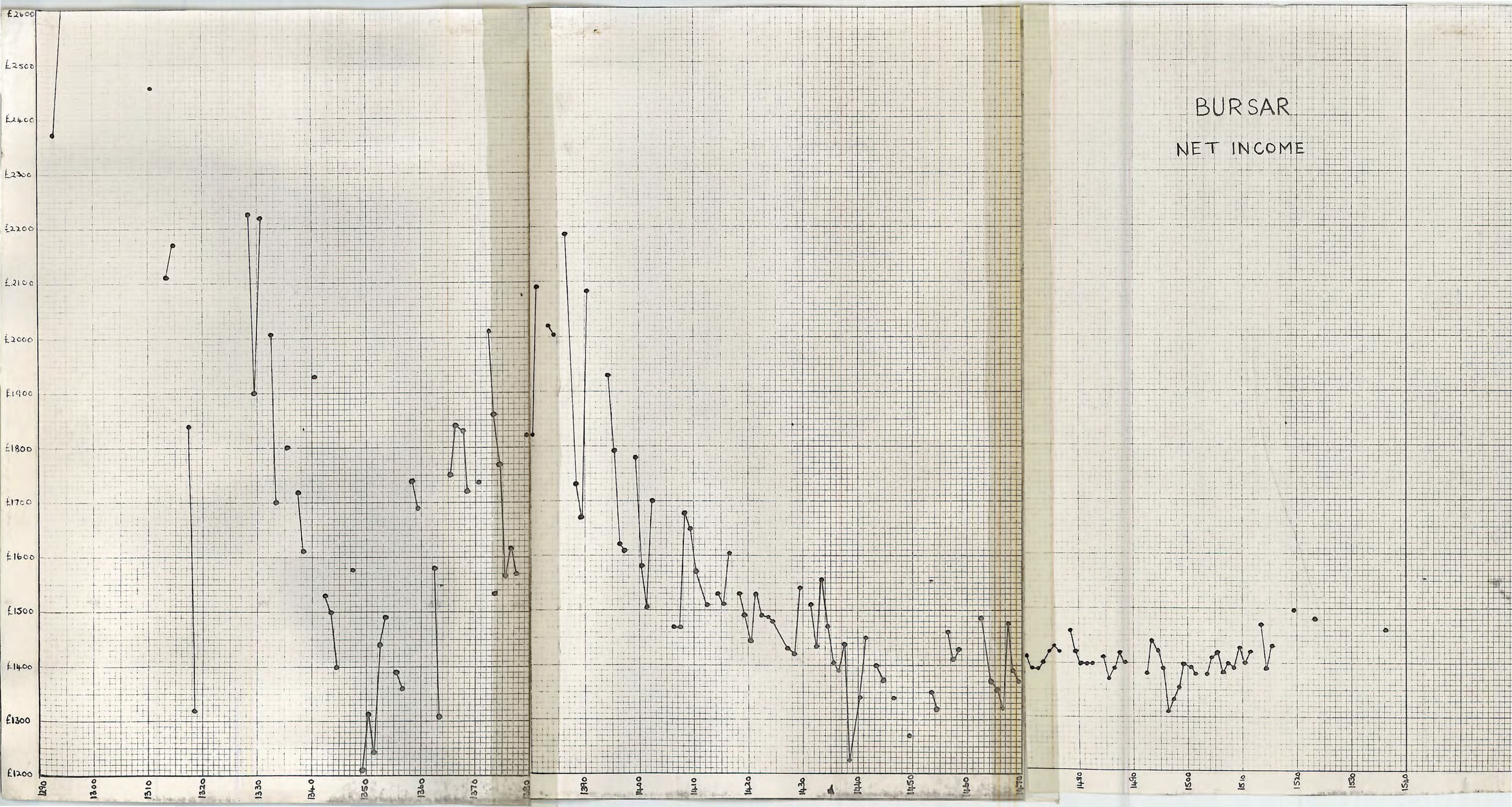
SACRIST

NET INCOME


SACRIST
NET INCOME
£190
£180
£170
£160
£150
£140
£130
£120
£110
£100
£90
£80
£70
£60
£50
1290
1300
1310
1320
1330
1340
1350
1360
1370
1380
1390
1400
1410
1420
1430
1440
1450
1460
1470
1480
1490
1500
1510
1520
1530
1540

# BURSAR

## NET INCOME



# HOSTILLAR

NETINCOME

