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Chapter I.

THE MATERIALS EXAMINED IN THE STUDY.

The value of early surveys for the geographer

An examination of the evidence provided by early surveys for the reconstruction of the geography of Medieval England is at once a fascinating and a peculiarly difficult task. From such surveys the geographer may obtain valuable information on the appearance of the countryside, and on the daily life and work of the people, although the information he gathers rarely appears in the arrangement, or in the detail, he would like. He is constantly beset by textual difficulties, peculiarities of orthography and interpretation and, if more than one manuscript survives, by the difficulty of reaching a satisfactory and reasonable compromise between the various documents. If he is looking for a complete and orderly account, then he is invariable doomed to disappointment: at one moment he may congratulate himself on having discovered exactly the kind of detailed information he is seeking, but how often he turns the page only to find the account incomplete, and he sees the words with which he all too soon becomes familiar - "it is not known.... therefore let it be inquired into." Nevertheless, in spite of their uncertainties and omissions, the records give a picture, more or less accurate, of the general features of contemporary geography; there emerges from them some account of the main elements of the landscape.

of the Middle Ages.

The Domesday Survey

That studies in historical geography are beginning to receive the attention they deserve is the result of Professor Darby's work on the Domesday Geography of England. In the volumes which together bear that title (1), the English counties are considered in turn, and the various items of information which the survey contains about each are examined within this regional framework. However, since Durham, (together with Northumberland, Cumberland, and much of Westmorland) was not visited by King William's commissioners, it is not included in the survey.

The earliest Durham survey

Not until 1183 did any record appear of the County Palatine, for not until then were the adverse conditions of the unsettled times, the hostility of the local inhabitants, and the difficulties involved in the great distance from the centre of administration in the south of England, to some extent overcome by the authority of the prince bishops. By that date, a knowledge of the resources of his bishopric in men, money, and land, was as important to the Bishop of Durham as had been a similar account to the King of England a hundred years earlier. Accordingly "Lord Hugh, Bishop of Durham,

caused to be described in the presence of himself and and of his court, in the eleven hundred and eighty third year of our Lord's incarnation, at the feast of Saint Cuthbert in Lent, all the returns of his whole bishopric, assizes and customs, as they then were, and as they had been aforetime". (2). The introductory paragraph of these returns, which were later to be known as Boldon Book, thus conveniently records the date of the original compilation of the survey, and briefly summarises its contents.

The Nature and value of Boldon Book

The book contains a list of the bishop's tenants, their holdings, and the rents and services they must perform, and is intended for use in the administration of a great estate. It is not a regional survey comparable with those of Domesday Book, since it covers, not the whole county, but only those areas occupied by the bishop's tenants. How far the economic conditions typically found in the bishop's villis resemble those of the villis of the Prior and Convent, and of the lay barons of the county, cannot be finally determined. However, it is not unreasonable to suppose that, within the fairly limited area of the Palatinate, the pattern of the economy, and its effect upon the landscape, would be influenced, not so much by differences in landownership

and control, as by the more fundamental geographical conditions of position, relief, soil, and the like. It is significant that the bishop held lands in all parts of the county: in the east of the county are the areas around Houghton (Houghton-le-Spring), Easington, Middleham (Bishop Middleham), and Stockton; in the centre are the lands tributary to Darlington, Bishop Auckland, and Chester; and almost the whole of the west and north west of the county was included in the bishop's manore of Wolsingham and Lanchester. Although the statistics of Boldon Book cannot be used to provide a complete map of the county, they supply material for the reconstruction of representative sections of the geography of Durham as a whole.

The arrangement of Boldon Book

The information contained in Boldon Book is arranged on a geographical basis. Each of the bishop's vills was surveyed in turn, and the order in which they were recorded, although at first sight seemingly fortuitous, there being no apparant division into wards or hundreds, is in reality well planned. The arrangement of vills in the survey closely reflects their actual disposition on the map. Groups of vills may be distinguished, each group being marked by

historical and economic connections, as well as by geographical proximity. Wearmouth, Ryhope, and Burdon, for example, vills which follow each other in order in the survey, are linked historically; together they form part of a grant of land reputed to have been made by King Athelstane to the Bishopric, and recorded by Symeon in the "Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis". (3).

Moreover, these same vills are bound together by economic ties: they perform the same services, render the same money payments, and have their demesne in common. These three are typical of other vills grouped together in the survey, and appearing as clusters on the map, united, more or less closely, by the historical and geographical influences they have shared.

The limitations of Boldon Book

The record of the scribe concerning the vills surveyed varies considerably in its detail and in its value for mapping purposes. The inhabitants may be carefully enumerated, and classified according to their social status - so many villeins, so many cotmen, and so many "others", the smith, the carpenter, and the pinder. On the other hand, should the vill happen to be at farm only the name of the tenant in chief is recorded, and no details are given of the number and status of

the inferior tenants.

The four transcripts of Boldon Book

The original manuscript of Boldon Book has long since disappeared. The oldest transcript is contained in a volume of thirteenth century copies of Durham Records, the "Liber Irrotulatus Prioratus Dunelmensis" (4). A second copy was made at the close of the fourteenth century for use in the Durham Exchequer, and a third was made about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Finally, there is a fourth and later copy written in a fifteenth century hand. (5). In his introduction to Boldon Book in the Victoria County History of Durham, Professor Lapsley argues that, of these four transcripts, the first, second, and fourth possess a common source, dating from the years between 1249 and 1284, a source which was very probably itself a copy of the original Boldon Book made sometime after the accession of Bishop Phillip of Poitou in 1197. Greater reliance is to be placed on the accuracy of these three transcripts than on that of the fourth, an early fifteenth century document, which appears to have been made from a copy of an original, later than 1197. (6). The more accurate records have been used in this study.

The compilation of other surveys before 1380

During the two centuries which elapsed between the compilation of Boldon Book and of Hishop Hatfield's survey, it is more than probable that other and similar records of the bishop's lands were made. Indeed, the Hatfield Survey itself contains a reference to a certain "antiquum rentale Lodowici", (7), a rental of Lewis Beaumont, bishop of Durham from 1318 to 1333; but this, and any others there may have been, are now no longer in existence.

The date of Bishop Hatfield's Survey

The fourteenth century Survey, although drawn up during the lifetime of Bishop Hatfield, was not finally completed until after his death, in 1381. Unlike Boldon Book, this document contains no convenient introductory paragraph by which it may be precisely dated, but internal and external evidence seem to suggest the year 1382 as the most probable date of its final completion. A reference is made under the account of Heighington to a Halmote Court held at Auckland, the North Auckland of the survey, in 1381. (8). Further, Bishop Hatfield is mentioned as the predecessor of the present bishop, Bishop Fordham, in the record of a grant of land, a messuage and 19 acres, to one William Elmedon, a

dringage tenant at Redworth. (9). The survey therefore cannot have been written down before 1381. The fieldwork may be ascribed with reasonable certainty to the period between 13⁷~~8~~7 and 1380, since two incumbants of churches in the Diocese of Durham, the term of whose incumbancies can be fixed from other sources, appear amongst the bishop's tenants. John Henley, parson of Sedgfield from 1361 to 1380, is mentioned as a tenant of freehold land in that vill; (10). similarly, Robert Hancelap, vicar of Middleham from 1377 to 1387, occurs as holding land in Middleham. (11). The material for the survey must therefore have been collected between the coming of Hanslap to Middleham, and the death of Henley, that is between 1377 and 1380.

Later additions to the Hatfield Survey

The handwriting used throughout the survey is characteristic of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but a few additions in a later hand occur, either as marginal notes, or as interlineations, whose purpose is to bring the information contained in the survey into line with contemporary conditions. They are of interest in showing, not only that frequent reference was made to this document in later years, but also that

changes often occurred in the tenancy and value of the bishop's land. Of special significance in the reconstruction of the pattern of land use are those later additions which tell of changes in the state of cultivation, whether it be a lapse from arable into pasture, or from pasture into land "totally waste".

The Manuscript of the Hatfield Survey

Only one copy of the survey, so far as is known, is still in existence. This copy, a complete photostat of which has been used in the present study, is described by Canon Greenwell as "a marvellously dog's-eared volume, bearing evident tokens of constant reference having been made to its pages". (12). At the end of the record, in the form of an appendix, is a copy of Boldon Book, as well as a variety of entries which, with the exception of two - "about burning moore and whins", and "against tracing hares in the snow, or taking them with any hair, pypes, prynnes, or snare", are of antiquarian, and not of geographical, interest.

The information contained in the Hatfield Survey

The survey is a far more detailed record than Boldon Book. It contains a full list of all the bishop's tenants, and the quantity of land they held, so that here we have, not only a remarkable collection of personal names, but also, where the exact location of a particular

holding within the vill is recorded, valuable evidence on contemporary place-names, together with a glimpse of the actual appearance of the vill itself. It is not impossible to discern, from such purely literary evidence as the survey contains, the arrangement of the houses along the village street, separated from each other here by a garden or an orchard, and there by a small croft, the pattern of cultivation in the surrounding fields, and finally the small assarts, but recently taken from the waste, by those of the bishop's tenants more enterprising, or perhaps more hard-pressed, than their fellow villagers.

The inclusion of Sadberge

The Hatfield Survey contains the first account of the bishop's lands and tenants in the Wapentake of Sadberge, an area which although received by Bishop Pudsey as a royal grant from Richard I, did not appear in Boldon Book. The omission in 1382 of Bedlingtonshire and Norhamshire, both of which were fully recorded two centuries earlier, does not affect the value of the survey as a record of the Durham region.

The date and title of Bishop Langley's Survey

The survey compiled during the episcopate of Bishop Langley follows closely, both in its arrangement and in its contents, that made by order of Bishop Hatfield. Written on the cover of the survey, and in the same hand as the rest of the document, are these works^d "The Rental of the lands of Lord Thomas Langley, Bishop", together with the date - 1418. The introductory paragraph describes, in greater detail, the character of the record; it is to be a "rental of the demesnes, manors, rents, and farms of Thomas, by the grace of God, Bishop of Durham, within the County of Durham and the Wapentake of Sadberge, made by Ralph Euere, knight and seneschal of Durham, William Chancellor, the Constable of Durham" and six others, whose names are duly recorded," "on the fifteenth day of August in the year of Our Lord 1418, and in the thirteenth year of the episcopate of the said bishop". (13). A list of Jurors, who also number six, and who later appear amongst the bishop's tenants, serves to introduce the detailed account of the vill's by the familiar phrase - "they say upon their oath that in Darlington there are....."

The surveys of 1380 and 1418 - their similarities and dissimilarities

The record of the bishop's tenants, their holdings,

status, rents, and services, which follows, is everywhere very similar to, and in places identical with, that of 1381. The close resemblance between the two surveys is made the more evident by the form of the individual entries; a typical example might read; "C.D. holds one messuage and 10 acres of land, formerly held by A.B; and renders at the four usual terms 10s." Referring back to the earlier survey, A.B. is found in possession of the same holding, for which he pays the same rent as the tenant who succeeds him. Nevertheless, certain differences there are between the two surveys, and these most significant. It has been observed how, in the survey of 1380, the marginal notes and references point to changes in the utilisation and value of the bishop's lands. (14). Were such changes a purely temporary and local phenomenon, rapidly disappearing, and leaving no traces on the countryside, or were they of wider and more lasting significance, reflecting a decline, or at least a halt, in the intensity of economic activity, and in the rate and extent of the modifications of the physical environment? The evidence of the survey of 1418 points conclusively to the latter alternative as the one more closely in accordance with the known facts.

The Incompleteness of Bishop Langley's Survey

The value of the Langley Survey for purposes of comparison with that of Bishop Hatfield is seriously impaired by the omission of the whole of Stockton Ward, and of the Wapentake of Sadberge, together with several villis in the other three wards. Moreover, certain villis are surveyed only in part, demesne lands, for example may be missing from one, bondage lands from another, and exchequer lands from a third. Such partial omissions are usually noted in the survey, and order is given that "enquiry is to be made into the same, where they lie, who holds them, and how much they are worth". In addition, a list of the villis missing from the survey is given as a postscript; the scribe explains that they have not, so far, been surveyed.

The three surveys. Conclusions

In his preface to the Surtees Society edition of Bishop Hatfield's Survey, Canon Greenwell describes the three early Durham surveys as "a collection of records dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, which illustrate the social condition of the people, the tenure of land, the mode of agriculture, and other cognate subjects, such as cannot be too highly estimated." (15). For the purposes of historical geography, the surveys contain much that is largely irrelevant, and they omit

all mention of certain topics more strictly the concern of the geographer. However, when their proper limitations are recognised ^{and} the accepted, and when due allowance is made for certain problems of interpretation, both general and peculiar, they do contain a "rich mine of matter" (15), for the reconstruction of the mediæval geography of the County Palatine.

The records of the Prior and Convent of Durham; the Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis

An attempt has been made to supplement the information of the episcopal surveys by reference to contemporary documents of the Prior and Convent of Durham. Of particular value in this respect is the "Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis", a survey of the estates of the Prior and Convent, compiled about 1430, from an original made in the mid-thirteenth century. Based on the latter, the "Feodarium Thomas de Melsonby", (16) successive feodaria, or rentals, were made from time to time, each one being brought into line with the conditions existing at the date of its compilation. The Feodarium of 1430 is one such survey, being an account of the free-holdings only, held by tenants of the Prior and Convent; it is not strictly comparable either with Boldon Book, or with Bishop Hatfield's Survey, both of which record not only free, but also unfree holdings. Moreover,

details of the rents and services of the land holders, which form so large and important a part of the episcopal documents, are not entered here. The Feodarium contains information relating to the settlements, the population, and the size and value of cultivated lands, meadows, gardens, dwellings, mills and fisheries in those parts of the county directly controlled by the Prior. In common with the Langley Survey, which it approaches most closely in time, the rental reflects the prevailing decline in economic activity, and especially in the cultivation of arable land.

The Halmota Prioratus Dunelmensis

The "Halmota Prioratus Dunelmensis", the Halmote Court Rolls of the Prior and Convent of Durham, have also been examined. (17). These are the records of circuits of the convent lands, made three times each year, by monastic officials, (the steward, the bursar, and the terrar), whose duty it was to settle disputes concerning the administration of the Prior's land, to secure tenants, to maintain their boundaries, and to prevent trespass upon them. The Halmote Courts were most frequently held in those villis where the Prior had a manor house, but since the villis do not invariably follow each other in the same order in the rolls, it must be supposed that the route taken by the officials varied

from year to year. However, the scribes make a clear distinction between the proceedings of each vill, writing the name of the vill in the margin, opposite such matters as relate to that place. As in the episcopal surveys, certain groups of villis may be recognised - Wearmouth (Monkwearmouth, on the north bank of the Wear) is associated with Fulwell and Southwick; the Merringtons with Fery and Chilton - in the formation of which both historical and geographical conditions have played their part.

The value of these documents

In his preface to the Surtees society extracts from these rolls, Booth states that "besides affording much information as to the conditions on which the land was held, and the methods of its cultivation, they give a vivid picture of the rural population of the county of Durham during the period covered", that is between 1296 and 1384.. "The dry record of tenures is peopled by the men and women who occupied them, whose acquaintance we make in these records under the various phases of village life. We see them in their tofts, with their gardens of pot herbs. We see how they ordered the affairs of the village,.....we hear of their trespasses and wrongdoings,..... and of their

attempts, not always ineffective, to grasp the principles of co-operation as shown by their bye-laws" (18). It is possible to extract from these "dry records" a great deal of materials of considerable geographical value.

The Durham Account Rolls

From 1898 to 1901 the Surtees Society published three volumes of "Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham", covering the years 1091 to 1540. (19). These, together with several of the original documents themselves, have proved, on examination to give detailed information on such subjects as the cultivation and distribution of grain crops, the methods of livestock farming, fisheries, mills, the quarrying of building materials, and the winning of metals and coal. The account rolls of the various monastic officials record a wide range of economic activity; coal-mining, for example, is dealt with in the "Rotuli de Mineris Carbonum", (20). which describe methods of sinking shafts, draining the pits, obtaining the coal, and its transport; the one remaining roll of the Supervisor Equicii, (21), the Lord Prior's Master of the Horse, gives a detailed picture of the stud farm at Beaurepairs. An equally complete account, covering a far wider area, is given

in the rolls of the Instaurarius, (22), the supervisor of the livestock of the monastery, which contain the receipts, expenses, and inventories of the sheep and cattle on the pastoral manors of the lord; the rolls of the Grantorius, (23), or Keeper of the Garners, provide a similar account of grain farming.

Although the information contained in the Halmote Rolls, and in the Account Rolls of the Prior and Convent, is less suitable for mapping purposes than that contained in the surveys of the Bishop of Durham, they nevertheless go a long way towards filling in the gaps of the surveys. Upon the study of these two groups of records is based the following account of the historical geography of County Durham during the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

The number of settlements recorded in 1183

The total number of separate places mentioned in Boldon Book for the area included within the modern county of Durham, is 94. The bishop's boroughs - Wearmouth (later Sunderland), Gateshead, Darlington, and the city of Durham itself - are included in this total. It is, however, emphasised that, since only those places in which the bishop had tenants are recorded in the survey, the actual number of settlements in the county, certainly greater than 94, cannot be determined. In addition, Boldon Book mentions 15 places in the bishop's lands of Norhamshire and Bedlingtonshire, now included in Northumberland, and therefore outside the scope of the present study.

Possible inaccuracies in this number

The figure 94 given above, in addition to its limitations on the score of incompleteness, may not be quite accurate; there are certain instances of two villages possessing the same surname at the present time, while it is not always clear whether more than one unit existed in the twelfth century. There is, for example, no certain indication that the East, West, and Middle Herrington of today then existed as ~~two~~ separate villages; the information in Boldon Book is entered under one heading - "Heryngtona", (1) and although there

may well have been two or even three settlements no distinction is here made between them. However, a considerable number of villages with the same surname are distinguished in Boldon Book. North Auckland (2) and West Auckland (3) appear on the modern map as Bishop Auckland and West Auckland; Burdon and Little Burdon (4) as Burdon and Old Burdon; Coundon and Little Coundon (5) as Coundon and Coundon Grange; and North and South Sherburn (6) as Sherburn and Sherburn Hill. While Great Usworth (7) and Little Usworth (8) still retain their medieval names, changes have taken place in the nomenclature of other settlements: the Nova Ricknall (9) and Ricknall Alia (10) of the survey are now represented only by Ricknall Grange; Biddick and South Biddick (11) by two Biddick Halls, the more southerly of which stands within the parish of South Biddick. Thickley (12) and Old Thickley (13) are now represented by no less than five places of that surname - Thickley, West Thickley, East Thickley, High West Thickley, and Low West Thickley.

The brief descriptions of villis held feudally

The total of 934 includes no less than 45 settlements about which the book gives very little information; only their value is recorded, their services and rents

have not been included. Six of these vills are held feudally, either by military service or in alms. It is recorded, for example, that "the Prior and Canons of Gisburna (Guisborough) hold Tremeduna (Trimdon) in free, pure and perpetual alms, quit of all rent and service for ever". (14). Similarly, the village of Muggleswick was held by the Prior of Durham "partly of the bishop's gift and grace ". (15). However light may have been the services rendered by the bishop's ecclesiastical tenants it is usual to find secular tenants performing some kind of military service for their holdings; for example "Phillip of Guildford holds Reyhermore (Byermoor?) by the service of the twentieth part of one knight";(16), likewise "Eudo of Lucelles holds in Farnacres one carucate of 120 acres for the tenth part of the fee of one knight". (17).

Other vills briefly described in Boldon Book

Other vills about which very little information is given are those held either by a form of fee farm, consisting of a money rent, or by the bishop's favour, and upon his sufferance. Thus "William, sometime abbot of Peterborough holds Newton near Durham by the grace and favour of the bishop himself, and renders for the half of the demesne which Richard the engineer held, one mark". (18). Again, certain other vills are recorded as rendering a money payment only, no tenant

is mentioned, and the services and obligations of the villeins are not stated. Professor Lapsley offers three possible explanations of the omission of such information. (19). The vill may have been in the hands of an unnamed tenant, who would be holding it by fee farm, or it may have been farmed by an individual for a fixed period, or by a group of villeins. Since the last two alternatives, where they occur, are specifically described in Boldon Book, it seems not unlikely that the first is the true explanation. A small number of vills, for which no tenant is named, are recorded as rendering a fraction of the service of a knight's fee; such vills may have been held either by an unnamed tenant, or by the bishop himself, ready to be granted out again for specified rents and services. Later records of the vills mentioned in Boldon Book

Almost all the settlements mentioned in Boldon Book are later recorded in Bishop Hatfield's Survey, and a more complete account of the modern form of the medieval villages is given below in the treatment of the settlements in 1380. Two notable exceptions, however, are Butterwick (20) and South Sherburn; (21), both are described in detail in 1183, but entirely omitted in 1380. Finally, there are two names which

remain unidentified, and can be assigned to no site. It is impossible to say whether the places they represent have completely disappeared, leaving no record, or whether their nomenclature has been so drastically changed as to make them unrecognisable. They are Farnacres and Ulmill's Biddick, (22), both of which appear to have been quite small.

The distribution of the bishop's villis in 1183.

The incompleteness of the list of the place-names of Boldon Book makes impossible a full account of the distribution of place names in late twelfth century Durham. No information is available for the whole of Teesdale, much of the Magnesian Limestone region of Central Durham, and a large part of the south east coastal district, together with the Tyne valley below Gateshead. Nevertheless, over the remaining areas, the pattern of the distribution of the bishop's villis presents several notable features, (Map 3). A marked contrast is to be observed between the eastern and western halves of the county. In the extreme west, the high relief of the Lower Carboniferous Series, with its bleak moorlands, providing at their best only rough pasture, and at their worst, an irregular topography of crags, scars, and bogs, the few settlements which

appear are confined to the more sheltered, more easily accessible, and rather more fertile valleys of the Wear and Derwent. Further eastwards, the villages of the less resistant, less elevated Coal Measure region still seek the wooded, and locally gorge - like valleys or denes of the lower Derwent, the Team, and the middle Wear. By comparison with the more westerly area, the villages here are more numerous and rather more evenly distributed; there are well marked groups of villages in the south, around Darlington and Bishop Auckland, and in the north around Chester. The western edge of the Magnesian Limestone, between the Coal Measures and the sea, is marked by a rounded scarp, along whose base are aligned several villages, including Herrington, Newbottle, Houghton-le-Spring, and Hetton-le-Hole in the north, and Sherburn, Shadforth, and Cassop in the centre. Behind the scarp, the undulating limestone region extending to the coast has several small groups of settlements. No information is available for much of the south east of the county, between the lower Tees and the Magnesian Limestone. The group of villages south of Norton is sited on low-lying, alluvial land.

The number of settlements recorded in 11380

The total number of separate places mentioned in Bishop Hatfield's Survey for the area now included within County Durham is 206. The bishop's boroughs form part of this total; by this time they were eight in number - North Auckland, Darlington Durham, Gateshead, Hartlepool, Sadberge, Stockton and Sunderland. The Survey, covering all that part of the county dealt with in Boldon Book, contains, in addition, information on the bishop's villas in the Wapentake of Sadberge, and the Barony of Evenwood; the villas of Northhamshire and Bedlingtonshire are omitted. Of the 206 settlements, 146 are stated to be "villae", 40 to be "manerii", and 20, receiving only casual reference, are variously described.

Possible inaccuracies in this number

There is the possibility that these totals may not be quite accurate, for, as in Boldon Book, there are some instances of two or more adjoining villages, bearing the same surname today, which are not separately distinguished in the survey; there no more than one settlement is recorded. In addition to the instance of Herrington (23) mentioned above, the modern villages of East and West Buttsfield are recorded as one unit -

Butsfield - in 1380. (24). Certain villages with the same surname are, however, clearly distinguished at that date. Whilst two of these are not so distinguished on the modern map, (the fourteenth century villages of North and South Bedburn (25) are today represented only by the village of Bedburn in the parish of South Bedburn, and East and West Rowley (26) by the hamlet of Rowley near Consett), the majority, as indicated above, retain their earlier nomenclature but little changed.

Certain vills briefly described

The total number of "villae", 146, includes many about which little information is given. Fourty of the vills briefly described in Bishop Hatfield's Survey receive the same summary treatment in Boldon Book, although rather more information is generally given in the later than in the earlier record. In Boldon Book, the entry under Medomsley, for example, states only that the vill renders 22s. (27), whereas in Bishop Hatfield's Survey a little more detail is provided: "John de Felton, knight, holds the vill of Medomsley by foreign service, and renders per annum 22s. The same holds the land of Nigel del Bothe, and renders per annum at the same terms, 2s. The same holds 160 acres there, formerly belonging to William Medomsley,

called Hamsterly, and renders £4. The heirs of Hugh de Redhugh hold 6 acres of land there freely, and render per annum 4d." (28). The picture of the village is still far from complete, but at least a little more is known of the tenants, their services, and the land they held.

Vills recorded in 1380, not represented by villages on the modern map

Not all the village names of the survey appear on the present day map of Durham villages; some are now represented by hamlets, others by individual houses. In 1380, Bishopley, near Frosterly in Weardale, had 276 acres of exchequer land, worth £4.18s.1d. annually, held by seven tenants, and 185½ acres of waste land, which ought to have rendered £2.15s.4d; (29); the vill is now represented only by the tiny hamlet of High Bishopley. Similarly, the hamlet of High Bradley, near Wolsingham, together with the sight of Bradley Hall, are all that remain of the vill of Bradley which, in Bishop Hatfield's time was held by Ralph Euere "freely by charter, rendering 22s". (30). Several vills in the west and north west, especially around Wolsingham and Lanchester, survive today as halls; such are Broomshields (31) as Broomshields Hall, Colpighill (32) as Colepike Hall, Fawnless (33) as Fawnlees Hall,

Hopyland (34) as Hopyland Hall, Newland (35) as Newland Hall, and, further east, Luttrington (36) as Lutterington Hall.

Vills recorded in 1380, represented by villages, parishes, and larger settlements on the modern map

However, the majority of the vills of Bishop Hatfield's Survey are represented by present day villages, and many have given their names to parishes, a development which lends support to F. W. Maitland's generalisation that a "place mentioned in Domesday Book will probably be recognised as a vill in the thirteenth century, and a civil parish in the nineteenth century." (37). There are, of course, many exceptions to the statement in County Durham, particularly in the Western Uplands; but in the river valleys, and in the eastern half of the county, many examples of such a development may be found. Carlton (38), Edmonsley (39),-Heighington (40), Lanchester (41), Bishop Middleham (42), Redworth (43), Whitburn (43), and Witton Gilbert (44), to mention a few, are illustrations of this phenomenon. Some of the vills mentioned in the survey have now lost their separate identity as villages, having become part of larger settlements. Cockerton (45), for example, has become a ward in the borough of Darlington, and Crawcrook (46), has been similarly absorbed into Ryton Urban District.

Hartburn (47) is now an integral part of Stockton, and the fourteenth century vill of Tanfedleigh (48), survives only as part of Tanfield Urban District..

Certain modern villages, not recorded in 1380

On the other hand, some villages on the modern map are not represented in Bishop Hatfield's Survey, although the area which they now occupy was included in the bishop's land. Most of these villages owe their development to the coal-mining industry; where this has occurred in the immediate neighbourhood of the older settlements, the mining communities have taken the surname of the nearby village. Boldon and Boldon Colliery, Easington and Easington Colliery, Murton and Murton Colliery, Shotton and Shotton Colliery, and Trimdon and Trimdon Colliery, are all examples drawn from a small area of the Durham coalfield.

The description of the manors in Bishop Hatfield's Survey

Fourty places mentioned in Bishop Hatfield's Survey are there described as "manerii", or manors. Although the form in which the individual entries are given varies considerably, the name of the tenant, together with his services and rents, is invariably stated, most often in the following way, (from the heading "Free Tenants" in North Auckland): "John Belaysis holds the manor of

Henknoll, and does foreign service, and carries wine with four oxen, 8s." (49). More rarely some indication is given of the size of the manor; an example occurs from the same vill, and under the same heading: "Thomas Carlton holds the manor of Aldpark.....containing 160 acres, by foreign service, and renders per annum for foreign service 60s. " (50). Similarly the manor of Whitehill is said to contain "67 acres and three enclosed places", (51), whilst that of Collierly has "200 acres of pasture, land, and wood". (52). Occasionally, however, the entry is very brief indeed; that for Meggesley merely states that "Richard de Scrop, knight, holds the manor of Meggesley.....it is not known for how much, therefore let it be inquired into" (53).
How the fourteenth century manors were held

The information contained in the survey seems to suggest that a manor may have been divided between two or more tenants, as was the case in the manor of West Shipley: "The heirs of Robert de Brakenbury hold the manor of West Shipley, and 90 acres of land there, and render 3s. 2d. William de Blackden holds a fourth part of the said manor, and 30 acres of land, and renders per annum 10d. ". (54). On the other hand, it appears that both manor and vill could be held by the same tenant, as

at Washington, where "William de Wessington, knight, holds the manor and vill of Wessington, by foreign service, and renders per annum, at the four usual terms, £4.". (55).

The representation of the manors on the modern map

The fourteenth century manors are for the most part recorded on the modern map by hamlets, individual houses, or halls. The manor or Ednesknolle, which was held by a certain Robert Hagreston, for a rent of 26s. 8d. in 1380, (56), is now represented by the modern hamlet of Edge Knolle, near Witton-le-Wear; the manors of Pontop (57), and Wadley (58) are now small hamlets. Those which survive as individual houses or halls are Earlhuse (59), as Earl's House, Harebarows (60), as Harbour House, Hollingside (61) as Hollingside Hall, Twisill, (62), as Twizell Hall, and Whitwell (63) as Whitwell House. The last named has also given its name to the modern parish of Whitwell House. Certain medieval manors have now become villages of considerable size, as, for instance, have Stella (64) and Nettlesworth (65), whilst the manor of Conkesheued (66), Consett, which the Hatfield Survey describes as being held by Thomas Grey and William Stobbes, by foreign service and a rent of 22s., is now a town of considerable size. Two manors, Matwell (67) and Pespole (68), remain unidentified, and can be assigned to

no site; their absence, however, does not significantly affect the pattern of the distribution of the known settlements.

Other settlements recorded in 1380 variously described

Twenty places mentioned in the Survey receive only casual reference, and are described neither as manors, nor vill. In several of these, Connescliffe (69), Elstob (70), Middleton-St. George (71), and Over Middleton (72), the ward of the castle belonged to the bishop. Apart from this fact nothing is recorded of them. Others are equivalent in size and rent to the smaller manors, yet the term "manor" is not applied to them; Such are Huntinghouse (73), Ousterleyfield (74), and Quarrington (75). Others again appear from the context to have been dependencies of larger vill; the dependencies of Lanchester may be cited as an example: certain exchequer lands belonging to the vill lay in Ford and Hurtbuck, (76) while at Newbiggin (77) were part of the bondage lands of the vill. Finally certain places mentioned are each so variously described as to be "a law unto themselves". Among these are Dryburnhouse, a messuage and 61 acres so called, which John de Bamburg held by foreign service, and a yearly rent of 4ls. 2d (78); and "a certain place called Hyndon", Hendon in Sunderland, "pro applicatione

navium" - for mooring ships, which was held in 1380 by Thomas Menville, for 2s. annually (79).

The distribution of settlements in 1380

The map showing the place names mentioned in Bishop Hatfield's Survey illustrates the change which had taken place, not so much in the main features of the pattern of distribution, as in the remarkable development of new villis and manors, during the two centuries preceeding the survey (Map 4). Although not entirely confined to the river valleys, the appearance of new settlements is particularly evident within them. In the valley of the Wear, especially around Wolsingham and Frosterley, the new manors and villis had grouped themselves around the older settlements in the valley bottoms, or along the lower hill-sides; they avoided both the more exposed slopes of the main valley, and the steep sides of the narrow tributary valleys (Map 5). In the north west of the county, new villis had sprung up in even greater numbers, and over a less strictly confined area than further south; some were sited along the rivers Browney, Team, and Derwent, and along the smaller valleys of the Twizell Burn, the Beamish Burn, and the Houghall Burn, but many more had spread over the higher land between the streams, particularly on their southward and eastward -

facing slopes. Further east, the significance of the Magnesian Limestone scarp in the siting of villages is even more marked in 1380 than it was 200 years earlier, and the inclusion of the Wapentake of Sadberge in the survey illustrates the influence of the scarp in the south of the county. The changes which appear in the south east are to be accounted for by the alteration of the political geography of the region.

The record of settlements in 1418

By comparison with the two earlier surveys, that of 1418 is a most unsatisfactory document from the point of view of the information it contains, or rather omits, on the distribution of settlements. The arrangement of the survey follows closely that of Bishop Hatfield, but it is not by any means so complete as the latter. No new settlements are recorded, and a very considerable number of those mentioned earlier are entirely omitted. The survey itself contains a list of 26 villis in default, of which 6 are in Darlington Ward, 12 in Chester Ward, 3 in Stockton Ward, and 5 in Easington Ward; moreover, the list itself is not complete. A detailed account of the distribution of those settlements which are mentioned in the survey would be unnecessary repetition, serving no useful purpose.

The appearance and plan of the Durham villis

The two later surveys give a little information on the actual appearance of the Durham villages around 1400. The individual houses and cottages of the bishop's tenants are enumerated, and occasionally reference is made to a forge, a bakehouse, a limekiln, or a mill. The surveys separate those tenants holding messuages, or houses, from those tenants holding cottages, and the holdings would suggest that the lands associated with messuages were usually larger in area than those associated with cottages; the former averaged from 15 to 20 acres, the medieval boate or oxgang, whilst the latter, often only 1 or 2 roods, rarely attained an area greater than 10 acres. Although the surveys do not provide any record of the arrangement of the houses and other buildings along the village street, such a record may be obtained from contemporary records of the Prior and Convent of Durham, especially from the Feodarium, or Rental, of 1430, which illustrated vividly, and in considerable detail, the appearance of those villages held largely by the convent, villages which cannot have differed in any significant respect from those similarly held by the bishop. (~~Map 6~~).

The evidence on the prior's vill of Wolviston

The village of Wolviston, near Billingham, may be taken as fairly representative of the majority of the settlements in the eastern part of the county. In the "Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis" all the houses held by the tenants of the Prior and Convent are enumerated, and, most important, their situation within the village is described (80). The village appears to have consisted of three roads, or streets, Westrawe, Southrawe, and Northrawe, from each of which there ran a small "Kennel", or alley - Westkennel, Southkennel, and Northkennel; the buildings were arranged along these. On Westrawe the survey records "one waste cottage, with a garden, containing 3 acres, at the southern end of the vill.....three cottages nigh the pule, and one cottage in a certain corner.....one messuage at the western end of the vill, formerly assarts on the lord's waste, one toft on the corner opposite the pinfold," four other messuages, and three waste cottages. On Southrawe there are said to be six messuages and "one messuage, with a croft containing three roods, at the western end of the vill". Along Northrawe there are "two waste cottages at the east end of the vill.....one messuage, now divided into two cottages," three other

cottages, and one other messuage. The kennels have not nearly so many houses as the main streets. On Westkennel, the Feodarium records only one cottage, and one messuage with a garden. On Southkennel, there are two cottages, four waste cottages, and "one messuage with a garden on the corner of Southrawe, between a certain house on the south side, and the road, which extends to a chapel there on the north side." Finally, on the corner of Northkennel is "one messuage, and one small stable adjoining thereto on the west side of the said messuage." A word picture, such as this, gives at best an imperfect account of the plan of such a settlement, the arrangement of its buildings and other holdings. It is, however, the only form of such information available, and succeeds, in presenting a fair impression of the general appearance of a late fourteenth century village in County Durham.

CHAPTER III

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROSPERITY AND POPULATION

1. BOLDON BOOK. THE LAND

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROSPERITY AND POPULATIONThe information on these subjects in Boldon Book

Some idea of the information on these subjects and of the form in which it is presented may be obtained from the following examples of the entries for Darlington, Crawcrook and Hulam. In the south of the county, Darlington, one of the largest of the bishop's vills, is described in detail:

Regional examples. a) Darlington

"In Darlington are 48 oxgangs, which, as well of the old villeinage as of the new, the villeins hold, and render for each one oxgang 5s., and they ought to mow the whole of the bishop's meadow, and make the bishop's hay and lead it, and once to have a corrody, and to enclose the copse and the court, and to make the works which they were accustomed to make at the mills, for each one bovate one cartload of woodlades; and to make cartloads on the bishop's journeys; and also three cartloads in the year to cart wine, and herrings, and salt. There are twelve farmers there who hold twelve oxgangs, and they render farm rent as the villeins, but they do not work, and they go on the bishop's errands. Osbert Ka te holds 2 oxgangs and renders 32d. and goes on errands. Odo holds one toft and 33 acres of culture, where the

beech mast was sown, and renders 10s. only, without works, and in another part 26 acres and a half, and for these he renders 10s., until Robert, son of William de Mowbray, who is in his wardship, comes of age. The sons of Wibert hold 2 oxgangs, for which Gilbert was used to render 8s., and they now render for the same, with the increase of 4 acres, 10s., and go on errands. Geoffrey Joie 20 acres for 10d., and he goes on the bishop's errands. Lambart holds 6 acres for 12d. In like manner the smith holds 8 acres at the will of the bishop. Four cotmen render 3s. and assist in making the haycocks, and carry fruit, and work at the mill, for their tofts. The pounder holds 9 acres, and has thraves like the others, and renders 100 hens and 500 eggs. The borough, dyers, and bakehouses render 10 marks. The mills of Darlington, Houghton, and Ketton render 30 marks". (1)

b) Cawcrook

Cawcrook, in the extreme north west of the county, is treated more briefly; the scribe records that "Cawcrook, is at farm, with the villeins, and the demesne, and the mill, and with a stock of one plough and one harrow, and it renders, beyond the assise rent, 11 marks and a half, and one cow in milk, and 4 chalders of malt, and as many of meal, and as many of oats, and one

castleman, and with Ryton it carts one ton of wine". (2)

c) Hulam

Even less is written about Hulam, a small village near the east coast. Hulam, we are told, "renders 20s. and carts wine with 6 oxen". (3)

The degree to which these entries are representative

These three entries, drawn from different parts of the survey, and representative of conditions in different parts of the county, show both the virtues and deficiencies of Boldon Book as a record of prosperity and population, in that certain items of information entered under one village, such, as the individual land holdings and services of the villeins, or the presence of a mill, are omitted from the record of the next, and in their place are recorded different items, for example, the works and rents paid by the whole villein community, or, it may be, no information at all. Even the examples given above do not contain references to all the items mentioned in the survey of other villages; elsewhere mention is made of certain elements in the population, and of certain types of holding not included in the entries of Darlington, Crawcrook, or Hulam. The Darlington entry does indicate the main divisions of the bishop's tenants, villeins, cottagers, and "others", such as the pinder and the smith, but not a few instances of

different classes of tenants may be taken from other villis: among the tenants of Newton near Boldon are 12 malmen; Wardon, Morton (Murton), and Mainsforth all have a number of "firmarii", whilst Sedgefield, in addition to 20 "firmarii", has 5 "bordarii", a class also found in Bishop Middleham and Cornforth. Neither are there any examples in the above entries, of the fisheries which form so interesting an item in the accounts of other villis.

The four standard items of information

Nevertheless, despite their limitations, the three entries remain fairly representative; they contain the four recurring standard items of information which relate to the village as a whole; (1) land, (2) population, (3) services (4) values. The bearing of these upon regional variations in prosperity will be considered in due course, the main concern of the present chapter being with the first of these divisions, the land.

The measurement of land in Boldon Book. a) Bovates

Boldon book records the "terra", that is the arable land as distinct from wood, meadow, or pasture, in terms of bovates, acres and roods. One bovat or oxgang is generally held to signify as much land as a team of oxen could plough and make ready for sowing in one year. Its area varied from place to place, but, although conditions

of relief and soil may have played their part in this variation, the evidence of the survey does not allow of any easy generalisation on this point. The phrase used to express the area of one bovat in terms of acres is "one bovat of (15) acres", but only in the entries for nine villages is such a phrase found; in the case of another thirteen villages the size of the bovat in terms of acres may be stated with reasonable accuracy, since their entries record that the local bovat is identical with that of another village, one of the nine mentioned above. From certain items included in the entries of three other villages a fairly accurate guess may be made of the size of the bovat there. In Wolsingham, for example, the acreage of the bovat there is not stated, but there are several instances of a 30 acre holding amongst the non-villein population (4); this seems to suggest 15 acres as the extent of the bovat in that vill. Finally, a part of the land of another 11 vills is recorded in bovates whose acreage is not given, and cannot be inferred by the methods indicated above; the arable areas of such vills have been reckoned on the basis of a 15 acre bovat.

The smallest bovates, those of 8 acres, are to be found in Lanchester and Witton-le-Wear, both in the west of the county; however, Stanhope and Wolsingham, still

further west, appear to have 15 acre bovates. The bovates at Blackwell are said to be 9 acres in extent (5), and not very far away, at Great Houghton, they reach 20 acres (6). By far the greatest number of villis have bovates of either 12 or 15 acres, and a nice compromise seems to have been effected at Wardon, where there are "9 farmers, who hold 18 oxgangs, each one of 13 acres and a half." (7).

b) Other measurements of land

Only rarely does the survey record other measurements of land. At Darlington, mention is made of "one culture of 16 acres and 3 roods". (8), but a holding so carefully defined stands unique. A much larger area of land is the "Carucata" or ploughland, as much land as could be cultivated annually by one plough, with a team. Like the bovat, it varied in extent in various places, but only one entry in Boldon Book, that under Farnacres, records the number of acres it contained, in this instance 120 (9). That almost all the figures of acreage of the arable land given in the survey are either 12 and multiples of 12, or 15 and multiples of 15, is indeed remarkable; it would seem to suggest that they represent, not precise measurements, but rather estimates, more or less accurate. These limitations, however, do not seriously impair their

usefulness, either for purposes of regional comparison, or for map construction.

The two classes of arable land. a) Demesne land

The records of arable land in Boldon Book may be divided into two classes, according to the status of their cultivators - terra dominica, and terra servilis. The terra dominica, or demesne land, was generally retained by the lord in his own hands, but may occasionally have been leased out to a farmer; it was cultivated by the villeins, cottagers, and other tenants of the manor. In Durham, as in other parts of the country, the demesne consisted partly of separate closes, and partly of intermingled strips in the open field. The entries of the survey contain several examples of such an arrangement: in the borough of Gateshead the burgesses held three parts of the arable land at a money rent, "the fourth part of the arable land, with the assarts which the lord bishop caused to be made, and the meadows, are in the hands of the lord bishop, with the stock of two ploughs" (10). An even better example is that of Lanchester, where the following addition occurs at the end of the main entry, "moreover 5 bovates of villeinage are waste and 18 acres which used to be of the demesne" (11). From the entry which occurs at Houghton, "the demesne of three ploughs and the sheep with the pasture are in the

bishop's hand" (12), it is evident that the demesne included land other than arable. In some cases two or three villas are dependent on a single demesne: Wearmouth and Tunstall have their demesne in common, as do Ryhope and Burdon; Easington and Thorpe are connected by a common demesne, and the same is true of Cleadon and Whitburn; other examples of this phenomenon are Stockton and Hartburn, New Ricknall and Ricknall Alia, Heighington and Killerby, Middridge and Thickleby, and Great Coundon and Little Coundon. On the other hand, some villas seem to have been dependent on no demesne at all; Warden and Morton are instances of this type. The tenants there are described as "Firmarii", who by some special arrangement, appear themselves to have been settled on the lord's demesne (13); such a settlement is probably part of the general movement of taking new land into cultivation in order to meet the needs of an increasing population. These two villas, consisting only of farmers, represent relatively new communities, allowed or encouraged by the bishop, to grow up on his demesne land. There is no reference to the dependence of the villa on any demesne at South Biddick, which the villeins hold at farm, rendering £5 and a few services, none of which mention work on the demesne land (14). At Ryton, on the other hand, the villeins farmed not only the villa, but also the demesne (15).

b) Unfree land

The terra servilis was held by the unfree tenants in equal heritable holdings in the open fields surrounding the village. As we have seen, (above, page 41), the caruate and the bovate are the usual units of measurement for these unfree holdings, replacing the hide and the virgate of Southern England. Boldon Book contains only two direct references to open field; at Norton and at Hartburn the cottagers hold, beside their tofts, certain acres "in campis" (16). The normal size of the villein holding was about 30 acres; at Boldon, for example, every villein had two bovates of 15 acres each (17); at Lancaster there were 41 bovates, held by 10 villeins, and since the local bovate contains only 8 acres, the villein holding would seem to have been 32 acres (18). Since, at the time of the survey, a considerable part of the vill was waste, the question of the disposal of the remaining land, in this case one bovate, would not arise, but at some earlier or later date it must have presented itself. At Stockton an equitable division was more difficult, for there were $16\frac{1}{2}$ villeins holding 33 bovates (19). The entries for a number of vills, for example Great Houghton, Whessoe, and Wolsingham, contain the total number of bovates and acres, but no account of the number of tenants,

so that it is impossible to state with certainty the size of the normal villein holding for those villis. Further, bovates of more than one size may be found within the same vill. At Boldon, although the villeins held two bovates of 15 acres each, a certain Robert held two bovates containing 31 acres (20). At Cleadon, where the area of the villein bovaté was the same as at Boldon, Geoffrey of Hardwick "holds of land in Norton nigh Hardwick, 36 acres" (21); a later text gives a different version, with a different tenant, Adam, son of Geoffrey of Hardwick, who "holds of land in Norton nigh Hardwick 36 acres, which are now 60 acres" (22). These references seem to suggest that the bovaté is less an actual area of land than the basis or unit of villein rent and service.

The map of the distribution of villein land in 1183

For the purpose of compiling maps and tables of the distribution of arable land in 1183 the terra servilis may be divided into two categories - villein land and cottage land - according to the social status of its cultivators. From the map showing the distribution of villein land in the bishop's villis in 1183 several significant facts emerge. In the eastern and southern parts of the county are to be found the largest concentrations of such land; here are all those villis

with more than 600 acres of villein land, the greatest concentration being near the confluence of the Skerne and the Tees, where, in Darlington, Blackwell and Cockerton, a total of 2130 acres are held by the villeins. Here the level or gently undulating surface does not rise above 250 feet; along the river valleys are fertile, fairly easily worked alluvial soils, mixed with sands and gravels, giving way to heavier boulder clay away from the rivers. Similar conditions of soil and relief are found at Carlton and Norton, where the villeins hold respectively 690 and 900 acres of arable land. Sedgefield and Boldon are the only other villis with more than 600 acres of villein land; both are situated on a fairly low, undulating surface, where the underlying magnesian limestone rocks are covered by deposits of boulder clay. A larger number of villis in which the villeins hold between 200 and 600 acres follows the western edge of the magnesian limestone country, immediately east of the outcrop of the coal measure series. An important group of villis with varying acreages of villein land appears in the valleys of the Middle Wear, and of the Gaunless; here the topography is rather more irregular than further east, the valley slopes are considerably steeper, and the valley bottoms are much narrower; a narrow belt of alluvium along the river banks

is rapidly replaced by boulder clay, which here overlies rocks of the Coal Measure series. In the west and north west of the county, Stanhope, Wolsingham, Lanchester, and Whickham are the only vills which record villein land; the first three have between 200 and 400 acres, whilst Whickham has 525 acres. In each case a mixture of alluvium and boulder clay along the river valleys has allowed the development of cultivation. The map of the distribution of cottage land in 1183

The map showing the distribution of Cottage land in the bishop's vills in 1183 shows a striking concentration of such land in the eastern half of the county, particularly in the north eastern part of the Magnesian Limestone belt. Boldon, Newbottle, and Houghton-le-Spring record the largest acreages, they are respectively 144, 230, 174 acres; the combined acreage of Cleadon and Whitburn, recorded as one unit in Boldon Book, is the same as that of Boldon. No other vill, with the exception of Little Coundon has more than 50 acres of cottage land; in several instances, such as Hartburn, Darlington, and West Auckland, cottage tenants are recorded who have little or no land apart from their crofts and tofts. At Hartburn "3 cotmen hold tofts only"; (23) in Darlington "four cotmen render 3s", and

perform various services "for their tofts"; (24) and the West Auckland entry, after listing several named tenants and their holdings, states that "four other cotmen render 4s. 4d. for their tofts and crofts...." (25).

The map of the distribution of arable land in 1183

The map showing the distribution of all the arable land cultivated by all the bishop's tenants reflects the same geographical influences as do the maps examined above. A large number of villis for which the acreage is not recorded, are plotted on this map; they are scattered throughout the bishop's territory, but appear chiefly in the north west of the county, especially around Lanchester and Chester-le-Street. The rents and services of the tenants who hold such villis seem to suggest that the settlements, and therefore their arable appurtenances, were for the most part rather small; some were probably recently created, or had developed as offshoots of older villis, as is evidently the case in Old Thickleigh, which the survey says "was made out of the land of Redworth" (26).

The map of the density of arable land in 1183

Considerable difficulties arise when an attempt is made to show the density of arable land in acres per square mile in 1183. In the selection of a convenient

unit to be used as a basis for presenting regional variations in density, two alternatives offer themselves: either wards or parishes may be chosen as such units. If a division into wards is made no more than four regions, representing the four wards of Darlington, Chester, Easington, and Stockton, can be shown, with the result that minor, but nevertheless significant, regional variations in density within the wards would be hidden. A division into parishes has the advantage of bringing out these smaller regional variations, but the disadvantage of inaccuracy arising from the uncertainty of the area of the medieval parishes, as compared with their present size. The latter alternative has been chosen in this study since it provides the more interesting results. The lowest densities of arable land, less than 100 acres per square mile, are to be found in the west of the county, in the parishes of Stanhope, Wolsingham, Lanchester and Whickham, and in North and West Auckland, where high and irregular topography combine with a scarcity of fertile soils, severely to limit the area of cultivation. In the east and south are to be found the highest densities: Carlton and Killerby are the only two parishes with more than 400 acres of arable

land per square mile, but almost all the other parishes in these areas have densities between either 100 and 200, or 200 and 400 acres. The peculiarly low density shown for the parishes of Easington and Shotton is probably a reflection of the inadequacy of the method, rather than of the poverty of the land.

The character of the farming economy, and the methods of cultivation, as shown in Boldon Book

An examination of the evidence contained in Boldon Book concerning the bishop's land would be incomplete if no account was taken of the information the survey provides on the character of the economy, and the methods of cultivation on the ecclesiastical manors. In Durham, at the end of the twelfth century, the cultivation of the land was held to be the responsibility of the reeve, who in return for numerous and varied services, received an allotment of land, sometimes called "revelond". The various groups of villis already mentioned (27) often shared a common reeve, whose holding seem to have been increased to correspond with the number of villis in his care. At Newbottle, for example, the reeve held 12 acres, the normal peasant holding in that vill (28), but at Houghton-le-Spring, with which Wardon and Morton are grouped in the survey, the reeve held two bovates of 14 acres each (29). Although this example is typical of

the general practice in the bishopric, there are significant exceptions to this rule; at Wolsingham the reeve had only 6 acres (30), and again at Stanhope he had a croft and toft and 6 acres for his services (31). After the reeve, the village officer most frequently mentioned in the survey is the pinder, or pound keeper, whose duty it was to impound straying cattle until they could be claimed, and, on payment of a fine, returned to their owners. Like the reeve, the pinder received an assignment of land for his services, the size of which, generally 6 acres, varied according to the number of villis he served. Where villis were grouped, as in Quarringtonshire and Aucklandshire, a single pinder served the whole cluster, and received a proportionate holding, 20 acres in both these instances (32). The cost of keeping the impounded cattle until they could be released would have been a very heavy burden² for one man, and in order to defray his expenses the pinder received a part of the harvest of each tenant, consisting of a certain number of sheaves, called "thraves", in Boldon Book. The pinder himself, on the other hand, seems to have been required to render to the lord an astonishingly large number of hens and eggs, a number, moreover, which does not appear to bear any

constant relation to the size of his holding: the pinder of Norton, who held only 4 acres, rendered 80 hens and 500 eggs (33), whilst the pinder of Aucklandshire, who served four villis and held 20 acres, made precisely the same render.

The cultivation of the demesne land

More abundant and detailed evidence is to be found on the cultivation of the lord's land than on that of the peasants. The term "demesne" is used in the survey to include not only the lord's arable, but also the meadows and pastures, as well as the stock, the implements of cultivation, and such buildings as mills and bakehouses. Little Haughton provides an excellent example of such detailed information: "Adam de Selby holds to farm the demesne of the same place, with a stock of two ploughs and two harrows, and with the sown acres, with the grange and the enclosed court". (34). At Ketton the demesne was provided with a grange, a byre, and other buildings, standing in a court which was enclosed by a hedge and ditch (35). At Gateshead, mills, fisheries, and bakehouses were attached to the demesne (36) and at Stockton there was a ferry (37). Although the home farm was cultivated by the unfree tenants, the lord maintained his own ploughs, in terms of which the area

of the land was expressed, that is, as a demesne of so many ploughs. The demesne land was either in the bishop's own hands, in which case it would be cultivated under the direct suprintendence of his own officers, or else it was put to farm. At Ryton the demesne was farmed by the whole village community, who had taken over the land and stock in return for a fixed annual payment; the bishop made over to them the mill, the stock of one plough and one harrow, and the fishery; they were to render in return £14. (38). At Heighington, "the demesne is at farm with a stock of three ploughs and a half, and it renders.....£5". (39).

The farm buildings on the demesne

In addition to the ploughs and other agricultural implements, the stock of the home farm included the farm buildings, generally consisting of the grange, the byre, and perhaps the hall, which together were enclosed by the hedge and ditch, and known collectively as the court or curia. The grange, or farm house, was technically the place where the grain crops were stored, and the aula, or hall, either a dwelling place, or the building in which the manorial courts were held, sometimes both. In Domesday Book the word "aula" seems to have been used as the equivalent of "curia", or of

"manerium", but in Boldon Book, since a clear distinction is always made between the "aula" and the "curia", it is almost certain that a reference to a hall indicates an actual building. The best example of such a distinction in the survey comes from Bedlington in Northumberland, where the villeins had to perform the services of enclosing the court, and roofing the hall (40). At Haughton, both a grange and an enclosed court are mentioned (41), and at Ketton there are "a grange, and a byre, and other houses which are in the court, which is enclosed with a ditch and a hedge". The Darlington entry refers to certain lands in the open fields there as being "contra aulam", i.e. against the hall, and the same entry mentions the bishop's houses and court at Darlington (42). There is, however, one case in which the hall may best be understood, not in the sense of an actual building, but of the manor or local community; included amongst the renders of the villeins of Heighington are 64 chalders of oat malt "ad mensuram aulae de Heighington", i.e. after the measure of the hall of Heighington; the phrase occurs again in the entry for Killerby, which was also a member of the manor of Heighington (43). These instances are, however, exceptions, and even they give support to the view that

the hall, as the administrative centre of the local community, would naturally be the place where the local crops were weighed and measured, and where the standard measures of the district were kept. An enclosed copse, a plantation and an orchard frequently formed part of the demesne stock, as at Heighington, where the villeins must enclose the bishop's copse, and at Durham, where a certain toft is described as being "nigh the bishop's orchard" (44). Also included in the demesne were the mills, common bakehouses, and fisheries; these, however, will later be subjects of more detailed examination.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROSPERITY AND POPULATION

2. BISHOP HATFIELD'S SURVEY. THE LAND.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROSPERITY AND POPULATIONThe information on these subjects in the Hatfield Survey

Some idea of the nature of the information on the distribution of prosperity and population, of the form in which this information is presented, and of how these differ from the information of Boldon Book, may be obtained from the following examples of the entries of the survey. As in the treatment of the 1183 record, Darlington, Crawcrook, and Hulam are the examples chosen.

Regional examples. a) Darlington

The information on Darlington is of very considerable length, and the tedium of a full transcription would find no compensation in its usefulness. A summary only is therefore given.

Darlington with Bondgate. Free Tenants.

The names of 37 free tenants are recorded, together with their holdings, in all 495 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arable land and 18 acres of meadow. 23 of the holdings, which vary in size from 1 rood to 60 acres, have messuages, or houses, attached to them. Besides these land holdings, one garden, a certain park and orchard, and "four stalls below the tolbooth". (1) are recorded. Many of the holdings are themselves named, as in the following entry:

"The tenants hold between them certain lands, namely Calfhous, Swatergate, Elefbankes, Cokyrtingate, Bathelgate, Duresmgate, Croftgate, and Hurworthgate, by ancient right, as the say, from which the lord receives nothing, notwithstanding that they are a part of the lords waste, therefore let inquiry be made". (2). The annual rents of the freehold tenures are also stated.

Demesne Land

There are 15 tenants of demesne land, two of whom also appear amongst the free tenants; 5 tenants, and 5 pairs of tenants, each hold 15 acres of arable land, making a total of 150 acres. In addition, "there is there a certain piece of land between the manor and the cow pasture of Darlington, and it is worth per annum, as they say, 12d. And there is there one place, within the enclosure of the said manor and close, on which is built one house, where the doorkeeper lives, and it is worth per annum, as they say, 3s. 4d." (3). The annual renders of the demesne land holdings, without works, are each 20s.

Bondage Land

14 bondage tenants hold a total of 23 messuages and 571 acres of arable land, the smallest holding being one messuage and one bovat, i.e. 15 acres, and the

largest 4 messuages and $4\frac{1}{2}$ bovates i.e. $67\frac{1}{2}$ acres. For each bovat the tenants "render per annum 5s., and ought to mow the whole of the bishop's meadow, and to make and lead hay.....and to enclose the orchard and the court, and to do the works which they used to do at the mill, and to make one load of woodlades, and to carry loads on the bishop's journeys, and besides all this, to carry three loads per annum of wine, herrings, and salt". (4).

"All the tenants there hold the common forge, and render per annum at the four usual terms, 4d." (5). The assise of ale of the villeins renders 12d., that of the burgesses 2s. "Fishery. William of Hoton and John of Tesedale hold the whole of the fishery there, by meets and bounds in the field there" (6) for which they pay 2s. The bondage tenants make certain payments of woodlades, and make renders to the pounder, "to which office belong 9 acres of land and meadows, of which in Nesfeld are 3 acres of land, in Dodmersfeld $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, in le Westfeld $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, in the orchard of the manor $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow, at the end of the meadow of Ellyng 1 acre of meadow, and at Polumpole 1 acre of land" (7).

The borough "with the toll of markets and fairs in Darlington, and with the profits of the mills of Darlington,

Blackwell, and Houghton, and the suit of the tenants of Whessoe, the bakehouses, the assise of bread and ale, the profits of the borough court, with the dyers" renders £90. (8).

Exchequer Land

23 tenants, most of whom also have other tenements hold $14\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arable land, $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres of meadow, together with several cottages and other holdings including the following: "Lord de Nevill gives 1d. in order to have 1 bridge behind his garden" (9). The rents of the various tenants are also listed; 3 of them appear to have paid " $\frac{1}{2}$ d and 1 hen" for their "places".

Finally, the last entry records that "Ingelramus Gentill, and his socmen, hold the borough of Darlington, with the profits of the mill, and with the dyes and all the profits of the said borough, and render per annum £93. 6s. 8d., " (10).

Regional examples. b) Crawcrook, and c) Hulam

The two entries of Crawcrook are very brief indeed; the first occurs under Ryton: "Robert de Horsley holds half the vill of Crawcrook, by foreign service, and renders per annum 10s." (11). The second, under Kepier, states only that "The Master of Kepier Hospital holds certain lands in Crawcrook, and renders per annum 10s." (12)

Even less information is given about Hulam; the vill is held by the heirs of William de Claxton and renders annually 26s. 8d. (13).

The degree to which these entries are representative

While the last-named vill, Crawcrook and Hulam, are briefly dismissed in entries which occupy little more than one line, the information under Darlington covers no less than five pages of the survey, a reflection of that disparity of treatment between the various vills which was noticed in Boldon Book. The Darlington entry indicates the main divisions of the bishop's lands and tenants - free tenants, tenants of demesne land, bondage tenants, and tenants of exchequer land. Examples of other types of land, and of other classes of tenants are, however, not hard to find in other vills. Certain vills, for example Hufton and West Auckland, contain references to dringage land and tenants in dringa ge (14), tenants whose rents and services suggest that their status was somewhere between that of freemen and villeins. Neither does the Darlington entry include, as do the entries of thirty other vills, paragraphs on waste lands and on cottage lands, nor any reference to limekilns and fulling mills which appear in other parts of the survey. Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations, the entry is fairly representative, in that

it contains the four recurring standard items of information relating to the various villages: (1) land; (2) population; (3) services; (4) values. The bearing of these items upon the regional variations in prosperity will be considered in due course; our present concern is with the first of these items, the land.

The measurement of land in the Hatfield Survey a) Bovates

The measurement of land in roods, acres, bovates, and carucates, which was commented on in the description of the arable land in 1183 is found again at the end of the fourteenth century. The bovat is invariably the unit employed to record the area of the villein holdings. Out of a total of 43 villis, whose entries record bondage lands, and therefore refer to bovates, 27 instances appear in which the area of the bovat in terms of acres is stated. The largest bovates, of 20 acres, are those of the four villis in Aucklandshire - North Auckland, West Auckland, Escomb and Newton Cap. In 1183 the acreage of the local bovat was not recorded for these villis. In the case of a further 19 villis the bovat is said to contain 15 acres; these include, in the south east, the Stockton group of villis, - Stockton, Hartburn and Norton, and Carlton, Middleham, and

Sedgefield; in the Easington Ward, Easington itself, Wearmouth and Tunstall, Shotton and Shadforth, in Chester Ward, Chester, Whickham, Boldon, Whitburn and Cleadon; and in Darlington Ward, only Killerby, Ricknall, and West Thickle. Three villis in the Easington Ward are said to have bovates of 12 acres; they are all in the Houghton group: Houghton itself, Newbottle, and Morton. Finally, the bovat at Wardon is again recorded as $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres. In 1183 the smallest bovates, of 8 acres, were those of Witton-le-Wear and Lanchester; but in 1380 the acreage of the bovat is not recorded in either of these villis. For Wittón there is no mention of bondage lands nor of bondage tenants, and in Lanchester the bondage holdings vary in size between 8 and 38 acres, so that no satisfactory estimate can be made. In the case of 16 villis the acreage of the local bovat is not stated, but it can be assessed with reasonable certainty, either by references in the text to other villis for which the size of the bovat is stated, or by working out the size of the average bondage holding. The evidence obtained from the results of these assessments lends support to the view that by far the most usual size of the bovat in County Durham was either 12 or 15 acres.

b)Roods

Only rarely does Boldon Book record measurements of land in terms of less than one acre; by contrast, in Bishop Hatfield's Survey such measurements are very common indeed. Meadowland, as may be expected from its great usefulness and high value, was very often measured and held in roods, and even in fractions (i.e. a half, a quarter, or less than a quarter,) of a rood. At North Auckland, for example, "Thomas Barker holds one rood of meadow at Hopperessyke.....Thomas del Cuchyn holds half an acre of meadow at Lamylandsyke.....the aforesaid Thomas Barker holds one rood of meadow at Crossyke". (15). But such precise measurements are not confined to meadowland; they are also found in the records of arable land, particularly amongst the holdings of free tenants, tenants of exchequer land, and tenants of cottage land. One of the free tenants at Darlington is John Okerby, the chaplain, who holds "three roods of land, of which in Crosseflat (is) half an acre, and in Bekfeld one rood". (16). Similarly, in Blackwell the list of freehold land includes "a certain culture called Gromball, containing 16 acres and 3 roods of land".

Examples of measurements in terms of roods are particularly numerous amongst the holding of exchequer land in the bishop's villis. At Escomb, near Bishop

Auckland, "John de Merley holds, with William Blackden and John Loge.....3 acres and 3 roods of land", while Ralph Euere holds "1 acre and 1 rood and a half of land". (18). Again at Shadforth, in Easington Ward the following entries occur under the heading Exchequer Land: "Thomas Grene holds 1 messuage 4 acres and 3 roods of land.....John Wilkynson holds one place containing half an acre.....Ralph Cook holds 1 messuage 1 acre and 3 roods of land, of which 1 acre lies in the field of West Burdon and 3 roods in the field of East Burdon" (19). Finally, in the entry under Cottage Land at Stockton, a certain tenant, Robert Dykon, is recorded as holding one cottage called Castelman, containing 1 rood of land". (20). The care with which these small places of land are recorded serves to indicate, not only their value to their cultivators, but also the accuracy and detail of the survey itself.

c) Carucates

Instances of the measurement of land in carucates may also be found. Under the heading Demesne Land at Haughton occurs the following entry: "There are there in the said manor 4 carucates of land, each carucate containing 20 acres". (21). By contrast a larger carucate appears at Ricknall, where "John del Loge holds the grange there at farm, with the demesne lands,

meadows, and pastures, containing four carucates, and each carucate 8 bovates, and each bovate 20 acres", (22) (although in the same vill the average acreage of the bovate held by the villein tenants is stated as 15 acres). It would therefore appear that the carucate varied in size from 120 to 160 acres; too few instances of its use occur in the survey to permit any conclusion to be drawn on the possible influence of such geographical factors as soil, relief and the like.

The six classes of arable land. a) Freehold land.

The arable land, as recorded in 1380 may be divided into no less than six categories: freehold land, demesne land, bondage land, exchequer land, cottage land, and a sixth class consisting of dringage land and other miscellaneous classes. From a total of 127 vills, the details of whose land are recorded, 71 vills contain entries relating to freehold land.

The map of the distribution of Freehold land in 1380

The map showing the distribution of such land in the bishop's vills in 1380 serves to emphasise its concentration in the central and western parts of the county, where are found, not only the greatest number of vills containing freehold arable land, but also those vills with the largest freehold acreages. Stanhope and

Wolsingham, with 844 and 593 acres of freehold land respectively, are outstanding in this respect. The survey records in the case of Stanhope, the precise situation of a considerable part of this land. There is, for instance, a messuage and 20 acres of Newlandside (23), on the steep, northward facing slope of the valley of the Wear, immediately south of the village. On the opposite side of the river, and in the more nearly level valley bottom, there are "60 acres of land at Rogerley" (24). The name "Billihopeshele", given to 1 messuage and 20 acres of land held by a certain free tenant (25), seems to suggest a small piece of intake land, probably in the narrow, steep-sided valley of the Bollihope Burn. Similarly "6 acres in Horsleyburnfeld (26), were probably on the lower valley slopes of the small northward flowing tributary of the Wear, the Horsley Burn. Four messuages and 109 acres of freehold land, held in four separate pieces, are described as being "ex untraque parte Were", i.e. on the other side of the Wear, the south bank (27). The names given to other free holdings in Stanhope include "Newfeld" (28), "Wodcroft" (29), "Swynhoplaw", (30), all of which, although they cannot be identified on the present day map, give some indication of their origin, and of their appearance, in the fourteenth century

landscape.

The Wolsingham list of freehold land contains references to a number of holdings described as manors or vills. Of these, Bradley and Frosterley are situated in the valley bottom of the Wear. At Frosterley the valley is narrow and steep-sided, and the area of freehold land there, as indicated by the rent of the vills, cannot have been large. Below Wolsingham, however, at Bradley, the valley has widened considerably, and the southward facing slopes are much less steep here than higher up the dale; these more favourable conditions for the extension of cultivation are reflected in the rent of the vill, which is almost double that of Frosterly. Other vills and manors included in the Wolsingham freehold entry are Sunniside, Newlands, Fawnlees, Thornley and Greenwell (31), all situated on the lower slopes of the north bank of the river.

The map shows a large number of vills, consisting almost entirely of freehold land, in the north west of the county. Broomshields, with 118 acres, Sately with 230 acres, Huntinghouse with 128 acres, Colepike Hall with 153 acres, Holmside with 116 acres, Medomsley with 166 acres, and many more, such as Knitsley, Greencroft, Consett, and Bushblades, whose freehold

acreages are not recorded, may be cited as examples of such villis. Very few of these settlements are mentioned in Boldon Book, and it therefore seems probable that many consist of land fairly recently brought into cultivation from the bishop's wastes..

The acreages of freehold land recorded for the villis in the eastern part of the county are for the most part small. Only six villis there have more than 100 acres; in the south east are Stockton, Norton, and Carlton; in the centre are Sedgfield and Middleham; and in the north is Boldon. Amongst the remaining villis, many have less than 50 acres of freehold land. The arable land here, more fertile and more easily brought into cultivation was either directly under the control of ecclesiastical officials, i.e. demesne land, or was cultivated by other than freehold tenants, i.e. bondage land and cottage land.

The distribution of the Demesne land in 1380

Demesne land appears in the entries of 28 villis, less than one quarter of the total number of villis, the details of whose land are recorded in the survey. The map of demesne land in the bishop's villis in 1380 shows no remarkable concentration in any one area, since such land is found in all those parts of the

county directly controlled by the bishop. It is signifacant, however, that the demesnes are mainly confined to the larger vills, in many of which the bishop possessed a manor house or grange. The largest acreages are to be found in the south east, at Sadberge and Stockton. At Sadberge the demesne land is listed under two headings, "Old Borough with Ancient Demesne", and "Demesne Land". In the first entry (32), the holdings of demesne land, which vary in size from two roods to 60 acres, and together cover 825 acres, are associated with burgages, holdings in the town of Sadberge, to which belonged certain rights within the borough. In the second entry (33), 20 tenants are recorded as holding one or more bovates of land, "one bovate of land containing 15 acres of meadow and pasture", in all 360 acres are recorded. At Stockton the demesne land is retained in the bishop's own hands; "Demesne Land in the Account of the Bailiff there; There are there 9 carucates of land of demesne land, containing 810 acres of meadows (land and meadows?), rendering per acre 4d. = £13.10s." (34) this entry is repeated later in the same vill, "land" replacing "meadows" in the text. There are also "a certain orchard, whose fruits and herbage are worth 2s. And a certain

park, with an ancient orchard, 8 acres 1 rood, meadows included, ... 160 acres of meadows in various places, namely in le Northmede 13 acres, in Haygate 2 acres....." and so on, the names of the various meadows including Campsyke, Coldsyke, Pikesyke, Cotegrene, Grenesmedow, and Cotecredene (35).

Lanchester, with $23\frac{1}{2}$ acres of demesne land has the smallest recorded acreage. The demesne land there occurs under the heading "Demesne Meadows". However, besides 13 acres of meadowland, "the tenants there hold between them 14 acres of land in Smalhop", and there is also "one close called Mallesfeld containing $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres", one messuage, and two tofts with gardens (36). The demesne land at Haughton is described in rather greater detail than is the case in Boldon Book: "72 acres and 3 roods of land of the lord's demesne there" are held by the chaplain. "The same holds half the manor of Haughton, called Bewmond.....and the other half of the said manor is in the lord's hands.....and there are in the said manor 4 carucates of land, each carucate containing 120 acres.....and there are 9 acres of meadow in Halikeldhom, now in the lord's hands" (37). The demesne appears to have increased in area since 1183, when it was described as "a demesne of three ploughs", but there is now no mention of the sheep and pasture

which Boldon Book recorded as "in the bishop's hands"(35). No longer are there many instances of two or more villis dependant on a single demesne. Wearmouth and Tunstall have each separate entries of demesne lands by 1380; the first has 161 acres, the second 110. The demesne of Ryhope and Burdon now appears amongst the Ryhope entries, there is no mention of demesne land at Burdon. At Easington, with 310 acres of demesne land, the survey states that "all the aforesaid demesne lands have been handed over to the tenants of the villis, by new demise, and render per annum, in all, £18." (39).. Only the two villis of Cleadon and Whitburn, as in 1183, share a common demesne; there 26 tenants hold a total of 336 acres of demesne land.

The distribution of the Bondage land in 1380

Almost one third of the villis recorded in Bishop Hatfield's Survey contain details of "Terrae Bondorum", or bondage land, that land described as belonging to the villeins in 1183. The map of the distribution of bondage land in 1380 shows its concentration in the east and south of the county, and in a number of well defined groups or clusters of villis, there, a concentration which was already discernable in 1183, but which has become more clearly marked by the late

fourteenth century. Darlington, Blackwell, and Cockerton now have bondage lands of 571, 690, and 705 acres respectively; this total of 1966 acres is rather less than the corresponding total in 1183. Carlton and Norton still retain their very high acreages of bondage land; now more nearly equal in area, they have 840 and 870 acres respectively, reflecting a considerable increase in the first vill., and a slight decline in the second. The bondage lands of Bishop Middleham and Cornforth, recorded together in Boldon Book, are now separately treated, with the result that a very considerable difference between the two villis appears, the former having 180, and the latter 702 acres. Since, when other classes of land are taken into account, the balance of approximate equality between the two is restored, it would not appear that geographical factor played any significant part in producing two such unequal acreages of bondage land in such close proximity. Easington and Boldon, each with 950 acres of bondage land, have the largest individual acreages of all the bishop's villis. The only remaining vill in the class of over 600 acres is Lanchester. Here the bondage land is contained under two entries: "Bondage Land at le Forth", and "Bondage Land at Newbiggin" ; (40) the former immediately adjoins the river Browney, while the latter

is situated on the lower southern slopes of the same valley, about 600 feet above sea level. The holdings included in the first entry are rather limited in extent, 137 acres, and probably represent the original bondage lands of the vill; but the lower valley slopes evidently provided ample opportunity for the extension of bondage holdings, and on these, 27 bondage tenants are cultivating 540 acres of arable land. Groups of vills with moderately sized area of bondage land are found in the valleys of the Gaunless and the Middle Wear, and along the western edge of the Magnesian Limestone country. Stanhope, with only 75 acres of bondage land, has the smallest recorded acreage in the bishop's vills; this is in striking contrast to the very high position it occupies in the list of freehold land in the bishop's vills.

The distribution of Cottage land in 1380

Only 33 of the vills visited by the surveyors in 1380 record land occupied by cottagers; this total, however, includes ten villages which either had no cottage land, or were not recorded at all, in 1183. The map of the distribution of cottage land in 1380 shows that such land was concentrated to a remarkable degree in the east and south of the county; Stanhope, with 42 acres of cottage land, forms the only notable exception to this

statement. By far the largest acreages are found in the north east, at Boldon and at Whitburn. The survey divides the cottage tenants at Boldon into two classes - ^{Those who have holdings on the lord's demesne and} those who have no demesne land, only the land associated with their cottages (41). The latter group of tenants, of whom there are 15, holds 22 cottages and 155 acres of land. The holdings of the majority consist of two sorts of land: John Robinson holds, for example, "one cottage and 12 acres of cottage land, and 6 acres in the moor there, of new demise" (42), i.e. land recently made over to him. Here is an interesting example of the extension of cultivation on to the surrounding moors or wastes, none of the extensions in this instance including more than 6 acres of land. The same phenomenon is in evidence at Whitburn, where 5 tenants hold 144 acres of cottage land, of which total $27\frac{1}{2}$ acres are "in the moor" (43); the remaining holdings consist of ordinary cottage land. Only one vill in the Darlington Ward has more than 100 acres of cottage land; this is Coundon where 17 tenants whose holdings consist of 3, 6, or 12 acres of land, hold in all 102 acres. At the opposite end of the scale, the Stockton entries refer only to one cottage tenant, who has no more than 11 cottages, containing 1 rood of land. In Cockerton, under

the heading "Cottages", one tenant holds "a cottage, with a garden, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow", while three other tenants have cottages, but no land (44). Finally, in Chester there were 30 cottage tenants, each of whom held one cottage, but to none of the cottages does there seem to have been attached any land, so that the tenants must have depended for their livelihood upon the cultivation of other land, probably the bondage and demesne land in the same vill.

The distribution of Exchequer land in 1380

Exchequer land is recorded in 73 of the bishop's villis in 1380, and is thus the most widely distributed of all the various classes of land in the survey. The holders of such land paid their rents directly to the bishop's exchequer, hence the name "Exchequer Land". Since Boldon Book contains no reference to this type of land, it seems almost certain that it had been brought into cultivation, probably from the bishop's wastes, during the interval between 1183 and 1380. The evidence of the map showing the distribution of exchequer land in the bishop's villis in 1380 lends support to this view. In the west and north west of the county are situated the greatest number of villis containing exchequer land, as well as the largest individual areas of such land;

moreover it is in precisely the same region that there are found the greatest numbers of new settlements and the largest increase in the population, which, when combined with the presence of extensive areas of moorland and forest hitherto unused for agriculture, provides the conditions most favourable to the growth of new arable land.

Stanhope, Wolsingham, and South Bedburn, with 747, 590, and 540 acres respectively, contain the greatest totals of exchequer land, and in all are found favourable conditions for the extension of cultivation, mentioned in the preceeding paragraph. In Stanhope 53 tenants occupy holdings varying in size from 1 to 24 acres, most of the holdings being from 8 to 15 acres. Several tenements are described as "closes" or "enclosures", for instance: "John Merley holds one enclosure called Snawhopkerr.....Adam Johnson holds one toft and one enclosure called Snawhopglos", (45) both of which were probably situated on the lower slopes of Snowhope Moor. Similarly, two holdings, of 9 and 20 acres are mentioned in Bewdley, (46), on the lower slopes of Stanhope Common to the west of the vill. In the valley of the Wear itself, below Stanhope, there are three holdings of 5, 8, and 10 acres "in le Shitehopfeld there" (47). Perhaps the most interesting

of all are certain references to new assarts, an assart being a piece of ground newly cleared and enclosed. Mention is made of "1½ acres there (i.e. on Snowhope Moor), of new assarts before his gate", held by one William Emerisson (48); there are also a further 10 acres of new assarts, and "one place of new assarts at Middelgate" (49). Here is evidence of tenants actually making small intakes from the waste, either in the immediate vicinity of their own cottages, or else further afield in the surrounding moors.

The Wolsingham entries of exchequer land also contain abundant evidence of active colonisation of the waste. Here 64 tenants hold 590 acres and 2 roods of arable land, including 12 acres of new assarts, for which rent is paid to the bishop's exchequer. A toft and 20 acres are mentioned in Wigside (50), on the northward facing lower slopes of Pikeston Fell; John Ward holds "two enclosures in Grenwellside, called les Flagges, containing 12 acres" (51), i.e. on the southward facing slopes of the Wear valley below Wolsingham. In South Bedburn 28 tenants hold 34 messuages and 540 acres of arable land; amongst them is Ralph Euere, who holds the manor of Bitforth and the vill of Hopyland, about neither of which are any further details given (52). Hopyland is on the eastern side of Pikeston Fell, immediately

above Bedburn Beck; Bitforth has not been identified. There are no references to new assarts in the South Bedburn entries.

Many villis around Lanchester have between 100 and 400 acres of exchequer land; there again are found many new villis, and considerable areas of forest and waste land, of which some is potentially cultivable. In Lanchester itself the exchequer land is arranged in the same way as the bondage land; there are 29 acres at le Forth, but just over 200 acres at Newbiggin (53), the first being in the valley proper, the second on the hillside above the river Browney. At Newbiggin, John Fylding and William Cook hold 20 acres of new assarts in the field called Colynsfeld. In the Lanchester area those villis with more than 200 acres of exchequer land are fairly numerous; they include Benfeldside, Butsfled, Broom, Flass, Hamsteels, and Burnhope.

By contrast, the majority of villis in the east and south east of the county have but small acreages of exchequer land. In the Easington Ward, only Herrington has more than 100 acres, and in the Stockton Ward, Bishop Middleham and Sedgefield have 222 and 150 acres of exchequer land, respectively. Most of the villis have very much less than 100 acres, and the average

holdings of such land are consequently much smaller than further west, many are less than one acre, few more than 5 acres in extent. Moreover, there are rarely any references to new assarts in this area, a rarity which would suggest that most of the available arable land was already taken up, and that there was little opportunity and less necessity to take fresh land into cultivation.

The distribution of other classes of land in 1380
a) Dringage land, and b) Land in the moor

Entries relating to other classes of land in the survey are few, and of no great significance in their total effect upon the landscape. At Holom and Herrington, both in the Easington Ward, are two entries of land under the heading "Tenentes in Dringagio", i.e. Dringage Tenants. In Holom, seven persons hold one messuage and 30 acres of such land (54). At Herrington, there are two dringage tenants; the first, Sir Thomas Colvyll, holds two thirds of the manor of East Herrington, while the second, Thomas de Herrington, holds a messuage and 40 acres of dringage land (55). From the same ward, at Newbottle, there is mention of a further type of land under the heading "Terrae in Mora"; this land in the moor is clearly distinguished

from the exchequer land of the same vill. (56).

Sixteen tenants of Newbottle hold 42 acres of "land in the moor there", their individual holdings ranging in size from 3 roods to 12 acres. In addition "the tenants of Mikelheryngton hold 6 acres of the said land" (57), and "the tenants of Houghton hold between them 20 acres of land in the said moor of Newbottle". (58). These entries complete the account of the miscellaneous types of land in Bishop Hatfield's Survey.

The density of arable land in 1380

The influence of the geographical factors already examined appears most clearly on the two maps showing the total arable land in 1380, the first by distribution, the second by density in acres per square mile. The second map is subject to the same limitations and possible inaccuracies as were observed in discussing the validity of using the modern parishes as units in the similar map of the arable land in 1183. (59). The influence in particular of adverse conditions of relief and soil is shown in the western parishes of Stanhope, Wolsingham, Roughside, South Bedburn, Crook, Lynsack, Evenwood, Witton and Hunwick, and, further north, in the parishes of Lanchester, Consett, Midsley, and their neighbours. An improvement in these conditions is reflected in the

rather higher densities of the northwestern parishes - Ryton, Whickham, Tanfield, and Stanley; most of the arable land here, however, is confined to the valleys of the Tyne, the Derwent, and their tributaries, while further east, the reappearance of high land, in the parishes of Kibblesworth and Gateshead, is reflected in low densities of arable land there. It is in the eastern and southern parts of the county that the highest densities are to be found. There, in the valleys of the Tees, the Skerne, and the middle Wear, along the magnesian limestone scarp, and on the coast itself, are to be found comparatively high densities of arable land, for there, on a fairly low, undulating surface, covered with fertile soils - sands and gravels, alluvium, and boulder clay, had been developed, even as early as the late fourteenth century, the chief agricultural resources of the County Palatine.

CHAPTER V.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROSPERITY AND POPULATION

3. BISHOP LANGLEY'S SURVEY. THE LAND

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROSPERITY AND POPULATIONThe information on these subjects in the Langley Survey

A general picture of the kind of information on the distribution of prosperity and population, of the form in which this information is presented, and of how these differ from the information of the earlier surveys, may be obtained from the following examples of the entries in the survey. Darlington and Hulam may again be examined in detail; Crawcrook, however, was not surveyed in 1418.

Regional examples. a) Darlington

Darlington is described at considerable length, and in a way very similar to that already outlined above, (1). A summary only is therefore given, a summary which will nevertheless make clear the main points of similarity and difference between the present account of the vill, and that written in 1380.

Darlington. Free Tenants

The names of 27 free tenants are recorded, together with their holdings, in all $462\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arableland and 4 acres of meadow. Attached to these holdings, which vary in size from 1 rood to 60 acres, are 23 messuages or houses. In addition to these land-holdings, two

gardens, "one place nigh le Grissyerd", (2), "four stalls in the Tolibothe", (2), and "certain parcels of land nigh the park there", (2), are recorded. Some of the holdings are named, such, for example, as the 4 acres of land in Grangewellbotham, (3), held by Thomas Ferrour, but fewer names are given than in 1380. The annual rent of each free-holding is also stated.

Demesne Land

There are 18 tenants of demesne land, three of whom have lands in addition to their demesne holdings. 2 tenants and 8 pairs of tenants each hold 15 acres of land, so that their aggregate holdings are 150 acres. There is besides "one place in the close of the said manor, with the enclosure, on which is built one house, in which the porter lives, and it is worth per annum 3s. 4d". (4). The annual renders of the demesne land holdings, without works, are each 20s.

Bondage Land

The 13 bondage tenants of Darlington hold, in all, 22 messuages and 510 acres of arable land; their holdings vary in size from 1 messuage and 1 bovat of land; i.e. 15 acres, to 4 messuages and $4\frac{1}{2}$ bovates of land, i.e. $67\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The services of the bondage tenants are described in detail; each "does the works

and services, as is contained in the ancient Rental, and he ought to mow the whole of the Bishop's meadow, and to make hay and lead it, and then he shall have a corrody, and to enclose the orchard and the yard, and to do the works which he used to do at the mill, and each bovate renders 1 load of woodlades, and carries loads on the Bishop's journeys, and besides carries 3 loads per annum of wine herrings and salt, and renders per annum at the 4 usual terms, 10s". (5).

Exchequer Land

17 tenants, of whom 4 are holders of other types of land, occupy $22\frac{1}{2}$ acres of exchequer land, $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres of meadow, together with several cottages and other holdings, some of which are named and described in detail. The rents of the various tenants are also listed, and, from the following entry, it would appear that at least one of the holdings was waste: "And for the rent of 1d., paid by Lord de Nevyl, for having a bridge at the bottom of his garden, nothing, since the bridge is completely waste, as the jurors say", (6).

Finally, after an account of the tenants and value of the common forge, the toll of ale, and the fishery of Darlington, mention is made of certain burgesses, who pay tolls amounting to 2s, and of the toll of fairs and markets in the town, which, together with other profits of

the borough, render £93. 6s. 8d; their value is precisely the same in 1380.

Regional examples. b) Hulam

The account of the vill of Hulam is very brief indeed.. Under the heading "Free Tenant", it is recorded that "William Claxton, knight, holds the vill of Holome, formerly belonging to Thomas de Holome, by service, and renders per annum, at the 4 usual terms 26s. 8d.". (7).

The degree to which these entries are representative

The two villis described above show how detailed or how brief may be the information which the survey provides; within these two extremes come by far the larger part of the villis contained in the survey. The Darlington entry indicates the main divisions of the bishop's land and tenants, but other divisions, besides the four found here, occur in the accounts of other villis. Cottage lands and waste lands, for example, form a significant element in many accounts. Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations, the Darlington entry is fairly representative in that it contains the 4 recurring standard items of information relating to the various villages: (1) land; (2) population; (3) services; (4) values. The bearing of these items upon regional variations in prosperity will be considered in due

course; the concern of the present chapter is with the first of these items, the land.

The measurement of land in the Langley Survey

The measurement of the land in roods, acres, bovates, and carucates, which has already been examined in the description of the arable land in 1380, is found again in the early fifteenth century. The holdings of the bondage tenants are invariably recorded in bovates, and, as would be expected within so short an interval, no changes have occurred in the recorded size of these bovates in the various villis. Measurements of land in terms of roods are again very common, especially in the accounts of meadows. At Ryton, for example, a certain tenant of exchequer land, Johanna Newton "holds 2 acres 1 rood of meadow, formerly belonging to Thomas Gategang, and renders 2s." (9). Such precise measurements, however, are not entirely confined to meadowland, where they are consistent with its high value; measurements in terms of roods may also be found in the records of arable land of various classes. John Wakerfeld, a tenant of the demesne land at Haughton, is said to hold 73 acres and 3 roods of land, amongst the cottagers of the same vill is one Richard Karlell, who "holds 1 cottage with 1 croft, containing 3 roods of land", (10). It is however,

amongst the tiny parcels of exchequer land that the most frequent examples of measurement in roods are to be found. At Coundon a croft containing 1 rood of land forms part of the holdings of the exchequer tenants; at Tunstall, "William del More holds 1 rood of land in the moor", (11), and at Houghton, in the Easington ward, "Mathew Ronyhson holds 1 croft, containing 1 rood, formerly belonging to Isabel Sezewryght, and renders 6d", (12). The care with which these small pieces of land are recorded serves to indicate, not only their value to their cultivators, but also the accuracy and detail of the survey itself. No instances are to be found of the measurement of land in carucates in the Langley Survey.

The six classes of arable land. a) Freehold land

The arable land, as recorded in 1418, may be divided into six categories: freehold land, demesne land, bondage land, exchequer land, cottage land, and a final category consisting of miscellaneous classes. From a total of 44 vills, the details of whose land are recorded, 34 vills contain entries relating to freehold land.

The distribution of Freehold land in 1418

The map showing the distribution of such land in the bishop's vills in 1418 serves again to emphasise its concentration in the western and central parts of the county. Here are found not only the greatest number of

vills containing freehold arable land, but also those vills whose individual acreages are the largest. The acreages of Stanhope and Wolsingham, with 823 and 627 acres of freehold land respectively, far surpass those of any other vill. As in the Hatfield survey the holdings are frequently named, and their situation described. At Stanhope, Horsleyburnfield and Bollihopschele are mentioned, (13), both in connection with fairly small pieces of land (20 acres and 6 acres), which were probably situated on the narrow, steep-sided valleys, tributary to the Wear at this point. The Nieufield and the West field are also mentioned, but the remaining field names contain information on the personal names of their original occupiers (e.g. Josianbankes, Morreyland), and do not refer to any feature of the landscape. The account of the freehold lands at Wolsingham contains references to land in various parts of the lower valley slopes of Weardale, whose acreages, as indicated by their rents, were considerably larger than those of the freehold lands higher up the valley, at Stanhope.

North and South Bedburn, and North Auckland have each well over 400 acres of freehold land. In each entry, some, if not all, of this land is described as being part of the neighbouring vills and manors, whose

holders are listed as freehold tenants in the larger, older settlement. At South Bedburn, for example, Thomas de Morellegh, and two other freehold tenants, "hold the manor of Estshipley and 100 acres of land", and similarly "Ralph Euere holds the manor of West Shipley and 90 acres of land", (15). Both manors were situated little more than one mile from South Bedburn, on the steep southern slopes of the Wear valley. The manors and villis forming part of the freehold land at North Auckland are more numerous, and extend over a greater area around the older settlement than do those of North Bedburn; they include Aldpark, Whitworth, Binchester, Hunwick, Henknoll, and Byres Geoffray.

The acreages of freehold land recorded for the villis in the eastern part of the county are for the most part small. Only two villis, Wardon and Hutton, have more than 100 acres. Of the 246 acres of freehold land recorded at Wardon, 60 acres are pasture. At Hutton, "John de Esh holds the vill of Hoton, and 400 acres of land there, by foreign service, and renders per annum, at the 4 usual terms, 63s. 6d.", (16). If the survey recorded the acreages of other free-holdings in the remaining villis in the eastern part of the county, then it is probable that a less uneven distribution of freehold land would

appear on the map. Most frequently the freehold entries of these villis refer only to "a certain holding", or to a manor, whose size is not stated.

The distribution of the Demesne land in 1418

Demesne land appears in the entries of 17 villis, rather more than a third of the total number of villis the details of whose land are recorded in the survey. The map of the demesne land in the bishop's villis in 1418 illustrates the complete absence of such land from the western part of the county, and its concentration in the north-east; this map, indeed, is in marked contrast with that of freehold land already examined.

The largest acreage occurs at Easington, with 330 acres, and the smallest at Whickham, where "John Fayrhere holds the demesne messuage of Qwhykham, containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, with 1 house built thereon, and renders per annum 2s", (17). The Easington entry records the total acreage of demesne lands, but gives no details of individual holdings. These lands would appear to have declined in value, since the jurors record "upon their oath, that there are there is demesne 330 acres of arable land, which used to render per annum £18. Now they render per annum, for the aforesaid lands, meadows, and pastures, and for all the autumn works belonging to the

same lands.....for a term of 12 years.....only £17", (18). The account of the demesne land at Newbottle is rather more representative of those of most villis. It is recorded that "there are there 220 acres of demesne land, in the tenure of various tenants there"; a list of these tenants follows, together with the acreage which each one holds, the individual holdings varying from 5 to 35 acres, although the majority are about 20 acres. Referring back to the survey of 1380, it is found that the acreage of demesne land at Newbottle has fallen; in this respect the vill is typical of those for which demesne lands are recorded in both surveys.

It is of interest to note the changes which occur in the form of the records of demesne land during the period covered by the three surveys. The demesnes of Wearmouth and Tunstall are here taken as an example of these changes, since they are recorded in considerable detail on each occasion. In 1183 the villis of Wearmouth and Tunstall were dependant upon a common demesne; no details are given of the acreage of the demesne lands at that date, but they are said to be at farm for £20. In 1380 the accounts of the demesne lands of the two villis are completely separate. At Wearmouth 15 tenants held 161 acres, worth £14. 4s. 8d., and at Tunstall 9 tenants held

110 acres of demesne land worth £8. 12s. 6d. In 1418 the record of demesne land at Wearmouth is almost identical with that of 1380, except that there were only 14 tenants at the later date. However, the description of the demesne in the account of Tunstall brings out certain features which, although they must have been in existence at the time when the earlier surveys were written, had not hitherto been recorded: "Demesne land, formerly charged in the vill of Tunstall; And there are there 221 acres of demesne land, in the tenure of the tenants of Wearmouth (the words "and Tunstall" are erased) for which the tenants render, namely for 10 acres of land 15s. 8d., of which 121 acres are charged in the vill of Wermouth, and the remaining 100 acres in Wermouth, which were formerly in the tenure of the tenants of Tunstall, are now handed over to the tenants of Wermouth. Therefore let them be charged to Wermouth". There then follow "the names of the tenants of Wermouth who hold 100 acres of demesne lands", (19).

From these entries it would appear that the demesne lands which, according to the earlier surveys, formed part of the arable land of both villis, were to be found altogether in Wearmouth, not in Tunstall. The later survey makes clear what had not been revealed in the earlier documents.

The distribution of Bondage land in 1418

21 villis described in the Langley Survey contain details of bondage land. The map of the distribution of this land in 1418 shows its concentration in the eastern and southern parts of the county, especially in the Darlington, Boldon, and Easington areas. In Darlington, Blackwell, and Cockerton, bondage lands of 510, 720, and 585 acres are recorded; the total of the three villis, 1815 acres, is less than that recorded in either of the earlier surveys. In all three villis the average holding is approximately 1 messuage and 30 acres of land, although tenants with greater or smaller holdings may be found. As was true in 1380, Easington has the largest acreage of bondage land in all the bishop's villis; 920 acres are there divided amongst 20 tenants, so that the average bondage holding appears to have been a little more than 3 bovates. In the extreme north east of the county, Boldon and Whitburn have respectively 690 and 720 acres of bondage land; in the former vill the average bondage holdings seem to have been 3 bovates, in the latter, 2 bovates. Stanhope, North Auckland, and Byers have the lowest recorded acreages, less than 100 acres being recorded in each vill. These are in marked contrast with the high position of these villis in the list of

freehold land, the differences in the distribution of these two classes serving to emphasise the contrasting geographical conditions of the eastern and western parts of the county.

The distribution of Cottage land in 1418

20 vills visited by the surveyors in 1418 record land occupied by cottagers; cottage tenants are recorded in a further 4 vills, but there would not seem to have been any land attached to their holdings. The map of the distribution of cottage land in 1418 shows its concentration in the southern and eastern parts of the county. As in 1380, Stanhope, with 76 acres, forms the only notable exception to this concentration. The largest acreages are found in the north east, at Newbottle, 342 acres, and Houghton, 264 acres. At Newbottle the cottage land seems to have changed its classification during the period between 1380 and 1418, in the account of Newbottle in the Langley Survey, the heading "Bondage Land" is erased, and above is written "Cottage Land". Closer inquiry reveals the fact that the acreage and value of the cottage land in 1418 is approximately the same as that of the bondage land in 1380 - 342 acres worth £7. 7s. annually in 1418, as compared with 320 acres worth £7. 13s. annually in 1380.

In 1418 it is recorded of the cottage land in Newbottle that "there are 24 cottages and 26 bovates 8 acres of land, of which each bovat contains 12 acres", (20).

The measurement of cottage land in bovates is a very unusual feature; these units are almost invariably found in the measurement of bondage land. Moreover, the cottage tenants at Newbottle hold 12 acres of Punderland, land formerly held by the bondage tenants, for which they make the customary payments of hens and eggs. It seems certain therefore that part of the land in this vill had changed its classification.

The extent of the individual cottage holdings, and the services attached to them are described with unusual detail in the account of the cottagers of Houghton, in the Darlington ward. Here one cottager holds "one cottage with one croft, containing 3 roods of land", (21); the remaining 9 cottagers each hold "one cottage, with a garden, containing half a rood of land", (21), for which each pays an annual money rent of 2s. 2d., and performs certain specified services; "he ought to work 9 days in the year, and 4 precatons in autumn, and lift the hay", (21). Of the 10 cottage tenants at Houghton, 4 are holders of other land, and the remaining 6 would probably be dependant on some other form of work than the

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M DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.
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cultivation of their tiny gardens. In 6 of the 20 villis which record cottage land, the average size of the cottage holdings is little more than 1 acre; elsewhere the holdings seem to have reached 10 or more acres, and it may be supposed that these last formed an important, if not the only, part of the arable holdings of their cultivators.

The distribution of Exchequer land in 1418

Exchequer land is recorded in 34 of the bishop's villis in 1418, although this is only half the total number of villis recording such land in 1380, it must be remembered that the numerous small villis in the western half of the county, which made up so large a proportion of the total in 1380, are entirely omitted from the later survey. However, the map of the distribution of exchequer land in 1418 shows that the largest acreages of such land are still to be found in the western villis, around which extensien^{ve} tracts of unoccupied, cultivable ground could still be found. Stanhope, Wolsingham, and South Bedburn again occupy the leading positions in respect of acreage. At Stanhope, the area of exchequer land has increased by approximately one quarter between 1380 and 1418. There Langley Survey records 49 tenants holding 917 acres in the vill; their holdings vary in size from 2 to 49 acres, but the majority hold between

12 and 15 acres. The names of certain closes and enclosures, for example, one enclosure of 15 acres called "Snawhopclos", (22), would suggest that they were situated on the lower slopes of the surrounding uplands. Mention is made of several assarts, or areas of land only recently cleared, and taken into cultivation from the surrounding waste; one of these is recorded thus: "Alice, wife of John Blackheued, holds 8 acres of the lord's waste, of new assarts, called le Riddyng, 8d.", (23). The follow entry is a reflection of the precarious nature of cultivation, and the changing value of this land, much of which was probably barely within the margin of profitable working: "Of the farm of 80 acres of land called Stewardschele, formerly in the tenure of Bertram Mombouch, nor of the farm of 40 acres 1 rood of land in Rukhop, formerly belonging to John Bedik, and afterwards to the said Bertram, nothing, since it lies waste, as it is supposed", (24).

The area of exchequer land in Wolsingham had also increased from 590 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres in 1380 to 631 acres in 1418. No fewer than 14 entries in the account of exchequer land there refer to new assarts, whose acreage, where recorded, varies from 1 to 6 acres. At South Bedburn the area of exchequer land declined slightly from 540 to 503 acres,

but, since the number of tenants had fallen to a more marked extent, from 28 to 14, the size of the individual holdings had proportionately risen.

The majority of the villis in the east and south east of the county have only small acreages of land paying rent to the exchequer. In the Easington ward, Herrington and Coxhoe, with 160 and 104 acres respectively, are the only villis with more than 100 acres of exchequer land. Shadforth, where 2 tenants hold 1 messuage, 2 tofts, and 6 acres of land, if fairly representative of the villis in the eastern part of the county, where both the total acreages, and the average holdings of the individual tenants are much smaller than further west. Moreover, no references to new assarts are found in the accounts of the eastern villis, and absence which would suggest that there was little, if any, extension of cultivation on to land hitherto unoccupied.

The distribution of other classes of land in 1418,
a) Dringage land, and b) Land in the moor

Entries relating to other classes of land in the survey are few, and of no great significance in their total effect upon the landscape. At Redworth, in the Darlington ward, 11 dringage tenants hold $244\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, their individual holdings ranging from 3 to 75 acres; to each

are attached one or more messuages. References to land held by dringage tenants also occur in the accounts of Hutton and Herrington, in the Easington ward. At Hutton, 2 tenants together hold 135 acres of land, the first has a messuage and 30 acres, whilst the second has 5 separate holdings of various sizes. Similarly, at Herrington, 2 dringage tenants are mentioned; one holds a messuage and 40 acres of land, the other, "William Hudelston holds 2 parts of the manor of Estheryngton" for which he renders a variety of services, and makes certain fixed payments, in money and in Kind, (25).

Mention is made of a further type of land - land in the moor - in the account of Newbottle, where "the tenants of the same vill hold between them of land in the moor 41 acres and $2\frac{1}{2}$ roods. And the tenants of Midelheryngdon hold between them of the same lands in the moor $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres. And the tenants of Houghton hold between them, of the said lands, 20 acres", (26). The entries complete the account of the miscellaneous types of land in the Langley Survey.

The density of arable land in 1418

The same contrasts between the eastern and western halves of the county as have already been observed in the account of the density of arable land in 1380, may

again be observed in the map showing the density of such land at the time of the compilation of the Langley Survey. The underlying influence of such geographical factors as the topography, soil, and climate, are reflected in these two maps, whose differences are not so much the result of changes in density during so limited an interval, but are a reflection of the incompleteness of so much of the information contained in the 1418 survey.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROSPERITY AND POPULATION
POPULATION

The recorded population in 1183

The greater part of the population consisted of five categories - villeins, farmers ("firmarii"), cotmen, malmen, and borders. In addition to these there was a miscellaneous group including smiths, drengs, foresters, and others. The details of these groups are summarised in the accompanying tables. The total population has been estimated as approximately 872; this figure, however, refers not to the whole county, but only to the tenants of those areas directly under the control of Bishop Pudsey. The figures can do little more than indicate the order of magnitude involved, and the relative size of the different groups of the population. Moreover, the figures are those of recorded population only, they include merely the head of each household, not the whole family. They must therefore be multiplied by some factor, 4 or 5, if the actual population is to be obtained. As a result of these limitations, inherent in the form of the entries of Boldon Book, the maps serve to indicate the relative, rather than the actual size and density of the individual units.

The ⁰difficiencies of this record

Many of the accounts of the places mentioned in the survey contain no indication of the size of the

population in the villages they describe. Examples of such difficiencies may be found in the villis held by the tenants in chief of the Bishop, such as Plawsworth, Washington, and Heworth, as well as in the entries for villis farmed by the tenants themselves, such as Ryton. No information beyond the fact that "Gilbert holds Heworth for three marks....." (1), or that "Plawsworth, which Simon Vitulus holds (is worth) 20s." (2), is recorded in the case of the first of these two types of villis, whilst in the case of the second, we are only informed that, for example, "The men of Ryton hold the town of Ryton at farm, with the demesne, and the assize rent, and the mill, and the works....." (3); the total number of such "men", and their division into various categories - villeins, cotmen, etc. is not stated.

The villeins element, their services and holdings

The villeins were the most important element in the population, amounting to 59.2% of the total. From the evidence of Boldon Book it would appear that the work of the villein household consisted in the performance of certain customary services on the lord's demesne land, such as ploughing, harrowing, mowing, and reaping. All

the entries relating to the twelfth century villein of County Durham tell of his obligation to perform some or all of these services. In Boldon, for example, the typical villein, who held 30 acres of land, worked 144 days each year for his lord, and performed, in addition, certain services of harrowing, ploughing, and reaping. The services of the villeins of much of north east Durham was identical with those of the villeins of Boldon: "in Cleadon and Whitburn there are 28 villeins, and each one holds, works, and renders as those of Boldon" (4); and the same is true of the 22 villeins of Wearmouth and Tunstall, and of the 27 villeins of Ryhope and Burdon..

The Darlington entry concerning villeins is particularly interesting. The villeins are said to hold land, "as well of the old villeinage as of the new." (5) Greenwell has suggested that the bishop had granted to the villeins of Darlington, part of his demesne land, or land from the waste, to which were attached services different from those belonging to the old villeinage land (6). Since the number of villeins in Darlington is not recorded, it is impossible to calculate the area of the individual holdings.

The distribution of the villeins

The ^{table}~~map~~ showing the distribution of the bondage (i.e. villein) tenants in the bishop's vills in 1183 serves to emphasise the concentration of these tenants in the eastern and southern parts of the county, precisely there such physical factors as soil and relief were most favourable to the development of fairly large and stable agricultural communities, depending upon the cultivation of the most fertile and easily worked soils. In the west a considerable section of the population of Stanhope, Lanchester, Whickham, and possible of Ryton, consisted of members of the villeins class.

The cotmen, their numbers and holdings

The cotmen of Boldon Book make up 19.5% of the total population, forming the second largest community in the county, but falling far behind the villeins in actual numbers. They may be distinguished from the former by the fact that their holdings were small, and did not usually lie in the open fields. Cotmen, often holding only a few acres besides their crofts and tofts, are found in 27 of the bishop's vills. At Boldon twelve cotmen hold twelve acres; at Houghton, in addition to thirteen cotmen, each holding twelve acres, there are "three other half-cotmen" (7) whose holdings are not

recorded; but at Heighington and Middridge larger cottier holdings occur: at Heighington "two men hold each one 15 acres", (8), and at Middridge "Ulkill, a cotman, has one oxgang" (9), i.e. 15 acres. The majority of cottier holdings, however, vary between 1 and 5 acres. Different again are the holdings of the cotmen of Norton, whose land lies in the open fields: twelve cotmen there, have, in addition to their crofts and tofts "thirteen acres in the fields" (10). Finally, Little Coundon is occupied entirely by cotmen: "In Little Coundon there are twelve cotmen, of whom each one holds six acres" (11).

The distribution of the cotmen

The map showing the distribution of cottage tenants in the bishop's villis in 1183 illustrates their concentration in the north-east and south of the county. Many villis, including Lanchester, the only place in the north west where cotmen are recorded, have less than five cotmen, but further east such villis are fairly regularly interspersed with villis recording between five and fifteen cottage tenants.

The firmarii, their numbers, services and distribution

Following cotmen in numerical order are the farmers or "firmarii", some 15% of the total population. Unlike

both villeins and cotmen, the firmarii were settled on the lord's demesne, and their position in of considerable significance in relation to that growth of population and extension in the area of cultivation which marked the late twelfth century. At Wardon, nine firmarii hold eighteen bovates, each of thirteen and a half acres, and at Morton, South Sherburn, Carlton, and Redworth the firmarii have similar holdings. In these villis there were no villeins, only firmarii, and the duties they performed differ from those of the villeins elsewhere, since they are not only less burdensome, but are assessed on the individual tenement. Moreover, the firmarii do not seem to perform any co-operative work, their ploughing is done by a pair of horses, not by the usual team of oxen, (there can therefore be no co-aration, frequently found in other villages), and no mention is made of certain obligations and collective rents; the render of cornage and a milch cow, for example, though found in all the other villis of the Houghton manor, is absent in Wardon and Morton. The greater independence of the individual holdings, together with the exemption from certain rents and services which mark those villis composed only of firmarii, would suggest that villis are relatively new communities, which the bishop

has allowed, or encouraged, to develop on his demesne land. The four such villis which appear in Boldon Book are all in the east and south of the county, in areas already more densely settled than the west, and in which were still to be found certain localities hitherto either unoccupied or but sparsely populated.

Firmarii also occur in other villis as one element in an agricultural community including villeins, cotmen, and others. In Sedgefield, for example, "there are twenty firmarii, every one of whom holds three bovates" (12). Similar tenants are mentioned in Norton, Stockton, Darlington, Blackwell, and Cockerton. In such places as these the phenomenon to be observed is not so much the creation of new villis, as the relatively recent developments taking place from the older settlements. Again, such developments are found either in the south around Darlington, or else in the south east, around Stockton.

The malmen

The malmen mentioned in Boldon Book number only twelve, and constitute 1.2% of the total population. They resemble closely the firmarii examined above, and are indeed identified with them in Bishop Hatfield's Survey, where the entry under Norton refers to "tenentes

vocati malmen sive firmarii" (13). In 1183 they are recorded only in Newton nigh Boldon, where "twelve malmen hold twenty four oxgangs, each of fifteen acres"(14)

The bordars

The last of the five main categories into which the population recorded in Boldon Book may be divided are the bordars, nine in number, or 1% of the total. They resemble the cotmen, and occur twice - at Tursdale, and at Sedgefield, where five bordars hold five tofts(15).

Other tenants recorded in 1183

Finally, the miscellaneous category includes several small groups of people, one of the largest of which is that of the drengs. From the evidence of Boldon Book it would seem that the most widespread service performed by these tenants was the duty of taking part in the bishop's hunt - the "magna Casa" - for which each must provide one horse and one dog, and of carrying the bishop's messages. The dreng of Binchester, for example, "feeds a dog and a horse, and attends the great chase with two greyhounds, and goes on messages" (16). Only Great Haughton and West Auckland have more than one dreng, the other drengs, including those of Herrington and Sheraton, are distributed fairly widely throughout the county.

The remaining members of the miscellaneous category, including the smiths, turners, carpenters, and others, form an integral part of the village community. Two foresters are found in the vills of Hunstanworth and Holmside, and two others in Wolsingham and Stanhope; all are in the north-western part of the county, much of which was formerly forest-covered. At Wolsingham "three turners (hold) 17 acres, and they render 3100 trenchers" (17) as well as performing certain other services. A carpenter is recorded in Wearmouth and Tunstall, another in Easington and Thorpe, and a third at Sedgfield; this last "holds twelve acres for making and reparing the ploughs and hawrows" (18). Ralph the beekeeper has six acres for his services in keeping the bees at Wolsingham, (19), a vill chosen perhaps on account of the considerable extent of the surrounding moorlands. In Escomb "a certain collier holds one toft and a croft, and four acres, and finds coal for making the ironwork of the ploughs of Coundon" (20). Finally amongst the tenants of Stanhope is one "Lambert, the marble cutter (who holds) 30 acres for his service so long as he shall be in the bishop's service". (21).

The density of Population in 1183

The map showing the density of population in County Durham at this period is compiled from statistics of the recorded population only, and is of value chiefly in making comparisons between the various units shown. The lowest densities of population are to be found in the west, where the lowest density of arable land has already been observed. The eastern and south eastern areas show, on the whole, higher densities, particularly in the Norton-Stockton region, and in the Ryhope Burdon area further north. The unusually high density shown by the parish of Kiblerby is partly a consequence of the imperfect method of using the modern parishes as units for density mapping.

The recorded population in 1380

The population recorded in Bishop Hatfield's Survey may be divided into five categories - free tenants, tenants of demesne land, bondage tenants, tenants of exchequer land, and cottage tenants. Since certain persons appear as holders of more than one type of land, (bondage tenants for example very frequently hold pieces of exchequer land in addition to their holdings in the open fields), allowance must be made for the repetition of certain names in the list of tenants. Such a correction having been made, the total population of the

bishop's lands in 1380 has been estimated at 2051. The figures given in the accompanying tables are those of recorded population only; they must be multiplied by four or five in order to obtain the actual population. Nevertheless, the relative density between one area and another may be reckoned with a fair degree of accuracy from these statistics.

A defective entry

The entry for Brafferton is defective, in that the number of tenants in the vill is not stated; it is merely recorded that "From the tenants of Brafferton..." are received certain services and money payments (22). With this one exception the entries for each vill, and for each of the categories within the vill's, appear to be complete.

The relative size of the classes of tenants

Free tenants amounted to 16% of the total population, and tenants of demesne land to slightly more - 16.2%. The largest single category was probably that of the bondage tenants, who number 624, or 22.3%. Although the number of tenants of exchequer land reaches the total of 979, many, if not most of these appear as holders of other land; they may be bondage tenants, cottagers, or, more rarely, tenants of demesne land, who have brought

into cultivation by their own individual effort, small pieces of the surrounding waste, for which money rents were paid to the bishop's exchequer. There are comparatively few tenants of exchequer land who do not have some other holdings in addition to these areas of hitherto unoccupied land. The cottagers, 10.4% of the population, are the smallest category.

The distribution of these classes

A division of the bishop's lands by wards shows that the largest number of tenants is to be found in the Darlington Ward, this is followed by the wards of Chester, Stockton, and Easington, the Wapentake of Sadberge, and the Barony of Evenwood, in the order given. The maps showing the distribution of the various classes of the bishop's tenants in 1380 closely reflect the distribution of arable land, while the map of the population density at that date, again emphasises the significance of the east and south as the area of the highest density, while the north and west fall far behind.

A comparison with the recorded population in 1183

For each class of tenant enumerated both in Boldon Book and in Bishop Hatfield's Survey the latter almost invariably shows a numerical increase over the former.

This generalisation holds good for the total number of tenants in each of the wards, and for the great majority of the individual vills themselves. There are, however, significant exceptions; in 1183 the three vills of Shadforth, Sherburn, and Cassop, together known as Quarringtonshire, had a total recorded population of 69; in 1380 the same three vills, now treated separately has a population of 17, 21, and 11 respectively, i.e. the total had fallen by no less than 20 tenants. In Boldon itself 49 tenants are listed in 1183, and only 37 in 1380. The exceptional character of these two examples serves to emphasise the increase of population elsewhere, an increase both considerable and widespread, in the two intervening centuries.

Minor elements in the recorded population of 1380

Smiths (23) are recorded in nineteen of the bishop's vills; they usually appear amongst the bondage tenants, although a few are holders of exchequer land. At West Auckland it is recorded that "Thomas Smyth and the tenants of the vill hold the common forge, 20 feet in length, and 16 feet in breadth, and render 8d". (24). A common pounder (25) is found in 22 vills, most of which are of considerable size, for example Darlington, Wolsingham; ^{have} occurs under the heading Pounder". "The Pounder

of Wolsingham renders for his office at the feast of the Nativity of Our Lord and at Easter 40 chickens, and 360 eggs". (26). Amongst the tenants of Sadberge are 40 who hold burgages in the old borough and one who holds a new burgage: "Henry de Ingleby holds one burgage and renders per annum 2d". (27).

The surnames of the Hatfield Survey

Finally the surnames of certain tenants are an interesting indication of their origin. In addition to the tenants in chief whose surnames are derived from the places which they hold, such as Thomas de Assh, (28), the surnames of many tenants of inferior status are place-names either in county Durham or in the surrounding districts of northern England. For example, the list of the holders of exchequer land at Darlington the following names occur: Agnes Craven, Matilda Bradley, William Tyndale, John Tesedale, Hugh Blackwell, John Bongate, Robert Byrden, William Catryk, and William Percebrig. (29).

The recorded population in 1418

The categories into which the tenants recorded in Bishop Langley's Survey may be divided are identical with those of the survey of 1380. i.e. free tenants, tenants of demesne land, bondage tenants, tenants of

exchequer land, and cottagers. After corrections have been made for the repetition of the names of certain land holders, the total recorded population is estimated at 943. The smallness of this figure is in part a result of the omission from the survey of the whole of Stockton Ward, the Wapentake of Sadberge, and many villis in the other three wards. How much of this total is a consequence of an actual decline in population cannot be definitely ascertained, since the records are in so many instances incomplete. In order to obtain the actual population, the figures given in the accompanying tables must be multiplied by some factor, either 4 or 5. The maps serve to indicate differences in density between one area and another, rather than to give an accurate picture of the total population of each vill and parish. The difficiencies of this record

As stated above, the entries for many of the villis recorded in the earlier surveys are either non-existent or incomplete. That for Killerby, for example, lists three free tenants and describes their holdings; there follows a marginal note to the effect that bondage and exchequer lands are missing. (30). "Brafferton nothing, since as yet no enquiry" is all that is recorded under the heading of that vill. (31). Those pages on which

the entries for Newton Cap, Hunwick, and Witton should have been made are blank. The list of villis in default, given at the end of the survey, has already been examined.

The numbers and distribution of the various elements in the population

Free tenants account for 15.9% of the total population, tenants of demesne land 12.8%, bondage tenants 21.8%, tenants of exchequer land 35.7%, and cottagers 13.8%. The tenants of exchequer land would thus appear to be the largest single class, but it is doubtful whether such is indeed the case, since very few of these tenants are holders of exchequer land only. The maps showing the distribution of the various classes of tenants in the bishop's villis in 1418 follow closely those showing the distribution of arable land at the same period. With the sole exception of the map of exchequer tenants, these maps emphasise the importance of the eastern and southern parts of the county.

Minor elements in the population

Eight smiths are mentioned in the Langley Survey, divided equally between the Darlington and Easington wards. There are also eight common pounders, four in Darlington ward, two in Chester ward, and two in

Easington ward. The holdings and services of both the smiths and the pounders are similar to those recorded in Bishop Hatfield's Survey. No burgesses are mentioned in 1418.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROSPERITY AND POPULATION
VALUES

The record of values in the Durham Surveys

The Durham Surveys give fairly detailed information of the value of the villis they describe. They do not record,, however,, that "this vill is worth x pounds or shillings"; rather,, for each of the individual holdings, the amount of rent paid in money and/or the money value of the services rendered, is stated. From these entries a fairly accurate picture of values can be obtained, a picture,, moreover,, which reveals significant regional variations. These may best be illustrated by an examination of the values of land and services in four villis, chosen from different parts of the county, as they are recorded in 1183,, 1380, and 1418. The selected villis are Wolsingham in upper Weardale, whose site occupies the narrow, steep-sided valley floor at the confluence of the Waskerley Beck with the River Wear; Whickham in the north west of the county, on high ground,, 300 feet, overlooking the River Derwent, near its entry into the Tyne; Boldon on the River Don, in the gently undulating Magnesian Limestone region,, with its thick covering of Boulder clay; and Carlton, typical of the villis of the south east, with its wide, shallow valleys, gentle topography, and mixed alluvial and boulder clay soils.

Regional examples. a) Wolsingham, in 1183

In 1183 the villeins of Wolsingham held 300 acres for 9 marks, i.e. £6, so that their land was worth approximately 5d. per acre. The value per acre can be no more than an approximation since the total number of acres recorded - 300 - is not the result of accurate and careful measuring on the part of the surveyors, but rather a rough estimate, on which rents and services can be assessed. The priest of Wolsingham rendered 13s. 6d. for 40 acres; his land was therefore worth approximately 4d. per acre. Other tenants held 6 acres for 3s. 2d. (c. 6d. per acre), 9 acres for 5s. (c. 6½d. per acre), 22 acres for 11s. (6d. per acre), and 4 acres for 2s.; the slightly higher rents of these tenants are a reflection of the fact that they render fewer and less burdensome services, and should not necessarily be taken to indicate any difference in the quality of their land. Particularly interesting is the case of certain rents paid for land in Bradley, situated a little below Wolsingham in the very narrow, steep-sided valley of the Houseslip Beck: here Roger de Bradley and William Noble each hold 40 acres for 13s. 6d., and serve in the forest at certain times in the year; their land was worth only 4d. per acre. The total recorded value of the vill of

Wolsingham was £10. 16s, a value which was considerable, but not so great as that of other villis further east (such as Haughton in Darlington ward, worth £20.17s.2d) much more value, with a population very little, if at all, greater than that of Wolsingham. (1).

Wolsingham in 1380

By 1380, however, Wolsingham was worth no less than £55.0s.6d, it had indeed the highest value, and the largest recorded population of all the villis of the Darlington Ward. The value of its lands may be subdivided as follows: 593 acres of arable land owned by free tenants, worth £22.8s.2d; 300 acres of demesne land worth £6.13s.4d; 354 acres of bondage land paying money rents amounting to £5.15s.10d; 7 acres of cottage land worth 9s; at least $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow land worth 6s.2d, (additional meadow land is referred to, but its value is not recorded); 226 acres of waste land whose value was £4.12s; and, perhaps most significant of all 590 acres of exchequer land worth £14.16s. From these figures approximate calculations can be made of the value per acre of the various classes of land: freehold land 10d. per acre, demesne land $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre, bondage land 4d. per acre, cottage land 1s.3d. per acre, and exchequer land 6d. per acre. The freehold land is found mostly

in the small villis surrounding Wolsingham, such as Broadwood, (120 acres worth 18s), and Sunnyside, (half of which, 200 acres, was worth 18s). The exchequer land was scattered in small pieces of up to 30 acres in the surrounding wastes and moors. The value of assarts, i.e. land recently taken into cultivation, seems almost invariably to have been 6d. per acre, its high value being in part a result of the freedom of such land from the services, which the holders of bondage land, paying only 4d. per acre, had frequently to perform. (2).

Wolsingham in 1418

In 1418 the total recorded value of the lands and tenements in Wolsingham was no more than £36. 17s. 10d, consisting at that time of 627 acres of freehold land, worth £20. 9s. 8d; 343 acres of exchequer land in Wigside, worth £7. 12s. 11d., 288 acres of similar land in Greenwellside, worth £8. 4s. 1d., and 12½ acres of meadow land worth 8s. 2d. The demesne, bondage, cottage, and waste lands described in the earlier survey are not entered here. Both the total value, and the value per acre of freehold land had declined slightly, but the continued intake of land from the waste is reflected in an increase in the total acreage and value of exchequer land.... Therefore, though too much reliance cannot be

placed on an entry so incomplete as that for Wolsingham, it would seem that here is a village community of which at least certain sections are relatively prosperous and actively increasing their holdings. (3).

Regional examples. b) Whickham, in 1183

Turning now to a consideration of Whickham, the entry for that vill in Boldon Book is particularly interesting, almost unique in the survey. It records, first the individual holdings of the tenants, which "used to render" so many shillings, etc.. There were formerly 35 villeins, holding in all 525 acres, worth only £2. 18s. 10d, 24 acres worth 4s, a mill worth £2, four fisheries worth £2, "and the demesne of two ploughs was then in the hand of the bishop, but now" the survey continues "the manor of Whickham aforesaid is at farm, with the demesne, and villeins, and mill.....and with the fisheries, and it renders £26". (4). A considerable increase of the value of the vill had therefore already taken place by the end of the twelfth century.

Whickham in 1380

At the time of Bishop Hatfield's Survey the total value of Whickham had risen still further - to £91.13s. Part of this increase, however, is due to the inclusion within the Whickham entry of the accounts of the nearby

vills of Swalwells, Winlaton, Asshells, and Lintz, which were either not included, or treated separately in Boldon Book. The free tenants of Whickham in 1380 paid rents worth £54. 4s; the rents of the tenants of demesne land were £3. 14s. 4d; those of the bondage tenants £14. 12s. 6; those of the cottagers £2. 12s. 4; 103 acres of meadow land at Whickham were worth £12. 2s. 2d; there is no record of waste land. The following entry, under the heading "Mill" is particularly significant: "The tenants hold between them the mill of Swalwells, and the fishery there, with the toll of ale, and used to render per annum £38, now they render per annum £20." (5). The entry would suggest that the peak of prosperity had already been reached in the vill some time before 1380, a view which is supported by another entry under Whickham concerning the vill of Swalwells, which "used to render per annum, at the same terms, 23s. 4d". (6).

Whickham in 1418

Conclusive evidence of a continued decline in values at Whickham is provided by the Langley Survey, for which the entries are unusually complete, and cover all the land recorded in 1380, with the exception of the demesne and exchequer lands. By 1418 the total value of the

vill was only £54. 5s. 3d., i.e., roughly two thirds of its value forty years earlier. The most striking fall in value is that of the mills, a fall which provides a reflection of a similar fall in agricultural prosperity. The following entries illustrate this point: "There is there a certain mill at Crossewelcroke, which ought to render 13s. 4d. Now it renders nothing because it is completely waste.....Robert Collan holds the mill of Swalwells, and the fishery there, with the toll of ale, it ought to render £38, but now it renders £15.....also there is there one water mill on the Watergate way, which ought to render per annum 53s. 4d., now there is no rent" (7). The value of the bondage land is exactly the same as in 1380, £14. 12s. 6d; the meadow land, precisely the same in area, has declined slightly in value, the 103 acres are now worth £11. 18s. 2d; but the cottagers pay only half their former rents - £1. 5s. It would therefore appear from the evidence provided by the surveys, that the late, fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were marked by a general decline in prosperity in north west Durham.

Regional examples. c) Boldon, in 1183

The third vill selected as representative of its region is Boldon. In 1183 the 22 villeins of Boldon each paid money rents of 3s. 10d., and performed certain

services for the lord; the total money value of their land was £4. 4s. 4d. In addition, a certain Robert paid half a mark, or 6s. 8d. for "two exgangs of 37 acres", a value of little more than 2d. per acre. The mill rendered £3. 13s. 4d., and the whole town paid 17s. Cornage; the demesne, with its stock, was worth 10 marks, or £6. 13s. 4d. The total recorded value of the vill was £15. 14s. 8d. (8).

Boldon in 1380

Two centuries later the value had risen to £74. 12s. 8d. In 1380, 172 acres of freehold land in Boldon were worth £6. 2s. 2d., (approximately 8½d per acre); the demesne land, together with demesne land in the moor, held by cottagers, was worth £35. 18s. 8d., (of these two types of demesne land, the former paid a rent of from 1s. to 1s. 3d. per acre, the latter rather less; the precise rent cannot be stated, since no separate account of its value is given); 950 acres of bondage land was worth £28. 7s. 8d. (i.e. 7d. per acre); 155 acres of cottage land was worth £3. 5s. (i.e. 6d. per acre); and finally 16½ acres of land, comprised within nine holdings of from half an acre to four acres, together with one forge, worth in all 19s. 5d., were waste. The number of mills had increased, and so had

their value; the bondage tenants are said to have paid "for the water mill and one wind mill there £17.13s.4d" (9) Although values had risen greatly since 1183, the significant entry concerning the forge, and the land which was waste, would suggest that there in the north east, as in the north west, the peak of prosperity was reached sometime before 1380, and a very slight decline was becoming evident by that date..

Boldon in 1418

The decline was far more marked, however, by 1418, when the lands and tenements of Boldon, recorded in the Langley Survey were worth no more than £41. 4s. The survey contains no record of freehold land otherwise it is fairly complete. The demesne land had by this time been divided amongst the bondage tenants and the cottagers, whose holdings were worth respectively £19. 9s. 8d, and £3. 14s. 10d; the land seems to have been worth roughly 1s. per acre. A number of the holdings were waste; these included five cottages, together worth 6s. 2d, and "a water mill, and another wind mill, which ought to render per annum £17. 13s. 4d, now nothing". (10).

Regional examples. d) Carlton, in 1183

Finally the vill of Carlton in south east Durham will be examined, rather more briefly, since less is

recorded of this vill than of the other three villis dealt with above. Boldon Book records 23 farmers, who hold 46 oxgangs, 690 acres, for which they render £11. 10s. (i.e. 4d per acre). A certain Gerebodi "holds in the same town four oxgangs, and renders 20s.", his land would also appear to be worth 4d. per acre. Two other tenants each hold two oxgangs for 10s; another holds one ploughland (120 acres?) for 10s; the value of the mill is not recorded. The total value of the vill is £14. (11).

Carlton in 1380

This had increased to £20. 7s. 10d. in 1380, an increase not so large as that of certain other villis in the south east, such as Stockton, Hertburn, and Norton, but nevertheless not untypical of an area whose increase in value was definitely less than was to be found elsewhere in the county. 120 acres of freehold land in Carlton were then valued at 10s. per annum; 840 acres of bondage land were worth £19. 10s. 2d., (i.e. 6d. per acre); 2½ acres of exchequer land were worth 5s. 4d., and one acre of meadow land was valued at 2s. 4d. (12).

The omission of Carlton from the Langely Survey prevents the formation of a complete picture of a vill which, if it did not enjoy the large increases in value, typical of so many villis elsewhere in the county, showed

no signs of declining prosperity in 1380.

The value of Freehold land in 1183

The money rents of the freehold lands in Boldon Book are frequently, though not invariably, recorded in terms of marks. "Crook renders four marks" (13), or "Marley renders two marks" (14) are typical of many entries. Since details of the acreage of freehold land in 1183 are not stated, regional variations in the total value, or in the value per acre of such land, cannot be estimated.

The value of Freehold land in 1380

Far greater detail of the value and acreage of freehold land is given in Bishop Hatfield's Survey. The total value of land held by free tenants in the bishop's villis throughout the county at this period was £310. 7s. 9d. The lands in the Chester Ward were of the highest value - £152. 4s. 4d. - and were the most widely distributed in more than forty villis. Many of these were in the north west of the county, and in some, all the land was held by one or more free tenants. In Holmeside, for example, "Thomas Umfraville holds the manor there containing 100 acres.....and renders 14s. 4d.....John Hallyng holds one messuage and 16 acres of land, and renders 7s. 8d." (15). This entry also serves to

illustrate two classes of free holding: the first of these renders, in addition to a money payment, certain fixed services, (Umfraville, for example, must "Provide one man in the forest, forty days in the fawning season, and forty days in the rutting season, and carry wine with four oxen"). The second is usually closely related to the area of land held.

The value of freehold land in the Darlington Ward at this time was £107. 19s. 11d., although the total acreage of such land was greater than that of the Chester Ward, (5305 acres, as compared with 3835 acres). The highest values for individual villis are to be found in Darlington, West Auckland, and Wolsingham, each of which have freehold land worth rather more than £20. The wards of Stockton and Easington (with freehold land worth £29. 13s. 3d, and £20. 10s. 3d. respectively) fall far behind their western neighbours.

The value of Freehold Land in 1418

By 1418, the total value of freehold land has fallen considerably in the Darlington and Chester Wards, but has risen slightly in the Easington Ward. The total value of such land in all the bishop's villis at that date was £142. 8s. 1d., i.e. less than half its value forty years earlier.

The value of Demesne land in 1183

The records of demesne land in Boldon Book vary so much in form and content as to make any generalisation practically impossible. In one entry the value may be carefully recorded; in the next no indication of the value is given. The demesne of Ketton, for example, is "at farm, with a stock of four ploughs, and four harrows, and other buildings which are in the court, which is enclosed with a ditch and a hedge, and renders 20 marks" (16). Should the demesne, however, be "in the bishop's hand", i.e. not farmed out to any tenant, then it is unlikely that its value will be recorded; thus "the demesne of six ploughs in Great Coundon, with the pasture and sheep, it in the hand of the bishop", (17), and consequently there is no mention of any money rent. Apart from the fact that the demesne land seems generally to have possessed a high money value, probably since it occupied some of the best land in the vill, very little can safely be written on the records of such land in Boldon Book.

The value of Demesne land in 1380

The surveyors of 1380 are more informative, and give details of the acreage and value of the demesne land in the vills they describe. Although in a few places the

demesne is still held only by one tenant, who pays a proportionately high rent for his land, it is usual to find the demesne divided amongst several smaller tenants, each of whom pays his share of the total money rents. At Haughton, for example, 72 acres and 3 roods of the lord's demesne land, held by the chaplain, Hugh de Westwyk, are worth 79s., but pay only 51s; the same tenant holds half the manor of Haughton, for which he renders £6. 13s. 4d; the other half of the manor, together with "9 acres of meadow in Halikeldholme, which could be sold for 46s. 8d", is now in the lord's hands (18). The demesne land at Easington provides a representative example of that in the majority of the bishop's villis. Its total value is £16. 14s. 8d, and it is divided into 22 pieces of either 15 or 20 acres each, which are valued at 16s. or 21s. 4d. annually (19). Again the value of the land is high, higher than that of freehold or bondage land in the same vill.

The value of demesne land in the Easington Ward is greater than that in any of the other three wards, £113. 16s. 6d. The figures for the other wards are as follows: Chester £107. 19s. 11d., Darlington £65. 13s. 6d., Stockton £21. 0s. 11d, and the Wapentake of Sadberge

£18. 19s. 1d., giving a total value for the four wards and Sadberge of £326. 12s. 11d., a little greater than the total value of freehold land. The total acreage of the latter in 1380 was 10,637 acres, that of demesne land - 7,061 acres, figures which suggest that the value per acre of demesne land is considerably greater than that of freehold land.

The value of Demesne land in 1418

By 1418 both the total value of such land, and its value of each of the wards had declined considerably. Easington Ward still retains its high position, but the value there has fallen to £73. 15s. 2d. The value of demesne land in the Darlington and Chester wards respectively is £34. 2s. 10d., and £21. 2s. The total recorded value of demesne land in all the vills mentioned in the survey is £130., a total which is less than that of freehold land at the same date.

The value of Bondage land 1183

In all three surveys, the exact value of bondage land is difficult to ascertain, since rents for such land frequently consist partly of money payments, partly of renders in kind, and partly of services performed on the lord's land, on certain days each week, and at certain times of the year. The entry for Lanchester in Boldon Book is straightforward, unusually so in fact; there 41

bovates, each of eight acres, are worth 30s. per bovatē, and there are no complications of other money payments, or payments in kind (20),. In Great Haughton, however, the position is by no means so simple; there are 9 bovates of bondage land there, each rendering 12d; but in addition to their money rents, the villeins had to perform many services for the lord. Amongst these were included weeding the corn, mowing the meadows, carting the hay, ploughing and harrowing, threshing the wheat, and carrying loads of wood (21). As a result of the variations in the form of the entries for bondage land in the survey, no account can be given of regional changes in value. Where differences in value do emerge they are often relatable to differences in the amount and nature of the services to be performed by the villeins on the lord's land; where these services are light, the money payments are correspondingly heavy, the alternative being equally true.

The value of Bondage land in 1380

The value of bondage land is recorded in great detail in Bishop Hatfield's Survey, although various small payments made as computation for some services again make the determination of the value of the land element in bondage tenures difficult. Moreover, in addition to the

payments made by each individual bondage tenants certain money renders are made by all the tenants as a whole. At Ryhope, for example, "all the bondage tenants pay between them, at the feast of St. Martin, for mettrith, 6s"; they also pay "24s. 8d. of cornage, at the feast of St. Cuthbert in September, and 36s. 6d. for woodlades at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, these payments being the burdens of their bondage farm" (22). (Their precise nature will be examined in due course).

The total value of bondage land in the bishop's villis in 1380 was £480. 4s. 7d., while the total acreage was 18,792 acres; such land therefore exceeded all other classes of land both in value and in extent. The value of bondage land in the Easington Ward was £206. 2s. 5d., in the Darlington Ward £104. 6s. 2d., in the Stockton Ward £91. 11s. 9d., and in the Chester Ward £78. 14s. 3d. The value of Bondage land in 1418

A decline in the total value of bondage land in the three wards surveyed is shown in 1418. By that date, the value of such land in the Easington Ward was £133. 6s. 10d., in the Chester Ward £55. 6s. 10d., and in the Darlington Ward £48. 1s. 4d., so that the total value had declined by half, to £237. 4s. 2d. This decline, however, is not the result of a fall in acreage and value

in the individual villis, for when statistics for the villis are examined, both values and acreages are seen to have remained remarkable constant, while occasionally an increase in value is recorded. The apparent fall in total values must therefore be ascribed to the omission of so many villis from the survey itself.

The value of Cottage land in 1183

Land held by cotmen in 1183 seems to have been the least valuable, as well as the smallest in area, of the classes of land recorded in Boldon Book. In several instances, such as Heighington, Boldon, and Whitburn, the value of their holdings is not recorded, while the entries for other villis state the value, but not the acreage of such land; in Great Haughton, for example, "then cotmen render 5s. 6d" (23), but whether the holdings for which these payments are made consist only of crofts and tofts, or include a few acres of arable land besides, the scribes do not record. At West Auckland a little more detail is given; there "four cotmen render 4s. 4d. for their crofts and tofts"; (24) while at Lanchester, where "Four cotmen hold 8 acres, and render 4s" (25) the full details are provided. These small pieces of land which the cotmen held seem to have been valued rather more highly per acre than the land^{of} other tenants, but it is impossible, in view

of the insufficient evidence, to comment on regional variations in value, if these existed.

The value of Cottage land in 1380.

The total value of cottage land recorded in Bishop Hatfield's Survey is £50. 11s. 8d, but the holdings for which the payments are made include the crofts and tofts of the tenants, in addition to their pieces of arable land. In several villis the cottagers hold no arable land at all. In Blackwell, for instance seven tenants hold five cottages worth 8s. 4d, and in West Auckland six cottagers hold $5\frac{1}{2}$ cottages, worth in all 5s. 6d. The highest value of the cottage land in any one vill is that of Whitburn, where five tenants hold 144 acres, worth £11. 12s. To each cottage in the vill there seems to have been attached 12 acres of land, an exceptionally large area; each tenant had, moreover, in addition to his cottage holding, 5 acres of land in the moor. The unusually high total of Whitburn helps to account for the fact that the Chester Ward, with cottage land worth £19. 14s. 4d., occupies the first place in the total values of the four wards. Cottage land in the Darlington Ward is worth £14. 12s. 1d, that in the Easington Ward £12. 14s. 10d, and that in the Stockton Ward £3. 10s. 5d.

The value of Cottage land in 1418

The Langley Survey records increases in the value of

cottage land in certain villis, such as Heighington and Boldon, while in others, such as Haughton and Chester, their near neighbours, the value of the land has either declined or remained stationary. To generalise from the evidence of the survey, or to place too great an emphasis upon the total values, which, apparently, show a decline, would be to fail to take into account the omission of so large a number of villis. The total figures showing the value of cottage land in the three wards are interesting, however, provided they are interpreted with care: Easington Ward £27. 2s. 10d, Chester Ward £13. 17s. 11d, and Darlington Ward £12. 19s. 11d; these give a total value in all three wards of £54. 0s. 8d.

The value of Exchequer land in 1380

A high value seems generally to have been attached to exchequer land in the bishop's villis in 1380. Such land seems to have been rather more valuable in the east of the county than in the west. Although there is considerable local variation in the rents paid, the value per acre of exchequer land in Wolsingham and Stanhope, both villis where there was ample opportunity for taking land into cultivation from the surrounding moors and wastes, seems to have been around 4d. In Easington, on the other hand, where the areas available for intakes and assarts, though still considerable, were rather less than

further west,, the value of an acre of exchequer land was often as high as 1s. 3d. It is therefore not surprising that the highest total values are recorded in the Darlington and Chester wards, with £110. 0s. 6d. and £96. 4s. 8d. respectively. The Easington and Stockton wards recorded much lower values - £30. 3s. 30d, and £21. 13s. 7d. In all four wards the total value of exchequer land is £258. 2s. 7d..

The value of Exchequer land in 1418

The total for the three wards recorded in 1418 had fallen to £157. 9s, a total which was made up as follows: in the Darlington Ward £90. 13s. 9d, in the Chester Ward £38. 18s. 6d, and in the Easington Ward £27. 16s. 9d. Again, however, a comparison of the individual villis for the two dates - 1380 and 1418, presents a far more accurate picture of values than do the regional totals, which often serve only to obscure the smaller, local changes which had been taking place.

CHAPTER VIII.

WOODLAND

The evidence on woodland in Boldon Book

Unlike the Domesday Survey, Boldon Book does not record the extent and value of woodland in the county. What references there are to the forests, which must have occupied a considerable part of the bishopric in the late twelfth century, are for the most part indirect. Details are given of the obligation of tenants of certain villis to service in the bishop's forest at fixed times each year. The tenants of other villis may be bound to cart "woodlades", i.e. cartloads of wood, as part of their service. ^{On such} evidence must be based the following account of the significance and distribution of woodland in County Durham at the time of the compilation of Boldon Book.

Service in the forest. a) Communal service

In twelve of the villis recorded in the survey there are one or more tenants bound to do service in the forest, usually in connection with the bishop's great hunt, the "magna Casa", which took place in the autumn each year. The particular service which the villeins of Stanhope must perform at this hunt is described in the following terms: "all the villeins make at the great hunt a kitchen, and a larder, and a kennel, and they find a settle in the hall, and in the chapel, and in the chamber, and carry all the bishop's corrody (provender for his horses), from Wolsingham to the lodges". (1). The villeins of

Aucklandshire, on the other hand, must make the bishop's temporary hall, with its buttery and other conveniences, a chamber and a privy, and a chapel, and part of the fence around the huts. (2). The villeins of Wolsingham, whose site in relation to the forest would suggest that it might well have been classed, like Stanhope and Auckland, as a forest vill, are not obliged to perform any communal services at the time of the bishop's great hunt.

Service in the forest. b) Individual Service

Service in the forest, in the "magna casa", was a characteristic obligation, not only of all the villeins of certain vills, but also of many persons holding land by drengage tenure. Their duty was frequently to provide for a horse and a dog, which had to be maintained throughout the year, or to provide ropes for the hunt. The dreng of Binchester, for example, "feeds a dog and a horse, and attends the great chase with two greyhounds and five ropes" (3); the dreng of Hutton performed precisely the same services, while those of the dreng of Sheraton differ only slightly - he "feeds a dog and a horse, as much as belongs to the moiety of the drengage, and attends the great chase with one greyhound, and two ropes and a half, and two men". (4). The other vills in

which there are tenants who hold by this form of service include Great Usworth, Herrington, Brafferton, Butterwick, and Urpeth. It will be seen that all these villis, with the exception of Binchester are in the north-east, or south-east of the county, i.e. not necessarily within, nor particularly near, the forested western part of the bishopric.

In Lanchester, the duty of providing impedimenta for the great chase was not confined to one particular tenant; there "every two oxgangs of the villeinage (must) find one rope at the great chase" (5). Similarly the tenant, or tenants, of Iveston, whose number is not recorded must "attend the great chase with two grey-hounds", (6) and the villis of Birtley and Tribley are held by this same obligation. Two other villis of this kind appear; they are Marley, which "renders one mark, and attends the great chase with one greyhound, and is free from other services by grant of Bishop Philip" (7), and Holmside, which "renders one mark and finds one man in the forest, forty days in the fawn season, and forty days in the rutting season". These villis, together with those of Aucklandshire already described, (North Auckland, West Auckland, Escomb, and Newton), and with Stanhope, form a distinctive class, whose characteristic

mark is some form of service in the forest. By contrast with the villis held in drengage, they are found chiefly in the north and west of the county, and must themselves have been situated within, or in close proximity to, the forested areas.

The provision of woodlades in 1183

A common, if not a universal element, in the bondage tenures of the bishopric was the transport of a number of cartloads of wood to the bishop's manors. The great majority of the villis whose tenants perform this service are found in the east and south east of the county, while almost all the villis whose obligations in this respect were the heaviest, are either in the Easington Ward, or in the Stockton Ward. Two notable exceptions, however, occur in Wolsingham and Whickham, where the villeins are bound to provide 120 and 175 loads of wood annually. The form in which the entries recording these duties are given varies considerably, but the entry for Boldon may be examined as including all those elements found in the other entries elsewhere. This states that each villein makes "five cartloads of woodlades....and when they make them, (the cartloads) each has one load.... and when they make the lodges and cart woodlades then they are quit of other works" (9). The occurrence of entries such as this in so many of the villis recorded in

the survey would suggest a fairly widespread distribution of small areas of woodland throughout the county, each with its own significance in the pattern of the rural economy.

Records of foresters in Boldon Book

The foresters, who have already been mentioned in the account of the various elements of the population of the county are found in the villis of Wolsingham, Stanhope, and Holmside, a further confirmation, if such is needed, of the importance of the surrounding areas as the main sources of structural timber in the bishopric.

Records of Woodland in Boldon Book

Finally, in addition to those entries recording services in the forest, there are a few entries which refer more directly to the existence of woodland in certain areas. The account of Winlaton and Barlow includes the following information: "the marsh, meadow, and wood are in the hand of the bishop" (10); no indication is given of the value, or area occupied by any of these three types of land, so that the entry is of interest rather from its uniqueness, than from any detail which it might, but does not, supply. From the Darlington entry comes the information that "Odo holds one toft and 33 acres, where the beech mast was sown....." (11). It may be that

even at so early a date as the late twelfth century an attempt was being made to restore the resources of the forest which played so important a part in the medieval economy.

The evidence on woodland in the Hatfield Survey

The information contained in Bishop Hatfield's Survey is of the same kind as that already described in Boldon Book. However, the number of villis previously distinguished by their characteristic services in the forest, had declined by 1380 from 12 to 10. The holder of Marley no longer "attends the great chase with one greyhound"; now "Richard de Merley holds the vill of Merley on the hill by foreign service,, and renders per annum 13s. 4d". (12), there being no mention of any obligation to serve in the forest.

Communal service in the forest

The duties of the villeins of Stanhope at the great chase have changed little; they continue to make "the kitchen,, and the larder,, and the kennel,, and they find a settle in the hall, in the chamber, and in the chapel,, and carry all the bishop's corrody from Wolsingham to the lodges". (13). Rather more detail is given on the buildings which the tenants of Aucklandshire are to make as their contribution to the magna casa: "the bishop's hall in the forest", which they must make, is to be "in

length 60 feet, and in breadth between the posts 16 feet". They must also provide a pantry, a buttery, and a private chapel, 40 feet by 15 feet, and make their part of the hedge around the lodges (14). The amount of timber used in the construction of these various buildings would no doubt be considerable, and the operations of felling the wood, sawing and transporting it, and making the hall, chapel, and other buildings, would make heavy demands upon the villeins of North and West Auckland, Escomb and Newton, who together were bound to perform this particular service in the forest.

An interesting form of service is recorded in the case of certain tenants in Lanchester, where the cottagers and the bondage tenants must "bring the swine from pannage". (15). The surrounding woodlands, probably containing a fairly high proportion of oak trees, were evidently used to provide food for herds of pigs, herds of such a size, moreover, that the task of bringing them back from the forest to the village at the approach of winter was made the common obligation of the villagers.

Individual services in the forest

There are fewer examples of individual tenants holding their lands by service in the forest in 1380 than in 1183. Iveston, now held by the Master of Kepier Hospital, is still bound to "go in the great chase of

the bishop with two greyhounds" (16),, a service which is also performed by the two tenants of the vill of Birtley. The tenant of the manor of Holmside, one Thomas Umfraville, "finds one man in the forest forty days in the fawn season, and forty days in the rutting season" (17), the identical service performed by the tenant of the vill 200 years earlier. The vill of Tribley, which in 1183 shared with Birtley the duty of attending the great chase with two greyhounds is not recorded in Bishop Hatfield's Survey.

The maps of the Forest Vills

With the exception of the later omission of Tribley and Marley, the map showing the distribution of the forest vills is equally applicable to the two earlier surveys. The map shows how all these vills were in the western part of the county,, in the upper valleys of the Wear and Browney, usually near, or above, the 400' contour-line, and it may therefore be concluded that in these areas were to be found the timber resources of the county..

The provision of woodlades in 1380

The render of woodlades was still an important element in villein services in 1380,, although the form in which these entries are recorded differs from that used in Boldon Book. In the former survey the number of

loads of wood to be supplied by each villein was duly stated. In Bishop Hatfield's Survey, however, the number of loads is frequently omitted, and only the value of the total number to be rendered is recorded. Thus, for example, at Blackwell in 1380, the typical villein "carries one load of woodlades" (18), but at West Auckland he pays instead "8d. for woodlades for each bovate of land" (19) which he holds. The information about woodlades is frequently given in a separate entry; such is the case at Wearmouth, where the following item occurs: Woodlades. These (i.e. the bondage tenants) pay for woodlades at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 8s. 8d". (20). These examples are fairly representative of most of the villis recorded in the survey, and illustrate what seems to have been a general tendency towards the replacement of renders in kind, by money rents.

The table showing the value of woodlades supplied annually in the bishop's villis in 1380 confirms the importance of the east and south of the county in this respect, a feature already evident two centuries earlier. Ryhope, Easington, Cornforth and Sedgfield, pay the highest rent for woodlades, and these are followed by Norton, Sherburn, Cockerton and Middridge..

How much of this substitution of money rents for rents in kind was part of the general tendency towards computation already observed, and how much was a result of a probable decline in local woodland resources, is a question about which the surveys give no information whatever.

Records of Woodland in the Hatfield Survey

The account of Stockton in 1380 contains the following entry, the only one of its kind in the survey. "Underwood (subboscum). And there are there in the aforesaid park a certain wood, and an underwood, and the profits of the underwood are worth 3s. 4d. annually. And in the great wood there is a heronry, which is worth 13s. 4d". (21). The unusual detail which marks this entry, and indeed the fact that it occurs at all, would perhaps suggest that woodland was a rarer feature of the landscape in the south east of the county, than elsewhere, and it was of sufficient significance there to demand the attention of the bishop's surveyors. The only other direct reference to woodland in the survey is must less informative: the manor of Collierley, on the upper slopes of the steep, narrow valley of the Pont Burn, a tributary of the River Derwent, is said to contain "200 acres of pasture, land and wood", (22) but the extent and value of each type of land is not recorded. The area

given is probably no more than a general approximation, but the type of landscape suggested would no doubt be an accurate description of the appearance of much of north west Durham in the late thirteenth century.

The evidence on woodlands in Bishop Langley's Survey

The evidence on woodlands in the Langley Survey is similar both in form and content to that of the Hatfield Survey; where dissimilarities emerge, they are usually a result of the omission from the later document of certain villis or lands recorded more fully in 1380. In Whessoe, for example, the bondage lands, and therefore any information there might have been on woodlades, are not described, and in Heighington, which in 1380 supplied woodlades worth annually 6s. 4d, there is no mention of them in 1418. Further, the particular obligations of the villeins of Aucklandshire, to make certain buildings in the forest for the bishop's hunt, previously recorded in considerable detail, is not included here, although the similar duties of the villeins of Stanhope are described.

The provision of woodlades in 1418

The entries concerning woodlades at Haughton, in the Darlington Ward, may be examined as typical of those found elsewhere in the survey: amongst the services to be performed by the bondmen is the following "Each bovate

renders one cartload of woodlades", and, at the end of the list of the bondage tenants and holdings, "Woodlades. The bondage tenants there render for woodlades at the feast of St. John the Baptist each year 2s. 3d.". (23).

It would seem that the earlier entry reflects a time when the woodlades were actually delivered in kind, whilst the second entry shows the amount of money which all the tenants together pay in computation of their original services. Almost identical entries may be found in the descriptions of Blackwell, Cockerton, Easington, Tunstall, Shadforth, and Sherburn. The Boldon entry records that "the bondage tenants make woodlades, as they were used to do as it is written in Boldon Book", (24) and the bondage tenants of Whickham are said to render "in all things like those of Boldon". (25). An interesting entry comes from the account of Middridge, where mention is made of the payment of 4d. woodsilver, and other rents, for a certain piece of freehold land in the vill (26). The map showing the distribution of the vills rendering woodlades in 1418 again emphasise the significance of the east and south of the county in this respect. The accompanying table provides a more detailed picture of the regional distribution of these payments.

Services in the forest in 1418

The only record of service in the forest, apart from that of the villeins of Stanhope, is found in the entry for West Auckland, where a certain dringage tenant, one George Bowes "goes on the great chase of the bishop". (27). Since many of the villis which formerly rendered this type of service are entirely omitted from the survey, it would be unsound to place too much emphasis upon the survival in 1418 of only one recorded instance of a service hitherto more widespread.

Evidence on woodland in the Durham Account Rolls

The Durham Account Rolls contain several references to woodlands and forests, which show the significance of these resources in the medieval economy, and illustrate how they were used by the monks of Durham. The rolls refer to the use of timber in building, in the making of wine-casks, and for fuel. A roll which was included amongst the Sacrist's Rolls for 1541 to c.1548 contains the following items: "Payd to Thomas Johnesone for fellyng tymmer in the hye wood for bordes and jeistes, 12d." (28). From the same roll comes an entry refering to 21d, "payd to Robert Marlye, for iii dais and halyffe for mending of a chimnay at the foster lugge, (i.e. forester's lodge), in Bearpark". Reference is often made to "le Woodgarth",

or "le Woodyard", which seems to have been near, if not actually within the monastery at Durham. Of particular interest are the references to tanning, and to the gathering of oak-bark for this purpose. The Bursar's Roll of 1536-7, for example, records the payment of 4s. to two persons for the tanning of six cowhides, and mention is also made of the "domus tannatotis", or bark house, at Bearpark. (29).

The foresters of Aycliffe, Bearpark, and Muggleswick are named in the rolls. The Bursars Roll of 1536-7 includes amongst the Pensiones a payment of 10s. to Master Tempest, forester at Bearpark, a payment of 13s. 4d. to Galvin Trotter, forester at Aycliffe, and a payment of 5s. each to Thomas Whitefield and Richard Wylle, foresters at Muggleswick. (30). Presumably for their use "four hatchets and one woodman's bill for cutting wood in the park of Bearpark" were acquired in 1356 (31). Finally the rolls record payments to the prior of "woodpennies", and "woodsilver", which, in the opinion of Canon Fowler, were customary money renders in commutation for service in the forest.

Evidence on woodland in the Halmote Court Rolls

From the rolls of the Halmote Court of the Prior and Convent of Durham comes a great deal of information on the part which the local areas of woodland played in the

life of villagers in the Middle Ages. In several of the villas owned by the Prior and Convent were areas of woodland termed Parks; these were marked by fairly open woods, the resources of which in timber, pasture, and game were legally restricted to the use of the lord. Legal restrictions, however, were not a very effective deterrent to the use of these resources, whenever possible, by the ordinary tenants, so that fines for trespass in the parks, and for the appropriation of timber, and warnings of the penalties to be incurred by a repetition of these offences, are frequently recorded in the Court Rolls.

At Aycliffe, in 1330, the reeve and four other persons were fined for concealing the cutting of wood from the park there, (32), and in 1336, the Vicar of Heighington was alleged to have cut down thorn trees on Aycliffe Moor (33). In 1369 a complaint was made against thirteen villagers of Aycliffe that "in the absence of Gilbert Randolph, the keeper of the park at Aycliffe, divers boughs and stakes were cut and carried away, to the damage of 2s", (34). Also in the absence of the keeper, the villagers had been pasturing their livestock on the grass and greenwood of the park, causing a loss to the lord of 40d. (35). Finally, in 1383, nine villagers had entered the park, and appropriated certain areas of land,

without the lord's permission (36).

There seems also to have been a park at Cowpen Bewley, for in 1375 the tenants of the vill were ordered not to trespass in the park without permission (37). At Edmondbyers in 1370, the shepherds were ordered not to put their livestock in the park, except for the livestock which by custom, they had there, (38). At the Halmote Court held at Edmondbers in 1380, an order was given that the tenants were not to cut greenwood in the park without permission; but the order seems to have little effect, since they were fined for this offence in 1382 (39). A park also seems to have existed near Ferryhill, for in 1367 the tenants of Fery were ordered not to enter the park at Ferrycliff without permission, while in the following year five persons were accused of cutting wood in Ferrycliff, (40). Again in 1370 a still more resolute attempt was made to preserve the resources of the woods from unlawful encroachments; the tenants were then ordered not to cut the wood at Ferrycliff "nor to take anything out of the sight of the forester".

At Monkton the records would seem to suggest that there was an enclosed park. In 1358, one John de Angerton is said to have "broken the lord's enclosure, and entered the lord's park, and cut down thirty young trees, of ash and of oak"; this interesting entry is unfortunately

incomplete. (41). Finally, mention must be made of the park of West Rainton. There, in 1365, an order is given that "neither the tenants of the vill, nor their wives, nor their servants, are to fell wood, nor to carry away the greenwood in the said wood". Yet even regulations so stringent as these could not prevent the more determined of the villagers from making what use he could of his lord's property, for at the following court Thomas Nouherd is called to answer for "stripping the bark off nine trees called allers in the said wood". (42).

The references cited above illustrate the importance of the woodland resources in the economy of the medieval village, in the lives of both lord and tenant, and would suggest that in certain parts of the county, particularly in the south and east, there were preserved, often with considerable difficulty, enclosed parks, forming a significant element in a ⁱdeverse and changing rural landscape.

CHAPTER IX.

PASTURE

References to Pasture in Boldon Book

Pasture is mentioned in connection with fourteen places in Boldon Book. None of the entries record the acreage, they merely refer to "pasture with sheep", or "pasture for the breeding of sheep". The majority indicate that such land is part of the demesne, held either by the Bishop himself, or by one of his tenants.

The entry for Newbottle, which occurs twice, first as part of the account of the vill, and later, after the entry referring to the mills of Newbottle and Biddick, sets the pattern which is later followed throughout the survey; there "the demesne...and the sheep with the pasture, are in the hand of the bishop". (1). At Easington and Thorpe "the sheep, with the pasture, are in the hand of the Bishop", but "the demesne is at farm". (2). At Middleham and Sedgefield, "the demesne, as well of Middleham as of Sedgefield, with the pasture and sheep....is in the hand of the bishop" (3). At Mainsforth, an unusual entry occurs; "there are there 17 oxgangs of land" and "9 other oxgangs lie with the moor in pasture" (4); whether their lapse from cultivation was a temporary or a permanent feature can be no more than a matter for speculation. In the entry for Ricknall Alia the familiar formula returns again; "the demesne....with the pasture and sheep is in the hand of the bishop" (5). "The pasture of Shackleton and

Redworth" is refer^{ing} to in the account of Thickley. (6). At Little Haughton the entry is rather more complex - "the pasture, with the sheep, is in the hand of the bishop, but Adam, (Adam de Selby, who holds the demesne of Little Haughton), if it shall please him shall be able to have 100 sheep in the said pasture, but only so long as he shall hold the aforesaid farm" (7). Finally at Great Coundon "the demesne...with the pasture and the sheep, is in the hand of the bishop" (8), and at Hunstanworth, the Hospital of St. Giles holds "a pasture for the breeding of sheep and cattle, for the use of the poor, which the lord Bishop gave them as alms" (9).

The distribution of Pasture in 1183

The map showing the distribution of those villis where pasture is recorded does not give a true picture of the distribution of this type of land in 1183. It shows only those pastures which were part of the demesne lands; they are found predominantly in the eastern half of the county. It should not be supposed that other villis, particularly those in the west of the county, were entirely lacking in land suitable for pasture; besides that part of the arable land temporarily fallow, the surrounding areas of unbroken land, the moors and wastes, were a most important source of pasture. That such land is not recorded in the survey may be taken as an indication, not

of economic insignificance, nor of negligible size, but rather of its universal presence in such abundance as to make any record entirely superfluous.

References to Pasture in the Hatfield Survey

In only five of the villis recorded in Bishop Hatfield's survey do entries under the heading "Pastures" occur. These villis Easington, Hameldon, Stockton (two separate headings), Middleham, and Sedgefield, are again in the east of the county. In sixteen other villis pastures are mentioned, but not always in the same form, nor with the same detail; and at one vill, Wolsingham, a park with herbage is recorded.

Pastures at Stockton

The two entries for Stockton are the most detailed of all. The first records "a certain pasture called Bissopholme and Turspit, which is handed over, and renders per annum 40s." (10). Under the second heading are mentioned "a certain pasture called Halstonmore, and it is worth 73s. 4d. per annum. Also the pasture of Normantonmore, worth 20s. per annum. Also a meadow pasture (pastura prati), after the removal of the hay of Rewayn, (11) worth per annum 40s. Also there are there other pastures, namely le Bisshopholme and Turspit,, which are worth, and this year are handed over for, 40s" (12)

Whether the last-named pasture was handed over to all the tenants of the vill, or to one of the larger tenants, is not recorded by the surveyors. That some, at least, or the pastures were fairly low-lying, perhaps near the bank of the Tees, is suggested by the meadow pasture referred to above. Since the acreage of none of these pastures is recorded, no estimate can be made of their value per acre.

Pastures at Middleham

At Middleham "they say that the pasture called Cotemore, with the help of a period of fallow (*cum auxilio frisci*), is worth per annum, with another pasture called Harpermere, 28s. Also a pasture in the marsh, called le Horseker, if it is drained of water, is worth 13s. 4d. Also le Willowkerr is worth per annum 20d, if it is drained of water". (13). The pasture land here was obviously ill-drained, and subject to periodic inundation; the local names given to the pasture at Middleham indicate not only the use to which it was put, but also something of the distinctive type of landscape to be found there. The account of Middleham also includes the heading "The herbage of the park", (14) which is said to be worth 53s. 4d; its higher value may perhaps result from its being rather better land than the other pastures of the vill.

Pastures at Sedgefield

The heading concerning the pastures at Sedgefield is quite brief: "John Shephird of Fissburn holds one pasture called Wytterdow, and renders per annum 53s. 4d. The same John holds one close, called Grenewykestclos, and ought to render per annum 12s. 1d, now 6s".. (15).

Immediately preceeding this entry is one concerning "The Moor called le Brok", which is held by the tenants of the vill, "and used to render per annum 40s, now 16s. 8d".. (16). Both these entries show that there had already been a considerable decline in the value of pasture land by 1380.

Pastures at Easington and Shotton

At Easington, under the heading "Meadow and Pasture", the following entry occurs: "The tenants there hold between them 9 acres of meadow and pasture there, and render per annum £4," (17) an extraordinarily high rent for so small an acreage. The last among the separate entries for pasture is that of Shotton, where the bondage tenants "hold between them a certain pasture called Denesyð, and render per annum at the same terms 4s. The same tenants hold between them the pasture called Shottonnesden, and render per annum 53s. 4d. The same tenants hold between them a certain pasture called le Estmore, and render per annum 7s. The same tenants hold between them 10 acres of Morelaw, and render per annum 11s.

The same tenants hold between them $34\frac{1}{2}$ acres below Grenlawe, and render per annum at the same terms 28s. 9d". (18). The last two entries suggest that the average value of pasture land in Shotton may have been only a little less than 1s. per acre..

References to Pasture in the Darlington Ward

So varied in form and detail are the records of pasture in the other villis of the bishopric that only by an examination of each in turn can a satisfactory account of them be given. In the Darlington Ward pastures are mentioned in connection with 6 villis, and in addition, a park with herbage is recorded at Wolsingham. In Blackwell 4 acres of "meadow and pasture" are held by a certain free tenant, John Midelton; their value is not stated (19). All the tenants of the vill also hold "a certain pasture called le Longdraght", for which they render 16s. (20); this pasture is part of the exchequer land, and may therefore have been found in the untilled areas surrounding the vill. At Middridge, under the heading "Value of the Manor", several pastures are recorded: "There are there divers pastures, which are worth per annum 56s. 8d. And a certain pasture in Wydhopley, containing 180 acres of pasture, formerly arable land, which used to be worth, each acre 13d, now is worth, in all 40s". (21). This entry illustrates the local reversion of arable to pasture

with a consequent decline in value from 1s. to a little over 3d. per acre. At Ricknall pastures are mentioned, together with demesne lands and meadows,, which go to make up the grange there; (22) no indication of the relative value or acreage of the three constituents is given.

Part of the pasture of North Auckland is entered under the heading "Meadow Land"; a certain tenant holds "one pasture in Grimbaldcroft", for which he pays 22d. annually (23). In addition, two exchequer tenants each hold a "parcel of one pasture", called Holforthbank (24). At Coundon, the manor is said to include 15 acres of "meadows and pastures" in Plauntbrak, worth 18s. (25). In the account of Witton, one of the free tenants, John Merley, is said to hold the manor of Fychewacke, and 37 acres of land and pasture, worth 25s. 4d. (26). No details of the relative acreage of the two types of land are given. At Wolsingham, under the heading "Park", the following entry occurs: "And there is there a certain park there, containing in circumference 8 miles, and it is handed over for herbage there to William de Merley, junior, and renders per annum at the feast of St. Martin, and at Pentecost....(blank).." (27).

References to Pasture in the Chester Ward

In the Chester Ward pastures are recorded in the

accounts of 6 villis. In Chester itself pastures are mentioned in the entries for demesne and exchequer land. The tenants of the demesne land together hold "One capital messuage, with a garden, one acre of meadow, in the demesne farm, with the pasture belonging thereto, of which the sum, in all, is £20". (28). Further, a certain tenant of exchequer land, Peter Jurdanson, holds "2 acres of meadow and pasture, called Tethering", for which he pays 4s. 4d; (29) it may not be incorrect to suppose that the name of this small piece of pasture land gives some indication of the way in which it was used, the grazing animals being tethered to stakes, so that the best possible use could be made of the resources of a small area. The pasture at Boldon is recorded as part of the bondage land; after the names and holdings of the bondage tenants have been given, the surveyors record that "the aforesaid bondage tenants pay, for one pasture called Esshopperlysour, and render per annum £7. 11s" (30); so large a rent suggests a pasture of considerable size, roughly 150 acres, by analogy with other villis. Similarly, all the bondage tenants of Whitburn and Cleadon hold "the pasture of Cleadon" (31), but no record is given of its value and acreage; the entry provides an example of two villis sharing a common pasture. At Kepier, the Master of Kepier Hospital still holds, "a certain assart

and pasture called Knokeden, to feed his animals for the use of the poor, which the Lord gave him as alms." (32)

In the north west of the county, at Benfieldside, a free tenant, Robert Conyers, holds "100 acres of land, woods, and pastures", for which he pays 40s. annually; (33) no more can safely be read into this very vague entry than that there were pastures there; the figure of 100 acres is obviously only a very rough estimate, and the acreage and value of the pastures which formed part of it must remain unknown. Equally value is the account of Collierly, where "John de Gildeford holds the manor of Collierly, containing 200 acres of pastures, lands and woods, by foreign service, and suit at the court of Durham, and renders per annum 15s. 6d". (34).

References to Pasture in the Easington Ward

In the Easington Ward, the entries of three villas, including Easington, contain references to pastures. In Easington, in addition to the pastures listed separately under the heading "Meadow and Pastures", mention is also made of "herbage" in the accounts of the bondage and cottage lands. Two messuages and four bovates (i.e. 60 acres) of bondage land are now used for herbage, and are worth 20s. annually, and the same is true of $5\frac{1}{2}$ cottages in Thorpe (35). These entries

provide evidence of the reversion of arable to pasture land already observed above. Pastures are mentioned as part of the exchequer land in Burdon and Sherburn. "The tenants of Burdon hold between them a certain pasture, called Newysmoure, and render per annum 13s. 4d." (36), and at Sherburn, "the Master of Sherburn Hospital holds one parcel of pasture of the said vill, included in his park there, and renders per annum to the said vill 12d, and to the Lord Bishop 6d." (37). Finally at Quarrington the demesne pastures are part of the grange there; their value and acreage is not separately recorded. (38).

Pastures at Sadberge

Finally, at Sadberge, two tenants of demesne land hold 15 acres of land, meadows, and pasture, but again, the precise acreage and value of the three types of land is not recorded. (39).

The distribution of Pasture in 1380

The map of the distribution of pasture in 1380 shows that many villis in the centre and west of the county, where pasture had not hitherto been recorded, now have entries of pasture land. The greater number of villis recording pasture, however, is still to be found in the east of the county, the areas available for pasture there

being less than further west, and pasture land therefore assuming greater value and significance.

References to Pastures in the Langley Survey

In only seven of the villis recorded in Bishop Langley's Survey do entries under the heading "Pasture" occur. Two of these villis, Easington and Shotton, have similar headings in the Hatfield Survey, but in the case of the other five, Haughton, Blackwell, Wearmouth, Houghton and Newbottle, such headings had not previously been recorded. All these villis are found in the east and south of the county. In thirteen other villis pastures are mentioned, but the relevant entries vary in form and detail; at one vill, Byres, herbage is recorded.

Pastures in the Darlington Ward

The pasture of Haughton, the first recorded in the survey, appears to have been the subject of dispute: "there is there a certain pasture called Ellowker, lying in the field of Halughton, in which pasture Richard Huddelston, and his tenants of Skirmyngall have common with their beasts, to the great damage of the lord's tenants of Halughton, and the aforesaid jurors submit that they have no right of common there, in the lord's place." (40). Although details of the value and acreage of the local pasture are not included, the entry serves to emphasise its economic significance in the life

of the local community. At Blackwell, all the tenants of the vill hold a "certain pasture called le Longdraught", for which they pay an annual rent of 16s. (41). At Byres, there is "a certain separate pasture, containing by estimation 300 acres of land, depastured by the tenants of the same vill, in which pasture the Count of Westmorland claims to have his common, as do the tenants aforesaid"; (42) again, disputes concerning the rights of common are an indication of the considerable value attached to these rights. At Byres also, mention is made of "herbage"; 36 acres of exchequer land, (arable) "ought to render 30s; they now lie waste, and render in herbage this year (blank)." (43). Land formerly arable, but now no longer cultivated, is frequently mentioned in the Langley Survey; but only rarely is its use, or potential use, as pasture recorded there. Below the account of exchequer land in North Auckland, is written, "The Dean of Auckland holds 1 pasture called Holforthbank, formerly in the tenure of John Alerton, and renders per annum (blank). William Hoton (holds) another parcel of the same pasture, formerly belonging to John Corbrig, and renders per annum (blank)." (44). At Wolsingham "Sir Ralph Euere, and others, hold the lord's demesne lands there, with the meadows and pastures, at farm, and render £6. 13s. 4d" (45); the proportion of the value and

acreage of the demesne land represented by the pastures, is not recorded. The last of the villis in the Darlington Ward which record pasture is Stanhope; there a certain free tenant, Richard Todd, "holds one longyng for pasture, lying in Horsleyburnfield" (46), and a certain exchequer tenant, Adomarus Taillor, "holds a certain parcel of pasture in le Frith" (47).

Pastures in the Easington Ward

In the Easington Ward the entry for Easington is similar to but not identical with that of 1380; under the heading "Meadows and Pasture", it is recorded that "the tenants there hold 9 acres of meadow with pasture, containing by estimation (blank) and this may keep in summer 100 oxen, and they render £4". (48). The form of this entry would seem to suggest that the pastures mentioned are in addition to the 9 acres of meadow land, and are of sufficient size to provide seasonal pasture for 100 oxen, this figure providing the surveyors with a rough estimate of the area of land involved. At Wearmouth, under the heading "Pasture", the following entry occurs; "There is there a certain moor called Hallmore, formerly given over to the pasture of the demesne oxen, for the ploughing of the cultivated demesne lands, and worth per annum (blank), namely for the pasture of 1 ox

12d. per annum, in all (blank)," (49). This entry, though incomplete, provides interesting and definite confirmation of the use of oxen in ploughing. The pastures at Shotton are also recorded separately; "The aforesaid tenants (the bondage tenants) hold between them a certain pasture called le Doneside, containing 50 acres, by estimation, and render per annum at the same terms 4s. The same tenants hold between them 200 acres, by estimation, of pasture and underwood, called Shottonnesden, and render between them 3s. 4d". Two other pastures in Shotton, le Estmore, and Morelaw "now lie waste, as they say". (50). An unusual entry concerning the pastures occurs at Houghton; "There are there separate pastures, which were formerly reserved for the lord's oxen, which are called le Northlefur, and Southlefur, and les Cloudes, and le Halewelterssh, and le Morelefur, in which could be pastured 42 oxen, besides 14 oxen which the rector had there; they are now held in the farm of the demesne land". (51). The last of the separate entries of pasture is that of Newbottle, where "The aforesaid tenants of Newbottle hold between them 48 acres of pasture, called Birdenmore, and render per annum 24s"; a marginal note applying to this entry states that the jurors are to inquire "Whether there are 24 acres of land, as is contained in the Ancient Rental, or 48 acres." (52).

In certain other villis in the Easington Ward mention is made of pasture amongst the tenants' holdings of arable land.. At Burdon, for example, the tenants of exchequer land together hold "a certain pasture, le Beansmore, containing 5 acres", for which they render 13s. 4d. annually (53). At Shadforth, the list of Exchequer land contains six separate entries referring to pastures: "The tenants hold between them 3 acres of pasture in Moresbank, and render per annum 2s. 6d. The same tenants hold between them 15 acres of pasture called le Nethirmore, and render 15s. The same tenants hold between them 43 acres of pasture at Hopperhough, and render 43s. The same tenants hold between them 3 acres of pasture, formerly belonging to Robert Alanson and his socmen, in Blakhamsyd and Moresakers, and render per annum 3s. The same hold between them 1 acre of pasture in Whitilhop, and render 12d". (54). All these holdings were recorded as arable land in Bishop Hatfield's Survey. (55). At Sherburn, the master of Sherburn Hospital, who appears as one of the tenants of exchequer land holds "one parcel of the pasture of the vill, including in his park there, and renders to the tenants 12d, and to the Bishop 6d" (56) the entry is in fact identical with that of 1380. (57). At Coxhoe the tenants of the vill hold "a certain pasture, containing (blank), they used to render 13s. 4d., now they

render 6s. 8d.". (58).

Pasture in the Chester Ward

At Chester, the "2 acres of meadow and pasture, called Tethering" (59) recorded in 1380 appear again as part of the exchequer land. At Boldon, the bondage tenants hold, as part of their farm, "one pasture called Esshopplesour, which used to render per annum £7.11s. And one other pasture called Shotfald, containing 72 acres of land, which used to render £4. 5s. 2d. Also one other pasture, called the Moor of Croke, containing 26 acres of land, which used to render per annum 34s. 8d" (60). The pastures are now handed over to the bondage farm, and are therefore included in the rents paid for the bondage lands. Finally, in Whitburn and Cleadon, the tenants of the vill hold "a certain pasture called Colynfeld, and (render) per annum 40s. There are there one pasture called Bydikfeld, which is charged to the vill of Urpeth at 40s, and one other pasture called Davysfeld which... pays 26s. 8d". (61).

The distribution of Pasture in 1418

The map showing the distribution of pasture in 1418 still indicates that the majority of vills recording pastures are to be found in the eastern and southern parts of the county. In the west and north, large areas of uncultivated moorlands would provide resources for pastoral activity so great as to obviate the necessity of such

land being recorded by the surveyors.

The payment of Metride

Three items recorded in the survey, other than the pasture lands, provide indirect evidence on the distribution of pastures in the bishopric. They are the payment of cornage, the payment of metride, and the entries referring to that officer of the vill known as the pounder. The first of these items, the payment of cornage is treated separately at the end of this chapter. In all three surveys certain villis are charged with the payment of metride, or a milch cow; the payment is sometimes a fraction - a half- of one milch cow, and sometimes two milch cows. In the two later surveys such a render in kind is frequently found to have been superceded by a money payment, invariably at the rate of 6s. for one milch cow. The entries are usually found in association with those recording cornage, and the maps showing the distribution of these two items in the three surveys are very similar. In both sets of maps, the south and east of the county are predominant, while the north and west are less important. In the long interval between the two earlier surveys, i.e. during the thirteenth and the greater part of the fourteenth centuries the amount of this payment seems to have remained remarkably stable; in only two instances, Herrington and

Hutton, is a decline recorded. The record for 1418 is, however, very incomplete. The form of the entries is quite simple, and shows little change, either from vill to vill, or from survey to survey; a typical entry is that for Ryhope in 1380: "The bondage tenants render between them at the feast of St. Martin for metride: 6s". (62).

The office of Pinder

By no means so straightforward is the evidence contained in the surveys concerning the officer of the vill known as the pinder or pound-keeper, whose duty it was to impound wandering cattle. In return for his services the pinder received an assignment of land, usually 6 acres, as for example at Stockton, Wolsingham, and Stanhope, in 1183; but where several villas were grouped together, as in Quarringtonshire, and Aucklandshire, a single pinder serving for the whole cluster of villas, the area of his holding was proportionately increased, 20 acres in both the above instances. The pinder also received part of the harvest of the unfree tenants, his share consisting of a certain number of sheaves, or "thraves", usually twelve, but occasionally 24, for each plough; this render may well have been intended to help the pinder to support the cattle temporarily impounded in the pinfold. On the other hand the pinder himself

seems to have been charged with the render of a certain number of hens and eggs, a number which does not seem to have been directly related to the size of his holding.

Although the above remarks are generally applicable to the great majority of the pinders mentioned in the bishopric, the relevant entries themselves vary so greatly in form and detail as to make any generalisation impossible. The entries will therefore be examined more closely, and where any where any significant regional groupings emerge, these will be noted.

References to Pinders in the Darlington Ward

In 1183 pinders are recorded at both Darlington and Blackwell; the first paid a rent in kind, 100 hens and 500 eggs, and the second paid a money rent of 12d; by 1380 the first rent had been commuted by the bondage tenants for 53s. 4d, and commutation had also been achieved in Blackwell by 1418, for the bondage tenants are then said to be paying 10s. for the office of pounder in that vill; the same tenants also hold there, in 1380 and in 1418 "one acre called Punderland" (63), presumably a part of the holding formerly reserved for this officer. The pounder of the Aucklandshire group of vills, with his larger holding, has already been mentioned: he appears only in Boldon Book, however, for by 1380 the bondage tenants of North Auckland, though not, it would seem, of

the other vill of the group, "render for the office of pounder 6s. 8d". (64). The pounders of Wolsingham and Stanhope each supply in 1183, 40 hens and 400 eggs; both are again referred to in 1380, but the renders of both seem to have declined slightly.

References to Pinders in the Chester Ward

Turning now to the Chester Ward, the pounder of the vill of Chester first appears in 1380, when "the Pounder there renders for his office, annually, 300 eggs". (65); the entry is repeated in 1418. (66). The Ryton entries, which record a pinder in each of the three surveys, are straightforward and require no comment (67). At Whickham, however, a pinder is recorded in 1183 and in 1418; but in 1380 the bondage tenants hold the punderland, and render for it 40 hens and 360 eggs; (68) this last entry may reflect no more than a temporary state of affairs, it being impossible, for the moment, to prevail on anyone to accept the office of pinder. At Boldon a pounder is recorded in 1183, but not in 1380; in the Hatfield survey, however, in the list of waste land in Boldon, several holdings are recorded, whose former tenants have the surname "Punder" (69). Similarly the pounder at Whitburn and Cleadon is said to "hold and render as he of Boldon" in 1183; (70) but in 1380 the bondage tenants together hold the office of

pounder, for which they render 68 hens and 340 eggs, (71) no money payment being recorded. The pounder at Lanchester is mentioned both in 1183 and in 1380.

References to Pinders in the Easington Ward

In the Easington ward seven pounders are mentioned in Boldon Book. they are those of Easington, Wearmouth and Tunstall, Shotton, Ryhope and Burdon, Quarringtonshire, Houghton, and Newbottle. In the Hatfield Survey, however, only two pounders, those of Ryhope and Burdon, and of Shotton, are recorded. In the case of the other villis it is stated either that the bondage tenants hold the office of pounder, or that the same tenants hold the Punderland, for which they pay money rents. In the Langley Survey, only the pounder of Shotton is mentioned; he still pays for his office a rent which has remained almost the same in all the three surveys - 60 hens and 360 eggs. Of particular interest are those entries referring to the pounder of Quarringtonshire in 1380. In Boldon Book one pounder was recorded for the three villis of Shadforth, Sherburn, and Cassop, which make up the "shire", but two centuries later the entries relating to the pounder are recorded separately under each of the three villis. In Shadforth the bondage tenants are said to hold one third of the office of pounder, they used to render 10s, but now they render 6s. 8d. (72); in Sherburn "the bondage

tenants render for the office of pounder 6s. 8d." (73) presumably holding the second third; and in Cassop too "the bondage tenants render for the office of pounder 6s. 8d"; (74) it would seem that the payment for the office had been divided equally between the three villis.

References to Pinders in the Stockton Ward

In the Stockton Ward, three pounders are recorded, at Stockton, Norton and Sedgefield, both in Boldon Book, and in the Hatfield Survey. In both surveys the rents paid by the pounder of Stockton are the same - 80 hens and 500 eggs. The same rents occur again at Norton. At Sedgefield, however, a slightly higher rent is recorded in 1380 than in 1183.

The distribution of the Pinders

The maps showing the distribution of the pinders recorded in the three surveys tend to supplement and emphasise the maps showing the distribution of cornage and of metride. It is in the east and south of the county that the most marked concentration of all three elements is to be found.

The Payment of Cornage

The term cornage is frequently found in records of the four northern counties of England, in documents dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, but the meaning of the term varies from region to region, as well

as from time to time. Evidence on the meaning of the term in the Durham area may be found in a charter of Bishop Ralph Flambard, restoring to the Prior and Convent of Durham certain lands of which he had earlier deprived them (Feodarium Prioratus Denelmensis, Surtees Society vol. 58. p145) (75) this charter refers to "the cornage of Burdon, namely, for each animal 2d. per head".

Cornage at this time would therefore seem to have been a payment made by the vill on its cattle at the rate of 2d. per head. This inference is confirmed by the fact that, almost 100 years later, in 1296, the tenants of every bovat in the vill of Burdon were permitted to keep two beasts on the common pasture (76) (Durham Halmote Rolls, Surtees Society vol. 82, p 12). During the vacancy of the see of Durham, from 1128-33, the keeper of the temporalities gave account "of the cornage of the animals of the bishopric, £110. 5s. 5d" (77).

Of the 140 vills recorded in Boldon Book, only thirty render cornage and a milch cow; nine others, although they pay no cornage, render either a milch cow, or are relieved from the payment of cornage "for lack of pasture"; one other vill is recorded as paying a composition for cornage, and five other vills surveyed in 118s, having at that date compounded for all their services, are recorded in Bishop Hatfield's Survey as

paying a composition for cornage; of these, three are held by the bishop in chief. All the villis described above make up less than one third of those enumerated in Boldon Book. From the evidence which the survey provides, it would therefore seem that cornage was a payment made only by certain villis for the agistment of their cattle; the survival of the render of a milch cow would further suggest that such a payment originally consisted of an annual render of cattle, possibly a fixed proportion of the annual increase of the herd.

Since the number of cattle which could be kept on the common pasture was dependant upon the acreage of arable land, (i.e. the number of bovates), held by the individual tenant, it is not surprising that the payment of cornage eventually became fixed, rather on the land itself, than on the tenures, free or unfree, by which that land was held. One example will make this point clear; in 1183 the vill of Great Usworth was in the bishop's hand, the villeins rendered 30s. of cornage, and one milch cow (78). In 1380 Sir William de Hilton "holds two parts of the vill of Great Usworth, and Alice de Moderby the third part of the said vill by foreign service, and they render per annum at the four usual terms 10s. The same William and Alice render for the cornage of the said vill per annum, at the feast of

St. Cuthbert in September, 30s. The same render for one milch cow, at the feast of St. Martin, 6s". (79).. Thus, also the tenure of the vill had changed from unfree to free, the render of cornage and the milch cow still remained the same.

Since the payment of cornage was not universal in the bishopric, but occurred only in such vills as had pasture, maps showing the distribution of these vills may supplement the inevitably incomplete maps of those pastures actually recorded in the surveys. The accompanying tables set out the amount of cornage payments made by the various vills in 1183, 1380 and 1418..

CHAPTER X.

MEADOW

References to Meadows in Boldon Book

Meadow land is not recorded in Boldon Book in terms of acreage and value, a regrettable deficiency, since the importance of such land in the economy of the medieval village cannot be overestimated. The indirect references to meadows to be found in the survey may be divided into two types. Firstly, reference is made, in the entries for 13 villis, to "meadows", but no further details about them are given. The account of Durham contains the following entry: "The land of Lefwine, the bailiff, beyond the water near the meadow, 16d" (1). At Gateshead, "the meadows are in the hand of the Lord Bishop" (2), and in the Tursdale entry, the list of land, etc., which the bishop holds, contains "in like manner also.....the meadows". (3). The bishop is also said to hold the demesne of Middleham and Sedgefield, "with the meadows" (4). At Norton, reference is made to "the meadow near the mill", which, together with eight acres of arable land, seems to have belonged to the farmers of the mill; in the same town, "the meadow of Northmeadows is in the Bishop's hand". (5). The meadows of Ricknall Allia, which again formed part of the demesne, are similarly said to be "in the hand of the bishop" (6), and the "Bishop's meadow" is also mentioned in the accounts of Darlington and Heighington (7).

The "meadow of Bradley" is referred to in the Wollsingham entry (8). At Lanchester, the meadows are "in the hand of the Bishop" (9), and the same is true of the meadow of Winlaton and Barlow.

Services in the Meadows recorded in Boldon Book

The second type of evidence on meadows contained in the survey of 1183 is that provided by the services of the villeins. Among these services, those of mowing the meadows and carrying the hay occur frequently. The 18 villeins of West Auckland, for example, "find in autumn for each oxgang 3 men in the week to mow, and they cut the whole meadow, and they make the hay and lead it." (11). Similarly, in Darlington, the villeins "ought to mow the whole of the bishop's meadow, and make the Bishop's hay and lead it"; (12) the same services are performed by the villeins of Blackwell and Cockerton. "All the villeins of Heighingtonshire, with the cotmen, mow the Bishop's meadows, and lead the hay" (13); the villeins of Killerby, Middridge, and Thickley are included here as well as those of Heighington. At Redworth, the 16 farmers "mow one day with 8 (men), and carry hay one day with 8 carts". (14) In Sedgfield the villeins "mow and make hay, and in like manner cart hay" (15), and similar services are recorded in the entries for Norton and Stockton. The villeins of Witton and Fulforth "mow

the meadows, and make and lead the hay", (16) as do those of Winlaton and Barlow; the villeins of Whickham used to perform the same services, "but now the manor of Whickham aforesaid is at farm, with the demesne, and villeins..." (17).

There is no mention either of meadows, or of the services connected with them in the entries of many fairly large villis, particularly in the east of the county. The accounts of Boldon, Whitburn and Cleadon, Ryhope and Burdon, Newbottle, Easington, and Shotton, to mention but a few, contain no reference to meadows. It would be strange indeed, however, if no meadows at all were to be found in these areas; rather it must be supposed that for some unknown reason the meadow land which must have existed there, was not recorded by the surveyors of 1183.

The distribution of meadow land in 1183

The map showing the distribution of the villis, whose entries in Boldon Book contain references to meadow land, shows a striking concentration of such villis on the alluvial soils of the river valleys, especially the Middle Wear and the Skerne. A smaller group of villis appears in the north west of the county, along the Derwent, and in the extreme south east, along the Tees. Although too much emphasis should not be placed on the absence of such villis from the north east, the undulating

limestone plateau, with only a few small surface streams, provides conditions of soil and topography less suitable to the marked development of meadow land, than the river valleys of the west..

The records of Meadows in the Hatfield Survey

The Hatfield Survey provides more detailed information on the acreage, value, and distribution of meadows than does its predecessor. References to meadow land occur in the entries of 38 villis, and in all except two, (Durham and Sedgefield), either the acreage, or value, or both, are recorded..

Meadows at Whickham

In the accounts of some villis this type of land is listed separately, under the heading "Meadows".. This is the case at Whickham, for example, where, under that heading, occurs the following entry: "All the tenants of the vill hold between them a certain meadow called Grenelongyng, containing 1 acre and 1 rood of meadow there, and render per annum at the 4 usual terms 4s. 8d.. The same tenants hold between them 40 acres of the aforesaid meadow, and render for each acre 2s. 4¹/₂d., in all, per annum, £4. 14s. 10d. John Martyn holds 3 acres of meadow called Robertesmedowe, and renders per annum at the same terms 8s. William Eire holds 4 acres of meadow called Eiresmedow, and renders per annum at the same

terms (blank). Richard Alwode holds 3 acres of meadow, called Gemuesmedow, and renders per annum 2s. 9d.. Nicholaus Haukwell holds 9 acres of meadow, formerly belonging to Adam Stote, and renders per annum (blank). William Gategang hold 4 acres of meadow, formerly belonging to Gilbert Gategang, and renders per annum (blank). Thomas de Miderby holds $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow, formerly belonging to Stephen Bridock. John Broune holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow called Robertesmedow, and renders per annum 4s. The same tenants hold between them a certain meadow, containing 30 acres of meadow, and used to render per annum, in the ancient rental £6". (18). This entry shows that small pieces of meadow land, often little more than an acre in area, could be held individually by the tenants, and also that the larger meadows, perhaps 30 or 40 acres in area could be held by all the tenants of the vill in common. The entry also illustrates the high value per acre placed on both small pieces, and larger areas of meadow land.

Meadows at Stockton

The great importance attaching to even the smallest pieces of meadow land is best shown in the description of these lands at Stockton. In this vill, under the general heading "Value of the Manor", the surveyors record that there are: "140 acres of meadow in divers places,

valued per acre at 3s, and worth in all £21." They then proceed to give a detailed account of the area, value, and names of these small pieces of meadow land, which go to make up the total. They are "in le Northmede 13 acres, Haygate 2 acres, in Sundrenes 12 acres, in Lynehalgh 30 acres, in Lyttelnes 10 acres, in Elvetmore 11 acres and 1 rood, in Campsyke 5 acres, at Cotegrene 2 acres, at Coldsyke 2 acres, also the meadow nigh the Coldsyke, containing 3 acres, in Cotecredene 5 acres, at Esthalburn 5 acres, at Grenesmedow 7 acres, the total number of acres 142 acres and 2 roods of meadow, and therefore 2 acres and 2 roods of meadow exceed the 140 acres of meadow above, and are valued per annum at 7s. 6d. Also there is there "the survey continues" one piece of meadow called Pykesike, containing 5 acres, valued per acre at 18s - 7s. 6d. Also at Hawbankes, 1 acre worth 5s. 6d. per annum. Also at Halburnheude 2 acres of meadow worth 8s. Also at Knapdale $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres worth 3s. Also at Bernerdmyre, Crounerpole, and Sandlandheued, worth 5s. Also le Mirehed worth 18s. Also $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow called le Pighill, worth 20s". (19). The number of times the local words "burn" and "syke", (the latter meaning a wet hollow, intermittently occupied by a small stream", are repeated in the names of these meadows, would suggest that they

were most frequently alligned along the banks of the streams.

Meadows at Middleham.

The description of the value of the manor of Middleham is similar, both in general outline, and in the detailed information it provides on local place-names, to that of Stockton. The value of several of the meadows there, including that of the Grangemedow (18 acres), and the Newmedow (20 acres), is recorded as so much per acre, "if they are drained of water" (20). It would seem that such meadows were so low-lying and ill-drained as to be liable to seasonal flooding, which may temporarily have reduced their value. The value of these periodically useless meadows seems to be rather lower than that of the better drained type; the former are said to be worth 2s. 6d. or 3s. per acre, while the latter reach 5s. 6d. per acre. However, the value of individual pieces of meadow varies here, as elsewhere, yet always remains well above that of arable land.

Meadows at Darlington, Coatham, Mundevill, Haughton and Blackwell.

It is the exception, rather than the rule in the survey to find the meadows listed under a separate heading. In the majority of the vills where meadows are found, they are included with one or more of the other categories of land, with freehold land, or demesne

land, or exchequer land, for example. In Darlington, out of a total of $18\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow land in the vill, no less than 18 acres are held by tenants of freehold land. These 18 acres are comprised of "one meadow containing two acres" worth 6s. 8d; "one tenement lying beyond the water containing two acres of meadow" worth 12s; "9 acres of meadow, called the meadow of Fyton", which forms part of a park and an orchard worth £9; "a certain meadow called Hellyng, containing 4 acres and 3 roods" worth 21s. The other $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow land in Darlington is held as exchequer land, and it is worth, together with $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land, 16s (21). In Coatham Mundeville the meadow land forms part of the manor; 21 acres and 3 roods are recorded, but their value is not stated. The meadow land at Haughton is recorded under the heading "Demesne Land"; the surveyors list "9 acres of meadow in Halikeldholm,, which used to be worth 46s. 8d., and now it is in the lord's hand, and the bailiff of Darlington renders account for it". (22). The entry concerning meadow land at Blackwell records the area, but not the value of the meadow there: "John Middelton holds one tenement called le Castelhill, with the herbage off Bathley, containing four acres of meadow and pasture, and renders per annum (blank)". (23). No clear distinction seems here to be made between meadow and pasture, they are both set down as "herbage".

Meadows at West Auckland, Coundon, North Auckland and Wolsingham

In West Auckland, there are said to be "11 acres and 1 rood of meadow, lying in Thurnomed, which used to render 56s. 8d, now it is handed over with the grange of Coundon"; (24) in the account of the grange of Coundon, the meadows of the grange are referred to, but no details of their size and value are given. The meadows belonging to the manor of Coundon are, however, listed in detail; "There are there in the meadow of Langlech 5 acres 1 rood, in le Milneholme 4 acres, in le Brodemed 6 acres, in Lyncost $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, valued at 3s. in all 31s. 6d. Also in Haresyde 1 acre and a half, worth 3s., in Plauntbrak 15 acres of meadows and pastures, worth 15s, in all 18s." (25). At North Auckland, in addition to nine pieces of meadow land, with a total acreage of 9 acres 3 roods, there are "in a certain park....50 acres of meadow, by estimation, each acre 2s - 100s". (26) The $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow at Wolsingham are held by tenants of exchequer land; of these "Thomas Smyth holds a certain meadow called Cafforthmeadow, containing 8 acres, and renders per annum 4s. 8d." (27) "John Wardle holds two acres of meadow lying near the water of Wear, called "les Sandes" (28) and 2 other tenants each hold half an acre. of meadow in the same place; one other tenant holds one acre of meadow worth 12d. These values

would seem to be rather less than those of the eastern and south eastern parts of the county.

Meadows at Durham and Sadberge

In Durham and Sadberge, meadows are mentioned but details of their acreage and value are lacking. At Durham a meadow "called le Milnermydowe, nigh the mill", is mentioned* (29), a meadow which would presumably have a waterside site. Amongst the holders of demesne land in Sadberge, are John Blake and Roger Blakye, who hold one bovate of meadow and pasture, and render 9s. 1d.

Villein services in the Meadows in 1380

An examination of the villein services of mowing, lifting, and carrying the hay in the bishop's meadows has already been provided in some detail in the treatment of Boldon Book. Precisely the same services are still in existence in 1380, and they are found in those villis where the villeins were already performing them 200 years earlier.

The distribution of meadow land in 1380

The acreage and value of meadow land in each vill is given in the accompanying table. The difference in acreage between various villis of roughly the same size, and with approximately equal totals of arable land is so great that it can only be supposed that the survey is

not everywhere complete in its record of meadow land. The proportion of meadow land to the total arable land is not unduly high, even in those villis which have the highest recorded totals of meadow land. In Whickham it is about 1:15, and in Stockton about 1:12. In Darlington, on the other hand the proportion is only 1:60, and in Wolsingham 1:150. Further, in certain villis, such as Ryhope, Burdon, Wearmouth, and Tunstall no meadows are recorded at all. In view of this extraordinary situation it is considered that a map showing either the acreage, or the value, of meadow land in 1380, as it is recorded in the survey, would give a very inaccurate picture of the distribution of such land. The accompanying map shows therefore only those villis for which meadows are recorded, and does not attempt to give any indication of recorded acreage or value. The map emphasises the increase in the number of these villis since 1183, particularly in the valley of the Skerne, and in upper and middle Weardale. In comparison with the south and west, the east of the county has relatively few areas of meadow land.

Records of Meadows in the Langley Survey. The similarities with the 1380 survey

Meadows are recorded in 23 villis in the Langley Survey, many of the entries being identical with those of the survey of 1380. In Darlington, for example, "one

tenement lying beyond the water, containing two acres of meadow...worth 12d" (30) forms part of the free holdings of the vill in 1418 as ^{it}~~they~~ did in 1380.

Amongst the pieces of exchequer land are half an acre of meadow, and one rood and four perches of meadow in Thornwell, which appear in both surveys. In Wolsingham, too, there are still $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow land, consisting of the same meadows as were recorded in 1380, they are still to be found in Greenwellside, in Caffordmeadows, and on les Sandes, near the Wear. In Framwellgate, all the tenants still hold the bishop's meadow, and pay £1. 6s. 8d., and the $102\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow at Whickham are identical with those recorded in 1380.

The differences between the two later surveys

However, certain significant differences do appear in the recorded acreage of meadow land, and in its distribution, between the two surveys, meadows are mentioned in vills where none was to be found hitherto, and certain other vills show either an increase or a decrease in acreage. In Cockerton, Bishop Hatfield's Survey recorded only half an acre of meadow, whereas ^{1498.} $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres are recorded in ^{1498.} The Langley Survey records, in addition, "nine acres of meadow, lying in Halykeldfeld, near the water of Skyrne" (31), as part of the exchequer land of the vill. At Byers in 1380 "a

certain meadow called Knyghtesfeld...(which) renders per annum 20s" is held by the free tenant (32); rather more information is given about this meadow in 1418, it is said to contain 100 acres. At Houghton in Easington Ward, the area of the meadow land in 1380 was $14\frac{1}{2}$ acres; this had increased to $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres in 1418; these $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres "belong to the demesne land, worth per annum 35s, which the tenants of the demesne land have, and nothing is paid therefore as above, of which 3 acres lie nigh the place called Hallemyre, and $14\frac{1}{2}$ acres lie on the west side of the recotory there". (33).

Vills recording meadows for the first time in 1418

The vills whose entries record meadows for the first time in 1418 are North Bedburn and South Bedburn, Newbiggin, near North Auckland, Wearmouth, and Newbottle. A small piece of meadow is recorded in North Bedburn, as part of the exchequer land; it consists of "one meadow enclosure, before his gate in Bicheburn" held by Ralph Euere, for 14d. annually (34). The place-name would suggest a waterside site. In South Bedburn, the same tenant holds "one meadow place called Gibbesclose", for which he pays a rent of 3s, and Hugh Evenwood "holds one meadow place and renders per annum 6s". (35); both pieces are part of the exchequer lands of the vill, and may therefore be of fairly recent origin. Meadows are

mentioned as part of the manor of Newbiggin, but no details are given about their acreage and value. In Wearmouth, under the heading "Demesne Meadows", six pieces of meadow, containing in all 9 acres, are recorded: they are Crithemore, containing 1 acre, Littlesmalleymyres, containing 1 rood, Langsmallmyres, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ rood, Ornesmyres, containing 2 acres 1 rood, Holmemore, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, and Cresswelmowe, containing $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The entry describing the Demesne Meadows of Newbottle is equally detailed; "There are there $19\frac{1}{2}$ acres of demesne meadow, 4 acres in a certain place called le Dene, $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres called le Milnemedowe, 4 acres at le Grenelathe, 1 acre and 1 rood called le Littulmedowe, 1 acre and 3 roods called Langlathesen, 2 acres 1 rood called Wydopmedowe, 2 acres and 3 roods called le Cresswellmedowe, of which each acre is worth per annum 2s., and no more, since every third year 5 acres lie in fallow". (36) Both the low value, and the necessity for a period of fallow indicate that this meadow cannot have been of very high quality.

The distribution of meadow land in 1418

The accompanying table gives a detailed account of the value and acreage of meadow land recorded in the bishop's villis in 1418. The map, which shows the distribution of these villis cannot give a complete

picture, since so many places are omitted from the survey, but it serves to illustrate how even with the appearance of new meadows in the north east of the county, it is in the river valleys of the south and south west that meadow land is chiefly to be found.

References to meadows in the Durham Account Rolls

The references to meadows which are found in the Durham Account Rolls consist chiefly of records of the payments made to certain men for cutting and carrying the hay in the Prior's meadows, and for its transport to his manors. A particularly detailed example comes from the Bursar's Roll of 1536 to 1537, where, under the heading "Necessary Expenses", the following entry occurs;

"Paid to Thomas Henryson, and 6 socmen, for 127 day's work in mowing in the park of Beaurpark, in divers places at 6d, 73s. 6d. And paid for spreading, lifting, and making the same hay in Beawrpark, by tally, to Clement Hallmude, 49s. 2d. And payd to Mathew Robynson and 5 socmen, for mowing 33 acres of meadow on Pellowlez, Gelylez, and Hymidlegarthez, with one selion on Pelolez, formerly belonging to Robert Marschall, namely for each acre 6d, 16s. 6d. And paid to the same for mowing one close called North Rauynsflatt, by custom, making in all 18s. And paid to the same for

mowing one close called North Rauynsflatt, by custom, making in all 18s. And paid to the same for 35 days' work in mowing the meadow in one close called South Ravynsflatte there at 6d, 17s. 7d. And paid to the same for mowing one close called Holcroft, by custom, making in all 10s. And paid for spreading, lifting, and making hay in Pellolez, Gelylez, Hyndlegarth, Ravynsflatt, and Holcroft, as appears in the account of the granator, 26s. And paid to (three tenants), and the tenants of Shinkley and Esshe for carrying 101 cartloads of hay to the monastery from Pellowlez, Gelylez, Hydlegarth, Ravynsflatt, and Holcroft this year, of which 60 at 4d, 20s, and 28 at 6d, 19s, and 3 at 2d, 6d. And paid for mowing and making the hay provided by $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow in Frognall, in the lord's hands at Billingham, and for the horses and carts, provided by divers granges, carrying from here to the monastery, 2s. 8d". (37). It would seem from this and other similar entries that the various tasks of hay-making on the Prior's manors were performed by the local tenants, and that theirs too, was the duty of carrying a part of the local produce to the monastery in Durham.

References to meadows in the Halmote Court Rolls

The Halmote Court Rolls provide some important information on the value and significance of the meadows

in the economy of the medieval villages. It was the custom for the manor courts to deal with transfers of land from one of the lord's tenants to another, and in the rolls is therefore preserved a record of all such transactions. In the Court Roll of 1365, for example, a reference may be found to four of the Prior's tenants at Billingham, who take "a certain meadow, called le Haldailles in le Restykere, and render per annum 18s. 6d", as well as to one Thomas Mauer, who "takes three roods of meadow called Fletherker, and renders per annum 3s. to the Prior's exchequer". In the following year a further transfer of meadows is recorded; two holdings, each of 3 roods of meadow in Fletherker, and each worth 3s, are taken by two tenants Adam de Herdwyk, and William Casson (38). The name ending "kerr", or carr, gives an indication of the type of land on which these meadows were found - wet, swampy grass lands, often bordering a small stream. Indeed, the stream of water between Resschikers and Flotherkere is mentioned in 1366, when an order is given to all the tenants, that it should be regulated, "so that it keeps to its ancient course". Other holdings of meadow land are mentioned in 1383 at Billingham, 1 rood in Flotherkere, $1\frac{1}{2}$ roods in Frogenhall, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in Resschiker, known as Haldall, and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in Suthker. (39).

Another entry, that for Newton Bewley in 1370, (40) records the transfer of meadow land to all the tenants of the vill: "The tenants of Neutonbieulieu take one pi^ece of meadow called Cracbrig, containing 11 acres of meadow, as they say, belonging to the manor of Bieulieu,, for a term of 5 years, and render · per annum 5s". One last entry may be mentioned, that for Edmondbyers in 1370 (41), in which the forester is ordered to take into the lord's hands, two pieces of meadow,, containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, wrongfully appropriated by John de Edmondbyers.

The references quoted above illustrate the great value of meadow land, the care taken to ensure its remaining in good condition, and the way in which the individual and collective holdings of the tenants, and the work they must perform in the lord's meadows, were defined..

CHAPTER XI.

WASTE

Records of waste holdings in the Hatfield Survey

The first of the surveys to record waste lands and holdings is that of 1380, since in Boldon Book no account of these items is given. In Bishop Hatfield's Survey 30 villis have separate entries relating to waste land; in 26 of these the land is listed under the heading "Terrae Vastae", in one vill, Wolsingham, under the heading "Antiqua Vasta", - Ancient Waste - and in another vill, Shotton, under the heading "Vasta", while at Benfieldside and Easington the waste lands are listed separately, but not included under the heading "Terrae Vastae". In the majority of entries the name and acreage of the individual pieces of waste land are recorded, together with the name of their former tenant, and the money rent which used to be paid for the land. Pieces of land, however, are not the only items listed as waste; the site of a former fulling mill is said to be waste at North Auckland, a shop and a burgage are so described at Framwellgate, a house and a garden opposite the churchyard at Lanchester, and waste forges at Boldon, Easington and Stockton are also recorded. Since a complete account of the "terrae Vastae", in each vill would involve needless repetition, the waste of only one vill in each ward will be examined in detail, and other items of special interest will be noticed where they occur.

Waste land at North Bedburn

At North Bedburn in Darlington Ward at least 86 acres of waste land are recorded, with a total value of £1. 8s. 9d; since several entries do not state the precise acreage and value of the lands they describe, the final calculations can be no more exact than those given here. The survey records that "There are there 16 acres of land formerly belonging to Ralph Marshall, nigh Mayland, which used to render 5s. 4d., now nothing, since they are waste". (1). Then follows an account of two tofts, each with 10 acres of land, and each formerly rendering 5s. 4d; all these are waste. "Also 8 acres of land, formerly in William Coupman's enclosure, which used to render 2s. 2d". (2). Also 4 acres of land "and one enclosure called Proudlockfeld, containing 8 acres, which used to render 2s. 8d. Also a certain field called Robertshele, containing 12 acres, which used to render 4s. Also John Merley built one house on the lord's waste, and he has not finished it, and likewise he enclosed one parcel of land to his holding on the waste, and he has not finished it. And likewise Adam Benet enclosed a certain parcel of waste nigh his house, and he has not finished it. All the aforesaid parcels, besides these three, now lie waste and out of tenure, as they say, therefore speak to the lord, that an enquiry may be made.

Of the two acres of land, formerly belonging to John Freynd, lying nigh the land of William Perticour, which used to render per annum 15d, now nothing, since they are waste". (3). The entries describing the holdings of John Merley and Adam Benet are of particular interest, since they would seem to suggest that, at the same time as many holdings were lying "waste and out of tenure", small areas of land were still being taken into cultivation, albeit rather slowly and not to an extent sufficient to offset the reversion of arable land to waste, of which the majority of entries are a proof.

The use of the Waste holdings for pasture

A brief reference has already been made to the waste fulling mill at North Auckland. The surveyors describe it thus: "A certain place of an old fulling mill, formerly in the tenure of Thomas Barker, rendering per annum 5s, is now depastured and waste, by the animals of the vill there" (4). Here is a rare and valuable indication of what must frequently have happened to the land no longer cultivated; such land very probably reverted to pasture, to be used by the animals of the villagers. Also at North Auckland, 30 acres of land are said to be out of tenure "for lack of tenants" (5). In Bishopley and Lynsack there is further evidence of the reversion of arable land to pasture; at Bishopley,

"4 acres of land in les Brakes" are described as being occupied and depastured by the animals of Thomas Bruys and Herbert Cones" (6), while at Lynsack, the surveyors record, after the entries of the various pieces of land which are waste, that "nothing is rendered for these parcels, which are waste and depastured". (7)..

Waste holdings in the Chester Ward

The greatest number of villis recording waste land, together with the highest total value of such land, are found in the Chester Ward, where such land is worth at least £28. 15s. 2³/₄d, and separate entries occur in the accounts of no less than 14 villis.. At Whitburn, 185 acres of land, worth in all £11. 8s. 11d., are listed as "Terrae Vastae". The entry begins "There are there of waste land, namely, 26 acres at les Morebrokes, formerly in the tenure of the tenants of the vill there, and they used to render per annum 24s. 8d. And 12 acres of land formerly in the tenure of the tenants of Cleadon, at Northcrok, which used to render per annum 9d". (8). The acreage and value of the former holdings of various tenants are then given; these vary in size from 2 to 65 acres, and in value from 8d. to 46s. 8d. Several tofts and "places" complete the list of waste in the vill.

Although Whitburn contains by far the largest

acreage of waste in the Chester Ward, certain other villis have individual items of special interest. At Framwellgate, the holdings of waste land, including the burgage (worth 1d), and the shop in Durham (worth 4d), already mentioned, are not "out of tenure", as is usually the case in the survey; they are held by the tenants of the vill for extremely low rents. At Benfieldside, the tenants of exchequer land "hold between them all the ancient waste of the said vill, for 3s. 4d. per annum"; (9) the land here recorded should probably be thought of as part of the surrounding moors and wastes, rather than as land formerly cultivated and now waste. From the same vill comes an entry concerning "a certain mill there, which used to render per annum 53s. 4d., now waste"; that this last, however is only a temporary feature is shown by a marginal entry, written in a later hand, recording that "John Bateman takes the site of the said mill aforesaid,, called le Bisshopmilne, in le Bisshopbank, with one rood of land, new assarts from the lord's waste, with free entry and exit to and from the said mill...and renders 3s. 4d. per annum...beginning...in the year 1433, and the said John is to build and maintain a new mill on the said site, at his own cost..." (10). The list of waste land at Softley refers to "the site of a mill

and half an acre of land, formerly in the tenure of William Essewell, which used to render per annum 6s. 8d, now waste". (11). Something of the marginal character and changing pattern of cultivation in the north west of the county at this time is revealed in an entry for Knitsley, which states that "there are there 102 acres 3 roods of land, in the moor of Knitsley, and it used to render per annum 34s. 6d, now it is waste"; (12) this land was evidently taken from the moor during a period of expanding cultivation, but reverted back to moorland after a time.

Waste holdings in the Easington Ward

In the Easington Ward only four villis, Easington itself, Sunderland, Shotton, and Ryhope, have separate entries recording waste land. The entry for Ryhope, although brief, is typical of the entries of waste lands in many other villis in the survey: "There is one place of land, formerly belonging to Peter Peke, and it used to render per annum 2s, now it is waste. Also one place of land, formerly belonging to Galfrid Horimes, and it used to render per annum 12d, now it is waste and out of tenure. Also one place, formerly belonging to Alexander son of William, and it used to render per annum 10d, now it is waste and out of tenure". (13). The acreage of these three pieces of land is not recorded, but their

rents would suggest that they were quite small.

Waste holdings in the Stockton Ward

In the Stockton Ward three vills, - those of Stockton, Mainsforth, and Sedgefield, contain separate entries of waste land. The Mainsforth entry runs thus: "There are there one messuage and two bovates of land in the lord's hands, for lack of tenants, and they used to render per annum 24s, and now they are out of tenure. Also a certain holding, with the land belonging thereto, formerly belonging to John Smith, in the lord's hands for the reason aforesaid". (14). Whether or not the reader is justified in concluding that a slight decline in population is here indicated, cannot be decided with certainty, but the widespread occurrence in the survey of entries of this type, would suggest that the above entries, far from being peculiar and isolated examples, are a reflection of a phenomenon found, to a varying degree, in all parts of the county. In Sedgefield four cottages are described as waste; one of these is said to be "at the end of the vill, at the western side of the lord's waste". (15) Twelve acres of land at Ryghill are in the lord's hands "for lack of tenants". The fulling mill at Sedgefield is the subject of a separate entry: "There was there, at some time (aliquando) one fulling mill nigh Corneforth, which

used to render 33s. 4d, now it is waste and out of tenure as they say". (16). At Stockton a forge and an piece of exchequer land are the only items listed under the heading "Terrae Vastae"; "there was there a certain forge in the lord's waste, and it used to render per annum 4d, now it is waste and out of tenure as they say". (17). This entry gives the impression that land taken from the lord's waste at an earlier period was amongst the first to be no longer used, when signs of an economic decline appeared.

The significance of the waste entries

The reference to "waste in the waste" indicates the essential character of all the entries of waste land recorded in the survey. They do not refer to the wastes of heath and moorland, which must have surrounded all the villis, for the presence of these was presumably so universal and their value so low as to make any record of them unnecessary. The entries refer rather to a lapse from former cultivation. The Hatfield survey gives no reason beyond lack of tenants, for such a lapse, but as already suggested, the fact that similar entries occur in the accounts of so many villis at this time, villis which, moreover, are distributed in all parts of the county, points to a decline in cultivation certainly widespread, and perhaps not

inconsiderable in its total effect upon the appearance of the countryside in the late fourteenth century.

Records of waste holdings in the Langley Survey

Nineteen villis recorded in the Langley survey contain entries relating to waste land; only three of these, however, have separate sections recording this category of land only, under the heading "Terrae Vastae". In the case of the 16 other villis the records of waste land are to be found amongst the entries of cultivated land, and under a variety of headings. An entry occurring at the end of the account of the vill of Redworth would suggest that this vill also had waste lands, but no details of them are provided, since "the waste lands, are missing from the survey" (18). The actual form of the entries themselves is similar to that used in 1380, and here, as earlier, other items than land are frequently said to be waste. At Byres, for example a forge and a mill are waste, at South Bedburn a sheepfold is so described, and at West Auckland "one place, formerly as increase to a garden, is said to lie waste". (19). Further, cottages are often recorded as waste - at Easington 16 cottages, originally worth 6s. 8d, are waste, and so are one cottage on the west of the vill of Shadforth, and 5

cottages in West Boldon. The three villis with separate entries under the heading "Terrae Vastae" are Easington, Wearmouth, and Framwellgate; these will each be examined in detail, and items of particular interest recorded as waste in the other villis will also be noted.

Waste holdings at Easington

At Easington 176 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land are described as waste of various kinds: "There are there 20 acres of land of the demesne, which were in the tenure of all the tenants there. The same tenants held between them 6 acres of the demesne aforesaid, as found by measure, as appears in the ancient Rental, for which they used to render per annum 8s, and now they are handed over with the other charges. Also four acres of land of the said demesne, which used to render per annum 6s. 8d. Also 2 messuages and 4 bovates of land, formerly belonging to Ralph de Beaufo, who used to render as the bondmen above, now handed over to Lady Isabella de Claxton, in the farm of 10 marks, for Thorpe. Also 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ cottages in Thorpe, formerly in the tenure of Ralph aforesaid, which used to render per annum 2s, now handed over to Isabella aforesaid, in the aforesaid farm. Also there are there 16 cottages, which used to render per annum £4. 19s. 10d, of which 13 are handed over as herbage to the tenants there for 6s. 8d. per annum, and three

cottages of the 16 cottages aforesaid lie waste in Ratonrowe, as they say: the tenants of the demesne land hold between them 2 houses, namely the kitchen and two cow houses, which used to render per annum 10s, without paying any other rent for them besides the rent for the demesne. Also one cottage is waste on the common highway, nigh the forge there, which used to render 12d. Also there are in the field called Colverflatfeld, now called Collesslade, 17 acres of land belonging to the cottages of Thorpe, and lying fallow every third year, which used to render per annum (blank), now nothing, since they are in the farm of the 10 marks for Thorpe, however they are worth each acre 4d. per annum. Also 2 acres of land in the field of Shaldfordridding, which used to render (blank), now nothing, since they are in the aforesaid farm: for a certain forge in the demesne of the lord bishop, for which 10 cotmen used to render between them 2s, now nothing, since the rent for it is paid by the tenants of the demesne lands. There are there 140 acres of land in le Newmore, which used to render per annum £4. 5s, now they lie waste. There is there a certain place, formerly in the tenure of Sibille, daughter of Galfrid, which used to render 18d. per annum, of which the jurors are ignorant. And a certain place, formerly belonging to William Cladwell, and Walter Grimbald, and it used to

render per annum 17s, now waste". (20). From the above entry it would seem that lands and holdings were counted as waste, if they were no longer included in the rents of the vill of which account was being given, even though they may still have been occupied, as was the case in the entries relating to Thorpe. Perhaps of greater interest is the reference to the 17 acres of land, belonging to the cottagers of Thorpe, and "lying fallow every third year"; such a reference to this aspect of cultivation is unique in the surveys.

Waste holdings at Wearmouth

The account of "Waste" at Wearmouth is shorter than the Easington entry, and contains one most unusual item. "Thomas Menvill holds one place called Hynddyn, for the mooring of ships, which used to render per annum 2s, now it is completely wasted (totaliter vastatur), and stopped up by the sand (obstupatur per zabulum) as the jurors affirm. Also there is one toft with a courtyard, formerly belonging to Robert Collierknaffe, who used to make 4 precatons in autumn, and render 12d. Also one toft with a courtyard, formerly belonging to John Pand, who used to make as above, and render 12d, now waste as they say. Also 5 acres of land, missing from the smith's land, in the tenure of the tenants, who know where it lies, therefore let them better inquire" (21).

Since the surveyors hardly ever explain how or why the waste land had become waste, the reference to "the place called Hyndden (Hendon), for the mooring of ships" is unusually valuable. The silting had evidently occurred in the period between 1380 and 1418, since in Bishop Hatfield's Survey the same place pays a rent of 2s, and no reference is made to any actual or impending decline in value, as a result of silting.

Waste holdings at Framwellgate

At Framwellgate in Chester Ward, the waste lands are listed separately, at the end of the account of the vill: "Of 8d. for the farm of John Lewyn, for 4 acres of land, formerly belonging to Elianor de Kellowe, nothing, since the jurors do not know where it lies, therefore let them better inquire. There are there 5 acres of land at Fynden, formerly in the tenure of the Master of Kepier Hospital, which used to render per annum 3s. 4d., and now lies waste, as they say. There are there 2 acres of land, formerly belonging to Robert, son of William de Kellowe, which used to render 16d, and now lie waste at le Fynden, as they say. There are there certain lands which are missing, which used to render per annum 20d; the jurors say that they do not know where they lie, therefore let them better inquire. Robert Masham holds three acres of land called Hesilside, the

jurors are ignorant of the rent, therefore etc.

There is there 1 messuage and 1 enclosure called Spetilplace,, which is worth per annum 2s, now William Mellot holds it, and provides annually for one leper there,, and renders per annum 12d. Of 3s. the rent of Thomas, son of Roger Ravensworth, for 1 enclosure containing 6 acres, nothing, since they say that it lies in the moor between Ravensworth and Kibblesworth, waste; but J. Brytley, coroner, says that it must be handed over to the care of the tenants at the following session". (22). The Framwellgate entry would lend support to the view that land still in cultivation may have been counted as waste if the tenant no longer rendered his former money payment.

Other items of interest in the records of waste holdings

At Byres, the waste holdings are described in two separate entries. The first occurs under the heading "Vastatur" - Wasted; "They say that the forge there has been waste for a long time, which ought to render per annum 12d" (23); the forge referred to in this entry, is very probably that described in 1380 as the common forge, which the tenants of the vill held between them for a rent of 12d. per annum. The mill at Byres is also waste; "Of 20s. for the farm of 1 mill there, nothing, since it is completely wasted - totaliter vastatur (24) evidently even more wasted by this time

than in 1380, when there was "one mill, waste, which used to render per annum 20s, then it was handed over, and is now in the farm of the vill of Auckland" (25). Two water mills at Whickham, and one water mill and one wind mill at Boldon are also recorded as waste. At Shotton two pastures, le Estmore and Morelaw, worth respectively 7s. and 11s, (their acreage is not given) are said to be waste, and there are also 3 waste cottages in the vill, each worth 2s., At Ryhope, two tenements with gardens, one worth 12s, and one worth 2s, are waste; and finally at West Boldon, five cottages, "one the south side of the church there...are utterly wasted" (26).

The significance of the Waste entries

In spite of the absence of so many vill's from the Langley Survey, and taking into account too, the incomplete accounts of so many other vill's, the numerous entries recording waste land show that the decline in the cultivation of arable land, and the reversion of such land to pasture, which has already been observed in the examination of the Hatfield Survey, had continued and even increased in the period between 1380 and 1418. Moreover the fact that cottages, mills, and forge are also frequently recorded as waste would suggest that a marked decline in prosperity was affecting the economy, and the landscape, of the whole county at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER XII.
LIVESTOCK FARMING

References to Pastoral Farming in the Durham
Surveys and Rolls

As has already been seen, the Durham Surveys give comparatively little information about pasture land, but there are a sufficient number of references, both direct and indirect, to make it clear that such land formed a significant element in the landscape, and was of considerable importance in village life. The ordinary pasture of the village was provided by that part of the common field which, in any given year, happened to be fallow, and by the remaining arable and meadow land, after they had been cropped, and the enclosures removed. Moreover, large areas of permanent pasture land were to be found in the surrounding moors and wastes. Of these two main categories of pasture, the former, i.e. cultivated land periodically allowed to revert to grazing, is not specifically mentioned in the surveys; its existence as an integral part of the arable land obviated the necessity of recording it by means of separate entries. Any tendency to minimise the economic significance of such land, which may arise from its summary treatment in the surveys, would immediately be corrected by a consideration of those aspects of village life dealt with in the Durham Halmote Rolls, (where disputes concerning the allotment of pasture among the villeins and abuses of the rights

of pasture, are to be found in the entries of almost every vill), and by the Rolls of the Instaurator, the general supervisor of the livestock belonging to the Prior and Convent at Durham.

The type of information contained in the
Instaurators' Rolls

Various classes of men, whose names appear on the Instaurators' Rolls, were in charge of the animals on the manors and farms belonging to the convent; among them are the bercarii, or shepherds, the stirkettarii, or men in charge of bulls, the bovettarii, similar to the stirkettarii, the stodarii, keepers of the stables, and the custodes, or general keepers. There are rolls of the Instaurators and of their subordinates from 1338 to 1482; some of these are accounts of receipts and expenses, others are inventories of stock. The receipts recorded in the rolls are chiefly from the sale of cattle, while the expenses are for the purchase of stock and implements, the construction and repair of buildings, the furnishing of dairies, and the payment of wages. The rolls frequently mention the sale of the hides and carcasses of animals which had died of the murrain; the flesh of such animals was "of no value", but the hides were usually sold. Some sheep are accounted for as having been devoured by dogs or foxes. The rolls present a detailed classification of sheep according to sex and

age; agni (lambs) at a certain age become hoggastri and jercae, these become hurtardi and oves matrices, or alternatively, simply multones, or wethers. Among the occupations mentioned in the rolls are: sheep washing and salving; hedging and ditching; mowing, reaping and haymaking; collecting meadow thatch, and thatching stacks with rushes; and spreading molecasts on the "kerr", or meadows.

The Instaurators' Roll for the year 1338-9

The character of sheep farming in medieval Durham is best described by an examination of typical Instaurator's Roll; the roll selected for this purpose - "The account of John de Nesbyt, Instaurator of the Prior of Durham, from the feast of Pentecost A.D. 1338, to the same feast A.D. 1339, for a whole year" is one of the most detailed and, from a geographical viewpoint, one of the most interesting. (1).

Receipts mentioned in the Roll

Under the heading "Receipts", de Nesbyt accounts for "£4. 12s. 6¹/₂d. the arrears of his preceeding account. And of 5s. the price of one bull, from the instaurator of Muggleswick". A large number of similar entries follow, relating to cattle, sheep, lambs, hides, lactinum (the yield of milk, or dairy produce,) and agistment in le Holme; the last-named was a large sheep

farm belonging to the convent at Coupon in Billinghamshire. In addition to the instaurator of Muggleswick, those of Wascrophead (an estate in Muggleswick), Bearpark, Fery, Houghall, Pittington, Westoe, Holme, Bewley, Bellasis, and Ketton, are mentioned. Scores of sheep which had died of murrain, are sold to the Cellarer.

Expenses mentioned in the Roll. 1) The construction and repair of the sheepfolds

The succeeding entries, which refer to "Expenses", are varied. 26s. 8d. is paid for Timber, obtained from Thrislington, six miles south of Durham, for the construction of a bercaria (or sheepfold), with sheds, folds, hecks - racks for fodder - at Spennymoor. A new bercaria has been built at Ketton, a ditch has been constructed around it, at a cost of 6s. 8d, and boards, costing 16d, have been sawn for its construction. The bercaria at Pittington has been repaired, and so has the bercaria at le Holme; this last has also been covered, presumably with thatch. Lastly, more "large timber at Thurstanton", worth 58s. 6d, has been bought for the sheepfold at Spennymoor.

2) The care of the sheep

The following section of the account refers to expenses incurred in the care of the sheep. Eighty young rams were bought to increase the stock at Ketton;

these cost £4. A considerable quantity of earth and white fat must have been purchased for sheep salve, within the period of the account, since 53s. 9d. has been spent in obtaining these items. 64 gallons of milk were bought for the lambs at le Holme, 30 gallons for the lambs at Westoe, and 13 gallons for the lambs at Pittington. A certain woman received 14½d "for collecting the said milk in divers places". The expenses of the annual washing and shearing of the sheep were 79s.

3) Various Expenses

The account of "various Expenses" contains several interesting items. A ditch of a certain length has been made between the corn and the meadows at Horsleyhope, near Muggleswick, and a similar ditch at Wascrothead has been repaired; such ditches were presumably made in order that the growing corn might be protected from the straying livestock. Garpshale, a dairy farm, whose site has not been identified, but which was probably in Weardale, is mentioned; a hedge has been repaired there. Thirteen acres of meadow has been mown at le Holme, and the expenses of spreading and lifting the hay are also recorded. Two cartloads of rushes have been collected to roof the haystack there, and another three cartloads have been obtained for roofing the sheepfold at Bewley. Again at le Holme, 46 perches of "kerrs" have been

spread with manure; nine women received a total of 18d. for drying and tossing the hay there; and a certain man received 9d. "for making a wall around the park of hay on 3 days". Evidence is also provided of the transport of animals between the various manors; for example, 8d. is paid for the driving of oxen and stirks from Bearpark, near Durham, to Wadley and Wascrophead, both in Upper Weardale, on various occasions. Various articles, dishes, bowles, and other implements, were bought for the dairy of Connesden.

4) Wages

The final entries in the roll, under the heading "Wages", refer to the payments made to the shepherds on the various sheepfarms. It would seem that there were 3 shepherds at Ketton, 5 at le Holme, 1 at Ferry, 1 at Houghall, 1 at Pittington, 1 at Westoe, 3 at Muggleswick, and 2 at Wascrophead. The roll gives some impression of the distribution of the sheep farms belonging to the Prior and Convent, and of the characteristic buildings and occupations which were to be found in each of them.

Inventories of Stock taken by the Prior's shepherds

In order to obtain some indication of the numbers and classes of sheep involved reference must be made to the rolls which contain inventories of stock, both the comprehensive inventories which were taken annually at

the branding and shearing, and the smaller and more detailed inventories, which were customarily supplied by the shepherds of the farms themselves. The Roll containing "The inventory of the sock of the Prior of Durham at the Branding and Shearing in A.D. 1341." (2) lists several sheep farms, and gives a detailed account of the number and classes of sheep in each. At Holme in that year the shepherd, John Page answers for 952 ewes matrices (ewes) remaining from the preceeding year; 76 have been received from the shepherd of Ketton, making a total of 1008. Of these 80 were sold by the instaurator, and he answers for them; 59 died of murrain, (the flesh of 3 is sold for 3d, the flesh of the remaining 48 is of no value); there was therefore a decrease of 116 ewes, so that 892 remained for the shearing. Afterwards 190 were received from John de Bellasis, and the present total is 1082. (The figures quoted are those to be found in the roll, often incorrect). The shepherd at Holme also answers for 25 wool fells and 26 skins of the sheep who had died of murrain. The number of lambs "of issue this year" is stated to be 820. Of these 80 had died of murrain, their flesh being of no value, and the fells being delivered to the Bursar; 120 female lambs were delivered to John shepherded of Bellasis, and 220 male lambs to John shepherd of Bewley, 223 lambs of both sexes to

Robert shepherd of Ketton, and to various other persons gifts were made of in all, 22 lambs. So that, there had been a total decrease of 705 lambs, and 15 remain in the keeping of the shepherd of Holme.

Accounts similar to the one above are given by the shepherds of Bellasis, Bewley, Barton, Ketton and Pittington; there emerges the general picture of the seasonal movement of lambs and sheep between the various sheep farms, for fattening and breeding purposes. The breeding farms seem to have been in the western uplands of the county, of which the one at Le Holme near Muggleswick may be taken as an excellent example, while the fattening farms were to be found on the richer pastures further east, at Bewley, Ketton, and Pittington.

Description of Cattle - farming from Account of John Brak for the year 1389-90.

Documentary evidence on the character of cattle farming in medieval Durham provides a picture very similar to that of sheep farming in the bishopric. The information may be drawn from the accounts of the various cowherds on the cattle raising and breeding farms of the Prior and Convent of Durham. One of the best examples of these accounts is that of John Brak, Cowherd at Wascrophead from 1389 to 1390 (3); of a whole series of these accounts the one selected is the most

satisfactory, on account of its completeness, the variety of entries it contains, and the fact of its omission from the Surtees Society Publications. The animals enumerated in the account are again carefully classified, and their number recorded under various headings, as - bulls, cows, heifers, stirketts, calves of one year, and calves of issue; and finally a list or receipts of the farm is given. Under the heading "Bulls", 2 are said to remain from the preceeding account, one of these is delivered to another cowherd, and one remains. Of the cows, 41 remain from the preceeding account, and 119 are received from the instaurator, making a total of 160, of which 3 are delivered to the Prior's chaplain, 5 to Robert Crag, cowherd at Overdayhouse, 10 to John Robinson, cowherd at Overblackden in Weardale, 24 to Lord Robert Craike, the cellarer, 7 to Richard White, cowherd at Netherdayhouse, and 3 have been killed by wolves; there remain 107 cows. There follows an account of the heifers at Wascrophead; 62 remain from the preceeding account, and 77 have been received from William de Wolfhill, stirketter at Relly, a farm in the valley of the Browney, about two miles west of Durham; the total number of heifers is therefore 119, "they have become cows and none remain". From the account of the stirketts it appears that 7 have been received from

Walter Todd, stirketter at Farnham, and 1 remains from the preceeding account; of these 8, six are delivered to William Patonson, stirketter in Weardale, and therefore 2 remain. Finally, the calves, divided into calves of one year and calves of issue, number in all 37; two have died of murrain, and there remain 35. The list of receipts includes various small amounts for mowing and raking the hay, watching the animals, and selling hides.

The recorded distribution of cattle on the Prior's Farms in 1389-90.

From accounts similar to the above the following figures have been compiled; they show the distribution of cattle, male and female, of all ages on the cattle farms of the Prior and Convent in 1389 and 1390: Wharnhoe 147, Wascrophead 202, Weardale 132, Muggleswick 88, Middle Blackden 77, Barpstchell 97, East Blackden 97, Relly 12, Overdayhouse 99, Netherdayhouse 107, . At Wharnhoe and Relly all the animals recorded are stirketts; elsewhere from 45% to 50% seem to have been "cows", while "cows of one year" and "cows of issue" each make up 25% of the total numbers recorded for the individual farms. The evidence provided by these figures, and by the entries under "Receipts" on each of the rolls would indicate that, while dairy produce was not unimportant, especially on the farms near Durham itself, the main object of most of the farms was

the production of meat, and, of secondary importance, hides.

Other items in the livestock economy

Objects of less specialised attention, but nevertheless of considerable importance in the general farm economy were the oxen, horses, pigs, geese, and hens. Information about each is to be found both in the surveys, and in the account rolls.

Evidence in the Durham Surveys on the use of oxen

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of oxen in agricultural work, and in transport. ^{That} Oxen were used in ploughing, and the measurement of land in bovates or oxgangs, is an illustration of the fundamental place they occupied in the village economy. The surveys also provide evidence of their use in transport; in Boldon Book, the tenants of certain vills, such as Little Burdon, hold their lands, in part, by some form of carrying service for the bishop: "Little Burdon, which John de Houghton holds, renders 10s, and carts wine wine with 4 oxen..." (3). Similarly the vill of Hulam "renders 20s. and carts wine with 6 oxen." (4). One entry in the book records a special area of pasture land set apart for the use of oxen: "Gilbert, son of Umfrid of Durham, holds in Newbottle Moor 34 acres.... and he shall have 8 oxen on Newbottle Moor, by the charter which he has of the Lord Bishop." (5). Place

name evidence of their importance is not lacking either; the vill of Oxenhall, recorded both in 1183 and in 1380, by its very name suggests the tradition and well established use of the ox in the rural economy of the county.

Information in the Durham Records on the use of horses

Information on the importance of horses in the farming economy comes chiefly from the account rolls; the surveys do not contain any reference to horses as such, and only rarely may their existence be safely inferred from such indirect evidence as place names. One of the pastures at Middleham, recorded in Bishop Hatfield's Survey is called le Horsekerr; it is situated in the marsh, and is worth 13s. 4d. per annum, if free from water. From the Durham Account Rolls, however, comes a considerable amount of information. The one surviving roll, that of 1420 to 1421, of the Supervisor Equicii, (6) the Master of the Lord Prior's horses, provides a detailed picture of the stud farm at Beaurepaire; again, various kinds and classes of horses are carefully distinguished, some of them being bred on the farm, and some obtained from outside markets, or from the local manors and farms of the convent; nevertheless, the picture provided by this particular roll is not representative of the conditions prevailing in the normal agricultural farms elsewhere. If some idea

is to be obtained of the part played by the horse in the ordinary routine of farm life, information must be sought in the "Comptis de Maneriis diversis", the accounts of various manors; a group of these dated between 1299 and 1303 have been examined. Each of these rolls contains a list of the stock on the various manors, and most of these lists refer to horses. For example, the "Account of Richard de Morton, serjeant of Bewley, from the feast of St. Martin A.D. 1303 to the Sunday next after the feast of St. Micheal A.D. 1304" (an account which is not published by the Surtees Society) contains the following account of the horses then to be found on the manor: 12 mares, one is sent to Beaurepaire, and 11 remain; 2 foals of three years, both are sent to Bewley; 1 foal of 2 years, sent to Beaurepaire; 2 colts of over one year, both sent to Beaurepaire, and 1 female foal of issue this year". The lists of horses in the other manors are similar, but on the whole less detailed. The average number of horses kept on the various manors during the period 1299 to 1303 is given in the following list: Houghall 3, Pittington and Rainton 7, Bewley 18, Wardley 4, Beaurepairs (the manor, not the stud farm), 3, Billingham 13, Ketton 8, Bellasis 9, Muggleswick 1, Dalton 6, Wolviston 4. The greatest number of horses would therefore seem to have been kept on the manors of the

south and east of the county, while in the west, at Wardley and Muggleswick for example, and numbers of horses kept are very small.

The importance of Pigs in the farming economy, as described in the Durham Records

Information on the importance of pigs in the farming economy, like that on the importance of horses, comes chiefly from the account rolls. What evidence the surveys contain is again in the form of place names, rather than direct references. Two examples may be cited from the Hatfield Survey: at Stockton, half an acre of meadow on "le Pighill" is recorded (7), and at Middleham the entries under exchequer land include "one built place called le Swynstye" worth 2d.. It is, however, from the Accounts of Various Manors, already mentioned, that information is chiefly to be drawn. The number and kind of pigs on the manor of Billingham, for example, is described in the "Account of Gilbert Snivle, serjeant at Billingham, from the eve of St. Martin 1303 to the Sunday next before the feast of St. Cuthbert in September A.D. 1304". The following relevant entries occur in the roll: 2 boars remain from the preceeding account, one is sent to the Larderer, and one remains; 3 sows remain from the preceeding account, one is sent to the Larderer, and two remain; 22 pigs remain from the preceeding account, and there are 12 in addition,

making a total of 34, of which 5 are sent to the Cellarer, 18 to the Larderer, and 11 remain; 12 hoggs remain, these have become pigs, as above, and therefore none remain; there are 12 piglets of issue this year, 6 have been killed in the expenses of the Prior at Bewley, and therefore 6 remain. Similar accounts are given of pigs on the other manors of the convent, from which it would appear that the following figures represent the average number of pigs kept on the manors, during the period of the accounts: Pittington 67, Bewley 76, Billingham 55, Ketton 64, Belassis 62, and Wolviston 6. Almost half the manors, however, - Houghall, Rainton, Wardley, Beaurepairs, Muggleswick, and Dalton - seem to have kept no pigs.

References to Poultry in the Durham Records

References to poultry are numerous, both in the surveys, and in the account rolls. It would seem to have been customary for the pounder, the officer who took charge of the stray cattle of each village, to render to the lord annually, or at certain fixed times each year, a number of hens and eggs. Such rents are found in all the three surveys; in 1183, for example, at North Auckland, Robert the ponder "holds 12 acres..... and renders 80 hens and 500 eggs". (9). This rent is typical of the majority of villis at this time, but much larger rents are found in Boldon, where the ponder

renders 212 hens, and 1440 eggs; and in Whitburn and Cleadon, where 224 hens and 1500 eggs are rendered. By the time of the Hatfield Survey, the rent formerly paid by the pounder may be paid by the bondage tenants who ^{in Darlington} "render between them at the feast of the Nativity of Our Lord 35 hens" (10), whereas in 1183 the pounder of Darlington had paid a rent of 100 hens and 500 eggs. More often, however, the village still has its own pounder, with his own peculiar form of rent; he still survives in 1418. At that date the pounder of Shotton, for example, one William Doot, who holds, by right of his office, one messuage and 6 acres of land, and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow, renders 60 hens, and 360 eggs. (11). However, all that may safely be inferred from information of this kind is that hens formed a normal and important part of the livestock of almost all the villis recorded in the surveys.

A very different type of information on poultry farming is to be found in the account rolls of the prior and convent. Hens, of various kinds, geese, and even swans are included in the lists of the livestock of the various manors. The swans are mentioned only in the account of one manor, that of Pittington, where there are 27 of them; 8 are recorded as having died of murrain, 3 are accounted for "in the expenses of the feast of St. Cuthbert, and there remain 16". In the same account,

25 geese are recorded, of these 11 have been sent to Durham, 4 are accounted for in the Bursar's expenses, and there remain 10. No hens are mentioned in the account of this manor, but they are found in many others, and are classified according to age and sex. Thus at Ketton, for example, 22 capons are said to remain from the preceeding account, of which 16 are accounted for in the expenses of the Lord Prior, 2 in the expenses of two other persons, three have died of murrain, and therefore there remains one; there also remain from the preceeding account 49 hens, of which 32 are accounted for in the expenses of the Prior, the Bursar, and the Seneschall, 9 have died of murrain, and there remain eight. Geese and Hens are each mentioned in the accounts of six of the manors. The average numbers of geese recorded are as follows: at Bewley 19, Billingham 11, Ketton 77, Pittington 25, Bellasis 64, and at Dalton 17. The manors where hens are mentioned are Bewley (16), Billingham (107), Rainton (71), Pittington (26), Bellassis (115), and Dalton (10). The evidence of the rolls seems thus to confirm that of the surveys in revealing the widespread distribution and considerable importance of poultry, and especially of hens, in the county.

Information on livestock farming provided by the
Halmote Court Rolls

The above account of livestock farming would be incomplete if it did not include a brief consideration of the valuable evidence provided by the Halmote Court Rolls. The account rolls and the surveys have shown the numbers of animals involved, and have given some indication, if only approximate, of their distribution; the Halmote Court Rolls, on the other hand, while giving little or no account of numbers and distribution, give a detailed picture of those aspects of village community life which are concerned with the proper keeping and maintenance of the livestock of the villagers. The most common type of entry in which animals are mentioned refers to the trespass of the animals on the growing crops, but occasional reference is made to their use in transport and carrying services. At Billingham, for example, in 1364, those tenants who are found carrying their corn outside the demesne "with horse and cart" are to be arrested (12). At Dalton the account of the proceedings of the Halmote Court of 1296 shows that an attempt was made, not always with unqualified success, carefully to distinguish between the rights of pasture of the animals belonging to different classes of tenants, and between the tenants as a whole, and their lord: "The men of Dalton ought not to

have rights of common on the lower part of the Wellelech, against the ditch (or embankment) of the orchard, every year, since every third year they have the right to drive their animals on to the moor. They also ought to have pasture rights at the manor gate against the Hesilden road, and they ought also to have pasture rights in le Greenside, when the land of the Greenside lies fallow. They ought not to have pasture rights in le Cotwallis, should it be enclosed, either by a hedge, or a ditch. The men of Dalton therefore have sufficient pasture, besides the better area reserved for the lord" (13). Of the same vill in 1358, it is recorded that "the husbandmen are not to pasture any more cattle on the land of the cotmen, than they did before the plague, and each cotman is to have his own part of the pasture". (14). Most numerous are those entries ordering the tenants to "prevent their pigs, oxen, horses, and all other livestock from eating and trampling on the growing corn", (15) or to have a common hirsill, or pound, or not to "allow their horses, pigs, cows, and oxen to leave the village without a keeper", (16). It would seem, from these and other similar entries, that constant vigilance was required on the part of the lord, and of his officers, if the numerous regulations

governing the livestock of the village were to be enforced,, so that each tenant could secure his share, and no more than his share, of the common pastures, and so that the crops growing in the open fields could be protected from the depredations of those animals allowed (and perhaps occasionally encouraged) to stray from the common herds.

CHAPTER XIII.

ARABLE FARMING.

The Durham Records as Sources of Information

The three surveys provide some information on the general character of arable farming in the county; they indicate the chief crops cultivated, the agricultural work performed by the villeins on the lord's land, and, of course, they are intimately concerned with a description of that land. But, as rentals, they do not include any account of the amount and value of the crops cultivated on the individual manors and farms of the bishop. Such an account is to be found in the bailiffs' rolls of the manors, rolls which date from the middle of the fourteenth century, and provide a detailed picture of farm economy and occupations, contemporary with the Hatfield Survey. The first of the bailiffs' rolls is that of the manor of Auckland, for the fifth year of the episcopate of Richard de Bury, the predecessor of Bishop Hatfield; this document, the first bailiff's roll of any of the manors of the see now in existence, describes the receipts from the sale of meadows, herbage, pasture, fruit, wood, and other items, expenses incurred in the repair of the various farm buildings, in enclosing the park and meadows, and in mowing the hay, and finally gives a detailed list of the issues of the grange, i.e. the wheat, barley, oats, and other crops, which have been bought or sold during the preceeding year. Unfortunately, all the remaining rolls of the episcopate:

of Bishop Hatfield are those of the manors in the south east of the county only, so that the information they provide, although detailed in content, is rather limited in the area it covers. An attempt has been made to remedy this deficiency by an examination of the accounts of the manors of the Prior and Convent of Durham. These accounts, given by the serjeants of the various manors, resemble the bailiffs' rolls of the bishop's manors in the nature of the material they contain, and are available for manors situated in the west and north west of the county. Although they date from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and are therefore not strictly contemporary with the bailiffs rolls, they must be taken into account if a balanced picture of the agricultural economy of the county is to emerge.

Grain crops mentioned in Boldon Book

In its account of the customary payments in kind, made by the unfree tenants, Boldon Book indicates what were the most important crops grown in the county in the late twelfth century. Oats appears to have been the staple crop; at Boldon it is the only grain the villeins render to their lord, each of the 22 villeins must render "half a scatchalder of oats", and the farmers of the demesne there rendered wheat, barley, and oats in equal quantities; "the demesne is at farm...and renders... 16 chalders of wheat, 16 chalders of oats, and 16

chalders of barley". (1) (A scatchalder, or chalder, was a local measure, which seems to have had different values in different places; they are variously described in Boldon Book as being, for example "after the measure of Yarm", or "after the measure of the hall of Heighington".) The Boldon entry should not be taken to indicate that the villeins grew nothing but oats, but it does show that the production of oats was greater than that of any other grain. Moreover, the rents of the villeins in many other villis resemble those of Boldon; in Easington and Thorpe, for example, the villeins render "as the villeins of Boldon". (2), and the same is true of Shotton, the villis of Quarringtonshire, Sedgefield, Middleham and Cornforth, Norton, Stockton, Hartburn, and Preston. It may therefore be safely assumed that oats were the dominant crop in the eastern half of the county. However, the crop seems to have been relatively more important in the west than in the east. At Wolsingham, the villeins render no grain, but the farmers of the demesne render "16 chalders of wheat, and as many of barley, and 70 of oats". (3). The demesne of Whickham renders no other grain than "20 chalders of oats, after the bishop's measure". (4) and an identical entry described the grain render of the demesne of Ryton. Moreover, although barley is the grain customarily used for malting, oats

are also used for this purpose in Durham, and the two terms "brasium", meaning malt made from barley, and "avermalt", or oat malt, are both used in Boldon Book.. The account of the renders of the villeins of Heighington illustrates this usage: "In Heighington are 16 villeins, of whom each one...renders 10 scatchalders of malt... and 64 scatchalders of oat malt, after the measure of the hall of Heighington". (5).

Evidence from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the importance of oats

A further proof, if such be needed, of the overwhelming importance of oats in the bishopric at this time is provided by the following extract from the Rolls of the Exchequer, for the year 1211. In their "account of the Bishoprick of Durham...Emeric, Archdeacon of Durham and Philip de Ulecote....render account of 2065 quarters and a half of wheat, of the issues of the granges of the manors of the Bishoprick, for the aforesaid time, over and above corn sold. And of 5236 quarters and 3 bushels of oats of the issue of the same manors...And there were sent to Ireland....1725 quarters of oats. And to Wales 504 quarters. And to the army of Scotland 264 quarters and 1 bushel...And in food for the King's palfreys 1820 quarters" (6). The county evidently produced a considerable surplus of oats at this time, a surplus sent largely to Ireland. The above extract also illustrates the importance of oats as a food for the livestock, not

only for the "King's palfreys", but also for the farm animals on the various manors.

The cultivation of wheat and barley

Wheat and barley were also grown, the former to a greater extent than the latter; this would appear from the following account of the grain renders of the demesne of Heighington in 1183: "The demesne is at farm, with a stock of 3 ploughs and a half, and 3 harrows and a half, and renders for two ploughs 16 chalders of wheat, and 16 chalders of oats, and 8 chalders of barley". (7) Again, at Shotton "The demesne is at farm, with a stock of 3 ploughs....and renders 24 chalders of wheat, and as many of oats, and 12 of barley". (8). At Cleadon and Whitburn "the demesne is at farm, with a stock of 5 ploughs and a half, and 5 harrows and a half, and renders for 2 ploughs and a half, 20 chalders of wheat, and 20 of oats, and 10 of barley". (9). These entries would give wheat a far higher place than barley in the order of importance of the grain crops.

The agricultural services of the villeins in 1183

Boldon Book also contains a great deal of information on the services of the villeins in preparing the land for the crops, in ploughing and harrowing, and in reaping the grain at harvest time. The first of these services is well described in the Boldon entry; after a list of the renders in money and in kind which each villein must pay,

it is recorded that "he makes in autumn 4 precatations (i.e. four days' work) to reap, with all his house except the housewife; moreover he reaps 3 roods of averipe (the standing crop of oats), and he ploughs and harrows 3 roods of averere (oat stubble), and moreover each plough of the villeins ploughs and harrows 2 acres... and in their works they harrow when there shall be need". In addition to these works at special times of the year, each villein "works 3 days in the week throughout the whole year, except the week of Easter and Pentecost, and 13 days of the nativity of Our Lord" (10). At Wolsingham ^{the} ~~and~~ villeins "reap and carry all the Bishop's corn on the demesne of Wolsingham, with the help of the Bishop's oxen" (11), and the 22 villeins of North Auckland "work from the feast of St. Peter in Chains to the feast of St. Martin, 2 days in the week, and from the feast of St. Martin to the feast of St. Peter in Chains, 1 day in the week, and moreover each makes 4 precatations in autumn with all the house, except the housewife, and every one of the ploughs of the town ploughs and harrows 2 acres and a half over and above their work". (12).

Customary services and rents in kind in 1380

Similar details of rents in kind, and services on the demesne, are to be found in the two later Surveys. Those entries describing the customary works of the

villeins are often identical with the description of these works two hundred years earlier. However, such services and rents had frequently been commuted for money payments by 1380, so that, although the former services of the villeins are accurately annumerated they are usually prefaced with the phrase "they used to render", or "they used to pay". The money rents paid for bondage land in 1380, and later, are consequently much higher than those recorded in Boldon Book. In 1183, for example, the typical villein of Boldon, holding 2 oxgangs of 30 acres, "renders 2s. 6d. of scatpennies...and 16d. of averpennies", together with rents in kind, and the performance of certain fixed services on the demesne land; in 1380 the Boldon villein "used to render per annum 2s. 6d. for scatpennies, and 16d. for averpennies", and other payments in kind, and he "used to work for the whole year 3 days in the week...", now he "renders per annum at the four usual terms 14s. 2d". (13). Similarly at Tunstall, in 1380, each villein renders "for works 12s...and he used to work as do they of Boldon, as is contained in Boldon Book", now "he renders per annum, in all, 31s. $\frac{3}{4}$ d". (14) These entries may be taken as fairly representative of all those which describe payments in kind, and work on the demesne in the two later surveys.

The agricultural economy of the manor of Auckland in the late fourteenth century. 1) Agricultural Services

For a detailed picture of the economy and organisation

of one of the bishop's farms in the late fourteenth century, we must turn to the bailiff's roll for the manor of Auckland, mentioned above. It is the "Account of Peter de Middridge, bailiff of the manor of Auckland, from the feast of St. Micheal in the fourth pontifical year of the same". i.e. 1387 (15). The bailiff gives account first of his receipts from the sale of customary works; he has received £4. 4s. from the bondmen of Auckland "for their weekly works in autumn...from each one 3s, according to custom"; here we see the commutation of customary works from the other side, as it were. But the following entries indicate that not all the villagers of Auckland had exchanged their works for money rents, the 13 cotmen of Auckland "performed their works in spreading the hay, from each one six works". Moreover, even the bondage tenants themselves would seem still to have performed certain customary services, since the bailiff accounts for "120 cartloads of wood carried by the bondmen of West Auckland, who performed their work this year". It would therefore appear that, while agricultural services of the manor were being largely replaced by money payments, certain other works, such as the provision of timber for the manor farm, were still rendered.

2) The sale of herbage and fruit

The bailiff then accounts for the sale of herbage and fruit. He has received 10s, for "one orchard brought

back into cultivation. 3s. 6d. for the sale of the herbage of the orchard high Gaunless. And for fruit nothing, since there are no fruit nor trees". The most important use of the so-called orchards of the manor farm appears to have been the provision of pasture, or "herbage". While one orchard has deteriorated to such an extent as to become worthless for the production of fruit, another has been "brought back into cultivation", presumably replanted. The site of the orchard "nigh Gaunless" is interesting, and may perhaps help to explain why an orchard situated near the river, in the valley bottom, had become unproductive..

3) The sale of meadows

The following section of the roll deals with the sale of meadows; 50s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. were received "from the sale of 11 acres 1 rood of meadow in West Auckland. And nothing from 18 acres in the park, in divers places, which was mowed this year. And 10s. from the rewaynum (the second growth of grass, which springs after the first mowing) of all the meadows in the park after mowing, sold to William the Clerk. And nothing from 18 acres in the park, and 3 acres in the Halmede, which were mown. And 16s. 8d. received from the heyas at Gaunlesbrigg". The entry illustrates the high value, and careful use made of all the available meadows, which appear often to have been only small patches, near the river Gaunless, within the park at Auckland.

4) The sale of agistment

The sale of agistment, pasturage of horses and cattle, and pastures is the next item on the roll. 79s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. has been received "from Richard the park keeper for the winter agistments in the park this year. And £10.13s.4d. received for the summer pasture of the whole park, except the close within the hall, sold, as grass, to Lord Robert de Manyers, knight, from the feast of the Invention to of the Holy Cross, to the feast of St. Michael, at the end of this account. And 7s. 5d. received for the summer agistments of the endosure within the hall". The value of summer pasturage is naturally much higher than that of winter pasturage, but both appear to have been, along with the meadows, amongst the most valuable items belonging to the manor.

5) The sale of wood and bark

Various smaller entries follow, accounting for the sale of wood and bark, corn, and tallow. The bailiff "also accounts for 13s. 3d, received from the same Richard the park keeper, by tally, for the sale of bark. And 2s. received from the said Richard for the sale of cuttings of small oaks in the park. And 15d. received from the same for dried wood, blown down by the wind". Finally, the bailiff gives account of the moneys received from the sale of oat malt, and of tallow.

The entries relating to the sale of meadows, pasture,

and wood, all from the park at Auckland, give some idea of the general appearance of this area of land. It seems likely that it was an area of fairly open woodland, with, here and there, patches of meadow land, and orchards, in various stages of growth^{or} decay; all its resources were fully utilised in the economy of the manor - the meadows and grass for the feeding of the livestock, and the trees for the provision of timber and bark.

6) Expenses incurred in the maintenance of the farm buildings

Having faithfully accounted for his receipts, the bailiff goes on to state his expenses. Those expenses incurred in the repair and maintenance of the farm buildings are of great length and considerable detail. Lead has been purchased, "melted down and cast for the drains.... and to mend the hall", the chapel, and other chambers. Payments are made to several carpenters, for mending doors, windows, and the turret, and to several masons "for mending the floor of the old bakehouse, against the lord's coming...for mending the gutters of the roof of the hall with shingles", and also "to a certain man for quarrying the stones for the said work at the same time". Payments are also made "to a certain man for plastering the granary of the oats, according to custom", and to "two slaters, working on the long stable and the turret". Also "one garden hedge" has been made "around the yard, nigh the brewhouse, according to custom", and "the stone walls

of the kiln" have been repaired. The glass windows in the large chapel have been mended "against Christmas, according to custom", a new bakehouse has been built, the roof of the candle house has been repaired, and "one piece of stone wall, behind the grange", has been mended. Lastley a hired man receives 12d "for going with the bishop's carts to Middleham to quarry lime, and to Luttrington, to quarry roofing stones". Local materials were supplemented by the products of other manors of the bishop in the maintenance of the various buildings of the lord's hall at Auckland.

The bailiff then accounts for his expenses in making "the wooden paling surrounding the park, and mending the enclosure of the park in one place. Also in enclosing the park elsewhere, and in enclosing the meadows of the park...in the repair of two bridges in the park, namely the bridge of Coundon Burn, and the bridge of Eaglescliff Burn, by two carpenters, for two weeks...in all 30s.5d". Amongst the lesser items of interest in the bailiff's expenses are the purchase of oats "as provender for the bishop's cart-horses", and beans and peas "bought to feed the pigs and fatten them for the larderer".

7) The crops and livestock produced on the manor

The third and last section of the roll deals with the actual produce of the manor, and crops and livestock. The bailiff first accounts for his receipts of wheat: "13

quarters received from the 51 bondmen of Heighington, Middridge, and Killerby...namely from each bondman two heaped bushels....And 3 quarters 3 bushels received from the 28 bondmen of Auckland Escomb and Newton, from each 1 heaped bushel". Smaller amounts of wheat have also been received from Brafferton, Stockton, Ricknall, and Middridge. Of these receipts 24 quarters have been delivered to a certain Lord Robert de Calne; "also to a certain burner of one lime-kiln, according to custom, 2 bushels; also to the mason, for making one bakehouse 2 bushels to a certain mason, for freely repairing the houses, according to custom 4 bushels", and 4 bushels to the poulterer "against Christmas", "and there remain 2 quarters 1 bushel". A similar account is given of the receipts of barley malt from the bondage tenants of the villis mentioned above; of this, 87 quarters of malt was delivered to Lord Robert de Calne, and 140 quarters 2½ bushels were sold for cash, "and there remain 2½ bushels". The receipts and deliveries of oats are similarly listed, and the bailiff also "accounts for the purchase of 4 quarters of peas and beans, and 2 bushels from the bailiff of Stockton".

Finally comes an account of the bailiff's transactions in livestock. He accounts "for 24 oxen, received from the bailiff of Middleham, for the larderer. And 11 ox received from the bailiff of Middridge. And 4 oxen and 11

cow received from the bailiff of Stockton. And 23 oxen and cows, received from the instaurer of Weardale". Pigs have been received from the bailiffs of Stockton, Middleham, and Quarrington. The tallow used in the making of candles, and the lead "of the issues of the park of Stanhope" are amongst the last items included on the bailiff's roll.

Sowing and harvesting work on the manor of Coundon

The bailiff's roll for the manor of Coundon, for the same year, 1387, (16) is similar in content and arrangement to that of the bailiff of Auckland. However, the expenses incurred in sowing, harvesting, and thrashing the various cereal crops are examined in far greater detail than in the previous roll. The list of the expenses of the bailiff of Coundon includes 8s. "for weeding the demesne corn", 9 s. 4½d for mowing the meadows, 5½d for spreading the hay in the meadows, 4s. 6d. in winnowing, carrying, and stacking the hay. Similarly, the bailiff accounts for "the thrashing of 66 quarters of wheat....30 quarters of barley...69 quarters of oats, and the winnowing of all the corn by the women of the hall. Payments are made to the bondage tenants of Auckland, Escomb, and Newton, who have been employed in reaping and stooking the corn, and who have brought with them their carts and their animals to carry the corn to the grange. The bailiff accounts for the deliveries of varying amounts of wheat to the

servants of the manor farm, to the porter, the plumber, the carter, and the shepherd. There follows an explanation of how the oat crop has been used during the period of the account. Of the 129 quarters of oats produced 69 quarters have been thrashed, 22 quarters "remain in sheaves to feed the oxen", while the rest of the oats have been disposed of to various persons, including the bailiff of Auckland.

Other crops grown on the Bishop's manors

Certain other crops are mentioned in the accounts of the bailiffs of certain other manors. The list of the "issues of the grange" on the roll of the bailiff of Middridge (17), for example, includes, under the heading "Peas", "5 quarters and 4 bushels of peas, of the issues, thrashed; and all is used as food for the pigs". A similar entry occurs in the roll of the bailiff of Quarrington, (18) while in addition, this roll contains an account of a small crop of barley: "The bailiff accounts for 6 quarters of barley of new issues, by the measure of the market; and it is sold, as below"; a later entry in this roll states that the barley was sold for 4s, but does not record to whom the crop was sold. The roll of the bailiff of Ricknall (19) contains the following entry: "Rye. And 1 quarter of rye bought, as below; and it is sown." Under the heading "purchase of Corn", on the same roll it seems that 1 quarter of rye was bought "for

sowing". The evidence of the bailiff's rolls on the crops grown on the episcopal manors at the time of the compilation of Bishop Hatfield's Survey supports the conclusion already drawn from the evidence of the surveys themselves. On all the manors for which bailiffs' rolls survive, oats appears to have been the dominant crop, closely followed by wheat; barley, peas, and rye are mentioned only infrequently, and only on a few rolls, so that they would seem to have held a smaller place in the agricultural economy. The rolls also illustrate how completely dependant upon the labour of the villeins was the sowing, harvesting, and thrashing of the cereal crops on the demesne land; they show the actual performance of those services enumerated in the surveys.

The agricultural economy of the manors of the Prior and Convent. 1) The manor of Muggleswick

The account rolls of the manors of the Prior and Convent of Durham at the beginning of the fourteenth century (not published by the Surtees Society) have been examined, and the economy and organisation of the farms which they describe appears to have been remarkably similar to that of the bishops' manors at the end of the century. Of particular interest amongst these accounts is that of the manor of Muggleswick, since this provides the only indication of which crops were most important in the west of the county. "The account of William de

Hilton, the serjeant at Muggleswick, from the Sunday next after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, A.D. 1302, to the Sunday next after the feast of All Saints, A.D. 1303". lists only two crops amongst the issues of the grange. These are rye and oats; from the account it would appear that the local crop amounted to 6 quarters of rye, and in addition 1 quarter was obtained from Pittington, 3 quarters from Houghall, and a smaller amount from Bearpark; 1 quarter of the rye was used in sowing, and the rest was delivered to two ploughmen and a groom. The local production of oats amounted to 12 quarters, of which 4 quarters were used as food the the cows, 2 quarters were used as provender for one horse, 2 quarters were used in sowing, and the rest is accounted for as having been used in the expenses of the bursar and the seneschall. The fact that only rye and oats were grown at Muggleswick, and these only in small quantities, is partly to be explained by the peculiar difficulties of the situation of this particular manor, in the extreme west of the county, in the narrow, steep-sided valley of the Derwent, and on the northward - facing bank of that river, the poor soil and rather harsh climate, with its high rainfall, would allow only the growth of the more hardy and resistant cereals such as oats and rye.

The crops grown on the Prior's manors

While wheat and oats are mentioned in the issues of

the grange in all the other accounts of the Prior's farms, rye is recorded only in one other account, that of the serjeant of Houghall for the year 1301 to 1302. The serjeant gives account of "12 quarters of rye winnowed in the granary, and 2 quarters received from Pittington, total 14 quarters, of which there were delivered to 6 carters, for 18 weeks, 9 quarters, also the shepherd $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, also to a certain ploughman 1 quarter, also to two women, assisting with the making of the malt, 1 quarter..." Barley is mentioned amongst the issues of several manors, and beans appear to have been a widely cultivated crop; for example, 18 quarters of beans were produced at Ketton in 1303, and these were used mainly as food for the horses, cows, and sheep, and 17 quarters of beans were grown at Billingham in 1304, of which "as provender for 6 horses for 5 weeks, 4 quarters; 5 pigs fattened for the larderer, 3 quarters". Beans, along with oats and rye, seem to have been used mainly in feeding the livestock kept on the Prior's farms.

Agricultural services, implements, and buildings mentioned in the serjeants' accounts

The serjeants' accounts of the farms belonging to the Prior and Convent also contain detailed lists of various items of farm expenditure, of services performed about the manor, and its outbuildings, and of the agricultural labourers, to whom payments in money, and in kind, were made. Timber was frequently purchased, (unfortunately

the rolls do not record from whom, or from where), for the making of ploughs, rakes, forks, harrows, carts, yokes, axles, and wheels. Similarly, iron was obtained by purchase for use in the making of chains, nails, plough-shares, axles, axes, and for shoeing horses. Other items of farm expenditure mentioned in the accounts are ropes, saddles, collars, and halters; grease and oil; sacks and yarn; baskets, casks, and hoops; and lead, tin and quarried stone. Amongst the agricultural labourers receiving their wages from the bailiff are the ploughmen, carter, smiths, park-keepers, grange-keepers, shepherds, cowherds, swineherds, dairy-workers, masons, and plumbers. The farm activities mentioned in the accounts include repairing and roofing the manor house, usually described as the "house within the court", mending and roofing the lime-kiln, making a stable, cleaning the sheepfold, building walls, making hedges and ditches, fencing, and digging turves. Finally, the rolls record the purchase of numerous items for what might be described as the internal economy of the farm house, wax is bought for candles, coal and faggots for the fires, salt, herrings, cheese, butter, and ale for the household, and jars, bowls, dishes, plates, cloths, and stamps for the dairy.

References to arable farming in the Halmote Court Rolls
1) The use of manure and marl.

In conclusion, mention will be made of the references to arable farming to be found in the Halmote Court rolls

of the Prior and Convent of Durham. Most numerous are the entries recording the taking over of certain pieces of land by the tenants, who agree to hold the land, at a fixed rent, for a certain number of years, and to maintain it in good condition. Fines are frequently exacted for the deterioration of land, and in one case, at Billingham in 1365, a tenant is fined because he has not manured^r_A his land: "The land held by John Jenkinson is in as good a state as when he received it, but for the last three years he has not manured it, but has sold the manure, to the damage of 13s". (20). In the same year, at Cowpen Bewley an order is given to one Gilbert Faukes "to manure the land which he holds in Coupon, as do the other tenants". (21). The value of manure, and the care taken to ensure its proper use is illustrated in the following entry for Jarrow in 1370: "Order is given to the tenants of the vill that none of them shall remove manure from his holding, but that he who holds the land shall have the manure, accord^r_Aing to the valuation of the jurors". (22). Marl also appears to have been highly valued for the improvement of the soil, and in 1372, at East Merrington an order is given "to all the tenants of the vill, that none of them shall permit any others to take marl" (23), presumably the resources of marl were carefully preserved, and their use regulated.

2) Crops grown by the Prior's tenants

Entries recording the transfer of land may occasionally give some indication of the crops grown on the land, although usually, only the acreage of the holdings are recorded. At Billingham in 1365, for example, a messuage and 10 acres of land, formerly held by Joanna de Chilton, but now in the lord's hands for lack of tenants, is said to include "3 acres of barley, and 2 acres and 3 roods ploughed for the spring sowing". (24) In 1373 the transfer of the manor of Bellasis is recorded; "William Jackson of Coupon takes the manor, with its house and appurtenances...and the pasture meadows and pasture surrounding the village boundaries... for 15 years; there are 56 acres sown with wheat, 7 with barley, 48 with peas, and 20 with oats..." (25).. Two unusual crops, flax and hemp are mentioned in the entry for Billingham in 1381: "Flax and hemp are not to be placed (for retting) in the water between the houses of the Bishop and the Prior"; (26) these are not recorded elsewhere in the rolls, nor have other references to them been found in the materials examined.

3) Some common obligations in the farming system, and their evasion

In its function as a court for the punishment of offences against the common obligations and restrictions, imposed on the tenants of the vill as a whole, the Prior's halmote court had to deal with those who failed to perform

their customary works on the demesne land, and with those whose more private activities were in danger of becoming a menace to the well-being of their neighbours and of the whole community. The system of open field agriculture necessitated a very careful watch being kept on work in the field at all times of the year; especially was this required at harvest time, as the following entry, for Billingham in 1378 well shows; "On hearing the messor blow his horn all the tenants are to come to the pea gathering, and are to return on hearing the horn a second time; all the tenants are to limit themselves to gathering their own peas". (27). The tenants are not infrequently fined for cutting away the balks in the open fields, and "the villagers are ordered not to cut away the balks" is an entry which occurs in almost every vill mentioned in the rolls. At Burdon, in 1373 it appears that "Robert de Morland has made several encroachments in Bridbury, having ploughed away six balks, 60 feet wide, and 100 feet long, belonging to the land of William de Wallworth" (28); in 1379, in the same vill, "all the tenants are ordered not to cut away the balks" (29) and in 1383 Thomas Cisson in to be arrested "for making encroachments in the field of Burdon". (30) That such appropriations of land were not limited to the open fields is shown by the number of entries which record fines imposed for "digging on the

lord's highway", that is, for encroaching on the village streets. In 1365, at Aycliffe, the tenants are warned that a fine of 40d will be imposed on anyone who "seizes land within the King's Highway" (31); the tenants of Billingham are ordered not to dig on the Billingham highway in 1378; and at Burdon, in 1371 Galfrid de Kellow is fined 6d "for making an encroachment on the road leading to the mill, of 80 feet in length." (32). At West Rainton, in 1366, "an order is given to all the tenants of the village that none of them dig in the lord's ground, because of the deterioration of the high street; each one is to repair the damage to the said road in front of his tenement." (33).

It would therefore seem that here, as was found to be the case in the examination of livestock farming, constant vigilance was required on the part of the lord and of his officers if the numerous regulations governing the arable farming of the village were to be enforced, so that each tenant could secure his share, and no more than his share of the common field, and so that proper attention should be given to the cultivation of the demesne lands.

CHAPTER XIV.

RURAL INDUSTRIES PART I.

MILLS AND FISHERIES

The record of mills in the Durham Surveys

The detail and care with which mills are recorded in all the bishops' surveys indicates how indispensable a factor they were in the life of the village community. The mills in the villis belonging to the bishop were provided by him, and were an important form of revenue, as well as a means of exacting services from the tenants. The evidence of all three surveys would suggest that they were generally farmed for a fixed sum, but the amount of the farm seems to have fluctuated with the general fluctuations in prosperity. However, not all the mills were farmed out at any one date, for in 1183 it was particularly noted that the mill of Tursdale was in the bishop's hand, "not yet put out to farm" (1). Almost invariably the rent for the mill was paid in money, but an exception is again to be found in Boldon Book, where it is stated that the mill of Carlton rendered 20 measures of wheat, according to the measure of Jarrow". Small pieces of arable land and meadows are often to be found attached to the mill; at Norton, for example, a small holding of 8 acres of land and a meadow was attached to the mills in 1380, which as usual were at farm. Only a few windmills are recorded, and although the mills are not invariably stated to be water mills, it would seem that the majority were of this description. It was the duty of the villeins to construct and repair the mill dam, and to

cart the mill stones, as they might be required; the villeins of Thickley and Stanhope, for example, must perform this task. It would seem to have been the general rule that, wherever possible, the villeins attempted to avoid the obligation to make use of the lord's mill, and to use instead, their own unauthorised hand-mills. As a special privilege certain individuals and communities were ^{this right. In a grant made} occasionally granted, by Bishop Hugh Pudsey to the burgesses of Wearmouth, it is expressly stated that "each burgess may have his hand mill" (2), and in Boldon Book itself there is a reference to a private mill at Oxenhall, a mill in this instance worked by horses, where the tenant no longer has the obligations of grinding his corn at the lord's mill, not of performing those services at the mill which formed so important a part of the customary services rendered by others of the bishop's tenants.

A slight departure from the methods hitherto employed in dealing with the evidence provided by the surveys will be made in the treatment of the mills of the bishopric. Instead of examining the whole of the evidence provided by each survey, in turn, presenting, as it were, a series of pictures in time, the records will here be treated on a regional basis, so that all the available information about each individual mill will appear together, and some idea can be gained, rather more

easily, of its growth or decline.

The mills of Darlington, Haughton, and Ketton

In 1183 the mills of Darlington, Haughton and Ketton render 30 marks; there is no indication of the total number of these mills, nor of their distribution between the three places. For purposes of map construction, each vill has been reckoned as having one mill, although the importance of Darlington may thereby be a little underestimated, and that of the other two vills proportionately over emphasised. It is stated that "the villeins of Darlington ought to...do the services at the mill which they used to do" (3), and since the villeins of Blackwell "render and work in all ways as the villeins of Darlington" (4) they too must have performed their customary services at the local mill, no mention is made of services at the mill in the accounts either of Great Haughton or of Little Haughton in 1183.

In the Hatfield Survey the profits of the mills of Darlington, Blackwell and Haughton are included in the statement of the total profits of the borough; these are £90, and although the contribution of the mills towards this £90 cannot be definitely stated, it must have been very considerable. The survey gives additional information, however, about the mill at Blackwell; "From the farm of the water mill there, nothing, which used to render per annum 53s. 4d, which the farmers of Darlington have within

their farm".. (5). It still appears to be the duty of the bondage tenants of Darlington to "do the services at the mill which they used to do" (6); at Haughton the bondage tenants "ought to carry timber for building and repairing the said mill, when it is necessary, and make the walls and the roof of the said mill, as much as belongs to them, and purchase and carry stones for the said mill, and clean the mill pond there, and the mill race" (7). The duties of the bondage tenants of Blackwell are less precisely stated; like those of Darlington, they must "do the works which they used to do at the mill". (8).

The entries referring to these mills in the Langley Survey are for the most part similar to those of the Hatfield Survey. "The profits of the mills of Darlington, Haughton, and Blackwell" again form part of the profits of the borough of Darlington, which have risen slightly; they are now £93.6s8d. Whether or not the mills took any share in this rise in rent cannot be known. Again at Blackwell a "certain water mill is in the hands of the tenants of the vill of Darlington, with the farm, as they say, and it ought to render (blank)" (9). The account of the mill of Haughton is rather more informative: "From the farm of the water mill there, which used to render per annum 8s.4d, nothing, since the farmers of Darlington hold it in their farm" (10). It would seem that the mills

in the smaller villis of Blackwell, Haughton and Ketton were of far less value than that of Darlington, as was consistent with their populations and agricultural resources. The mill (or mills) at Darlington was of overwhelming importance, and probably maintained, if it did not increase, its value throughout the period covered by the surveys.

The mill at Oxenhall

A brief reference has already been made to the mill at Oxenhall; this is only mentioned in 1183, when "William holds Oxenhall...and he used to have a horse mill, and he and his land are quit of multure and the service of the mill, and he renders 60s. a year". (11).

The mills of Heighingtonshire

In 1183 the mills of Heighingtonshire were worth 8 marks annually. Heighingtonshire may be taken to include the villis of Heighington and Killerby, which, since they had their demesne and manorial hall in common, may be supposed to have shared the common mills. There were probably two of these, possibly one in each vill, although Boldon Book contains no reference to a mill in the account of Killerby; neither does the book contain any mention of services performed at the mill. The information on the mills of this area in 1380 is more detailed; under Heighington, the following entry occurs "There is there a certain water mill, which renders per

annum at the 4 usual terms £4.13s.4d" (12); and at Killerby "The bondage tenants hold between them one water mill, and it used to be accounted for with the mill of Heighington, and it renders per annum 40s" (13). The services are described in that roundabout fashion so often found in the surveys; the bondage tenants of Heighington are said to "perform all the works as do the bondage tenants of Killerby" (14), who, in their turn, "perform the services and carry to the mill as do the tenants of Heighington" (15). In 1418 there is no mention of a mill at Killerby, but at Heighington the bondage tenants "hold between them the water mill there, and render per annum £4.13s.4d, and 26s.8d is paid by the bondage tenants of Middridge annually" (16). The entries recording services at the mills in 1418 are similar to those contained in the Hatfield Survey. From the available evidence it would seem that the value of the mill at Heighington remained remarkably constant throughout the period under consideration. It seems to have been greater than that of the mill of Killerby, as would be expected from the larger population of the vill, and its greater agricultural resources.

The mill of Ketton

The only mention of a mill at Ketton occurs under the Darlington entry in Boldon Book; the mill is not recorded in either of the later surveys.

The mills of Aucklandshire

The grouping together of several villages in the account of their mills, which has already been observed in Heighingtonshire, recurs in the cluster of vills around Auckland.. In Boldon Book the mills here are only mentioned as receiving the services of the villeins; "All the villeins...t go to the service of the mills of Aucklandshire" (17) the villeins indicated being those of North Auckland, West Auckland, Escomb and Newton. There is no record of the sites of the mills, nor of their value. In 1380 there are said to be "two mills of North Auckland, Bycheburn and les Byres" (18), which, together with the other profits of the borough are at farm for £26.13s.4d. At West Auckland, the following entry occurs under the heading "Bondage Tenants": "Alexander Collier holds the water mill there, and used to render £10.13s.4d, and now £6.6s.8d".. (19). No mills are mentioned in the accounts of Escomb and Newton Cap, and it is unlikely that there were any in these two vills. The bondage tenants of West Auckland and of North Auckland" perform the customary services at the mills of Aucklandshire" (20) while the bondage tenants of Escomb and Newton "work as do they of Bondgate in Auckland" (21). The accounts of the vills of Aucklandshire in the Langley Survey contain no references to mills nor to services at the mills. The Auckland entries illustrate how mills in entirely

separate villages were grouped together for purposes of farming out. The mill at "les Byres" mentioned in the Hatfield Survey, and included there in the farm of the borough of Auckland, is very probably that at Byres Green, separated from North Auckland by some four or five miles, which is recorded again in 1418 as formerly being worth 20s, but now completely wasted. There also seems to have been a fulling mill at North Auckland, for in 1380 "Gilbert Eglyn and John Perrisson hold the fulling mill, and render per annum 46s.8d". (22). There is no mention of this mill in the Langley Survey.

The mill of Witton-le-Wear

Higher up Weardale, a mill is recorded in Witton-le-Wear in Boldon Book and in the Hatfield Survey. In 1183 the mill at Witton and Fulford rendered 2 marks, i.e. £1.6s.8d, but there is no mention of work at the mill in the enumeration of the services of the villeins. In 1380 John Merley, a free tenant, "holds one water mill, formerly belonging to Robert Clakenhirst, and renders per annum 13s.4d"; (23) at this date no bondage tenants are recorded in this vill, so that there are no records of services there.

The mills of Stanhope and Wolsingham

The mills of Stanhope and Wolsingham are grouped together in Boldon Book, where they are said to render 10 marks; the Wolsingham entry contains no reference to

service at the mills,, but at Stanhope "all the villeins, and all the men who hold by rent, furnish the mill pond, and carry millstones..." (24).. In the Hatfield Survey the mills are separately distinguished. At Wolsingham "William de Merley pays £8 for the water mill and the fulling mill there" (25) and the bondage tenants of the vill perform the customary works at the mill. At Stanhope "Robert Emmerison and William Fetherstanhalgh hold the water mill there and render per annum £6" (26); the bondage tenants furnish the mill pond. A change in the relative value of the two mills is shown in the Langley Survey. At ^{Stanhope}~~Wolsingham~~ "Thomas Robinson holds one water mill there, and renders per annum £6.. 13s. 4d" (28).. ^{As Wolsingham the value of the mill is £6.} The change in values here indicated is entirely consistent with changes in the acreage of cultivated land,, and the value of rents and services in the two vills in 1380 and 1418; both these items show a considerable decline in the case of Wolsingham, and a slight increase in the case of Stanhope.

The mills of Chester and Urpeth

The entry in Boldon Book relating to the mills of Chester forms part of the account of the profits of the whole town; in the 24 marks,, which is the rent paid for the town, the fisheries and the demesne are included,, besides the mills. There is no mention of customary services at the mills. In 1380,, under the heading "Mills",

it is recorded that "William de Kellawe holds two water mills there, with the toll of ale and the common bakehouse, which ought to render 20s, and the said mills, which used to render per annum £22, now render per annum, at the four terms, £16. 6s. 8d". (29). The peak of prosperity in the mills of Chester must therefore have been reached sometime between 11583 and 11380. Both in the Hatfield Survey and in the Langley Survey, the bondage tenants must perform the customary services at the mills. In the later survey "Walter Mayhew holds the lord's mill there at farm, and renders £10. 16s. 8d" (30); whether this entry should read "mills", or whether one mill had become idle cannot be definitely stated. In 1183 the mill of Urpeth is said to be "at farm, and renders 4 marks," (31) i.e. £2. 13s. 4d; in 11380 "Thomas Grey holds the demesne of Urpe th, with the water mill, with one assart there, by foreign service, and renders £8". (32). Urpeth is not recorded in the Langley Survey.

The mills of Gateshead

The reference to mills at Gateshead in 1183 is similar to that already observed in the Darlington entry. The mills form part of the borough, which, including several other items, is worth 60 marks annually. However, the mills are described in rather more detail in the Hatfield Survey: "Mills. John de Sadberg holds two water

mills and one wind mill,, which used to render per annum £22, now render per annum at the four terms £16.13s4d." (33).. It will be noticed that these rents closely resemble those of the mills of Chester. In the Langley Survey the Gateshead entries are incomplete, and contain no account of the mills.

The mills of Boldon.

At Boldon, one mill, worth $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks, (£3.13s.4d), is recorded in 1183; curiously enough there is no mention of work at mill in the list of the villein services.. In 1380, "the bondage tenants pay for one water mill and one wind mill there, per annum £17. 13s. 4d" (34); they also perform the customary works at the mill. Again in 1418 "the bondage tenants hold one water mill and one wind mill there, which used to render £17. 13s. 4d, now nothing, since they say that they hold it by the aforesaid demise." (35).. The demise here referred to is the handing over of the demesne lands and pastures, and, so they would claim, the mills, to the holders of bondage land, whose rents are proportionately increased.

The mills of Whitburn and Cleadon

A similar handing over had already taken place in Whitburn and Cleadon by 1380. Although Boldon Book mentions no mill there, the Hatfield Survey states that "the bondage tenants pay, for 336 acres of demesne land, in their tenure as above, and 56 bovates of bondage land,

with the mill, the land in the moor,.... annually at the four terms £56." (36). What proportion of this rent consisted of the rent from the mill is not recorded. One additional item of information about the mill at Whitburn and Cleadon may be gained from the Langelly Survey; it was, it seems, a wind mill, and it was then held, together with a parcel of land, by the tenants of the bondage and demesne lands. The value of the mill in 1418 is not recorded.

The mills of Whickham

The mills of Whickham are described in more than usual detail in all three surveys. Bondon Book records that "The mill used to render 4 marks (£2. 13s. 4d)....and was then in the hand of the bishop. But now the aforesaid manor of Whickham is at farm, with the demsne, and the mill....and it renders £26" (37). In the Hatfield Survey, the mill is described in the following terms: "Mill. The tenants hold between them the mill of Swalwells, and the fishery there, with the toll of ale, and used to render per annum £38, and now render per annum £20" (38). A very considerable proportion of this rent must have consisted of the rent of the mill itself, but its value had evidently suffered some decline by the end of the fourteenth century. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the decline was even more serious; in 1418 there was "a certain mill at Crossewellecroke, which used to

render 13s. 4d. Not nothing, because it is completely waste. Robert Collan holds the mill of Swallowwells, with the fishery there, and the toll of ale, and it used to render per annum £38, now it renders per annum £15. Also there is there one water mill on the Watergayte way, which used to render per annum 53s. 4d., now without rent." (39). By this time it would appear that two of the three mills were waste, and the third was worth less than half its former value.

The mills of Ryton and Winlaton

The mill of Ryton is included, in 1183, with the farm of the vill, held by all the men of Ryton. Together with the demesne and the fishery it is worth £14. In 1380 "the tenants hold the water mill there, with 10s. from the toll of ale there, and render per annum 106s. 8d" (40), so that the mill was evidently worth 96s. 8d. In 1418 "the tenants hold one mill, with 10s. from the toll of ale, they used to render per annum £8, now only 60s" (41). The mill of Ryton seems to have reached the peak of its prosperity some time before 1380, and afterwards to have declined very considerably. The mill of Winlaton is mentioned only in Boldon Book; there "the mill renders $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks" (42).

The mills of Westoe and Great Usworth

Two other mills recorded only in Boldon Book are those of Westoe and Great Usworth. At Westoe in 1183, the

mill "is at farm with the demesne", which, together with the stock and the ploughs, renders 12 marks (43). At Great Usworth in 1183 "the mill of the same town renders 10s" (44); there is no mention of a mill there either in the Hatfield, or the Langley Surveys.

The mills of Lanchester

Finally, in the Chester Ward, the mills of Lanchester must be mentioned. In 1183 "the mills render 8 marks"; (45) the rent would suggest that there were most probably two mills. In 1380, under the heading "Mills" the following entry occurs: "Ralph Milner holds the mills of Lanchester and Burnhope, which ought to render per annum £13. 6s. 8d; now they render per annum at the four terms, £6. 6s. 8d" (46) the mills would therefore seem to have reached their greatest prosperity sometime between the compilation of the two surveys, and to have declined to less than half their former value by 1380. Lanchester is omitted from the Langley Survey.

The mills of Evenwood

The mills of the Barony of Evenwood are recorded only in 1380, when "John Walker holds the fulling mill at Evenwood, and renders per annum 3s. 4d. William Granup holds the water mill there, and renders per annum 11s. 6d"; (47) both mills would seem to have been very small.

The mills of Easington and Shotton

The records of mills in the Easington Ward are remarkable for the large number of entries concerning a mill held jointly by two villages; especially is this true of the entries in Boldon Book. At Easington in 1183 "The mills of Easington and Shotton render 8 marks"; (48) the surveyors do not say where the mills are, nor do they provide details of their individual value. However, the 1380 Survey is more informative. At Easington "the tenants hold the windmill there, and used to render £13. 6s. 8d, now they render £6. 13s. 4d". (49), while at Shotton, under the heading "mill", it is recorded that "the tenants hold between them a certain windmill, with a portion of the waste land,, and used to render per annum £6. 13s. 4d, now they render per annum 113s. 4d"; (50) the first of these two entries shows the comparatively great decline in value observed elsewhere in the county, but the second entry records an unusually slight decline in value; in both villis, however, the peak of prosperity occurred before 1380. The Langley Survey gives more information on the decline of these mills. The Easington entry is identical with that of 1380, but the tenants of Shotton "hold between them one windmill, with a parcel of waste land, and used to render per annum £6.13s.4d, afterwards 113s. 4d, and now they render 66s. 8d." (51). The value of the mill of Shotton, therefore, after

having changed little before the end of the fourteenth century, evidently fell very rapidly in the short period before 1418.

The mills of Wearmouth and Tunstall, Ryhope and Burdon

The villages of Wearmouth and Tunstall seem to have shared a common mill in 1183; the mill was at farm, with the demesne, and with the stock, and rendered, with them, £20. The account of Wearmouth in the Hatfield Survey contains the following description of the mills: "the bondage tenants of Wearmouth, Tunstall, Ryhope and Burdon, pay between them for the mills and breweries there (blank). Each bondage tenant at Wearmouth pays 13s. 7½d. for the farm of the windmill, and the assise of ale" (52;) since there are ten bondage holdings at Wearmouth, the probable rent of the mill is £6. 13s. 4d. The fourteen bondage tenants at Tunstall are said to pay a similar rent "for the farm of the windmill there, with the assise of ale", (53) so that their contribution, by a similar reckoning, would be approximately £9 10s. Similarly the ten bondage tenants of Burdon each pay 13s. 7½d "for the farm of the mill, and the toll of ale". (54). The mill is not separately recorded in the Ryhope entry, nor is it mentioned in the services of the bondage tenants. From these entries it would seem not unlikely that the tenants of Wearmouth and Tunstall shared a common mill. This seems to be confirmed by the entries in the Langley

Survey. At Wearmouth, under the heading "Mill and Brewery", it is recorded that "The tenants of Wearmouth (Tunstall, Ryhope and Burdon are crossed out, Ryhope is interlined, and again crossed out), pay between them for the mill and brewery there, per annum, as appears in the Halmote of the first year of the Lord Bishop, £8.5s". (55). The Tunstall entry is similar: "the tenants there render per annum for the farm of the mill, as appears in the aforesaid Halmote, held in the first year of the Lord Bishop, £7.. 9s" (56). There is no entry for Burdon, but again, at Ryhope "the tenants there render per annum for the farm of the mill, as appears in the aforesaid Halmote, held in the first year of the Lord Bishop £11 6s 3d" (57). Since the mills appear to have been held at farm by the bondage tenants, there is no record of any services there.

The mills of Houghton and Newbottle

The mills of Houghton and Newbottle also seem to have been held in common by the tenants of more than one vill. Boldon Book records, as part of the account of Houghton, that "The mills of Newbottle and of Biddick, with half of the mill of Rainton (render) 15 marks", (58) i.e. £10; and, as part of the account of Painshaw that "William Basset pays for a certain mill 2 marks" (59) i.e. £1.. 6s. 8d. In the two later surveys, both these mills appear under the account of Houghton. In 1380, under the heading "Mill", it is recorded that "the tenants of the

vill hold between them half the water mill, and the other half belongs to the Prior of Durham, and they render per annum at the four terms 113s. 4d; (60) we learn, however,, from an entry under a similar heading in the account of Houghton in 1418, that this particular mill seems not to have been at Houghton at all, it is, in fact, the mill of Rainton, for "the tenants of the vill hold half the vill of Rainton, and othe other half belongs to the Prior of Durham, and they render per annum, at the four terms 113s. 4d". (61). The mill of Painshaw, recorded in 1183, is listed under the heading "Free Tenants" in 1380, when "Robert de Carlell holds the mill of Penchare, by charter and foreign service, and renders 26s. 8d"; (62) the entry is repeated in 1418. We have here a description of two mills, the one held by a free tenant, the other farmed by the tenants of the vill, which,, for the purposes of the survey, are included in the account of Houghton, whereas neither of them appear to have been situated in that vill, but in two smaller neighbouring vills, each of which, however has the advantage, so noticeably lacking in the larger village, of a site on or near a river, in this case the Wear. The mill of Newbottle is recorded separately in 1380 and in 1418. In the Hatfield Survey it is recorded that "the bondage tenants hold half the mill of Newbottle, and render per annum £4. 6s. 8d". (63) in 1418 "the cotmen hold

the water mill there, and render per annum, for half the said mill, £4. 6s. 8d, and the other half is charged to the vill of Morton" (64) while at Morton the tenants there hold half the mill of Newbottle for £4. 6s. 8d.

The mills of Durham and Quarringtonshire

The surveys contain very little information on the bishop's mills in Durham. Boldon Book merely records that "the mills of Durham and Quarringtonshire (render) 36 marks" (65), i.e. £24. For purposes of mapping it has been assumed that, of these mills, Durham possessed at least two, and the vills of Sherburn Shadforth and Quarrington, i.e. Quarringtonshire, shared one mill in common. In 1380 "the toll of the mills" forms part of the farm of the borough, which is held by all the tenants for £80. No details are given of the site or value of these mills, nor are they recorded in 1418.

The mills of the Stockton Ward

Information on the mills of the Stockton Ward is available for only two dates, 1183 and 1380, since this ward is omitted from the Langley Survey. The account of Norton in Boldon Book contains the following entry: "the mills have 8 acres, and the meadow near the mills, and render 20 marks" (66), i.e. £13. 6s. 8d. In 1380 the mills of Norton, Stockton and Hartburn, render per annum, with 8 acres of meadow, and with the meadows nigh the mill £26 13s. 4d" (67) since no record is given of a

higher rent formerly paid for the mills, there can have been no decline in value. The mill of Carlton is said to render 20 chaldrons of wheat, after the measure of Yarm, in 1183, and in 1380 "the tenants there hold between them the mill there, and render per annum at the four usual terms £6." (68). The mill of Middleham and Cornforth is worth 10 marks, i.e. £6. 13s. 4d, in 1183, and appears in the combined account of the two villis. In 1380, however, the same mill appears under the account of Cornforth; "Mill. The same tenants (the bondage tenants) render for a certain water mill there, formerly £20 per annum, now £13. 6s. 8d". (69). A considerable increase, followed by some decline is thus indicated in the value of the mill at Cornforth. Finally some account must be given of the Sedgefield entries relating to mills. "The mill 6 marks"(70) is all the information which Boldon Book provides, but Bishop Hatfield's Survey is rather more detailed. Under the heading "Mills" the following account is given "The tenants of the vill hold one water mill and one wind mill, with the toll of alle... and render at the four terms £13. 6s. 8d", and under the heading "Fulling Mill" it would seem that ^{the mill} "there used to render 13s. 4d, and now is waste and out of tenure" (71).

The distribution of the mills

Taken as a whole, the entries relating to mills indicate a certain pattern of distribution in the county.

The fulling mills, and their sites, many of which are waste, are found in the west of the county, in the upper, or middle courses of the rivers, with the exception of the fulling mill of Sedgefield, which, however, was waste when first recorded. The windmills are found entirely in the eastern half of the bishopric, and chiefly in the north east, where, on the limestone plateau there are fewer large surface streams than further west. The water mills are found distributed along the courses of the larger rivers, especially those of the Tyne, the Wear, and the Skerne.

References to mills in the records of the Prior and Convent

References to the mills owned by the Prior and Convent of Durham are to be found in the Inventarium Prioratus Dunelmensis, the Rentale Bursarium and the Halmote rolls. The last of these sources contains entries which are contemporary with the later bishop's surveys, but the first two sources, which are the more detailed, are rather later in date, 1464 and 1539 respectively. The list of mills described here helps to fill in some of the inevitable gaps in the areas covered by the bishops' surveys.

In the Inventory of 1464, the two mills of Heworth (Over Heworth and Nether Heworth) "render per annum 20s, however they used to render 53s. 4d" (72); this entry would suggest that the Prior's mills showed the same

decline in value as did those of the Bishop. The mill at Shields (South Shields), is mentioned in the Bursar's Rental; it is held by one Christopher Fenvike for annual rent of £10. (73). From the same source comes an entry referring to the mill at Southwick: "From Richard Symesome for the mill there per annum 53s. 4d" (74). The mill of East Rainton, half of which is recorded in the Langley Survey as being held by the tenants of Houghton for 113s. 4d, is mentioned both in the Inventarium and in the Rentale; in 1464 "half the mill there is handed over to John Galoway, and he renders per annum 50s" (75), and in 1536, John Speide renders "for half the mill there per annum 53s. 4d". (76). This entry would suggest an increase in the value of the mill in the early sixteenth century, an increase which is again indicated by the entries referring to the mill at North Pittington, where in 1464 "the mill there renders 43s. 4d" (77), while in 1536 it is recorded that the annual rent paid for the mill by the miller, Christopher Morlande, is 60s..

Fluctuations in value are also a feature of the records of the mill of Hesilden; in 1464 "the wind mill there is waste, however it used to render 60s" (78) and in 1536 the miller William Cuthbert renders for his mill 43s 4d.. The value of the Prior's mills in the south east of the county is recorded only in 1536; at this time the mill of Newton Bewley was worth £4, that of Wolviston was worth

53s. 4d, and that of Billingham was worth £6 13s 4d. Two mills are recorded at Aycliffe, a water mill worth £4 13s 4d annually, and a fulling mill worth 40s. annually in 1536. At East Merrington the water mill rendered 53s. 4d. at the same date. The mill at Scaltock in the borough of Elvet is also recorded in the *Rentale Bursarii*: "From John Spedde, and William Thorsby, for the mill £13 6s 8d". (79). Finally the mill of Westoe, recorded in Boldon Book in 1183 is later mentioned in a certain charter in which "Prior Thomas, and the Convent Church of Durham give 30 acres of land, with a croft and toft and common pasture to Thomas English of Westoe"; there is mention of "our mill at Westoe" (80) where the recipient and his heirs must take their grain.

The significance of the mill in village life

The importance of the mill in the daily life of the villagers is reflected in the entries relating to mills in the Halmote Court Rolls of the Prior and Convent. The maintenance and repair of the mill and the mill pond are amongst the subjects most frequently referred to in the rolls. At Aycliffe in 1370, for example, the jurors are ordered to examine the mill pond in order to determine how much it has deteriorated through animals being driven there, and the villagers are ordered not to drive their animals there in the future. At Billingham in 1368 the villagers are ordered to carry corn to the mill in sacks

which are not torn; moreover, they are not to grind elsewhere than at Billingham mill; Those found carrying their corn outside the demesne, with horse and cart, are to be arrested. In the same year damages are found against the late farmers of the mills of Billingham and Newton Bewley, for the deterioration of millstones, irons, and "le sailclathes". A maltmill, a windmill and a water mill at Ferryhill are mentioned in various fourteenth century rolls; in 1369 the windmill and the water mill at Ferryhill are held jointly by four tenants for 13 marks, or £8 13s 4d., and in 1381 there is a record of a malt mill at Ferryhill, held by one John Gemy of East Merrington. The tenants of the vills of Ferryhill, and of East, West, and Middle Merrington are ordered in 1374 not to grind elsewhere than at the lord's mill, (presumably that at Ferryhill), and they are to make repairs to the pond of the water mill. The mill of Pittington is mentioned in 1365, when an order is given to all the tenants of the vill that they roof the mill and make other necessary repairs to it, and in 1383, when "Adam Gell takes the water mill of Pittington for a term of 6 years, rendering for the first 3 years 56s a year, and afterwards 60s. a year; the Lord Prior is to maintain and repair the said mill". (81). In the Halmote of the same year mention is made of the windmill of Southwick; "Robert, son of Adam of Wearmouth, and William, son of Adam, take the

windmill of Southwick, and the fishery there, belonging to the said vill, for ten years, and they render annually to the Prior's exchequer £12". (82). In the following year an order is given to all the tenants of Southwick and Fulwell that they keep to the right road to the mill of Southwick on pain of a fine of 40d.

The above entries serve to indicate the high value of his mills to the Prior, the attempts which he made to ensure that they were kept in good repair, and that the obligations to maintain them were duly enforced. They show too how the farmers of the mills were frequently guilty of allowing them to deteriorate, and how the tenants often avoided performing their customary obligations there.

The Fisheries recorded in Boldon Book

The fisheries recorded in the Bishop's Surveys formed a valuable part of the appurtenances of the demesne. The fish were taken from the streams and rivers by means of a yare, a kind of dam, with a trap into which the fish were directed as they came up the river. The right of taking fish from the streams of the western part of the county belonged to the bishop, but could be, and in fact was, conceded by him to certain tenants. In the charter granted by Bishop Pudsey to the burgesses of Gateshead "Full liberty in the forest" is one of the rights they are to enjoy, which liberty is specifically

said to include the right of fishing in the forest (83). Gateshead is one of the six villis recorded in Boldon Book which have one or more fisheries; the others are Chester, Wearmouth and Tunstall, Whickham, and Ryton. Little information is given about the fisheries at Gateshead; they are merely stated to be part of the farm of the borough. The fisheries of Chester and of Ryton are described in precisely the same way. The entry for Wearmouth and Tunstall is a little more informative; there "the fisheries render £6". (84). The fisheries at Whickham are described in considerable detail; the villeins "in their work...were used to make three fisheries in the Tyne. The Prior of Brinkburn holds there....one fishery as alms from the Bishop." (85). The two other fisheries recorded in Boldon Book, those of Bedlington and Cambois, and not included in County Durham, and are therefore beyond the scope of this study.

The Fisheries recorded in Bishop Hatfield's Survey

With the addition of the fishery at Darlington, and the omission of that of Wearmouth and Tunstall, fisheries are recorded in the same villis in 1380 as in 1183; the entries, however, are rather more detailed than in the earlier survey, and usually have a separate heading. At Darlington, under the heading "Fishery", the following entry occurs: "William de Hoton and John de Tesedale hold the whole of the fishery there, by meets and bounds in

the field there, and render per annum 2s" (86).. At Chester, William de Kellowe holds "the fishery in the water of Wear there, and renders per annum £10 13s 4d" (87) another entry refers to the fishery at Chester in the following terms "Yaresilver.. Each one of them (i.e. of the bondage tenants) gives for yaresilver at the feast of St. Martin 1½d, in all (blank)." (88).. Yaresilver would seem to have been a payment made by the bondage tenants to keep in repair the yare or dam. At Ryton, under the heading "Fishery in the water", one John Hayning is recorded as holding "the fishery in the water of Tyne there, and he renders per annum 60s". (89).. In the account of the works of the bondage tenants of Whickham it is stated that "they used to make three fisheries in the water of Tyne" (90); there is no reference to the fishery belonging to the Prior of Brinkburn mentioned in 1183.. Finally at Gateshead, John de Sadberg holds "the fishery in the water of Tyne, and renders per annum, at the terms of St. Martin and Pentecost, £20". (91). With the exception of that of Darlington, all the fisheries recorded in the Hatfield Survey have a high value, and must have been of considerable importance in the local economy.

The Fisheries recorded in Bishop Langley's Survey

The entries relating to fisheries in the Langley Survey are for the most part similar to those in the Hatfield

Survey, with the exception that the fishery at Chester is no longer recorded, whereas that of Sunderland is described in detail. The fishery at Darlington is included in the account of the exchequer land; John Newton holds "the whole fishery there in the water of Skerne" (92) for the same rent as was paid in 1380, 2s.. It is again recorded that the bondage tenants of Whickham "used to make three fisheries in the water of Tyne" (93). At Ryton "John Britley holds the fishery in the water there, for 6 years and renders 7ls. 6d" (94) the Gateshead entries are incomplete, and do not mention a fishery. The fisheries at Sunderland form part of the farm of the borough and seem to be one of the most important items there; the profits of the borough include "the fisheries in the water of Wear...namely 32s. 8d. for the farm of 8 yares of the Lord Bishop in the Wear, 8s. for the farm of the Prior of Durham for 1 yare called Ebyare, and 3s. of the rent of John Hedworth, for one yare called Ounesyare, with the erection of one net of the harbour of the said borough, used to render £20 per annum; now they render, at the four terms £6." (95).. This last entry is the only one which suggests the possibility of a decline in the value of the fisheries.

References to fishing in the Halmote Rolls

Occasional items relating to fish and fisheries are to be found in the Halmote rolls of the Prior and Convent

of Durham. In 1365, at Billingham, for example, an order is given that "Thomas Herrynger is not to make oil after the feast of the nativity of Our Lord, in the house where now he makes it, but at Pekesker, since all the tenants complain that so noisome an odour proceeds from the manufacture of the oil, that they may only venture to that place at their peril." (96). At the same court restrictions are imposed on the sale of fish by "all those sellers of fish who come to Billingham", and they are ordered not to buy fish from "the southern side of the water". At Burdon in 1372 the villeins are forbidden to fish in the demesne without permission. At Hebburn, in 1378, "William Willy takes a fishery called Pethyare in the Tyne, formerly held by William Larden, and he renders 24s. per annum". (97). At Jarrow in 1380 one John Legg is accused of taking salmon without leave, on two occasions. And finally at Westoe in 1376 "William Maymond takes the fishery of Ebyare, belonging to the tenants of Harton, and he renders for the first year 15s, and for each succeeding year 30s, and he repairs and maintains the aforesaid fishery in a sufficient state of repair". (98). These entries indicate the value and significance of the fisheries in those of the Prior's villis which were situated either on the Tyne in the north, or on the Tees, in the south of the county.

CHAPTER XV.

RURAL INDUSTRIES. PART 2.

FORGES. BAKEHOUSES

LIMEKILNS. BREWERIES.

Records of smaller rural industries in the Durham Surveys

The surveys' account of the holdings of the Bishops' tenants often includes such items as forges, bakehouses, and limekilns, whilst among the lists of the tenants' payments one of the most frequently recurring is that of the assise of ale. These items provide evidence of the small but essential local industries, not necessarily confined to the boroughs and larger villages, but occurring also in the lesser villis in all parts of the county.

The number of smiths recorded in 1183

Smiths are recorded in 11 villis in Boldon Book. Seven of these villis have each 1 smith; they are: Newbottle, Houghton, Easington, Shotton, Sedgefield, Stockton, and Darlington. Two villis, North Auckland and Stanhope, have each two smiths, while the remaining smiths, the smith of Quarringtonshire, and the smith of Wearmouth and Tunstall, both serve more than one village.

The holdings and services of the smiths

The entries relating to smiths usually record the size of their holdings. The smith of Houghton, for example, is said to hold "12 acres for his service", (1) and, similarly, the smith of Newbottle holds "12 acres for his service". (2). The nature of these services is not always specified, but in the entry for Quarringtonshire it is recorded that "the smith there holds 12 acres

for making the iron-work of 2 ploughs" (3), and from the account of Wearmouth and Tunstall it appears that the smith of these 2 villis holds "12 acres for the iron-work of 2 ploughs, and the coal which he wins". (4). Likewise at Sedgefield "the smith (holds) 1 oxgang for the iron-work of the ploughs which he makes, and he finds coals". (5). While 12 acres seems to have been the usual size of the smith's holding both larger and smaller tenures are recorded. At North Auckland, for example, one smith, Umfrid, "holds 1 oxgang for his service", (in 1380 the local oxgang is said to contain 20 acres), and another smith, Gatull, "holds 16 acres for 1 lb. of pepper." (6). However, the smith of Stockton, ~~and~~ Suan, holds only 1 toft; its size is not recorded, but since he paid for it a rent of no more than 4d, it can only have been small, and the smith of Darlington "holds 8 acres, at the will of the Bishop." (7). From these entries it would appear that the smith at this time must have been a farmer; his holding of arable land is usually smaller than the average holding of the local villein, and seems to have approached more closely to that of the cotmen.

The record of forges in 1380. 1) The Common forges

In Bishop Hatfield's Survey the form of the entries relating to the smith's industry is slightly different from that found in Boldon Book. Smiths are no longer separately recorded; instead, the village forge is

described, its value is stated, and the surveyors note whether it is a common forge, i.e. one held by all the tenants of the vill, or a forge in the hands of a particular tenant. Sixteen vills each have a common forge, eight are in the Darlington Ward - Darlington, Whessoe, Cockerton, Heighington, Middridge, Killerby, West Auckland, and Newton Cap; one, Ryton, is in Chester Ward; three are in Easington Ward - Shotton, Ryhope, and Sherburn, and three are in the Stockton Ward - Hartburn, Middleham, and Sedgfield. In addition, the common forge at Stockton is waste. The common forge is usually entered under a separate heading; at Darlington, for instance, under the heading "Common Forge", it is recorded that "all the tenants there hold the common forge, and render per annum, at the 4 usual terms, 4d." (8), and at Sherburn, after the account of the lands and holdings of the bondage tenants, the following entry occurs: "Forge. The same (i.e. the bondage tenants) hold between them the common forge there, and render per annum 10d." (9). More rarely, details are given of the size of the forge, as well as of its value; at Ryton "the tenants hold between them the common forge there, containing in length 40 feet, and in breadth 20 feet, and render 4d." (10). The value of almost all the common forges seems to have been either one shilling or less; but two exceptions are the forge of Ryhope, for which the bondage tenants render

3s. 4d., and the forge of Sedgefield: "Thomas Smyth holds the common forge there, and renders per annum 20d". (11). This last entry is the only example of a common forge, usually held by all, or by a particularly group of tenants, being held by one man only. At Stockton, two entries relate to the forges: "Forge. And there was there a certain forge in the lord's waste, which used to render per annum 4d., now waste and out of tenure"; this is immediately followed by a nother entry: "The aforesaid tenants,, (i.e. the bondage tenants), hold between them the common forge, and render per annum, at the same terms (blank)." (12).

2) Forges held by individual tenants

In twelve other vill's forges other than the common forge are recorded. In the Darlington Ward 2 such forges are listed, in the accounts of Escomb and Bishopley; 5 vill's in the Chester Ward have this type of forge - Chester, Gateshead, Whickham, Lanchester, and Greenscroft; at Easington there are 3 such forges, including one which is waste, and forges are also recorded at Shadforth and Cassop in the Easington Ward; Norton, in the Stockton Ward,, and Sadberge, have this type of forge. In addition, waste forges are recorded at Boldon and Carlton. The majority of these forges are included in the accounts of exchequer land; under the heading "Exchequer Land" at Escomb, for instance, a certain tenant, John Hoggeson, is

said to hold "one forge before his gate, and he renders per annum...2d" (13). At Easington, besides "one place for one forge on the lord's waste", appearing with the exchequer land, a forge is also recorded amongst the "Parcels of the Halgarth", most of which are described as "parcels of the lord's manor": "John Smyth holds 1 forge, with 1 place, formerly belonging to Ralph the smith, and renders per annum at the same terms, 2s." (14). Also at Easington, the following unusual entry is included in the account of the waste lands: "And 10 cotmen used to render between them for a forge on the demesne of the lord Bishop, 2s., and now it is out of tenure." (15) At Norton the forges, of which there are four, are recorded under a separate heading: "Forges.. William Eyt holds the large forge there, and renders per annum, at the 4 usual terms, 8d. John Eyt holds 1 other forge, and renders per annum, at the same terms, 4d. John Smyth holds 1 other forge, and renders per annum, at the same terms, 4d. John Haresson holds 1 other forge, and renders per annum, at the same terms, 2d". (16). Finally, the waste forges of Boldon and Carlton may be briefly mentioned. The forge at Boldon "formerly in the tenure of Ralph Short, (which) used to render per annum 6d". (17), is listed amongst the waste lands, and for the forge at Carlton "nothing is paid, since it is out of tenure, as they say". (18). There are several noteable omissions from the list of villis in which

forges are found in 1380. No forge is recorded in Wearmouth and Tunstall, nor in Newbottle and Houghton; since these villis had forges in 1183, it can only be supposed, either that the entries in the later survey are incomplete, or that the forges there had been so long waste as to be omitted even from an account of the waste lands of those villis.

The record of forges in 1418

In Bishop Langley's Survey, forges are recorded in only 13 villis. Six of these are common forges, and include those of Haughton, Blackwell, Heighington, and Coundon, in the Darlington Ward, of Shotton in the Easington Ward, and of Ryton in the Chester Ward. In the remaining seven villis - Darlington, Cockerton, West Auckland (with 2 forges) and Wolsingham, in the Darlington Ward, and Easington and Sherburn, in the Easington Ward, the forges are held by individual tenants. The form of the entries is always closely similar to, and at times identical with, that found in the Hatfield Survey, and the rents do not appear to have fallen during the intervening period. One forge is of particular interest, that of Byres; under the heading "Waste" in that vill it is recorded that "They, (i.e. the jurors), say that the forge there has been waste for a long time, and that it used to render 12d". (19).

References to forges in the Halmote Court Rolls

References to forges in the villis owned by the Prior and Convent of Durham frequently occur in the Halmote Court Rolls. At Dalton in 1374 the village forge, formerly held by John Smyth, is said to have been held for the preceeding 6 years, together with 6 acres of land, by a certain Thomas, and a claim of 36s. is made against him, i.e. for an annual rent of 6s. At East Merrington in 1365 "Thomas, son of Hugh Smyth, takes the common forge, which John Smyth formerly held,....to have and to hold for the rest of his life, and to render per annum 40d., which used to render 12d." (20). Finally, an unusual entry relating to the common forge is found in the account of East Rainton in 1378: "Order is given to all the tenants of the vill that they make a well, nigh the spring, to cool the iron of the ploughs, so that the aforesaid spring should remain clean and pure, and a fine of 12d. is to be paid by he who works at the forge, who is unwilling to do this". (21).

The record of Common Bakehouses in 1183

The common bakehouse, like the common forge, is carefully recorded in the episcopal surveys. In 1183 only three common bakehouses are found, and all are in the Bishop's boroughs, at Durham, Gateshead, and Darlington. At Durham, the bakehouse is the subject of a separate entry: "The bakehouses of the said town (render) 10

marks" (22) but at Gateshead and Darlington the bakehouses form part of the farm of the borough. At Gateshead "the borough, and mills, and fisheries, and bakehouses, with 3 parts of the arable land of the said town, render 60 marks" (23); beyond the fact that more than one bakehouse existed in Gateshead at this time, no further information as to their number and value can be obtained. Similarly, at Darlington "the borough, dyers, and bakehouses, render 10 marks" (24); again there would seem to have been more than one, but the individual value is not stated. The possession of a bakehouse, therefore, appears to have been a feature of the boroughs only, and to have formed there an item of considerable importance in the economy.

The record of common bakehouses in 1380

A marked development had taken place by the end of the fourteenth century. In Bishop Hatfield's Survey, the number of common bakehouses recorded has increased to 25. Of these, seven are in the Darlington Ward, at Darlington, Houghton, Heightinton, Middridge, West Auckland, North Auckland, and Newton Cap; two are in the Chester Ward, at Chester and Whickham; no less than ten are in the Easington Ward, at Easington, Wearmouth, Tunstall, Shotton, Burdon, Shadforth, Sherburn, Cassop, Houghton, and Newbottle; and six are in the Stockton Ward, at Stockton, Hartburn, Norton, Carlton, Cornforth, and

Sedgefield. Their value ranges from 66s. 8d. at Norton, to less than 8d. at Newton Cap. At Darlington and North Auckland, the bakehouses are included in the farm of the borough, so that their value is not separately recorded; all that can be definitely stated is that, while North Auckland has only one bakehouse, Darlington had at least two. At Stockton the entry relating to the bakehouse is incomplete, and the value is not given. The form of the entries describing the common bakehouse closely resembles that used to describe the common forge. The entry at Haughton, in the Darlington Ward, may be taken as fairly representative of the majority; under the heading "Common Bakehouse", it is recorded that "the aforesaid tenants (i.e. the bondage tenants) there render for the common bakehouse there, at the same terms aforesaid, per annum 2s". (25). Of unusually high value is the bakehouse at Norton, where "the tenants hold between them the common bakehouse, and render at the same terms 66s. 8d". (26). At Chester the common bakehouse "used to render per annum 20s", but at the time of the survey it renders, with the two water-mills, and the toll of ale £16. 6s. 8d. (27). A third bakehouse whose value is fairly high is that of Whickham, where the bondage tenants "hold between them the common bakehouse, and render per annum 13s. 4d." (25). At the other end of the scale is Newton Cap; there the bondage tenants "hold between them the

common forge and the common bakehouse...and render per annum 8d." (29).

The record of common bakehouses in 1418

In the Langley Survey 12 bakehouses are recorded; three are in the Darlington Ward - Darlington, Haughton, and Heighington; seven are in the Easington Ward - Easington, Wearmouth, Tunstall, Shotton, Burdon, Shadforth, and Ryhope; and two are in the Chester Ward, at Whickham and Sherburn. The form of the entries is identical with that found in the Hatfield Survey, and in only one instance, at Easington, is a decline in value recorded; in 1380 the value of the bakehouse there was 4s, but in 1418 had fallen to 2s.

References to commonbakehouses in the Halmote Rolls

In the Halmote Rolls of the Prior and Convent, bakehouses are mentioned in 6 villis - at Aycliffe, Cowpen, Ferryhill, East Merrington, Moorsley, and Pittington. The following entry for Ferryhill in 1378 gives some of the details of the tenure of the bakehouse there:

"William Goldyng takes the common bakehouse of Fery for a term of 3 years, and he renders, for the first year 13s. 4d., for the second year 14s, and for the third year 16s., and the aforesaid William is to maintain the bakehouse at his own cost, and, at the end of his term, to hand it over in a sufficient state of repair". (30).

The entries for Moorsley in 1365, and for Pittington in

1379, provide information on the heating of the bakehouse; it would seem that this was a communal obligation, for in 1365 "order is given to all the tenants of the vill (of Moorsley) that they should heat the bakehouse in their turn, on pain of 40d., to be paid by him who is found out in this offence", (31) and in 1379 a similar order is given to the tenants of the vill of Pittington.

The record of limekilns in 1380

The first of the surveys to record limekilns is that of 1380. At that time kilns are recorded in the entries of 8 vills - Escomb, Newton Cap, and North Bedburn, in the Darlington Ward; Whickham, Lanchester, and Butsfield, in the Chester Ward; and Hartburn and Sedgefield in the Stockton Ward. While Newton Cap has two kilns, the remaining vills each have one. At Escomb, the relevant entry is included in the account of the exchequer land: "Roger Malleson holds 1 place, and 1 kiln, at the end of the vill, and renders per annum 2½d." (32) The two kilns at Newton Cap are also recorded under the heading "Exchequer Land": "William Blakden holds 1 place for 1 kiln there, and renders per annum, at the same terms, 2d", and again, "Alan Cryngeldyk holds 1 place for 1 kiln, before his gate, and renders per annum 4d." (33) At Whickham, the "one place for one kiln" (34) was worth 10d., but at Butsfield the value of the kiln cannot be definitely stated, since it is recorded with 7½ acres of

land. Perhaps the most interesting entry is that for Lanchester, where "William Crokefote holds 1 acre of land, called Kilneacre, with 1 kiln, and renders 12d." (35). At Hartburn the kiln is recorded under a separate heading: "Kiln. The same, (i.e. the tenants of the vill), hold between them the common kiln, for which they render nothing, as they say, therefore inquire." (36). Finally, at Sedgefield, under the heading "Common Kiln", it is recorded that "Thomas Hedlem holds the common kiln there, and renders per annum 12d". (37).

The record of limekilns in 1418

In 1418 only four kilns are recorded; they are at Newton Cap, Wolsingham, and Sherburn. The entry for Newton Cap is identical with that of 1380. The two kilns at Wolsingham appear under the heading "Exchequer Land in Grenewelside"; the first is held by William, son of John Smyth of Darlington, and is worth 12d; the second is held by Robert Grys, and, together with 1 place of new assarts, is worth 1d. In the description of Sherburn, at the end of the account of the vill the following entry occurs: "Of 30s, for the farm of the limekiln there, nothing, since it is out of tenure, for lack of tenants". (38).

References to limekilns in the Halmote Court Rolls

In the Halmote Court Rolls of the Prior and Convent, kilns are mentioned in the records of 2 villis - Dalton and

Middle Merrington. At Dalton in 1375 "Marjory, the widow of John Dawson, deceased, takes 1 kiln, built on the lord's waste by the said John, to have and to hold for the term of her life, and to render per annum 12d" (39). In 1369 an order is given to four tenants of Middle Merrington to "view 1 kiln, how much it has deteriorated, and by whom, and what is the extent of the damage." (40). The following entry, which occurs in the account of the proceedings at Ferryhill in 1370, suggests that lime-burning was perhaps a more widespread activity than the small number of references to kilns would indicate: "Order is given to Roger de Trollop that he is not to make lime from the lord's stones, without permission." (41).

The record of the tolls of ale in the Surveys

One of the most widely distributed local industries was that of brewing. In Boldon Book numerous entries record the villeins' renders of malt, and the profits of the toll of ale are recorded at Norton: "The toll of beer at Norton renders 3s." (42). The Hatfield Survey contains much more information on this subject; the existence of a brewing industry may be inferred from the entries of 16 villis. Of these 16 entries, eight occur under the heading "Toll of Ale"; they are Darlington Haughton, Chester, Whickham, Shadforth, Sherburn, Cassop, and Norton. The entry for Haughton is fairly,

representative of these: "Toll of Ale. From the toll of ale there, at the 4 terms aforesaid, 4s". (43). The toll of ale at Norton has increased considerably in value since 1183: "the tenants hold the toll of ale between them, and render per annum at the same terms, 10s". (44). The entries of the remaining eight villis occur under the heading "Brewery"; they are Whessoe, Middridge, West Auckland, Wearmouth, Tunstall, Ryhope, Burdon, Houghton, and Carlton. The description of the brewery at Middridge is quite straightforward: "the tenants pay for the brewery of the vill there, per annum, 10s". (45). By contrast, the entry in the account of Wearmouth is much less informative; it is recorded together with the mill, and is incomplete: "Mills: the bondage tenants of Wearmouth, Tunstall, Ryhope, and Burdon pay between them for the mills and breweries there: (blank)" (46). At West Auckland there seems to have been a decline in the value of the brewery, reflected in the following entry: "Of 10s. from the brewery of ale, nothing here, since it is included with the farm of the borough of Auckland, and it used to render per annum 40s". (47). In the Langley Survey the toll of ale is mentioned in the accounts of 5 villis - Darlington, Haughton, Whickham, Shadforth, and Sherburn, and the brewery at Houghton is recorded again. The entries are identical with those of the Hatfield Survey.

References to the brewing industry in the Halmote Court Rolls

The Halmote Court Rolls contain numerous references to the local brewing industries in the Priors' villis. Fines were frequently imposed on those tenants who broke the assise of ale, that is, those who disobeyed the rules regulating the measure, quality, and price at which the ale could legally be sold. Examples of such infringements are found at Aycliffe in 1296 and 1358, at Newton Bewley in 1369, and at Wearmouth in 1369 and 1373. The following detailed entry for South Shields in 1364 shows not only the care necessary to ensure the tenants' observance of the assise of ale, but also the important part played by this industry in the life and occupations of the villagers: "From Richard de Byrden, Richard Harpour, Robert Benedict, who bought ale at Newcastle and sold the same at Shields, to the damage of John de Hilton, and others, each of the same 6d. Order is given to them, and to all the other tenants of Shields, that none of them is to buy ale elsewhere than at Shields, while ale is to be bought there, on pain of 20s".. (48)..

It would therefore appear, from the evidence examined above, that such essential rural industries as baking, brewing, and the provision of iron-work for the ploughs, were items of significance in the village economy, and are to be found, in the late fourteenth century, widely distributed in all parts of the county Palatine..

CHAPTER XVI

URBAN LIFE

The City of Durham in 1183

The Durham surveys give little information on the bishop's boroughs. In 1183 the city of Durham is said to be at farm, and renders 24 marks, "the mills of the same town and of Quarringtonshire 36 marks. The dies of the mint used to render 10 marks, but the Lord King Henry the Second, by means of the dies which he placed in Newcastle for the first time, reduced the rent of 10 marks to 3 marks, and in the end took away the dies which had been in use for many years before that time.". (1). In addition to these major items, the survey records several smaller holdings within the city: "The land of Reginald, the fuller, in the same town, 3s. The land of Lofwine, the bailiff, beyond the water, near the meadow, 16d. The land of Walran of Chester, at the same place, 8d. Turstin of the chapel holds 1 toft, near the copse of the Lord Bishop, by the accommodation and alms of the said bishop". And finally, mention is made of "the bakehouse of the said town, 10 marks".. (2).

The suburb of Elvet

From certain charters in the Feodary of the Prior and Convent, (3) it would appear that the monks had a small borough in a suburb known as Elvet, divided from the Bishop's borough by the Wear, which was bridged at that point. The land had been granted, or restored, to the convent by Bishop Ranulph, and a borough community

developed there as an off-shoot of the larger town. In the forged foundation charters of the Convent, drawn up in the early twelfth century, one of the clauses grants to the Prior and Convent "Aleuet (Elvet), that the monks have there 40 merchants houses, to their own use, which henceforth are free from all service to the bishop, except that the walls of the city are to be repaired, for which, labour not exceeding that of the other merchants of the city, may be exacted from them". (4).

The site and development of late twelfth century Durham

The above quotation gives some information on the contemporary geography of the city, with the castle and new cathedral on the steep promontory, around 3 sides of which ran the Wear. Below this well-fortified nucleus lay the bishop's borough of Crossgate, on the north, and Elvet, belonging to the Prior, on the east. In 1179 Pudsey's charter to Durham states that the burgesses of the city shall have the customs enjoyed by those of m-coll and out-coll. Durham would therefore seem to have been an Newcastle, and shall be free from important centre of industry and commerce at this time, with a much less markedly agricultural aspect than the other boroughs of the Bishopric.

The borough of Wearmouth in the late twelfth century

Boldon Book gives even less information about the borough of Wearmouth; its value, 20s., is all that the

surveyors record. A clear distinction is made in 1183 between the two settlements of Wearmouth and Sunderland, which is "at farm and renders 100s". (5), a distinction which is maintained in both the later surveys. The charter, by which Bishop Pudsey gave to the burgesses of Wearmouth the same privileges as were enjoyed by those of Newcastle, seems to indicate the recognition of an existing borough, rather than the creation of a new one. Since the charter is witnessed by Phillip the Sherriif, who took office in 1180, and since Boldon Book describes Wearmouth as a borough, its charter must have been issued between 1180 and 1183. The provisions of the charter indicate both the commercial and the agricultural interests of the town. There is to be a special court for doing justice speedily between the burgesses and foreign merchants about to sail from the port. All merchandise brought by ship must be landed before sale, except for salt and herrings, which might be sold on the ship, at the will of the owner. Every burgess might have his own oven and handmill, saving the bishop's right. A burgess might export his own corn whenever he pleased, unless the bishop had issued a general prohibition. The burgesses were to have the same liberty with regard to timber and firewood as the burgesses of Durham, and they were to have rights of pasture. Finally, the bishop reserved to himself the duty on the sale of fish.

Wearmouth must have been a place of some importance as the only harbour of the bishopric in the bishop's hands. The borough of Gateshead in the late twelfth century

The account of Gateshead in Boldon Book is rather more detailed than that of Wearmouth. "Gateshead, with the borough, and mills, and fisheries, and bakehouses, and with three parts of the arable land of the said town, renders 60 marks. The fourth part of the arable land, with the new enclosures which the lord Bishop caused to be made, and the meadows, are in the hand of the lord Bishop, with a stock of two ploughs". (6). The survey shows the essentially agricultural character of the town, a reflection of its recent development as a borough. In 1080, Gateshead is described merely as a "place"; Symeon of Durham, in his account of the murder there of Bishop Walcher, mentions a church, but there is no other evidence of any concentration of population in the neighbourhood, at this time. (7). A century later the inhabitants obtained a charter from Bishop Pudsey; the document is undated and unwitnessed, and the text provides no means of dating it by internal evidence. The contents of the charter reflect the situation of the town on the outskirts of the bishop's forest. Regulations are laid down for the taking of wood and undergrowth from the forest, and certain exemptions from the jurisdiction of the forester are provided. Each half year, 2d. is to be paid

on every cart and on every horse which went to the forest. A burgess might give part of his wood to anyone he pleased on the south side of the Tyne, but he might not sell it, without license from the forester. A burgess might dig turves for his hearth, on payment of 2d. for every cart that he brought to the work, while heath, reeds, and undergrowth might be taken free, but not sold. These clauses suggest that the wood taken from the forest was to be used, not primarily as fuel, but for the building of houses for the needs of the growing population of the town. The clauses relating to the borough state that the boundaries have been fixed between forest and borough, and that there is to be a court in the borough, before which disputes arising between the burgesses and the foresters are to be determined. Finally, the burgesses are to have their common pasture in Saltwellmede. The charter is not typical of those usually granted to the bishop's boroughs; rather, it shows a forest vill, which occupies such a favourable position geographically that it is slowly establishing to claims to the privileges of a borough..

The borough of Darlington on the late twelfth century

The town of Darlington is first mentioned in 1003, when, with its dependant villages, it became part of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert. From Boldon Book, it appears that Darlington was a borough, and that the industry of

cloth-dyeing was carried on there: "The borough, dyers, and bakehouses render 60 marks". (8); but, in the absence of a charter, the date of its incorporation as a borough is unknown. In the tollage of Richard I, in 1197, Darlington is the only town in the county called a "burgus"; Durham is a "civitas"; Wearmouth and Gateshead, although they had received charters, some years earlier, are merely "vills". This distinctive nomenclature suggests that, at that time, the town was second only to Durham in importance. Its situation on the great northern road would largely explain the concentration of an industrial and commercial population there. Since it lies on the natural route from Watling Street to Hartlepool and the mouth of the Tees.

The comparative stages of development of the boroughs

The texts of the three charters outlined above reveal three boroughs at different stages of development. Durham has established privileges, confirmed by the bishop's authority; Wearmouth is acquiring the new privileges necessary to its growth as a port, whilst Gateshead is only just beginning to claim its own privileges. It seems not unlikely that Darlington and Wearmouth had reached similar stages of development.

A comparison of the Durham boroughs with Newcastle

It was largely owing to the impulse, given by Bishop Pudsey, to trade and municipal development, that the

Durham boroughs, though of recent growth when compared with the ancient boroughs of the south of England, or even with the northern boroughs of York and Newcastle, were approaching these older towns in their activities, if not in their size, by the end of the twelfth century. Nevertheless, a brief comparison of these boroughs with contemporary Newcastle, illustrates the marked influence of differences both in geographical position and in administrative organisation. Whilst late twelfth century Newcastle was becoming increasingly industrial and commercial, the Durham boroughs, with the possible exception of Durham itself, were still largely agricultural. Newcastle had a large and wealthy population, and was both a port, and a fortress, of essential importance in the defence of the whole of northern England.. The same was not true, or, at least, not to the same extent, of any of the Durham boroughs. And finally, Newcastle, as a royal borough, was controlled from a great distance; only occasional money payments were needed to obtain liberty to advance along its own natural lines of development. In Durham, on the other hand, the bishop, as overlord, was constantly near at hand, unwilling to encourage too great a growth of independence amongst his own tenants in his own territory.

The site and plan of the Bishop's boroughs

The site and plan of the bishop's boroughs may be examined in a little more detail. Each stood on the bank of a river, at the head of the principal bridge which crossed it, or, at Wearmouth, near the ferry-crossing. Durham, Darlington, and Gateshead each developed near a church; at Durham the position of the cathedral, at Darlington of the collegiate church, and at Gateshead of the parish church must have influenced the growth of the borough. ^{At Wearmouth the borough} grew up at some distance from the parish church of Bishop Wearmouth, and was divided from the ancient monastery of Monk Wearmouth by the river itself. Wearmouth, again, owes less to a situation on a routeway than do the other three boroughs; Darlington, Durham, and Gateshead are all situated on the main highway running from north to south through the Bishopric, leading from Darlington, on the southern border, passing through Durham, in the centre, to Gateshead, on the northern boundary, where a Roman bridge crossed the Tyne. In each borough the market place was found near the bridge, or ferry, and the church, and it was around the nuclei formed by church and market place that the medieval towns developed.

The subdivision of the boroughs

The area occupied by the buildings and fields belonging to the borough, was, in each case, small, and

usually formed only a part of a larger area of settlement. In the parish of Darlington, for instance, there were four villas, one of which, the villa of Darlington, was itself subdivided into the bishop's villa of Bondgate, and the borough. Similarly, in the parish of Wearmouth, there were six villas, one of which, the villa of Wearmouth, also contained the borough. The parish of Gateshead was less minutely subdivided, since, beyond the bishop's villa of Gateshead, containing the borough, the parish was almost completely occupied by the forest. The borough of Durham was itself subdivided into three small parishes; Crossgate and Elvet each formed a separate borough and parish, and nearby was the borough and parish of St. Giles, where the Master of Kepier Hospital had "free burgage in the district of St. Giles in Durham....free from military service and all aids, in-toll and out-toll, and works, and custom, and vexations, and exactions." So that, under the protection of the cathedral and the castle, three separate and independent boroughs shared similar advantages of geographical position and ecclesiastical encouragement.

The buildings within the boroughs

The city of Durham was fortified and partly built of stone, but there were probably few stone buildings, other than the church, in the smaller boroughs. Further, none of the three lesser boroughs had walls, nor do they

appear to have been fortified in any way during the twelfth century. The bishop had a manor house in the vills of Darlington and Gateshead, close by the boroughs there, and similarly at Stockton and North Auckland (Bishop Auckland) later to become boroughs.

The vills of Stockton and North Auckland in 1183

The entries relating to the vills of Stockton and North Auckland in Boldon Book, show conditions very similar to those which probably existed in Gateshead and Wearmouth, before they received their charters. Stockton is distinguished from the ordinary agricultural vills by a ferry across the Tees, and by the bishop's hall there; "The passage over the water renders 20d....one oxgang of land, which the bishop has across the Tees, over against the hall, renders 4s". (9). The occasional episcopal visits must have given encouragement to trading, whilst the population of the vill was increased by the number of the bishop's household which was maintained at the hall. North Auckland resembled Gateshead in its situation on the borders of one of the bishop's forests, here the forest of Weardale. The services of the villeins of North Auckland, ennumerated in Boldon Book, may possibly, to a small extent, have encouraged trade. At both Stockton and North Auckland, while the bishop was in residence at his manor house, it was impossible for the vills to remain completely self-contained economic

units. They ^{became} ~~became~~, the bishop's requirements only by bringing in supplies from the surrounding areas. As a reward for their services, it was to be expected that the tenants of these villis should receive certain privileges, and that, in time, the villis should become boroughs.

The relative prosperity of the boroughs in 1197

Some indication of the relative prosperity of Stockton and of the four episcopal boroughs, at the close of the twelfth century, is provided by the tollage, taken from the manors of the bishopric in 1197, during the vacancy of the see after the death of Bishop Pudsey. The payments they made are as follows: the vill of Stockton £7. 0s. 4d., (paid £5. 10s. 5d., owes 9s. 11d); the vill of Wearmouth 37s. 4d., (paid 31s. 1d., owes 6s. 3d); the city of Durham £10, (paid £7. 4s. 8d., owes 55s. 3d); the vill of Gateshead £10, (paid £6. 16s., owes 64s); and the borough of Darlington £8, (paid £7. 12s., owes 8s).. These payments, assessed on the evidence of Boldon Book, show the leading positions occupied by Durham and Gateshead, and the essentially equal status of Darlington and Stockton, the latter far surpassing Wearmouth.

The development of the borough of Hartlepool

The beginning of the thirteenth century sees the rise to some importance of the borough of Hartlepool, whose earliest recorded charter was granted by King John in

1200. (10). According to the terms of this charter, the men of Hartlepool were to be free burgesses, enjoying the same privilages and liberties as the burgesses of Newcastle upon Tyne. These, it would appear, included "a freedom to buy and sell without disturbance, a liberty from paying toll, pontage, (a toll paid for passage over bridges with horses, carts, etc., and under them, with boats, ships, etc), passage money, (money paid by foot passengers at bridges and gates), lastage, (a liberty to carry goods up and down in fairs and markets), and stallage (a payment for the right to have a stall in fairs and markets) in the markets and fairs in the burg, in going to, and coming from them.". In the same year there was granted to Hartlepool "a market upon the Wednesday every week", and soon afterwards "there was added thereto a fair yearly, for three days, namely upon the feast day of St. Lawrence, and the two days following." The export of provisions to Ireland in 1211 has already been mentioned. From the Pipe Rolls of 1211 and of 1213, (the see then being vacant, the temporalities are accounted ^{for} ~~from~~ in the rolls), come numerous entries concerning expenses incurred in repairing and building ships - "in repairing the bishop's galley", "for repairing a ship at Hartlepool £7. 4s. 8½d.", for another ship "and for cords and other necessaries 66s. 2d", "for making a new galley £44. 18s. 6½d.," and "for anchors

and other armaments for the king's great ship, which came from Portsmouth. 111s. 2d".

The peculiar circumstances of the early history of Hartlepool, sometimes under the immediate authority of the lords of the manor of Hart, occasionally under the bishop of Durham, and not infrequently seized into the King's hands, help to account for the succession of charters granted to the town. It was as an episcopal borough that the burgesses of Hartlepool received a charter from Bishop Poor in 1230. The bishop records that "with the assent of Ralph the Prior, and our chapter of Durham, we have given, granted, and confirmed to the inhabitants of the town of Hartlepool, that they shall be free burgesses, and that all their tenements in the borough of Hartlepool shall be free...of all services, aids, customs, and taxes. That in the said town of Hartlepool there shall be every year, at the feast of St. Lawrence, a free fair, to continue 15 days, and every week a free market on Tuesday. That the said burgesses shall have....free ingress and egress, with our perfect peace...of going and returning with all their goods, as well by land as by water, in our bishopric, through the whole of our territory...saving to ourselves and our successors, and to the man of the Prior and Convent of Durham..... exemption from tolls in the aforesaid borough of Hartlepool". This charter is later confirmed by the Prior and Convent

of Durham, "saving likewise the privilege of purchasing their provisions in the borough, without impediment from the burgesses of Hartlepool." Wine, salt, and herrings, which the bishop and prior were so anxious to secure for themselves, formed the staple articles of trade, both at Hartlepool and at Wearmouth. A very common service recorded in Boldon Book is that of carrying these imports, and especially wine, presumable either from Hartlepool or from Wearmouth to Durham.

The growth of fairs and markets in the Bishop's boroughs

At the end of the thirteenth century the only boroughs which possessed markets were Durham and Darlington, where the markets and fairs belonged to the bishop, and Hartlepool. At Durham, three fairs were held annually, on St. Cuthert's Days (March 20th and September 4th), and on Whit Tuesday. The fairs at Darlington were held for two days in February, on Easter Monday, Whit Monday, and the 10th of November each year. In 1310 the vill of Stockton received the privilege of holding an annual fair, for seven days at the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, i.e. December 29th, in addition to a weekly market. The original grants of markets to Bishop Auckland, Gateshead, and Sunderland have not been preserved, but it is probably that they were founded in the early fourteenth century. Darlington and Bishop Auckland, Gateshead, and Sunderland have not been

preserved, but it is probable that they were founded in the early fourteenth century. Darlington and Bishop Auckland had the most important markets in the Bishopric for corn and cattle, the markets of the other boroughs being of importance only to their immediate neighbourhood. In the Household Books of the Convent of Durham, purchases made at the fair of Darlington are frequently entered, and similar statements of the items bought there are to be found in the Bursar's Rolls. In his account of the year 1279, William de Norton mentions "21 cows bought at Darlington for the larderer of the Lord Prior, 4ls. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. 12 ells of velvet and 14 ells of russet (coarse woollen cloth, made of undyed wool) bought there 46s. 9 d. In the expenses of the bursar for the same time, at Darlington, 4s". (11). The list of purchases from Darlington, found in the Bursar's Roll for 1299, mentions "16 ells of bluet (a blue woollen cloth) bought at Darlington, 32s" (12). Moreover, the market at Darlington seems to have extended its influence beyond the confines of the bishopric; as early as 1315 the market was attended by travelling merchants, for whose protection the bishop issued a special proclamation, threatening the excommunication of all persons who obstructed others in going to the market and fair at Darlington.

The relative prosperity of the boroughs in the early fourteenth century

The relative prosperity of the boroughs at the

beginning of the fourteenth century is illustrated by the Roll of the General Receiver of the bishop temporalities for the year 1308. During part of the period covered by this roll, the see was seized into the king's hands, so that the payments subsequently made by the boroughs were unusually small. Darlington and Bishop Auckland, here mentioned for the first time as a borough, made payments of £40 and £6 respectively. The borough of Durham paid £66. 13s. 4d., and the borough of Stockton, also mentioned for the first time, owed to the Bishop £4. 2s., but 11s. 3d. of this sum was released, because the borough had been in the king's hands. Similarly 53s. 1¹/₂d. was released to Gateshead, which owed £9. 8s. Wearmouth is not named in the roll, but an entry of "63s. 4d. for the farm of the boroughs in the quarter of Easington, besides the borough of Durham" can only refer to Wearmouth, since there was no other borough in the Easington Ward. No payment is entered for Hartlepool, but the sum of 40s. is released to Richard Maceon of Hartlepool for repairing the bishop's houses there. Durham, Darlington, and Auckland appear to have been at farm at this time, but no farmers are named for Gateshead, Stockton, and Wearmouth. The roll, which shows conditions a little more than a century after the compilation of Boldon Book, shows how little change there had been in the bishop's boroughs, which were still a long way behind the

royal boroughs in other parts of the kingdom.

The record of the boroughs in 1380

Bishop Hatfield's Survey is not very satisfactory in its account of the boroughs. Stockton is the only place for which a list of burgesses is given, although the burgage holdings of the Wapentake of Sadberge are given in full. (It seems not unlikely that the burgage tenements entered under Sadberge were those of the borough of Hartlepool). Darlington was not at farm at the time of the original compilation of the survey, since the grant of the borough to Ingelremus' Gentil in 1395 is written, in a later hand, at the end of the account of the vill of Darlington. The entry recording the farm of the borough of North Auckland is the most detailed of its kind to be found in the survey: "Borough. John Burdon, John Pollard, and his socmen, farmers of Auckland, hold the said borough, with the toll of fairs and markets, with the profits of the borough court, with the two mills of North Auckland, Bycheburn and les Byres, with the toll of ale of West Auckland, and render per annum £26. 13s. 4d". (13

Darlington was the most valuable of the boroughs in 1380, with a higher farm even than Durham. At the date of the compilation of the survey it was worth £90, and in 1395 was farmed out for £95. 6s. 8d. The value of the borough of Gateshead was less than a third of that of the borough of Darlington: "John de Sadberg renders per annum

for all the profits of the said borough, and the courts of the same, at the 4 terms, £22". (14). Sunderland, called by its modern name, had formerly been worth £20, "but: now it renders per annum, at the 4 terms, £6." (15). Durham, like North Auckland, was farmed by a number of burgesses beyond the borough. 38 tenants within the borough hold 31 burgages, (3 hold 2 burgages each, 13 each have 1 burgage, and the remaining fifteen tenants hold, each one, $\frac{1}{2}$ a burgage). 46 tenants outside the borough hold 15 burgages, (2 hold 1 burgage each, 7 each have half a burgage, and 37 hold a quarter of a burgage or less). The total value of the burgages is 22s.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and the farm of the borough is worth 106s.8d. In Hartlepool the survey records that the bishop owns a windmill and a common bakehouse, which together "used to render 77s.8d., now render (blank)." and "1 tenement in Hertpol, called le Herynghows", worth 12d. annually (16); nothing more is entered in the account of the vill. The description of the Wapentake of Sadberge contains a list of 85 burgages in the old borough, and 1 new burgage, which were not improbably within the borough of Hartlepool.

The record of the boroughs in 1418

Bishop Langley's Survey gives scarcely any information on the boroughs of the bishopric. Stockton and Hartlepool are completely missing from the survey, the only part of the borough of Durham entered is Framwellgate,

and for Gateshead there are four notes of no relevance, written at the end of the book. Although Darlington and North Auckland are surveyed in full, the boroughs there are not mentioned. The only account of a borough is that for Sunderland, where the entry is identical with that of the Hatfield Survey: "Robert Jakson holdds the borough of Sunderland, with the profits belonging to the said borough, the fishery of the water of Wear, and with the borough court, the tolls, and the stallage, namely 32s. 8d. for the free fa rm of the borough, 8 yares belonging to the lord Bishop in the Wear, 8s. of the farm of the Prior of Durham for 1 yare, called Ebyare, and 8s. of the rent of John Hedworth, for 1 yare called Ounesyare, and with the erection of 1 net in the harbour of the said borough, and he used to render £20 per annum, now he renders, at the 4 terms.. £8". (16).

The failure of the Bishop's boroughs to develop at a rate comparable with boroughs elsewhere

Newcastle-upon-Tyne was by this time a great independant corporation, whilst elsewhere in England the boroughs was increasing in economic importance and activity. But the boroughs of the Palatinate had slipped back, rather than advanced, since the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The natural advantages of their position on routeways and on rivers were temporarily insufficient to offset the rigourous episcopal control, which, though at first encouraging their

creation, eventually came to act as a severe check upon their further development into the powerful and prosperous urban communities, which the bishops certainly had no wish to see established within their own lands.

CHAPTER XVII.

MINING.

References to coal-mining in Boldon Book

Boldon Book supplies the first documentary evidence of coal-mining in County Durham. Coal is mentioned in three separate entries, and in each it appears to have been connected with making the iron-work for the ploughs. At Wearmouth and Tunstall the smith "holds 12 acres for the iron-work of the ploughs and the coal which he wins", (1), and at Sedgefield "the smith (holds) 1 oxgang for the iron-work of the ploughs, and he finds coals" (2). The most detailed entry is to be found in the account of Escomb, where "a certain collier holds 1 toft and 1 croft and 4 acres, and finds coal for making the iron-work of the ploughs of Coundon" (3). With the exception of Sedgefield, the villis mentioned here are found where coal might easily have been obtained from the upper seams of the coal measures outcropping, either on the sea-coast in the east, or on the hillsides in the west of the county.

References to coal-mining in Bishop Hatfield's Survey

The Hatfield Survey provides evidence of a different kind. At Whickham, in 1380, under the heading "Free Tenants" it is recorded that "the Count of Northumberland holds the manor of Fugerhous, containing 100 acres of land by estimation, by charter and foreign service, and renders per annum, at the 4 usual terms, 10s. The same count holds 1 coal-mine there, and renders per annum

£26.13s.4d". (4). This, the only reference of its kind in the Survey, does not appear again in 1418.

Other references to coal-mining in the late fourteenth century

Two further references to coal mining in the time of Bishop Hatfield may be mentioned. The account of the bailiff of Coundon in 1350 contains the following entry: "In sinking 1 mone for sea-coal in the field of Coundon, with ropes, buckets, and a windless bought for the same work, 5s.6d" (5). And finally, in the General Receiver's Roll of John de Fordham, the successor of Bishop Hatfield, a roll drawn up very soon after the completion of the 1380 survey, mention is made of the farm of the coal-mines of Evenwood: "Coal Mines. (The Receiver accounts) for £22 of the farm of the coal-mines at Evenwood, handed over to the farm of John de Merley, William de Blakden, John del Loge, and Alexander Collier, for a term of 6 years..."(6).
The Rolls of the coal-mines held by the Prior and Convent

The records of the Prior and Convent of Durham contain more information on coal-mining than is to be found in the three episcopal surveys. The "Rotuli de Mineris Carbonum", the Rolls of the Coal Mines, held by the Prior and Convent, cover the first half of the fifteenth century (1409-1453). (7). The details of the receipts and expenses of the mines of Ferryhill, Rainton, and Aldin Grange, are recorded. The annual receipts show that output from the mines varied considerably from

year to year. For the period 1409 to 1419 the yearly receipts from coal produced at Rainton were as follows: £29.15s6d., £39.19s.1½d., £41.1s., £48.4s.1d., £49.17s.9½d., £52.18s.6d., £35.18s.7d., £21.9s.7d., £51.2s.2½d., and £34.7s.2½d. In addition to the annual variations in output, it seems not improbable that at certain seasons each year the mines were idle, possibly as a result of weather conditions, or of changes in demand. The rolls contain references to payments made to the supervisor of the mines for "le lake and waste", which, by analogy with the present-day dialect ^{dy}work "to lake", meaning to take time off from work, would suggest that periodic deficiencies in the demand for coal may have resulted in enforced idleness at certain times of the year. The accounts do not provide any indication of the amounts of coal represented by the values given above.

The mines of Rainton and Ferryhill

Until 1434 the receipts from coal produced at Rainton are consistently greater than those for Ferryhill. In 1427, for example, the value of the Rainton output was £59.13s7½d., that of Ferryhill only £12.15s.7½d. In the years immediately following 1427, the output of coal at Ferryhill seems to have been roughly half that of Rainton, always assuming that the value of the receipts is a fairly accurate measure of the amount of coal

produced. The roll covering the year 1434-5, however, gives account of the receipts of the production of coal at Ferryhill as being £10.11s.3½d., while for the same period the receipts for the mine at Rainton are only 10s.8d., this amount, it appears, is all that remained, after the expenses of repairing an "aqueduct", a water-pipe, probably used in draining the mine, had been paid; In the roll of the following year the output of Fery is said to be worth £11.5s.5d; there were no receipts from Rainton. In 1436-7 Rainton is again producing coal worth £26.7s.5½d., almost half of this being required to pay for the repair of the aqueduct, and the receipts from Fery have declined to 27s., before disappearing completely in the succeeding years.

The mines at Aldin Grange and elsewhere

The mine at Aldin Grange, about 2 miles west of Durham, is first mentioned in the roll of 1442-3, when, an output worth £21.18s.1d. is recorded. This high level of production is not maintained, however, since in 1444 the receipts from Aldin Grange were only £5.6s. In the roll covering the year 1433-4 is the following entry: "for making a shaft in the field of Heworth, in order to win coal, 20s". Neither this nor succeeding rolls indicate whether or not this particular enterprise was successful. The last roll examined, that for 1452-3, records the expenses of a certain William Herringer in

sinking three coal pits, and in prospecting for coal at Spennymoor; there is no mention of the output of these new pits..

The transport of coal

There is little direct reference to the transport of the coal from the mines to the markets at Durham, Auckland, and elsewhere. In 1428, however, a payment of 6s.8d, is made to the Almoner of Durham for "waynleve" to the pit of Rainton; it would seem that a payment is being made in order to secure a right of way for carts and wagons going to and from the mine.. Perhaps it may be possible here to see early roads in the making.

Methods of mining

The tools used in obtaining the coal are frequently mentioned in the rolls. The roll of 1436-7 records the purchase of "gliders" for the pit at Rainton; these were hard, wooden runners, on which ran the sledges or trams carrying the coal. "Hausynges", or ropes used in hauling the coal, and "sholez", shovels, are frequently mentioned as items purchased for the mines..

References to salt, its transport, import and export, in the Episcopal Records

Although salt-pans are not recorded in Boldon Book, salt is mentioned in the survey, and in other contemporary documents. According to the Book, the villeins of Darlington must make "3 cartloads in the year

to cart wine, and herrings, and salt". (8); since the villeins of Blackwell and Cockerton "render and work in all ways as the villeins of Darlington" (9) they too must have performed this obligation. From the Great Roll of the Exchequer for the year 1211, it would appear that salt was exported to Ireland, together with such unmistakably local products as salmon, millstones, and iron. However, in addition to the local production, it seems to have been customary to import salt into the county. Bishop Pudsey's charter to Wearmouth, an undated document, probably granted between 1180 and 1183, (10) (as may be inferred from the names of the witnesses), provides that all merchandise brought to the port by sea must be landed, with the exception of salt and herrings, which may be sold on board ship. The two later surveys contain no information not already provided by Boldon Book; the obligation of the villeins of Darlington, Blackwell, and Cockerton to carry salt, is repeated in 1380 and in 1418.

References to saltpans in the Halmote Court Rolls

The Halmote Court Rolls of the Prior and Convent contain several references to saltpans held by the tenants of Cowpen, i.e. Cowpen Bewley, in the extreme south-east of the County, on the western edge of Cowpen Marsh. The earliest entry is that of 1296, when "Roger Barri takes 1 saltpan, for which he is to render 30 measures of salt per annum; John, son of Roger, takes 1

bondage holding and 1 saltpan for an annual rent of 2 marks", i.e. 26s.8d; "William, son of Agness, gives back to the Lord Prior 1 bondage holding and salt-pan which Ralph del Newton afterwards takes" for a rent of 5 marks, i.e. £3.6s.8d.(11). In 1300, John de Gretham is fined for damaging the salt-pan of Richard de Wolviston. In the record of the proceedings at Cowpen in 1369, it is recorded that "Gilbert, son of John, takes the salt-pan belonging to the land which Margaret, his wife, held" for an annual rent of 1 quarter of salt. (12). In 1376 an order is given to seize into the lord's hands the whole of 1 salt-pan, now occupied by Thomas Murt; another salt-pan, formerly in the tenure of John Faulks, is taken by Thomas del Houen. In 1378 the jurors record that Thomas, son of Gilbert, built 1 salt pan, and later destroyed it; part of the timber, spars, and ribs, is in his own hands, while part is held by John, son of Roger, and John, son of Gilbert. Finally, in 1379, John de Berwyk takes 1 cottage, 3 acres of land, and 1 salt-pan, for which he is to render 5s., and 1 quarter of salt. These entries show that in the second half of the fourteenth century, an active and prosperous salt industry was developing in south-east Durham, based on plentiful local resources, which in modern times have made the production of salt one of the most important industries in the county.

The provision of millstones

Those entries in Boldon Book which refer to the duty of carrying mill-stones provide evidence of another industry which, locally, must have been of some importance. The carriage of these mill-stones may be a duty to be performed by one particular tenant, for example, the dreng of Urpeth carts "a millstone to the mill of Durham" (13), and the dreng of Hutton also carts a millstone to Durham; or, on the other hand, the obligation to carry the millstones may be part of the services rendered by all the villeins in common. Examples of the latter alternative may be found at Butterwick, where the villeins cart a millstone to Sedgefield, at Binchester, where the villeins cart a millstone to Auckland, and at Stanhope, where "all the villeins, and the men who hold of the farmers make the mill-dam, and carry mill-stones." (14). The export of millstones from Durham to Ireland, in 1211, has already been mentioned. In the two later surveys the carriage of mill-stones is not recorded.

Evidence on lead-mining.

None of the surveys contains any reference to the mining of lead, but evidence of its importance in the economy is readily available elsewhere. In the Great Roll of the Exchequer, for the year 1211, the keepers of the temporalities "render account of 40 loads of lead,

which are valued at £48. And of 33 loads and a half, and 8 pieces of lead, which were valued at 60 marks... To the Earl of Winchester 20 loads of lead, by writ of the king. And to Robert, son of Roger, 20 loads by the same writ. And to William the Englishman 33 loads and a half, and 8 pieces." (15). Under the heading "Lead" in a bailiff's roll for the manor of Auckland for the fifth year of Richard de Bury, the predecessor of Bishop Hatfield, account is given "of 80 stones of lead, of the issues of the Park of Stanhope". (16).. Much of this seems to have been used in repairing the various buildings of the manor, for, in the same roll, the bailiff accounts for 33 stones of lead, delivered to Richard de Kirkenny, "for the gutters of the Seneschall's room, and for mending the hall." (17). Later rolls for Auckland, and for other episcopal manors contain references to the purchase of lead, (without stating its place of origin) which together suggest that the lead-mining industry must have been of very considerable importance in medieval Durham.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing presentation of a series of pictures of settlement, land use, and economic activity, an attempt has been made to combine a regional with a chronological viewpoint. To attempt either in isolation would have been impossible, as a result of the limitations inherent in the scope and content of the material used. The aim has rather been to trace variations in the distribution patterns over different areas of the county, at different periods in its history..

The north and west have throughout appeared as areas of few and scattered settlements, with a low density of population, an area of cultivated land relatively and absolutely small, and a fairly low intensity of economic activity. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the river-valleys of this region; providing routeways for the easy movement of people and of produce, it is along them that economic activity has been concentrated, and has penetrated, to some degree, into the surrounding forests and moors. The fundamental geographical

influences of high relief, poor soils, and heavy rainfall combined to give distinctive pattern of land use and economic activity to this area throughout the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, in this same region the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw a very considerable extension of settlements, a growth of population, and an increase in the area of arable land, increases which are revealed by a comparison of the maps and statistics obtained from Boldon Book, with those obtained from the Hatfield Survey, and which are the result of a better use of the natural resources of the region, especially the resources of its forests, and upland and valley pastures.

It is, however, in the south and east of the county that human activity has been chiefly concentrated, and it is there that man's influence upon the landscape may most clearly be seen. The documentary evidence supports the inferences which the human geographer would draw from his knowledge of the physical environment of this part of the county, in recording relatively large numbers of settlements, extensive areas of cultivated land, and a variety of economic activity. In contrast with the north and west, movement here was relatively easy, so that, by north - south land routes, and, to a lesser extent,

by North Sea and coastal sea-routes, the advantages of their geographical position were allowed to play their full part in the development of the villages and of a number of urban centres.

It is to be regretted that the episcopal surveys and the monastic records do not contain more detailed information on the growth of the towns. Nevertheless, despite their limitations the Durham records must be accounted as of inestimable value to the historical geographer. If their analysis and interpretation is fraught with peculiar difficulties and dangers, the reward of such labour lies in seeing the emergence from their pages of evidence of an intimate relationship between history and geography, and of proof of a close dependence between the study of each.