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P.H. Horton, The Administrative, Social and Economic Structure of the Durham Bishopric Estates, 1500-1640.

[redacted] M. Litt. Thesis, August 1975

Abstract

A study designed to elucidate some of the special features and problems of ecclesiastical landownership, through the medium of one of the leading English bishoprics, during a period of social and economic stress, coinciding with a phase of crisis and readjustment in the history of the Church. In spite of its palatinal jurisdiction Durham is found to be little different from the other bishoprics in terms of its temporalities. After a description of the bishopric estates and the manner of their administration, attention is turned to the phenomenon of an income which remained fairly static in an inflationary age, amidst conditions auguring growth. The bulk of the thesis is devoted to an examination of the resultant failure of the Bishops of Durham to become the improving landlords demanded by logic. Explanations are found in: the inadequacy of the antique administrative machinery as an instrument of improvement; the abandonment of entrepreneurial activity; the entrenchment of the tenantry behind beneficial conditions of tenure; the requirements of the patronage system made necessary by the Bishops' important, socio-political role, which put them at a disadvantage in management terms; the exploitation by powerful interests emanating from the State-Church relationship; the impediments to effective husbanding and regulation of resources inherent in the system of episcopal succession and the behaviour patterns characteristic of the episcopate; and the shortcomings of the counter-measures taken to arrest the administrative and economic defects. Overall it is clear that however desirable the efficient administration and improvement of the temporalities might have been, fulfilment of these twin objectives was rendered impossible by the power of the several countervailing considerations. In conclusion it is suggested that the Durham experience was fairly representative in its exposure to conditions which allowed for variation in detail within a framework of basic similarities.

Peter Henry Horton

The Administrative, Social and Economic Structure of the Durham Bishopric Estates, 1500-1640.

M. Litt. Thesis, August 1975

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April 1974. P.H.H.

Abbreviations Used in Footnotes

Church Commission MSS.	Collection of Church Commission MSS. in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic of the University of Durham.
Durham MSS.	Durham Records at the Public Record Office.
Lansdowne MSS.	The Lansdowne Collection at the British Museum.
Mickleton-Spearman MSS.	The Mickleton-Spearman Collection in Durham University Library.
S.P., S.P.D.	State Papers at the Public Record Office.

INTRODUCTION

The following thesis consists of a study of ecclesiastical landownership in one of the leading English bishoprics during the course of the 16th and early 17th Centuries. The main object of the investigation is to demonstrate some of the special features and problems which distinguished the management of episcopal estates from the landed activities of the leading laity; in order to give some substance to one of the lesser-known dimensions of the much-studied socio-economic history of the early-modern period. The task is largely one of demonstration because the important prerequisite of identification has already been achieved with masterly perception by Dr. C. Hill in his seminal work, Economic Problems of the Church, which inspired the research upon which this project is based. Dr. Hill's assertions have been put to the test with regard to one particular bishopric and happily, have been found to possess a great deal of validity. A secondary source of inspiration has been Dr. P.M. Hembry's contemporaneous study of the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, The Bishops of Bath and Wells, 1540-1640. It seems a reasonable proposition to follow her lead on the grounds that all the bishoprics are worth examining in a similar vein, in order to determine as fully as possible exactly what generalisations can be made about them collectively and to balance such generalities with evidence of each bishopric's unique individuality.

The particular characteristics of the Bishopric of Durham have been mainly sought out amongst the Church Commission MSS relating to the Durham temporalities, housed in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic at Durham University. The material

which they have yielded has been usefully supplemented from the notes of the seventeenth century antiquarian, James Mickleton, contained in the Mickleton-Spearman MSS deposited in Durham University Library. In addition the State Papers at the Public Record Office and the Burghley Papers (Lansdowne MSS) at the British Museum have provided a number of valuable insights into the Durham situation. The survey of the management of the Durham temporalities which these and other less important sources furnish is in several ways incomplete and unsatisfactory. A number of interesting questions can only be answered conjecturally and in several places definite conclusions are lacking. In spite of these deficiencies, arising from the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it was felt that the chosen line of enquiry was still worth pursuing to the point of recording whatever results emerged, substantial or otherwise.

The thesis opens with a consideration of the setting within which the Durham estate management took place (Chapter I). The special palatinal jurisdiction appertaining to Durham is introduced, to determine whether it had any appreciable affect upon the Durham temporalities, to differentiate seriously between them and those belonging to other bishoprics of more orthodox origin. It is established that by the 16th Century the franchise was a hollow and insignificant mark of distinction between Durham and the other sees. At Durham, as elsewhere, the main bulk of the episcopal revenue was derived from the ownership of considerable estates. The location, extent and value of these estates are delineated, to reveal a main block of property situated in Co. Durham with outlying portions in Yorkshire and Northumberland.

With the setting established the study moves on to an examination of the administrative organisation through which these

estates were managed (Chapter II). The structure of the estate administration and the functions of its various offices are described. It emerges as primarily a revenue-collecting agency, and consequently its close relationship with the Bishop's Exchequer is investigated. It also becomes apparent that there was a discrepancy between the theoretical set-up and the working arrangements actually employed; a departure arising from the fact that the administration had to serve needs other than the obvious one of estate management. The contact which existed between the Bishop of Durham and the administration of his temporalities is considered, to establish that there were practical limitations upon his authority over it. Examination of structure then gives way to a survey of the machinery of estate management in motion (Chapter III). It is found to revolve around the medieval Exchequer system of account and its centre-piece the annual audit. Considerable attention is paid to the various types of record upon which the system was built, to demonstrate its neatness and suitability for the task of securing the Bishop's due. On the other hand it is found to be an inappropriate vehicle for the economic development of the episcopal assets and somewhat ineffective even in its more limited function owing to factors obstructing its regular, precise application; as in the previous case of the administrative structure there was an enforced deviation from the formalised arrangements, a certain degree of fluidity and informality, more indicative of short-comings than efficient adaptability.

This survey of the administrative arrangements employed within the estate management leads naturally to a review of the nature and scale of the revenue whose collection comprised the main business

of the administration (Chapter IV). Its principal form is discovered to be that of rent, derived from land holdings, mills, borough farms and promising but insecure mining ventures, bolstered by additional, irregular returns in the shape of indefinite entry fines, feudal dues and judicial profits. Certain entrepreneurial activities - coal-mining, lead-processing and stock-rearing - were undertaken in the early 16th Century, to be soon abandoned as inappropriate under the circumstances of episcopal landownership. The twin problems of arrears and unleviable income are examined, to reveal a discrepancy between the monies due from these various sources and the amounts actually collected. It is found that throughout the period under consideration a number of factors caused the level of actual income to remain fairly static, in spite of the inflationary tendencies of the time. From actual income there had to be deducted the cost of running the administration and the upkeep of the estates and other episcopal property; sums swallowed up in fees and wages and expenses arising from the operation of the accounting system, and allocated for the repair of old and the construction of new buildings and installations (Chapter V). By the end of the 16th Century it seems that certain economies were being practised in these areas of routine expenditure, to compensate partially for the stagnation of real income and the sizeable, annual levy, additional to first fruits, tenths and subsidies, claimed by the Crown from the reign of Elizabeth I. A lack of evidence concerning the outlay on the episcopal household and the profitability of leasehold fines prevents an exact estimate of the Bishops' net income from being made, but certain clues as to its order of magnitude are considered as the basis for a rough assessment. To end this section the economic position of the

Bishops of Durham in the early modern period is compared with that of other contemporaneous northern landowners. The Archbishops of York, faced with similar conditions and problems, are found to share the Durham experience; ~~the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, in a slightly more advantageous state, are found to be capable of modest economic advance;~~ and the Ninth Earl of Northumberland, with ~~the best~~ better incentives and opportunities, ~~of~~ is discovered to be the beneficiary of considerable economic improvements. Episcopal estate-management (landownership) at Durham was decidedly backward; the rest of this thesis is devoted to an explanation of why this was so.

One major retarding factor was the position of the tenantry. It occupied a number of different environments determined by such variables as size of estate unit, size of population, size of tenement, type of tenure, type of terrain and farming pattern (Chapter VI). Overall its more substantial members seem to have been enjoying a rise in prosperity by the early 17th Century; the upward trend visible in a wave of tenant-inspired enclosure schemes - a reaction against the inadequacies and restraints of the communal system - the consolidation of larger farms and a fairly bouyant land market. The lesser tenantry had to suffer the adverse affects of these developments, besides the repercussions of population increase, as is reflected in their geographical mobility, but there is no evidence to suggest any considerable raising of their level of hardship. The various manifestations of growth ought to have signified a greater monetary return for the episcopal landlord; that in practice they did not was due to the terms of the prevailing tenures and the Bishops' attitude towards the tenantry (Chapter VII). A large proportion of the episcopal income was derived from customary tenements held on terms extremely favourable to their

occupants. Modification of these terms to improve the landlord's interest was rendered difficult by the nature of episcopal succession and the demands of the Bishops' political role which induced them to avoid disturbances amongst the tenantry by continued acceptance of a one-sided relationship. Another large proportion of the episcopal income was gleaned from various types of leasehold property, which again brought a low economic return, although the restraints were less solid than in the case of the customary tenements. Once again the conditions of tenure seem to have offered the lessee more material benefit than the lessor. This 'status quo' was preserved because leaseholds, even more than copyholds, were bound up in an episcopal patronage system and were integral to the maintenance of a system of social stability for which the Bishops of Durham were partly responsible; because the curtailment of privileges long enjoyed and now taken for granted would have involved a Bishop in effort, expense and the incitement of stiff opposition largely to the advantage of successors, whereas the existing arrangements did at least offer the attractive compensation of the entry fine.

In close conjunction with the affect of the landlord-tenant relationship upon the value of the temporalities was the impact of the church-state relationship (Chapter VIII). Through the Reformation the Church was placed more than ever before at the mercy of a monarchy which appropriated its endowments for disposal within its own patronage system, abetted its leading subjects in designs upon ecclesiastical property amounting to excessive exploitation of the Church's vulnerability, and encouraged churchmen to adopt standards of behaviour which inflicted damage upon the Church's material assets and its long-term interests. A study of

the Crown's dealings with the Bishopric of Durham throughout the 16th Century reveals that they were responsible for imposing limitations upon the episcopal income, the potential of the temporalities and the quality of the estate management. At the height of the abuse the Bishopric narrowly escaped dismemberment; thereafter when the political and social climates were still quite hostile, it suffered loss of property, financial deprivation and the imposition of deleterious long leases. Resistance to this plunder on the part of the Bishops was either non-existent or ineffective because of their exposed position, and in fact their collusion was an important detrimental factor. By the early 17th Century the Crown's attitude towards the temporalities of the Church had become much more considerate and barriers had been erected against their misuse, but by then a great deal of damage had already been inflicted.

Another kind of bar to the creation of an improving estate management lay in the nature and behaviour of the administrative personnel (Chapter IX). Administrative posts, having useful perquisites attached to them, were, like leaseholds and copyholds, caught up in the important patronage system and used to satisfy the needs of servants, relatives and the influential men of the locality. To enhance the attractiveness of the administrative posts the terms of office-holding favoured the incumbent more than the employer, in a manner which encouraged many officers to take their responsibilities lightly and concentrate upon securing a profitable return. As the rules of the accounting system were also relaxed in their favour, it becomes obvious that the patronage requirements were incompatible with administrative efficiency, which accordingly had to be sacrificed. The bias of the office-holding

arrangements - which again attracted the unhelpful interest of the Court - and the pattern of episcopal succession meant that each Bishop was served by a host of deputies over whom he had no direct control, a group of officers only committed in a minimal manner to his service and even a small hostile element exercising a disruptive affect upon the workings of the administration. Several counter-measures were employed in an attempt to repair the effectiveness of the administrative machine, of which the most important was the expedient of placing key offices and duties in the hands of an inner core of professional administrators and loyal, capable servants. This retort was quite successful, but it hardly did more than stave off break-down; it could not provide the facilities for economic advancement.

A final obstacle to economic improvement was provided by the attitude and circumstances of the Bishops themselves (Chapter X). The absence of hereditary succession meant that there was little incentive to invest in modernisation schemes and entrepreneurial activities. The fact that the Bishops of the early 16th Century were absentee, careerist politicians and civil servants meant that their energy and attention were too heavily engaged elsewhere for them to initiate major changes. The fact that their post-1558 successors were saddled with family responsibilities and plunged into a highly competitive environment, against a background of inflation and crown-courtier exploitation, meant that they were induced to take a short-sighted view of the temporalities for the sake of personal survival. The resultant course of long leases, cooperation with outside speculators, capitulation to outside pressures, neglect and destruction of property and wastage of timber, without dealing too serious a blow to the existing state of

the temporalities, certainly retarded their development. In the 17th Century William Laud and Charles I tried to reform episcopal conduct, without a great deal of success. Throughout the whole of the period under review Durham experienced only two Bishops who approached the contemporary ideal of episcopal behaviour; neither that ideal, nor their own characters, nor the circumstances in which they found themselves equipped them any more than their more detached or selfish colleagues for the task of economic improvement.

To conclude the thesis an attempt has been made through secondary sources to test the typicality of some aspects of the Durham situation (Chapter XI). Court exploitation of episcopal temporalities is found to be commonplace and largely irresistible everywhere, although not all its forms were experienced at Durham. The limited resistance to court pressures and other facets of episcopal behaviour observed at Durham were probably representative of the general norm. A comparison with Bath and Wells and Ely reveals that within a framework of basic similarities there was scope for considerable variation of experience, significant differences emerging in such areas as the gratification of kinsfolk, the impact of state interference, behavioural shortcomings and the improvement of assets.

CHAPTER I

The Setting

(a) The County Palatine.[1]

Although this thesis is basically the study of episcopal estates which are in most respects typical, there is one seemingly large complication; the fact that between Tyne and Tees (the "Bishopric"), Blyth and Wansbeck (the lordship of Bedlington), and in Norhamshire, Islandshire and the Manor of Craike, the Bishop of Durham was time out of number the owner of an important franchise surviving into the 16th Century.[2] Within this liberty he was "comes palatinus", with full regalian rights; possessing "intra, quicquid rex habet extra". The significance of this jurisdictional peculiar is that the Bishop was theoretically less dependent on the episcopal estates for his temporal income than his fellows. Whether this independent asset was of sufficient value to make the Bishopric of Durham superior to the other sees, is a question that must be answered before any examination of the episcopal estates themselves.

Lack of concrete evidence renders the origins of the County Palatine obscure.[3] One theory has it that both Durham and Chester were the deliberate creations of William I, as bulwarks against the

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1 For this section I have relied largely upon the standard authority of G.T. Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham, London, 1900. Another useful source is J. Spearman, An Enquiry into the Ancient and Present State of the County Palatine of Durham, Edinburgh, 1729.

2 A description of the Bishopric and its outliers is provided below, pp.8-20.

3 G.T. Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham, London, 1900, pp.12-30.

Scots and the Welsh; although there is no historical basis for this proposition. Much more probable is the view of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, founded upon the absence of charters or any other clue to deliberate foundation, that the palatine jurisdiction developed gradually before the Conquest by prescription. In connection with this growth, however, he mentions the protection of Oswald of Northumbria and the possibility of a formal grant of "iura regalia" by Guthred.[1] W. Page takes this link much further.[2] He maintains that until the end of the 12th Century the Earls of Northumberland possessed "iura regalia", and that until the episcopate of Bishop Bec (1284-1310) the Palatinate of Durham was only a liberty within the County of Northumberland.

G.T. Lapsley's interpretation is far more feasible however. He points out that the anglo-saxon churches held immunities, and that until the reign of Henry II the Bishopric of Durham was by no means exceptional as a franchise. Only then, when other immunists found their privileges being whittled away, was Durham's survival unique; the fruit of the great personal ambition and influence of Bishop Pudsey (1153-1195). From then onwards the fortunes of the Bishops of Durham as "comites palatini" waxed and waned; occasional collisions with the Crown (like the Quo Warranto proceedings of 1293) stimulating the formulation of a prescriptive right. In this respect the Scottish invasions and the factor of Durham's geographical location played an important part; for the borders were still unfixed, whilst the "Haliwerfolc" were conscious of their local independence and had strong affinities with the Scots.

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1 Sir T. Duffus Hardy, The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham, 1311-1316, London, 1873, I, xxvi-xxvii, liii-lxxii.

2 W. Page, Some Remarks on the Northumbrian Palatinates and Regalities, Archaeologia, 1888, li, 143-154.

From the 13th Century onwards, at any rate, the Bishop of Durham enjoyed "iura regalia" within his franchise.[1] Through his regality "in imperio" he was the head of the civil government, having the appointment of all civil officers. The peace was the Bishop's peace. He had the duty of preserving law and order and punishing wrongdoers, with a right to all forfeitures. Like the King the Bishop could also delegate his authority; e.g. by recognising liberties within the Palatinate (like that of the Prior of Durham), creating corporations, or by farming out boroughs. Regality "in dominio" meant that all lands in the Palatinate were held of the Bishop. Thus he was entitled to such feudal incidents as primer seisin upon the death of a tenant-in-chief and the wardship and marriage of minors. In addition he could also lay claim to the estates of idiots, whilst the lands of the tenant of a mesne lord convicted of felony were forfeit to him for one year and a day. Similarly he had a legitimate right to free warren, all minerals, treasure trove, waifs, strays, deodands, royal fish and wrecks.[2] He also enjoyed forest rights and the liberty to authorise fairs and markets. Through his regality "in jurisdictione" the Bishop also controlled his own legal system independently of the Crown. All writs ran in his name, so that no action could be brought against him in his own courts; he could only be petitioned. Like the King he also had the power to pardon offences.

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1 H.M. Cam, Liberties and Communities in Medieval England, Cambridge, 1944, p.209.

2 Waifs - the legal term for abandoned stolen goods.
Deodand - the legal term for an object which has caused a human death, normally forfeitable to the Crown.

In theory at least the Bishop of Durham was potentially as powerful within the Palatinate as the King was without, but in reality there was always the likelihood of domination and usurpation by a royal master, especially under the strong, centralised monarchy of the Tudors. The 13th Century was a period of growth; the 14th Century one of perplexed toleration. During the 15th Century the logical consequences of a direct confrontation were delayed by civil disorders, until by the beginning of the 16th Century the Bishops no longer saw any future in avoiding submission. By then England was beginning to experience afresh that degree of stability which had perhaps been lacking since the reign of Edward III.[1] The Bishops of Durham tended to be loyal servants of the Crown, appointed by Henry VII and Henry VIII to assist in the strengthening of the northern borders, or as a reward for services rendered in other fields.[2] Bishops Fox (1494-1501), Ruthall (1509-1523) and Wolsey (1523-1529) no doubt possessed the ability to defend their peculiar against the Crown, but chose instead the more conventional and lucrative course of steadfast loyalty and service. To paraphrase H.R. Trevor-Roper, the early Tudor Bishops did not view the Bishopric of Durham as a mediaeval anachronism, but as an office of profit under the Crown.[3] This disinclination to resist on the part of the crown nominees also coincided with the extension of royal authority at the expense of the over-mighty subject. The Bishop of Durham was henceforth paid for any

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1 J.R. Lander, Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth Century England, London, 1969, passim.
R. Lockyer, Henry VII, London, 1968.

2 Appendix I, pp. 449-452.

3 H.R. Trevor-Roper, The Bishopric of Durham and the Capitalist Reformation, Durham University Journal, 1946, xxxviii, 45-58.

involvement of the Durham musters in border warfare, and was so deprived of the one opportunity to tax his own subjects. Furthermore, he tended to be subordinated to the Wardens of the Marches in watching over the frontiers with Scotland. Then in 1536 he was practically deprived of his regality "in jurisdictione" by the Act, 27 Henry VIII, cap.xiv,[1] in that Justices were henceforth to be appointed by the Crown; a blow quickly followed by the intrusion of the newly-appointed Council of the North into the affairs of the Palatinate. The jealous protection of palatinate privileges had been broken down so far by the 1530s that Bishop Tunstall (1530-1559) even became the president of the Council of the North and could write of the King's authority in the North in this vein:

> "And as touchinge all other persones, of what sorte of men so ever they bee, kynne or frende or other, that shall fortune to alter their stomakke agaynst the kinges hyghness or to be accused of the same, I for my parte shall bere them lesse favour than I wolde do to Turkes; for Turkes, albeyt they be infideles, yeat they bee of the same nature, men as we bee, and these that do rebell agaynst their naturall prince whome by Goddes lawe and mans lawe, they ought to defende; be to be reputed as no men but as serpents and wylde beestes....." 2

It is suggested by H.M. Cam that the Palatinate might have been converted into an ordinary shire if Henry VIII had outlived Bishop Tunstall.[3]

As the century wore on, the political influence of the Bishops of Durham declined, so that they became just as much a prey to lay

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1 "An acte for recontynuyng of certayne liberties and franchises heretofore taken from the Crowne" (Church Commission MSS 244041, P.R.O. Copy).

2 Bishop Tunstall to Thomas Cromwell, 19 January, 1538, quoted by G.T. Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham, London, 1900, p.262, n.3.

3 H.M. Cam, Liberties and Communities in Medieval England, Cambridge, 1944, p.218.

exploitation as their more orthodox colleagues on the episcopal bench. The brunt of the attack fell upon the episcopal estates, but the "iura regalia" were still to suffer one more severe reduction. In 1570 Queen Elizabeth seized all the Durham estates of the attainted Earl of Westmoreland, in the face of the opinion of the majority of her judges that forfeitures within the County Palatine legally belonged to the Bishop. In spite of Bishop Pilkington's fierce protests the seizure went through, with some placatory reservations.[1] Tudor expediency was not to be baulked by the relics of a feudal institution. Nor should the late date of this deprivation be taken as evidence of the stiffness of episcopal opposition; the blow would have fallen much earlier if any sizeable forfeitures had occurred. Moreover the effect of the Queen's action was not merely to deny the Bishop an undeserved augmentation of his temporal income. So much land in County Durham fell into royal hands after the Northern Rebellion that feudal dues accruing to the Bishop were severely curtailed in favour of the crown.[2]

In the circumstances therefore, the Bishopric of Durham in the 16th Century was far more likely to resemble the rest of the larger bishoprics than a miniature replica of the state. As will emerge below, the "iura regalia" did not make any significant contribution to the Bishop's temporalities.[3] Durham was not the richest bishopric and certainly not the zenith of clerical ambition.[4]

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1 Vide infra, pp.292-293.

2 After 1569 it was quite common for inhabitants of the Co. Palatine to hold land of both the Bishop and the Crown. The law demanded that when the Bishop and the Crown shared a tenant <u>all</u> feudal dues arising were to be paid to the latter.

3 Chapter IV, pp. 113-139.

4 Appendix XXV, p.562.

Translation from Durham to the Archbishopric of York was definitely considered a promotion, in spite of the drop in income; whilst Cardinal Wolsey abandoned the Palatinate for the more profitable See of Winchester, in spite of the franchise. Potential differences between Durham and the other bishoprics were minimised by the fact that the Bishops of Durham were no longer petty princelings but ordinary members of the episcopal bench; firmly committed to the Tudor and Stuart monarchies and a supporting role in the church-state relationship. The early Tudor bishops promoted to Durham, were certainly careerists, but they were also fully aware that their best interests lay in loyal service to the crown, not in attempting to keep the royal authority out of their northern fastness. The Bishops were even less likely to reaffirm their theoretical independent status once the Church had completely surrendered control of religious affairs into the hands of the State.

Nevertheless the vestiges of regalian rights at Durham did mean that the temporal administration was concerned with a little more than the management of estates. The bishop's regality "in jurisdictione" necessitated the existence of a fully-fledged judiciary, served by an executive of sheriff, under-sheriff and bailiffs, accounting to the Bishop's Exchequer for the profits of Justice. Even after 1536 this executive arm remained in being, to continue servicing the courts. There was also a rudimentary civil administration centred upon the Chancery, which, like its well-known counterpart, became a court of equity. The feudal incidents were not sufficient to give rise to a Court of Wards, but they did call for a well-defined escheator's office, which handled a surprisingly large volume of business. For the rest, the estate administration was extended to cope with a forest jurisdiction

and the collection of tolls, customs and other occasional incidents stemming from the bishop's regality "in dominio". Like the Crown therefore, the Bishop of Durham was equipped with a Judiciary, an Exchequer and a Chancery. On the other hand, a great deal of his regality remained embryonic, failing to become institutionalised simply because the small size of the palatinate jurisdiction did not foster a complicated growth.

The significance of the jurisdictional peculiar then, is not that Durham was distinct from the other bishoprics, since by the 16th Century it contributed little either in the way of wealth or power, but that the estate administration cannot be equated exactly with the administration of the bishop's temporalities, as it can be elsewhere. For this reason it is best not to treat the estate administration in isolation, which would present a distorted picture, but to describe the whole of the temporal administration into which it was inextricably woven. In this way it will be possible to demonstrate exactly how dominant the estate administration was, by comparing it with the other component parts of the temporal machinery. The central financial organisation based upon the Exchequer will be discovered as the co-ordinating factor. In an ordinary bishopric it was an integral part of the estate administration, but at Durham, since it served the whole of the temporal administration, it became the hub of the whole administrative machine.

(b) <u>The Bishopric Estates</u>.

Just as the "iura regalia" no longer led to any substantial differentiation between the County Palatine and other bishoprics, so the size of the episcopal estates also precluded the administrative complexities associated with crown lands. In both respects the

franchisal administration had been modelled initially upon royal prototypes, but size, expediency and varying conditions had resulted in an entirely different evolution. There were no large, far-flung blocks of territory, such as the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, the Earldoms of Chester and Richmond and the Principality of Wales; no complicated and institutionalised machinery like the Court of General Surveyors. Although the Bishop's estates lay in three separate counties,[1] they were no more extensive than those belonging to other large landowners, lay, ecclesiastical and institutional; and were administered in exactly the same way. Before passing to an examination of the structure of the estate administration, and that of the larger temporal administration closely intertwined with it, it will be useful to sketch briefly the location, value and extent of these episcopal lands.

The nucleus of the bishopric estates lay quite naturally in the County Palatine itself. Although all the land within the liberty had originally belonged to the Bishop, by the 16th Century only a minor portion remained under his control. The rest had passed by grants to tenants-in-chief and hence to mesne tenants, to lesser types of free tenant, or by gift to institutions, such as the Prior and Convent of Durham Cathedral. The Bishop's only claims upon this land were a nominal rent, occasional services and the irregular feudal incidents appertaining to both his ordinary and regalian lordship. As may be imagined, by 1500 many of these claims had become rather tenuous. The manors belonging directly to the Bishop tended to be fairly evenly distributed around the

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1 Not including some London property centred around Durham House in the Strand.

county.[1] Generally speaking they were loosely constructed, with a number of small villages, farms and hamlets grouped around one or more manorial nuclei. For the purposes of administration they were organised into four wards. Darlington Ward, the largest of these, occupied much of the South-West part of the Bishopric and contained the following manors:

(1) Darlington Manor, with a rental of £160[2]

This was situated in the Vale of Tees on very good corn land, probably the most fertile area in the County Palatine, due west of Teesmouth. In spite of the fact that much of the Bishop's demesne land lay at Coatham Mundeville, with the manor even going under the name of Bailiwick of Coatham Mundeville, the centre of gravity really lay at Darlington. Here was a conveniently sited borough, serving the needs of a wide area and described by Leland in 1540 as the best market town in the Bishopric, saving Durham.[3] In addition, the Bishop had a residence here, although it was no longer frequented by the 16th Century. However it did carry important demesne land with it, including a park converted into pasture. Further parcels of demesne lay at Haughton-le-Skerne and Cockerton.

(2) Bishop Auckland Manor, with a rental of £260.

The manor of Bishop Auckland lay to the North-~~East~~ West of Darlington in a less fertile setting, centred around the Bishop's

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1 Appendix IIa, pp.453-454; Map I, p.579.

2 This and subsequent rental values relating to the episcopal estates within the County Palatine are derived from the Receiver-General's Account for 1509-1510, (Church Commission MSS 189832). The figures are minimal in that they exclude a small amount of freehold rent, and coal-mine rents.

3 L.T. Smith, ed., Leland's Itinerary in England, London, 1907, I, 69-77, for references to the County Palatine.

principal residence and a market town which served the whole of Weardale as well as its own immediate vicinity. It was in fact the most valuable of all the manors. Bishop Auckland itself, Escombe, Newtoncap and Byers Green lay in the narrowing Wear valley. The other villages were situated at the point where the predominantly lower ground of East Durham was beginning to give way to the hillier terrain of the West. They were consequently endowed with land suitable both for arable and pastoral farming. The manorial demesne was extensive, accounting for the value of the manor. It was located at Bishop Auckland, where it included a park, Byers Green, Middridge and Coundon, besides three granges at Middridge, Coundon & Ricknall. Granges were a feature of the bishopric estates practically restricted to this manor.

The episcopal seat, a palace rather than a fortified castle, was according to Sir William Brereton, who visited it in 1634, stately, pleasant, surrounded by a thick wall and of great receipt and strength, its principal features being a hall, two chapels, three dining rooms and a matted gallery.[1] Outside lay the park of 500 acres, stocked with fallow deer and wild cattle and enclosed with a stone wall and pales.

(3) The Barony and Manor of Evenwood, with a rental of £100.

To the South West of Bishop Auckland lay the manor of Evenwood. It was composed of few parts, but covered a fairly large area of land. Moorland predominated, and more acreage per head was needed to keep the population at subsistence level. Only West Auckland and Killerby were sited under 400 ft. above sea-level. There

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1 Sir W. Brereton, Notes of a Journey through Durham and Northumberland in the year 1635, pp.9-12, in Reprints of Scarce Tracts Relating to the Northern Counties, Newcastle, 1844, VII.

was very little demesne land apart from the Park at Evenwood itself, which adjoined an abandoned residence.

(4) Wolsingham Manor, with a rental of £254.

Finally, by moving in a North West direction the manor of Wolsingham is reached, lying in a predominantly pastoral area. Territorially it was the largest manor in the Bishopric, occupying Weardale and its surrounding moors from Bedburn upwards. It fell naturally into four sections. West of the Barony of Evenwood lay the three villages of North and South Bedburn and Lynesacke, filling a large upland area to the South of the Wear. Apart from Bedburn Park, this area was comprised entirely of bondland and common.[1] North West, where Weardale narrows to a pre-glacial valley, lay the large township of Wolsingham itself, with the nearby hamlets of Bishopley and Greenside and the scattered farmsteads of Wigside.[2] The nearby park contained virtually all the demesne land of the manor. Further up the dale was situated the Parish of Stanhope; virtually a manor in its own right with the large expanse of Stanhope Park (7 miles in circumference) spreading out upstream on both banks of the Wear. Like Auckland Park, Stanhope contained deer for the Bishop's pleasure, but they were restricted to an inner frith, in favour of the more practical demands of pastoral

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1 Common land did not always belong exclusively to one village or manor. For instance the inhabitants of Evenwood shared part of Raby Fell with the inhabitants of Bishop Auckland. Beyond the bounds of Wolsingham North and South Moors various parishes enjoyed the right of outer common. The inhabitants of South Bedburn and Lynsacke claimed intercommon with the inhabitants of Bishop Auckland, Escombe and Witton. At Chester-le-Street common of pasture was shared by the inhabitants of Chester-le-Street itself, Plawsworth, Waldridge, Edmondesley, Nettleworth, Pelton, Tribley, Whitehill, Twizell and Urpeth.

2 "Township" meaning village or community.

farming. At the western entrance to the Park stood Westgate Castle. This was occupied by park officers and served as a centre for the forest administration. For Stanhope Park was actually only an enclosure within an even larger forest area, the High Forest of Weardale; stretching as far westwards and northwards as Alston Moor and Allendale and 21 miles in circumference. In both the Park and the Forest there were no compact settlements at all; merely isolated farms and hamlets nestled in some sheltered location. At this height arable land was at a premium, whilst it took quite a considerable area of moorland to provide food for even a small flock of sheep. Very little of this land belonged to the Bishop's demesne. Most of it had been divided into customary tenures to provide the lord with labour for his hunting expeditions, to furnish mounted horsemen for border warfare and to protect the dale itself from fell raiders.

Chester-le-Street Ward in the North of the County was comprised of manors or units of a smaller and far more compact nature. Here they can be equated with single townships or tightly-knit groups of villages. They also tended to be widely separated. Chester-le-Street itself (rental value - £49) was a large community of predominantly bondland tenants, situated north of Durham in the midst of a considerable amount of moorland; at the point where the lower Wear turns eastwards towards the sea. The manor of Boldon (rental value - £140) lay on good arable land over towards the coast, between Tyne and Wear. Composed of four adjacent vills, it too had very little demesne land. Due north of Chester-le-Street and commanding similar terrain on the south bank of the Tyne, at its lowest bridging point, stood the manor and borough of Gateshead (rental value - £38), vastly over-shadowed by neighbouring

Newcastle across the river. Demesne land was more in evidence there, including a former park converted into pasture closes. Likewise at Whickham (rental value - £44) another large vill further up the Tyne, close to its juncture with the Derwent. On the other hand at Ryton (rental value - £24) another south bank settlement west of Whickham, and Lanchester (rental value - £26) nestling at the head of the Browney, west of Durham, large communities settled on bondland were again the dominating characteristic. Apart from Boldon, therefore, the manors of Chester Ward, in 1510, were relatively insignificant both in their size and contribution to the episcopal income. Whickham and Gateshead however were soon to become two of the Bishop's most valuable assets, as their coal producing potential was realised. They were soon to replace Carterthorne, Raley and Hargill in the Barony of Evenwood, as the Bishopric's principal source of coal.

To the south east of Chester Ward lay Easington Ward containing the two large manors of Houghton-le-Spring and Easington; with their component villages scattered around the edge of the magnesium limestone block of the East Durham Plateau. The manor of Houghton-le-Spring (rental value - £200) was spread around the northern apex of the Plateau; composed of the villages of Houghton, Newbottle, Ryhope and Bishop Wearmouth, the hamlets of Tunstall, Herrington, East Burdon and Warden Law, and Morton Grange. Bishop Wearmouth had once served the Bishops as a port, but was now eclipsed by Sunderland and Hartlepool. Tunstall, Morton Grange and Ryhope were mainly devoted to manorial demesne. Further high proportions at Newbottle, Wearmouth, Houghton and Herrington led to the easy proponderance of demesne land, a situation in complete contrast to that prevailing in Chester Ward, and even

more favourable than that in Darlington Ward. The balance was reversed in the Manor of Easington (rental value - £173) where demesne land was limited to a small percentage at Easington Shotton and Quarrington Grange. This manor was divided sharply into two halves. On the eastern edge of the Plateau where it had begun to broaden out, were grouped Easington, its satellite of Little Thorpe, and Shotton. On the opposite western edge stood Sherburn, Shadforth, Quarrington Grange and the hamlet of Cassop. The siting was designed to include land suitable for both cultivation and stock-rearing. Durham itself also fell within the province of Easington Ward. It had developed initially in order to satisfy the needs of the Bishop's household, the Cathedral Church and Monastery and the palatine administration. By 1500 it was the foremost market town of the county, contained a satisfactory number of merchants and tradesmen and was not far from being incorporated.

Finally, in the South East corner of the Bishopric fell Stockton Ward containing the manors of Bishop Middleham and Stockton and the wapentake and manor of Sadberge. The Manor of Bishop Middleham was similar to that of Evenwood, in size, value and the presence of a decayed residence. Middleham itself lay just to the South of the East Durham Plateau, separated from one of its outliers, Cornforth, by the last western spur of the rising ground. Sedgefield, the third component village, lay due South of Middleham. Domesne land was restricted to Bishop Middleham itself, apart from a small amount at Cornforth. The manor of Stockton (rental value - £174) shared with Darlington the advantage of being placed in the fertile Vale of Tees. As a market centre its development was retarded by the lack of adequate

crossings over the river, but it derived some advantage from the presence of Stockton Castle, the Bishop's only other usable residence in County Durham outside Bishop Auckland and Durham.[1] The most compact of the larger manors, it rivalled Darlington and Easington in value, in spite of their greater territorial span. One indication of its potential richness is the fact that it could be fitted many times into the moorland wastes of the manor of Wolsingham. Here bondland was again much in evidence; the demesne being restricted to Stockton, Hartburn and Hardwick Field (uninhabited pasture land usually leased to the tenants of Norton).

The Wapentake of Sadberge was an area lying roughly to the East of Darlington and the West of Stockton. It had not been part of the original liberty, being purchased from the Crown by Bishop Pudsey in 1189. In theory until 1576 it was still held distinct from the rest of the County Palatine, especially in connection with the Bishop's judicial rights, but was then incorporated into Stockton Ward.[2] Within the Wapentake lay the manor of Sadberge (rental value - £34). The nucleus was Sadberge itself, with small amounts of outlying property, much of it freehold, scattered around a number of adjacent villages. In terms of income this was one of the smallest manors.

The Bishop's palatinal jurisdictions and estates were not restricted to County Durham alone. In Northumberland lay

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1 Durham Castle was in fact more of an administrative centre than a residence or fortress.

2 W. Page, ed., The Victoria History of the County of Durham, London, 1928, III, 192-194.
In theory Sadberge had its own sheriff until 1576. In practice the Sheriff of Durham was always Sheriff of Sadberge as well. There was a separate gaol at Sadberge.

Norhamshire, Islandshire and Bedlingtonshire, probably the most ancient possessions belonging to the liberty. Norhamshire and its adjunct of Holy Island lay in North East Northumberland, to the South of the Tweed and East of the Till; occupying in fact the narrow lowland strip between the coast and the Cheviots, as far South as Buckton.[1] Due to its distance from Durham it was endowed with a separate administration based at Norham Castle, the nodal point of the lordship and an important bulwark against the Scots. Norhamshire was not typical of the bishopric estates. It was an integral part of the northern defence system, designed primarily to furnish men and provisions for the defence of the Tweed crossing, rather than as an additional source of episcopal income. For this reason the emphasis lay upon military tenures. Far more land was held by knight service than remained under the Bishop's own control. Even where the Bishop did retain immediate possession, the land was in the occupation of customary tenants tied to border service.[2] In fact the only manorial demesne in the whole lordship was 494 acres attached to Norham Castle itself. In 1560 the total rental for free farms, customary tenures and tenancies-at-will (excluding the Tweed fisheries leased at £62 p.a.) was valued at £181; an extremely low figure considering the size of the lordship.[3] The reason is apparent however, when one considers that the majority of the rents were derived from unalterable free and customary tenures and that the whole area was a target for indiscriminate border raiding.

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1 Map V, p. 583.

2 Appendix IIb, pp.455.

3 Survey of 1560, transcribed by J. Raine, The History and Antiquities of North Durham, London, 1852, pp.15-27.

Bedlingtonshire lay further South in Northumberland between the Wansbeck and the Blyth.[1] Free rents were so trivial that to all intents and purposes the Bishop's interests were restricted to Bedlington itself, where he was lord of a sizeable amount of bondland and a smaller portion of demesne. In 1546/47 the bailiwick, included in Chester Ward for administrative purposes, was charged with a rental of £32.[2]

Leaving the somewhat wasted and unprofitable Northumberland property for the Yorkshire estates an entirely different picture is presented. The one remaining part of the franchise to be dealt with is the Manor of Craike, lying between Easingwold and the Howardian Hills and containing another episcopal residence.[3] It came into being as a grant to St. Cuthbert from King Ecgfrid of Northumbria, to serve as a resting-place between Lindisfarne and York.[4] Although the whole manor was no larger than one of the smaller Durham vills, the richness of the country and the large amount of demesne land gave it a value in rent of £50 p.a. In 1648 the demesne alone was considered sufficient to support an annual rent of £220.[5] The same pattern of more intensive land utilisation is also reflected in the two larger blocks of Yorkshire property annexed to the See of Durham, the liberties of Allertonshire and Howdenshire. Both originated from grants made to Bishop William of St. Calais by William I and William Rufus, but were not fully

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1 Map V, p. 583.

2 Receiver-General's Account, 1546-1547 (Church Commission MSS 189846).

3 Map III, p.581.

4 Sir T. Duffus Hardy, The Register of Richard de Kellawe, London, 1875, III, xxxix-xl.

5 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Craike, 1647-48 (Church Commission MSS 23377).

included in the palatinal franchise.[1] The Liberty of Allertonshire covered a large area in the North Riding, between the Cleveland Hills and the Pennine massif, where the lowland plain narrows into the Northallerton Gate.[2] Some of the villages associated with the liberty through knight service lay as far North as the Tees and as far South as Hutton Sessay, but the actual manor of Northallerton which made up the Bishop's estate, was grouped fairly tightly around its nucleus on good corn-land.[3] Apart from the manorial centre, which included a mansion house, it was composed of six principal vills and one grange. Taking all into account the manor was not large by Durham standards, yet it contributed over £300 p.a. to the Bishop's gross income.[4] Demesne land was most extensive at Northallerton itself, but was also much in evidence at Sowerby Grange, Brompton, Romanby and Osmotherly. The borough of Northallerton, a market town of some importance, also fell within the compass of the estate.

The Liberty of Howdenshire in the East Riding contained the richest of the bishopric lands, scattered along the northern flood plain of the Yorkshire Ouse.[5] For the purposes of administration it was divided into three bailiwicks; Woodside in the East, Howden in the centre and Ouse and Derwent in the West. Within the bailiwicks freehold property was widespread, but the Bishop's immediate possessions were restricted to the manor of Howden, the sub-manor of Wheel Hall, Ricall Grange and fourteen outlying

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1 Sir T. Duffus Hardy, The Register of Richard de Kellawe, London 1875, III, xxxvi-xxxvii.

2 Map III, p. 581.

3 Appendix IId, pp.455-456.

4 Rental, 1627 (Church Commission MSS 190163).

5 Map IV, p. 582.

villages.[1] Demesne land was only found at Ellerker and Walkington outside the manorial nuclei and Ricall Grange. This amounted to quite a sizeable estate, yet not so large that its outstanding gross contribution of roughly £500 per annum can be attributed to size alone, when compared with the less productive Durham manors.[2] The proximity of the Ouse and its attendant marsh and fen was a serious drawback however, in that much of the manorial income had to be expended upon flood prevention. Even the asset of a borough and episcopal residence at Howden was reduced by the restriction of its sphere of influence to the Yorkshire side of the river, its only contact with Lincolnshire being a ferry.

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1 Appendix IIf, pp.456-457.

2 Howdenshire Receiver's Account, 1504-05 (Church Commission MSS 189060).

CHAPTER II

The Structure of the Administration

In so far as the Durham estate administration is not to be identified exactly with the temporal administration as in other bishoprics, it will first be necessary to describe the composition of the Exchequer, to which the estate administration was responsible for its contribution to the Bishop's income. Just as the Sheriff's office was responsible for the profits of justice, the Escheator's office for feudal incidents and the Chancery for the fees required for the production of legal documents. Without the palatinal jurisdiction the Exchequer would merely have been the centre of the estate administration; instead it was the hub of four separate but confused administrations.

The head of the entire structure was the Bishop of Durham himself. As his executive machinery, the whole temporal administration was derived from him. It was designed to function independently, with its own supervisory personnel, but this did not prevent the Bishop from being at complete liberty to interfere and direct in person whenever he chose. In practice no bishop ever took over full direction of his administration. Quite apart from such personal supervision being contrary to custom, he was always far too preoccupied with affairs of state, local government or the business of the Church. On the other hand no bishop was likely to remain entirely aloof, unless he wanted to see the administration conducted contrary to his interests. The happy medium was one of sustained interest and awareness, coupled with frequent interference

and direction. Interest is revealed by a letter written by Bishop Barnes (1577-1587) to his auditor, John Bathe, in which the Bishop shows himself fully acquainted with two suits over leases in Allertonshire and voices his suspicions that a certain John Grant has been pasturing his stock on disputed land without paying rent.[1] An awareness of activities detrimental to his own rights is illustrated by the actions of Bishop James (1606-1617), when he wrote to Francis Lascelles, his receiver for Allertonshire, in 1615 and 1616, calling for the speedy pursuance of outstanding debts.[2] Equally alert was his successor Bishop Neile (1617-1628), who in 1621 made his presence felt even though absent in London. He informed his chief officer that he wanted all debts promptly paid, queried two bills for £26.18.8 and £8.13.8 submitted by a builder, demanded a report on the airing of Auckland Castle, and made arrangements for the purchase of 100 ells of canvas at Newcastle instead of London as originally planned, in the interests of economy.[3] In the 17th Century interference sometimes took the form of appointing a commission to supplement the normal working of the administration. For instance, in March 1623 four of the Bishop's leading officers were appointed to assist the stewards of Allertonshire in clearing up abuses at the next court leet.[4] Again in November 1628, upon

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1 Bishop Barnes to J. Bathe, 16 November 1584 (Church Commission MSS 189378).

2 Bishop James to F. Lascelles, 18 December 1615, 20 December 1616 (Church Commission MSS 220841.2).

3 J. Raine, A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace, of Auckland, Durham, 1852, p.74.

4 Miscellanea (Church Commission MSS A.15.3).

arrival at Durham, Bishop Howson (1628-1632) authorised his trusted servant, George Wither, to undertake a survey of his new possessions, in order to receive an accurate and impartial picture.[1] Similarly Bishop Morton (1632-1659) commissioned his brother-in-law, William Blakestone, to enquire into spoliations in Howdenshire in 1633.[2] It also seems to have become common practice to entrust the collection of rents and the enforcement of their payment to a selected number of officials, rather than to follow the normal procedures.[3] More commonly interference involved the issuing of a stream of instructions and commands on every conceivable subject. All the Bishops seem to have engaged in this practice to varying extents; none more so than Cardinal Wolsey (1523-1529). Letters to the Cardinal, or from one estate official to another, disclose that although an absentee, Wolsey was fully informed about all aspects of the administration; whether it was the extraction of rent from Norhamshire, the disposal of wards or the construction of a lead smelting plant.[4] Most revealing of all are the instructions devised by Wolsey himself in 1528 for his surveyor,

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1 Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184960, pp.444-445).

2 Miscellanea (Church Commission MSS 220902).

3 Letters Patent of Appointment, 1617, 1618, 1631, 1635 (Church Commission MSS 221146, 221147, 221148, 221149).

4 William Frankeleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, 4 April 1523 (S.P.1/27/2930); Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, III, 2930.
William Frankeleyn to Thomas Lord Dacre, 9 March 1524 (British Museum, Additional MSS 24, 965 f. 181); Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, IV, Pt.I, 151. William Strangeways and Richard Bellysis to Cardinal Wolsey, 24 June 1528. (S.P.1/48/4416); Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, IV, Pt.II, 4416.

Dr. Strangeways, and Richard Bellassis,[1] in which he set out his requirements under thirteen heads. These ranged in magnitude from a survey of all mineral resources to the loading of the Cardinal's ship with coal for his new college at Ipswich. No harm appears to have resulted from this watchfulness, since it led to an extremely efficient and chastened administration. It seems therefore, that without actually conducting the management of routine matters himself, a bishop could set the tempo for his administration simply by publicising his own attitude by demanding his full rights and by regular intervention.

In theory the Bishop's free agency was almost limitless and in fact was put to good use in varying degrees. But at the same time it was also checked by the realities of administration and by the formalised administrative structure, developing its own customs, procedures and peculiarities in spite of an endless procession of bishops. For instance, the Bishop's principal means of controlling his officers rested in his power to make and break appointments. Yet the majority of offices, at all levels, were usually granted away "pro termina vitae", which meant that an incoming bishop always found himself saddled with his predecessors' servants, all securely entrenched behind their letters patent. Most appointments concerned with posts bearing financial responsibilities bore a proviso that the holder could only enjoy the fruits of office so long as he accounted regularly at the Exchequer, but there is no evidence that any unwanted employees were winkled out under this clause. An official with a profitable

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1 Instructions devised by my lord legate his Grace for Dr. Strangwysshe, surveyor of Duresme, and Ric. Bellysis Esq, and to be executed by them within his bishopric of Duresme (S.P.1/52/5111.3); Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, IV, Pt.II, 5111.

post would hardly present the opportunity.[1]

One limitation upon the Bishop's authority which was deliberate rather than accidental, was the right of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral (or Prior and Convent before the Dissolution) to confirm all grants of leases and appointments to offices. In fact no indenture or patent was legally binding without this confirmation. In the period under consideration however, the consent of the Dean and Chapter was a mere formality. There were very few grounds on which they could take exception to the appointment of officers, whilst they could hardly quibble at leases so long as the Bishop paid due regard to the statute restricting their length to 21 years or three lives.[2] Being men of the world they were hardly likely to quarrel with the Bishop over practices which they pursued on their own estates, or act as true guardians of the Church when they too were succumbing to lay pressure. There is in fact only one instance of refusal to ratify a lease on the part of the Dean and Chapter.[3] This was in 1603, in connection with a projected 80 year lease to the Crown, on behalf of Dudley Carlton, of lands worth £60 p.a. in rent. Their objections, on the grounds that the terms of the lease were too vague, were later justified, when Bishop James was forced to take action against the Crown's assignees for claiming all of the Northallerton demesnes, instead of part, as was understood in the terms of the original lease. At the time however, their opposition was short-lived, quickly giving way to the persuasions of Bishop

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1 The removal of unwanted officers is dealt with in Chapter IX.

2 1 Eliz., c.19.

3 Papers concerning Lawsuits, 8 (Church Commission MSS 221317).

Matthew's auditor and their own registrar.

The fact that there was no hereditary succession to bishoprics implied that there were frequent intervals between a death or a translation and the next appointment during which the Bishop's authority had to be transferred elsewhere. The Bishop's rôle as the recipient of episcopal income was taken over by the Crown, represented by a local receiver of temporalities. The temporal administration was initially placed under the care of a body of guardians of temporalities, appointed by the Crown and recruited from the Monastery of Durham, high-ranking members of the administration itself and local men of eminence. Occasionally the bishop-designate became guardian, as happened in the case of both Senhouse (1502-1505) and Wolsey. But with the foundation of the Cathedral Church in[1] 1541 the new Dean and Chapter were formed into a permanent body of trustees.

Under the Bishop of Durham was deployed the hierarchy of the temporal administration, each officer's place within it determined in theory by the size of his fee. In practice however, his personal standing with the Bishop and social position were probably more decisive factors. In describing the administrative pyramid it will be useful to employ the categories of the 17th Century surveyor and mathematician, Thomas Clay, who divided the personnel essential to the administering of any honourable estate into officers of order and officers of charge; the former responsible for ordering affairs and the latter for the collection and disbursement of revenue.[2]

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1 A. Hamilton Thompson, ed., The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham, London, 1929, pp.xxxv-xxxvi.

2 T. Clay, Briefe, Easy and Necessary Tables....together with a Chorologicall Discourse of the well-ordering, disposing and governing of an Honourable Estate of Revenue, London, 1622. I am indebted to my supervisor, Mr. M.E. James, for bringing this work to my attention.

The head of the temporal administration with overall responsibility was the Chancellor. As the chief official in the civil administration and the leading officer of order he had no direct concern with either the Exchequer or estate management, but since there was no rigid differentiation of function it was possible for him to become involved in all aspects of the Bishop's affairs. To blur clear-cut distinctions even further, it was not unusual for one official to be both Chancellor and Receiver-General. In fact out of twelve identifiable Chancellors holding office between 1500 and 1642 nine were also in possession of the Receiver-Generalship.[1] Consequently it is pointless trying to differentiate between what these officers did in one capacity or the other. It is far more realistic to describe simply what they did as the Bishop's servants, with the proviso that contact with the Exchequer and the estate administration was more likely to stem from their position as Receiver-General.

(a) The Exchequer

Turning specifically to the Exchequer, its leading figures are to be found firmly ensconced at the top of the administrative hierarchy. The acting head of the Exchequer was the Receiver-General (fee of £26.13.4 p.a.), whose frequent occupation of the Chancellorship has already been remarked upon. A minister holding these two vital offices simultaneously must have ranked as the Bishop's chief executive and perhaps as his closest adviser. This was certainly true of William Frankleyn, who administered both the temporalities of York and Durham for Cardinal Wolsey during his long absence in the King's service. The duties of the Receiver-

1 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Chancellors and Receivers-General).

General are partially explained by his title. He was the chief receiving officer for the County Palatine and its outlying appendages; ultimately responsible for the receipt into the Exchequer of all the Bishop's income, from its many and varied sources. He was not merely concerned with the credit side of accounts however. It was equally his task to supervise expenditure and provide the annual surplus for the Bishop's own use. Hence he was the chief officer of charge. R.L. Storey maintains that the title of Receiver-General was first introduced to Durham by Bishop Langley in 1416-1417; the equivalent officer before that date going by the name of Bishop's Treasurer. He also distinguishes between the Receiver-General and the Durham Receiver; a distinction that no longer applied by 1500.[1] By then the chief accountant was filling two posts. In one capacity he was particular receiver for the Bishopric of Durham, Norhamshire, Bedlingtonshire and Craike, on a par with the two other particular receivers for Howdenshire and Allertonshire; in the other he was Receiver-General, to whom the particular receivers were responsible.

The Receiver-General was assisted in manning the Exchequer by the Clerk of the Great Receipt (fee of £5 p.a.), with an Under-Clerk (fee of £4 p.a.) probably in attendance. It is apparent that this officer actually did most of the work for which the Receiver-General is nominally credited; receiving and recording incoming revenue, acting as custodian of money deposited in the Exchequer and making disbursements in exchange for warrants. So important was the Clerkship that letters patent of 1550 contained the stipulation that the appointee to that office must attend upon

1 R.L. Storey, Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham 1406-1437, London, 1961, p.74.

the Receiver-General in person; the only instance of the use of deputies being prohibited.[1] With such an able understudy acting as the Exchequer's main executive officer, it is understandable that the Receiver-General was able to indulge in other matters and frequently undertake the Chancellorship. Yet although he could afford to neglect his financial business for the Chancery, it should be pointed out that it was the Receiver-General, and not the Clerk of Great Receipt, who was brought to account for the Bishop's revenue. There is also evidence of his active participation in the routine work of the Exchequer, such as his signature on bills of receipt attached to ministers' accounts.[2]

Prominently placed beneath the Receiver-General was the Auditor (fee of £20 p.a.), the officer of order whose function it was to check the accounts of all officers of charge, from the Receiver-General at the top, to the humble village collector at the bottom. Theoretically he stood somewhat outside and above the administration, since the Bishop's powers of audit had devolved upon him. But in practice he belonged, with the other chief administrators, to a small professional class from which the Bishop drew his counsellors; whose duty it was, apart from their official capacities, to advise their lord and undertake any task he might put before them. Thus in 1537 when Richard Crosby rode down to Howden, ostensibly to audit the accounts of the Howdenshire receiver, he also undertook a survey of the Bishop's woods and staiths.[3] Again in 1595 we find John Bathe taking part in a

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1 Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.73).

2 Account of Robert Bushell, Reeve at Craike, 1564-65 (Church Commission MSS 189969).

3 Howdenshire Receiver's Account, 1536-37 (Church Commission MSS 189029).

survey of Stanhope Park and the Forest of Weardale, in company with the Escheator and the Receiver-General.[1] In the 17th Century also, the Auditor was a regular member of the commissions appointed for the receipt of rents.[2] Even in his official role the Auditor did not occupy such an isolated and elevated position as might be imagined. In his work of auditing he was usually accompanied by a number of other leading officers, who had a voice in the proceedings and might act in restraint if necessary. In this respect therefore, he was more the qualified leader of a commission, rather than an independent arbiter responsible to the Bishop alone. Occasionally the office of Auditor was exercised by two persons in conjunction, but this does not seem to have been a regular practice; like other posts great and small it was bestowed for the life of the recipient(s). The Auditor's department was composed principally of himself and the Clerk of the Audit (fee of £3.6.8. p.a.), whose job it was to give general assistance to his superior and take charge of the completed account rolls. It is not clear whether this Clerk actually drew up the accounts himself. In the early 16th Century at least, there appears to have been a separate Engrosser (fee of £1.6.8.)

The Exchequer's full internal complement was rounded off by the Bailiff and Nuncio (fee of £2 p.a.), whose duties fell within both of Clay's categories. The function from which his title of "nuncio" was derived was the one of traversing the length and breadth of the Bishop's franchise at the end of the financial year, giving notice of pending audits and issuing summonses to the same.

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1 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Weardale).

2 Letters Patent of Appointment, 1617, 1618, 1631, 1635 (Church Commission MSS 221146, 221147, 221148, 221149).

His other duty as bailiff was to distrain the goods of those defaulting in the payment of their rents, and carry them off to Durham; to store them there until they were either sold or redeemed to cancel the outstanding debts.[1] The large field of operations leads to the possibility of there being more than one Bailiff, or alternatively, a number of assistants.

It appears that there was a fair degree of flexibility at the top of the administrative hierarchy; that a good deal of the work, both routine and irregular, was frequently never assigned to the official in whose province it properly belonged. The reason is that the Bishop would never trust himself wholeheartedly to an administration that was not mostly of his own appointment. Hence he came to rely upon a number of counsellors or advisers who could be delegated, singly or in groups, to duplicate or assume the functions of any officer found lacking in his duty or considered untrustworthy. This inner circle was recruited mainly from amongst the more important ministers; Chancellor, Receiver-General, Auditor, Escheator, Sheriff, Surveyor, Steward and legal officers; the determining factor being the individual's personal standing with the Bishop. It could also include persons like George Wither and William Blakestone, who held no official capacity within the administration, yet stood high in the Bishop's confidence.[2] There have already occurred several examples of officials laying aside their ordinary duties and undertaking commissions and special assignments. These need not be repeated, but it would be of value to return once more to the instructions delivered by Cardinal

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1 The duties of the Bailiff of the Exchequer are described in the Receiver-General's Account for 1495-96 (Church Commission MSS 189598).

2 Vide supra, p.23.

Wolsey in 1528 to Dr. Strangeways and Richard Bellassis; as an example of the miscellany of tasks which could be entrusted to proved servants, regardless of their proper functions.[1] Their assignment was to:

(i) survey all mineral resources,
(ii) finish the construction of the Bishop's lead-smelting plant,
(iii) organise the production of lead,
(iv) keep the smelting-plant supplied with lead ore and fuel,
(v) farm out the Tweed fisheries,
(vi) supervise the fitting-out of a man-of-war at Tynemouth,
(vii) seize all wards,
(viii) levy arrears,
(ix) provide the Bishop with an Escheator,
(x) produce a valuation of all casualties over the last six years,
(xi) send a ship load of coal to Wolsey's college at Ipswich.

Thus two men, one of them a surveyor, the other Bailiff of both Stockton and Bishop Auckland, were asked to tackle a variety of duties which, strictly speaking, should have been divided between the offices of the Surveyor himself, the Clerk of Works, the Surveyor of the Weardale Lead Mines, the Escheator, the Receiver-General and the Auditor.[2] Clearly specialization of function was not a desired attainment. The top administrators came to be familiar with all aspects of the Bishop's business and so to a large extent, interchangeable.

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1 Instructions devised by my lord legate his Grace for Dr. Strangwysshe, surveyor of Duresme, and Ric. Bellysis Esq, and to be executed by them within his bishopric of Duresme (S.P.1/52/5111.3); Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, IV, Pt.II, 5111.

2 An account of Strangeway's career at Durham is contained in Chapter IX, p.367. Unlike Strangeways, Bellassis was a local gentleman of some substance, seated at Henknoll. His son, William, became a knight; his grandson, Henry, a baronet; and his great-grandson, Thomas, Viscount Fauconberg. His brother, Antony, was a successful cleric, who elevated the family fortunes through the acquisition of monastic land. As well as holding several profitable posts within the Church he was also a Master in Chancery under Henry VIII and a member of the Council of the North under Edward VI. Richard himself was a partner in an extensive coal-mine undertaking leased from the Bishop. R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816-1840, passim. F.W. Dendy, ed., Visitations of the North, Part I, Surtees Society Vol.122, London, 1912, under Bellassis. C.H. Hunter Blair, ed., Visitations of the North, Part IV, Surtees Society Vol.146, London, 1932, under Bellassis.

(b) The Estate Administration

Having dealt with the manning of the central Exchequer office, it is now appropriate to detail the structure of the estate administration, the members of which were part of the Exchequer organisation in that they were either accountable to it for receipts or expenditure or were conservators of the temporalities, the Bishopric's capital assets. The estate administration carried the jurisdiction of the Exchequer out of the Bishop's franchise into Allertonshire and Howdenshire, unlike the other branches of the temporal administration. In the interests of clarity it would be convenient to break up the estate administration into its main territorial divisions and to maintain the distinction between officers of order and charge.

(1) The Durham Estates

Sharing the Auditor's position as the most high ranking officer of order was the Chief Steward (fee of £20 p.a.) G.T. Lapsley states that the Steward was the most important figure in the estate administration until about 1450, when he seems to have been eclipsed by the Receiver-General.[1] According to a Chancery Enrollment of September 1561 this official's function was to hold the halmote or manorial courts, to receive surrenders and make admittances, to assess fines and amercements, notifying the officers responsible for their collection, and to act as an arbitrator in private quarrels.[2] No mention was made of his earlier responsibility for putting farms to lease and maintaining the fabric of the Bishop's property. The Steward's assistant

1 G.T. Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham, London, 1900, p.77.

2 Chancery Enrollment, 1 September 1561 (Church Commission MSS 244324, P.R.O. Copy).

was the Clerk of the Halmote Court (fee of £3.13.4 p.a.), whose task it was to compile the halmote court books, containing records of proceedings, and to furnish the Receiver-General with extracts of fines and amercements. Although the Chief Stewardship had lost much of its importance by the 16th Century, it still remained a very desirable office, with the high fee of £20 per annum. Consequently it became something of a sinecure, the Steward's work being transferred to the Clerk, who was often indistinguishable from an Under Steward or Learned Steward.[1] Thus under Bishop Bainbridge (1507-1508) the office was held by Edmund Dudley, one-time Speaker of the House of Commons, a member of the Council and one of Henry VII's leading financial administrators. Meanwhile the duties attached to the Stewardship were undertaken by a local official, Christopher Browne. He remained at his post under Bishop Ruthal (1509-1523), when the Stewardship passed to William Frankleyn, one of Wolsey's clerks, and John Parkinson, the Escheator. In 1525 Cardinal Wolsey presented the post to the Duke of Richmond, whilst Browne continued to actually officiate right up until 1562. Later under Bishop James the Chief Steward was the Bishop's brother Francis, master of the Court of Chancery at Westminster. When the Steward was not entirely an absentee, he was usually one of the Bishop's chief ministers, engaged in other work and holding the Stewardship for profit; e.g. Thomas Calverley, Chancellor and Receiver-General to Bishops Pilkington (1561-1576), Barnes (1577-1587) and Hutton (1589-1595).[2]

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1 It was possible for there to be a Chief Steward, an Under Steward and a Clerk of the Halmote Courts. This happened under Cardinal Wolsey, when Sir Thomas Tempest of Holmside was Chief Steward, Robert Meynell his deputy and Christopher Browne clerk. Meynell, a sergeant-at-law, subsequently graduated to the Chief Stewardship under Bishop Tunstall.

2 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Chief Stewards and Sub-Stewards).

The next office of order was the Surveyorship. It was designed to produce surveys of the Bishop's episcopal property whenever required, to ferret out concealments, to inspect property for deterioration and generally to preserve the Bishop's interests against his tenants. Under the general head of Surveyor three specialist officers have been identified; the Surveyor of Lordships, Castles and Manors; the Surveyor of Lead, Coal and Iron Mines; and the Conservator of Waters. The Conservator of Waters is a shadowy figure, hardly traceable beyond the 16th Century. For a fee of £2 per annum he appears to have acted as a kind of water bailiff, chiefly engaged in the propagation of salmon fry. All the signs indicate that his post fell into abeyance.[1] The Surveyor of Mines of Lead, Coal and Iron drew a fee of £6.13.4. per annum. His specific function was to act as general overseer when mines were worked for the Bishop's own benefit and to watch over the operations of lessees, when mineral resources were farmed out. Specific appointments are difficult to trace after the episcopate of Cardinal Wolsey, but there is evidence that the need for a surveyor continued even when the Bishop ceased to be a mining entrepreneur. The terms of leases suggest that he alone was allowed to decide the location of coal-pits and had a right to frequent inspection of mines, to ensure that they were being worked in the customary manner and not to the detriment of the landlord.[2] It is also probable that there was sometimes a Surveyor of Lead and Iron Mines as distinct from a Surveyor of Coal Mines.[3] Drawing

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1 The office is not listed under fee payments in the Receiver-General's Accounts and there are only spasmodic references to it in the Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2).

2 Appendix XXIb, pp.541-544.

3 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS2, under Supervisors of all mines of lead, iron and coal).

a fee of £13.6.8. the Surveyor of Lordships, Castles and Manors was by far the most important of the three, although like the High Steward he was tending to become a sinecurist by the middle of the 16th Century, his functions delegated to commissions.[1] Bishop Matthew (1595-1606) appointed his own son Toby to the post. Later, at the beginning of Bishop Morton's episcopate, the office was in the hands of the Clerk of the Great Receipt, Hugh Wright, and was soon to pass to Richard Baddeley, the Bishop's secretary and auditor. Throughout, the Surveyor tended to be in possession of more than one post. Nicholas Morton, Bishop Fox's Surveyor, was also Treasurer of the Household; Robert Harrison, Bishop Morton's last nominee to the office, held the coronership of Chester Ward. In no sense was the Surveyor ever a professional with theodolite and plain-table, like Thomas Clay. He was concerned not with land measurement, but legal tenures, a subject with which any trained administrator was fully conversant.

The last of the officers of order was the Bishop's Solicitor or Attorney-General (fee of £5 p.a.), who argued the Bishop's cause before the law whenever a tenant was taken to court. Usually the Bishop was the complainant in his own Court of Chancery, taking action against unlawful intrusion or the illegal cutting of timber, preventing the conversion of a customary tenure into a freehold, asserting claims to a capital messuage, or enforcing the observance of mill service.[2] The Solicitor was of course a fully trained lawyer, attached to the Bishop's service by a retaining fee. At Durham his scope was considerably enlarged by the need to defend

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1 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Supervisors of all lordships, castles and manors).

2 Papers concerning Lawsuits (Church Commission MSS, nos.11, 17, 26 and 45).

the Bishop's franchisal rights.

Passing to the officers of charge, and in particular the officers of receipt, the official of highest dignity under the Receiver-General was the Escheator. Strictly speaking he was concerned with preserving his master's regality "in dominio", but since the feudal incidents for which he accounted were derived principally from land, he may justifiably be included within the estate administration. It was his task to keep track of deaths among the tenantry-in-chief, instituting "post mortem" inquisitions with the writ "diem clausit extremum". If a deceased tenant lacked a successor of any kind, the Escheator took possession of the estate, disposing of it to the Bishop's best advantage. If there was an heir (or heirs) of age, the Escheator admitted him to his inheritance, after payment of a relief for a licence of entry. On the other hand, if the heir was a minor he remained in the custody of the Bishop until reaching the age of maturity. If the Bishop retained the wardship and marriage in his own hands they were managed by the Escheator. Otherwise it was his function to put them to farm, either to the highest bidder or to a relative of the ward. Another aspect of the Escheator's work was to issue tenants-in-chief with licences to alienate property, or, if alienation had taken place without the Bishop's consent, to secure his due consideration with a writ of "quod ad damnum". The Escheatorship entailed a great degree of responsibility therefore, but this still did not prevent its frequent conversion into an office of prestige, with the holder's duties delegated to a deputy. On several occasions appointments were made from amongst the gentry of the North, such as Sir William Eure of Witton and Robert Bowes under Cardinal Wolsey, Brian Layton of Middleton St. George under

Bishop Tunstall (1530-1559) and Henry Lindley under Bishop Matthew. Bishop James used this office, as well as the Stewardship, to gratify his brother Francis; and Bishop Pilkington appears to have bought the support of the parliamentarian, William Fleetwood, in this way.[1] On the other hand, some Escheators were obviously genuine administrators who performed their functions in person. The prime example of this type was Robert Tailboys of the Middle Temple, who graduated to the office after serving as Fleetwood's deputy and acting as attorney-general to both Bishop Barnes and Bishop Hutton. G.T. Lapsley and R.L. Storey subscribe to the view that it was customary at one stage for the Sheriff to hold the Escheatorship.[2] This is no longer true for the period under investigation, since there is no single instance of these two posts being combined in one person.

Lower in the hierarchy was an officer who had virtually become a sinecurist by the 16th Century; the Master Forester (fee of £6.13.4. p.a.), to whose charge was committed the Bishop's parks and forests and the collection of revenue resulting therefrom. The Bishop of Durham was in possession of a considerable number of parks and woods. In addition, there was an extensive forest jurisdiction, which can be plotted from the known existence of forest courts at Middlewood, Chester-le-Street, Birtley, Ryton, Gateshead, Lanchester, Bishop Auckland, Hamsterley, Bolyhope and Roughside, and in the Parks of Wolsingham and Stanhope and the High Forest of Weardale.[3] By 1500 however, the forest courts were

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1 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Escheators). Fleetwood performed an important service in 1576 in helping to scotch a bill for the annexation of Gateshead to Newcastle.

2 G.T. Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham, London, 1900, pp.81, 85. R.L. Storey, Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham 1406-1437, London, 1961, p.61.

3 Appendix. III, pp.459-461.

fast losing their significance. In the Master Forester's account for 1501 the profits of the forest jurisdiction trickled in only from the High Forest, Hamsterley, Stanhope, Wolsingham and Roughside, and then only substantially from the first.[1] Outide the Forest of Weardale the forest areas were small and neglected and tended to affect few tenants. In the parks especially, the forest jurisdiction became increasingly irrelevant and moribund once game became restricted to Stanhope and Auckland Parks and the enclosures became converted into rented pastures. Thus the Master Forester was left with very few active duties. Although he was responsible to the Receiver-General for all customary and leasehold rents derived from the parks and forest areas and as an accounting official, carried the largest individual onus, the actual collection of this revenue did not affect him personally, apart from compulsory attendance at the annual audit. Rents within the High Forest of Weardale and the Parks of Stanhope and Wolsingham fell within the province of his deputy, the Collector or Particular Receiver for the High Forest of Weardale (fee of £2 p.a.), assisted by the two Bailiffs of Stanhope and Wolsingham (fee of £2 p.a.). The importance of the Collector was in fact recognised, since at least one of the extant forest accounts went in his name, rather than that of the Master Forestor.[2] As for the smaller parks, their farmers usually accounted directly to the Exchequer, thereby rendering the Master Forester's discharge a mere formality. The presidency of the surviving forest courts still remained to him for a time, but there is evidence for the appointment of a

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1 Master Forester's Account, 1501 (Church Commission Mss 190033).

2 Master Forester's Account, 1535-36 (Church Commission MSS 190039).

separate steward of gentry status after the middle of the 16th Century.[1] Routine matters, such as the provision of hay for the deer in winter and the upkeep of the park enclosures, had always been the responsibility of the Master Forester's subordinates. In these circumstances it is not surprising that appointments to the Master Forestership were made without reference to suitability. Holders of the office included Richard Lord Lumley of Lumley, Bishop Tunstall's nephew Brian, Sir Cuthbert Pepper, Surveyor of the Court of Wards and temporal Chancellor to Bishops Matthew and James and Bishop Morton's brother-in-law, Henry Blakestone.

The remaining structure of the forest administration subordinate to the Master Forester was composed of minor officers who were not directly accountable. Apart from the Clerk of the Forest Courts (fee of 13/4d. p.a.), the other personnel were foresters, keepers of woods and parks and palers.[2] The Foresters (fees ranging from £1 to £2.17.0 p.a.) were concerned with the preservation of the Bishop's forest rights and the maintenance of the forest laws against all infringements. The Park Keepers (fees ranging from £1 to £4.11.0 p.a.) were meant to preserve the wild life, supervise the grazing of domestic stock and direct mowing operations. At Stanhope for example, they were kept busy preventing encroachments upon the deers' frith, overstinting, poaching and the keeping of hunting dogs on the part of the tenants actually resident within the confines of the Park. The Paler's job (fee of £1.10.4. p.a.) was to maintain the park boundaries, although

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1 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under the Court of the Master Foresters).

2 Appendix III, pp.459-461.

large operations were undertaken by the Clerk of Works. It is significant that by 1500 the palers were limited to the two parks which still contained deer. The Keepers of Woods (fees of 10/0d to 13/4d. p.a.) in their turn were involved in the planting and nurturing of young trees and the felling of full grown timber in accordance with the timber warrants they received. Distinctions can be too artificial however, as keepers usually filled the role of foresters as well. Further confusion is caused by the frequency with which a forest officer is found in possession of more than one post. Appointments to forest offices were usually filled by the county gentry, members of the administration and the Bishop's servants; except in Weardale where yeoman farmers were employed.[1] Here certain families such as the Emersons and the Trotters, had almost established an hereditary right to office. Apart from a few of the foresterships, all the posts still carried some active duties, which entailed the use of deputies in many cases. The busiest officers were naturally those associated with a live forest jurisdiction (the foresters of the High Forest), a park actually containing deer (the Keeper of the New Park, Stanhope), or a wood full of standing timber (The Keeper of Frankland Wood).

After the Escheator and the Master Forester the remaining officers of receipt were engaged in collecting the large but widely dispersed income derived from the episcopal manors and boroughs. Foremost among them and next in rank to the Master Forester were

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1 E.g. Timothy Comyn, gent. Auditor for much of the early 17th Century, was also Forester of Frankland. Much earlier the post had been held by Thomas Aston, servant to Bishop Ruthall. Amongst the Keepers of Bishop Auckland Park were Richard Lever, gent., Thomas Knott, gent., and Henry Hodshon, gent. Collection of Officers and Offices (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2)

the Coroners of the Four Wards (fees - Darlington £6.13.4., Chester-le-Street £4, Easington £3, Stockton £1 p.a.). Coroners are generally recognised for their legal duties, but R.F. Hunisett confirms that in the County Palatine they were loaded with important financial duties, in no way connected with their more well-known functions.[1] Their responsibility was the collection of rents from the Bishop's most substantial and influential tenants, who could hardly be approached by an official of lesser dignity. These consisted of the tenants-in-chief and holders of fee farms who were charged with a token rent, and the farmers of the most important leasehold property belonging to the episcopal estates, the granges and borough farms. Knights' fees and the majority of freehold tenements lay widely scattered outside the bounds of the Bishop's manors, which occasioned the wide extent of the Coroners' jurisdiction. Commensurate with their status the Coroners were usually recruited from the county gentry, although it is not unusual to find a member of the administrative hierarchy amongst them, undertaking the Coronership as one of several posts.[2] In the circumstances deputies were again likely to be employed in several cases, in spite of an absence of references to substitutes; but it is also probable that at least some of the Coroners

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1 R.F. Hunnisett, The Medieval Coroner, Cambridge, 1961, p.95. Temp. Edward I there had also been Coroners for Sadberge and Bedlington. Stockton Ward and its Coroner were of less antiquity than the others, being created temp. Richard II.

2 As Coroners of Chester-le-Street Ward we find: John Rakett - also Clerk of the Peace, Chancery Clerk and Clerk of Great Receipt; John Lord Lumley of Lumley - also Master Forester; Sir William Eure of Witton - also Sheriff and Escheator; Michael Calverley, gent. - also Clerk of Great Receipt; John King, gent.; Ralph and Robert Bowes, gents.; Anthony Thompson, gent.; Thomas Clavering, gent.; Christopher Skepper, gent.; William Collingwood, gent. of Hetton; Moses Skepper, gent. - also Clerk of Great Receipt. Collection of Officers and Offices (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2).

actually performed their duties in person.

The Bishop's fee'd receivers actually within the episcopal manors were the Manorial Bailiffs, beneath whom were deployed a whole array of unpaid village collectors. The most important of the manorial bailiwicks were:

Coatham Mundeville, otherwise known as the Manor of Darlington (fee of £2.13.4 p.a.)

Bishop Middleham, distinct from the collectorship of the same name (fee of £1. - £2. p.a.)

Sadberge (fee of £2 p.a.)

Gateshead (fee of £5 p.a.)

and

Stockton, distinct from the collectorship of the same name (fee of £6.13.4 p.a.)

In one sense the bailiffs who manned them were anachronisms; relics from an earlier age when the manorial demesne was cultivated under their direction for the satisfaction of the lord's needs. Once the Bishop had become a "rentier" landlord there was little to distinguish them from the ordinary collectors who performed almost identical rent-collecting functions without the incentive of a fee. The only real difference was that being attached to manorial nuclei the Bailiffs were far more responsible for demesne land than the collectors and consequently tended to be saddled with a larger charge. Two of the Bailiffs, however, were sufficiently distinctive to merit their higher rank and continued existence. The Bailiff of Sadberge was responsible for receipts from the whole of the Wapentake; an area far too extensive for any collector. The Bailiff of Stockton also retained his importance because of the presence in his manor of one of the Bishop's few habitable places of residence; also because Stockton was the only manor in which farming operations were conducted on behalf of the Bishop after 1500; extensive stock rearing at first and then the stabling and

pasturing of his horses. The other Bailiffs seem to have retained their status only because of the conservatism which permeated all institutions of long standing.

In addition to the five principal Manorial Bailiffs there were also a further five lesser bailiffs or Bailiff Collectors based on:

Evenwood (fee of 13/4d. p.a.)
Lynesacke and Bedburn (fee of £1.6.8. p.a.)
Chester-le-Street (fee of £1.6.8. p.a.)
Whickham (fee of £2 p.a.)
and
Bedlington in Northumberland (fee of £2.6.8.p.a.), included for administrative purposes in Chester Ward. These were even less deserving of a fee than their colleagues. They were in fact so indistinguishable from the ordinary collectors, except in the manner of their appointment, that they were always classified as such in the estate accounts, never as bailiffs. Their origins were, for the most part, straightforward. Bedlington[1] and Evenwood were manorial centres; Chester-le-Street and Whickham, manors in their own right. Lynesacke and Bedburn present something of a mystery however. They may have constituted a subdivision within the greater manor of Wolsingham, but apart from Bedburn Park there was no demesne land to warrant the presence of a bailiff.

The Bishop was also represented by Bailiffs in the various boroughs which had been created from time to time by his predecessors within the limits of the episcopal lands.

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1 Bedlington was unique amongst the manors in having its own steward. Although lying in Northumberland it was always associated with Chester-le-Street Ward; being too small to stand alone and having more in common with Chester-le-Street Ward than the more northerly Norhamshire.

Accordingly there were Bailiffs of Boroughs at:

Durham, until the incorporation of the borough in 1602 (fee of £6.13.4. p.a.) 1

Gateshead, where the Bailiff of the Borough was also Bailiff of the Manor (combined fee of £5 p.a.)

Bishop Auckland (fee of £5 p.a.)

Darlington, where the Bailiff of the Borough was also Bailiff of the Manor (fee of £5 p.a.; combined fee of £7.13.4 p.a.)

and

Stockton, where the Bailiff of the Borough was also Bailiff of the Manor (combined fee of £6.13.4. p.a.)

Their duties were again essentially of a financial nature, although of a different order from those of the manorial bailiffs. Instead of collecting the profits of the manorial courts, the farms of the demesne, customary rents and the compositions for customary works, they were concerned with burgage rents, the fines and amercements of the borough courts, tolls and customs, and the dues from markets and fairs. In some respects however, they were engaged in purely administrative work. In association with the Clerk of Markets for instance, they controlled the weekly markets and yearly fairs and also acted as executive officers to the five Stewards (fees of 13/4d. - £1.6.8. p.a.), under whose chairmanship the borough courts were held. In theory the Borough Bailiffs had more responsibilities than the Manorial Bailiffs, but in practice they could be entirely deprived of their revenue-collecting functions whenever a borough was put to farm, as became a regular occurrence in the 16th Century, if not before. For this reason it was customary and feasible at Stockton, Darlington and Gateshead for the manorial bailiwick to be held in conjunction with the management

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1 Bishop James (1606-17) refused to accept the incorporation and the subsequent curtailment of his rights and temporarily resumed the appointment of a bailiff for Durham.

of the borough. Regardless of duties both types of bailiwick, like many of the forest offices, become desirable acquisitions, because of the fees, perquisites and opportunities attached to them. They were occupied by the local gentry, senior members of the administration and bishops' familiars and relatives.[1] Here also deputies were called in-to service to discharge their employers' obligations. The same types were recruited to the Stewardships of the Borough Courts, which were sometimes held severally.[2]

Outside the limited province of the coroners and manorial and borough bailiffs the burden of rent collection and the production of halmote court profits fell upon forty-nine unsalaried Collectors.[3] There was also one paid Collectorship; the Collectorship of Norton, which was invariably held by the Coroner of Stockton Ward. The fee of £1.6.8. was intended as a supplement to his normal emoluments, which were less than those of the other coroners. Easington Ward apart, where there was a predominance of manorial demesne and no bailiffs, the Collectors' concern was

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1 E.g., the manorial and borough bailiwicks of Stockton were held by: William Collingwood, gent., of Hetton, Co. Durham and Francis Cresset, gent., of Durham, under Bishop Neile; Richard Bellassis, one of Cardinal Wolsey's key personnel, already encountered; Robert Cooper, Esq., attorney-general to Bishop James; Robert Sympson, servant to Bishop Fox; and Barnabas Pilkington, brother to Bishop Pilkington.
Collection of Officers and Offices (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2)

2 E.g., Michael Richardson, gent., of Durham, was joint-steward of Bishop Auckland borough court under Bishop James. Under Bishop Neile the auditor, Timothy Comyn, gent., was steward of Stockton borough court. Under Bishop Bainbridge William Bitchburne and Christopher Browne were joint stewards of the borough courts of Bishop Auckland, Gateshead and Durham. Collection of Officers and Offices (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2).

3 Appendix IV, pp.462-463.

basically the customary tenements attached to each manor. Where demesne land came within their purview rents tended to be small. Large rents were usually paid directly into the Exchequer by the Bishop's leasehold tenants, or collected by the bailiffs and coroners. Forty three of the Collectors, who may be termed the Ordinary Collectors, were always chosen from amongst the yeomen and husbandmen of each particular village or hamlet and were replaced at regular intervals. Since the post lacked a fee to make it attractive, it was perhaps as unpopular and onerous as the village constableship, although conversely contact with the administration and the handling of monies might prove advantageous. The Victoria County History of Durham states that the office first emerged in the late 14th Century and that the holders were elected annually by their fellow peasants.[1] Since there is no evidence of an appointment ever having been made by the Bishop, it is a fairly safe assumption that this procedure was continued into the 16th Century. Supervision of these Collectors was almost certainly effected through the Steward's office, the only department to preserve close contact with the lesser tenantry. The remaining six collectors were Farmer/Collectors who differed from their ordinary counterparts in that they occupied the whole or the major part of the hamlet or small village for which they were responsible. They were in fact substantial lessees or copyholders, usually of gentry status, whose monopoly of possession assured them of continuity of appointment. Their classification as collectors rather than farmers really belonged to an earlier time, when their holdings were divided among a number of tenants, rather than consolidated

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1 W. Page, ed., The Victoria History of the County of Durham, London, 1928, II, 194.

in the hands of one farmer. Like the ordinary collectors they were unpaid. Notable examples in this category were the Bowes family at Warden Law, the Bellassis at Murton Grange, the Pykehalls, Lambes and Ducketts at Lynesacke and Bedburn, and the Tonges at West Thickley.

The officers of receipt frequently incurred expenses, such as the cost of holding courts or carrying money to Durham, but these were small when compared with receipts. The officers of expense on the other hand, contributed nothing to the Bishop's income, but assisted solely in its deployment. The one exception was the Receiver-General, an officer of expense as well as of receipt, who not only acted as the co-ordinator of the officers of receipt, but also controlled the channels of expenditure. As regards the Durham estates the only well-defined officer of expense was the Clerk of Works (fee of £5 p.a.); the officer responsible for the upkeep of the Bishop's castles, manors and mills. The amount of money entrusted to him for disbursement was extremely variable, depending on the policy of individual bishops and the existence of any large-scale building projects, such as Bishop Fox's work on the fortifications of Norham Castle and Bishop Tunstall's rebuilding at Auckland Palace and Durham Castle. The Northumberland properties fell within the scope of his activities, but he does not appear to have been concerned with the Yorkshire estates. He was again invariably a gentleman and usually of local origin.[1]

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1 E.g., during the long episcopate of Bishop Tunstall the post was held by several members of the Dalton family, seated at West Auckland. Ralph was one of the Bishop's servants and acted as escheator and receiver for Howdenshire as well as clerk of works. Robert was a prebendary of Durham Cathedral. Richard was related by marriage go the Bellassis family and Thomas was similarly connected to the Maddisons of Unthank Hall. Collection of Officers and Offices (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2)

As paymaster and supplier of materials to the labour force employed by the Bishop on building projects and repair work, he probably conducted most of his duties in person, although there was no objection to the delegation of his authority. The other officers of expense were confined to the Bishop's household and can be identified as the Treasurer and Steward of the Household and the Clerk of the Kitchen. The latter was subordinate to the former and was responsible only for the provision of meat and drink. The Steward was in overall charge of the household and was the official custodian of all income allocated by the Exchequer to that quarter. As such his activities were multitudinous and far-ranging, extending from the importation of cloth and wine for the Bishop's use, to the payment of tenants for the cartage of fuel to Bishop Auckland Palace.[1]

Apart from the officials who can be immediately designated as officers of receipt or officers of expense, there were several others who could fall into either category depending on circumstances. Firstly there were the Approvers of Coal Mines (fee of £6.13.4 p.a.?), who undertook the management of the Bishop's pits when they were retained in his own hands. The Approver's task was essentially to supply the Bishop with his own coal and then perhaps make a profit out of his own entrepreneurial activities. Before a return could be made however, there had to be an initial investment of capital, for the sinking of shafts and the draining of potential mines, which was sufficient to render the Approver an officer of expense before he became transformed, with the onset of production, into an officer of receipt. The practice of working coal pits

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1 Steward's Account, 1600-1601 (Church Commission MSS 220231).

for the Bishop's own use can be traced back in the Church Commission records to at least 1459 and was probably as old as coal mining itself. There are only three Approver's Accounts extant after 1500 however, and as the last of these is dated 1503, it is likely that this policy was entirely abandoned very early in the 16th Century, in favour of the wholesale farming out of pits.[1] This conversion from direct to indirect control of the episcopal coal measures heralded the total disappearance of the Approvers, leaving only their superior, the Surveyor of Coal Mines, to maintain contact between landlord and lessee.

Capital outlay was again called for by the Surveyor and Clerk of the Weardale Lead Mines; the officials appointed by Bishop Ruthall and Cardinal Wolsey to operate lead smelting plants in Wolsingham and Stanhope Parks, and a lead refinery at Gateshead. Before any profit could be obtained from the sale of lead ingots to Newcastle merchants and the extraction of silver the Surveyor and his assistant had to purchase lead ore from the syndicates of small miners who farmed the Bishop's grooves, pay for the cartage of the ore from Weardale to the balehills in the Parks and provide wood for use in the smelting process. Lead ore also had to be transported overland to the Tyne for its silver content to be refined. After initial expense it does seem that some return was

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1 (1) Amount of coal delivered from the Mayr Pit, Whickham, June-October 1500.
(2) Draughts of coal from the Mayr, 1500-1501.
(3) Account of William Lee, Supervisor and Approver of the coal-mines of Raby, Grawborne and Hardgyll, 1502-1503.
(Church Commission MSS 189532, 190027 and 190026)
William Lee claimed a fee of £6.13.4 for himself, £1.6.8. for his servant and £2.12.0 for his deputy; a total of £10.12.0, of which 12s. was disallowed. These relatively high sums perhaps reflect the demanding and skilled nature of the work involved.

made; although some of this was swallowed up by Chancellor Frankleyn's experiments with a process of refining lead with coal.[1] With Wolsey's translation to Winchester the enterprise was soon dropped and with it the Surveyorship of the Lead Mines. Thereafter the Bishop's income from lead was reduced to his tenth share of the output of his groove tenants. These were supervised by the Moor Master, who retained another tenth of the lead ore as a fee. No doubt it was the fee which attracted Edward James and Thomas Surtees to the office; one a kinsman of Bishop James and a London merchant, the other a merchant of Newcastle. Whatever negligible services they owed were certainly never performed in person.

The last official of this type, with dual characteristics, was the Instaurer, or keeper of the Bishop's livestock (fee of £2 - £3 p.a.). His primary function was to buy and fatten beef and mutton for the consumption of the Bishop's household, but he also sold surplus stock on the open market at a slight profit. Whereas the Approvers and the Surveyor of the Lead Mines were potentially officers of receipt, after passing through a phase as officers of expense, the Instaurer belonged essentially to the ranks of the latter, contributing to the reduction of his overheads by a little judicious speculation in the livestock market. His continued existence into the 16th Century was also of short duration. In 1517 all the Instaurer's stock was sold;[2] the Bishops henceforth relying upon the local markets for their meat requirements, whenever

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1 Lead Accounts, 1524-25, 1528-29 (Church Commission MSS 190018 and 190021) Chapter IV, pp. 132-133.

2 Instaurer's Account, 1517-18 (Church Commission MSS 190193).

they were resident in the County Palatine.

To complete the structure of the estate administration there were also a few lesser officials who were not officers of charge. Foremost among them was the Keeper of Auckland Palace (fee of £2 p.a.), usually a trusted servant, who performed the vital function of safeguarding the entrance to the Bishop's residence. In company with him was the Keeper of the Bishop's Gardens (fee £2 p.a.), who actively fulfilled the role of head gardener.[1] The manors of Darlington and Stockton, which contained mansion houses suitable for the Bishop's use, were also provided with Keepers (the Keepers of the Manors of Darlington and Stockton), although these were more or less redundant by the 16th Century, as is witnessed by the combination of the Keeperships with the bailiffs' office.[2]

(2) The Northumberland Estates

(i) Norhamshire and Islandshire

The size of the Bishop's northernmost liberty, its distance from Durham and its importance as part of the border defences secured its endowment with a separate administration of its own, a miniature replica of that in the County Palatine. Apart from the Captain, Master Gunner and Constable, who organised the defence of Norham Castle and headed the musters of the liberty in forays against the Scots, there was also a Sheriff, Foreign Bailiff, Escheator and Coroner to uphold the Bishop's regalian rights.

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1 J. Raine, A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace, of Auckland, Durham, 1852, p.115, refers to the growing of onions, leeks, garlic, cabbage and herbs.

2 A tabular summary of the Durham administrative structure will be found in Appendix V, section (a), p.464.

On the level of estate administration there was a Receiver, High Steward (fee of £4 p.a.), Clerk of the Halmote Courts (fee of £3.6.8. p.a.), two Bailiffs for Fenwick and Tweedsmouth (fee of £3 p.a. each) and the necessary complement of village collectors. On paper this amounted to quite a sizeable administration, but it was vastly reduced in practice by the custom of grouping the offices together in various combinations, in the occupation of noblemen and gentry actively engaged in the government of the Eastern Marches. This arrangement was considered as adequate until 1435, when Bishop Langley ceased to exercise direct control of the franchise and instituted the periodic policy of putting first the Castle and then the whole of Norhamshire and Islandshire out to farm. From that date onwards a number of leases have been identified:[1]

Bishop Langley	1435	20 year lease to Sir Robert Ogle, of Ogle, Northumberland.
Bishop Dudley	1481	1 year lease to Henry, Earl of Northumberland and Roger Heron Esq., of Ford Castle, Northumberland.
	1482	2 year lease to Sir John Middleton, of Belsay? Northumberland.
Bishop Shirewood	1483	1 year lease to Sir Thomas Gray of Chillingham, Northumberland, and Robert Collingwood Esq., of Hetton-le-Hole? Co. Durham.
	1484	7 year lease to Sir Thomas Gray.
Bishop Fox	1500	5 year lease to Sir Richard Cholmley, of Spofforth? Yorks.
Bishop Ruthall	1522	Lease to Thomas Lord Dacre of Greystoke.
Cardinal Wolsey	1526	Lease to William Lord Dacre of Greystoke and Sir Christopher Dacre.
	1527	Lease to the Earl of Northumberland, Warden of the East and Middle Marches.
Bishop Tunstall	1533	Lease to Sir William Eure of Witton, Co. Durham.
	1540	Lease for life to Brian Layton Esq., of Middleton St. George, Co. Durham.

1 J. Raine, The History and Antiquities of North Durham, London, 1852, pp.7-14.

These are the barest minima for which there is surviving evidence and there may well have been more. The affect upon the administration was to reduce the number of office holders even further, as the farmer was always appointed to the Captaincy and other important, highly fee'd offices. As far as the estate administration was concerned, it meant either complete redundancy, or a transfer of loyalty and service from the Bishop to the farmer.

At first there was a great deal of experiment with the drafting of the indentures, but by 1500 a satisfactory formula had emerged.[1] The prospective farmer was actually only granted the custody and captaincy of Norham Castle, but from Bishop Dudley's pontificate (1476-83) onwards it became customary to furnish him with all the episcopal income from the Liberty, reserving to the Bishop only his right of patronage, woods, warrens, wardships, marriages, reliefs, escheats, wrecks and mineral resources. Out of this revenue the farmer had to pay the Bishop an annual rent of £120, (£80 before 1526), provide the fees for that part of the administration not vested in his own person and maintain the Castle in a reasonable state of repair. In time of war, when revenue became difficult to collect, the whole of the farmer's rent was remitted and the Bishop bound by the terms of the lease to cover the cost of the defence of the Castle in the eventuality of a seige. The lessee was also bound by a surety of £2000 to perform the conditions of his indenture in a conscientious manner. The farmers belonged to the type of border officer who in previous circumstances had occupied the Captaincy. The fact that they were frequently Wardens of the Eastern March, like the Dacres and

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1 A typical example is the indenture between Cardinal Wolsey and Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 22 December 1527, Close Roll, 1-7 Wolsey (Durham MSS 3. 74)

the Earl of Northumberland, or Captains of Berwick, like Sir Richard Cholmley, indicates that their appointment or acquisition of a lease was probably part of national policy and came under the direction of the Crown.

The motives which inspired Bishop Langley and his successors to abandon direct control of Norhamshire to a farmer were possibly two-fold. In the first place it may have been hoped that if the Captain was given a greater interest in the liberty, then he would discharge his functions more effectively. Under the old system rents and the profits of jurisdiction were the responsibility of the Receiver, who in a good year had to account to the Auditor for the surplus remaining after the payment of necessary expenses. The drawback of this arrangement was that it could easily lead to discord between the Captain of Norham and the Durham administration over non-existent but expected residues of income and the real or imaginary needs of the defenders of Norham, starved of funds by a grasping Exchequer.[1] With the conversion of the liberty into a farm however, the Captain/Farmer had complete control of all the resources of Norhamshire after the payment of a fixed sum to the Bishop, giving him a guaranteed income with which to defend his charge, besides an assurance of financial assistance from the Bishopric when under pressure. In principal it was a sound method of disposing of the Bishop's border commitments, but it seems to have foundered on the rock of reality. In spite of protestations to the contrary the farm was frequently taken out for

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1 As seems to have happened in an apparent interval between leases, in 1524. William Frankleyn to Thomas Lord Dacre, 9 March 1524, Thomas Lord Dacre to William Frankleyn, 13 March 1524, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, IV, Pt.I, 151 and 157.

profit during the lulls in border warfare. There are several pieces of evidence that the maintenance of the Castle defences was not undertaken in the proper spirit, in spite of the £2000 surety; at a time when Norhamshire's peacetime value was rising, as is indicated by the increase of the Bishop's rent from £80 to £120 p.a.[1] Again several of the Captains were exceedingly eager to obtain direct control of the Tweedsmouth salmon fisheries, the Bishop's most lucrative asset within the franchise.[2] Surely an indication that even in this northern trouble zone there was still an opportunity for financial gain. The most unsatisfactory of the 16th Century farmers were certainly the Dacres, whose record as Wardens of the Marches was far from impressive.[3] As farmers under Bishop Ruthall they were exceedingly troublesome[1] and during the interval between their 1522 and 1526 tenures they became involved in wrangles with their rival, Sir William Bulmer, over the collection of the Norhamshire rents.[4] The crux of the problem was

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1 The answer of Thomas, Lord Dacre and Philip Dacre his brother, deputies to William Dacre, Lord Graystock, to a bill of instructions from William Frankleyn, the Bishop's Chancellor, 7 February 1522, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, III, 2031. Sir Christopher Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey, 26 March 1526 (S.P. 1/37/2052); Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, IV, Pt.I, 2052. Sir Thomas Strangeways to Cardinal Wolsey, 9 September 1528 (S.P. 1/50/4711); Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, IV, Pt.II, 4711.

2 S.P. 1/37/2052, 1/50/4711. The captain/farmers could only claim the rents payable by the fishery lessees.

3 M.E. James, Change and Continuity in the Tudor North: the Rise of Thomas First Lord Wharton, York, 1965, pp.5-6, 45-46.

4 Thomas Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey, 27 December 1523, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, III, 3688.

that the farmer's occupation of the Captaincy was usually of short duration. There was consequently no incentive to improve the ruinous condition of the fortifications which had resulted from his predecessor's laxity and self-interest.

The second possible motive for the creation of a farm was to assure the Bishop of a certain income from an area where rent collection was difficult and receipts fluctuated with every vicissitude of border warfare and brigandage. At first the Bishop was certainly the beneficiary during intervals of peace, although during times of war he derived no advantage from the arrangement. But as the Tudor policy of firm government, exercised through loyal crown servants and the Council of the North, began to take effect in pacifying the border regions, the advantage passed to the lessee, until from the economic viewpoint the £120 p.a. farm became an extremely good bargain. In 1561 for example, just after the liberty had been appropriated by the Crown, the total value of the farm to the lessee was £243.10.0½, plus twenty barrels of salmon. Out of this he had to pay the rent of £120 and the barrels of salmon valued at £12 and £111 worth of fees. Fees to the value of £80 were retained in his own hands however, which gave him a total outlay of £163 and a net profit of £80.[1] By now Norham had practically lost all the strategic importance it once had to Berwick, so there was little or no outlay on defence works. The fact that Sir Robert Carey could sell his interest in Norhamshire to the Earl of Dunbar for £6800 in the early 17th Century shows that the liberty was fast becoming a sound land

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1 Survey dated 3 Eliz., J. Raine, The History and Antiquities of North Durham, London, 1852, pp.15-27.

investment in spite of its stormy history.[1]

As part of the bishopric estates Norhamshire and Islandshire consequently had only a limited value. Until the final deprivation of Bishop Tunstall their total contribution to the annual episcopal income was only £132 and in many years it was totally non-existent. Unlike the more southerly estates they did not provide sustenance for the Bishop so much as financial support for the upkeep of Norham Castle. When that support failed then the possession of the liberty was a burden rather than an asset. In these circumstances the contact between the Norhamshire estate administration and Durham was extremely slender even when it was not being employed in the service of a Captain/Farmer. After 1558 the connection lapsed completely, since the liberty was seized by the Crown and never restored to the Bishopric of Durham.[2] After a number of complaints from Bishop Pilkington the Tweed fisheries were eventually returned, although these were immediately leased back to the Crown by Bishop Barnes for a term of one hundred years, at a rent of £82 per annum.[3] After his death the rent ceased to be paid.[4]

(ii) Bedlingtonshire

Although situated in Northumberland the Lordship of Bedlington was classed as part of Chester-le-Street Ward and included in the Receiver-General's particular charge for the County Palatine. In

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1 Ibid, p.31.

2 Bishop Pilkington to Sir William Cecil, concerning the great inconvenience of the detention of his lands, with a note of the same, 13 March 1565, Burghley Papers (Lansdowne MSS 8/84).

3 Volume of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 54137, Folio 85)

4 Vide infra, p. 307.

spite of its size it boasted its own Chief Steward (fee of £2 p.a.), who was completely independent of both the Stewards of Norhamshire and Durham. In status this officer was on a par with the Stewards of the Borough Courts and was usually a member of the local gentry.[1] There is no surviving evidence for a Clerk, but it is probable that one existed. Bedlington's officer of receipt was the Bailiff (fee of £2.6.8. p.a.) who has already received mention as one of the salaried collectors.[2] In addition to his accounting duties he filled the Keepership of Choppington Woods. There is no evidence of growing timber within the lordship, so this secondary post was probably a sinecure.

(3) The Yorkshire Estates

(i) The Manor of Craike

The manor of Craike being a small, isolated enclave like the lordship of Bedlington was provided with a similar sort of estate administration. Once again there was a Steward (fee of £2.13.4 p.a.) and a Bailiff, recruited this time mostly from the Yorkshire gentry.[3] In this instance the Bailiff was, rather surprisingly, not an accounting official. The officer of receipt responsible to the Exchequer was an unpaid Reeve or Collector, appointed to office in the same manner as his Durham counterparts.

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1 E.g. George Percy, temp. Bishop Bainbridge; Sir Philip Dacre and Sir Thomas Hilton of Hilton, Co. Durham, temp. Bishop Tunstall; Cuthbert Ogle, temp. Bishop Hutton; and Thomas Ogle, temp. Bishop James. By the time of Bishop Neile, however, the office had become the preserve of professional officials, like Hugh Wright, gent., Clerk of Great Receipt.

2 Vide supra, p.44.

3 E.g., Thomas Fairfax, temp. Bishop Tunstall; William Gibson of Welburn and George Winne (of Guisborough?), temp. Bishop James - Stewards; William Norton (of Norton Conyers ?), temp. Bishop Tunstall - Bailiff.

Both customary and leasehold tenements were encompassed within this Collector's charge, but when the whole of the demesne was demised to one tenant then it was usual for the farmer to deliver his own rent to the Exchequer.[1] The Bailiff could only have been involved in assisting the Steward of the Halmote Court and managing the demesne. Since the latter was always put out to farm, the post must have been almost in the nature of a sinecure. As part of the manor the Bishop had possession of the western part of Galtres Forest, in the shape of Craike Park. In connection with this there was a Master Forester (fee of 1d per day), whose office lapsed after the episcopate of Bishop Bainbridge, and a Park-Keeper. Since the enclosed Park was stocked with fallow-deer, at least in Bishop Pilkington's time, the Keepership entailed active duties.[2] Like the Keepership of the Manor, which was concerned with the custody of the manor-house, it was frequently retained by the Bailiff, with an overall fee of £7.12.0 p.a. Because of its potential Craike suffered the same fate as Norhamshire. In 1586 the Queen acquired an eighty year lease of the whole manor which thereby passed out of the Bishop's direct control.[3] Yet appointments to the offices of Steward and Bailiff continued to be made into the early 17th Century.

(ii) Allertonshire

The same pattern as laid down for the main body of the estates in County Durham and repeated in miniature for Norhamshire,

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1 Craike Collector's Account, 1582-83 (Church Commission MSS 189977)

2 Collection of Officers and Offices (Mickleton-Spearman MSS.2, under Craike.

3 Volume of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 54137, Folio 89).

Bedlingtonshire and Craike, was present again with a few minor variations in the two remaining Yorkshire liberties. The Stewardship of Allertonshire (fee of £10 p.a.) was of sufficient prestige and value to attract incumbents of high standing. As the lordship's most desirable office we find it occupied under Cardinal Wolsey by Sir Thomas Tempest of Holmside, Co. Durham, sergeant-at-law, Steward of the Bishopric and a member of the Duke of Richmond's Council; and under Bishop Tunstall by Sir George Conyers of Sockburn, Co. Durham, another member of the Council of the North. Later under Bishop Barnes the office fell into the hands of Secretary Cecil's firstborn son, Sir Thomas, and his grandson William.[1] This post was most certainly exercised by proxy, but not so the Particular-Receivership (fee of £5 p.a.) where the employment of a deputy was exceptional and confined to the second half of the 16th Century. With the Receiver for Howdenshire, the Particular-Receiver was the only officer of receipt not responsible to the Durham Receiver. The income from both Norhamshire and Craike was included in the Receiver-General's particular account for the Durham estates under foreign receipts, but the Allertonshire and Howdenshire returns were only entered into his general view of account. In theory the Particular-Receiver was equal in status to the Durham Receiver, but subordinate in practice, because of his smaller charge and the Durham Receiver's elevation to the Receiver-Generalship. Being an officer with practical duties he tended to be a member of one of the local gentry families, such as the Scarlets and the Lascelles.[1] It was also

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1 Collection of Officers and Offices (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, ,under Allertonshire).

customary for him to retain the post of Bailiff (fee of £3.18.0 p.a.), which probably involved him in the collection of leasehold rents and management of the borough, when not put out to farm. The rest of the actual rent collection fell to the usual complement of impressed collectors. Two other posts were the Keepership of Clack and Cotcliff Woods (fee of £1.1.0 p.a.) and the Keepership of Allerton Manor (fee of 18.7d. p.a.), which were frequently held in conjunction. They too were monopolised by the gentry, including the Cecils, and their attendant duties performed by deputies.[1] A deputy was certainly necessary in the case of the Keepership of the Woods, since there was sufficient standing timber to warrant full time employment.[2]

(iii) Howdenshire

In Howdenshire the position of the Chief Steward and the Particular Receiver was similar to that of their Allertonshire counterparts. The Stewardship (fee of £7.6.8. p.a.) was again a highly attractive office, although in this case not the most highly fee'd; its most celebrated occupants being Thomas Cromwell and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.[3] In the early part of the 16th Century it was monopolised by the Constable family.[4] Here there is definite evidence for a Clerkship of the Halmote Courts (fee of £1.6.8. p.a.), which is lacking for Allertonshire.[4] All the Particular Receivers (fee of £10 p.a.) appear to have shouldered their responsibilities in person, including Ralph Dalton, who was

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1 Collection of Officers and Offices (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Allertonshire)

2 Allertonshire timber warrants (Church Commission MSS 190274, 220830).

3 Howdenshire Receiver's Account, 1574-75 (Church Commission MSS 189076).

4 Collection of Officers and Offices (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Howdenshire).

simultaneously Clerk of Works to Bishop Tunstall. They did not discharge the functions of a bailiff however. Owing to the sprawling nature of the liberty and the size of the charge there was a separate Bailiff for each of the three Bailiwicks of Howden (fee of £2 p.a.), Woodside (fee of £3.0.8 p.a.) and "inter Ouse et Derwent" (fee of 6/8d p.a.). These were principally involved in the collection of court profits and freehold rents, although the Bailiff of Howden was also intimately concerned with the borough of that name. They were headed by a fourth bailiff, the Bailiff of the Liberty (fee of £3.6.8. p.a.), whose province was estrays and the goods of felons and fugitives. He, like his colleagues, was recruited from the local gentry.[1] There were two parks in Howdenshire, both with keepers. Walkington Park of 240 acres was disparked and wooded by 1500 and the parker transformed into the Keeper of Walkington Wood (fee of £1 p.a.). He was probably in active employment until circa 1550, by which date all the timber at Walkington had been consumed in staith-building, leaving only the herbage and pannage to be farmed out.[2] After 1550 there is no further trace of this officer. The Keeper of Howden Park (fee of £1.6.8 p.a.) on the other hand, appears to have survived as a sinecurist, since the park of 1½ miles circumference was farmed out for agricultural purposes.[3] Finally there were

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1 Collection of Officers and Offices (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Howdenshire).

2 An assertion deduced from the Howdenshire Receivers' Accounts (Church Commission MSS). By 1648 Walkington Wood was again producing timber, according to the Parliamentary Survey of Howdenshire (Church Commission MSS 23384).

3 E.g., a survey of 1560 reveals that a lease of the Park was held by the widow of Bishop Tunstall's nephew, Sir Marmaduke Tunstall of Thurland, Lancs., whilst Laurence Haly, a former Bailiff of Durham and servant of Bishop Tunstall, was drawing an exceptionally large keeper's fee of £3.12.0 (Church Commission 188550).

keepers for the two manors of Howden and Wheel Hall (fees of £1.14.4 p.a. and £3.0.8 p.a. respectively), where the Bishop owned two serviceable residences and a quantity of demesne land. These officers were occupied in the maintenance of the episcopal property and the handling of payments and rents in kind; between 1529 and 1550 they were also engaged in modest farming operations on the Bishop's behalf.[1] However two long leases made out to the Queen by Bishop Barnes in 1584 and 1586 destroyed much of their "raison d'etre", although they did not cause their disappearance, from the list of fee recipients.[2] As will be observed below there was sufficient expenditure on flood prevention in Howdenshire to warrant the presence of a clerk of works.[3] Yet no official appointment was ever made outside the Palatinate. Whenever there was a call for projects outside the orbit of the Durham Clerk of Works, the necessary authority and resources were assigned to capable estate servants or tenants of the immediate vicinity, or in the case of the Howden waterworks, to commissioners for sewers; i.e. to trusted individuals with essential local knowledge.[4]

(4) Conclusions

From this study of the structure of the estate administration it can be seen how deceptive and superficial was its apparent hierarchical rigidity and departmentalism.[5] The multitude of

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1 Howdenshire Receivers' Accounts (Church Commission MSS). Infra, p.162.

2 Volume of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 54137, Folios 87 and 89).

3 Vide infra, p.163.

4 E.g., in the 1590s sizeable construction and repair projects in Howdenshire were entrusted to John Gates Esq., Receiver, Laurence Harrison, Bailiff of Howden, and William Thorneton, Bailiff of Ouse and Derwent, List of Payments, 1595-1601 (Church Commission MSS 189189).

5 A summary of the structure of the administration of the outlying estates is contained in Appendix V, section b), p.465.

officers within the administration had evolved originally as steps towards a more efficient estate management, but with the passage of time many of them had become merely means of rewarding and gratifying leading tenants, the Bishop's personal servants, relations and councillors, the influential northern gentry and nobility and even national figures. Thus it was not uncommon for important members of the hierarchy to be in possession of several offices, both within and outside the Bishop's service, performing most, if not all of their duties, by proxy. At many levels therefore, the Bishop's executive officers were a number of deputies, their identity lying hidden beneath that of their masters and employers. In some instances the deputy made such a profound impression that he received official recognition, like the Under Sheriff, the Learned Steward and the Particular Receiver for the Forest of Weardale. In these circumstances, where appointments were not based upon suitability, it is obvious that the formal administration was limited in value. Outside the Exchequer, the one department in which an official's ability was essential, the real business of administration was undertaken by a body of trained councillors, skilled in all aspects of estate management and government and devoted to the Bishop's interests. Regardless of their official positions, these trusted servants can be found in any pontificate acting as the Bishop's commissioners in all kinds of affairs. They are the men that must be singled out if the administration of the bishopric estates is to be properly understood. At the same time the inner circle was never very large and could not be expected to bear the whole burden of administration. Hence the continued employment and popularity of the Exchequer method of account, which ensured a minimum degree of efficiency from the officers of charge,

regardless of their self-interest and lack of devotion to the Bishop's service.

It should also be observed that most of the estate administration was geared to the collection and reception of an episcopal income derived from rents and the profits of the Bishop's several jurisdictions. After the first few decades of the 16th Century the Bishop of Durham ceased entirely to be an entrepreneur; becoming a complete "rentier" landlord at a time when other large landowners were seeking profit out of the direct exploitation of their assets. Consequently almost all the important offices were offices of charge, where the charge took the form of rents and other dues, never profits arising from the investment of capital and the expenditure of effort. Where the estate officials were not accounting officers they were either officers of order, or custodians of the episcopal residences, parks and woods, and frequently sinecurists.

CHAPTER III

The Machinery of Estate Administration

With the administration broken down into its component parts the next step is to describe how it was put to work in the Bishop's service. Like the administrative structure, the machinery of administration was also strongly influenced by the Bishop's complete evolution into a "rentier" landlord. It was designed to ensure a minimum of efficiency in handling the temporal income, rather than to provide a more functional and positive administration in a wider sense. Hence we find the bulk of the administrative machinery closely geared to the working of an accounting system.

(a) The Accounting System

The general principles of the accounting system were time-honoured; borrowed and adapted from the Royal Exchequer to suit the particular needs of the northern franchise. For just as in other sectors the procedure elaborated at Durham mirrored the well-tried methods of the Royal administration, so in the realm of finance it was perfectly natural for the Durham Exchequer to reflect a superior organisation which had been carefully evolved over the centuries to a high degree of perfection. As will emerge, there were differences between the two systems which tend to conceal the fact that one was the parent of the other. Yet these discrepancies resulted directly from the divergence in size between the respective units and were only of superficial importance. The cementing bond was still readily apparent in the form of a common basis of general principles first posited long before in the

"Dialogus de Scaccario".[1]

Whether employed at Westminster, Durham, or on any landed estate in England, the purpose of the Exchequer method of account was to provide the officers of order with a means of controlling the officers of charge. The basic concept behind the system was the liability of the accounting official. The accountant, whether an officer of receipt or expense, carried out his various monetary transactions during the course of a financial year running from Michaelmas (29 September) to Michaelmas. At the end of it there occurred an annual audit where he was charged with responsibility for a predetermined sum of money and summoned to give an account of its disposal. If he could discharge his obligation all well and good. If not, his liabilities were assessed, the particulars of his debt recorded and the necessary steps taken to guarantee final acquittance. The advantage of this method of account was that if the sum total of income due was found lacking, the onus could be fixed squarely where it belonged. The end product of the process was a series of accounts which served not as a record of actual income and expenditure, giving some indication of profits and losses, but as a formal declaration of each accounting official's liability for a stated sum of money. Even though the 16th and 17th Centuries are frequently portrayed as an epoch of emergent capitalism and even as the age of the first industrial revolution, the reasons for the continuing universal popularity of this mediaeval procedure in estate administration are not hard to find.[2]

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1 C. Johnson, ed., Dialogus de Scaccario, London, 1950, passim.

2 E.g., C. Wilson, England's Apprenticeship, London, 1965, Pts. I-II. J.U. Nef, The Progress of Technology and the Growth of Large-Scale Industry in Great Britain, 1540-1640, Economic History Review, 1934-35, v, 3ff.

Even for the most progressive landlords, seeking to increase their incomes by rack-renting and modernising tenures, or by opening up mines and undertaking intensive pasture farming, the basic concern was still to secure all that was their due. The difficulties inherent in rent extraction were manifold, yet at the same time there was an almost complete dependence on estate officers whose chief aim was the derivation of a profit from their offices, for the least amount of effort on behalf of their employers. The difficulties of ecclesiastical landlords were worse than those experienced by their lay counterparts and afforded little opportunity for the development of a more modern approach to landownership and accountancy. So essential was the Exchequer system to the Durham administration that without it there could have been no employment of the unpaid collectors who outnumbered the paid officials as officers of receipt.

The practical operation of the principles of accounting can be conveniently studied through the formal accounts resulting from the annual audit. One of the most fundamental of this series was the Receiver-General's Account.[1] This was the Receiver-General's particular account for the County Palatine, Norhamshire and Islandshire, Bedlingtonshire and eventually Craike. It is important both as a summary of the findings of the accounting procedure with reference to all the episcopal estates with the exception of the two Yorkshire Liberties, and as a sound illustration of the purposes served by the audit. The Account is worth describing at some length as its format was repeated in all the sub-accounts from which it was derived.

The primary purpose of the Account was to furnish the Bishop

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1 A translation of a typical Receiver-General's Account is contained in Appendix VI, pp.467-487.

with a fairly detailed summary of the amount and form of the income which he could call upon his chief particular receiver to produce. This information was contained in the first part of the Account, the Charge. In the second half, or Discharge, it was determined exactly how this potential revenue, for which the Receiver-General was held responsible, had been disposed.

The first entry under the Charge was usually the sum total of arrears brought forward. At the end of each account the arrears for the year in question were added to the amounts still outstanding from previous years and then attached in due course to the new charge for the following year. Accumulated arrears consequently became an integral part of the charge and when steadily mounting up over the course of a long pontificate could eventually constitute a large proportion of the sum total of income due. However the arrears of a predecessor were of no concern to an incoming bishop, so that the account for his first year at least was not burdened by such an appendage. In the account for 1509-1510, for example, Bishop Ruthall (1509-1523) had not been in possession of the See long enough for a backlog of outstanding payments to appear.[1]

The arrears gave way to the Charge proper, composed of a long list of expected receipts from various sources, arranged under distinct headings. When combined, with any arrears added, they provided the sum total of income due. It must be stressed that the Account was in no way a record of actual payments made into the Exchequer. No attempt was made to assess the amount of the Bishop's ~~annual~~ actual income; only to provide an accurate estimate of what the Receiver-General, in his particular capacity, ought to receive.

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1 A translation of a typical Receiver-General's Account is contained in Appendix VI, pp.467-487.

For this purpose the Charge was quite detailed and explicit, for even the casual profits were fully determined by the time of the audit. There was no uncertainty about the Charge. It was a definite sum which had to be accounted for in one way or another. The procedure was to list the charge of each individual sub-accountant responsible to the Receiver, whether he was an official or a tenant rendering his own account. The first sections of the Charge were compiled from the accounts of the Collectors, Coroners and Bailiffs. Then followed the contributions of the Master Forester and the farmers of the Bishop's parks and mineral resources. (The latter were included in the Master Forester's section until after 1586, although outside the High Forest of Weardale this officer was only personally responsible for the Parks of Wolsingham and Stanhope.) Next in varying order came the amounts of income due from the Escheator, Sheriff, Sequestrator (the Sequestrator was concerned with the Bishop's spiritual jurisdiction and does not figure after 1552) and a number of appropriated benefices, which before the Dissolution had been in the possession of certain regular orders. The last of the main categories was the foreign receipts; a miscellaneous assortment of rents and dues mainly arising outside the County Palatine in Norhamshire and Craike. In the account for 1509-1510 the last entry of all concerned the fees collected in Chancery, but occasionally there were a few additional items, such as the rent charges for the episcopal property on the Tyne Bridge, the Bedlington iron workings and the Weardale lead mines.[1] A separate note was also made of deodands, treasure trove, wrecks and royal fish whenever they occurred.

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1 A translation of a typical Receiver-General's Account is contained in Appendix VI, pp. 467-487.

With the completion of the Charge (a sum total of £2921 in 1510) the Receiver-General had to account for his supposed receipts in the Discharge. Several courses of action were open to him. In practice he had already received a substantial part of the Charge during the course of the financial year. With regard to this he could prove either that he had disposed of it in some specific way, such as by defraying expenses and handing over the balance to the Bishop, or that he still retained it in the Exchequer. As for the remainder he could successfully demonstrate that it was unleviable or had been legitimately retained or spent by the sub-accountants, and be credited with a reduction of his charge. Otherwise he simply had to admit that it still had to be delivered into his keeping and accept his responsibility for it in the form of arrears. The end result was his discharge from all liability for his onus, excepting the arrears and any money lying in the Exchequer. The inclusion of these cash reserves with the arrears in the Receiver's Debet is indicative of the bias of the accounting system. The Receiver-General did not fulfil his obligations simply by amassing the episcopal revenue in the Exchequer. He did not receive final acquittance until he had satisfied all the administration's operational expenses and delivered the annual surplus over to the Bishop.

The procedure commonly followed at the base of the Account was for the Receiver-General's outlay, including his payments to the Bishop, (£2525 in 1510) to be assessed and then deducted from the total charge (£2921), leaving a Debet or remainder (£395). It was at this point that the accountant usually claimed for his allowances, if any; a mixture of relinquished debts and various forms of concealed income which had not passed through his hands.

The significance of this arrangement for the researcher is that actual income, never specifically mentioned in the Account, was equivalent to the sum total of the Receiver-General's disbursements, except on the occasions when the Debet included deposits in the Exchequer or concealed income. In 1510 for example, besides the £2525 actually disbursed by the Receiver-General, there was a further £69 lying in his safe-keeping, which brought the total of actual income up to £2594.[1] The value of the Receiver-General's account for determining actual income is purely incidental however. Like all other accounts it was based on the ideal that actual income should equal income due. Its chief object was to establish the liability of the chief accounting official for a predetermined sum; a task which necessitated a record of his outgoings, but not his receipts. In the event it was of no consequence even to estimate total outgoings, since allowances for decayed rents and land retained for the Bishop's own use were sometimes inserted amongst the real disbursements; thereby signifying that the only requirement was the calculation, by a process of elimination, of the accountant's final liability. In the cases where real payments were confused with remissions, the only way to ascertain the sum of real outgoings, and hence actual income, is to total up the individual disbursements; something that was never attempted at the time by the Audit officials.

The presentation of the Receiver-General's Account is worthy of note. Every year two copies were produced; one on paper, the other on parchment. The paper copy was probably for office consultation and the use of the Auditor and Receiver-General, whilst

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1 A translation of a typical Receiver-General's Account is contained in Appendix VI, pp. 467-487.

the parchment version was for the Bishop's perusal and ultimate preservation as a formal record. The latter took the form of one long, continuous roll, composed of between five and ten separate membranes, sewn end to end, with the account written in Latin on one side only. For a short period during the second half of the 16th Century all the membranes were sewn together at one end and both sides utilised, but this variation occurred more frequently in the Collectors' Accounts. The paper copies, produced on the same principle, were usually longer, with the writing more widely spaced and informal. During the reign of Charles I they were reshaped into book form. The actual composition of the document probably remained constant from its inception right up until 1642; for the 16th and 17th Century Accounts are identical in this respect to those of William Chancellor, Constable and Receiver-General in 1416-17, and William de Elmedon, Constable and Receiver in 1385-86.[1] This implies that even if the Receiver-General did not eclipse the Steward until circa 1450, his financial duties were fully developed well before that date.

Almost identical to the Receiver-General's Account was the Account of the Clerk of Great Receipt.[2] It was based entirely upon the same pattern and contained the same information, although with a few differences in presentation; notably the provision of details for the arrears which usually headed the Account. This

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1 Receiver-General's Account, 1416-17 (Durham University Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, Church Commission MSS 189809). Receiver's Account, 1385-86, W. Greenwell, ed., Bishop Hatfield's Survey, Surtees Society Vol.32, London, 1857, Appendix III.

2 Examples are extant for 1581-82, 1585-86, 1590-91, 1592-93, 1601-02, 1603-04, 1630-31 and 1631-32 (Church Commission MSS 189565, 190312, 189867, 189981, 189869, 189870, 189874 and 220130).

duplication is explicable if the Clerk of Great Receipt is cast as the acting executive officer in the Exchequer. If he was the deputy receiver then he would need his own copy of the Receiver-General's Account and a more detailed break-down of arrears than his superior.

The purpose in lingering over the Receiver-General's Account is two-fold. In the first place all the accounts resulting from the audit proceedings were identical to it in structure and fulfilled the same function. To describe the Receiver-General's Account therefore, is to describe them all. Secondly the Receiver-General's Particular Account was one of the most comprehensive, without some knowledge of which, it would be considerably more difficult to understand the workings of the administrative machine. Although final responsibility for the accumulation of income devolved upon the Receiver-General, it was also shared by the subordinate officers of receipt, whose primary duty was the collection of revenue. Consequently, those sub-accountants who were individually responsible for part of the Receiver-General's charge, rendered their own personal accounts at the audit and were assessed separately for a portion of the chief accountant's liability. The theoretical implication is that they were faced with a double liability; the greater to the Bishop as represented by his auditor; the lesser to the Receiver-General, their immediate superior, who could suffer through their failings.

There were two copies of each latinised sub-account on the established pattern, but fairly wide differences in length and content. The Accounts of the Norhamshire Receiver (so long as they existed), Master-Forester, Bailiffs and Collectors shared the nearest affinities with the master account, their charges being

arranged under separate headings for each class of revenue.[1] Before 1500 the Accounts of the Bailiffs of the Manors of Darlington, Stockton, Bishop Middleham and Evenwood, and the Borough of Stockton, were all engrossed upon one roll, but a lack of evidence makes it impossible to determine whether this practice continued after the turn of the century. The other Bailiffs' Accounts certainly remained separate entities throughout. Containing the lightest charges of all, the Collectors' Accounts were so brief that they could all be fitted into four rolls, arranged under Wards. The four Coroners' Accounts on the other hand, had their contents arranged under place-names rather than type of income, because of their diverse and widespread nature; whilst the Escheator's Accounts went under the names of the tenants-in-chief and freeholders from whom he was extracting feudal dues.[2] Finally, since the Sheriff's Accounts were wholly concerned with the profits of justice, they took their headings from the various courts at which justice was dispensed.[3] In all these accounts the charge was longer than the discharge, since the ordinary officers of receipt could claim very few expenses and allowances in comparison with the Receiver-General. The discharge usually consisted of very little more than a record of payments into the Exchequer. As for the tenants who delivered their own rents to

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1 Typical examples are: the Account of John Durham, chaplain, Receiver for Norhamshire, 1430-31; the Account of George Lumley, knight, Master Forester, 1500-01; the Account of William Betts, Bailiff of Darlington Borough, 1506-07; and the Collectors' Account for Stockton Ward, 1544-45 (Church Commission MSS 190005, 190033, 188918 and 188855).

2 Typical examples are: the Account of Brian Hudleston, Coroner of Darlington Ward, 1540-41; and the Account of John Parkinson Esq., Escheator, 1516-17 (Church Commission MSS 188795 and 189608).

3 A typical example is the Account of Robert Bowes Esq., Sheriff, 1562-63 (Church Commission MSS 189477).

Durham, they were not obliged to attend at the audit and submit to an official scrutiny. Since their accounts were uncomplicated, they could easily be checked against lease enrolments, acquittances and the Book of Great Receipt, without recourse to the full accounting procedure. That only came into operation where an officer was interposed between landlord and tenant, receiving revenue from a variety of sources, or defraying a variety of expenses; where the maintenance of a detailed check was an essential precaution against the Bishop's financial loss.

The Receiver-General's discharge also brought the officers of expense into the picture, principally the Clerk of Works, and occasionally the Treasurer of the Household.[1] It was just as necessary to keep a strict account of their spending as it was to supervise the officers of receipt in the collection of the episcopal income. In their case exactly the same accounting procedure could be applied; their charge being the amount of money they had received from the Exchequer, and their discharge, a report of its disbursement in the Bishop's service. Any surplus remaining over at the end of the year's activities was their responsibility.[2]

The entrepreneurial officers, like the Instaurer, the Approvers of the Bishop's coal-mines and the Surveyor of the Weardale Lead Mines also rendered their accounts; their format depending upon circumstances. As officers of expense their charge consisted of the provision of working capital from the Exchequer and their discharge of the defrayment of working costs. Alternatively as

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1 The Treasurer of the Household usually received his allocation of income by way of the Bishop himself, but occasionally part of it arrived directly from the Exchequer.

2 The Account of Robert Adthy, Clerk of Works, 1532-33 (Church Commission MSS 190065)

officers of receipt their charge comprised receipts from their operations and their discharge consisted of payments into the Exchequer. In practice there were no hard and fast distinctions however, and it was usual for officials of this type to be both officers of receipt and officers of expense in the same account.[1]

Similar to the account rendered by the Receiver-General in his particular capacity were the Accounts of the Particular Receivers for Howdenshire and Allertonshire.[2] All three accounts performed the same function in establishing the liability of the chief accountants, but they differed in that the Yorkshire accounts were not summaries like their Durham counterpart. Although there were separate audits for Howdenshire and Allertonshire, the Particular Receivers appear to have been the only officers of receipt there to render an account; probably because of the smaller amount of income derived from these quarters. Consequently there were no sub-accounts to be condensed into the Particular Receiver's statements, with the result that they contained a greater wealth of detail than the Receiver-General's Account. From the pontificate of Bishop James (1606-17) however, the Howdenshire Bailiffs did begin to account separately.

The Accounts of the Receiver for Norhamshire and the Reeve of Craike were also initially main accounts, although they became

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1 Typical examples are: the Account of John Robynson, Instaurer, 1514-15; the Account of William Lee, Approver of the Coal-Mines at Raby, Grewburn and Hargill, 1502-03; and the Account of William Frankeleyn, clerk, Surveyor of the Weardale Lead-Mines, 1524-25 (Church Commission MSS 190188, 190026 and 190018).

2 Typical examples are: the Account of William Roakebye, gent., Receiver for Howdenshire, 1608-09; and the Account of Thomas Layton, gent., Receiver for Allertonshire, 1584-85 (Church Commission MSS 189196 and 189377).

absorbed into the Receiver-General's Account under the heading of Foreign Receipts. The Norhamshire Account was the first to lose its separate identity between 1496 and 1504, when the receipts from Norham were included in the Durham Accounts and the Receiver/Farmer relegated to the status of a sub-accountant, bound to attendance at the Durham Audit. The policy of putting the liberty out to farm and the Crown seizure of 1558 set the seal on its extinction.[1] The Craike Account maintained its complete independence of Durham until 1567, when the manorial demesne was leased out wholesale and its farmer began to account directly, instead of through the mediation of the Reeve.[2] Thereafter the demesne rent appeared in the Receiver-General's Foreign Receipts. Then in 1585 the whole manor was leased to the Queen and the rest of the Account went into abeyance.[3] Although the Reeve of Craike was a principal accountant until 1585, the size of his charge had never warranted a separate audit. He had rendered account first at Northallerton and later at Durham.[2]

In addition to all the particular accounts there were finally others which applied to all the bishopric possessions as a corporate whole; summarising the particular accounts for the benefit of the Bishop and his chief financial officers. Although the records in this category bore three different titles (Declarations of Account, Views of Account and Valors), they were all of a similar nature and designed for the same ends.[4] They were simultaneously the accounts of the Receiver-General in his widest capacity, general

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1 Vide supra, pp.53-58.

2 A typical example is the Account of Christopher Fenton, Reeve, 1528-29 (Church Commission MSS 189917).

3 Vide supra, p.59-60.

4 A typical Declaration of Account is summarised in Appendix VII, pp. 488-491.

statements of the annual deployment of revenue from all sources and valuations of the episcopal estates. Although there were frequent, minor deviations in compilation, too numerous and inconsequential to relate, the aim was always the same; to condense the findings of the particular accounts into one final statement. The format used was identical to that of the Receiver-General's (Durham) Account, except that the Declararation and its kin were usually produced in book form, rather than on a roll of parchment. In fact they were Receiver-General's Accounts, with the chief accountant's charge and discharge enlarged to cover his wider responsibilities and the amount of detail curbed to accommodate the comprehensiveness of the documents. One noteworthy alteration in presentation occurred in 1538/39. Arrears were henceforth removed from the main body of each account and appendixed in a Declaration of Arrears to its successor. By 1573 however, there had been a reversion to the earlier layout. Possibly the new procedure had been confined to the pontificate of Bishop Tunstall.[1]

It should be remarked that there was also a View or Declaration belonging to the Clerk of Great Receipt, which had absolutely nothing in common with the Receiver-General's Declaration.[2] Instead it was similar in appearance to the Receiver-General's (Durham) Account, with the distinction that some attempt was made to differentiate between actual income and income due. Details of the charge were presented in the ordinary way, but the sum totals were split into actual payments and arrears. This again seems to point to the Clerk of Great Receipt as the Receiver-General's

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1 E.g., Declaration of Account, 1539-40 (Church Commission MSS 221667). There are no extant accounts for the period 1552-1570.

2 There are extant examples for 1586-87, 1587-88, 1588-89 and 1590-91 (Church Commission MSS 190011, 195711, 189581 and 220006)

executive officer.

All these accounts were central to the working of the administrative machinery; yet they did not of themselves supply all the requirements of an efficient accounting system. The actual compilation of the accounts depended entirely upon the evidence produced at the Audit, by the accountants on one side, and the Exchequer officials on the other. In accordance with the "modus operandi", all this evidence had to be in writing; giving rise to a situation in which every fact inscribed in the formal accounts was substantiated by some supporting record. The accounts were also very much summary documents, leaving much to be desired in the way of detail. Hence the provision of a further class of records to remedy this defect.

Of all the documents employed at the Audit to determine the liability of the accounting officials, the most fundamental was the Survey, drawn up periodically by the Surveyor's office to provide an exact up-to-date description of the bishopric estates and the various sources of episcopal income. As an authoritative, unchallengeable assessment of rentals, it served as the basic source of information for the compilation of each accountants' charge. It is not clear how frequently fresh surveys were made, but the dates of extant examples seem to suggest that they were likely to accompany a change of incumbent.[1] They were composed by reconciling a corpus of written evidence with the answers given to a comprehensive set of questions by sworn juries of men known to be familiar with the various components of the bishopric estates

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1 Extant examples are: Survey of Howdenshire, 1561; Survey of Craike, 1561; Survey of the Bishopric, 1588; Survey of Stanhope, 1595; and Survey of Allertonshire, 1595 (Church Commission MSS 188550, 221025/1, 195566a (Halmote Court Miscellaneous Book M.64), 277863 and A/11/18).

for a considerable period of time.[1]

After the Survey the most important record was the Book of Great Receipt.[2] Compiled by the Clerk of Great Receipt during the course of the financial year, probably from office memoranda, it recorded actual day to day payments made into the Exchequer by all the sub-accountants - officers and tenants - who were responsible for the Receiver-General's particular charge. In spite of its detailed nature and piecemeal compilation, it was still composed in a latinised manner. Entries were made under the same headings as those employed in the Receiver-General's Account. Beneath them was a space reserved for each individual payee, whether an officer, an unpaid collector, or a farmer. The entries themselves consisted of a number of untotalled payments; the relevant information being the date of payment, the amount paid in and the name and credentials of the payee. Sum totals did occur at the end of the various sections, but were not really vital to the Book's main function, which was to prove the validity of the sub-accountants' discharge with regard to the sums which they had forwarded to the Exchequer. At the same time this document did have other uses. In addition to the record of receipts there was also a separate note in just as detailed a fashion of the payment of arrears and all disbursements made out of the Exchequer.[3] The former assisted in the compilation of the documents devoted specifically to arrears, whilst the latter confirmed the validity of the Receiver-General's own discharge.

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1 Articles to be inquired of in the Survey for the Bishop of Durham, relating to the Manor and Borough of Darlington (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 91/16).

2 E.g., Church Commission MSS 220243.

3 Appendix XXIII, p.551-558.

Yet the sub-accountants did not merely rely upon the Book of Great Receipt to register their transactions with the Exchequer and obtain release from their onuses. Whenever they submitted a payment they were issued with a Receipt or Acquittance, which, when produced at the Audit, served both as a double-check and a safeguard for their interests.[1] The surviving examples of Receipts fall into three main types, of which the most distinctive is the Bill of Indenture. This began life as a blank, oblong scrap of parchment, on which the details of the transaction to be recorded were written twice. For example:

> This indenture made at Durham, 5th December, in the first year (1509) of the pontificate of Lord Thomas (Ruthall), Bishop of Durham; bears witness that William Adamson, collector of Redworth, has paid to ---, Receiver-General of the Durham Exchequer, out of the issues of his office, this year - £3.6.6½.

The duplicated receipt was then cut in two, in a serrated or indented manner; one half being presented to the accountant and the other lodged in the Exchequer. At the Audit both halves were reproduced; one to substantiate the accountant's claims for discharge and the other to check the veracity of his statements and evidence. The authenticity of his part of the Bill was ascertained by matching up the jagged indentations of its cut edge with those of its Exchequer twin. The Bill of Indenture seems to have been supplied principally, although not exclusively, to officers of receipt, rather than to farmers. It was the Durham equivalent of the wooden tally which was apparently still in use at Westminster. It was frequently a record of more than one payment and often announced the amount of money still outstanding. One unusual feature is that

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1 Extant examples can be found in bundles of vouchers for 1509, 1534-35, 1604-05 and 1600-17 (Church Commission MSS 221162, 221163, A4 and 221636).

it was mass produced, with blanks in the appropriate places, to be filled in as required; an early version of the modern printed form. A variation in the common formula was the Bishop's Indenture of Receipt, which acquitted the Receiver-General of all the deliveries of cash he made to his master.[1]

The second class of Acquittance is nearer in form more identical to the receipt as we know it today. Written on a narrow piece of parchment or paper, it mostly recorded a single payment into the Exchequer and was signed by an Exchequer official. Two copies were again made, but they were not indented. Most of the extant examples are drawn up in favour of farmers, but their use by officers of receipt was not precluded, just as Bills of Indenture were not debarred to tenants. Faced with the question of whether the two forms of acquittance were interchangeable or not, the tentative conclusion is that they were employed simultaneously and in conjunction; the simple, signed receipt as a record of individual payments and the Bill of Indenture as a legally valid, formal summary. This conviction is based on very slender grounds however, for there is only one surviving example of both types recording the same transaction.

Thirdly there is a paper version of the second category lacking the official stamp of a signature. This was probably not an acquittance at all, but simply a memorandum, noting a payment to be entered later into the Book of Great Receipt.

Another document brought into service at the Audit was the Halmote Court Rental.[2] One of the administration's most pressing

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1 E.g., Bishop's Indentures of Receipt, 1604-05 (Church Commission MSS 221171)

2 E.g., Rental for Allertonshire, 1627 (Church Commission MSS 190163).

concerns was the need to revise the Bishop's rent-rolls, as tenants died and holdings constantly changed hands. If the officers of receipt were to perform their duties with a modicum of success, their charges had to be brought up to date every year. The need for frequent revision was particularly applicable to the Collectors, who were often new to their tasks and of necessity had to be furnished with fresh particulars. Accordingly an annual inquiry was conducted through the medium of the halmote or manorial courts to update the most recent survey on tenancy details, and the findings were embodied into a separate rental for each accounting official; not only to expedite the performance of the officer's functions, but also to provide the Auditor with an accurate copy of his charge. The Rentals which have survived for posterity are the Exchequer versions; small slips of parchment, bundled together year after year, by wards. Their contents comprised the name of each officer of receipt, the sum total of the rents for which he was responsible, the names of the tenants in his charge, the nature of their tenures and the amount of rent due from each. By this means it was ensured that income was not whittled down to an unreasonable degree by the ignorance of the accounting officials or the concealments of the tenantry. Altogether the Halmote Court Rentals provided a useful supplement to the more infrequent, full-scale surveys, by means of which a more searching inquiry was conducted.

Not all the officers of receipt were in a position to pay their whole quotas into the Exchequer. Many of them were faced with a number of small expenses, which had to be defrayed out of the revenue they had collected. Hence the presence at the Audit of a miscellaneous group of documents which can best be described as

evidence in support of applications for expenses and allowances. Records of this type can be found attached to the Accounts of the Particular Receivers for Allertonshire and Howdenshire.[1] They include receipts signed by the recipients of fees and wages, lists of audit and court expenses and details of the cost of repairs.

A related form of evidence in support of a reduction in liability was the record of repairs submitted at the Audit by the farmers of the Bishop's mills whenever their leaseholds were in need of attention.[2] This consisted of particulars of reparations, together with their cost and the lessee's signature. Although the Bishop was responsible for at least the provision of basic materials, it would seem that building operations were frequently conducted by his mill-tenants themselves, rather than the Clerk of Works; they submitting a claim for their expenses and receiving reimbursement, or a reduction in rent. In the case of these and similar claims for allowances, it is noticeable that the Auditor had to rely heavily upon the word of the accountant, without recourse to the double-checks provided for receipts. Doubtless an oath was considered a sufficient guarantee where only small sums of money were involved.

A further way in which an accountant might legitimately claim to have his liability reduced, was by the production of a Bishop's Warrant. Warrants were written instructions ordering an officer to carry out some specific task. If the task involved expense, or alternatively the receipt of cash, then the recipient of the warrant, or his superior if he was not himself an accounting

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1 E.g., Allertonshire Receiver's Accounts, 1520-21, 1527-28 and 1596-97 (Church Commission MSS 189363, 189372 and 189387).

2 Tenants' claims for mill repairs are to be found in the bundle of vouchers for 1509 (Church Commission MSS 221162).

official, was required to produce it at the Audit; suitably cancelled by a senior member of the administration, to prove that the orders really had been carried out. The extant examples in this category are all timber warrants, directed by the Bishop to the Keeper of Clack and Cotcliff Woods in Allertonshire and authorising him to sell or provide timber for certain specified purposes. As in this warrant for 1601:

> These are to require and authorize you to deliver to Thomas Todd, farmer of my water corne milne at Osmotherly, two such tymber trees out of my woodes of Clack, as his workmen shall think fitt and needfull for the repayring of the saide milne wheale and the armes and buckett boordes thereof. And this shalbe your warrant, to be retorned at my next Auditt. At B. Auckland this 26th of Februarie 1601. Eliz. 44. Tobie Duresme.
> To the keeper of my woodes at Clack or his deputie.
> (In a different hand - the cancellation.) Delyvered 2 trees upon this warrant by the keeper. Francis Lascelles (Receiver) [1]

The value of the warrant to both accountant and Auditor is readily apparent. If timber had been requisitioned for repair work on a mill or episcopal manor, then it was supplied free and the keeper of the woods was not charged for the sale price. On the other hand, if the warrant had instructed him to provide the churchwardens of Northallerton with two trees for the repair of their church, at 6/8d. each, then there would have been a monetary transaction involved, and the warrant would accordingly indicate that the keeper was accountable for 13/4d.[2]

With the officers of expense the audit procedure was somewhat different. Since they were in receipt of lump sums from the Exchequer the safeguards against misappropriation were rather less effective than in the case of the officers of receipt. The

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1 Church Commission MSS 190274.

2 Timber Warrant, 1601 (Church Commission MSS 220830).

Auditor could ensure that the latter accounted for every last penny, but once the former had been allocated their quota, it was almost impossible to check whether they were disposing of it in the proper manner. In the circumstances a great deal of trust had to be placed in the officers of expense, who were usually more devoted to the Bishop's service than the officers of receipt. All they were required to produce at the Audit were particulars of their yearly expenses. These particulars were arranged in book form. Most typical of its kind was the Book of Particulars of Account belonging to the Clerk of Works, in which this officer's outlay was broken down into its component parts, in minute detail.[1] In the same vein was the corresponding Howdenshire Book of Payments, otherwise known as the Book of Waterworks, since its contents were mainly concerned with the running battle against the waters of the R. Ouse.[2] The procedure in both these books was to itemise expenditure under the headings of the various works and projects undertaken. In a different sphere the Household Book achieved the same ends for the Treasurer of the Household, whilst the Clerk of the Weardale Lead-Mines possessed a similar Book of Account.[3] Taking into account the modifications demanded by the differences in subject matter, all these records of expense were modelled upon the second section of the Book of Great Receipt, which listed all the disbursements made out of the Exchequer.

Moving from the records used in evidence at the Audit to those

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1 E.g., the Book of Particulars of Account of Ralph Dalton, Clerk of Works, 1543-44 (Church Commission MSS 190072).

2 E.g., Howdenshire Book of Payments, 1522-23 (Church Commission MSS 220920).

3 The only extant Household Book is a variant entitled Book of Wheat, Malt and Carriage of Fuel, dated 1490-91; the only extant lead-mine book of account is dated 1527 (Church Commission MSS 220198/6 and 190020).

which were derived from it and supplemented the bare essentials of the formal accounts, it is found that they were designed for the purpose of tracking down arrears. The most basic was the Book of Transumpt, another formal, latinised compilation produced on paper.[1] By weighing the information given in the Book of Great Receipt against the charge for which each accountant was responsible, and the evidence produced by him at the Audit, this Book set out to establish the exact nature of his liability at the end of the financial year. The method employed is illustrated by this typical item, drawn at random from one of the Books and referring to the collector for the village of Blackwell in Darlington Ward:

> Blackwell. John Cornforth, Collector.
> (The charge is given first.)
> £19.17.9 p.a. in rents and farms.
> £ 1.10.0 in lieu of 6 quarters of wheat, owing by custom, at 5/0d. per quarter.
> £ 1 in lieu of 15 quarters of oats, owing by custom, at 1/4d. per quarter.
> 16.8d. in lieu of 5 quarters of barley, owing by custom, at 3/4d. per quarter.
> 8d. in new rent from the aforementioned John, for a parcel of land belonging to the Lord's waste, called Stakepathe.
> £ 1. 3.6 in profits from the 3 halmote courts held this year.
> Total £24. 8. 7.
> (The discharge)
> Of which 6/8d. in decayed rents for various parcels (an allowance)
> Remainder owing is £24.1.11.
> Of which £17 was paid to William Frankeleyn, clerk, Receiver-General of the Durham Exchequer, by Indenture
> Still owing, £7. 1.11.
> Which was paid to the aforesaid Receiver-General, according to the entries in the Book of Great Receipt.

The extract presents some idea of a document which was intended to supplement the bald summary of the Receiver-General's (Durham) Account. It was in fact a precis of the many sub-accounts condensed into it. In our particular example the Collector was

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1 E.g., Book of Transumpt, 1594-95 (Church Commission MSS 220183).

discharged, but this was not always the case. The chief value of the Book of Transumpt was that it revealed at a quick glance to what extent each accountant was in arrears. Consequently it became one of the principal sources for the compilation of the other records of arrears, which were frequently bound up with it. The layout of the Book followed the same pattern as the Book of Great Receipt, but in this case there was no provision for details or overall sums. These could all be checked in the various sub-accounts, the Book of Great Receipt itself and its attendant acquittances. Unlike its fellow reference-work it was definitely a post-audit product, based upon the audit proceedings. Many of the extant copies show signs that they were continually being revised, as arrears were gradually paid off after the end of the financial year. Attention should also be drawn to the existence of several prototype versions, bearing the marks of copious alterations.[1] These were probably rough drafts of the formal Book of Transumpt before it reached its finalised form.

Details of arrears, gleaned mainly from the Book of Transumpt, were ultimately entered into the Book of Arrears, the most comprehensive record of outstanding payments.[2] In fact the derivation of the latter from the former was so great that it was frequently presented as an appendix to it, rather than as a separate entity. The technique employed was not only to provide particulars for current arrears, but also to take the whole of a bishop's pontificate and break down the sum total of all outstanding debts into their details year by year. For the most recent

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1 E.g., Book of Transumpt, 1596 (Church Commission MSS 221681).

2 E.g., Book of Arrears, 1561-73 (Church Commission MSS 220002).

financial year the indisputable source of information was the Book of Transumpt; for earlier years, the entries of discharged arrears contained in the Book of Great Receipt. The resulting document was a comprehensive schedule of arrears, clearly stating the amount and origin of each separate debt, the name of the accountant charged with responsibility for it and the year in which it was incurred. A summarised version of the Book of Arrears was the Declaration of Arrears, attached to the Declaration of Account during the pontificate of Bishop Tunstall.[1]

In addition to the Book of Arrears, giving substance to the bald figures of the main accounts, there was also an Account of Arrears, based on the principles of the Receiver-General's Account and highlighting arrears in an entirely different way.[2] The purpose of the Book of Arrears was to supply information on individual debts and only incidentally to give some indication of the overall reduction of arrears. The function of this second document on the other hand, was to render an annual account of the gradual discharge of the sum total of outstanding payments. Particulars were of little concern; the only aim was to determine how much of the arrears had been paid up, or written off, and the amount of the remainder in gross. The Receiver-General was the accounting official, with a charge comprised of unpaid arrears and a discharge resulting from their payment or abandonment. An actual example might usefully be considered; the Account produced after Michaelmas 1511, at the end of Bishop Ruthall's third year at Durham, with the arrears of his first and second years as its subject.[2] The reason for the time lapse of one year

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1 Vide supra, p.80.

2 E.g., Account of Arrears, 1511 (Church Commission MSS 189773).

was simply that the partial payment of the second year's debts could only take place during the course of the third. There were £219 outstanding from the first year and £395 from the second, with a total liability of £617. The discharge opens with exonerations. An allowance of £38 was made for a number of fees which had first been approved and then disallowed; they were now finally confirmed as legitimate payments and struck off the list of arrears.[1] Further cancelled debts totalled £113. Of this sum £44 was connected with the sale of a wardship which had fallen through, and £66 with an overcharging of Lord Lumley for his livery. Actual payments amounting to £114 were allocated to the repair of Norham Castle (£110), foreign expenditure (£1) and the Clerk of the Lead-Mines(£3). A further £39 had been delivered to the Receiver-General and lay in the Exchequer. All these figures added together gave the accountant a discharge of £265 (cancelled debts - £151; actual payments - £153) and left him with a liability for £312; £123 deriving from the first year and £189 from the second. Details of the arrears were omitted throughout the account, but a note refers the reader, for details, to a certain roll of arrears. This was probably an earlier variant of the Book of Arrears. It should be noticed however, that there are no surviving examples of Accounts of Arrears dated after 1512, whilst the earliest extant copy of a Book of Arrears was produced in 1521 and covers the years from 1516. This suggests that perhaps the Account of Arrears fell into abeyance, although there is no logical reason why it should not have existed side by side with the Book or Roll of Arrears in a complementary fashion.

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1 If the fees had remained disallowed the Receiver-General would have had a saving of £38 in his possession, for which he would have been accountable.

Before leaving the material illustrative of the workings of the accounting system, it is necessary to comment on the paucity of supplementary records for Howdenshire and Allertonshire. Apart from the Declarations of Account and the very full series of Receivers' Accounts for the Yorkshire Liberties, almost all the documents under inspection have been connected with the Receiver-General's particular account; thereby giving the impression that supporting material was only considered necessary for the Durham estates. However, the existence of the Books of Payments, one Book of Receipts, a View of Account and a few Bailiffs' Accounts - all for Howdenshire - leads to the contrary opinion that a similar but uncomplicated system of accounting was applied to the two smaller appendages, as well as to the Durham estates.[1] The lack of evidence is probably due to the destructions of Time, rather than to any deliberate omission.

(b) The Audit

The Audit and the work of the Auditor must now be considered. R.L. Storey and G.T. Lapsley are both agreed that originally there had been a commission of auditors.[2] R.L. Storey cites the regular participants as being past and present members of the administration, of high rank and some financial experience; occasionally supported by an outside assessor. A transition seems to have taken place at some stage, for by the 16th Century the outside assessor had become a full-time official in receipt of a fee, in overall control of the audit proceedings and responsible for the production of the finalised accounts. The commission

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1 Book of Great Receipt, 1566; View of Account, 1530; Bailiffs' Accounts, 1612 and 1619 (Church Commission MSS 195129, 195128, B.11.2 and 220863).

2 R.L. Storey, Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham, 1406-1437, London, 1961, p.83. G.T. Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham, London, 1900, pp.267-268.

still remained in support however; the Receiver-General to receive money brought to the Audit and the rest to lend dignity to the occasion.

The Auditor's work began officially at Pentecost or Whitsun, half-way through the financial year, when some attempt was made to assess the interim state of the Bishop's income. But it was not until after Michaelmas - usually at the end of November, or the beginning of December - that he applied himself to the serious business of the annual audit. The Audit proper occupied the space of no more than seven days; five at Durham and one day each at Allerton and Howden. At Durham four days were devoted to the Collectors and the fifth principally to the Bailiffs and Coroners; although the Master Forester and the Reeve of Craike, amongst others, are also known to have been summoned on that day.[1] Lack of evidence for the Yorkshire Liberties makes it difficult to determine whether it was the Particular Receivers only who accounted, or further sub-accountants as well. Notice of the date on which each officer had to attend was usually given at the beginning of October, in an official Summons to the Audit, written in the name of the Auditor and delivered by the Bailiff of the Exchequer. An example of this summons is informative.[2]

> After my harty comendacons these are to require you and in the name of the right reverend father in God Thomas Lord Bishop of Durham to comaund you personally to appeare before me his Lordship's Auditor in the Exchequer att Durham upon Thursday the first day of December next and there to yeeld and determine ye whole yeares accompt ended at Martinmas last in the year of our Lord God 1642 bringing with you all Rentalls in Parchment (and for the perfecting thereof I

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1 Audit Paper, 25 November 1600 (Church Commission MSS 221271).

2 Audit Summons (Church Commission MSS 221062). Although this Summons is dated 5 November, 1 October was a more common date.

> desyre and in the name of the sayd reverend father require you playnly to distinguish the coppyholders names and their rents ye leasors names and their particular rents and lykewise ye freeholders names and their several rents) Bills Estreets of Halmott Courtes and all other writings whatsoever concerning the said Accompts: and also to give notice to all such farmers and tenants whoe hold by lease and have not as yet inrolled their leases before me that they either bring or send them in that day to be inrolled. Fayle not hereof at your perill togeather with the returne of this precept. Durham this 5th November 1642.
> To the Collector of Cockerton.
> Your loving friend Richard Baddeley. Auditor to the Bishop of Durham.

From the summons, which adopted a standardised form, it is apparent that attendance was compulsory for all accounting officers, but not so for the influential tenant-farmers who paid their own rents into the Exchequer. In their absence, the Receiver-General would produce his copies of their acquittances, so that the Auditor could assess the respective amounts of their discharge and "debets".[1] It also emerges that the officers of receipt had to produce their rentals and any other evidence which might help to fix their onus and secure release from it, as was suggested above. Furthermore it is significant that they were exhorted to make a clear distinction between the various tenancies in their care, and that the enrollment of leases was an additional feature of the audit proceedings. Not only was the Audit the means of ensuring an adequate collection of the Bishop's temporal income, but it also provided the setting for an informal survey of the episcopal estates, which was of especial value for netting casual revenue and keeping tenancy particulars up to date.

The method of conducting the Audit could not have differed a great deal from the procedure outlined in the well-known Dialogus

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I Instruccons in the Office of an Auditor (Middleton-Spearman MSS 7/64).

de Scaccario. According to the "Instruccons in the Office of an Auditor", probably written in the first half of the 17th Century, the age-old technique of calculating by means of counters and a green baize cloth was still being practised.[1] Equally mediaeval in origin was the custom of rendering matter-of-fact accounts into Latin, and the use of Roman numerals. Each accounting officer went before the Auditor in turn, with the Exchequer staff standing by to provide substantiating evidence and to receive any payments that might be made. With the aid of surveys, Views of Account, other past accounts, Rentals and Extracts from the Court Rolls, the Auditor then proceeded to establish the officer's charge in some detail, his clerk noting down the particulars in the recognised accounting style.[2] It was then the turn of the Accountant to secure his discharge from as much of the onus as possible, by means of the evidence at his disposal. The counters were moved from square to square, as totals were assessed and the discharge subtracted from the charge, until the officer finally received his "quietus est", or alternatively was informed of the amount of his "debet".

With the Audit over, the Auditor was then free to embark upon the second stage of his task, which took him well into the next financial year. In the first place the remaining sub-accountants of high rank who had not accounted at the Audit, had to be dealt with. Then all the sub-accounts had to be drawn up in their final

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1 Instruccons in the Office of an Auditor (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 7/64).

2 Information regarding court proceeds was extracted from the various court records, to assist the Sheriff, Bailiffs, Master Forester, Collectors, etc, in their levying and to provide the Auditor with a means of assessing and checking casual income.

form; since it was surely a physical impossibility for the Audit Clerk to have engrossed them all in the short space of the official sitting. With that part of the business finally complete, it was then possible to deal with the Receiver-General's particular account, assemble the material for his general Declaration of Account and complete such post-Audit records as the Books of Transumpt and Arrears. In this way the Auditor's duties occupied his time for much longer than the initial seven days. With the need for continual revision and amendment of the financial records, it is more than likely that he was fully absorbed until Pentecost came round again.

Clearly the audit procedure was based on the model of the Royal Exchequer, of which the Durham Exchequer was a reflection.[1] This is obvious in some respects, but more obscure in others. The parentage of the Audit is readily apparent, but where is the meticulous duplication of records and the variety of functionaries from chamberlains to tally-cutters, so much in evidence at Westminster? The short answer is that these accretions were absent at Durham simply because there had never been any need for them. As a landowner first and foremost, it was the principles and broad outline of the Exchequer system which appealed to the Bishop of Durham, not the embellishments resulting from its application to a whole kingdom. The complicated records of receipt for example, were reduced to simple proportions and the Pipe Roll replaced by the Book of Great Receipt. Again the accountant did not have to wait expensively whilst his particulars

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1 A.B. Steel, The Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377-1485, Cambridge, 1954, passim; W.C. Richardson, Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485-1547, Baton Rouge, 1952, passim.

and payments passed through the appropriate channels, until a tally was ceremoniously cut. Instead he emerged quickly with the cheap and easy substitute of a paper or parchment receipt. The modifications were many and various, trifling and extensive, but they all pointed in the same direction. A basic formula was being modified in accordance with the particular requirements of the episcopal administration, until, in many respects, it was almost moulded into something new. It cannot be sufficiently stressed that size was the critical factor. With a small unit, personnel could be kept to a minimum, with greater efficiency, less corruption, and simplification and flexibility of procedure.

(c) The Administrative Machinery in Motion

By the 16th Century the process of evolution was complete and at least in theory the accounting system had attained a high degree of perfection. Yet the most obvious characteristic of the administrative machinery in motion is the discrepancy between its theoretical rigidity and the fluidity of its practical application. Sometimes rigid procedure was waived on the grounds of expediency. For example, although in theory all in-payments made by the officers of receipt had to pass through the Exchequer, it was quite customary for the Particular Receivers of Howdenshire and Allertonshire to deliver part or even the whole of their receipts direct to the Bishop or the Treasurer of the Household, without the mediation of the Receiver-General.[1] The transactions were recorded as a matter of course in his office, but the money never actually passed through his hands. This by-passing of the proper

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1 E.g., the Howdenshire Receiver for 1595-96 sent £271.8.2. directly to the Bishop and only £42.7.8. to the Durham Exchequer. Howdenshire Receiver's Account (Church Commission MSS 189006).

channels was in no way detrimental to the administrative system (unlike the assignments of uncollected revenue which so seriously impaired the working of the Royal Exchequer in the 15th Century), since its use was restricted in favour of the Bishop himself. As an effective means of providing the Bishop with ready cash, it was a product of the relatively small size of the economic units involved, which rendered the financial system less prone to standardisation than the Westminster original.

In other respects however, fluidity was an indication of the weakness of the accounting system once human fallibility was thrown into the balance; a sign of the administration's stoic acceptance of its inability to maintain discipline and compliance with the rules. In the Palatinate most of the Bishop's rental income was meant to be paid into the Exchequer twice yearly, at Pentecost and Martinmas, but this was not what happened in practice. From an analysis of the Book of Great Receipt for 1525-26, which is typical of its kind, it is found that instead of being two, as might be expected, the average number of yearly payments made into the Exchequer by the Collectors of the Four Wards was:

	for Darlington Ward	-	4.5
	for Chester Ward	-	8.0
	for Easington Ward	-	5.6
and	for Stockton Ward	-	4.7 [1]

Furthermore, although the two rent days were 20th May and 11th November, a classification of individual payments reveals that deliveries were being recorded steadily from May of one year to June of the next.[2] Only two payments were made in May 1526 when

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1 Church Commission MSS 220243/2.

2 Appendix VIII, pp. 492-493.

the first instalments were due. In fact the Pentecost quota seems to have been paid off in part during the months of June and July, with occasional deliveries right through until October. November again failed to produce the activity associated with Martinmas, but December gave clear indications that it was the month of the Audit. Nevertheless this was not the end of the story, for receipts still continued to trickle in until half way through the next financial year.

A similar picture is presented by a document purporting to show how much of the rent due at Whitsun 1602 had actually been paid on or near the proper rent day. The information contained in it has been summarised in Table I.

TABLE I

The Receipt of Income due at Whitsun 1602[1]

	Total Charge	Paid	Unpaid[2]	Unpaid Dues as a Percentage of the Total Charge
Darlington Ward	£352. 6.11	£241. 3. 3	£111. 3. 8	31%
Chester Ward	225.11. 6	80.13. 4	144.18. 3	64%
Easington Ward	201. 8. 0	174. 1. 7	27. 6. 5	13%
Stockton Ward	169.11. 5	155. 7. 9	14. 3. 8	8%
Mines	58. 4. 9	22. 6. 8	35.18. 1	60%
Master Forester	83.11. 5	42.13. 4	40.18. 1	48%
Foreign Receipts	89. 9. 1	27. 9. 1	62. 0. 0	70%
Churches	44. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	31. 0. 0	70%

1 Rents due at Whitsun 1602 (Church Commission MSS C126).

2 I.e., unpaid by 12 June 1602. In theory the accountants were allowed 14 days grace after the appointed mid-year rent-day, which in 1602 fell on 23 May.

Most of the outstanding accounts were settled in the course of the following two months, and all payments - apart from the inevitable arrears - were eventually cleared up. This in no way detracts from the argument that the official rent-days were not taken all that seriously in practice. Unfortunately the accounts do not show whether the backwardness in payment stemmed from the Bishop's tenants, the officers of receipt, or both.

This slackness was by no means new in 1602 and occasionally could cause the Bishop a great deal of embarrassment. Bishop Senhouse (1502-05) for example, found himself in quite a desperate situation. In August 1502 he was obliged to write to his Chancellor thus:

> ".... God wyllyng, I must be with the King is grace affor next Chrystmase, accordyng to the Kyng is desyr and alsoe my promyse mayd to hys hyghnes for the payment of £1200 in full payment for my temporalts that is dew to the Kyngis grace at last Wytsundtyde and now I hav receyved, as ye write by Robert Bentley, the some of £471.6.4. ..... Me thynk this receyt is verrey lytyll for the Wytsonday farmes with the oythir I hade when I went to London, ther for I hertly besych you to let me have wryttyng a perfyt knowleg booth of the cronars and awther baylyers and mynesters who is behynd at this tyme. Ye know my chargs that I hav, viz. for my temporaltes and my bulles and for no thyng els. My mynde is not to trobyll you, but I my selff shall trobyll theym that dewth nut their dewtes be me, seyng the danger I stand in ..."[1]

Senhouse obviously believed that only personal intervention could remedy the deficiencies of the accounting system in motion.

The dates of the many consignments of money into the Exchequer would seem to imply therefore, that the end of the financial year and the annual Audit were not seriously considered to be final deadlines by which all transactions had to be completed. Accordingly the Audit must be reviewed not so much as the natural culmination of twelve months' undertakings, but more as a momentary

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1 J. Raine, ed., Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Surtees Society Vol.9, London and Edinburgh, 1839, Appendix CCCXII.

freezing of one long continuous chain of monetary operations, which refused to be pigeon-holed into the neat arrangement of a succession of financial years. Its purpose was to present a "still" of a very fluid situation, allowing the Auditor to review the financial position and firmly secure liabilities against any advantage that might be taken of the prevailing disorder.

It is also obvious that if the Audit had been held exactly at the end of the financial year, its findings would have produced a very false picture of the state of the episcopal revenue. Hence a delay, both before the rendering of accounts and the compilation of the post-audit records, thereby allowing the stockpile of arrears to be reduced to manageable proportions. The value of this interval of grace is well illustrated in the Books of Arrears covering Bishop Tunstall's pontificate (1530-59).[1] In them it is possible to identify two sum totals of arrears. The larger total represents the payments still outstanding at Michaelmas; the smaller, the amount of arrears recorded when the Books were finally written up in March or April of the following year. The administrators were fully aware that a certain amount of money owing at the official end of the financial year would be paid in fairly soon afterwards, and for this reason could not really be classed with the proper arrears. Due allowance was accordingly made by the introduction of the time-lag, so that the temporary debts could be eliminated. If the figure given for the final total of arrears in any one year is subtracted from the Michaelmas sum, as in Table II, it is possible to estimate what proportion of the Bishop's income habitually took the form of deferred payments.

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1 Books of Arrears, 1533-58 (Church Commission MSS 195701 and 195702).

TABLE II

Payment of Arrears between the Audit and the Compilation of the Book of Arrears during the Pontificate of Bishop Tunstall.

Year	Amount of Current Arrears at Michaelmas	Amount of Current Arrears finally recorded in the Book of Arrears	Difference or Amount of Post-Audit Payments
12(1540-41)	£204	£ 51	£153
13(1541-42)	142	50	92
14(1542-43)	275	63	212
15(1543-44)	325	118	207
16(1544-45)	273	178	95
17(1545-46)	157	122	35
18(1546-47)	284	207	77
19(1547-48)	207	145	62
22(1550-51)	340	291	49
23(1551-52)	624	441	183
24(1552-53)	461	317	144
25(1553-54)	367	249	118
26(1554-55)	299	246	53
27(1555-56)	217	186	31
28(1556-57)	183	79	104

It is apparent therefore, that the accounting system was resilient mainly because of the necessity to make allowances for men's inadequacies. It was to the administration's credit that it could adopt an accommodating attitude. Only by being compliant could it endow the accounts with clarity and prevent them from becoming meaningless. On the other hand, its compromises were an admission of weakness. They proved that both tenants and officers alike were unwilling or unable to conform to the basic requirements of the administrative system.

Overdue rents in irregular installments were only one part of the deficiencies. The decayed rents and arrears which litter

most accounts bear witness to the inability and unwillingness of the episcopal officers to maintain the value of the Bishop's property, or complete the process of rent-collection. The worst situation that could develop is described in a piece of advice concerning the Bailiffs of Howdenshire, written for the benefit of Bishop Neile in 1619.[1]

> First for your Lordship's rents.
> Every bailiff within his several division, ought to gather all free rents and pay them to the Receiver; which being by the bailiff's neglected, not only the want of your Lordship's rents when they are due, but also the Receiver, is much prejudiced. For your Lordship's copyhold rents there is a certain rent known what (which) every several town pays to your Lordship's Receiver, which is gathered and paid by certain greaves (reeves); which (the rent) is appointed for every town; which ought to be paid quarterly, but it is hardly to be gotten at the half-year's end; (2) for remedy of which your Lordship may charge the Bailiffs to gather these rents of the greaves, and for want of which to distrain the goods of the greaves, and carry them to the manor at Howden, there to be kept until your Lordship's rents be paid; by which means your Lordship's rents will be paid in due course. And your Lordship to take bond of the bailiffs for the true payment of these rents to your Lordship's Receiver, and for their true service and due execution herein; and likewise to gather the yearly estreats of courts, and to make true account thereof. Also, whereas your Lordship is much prejudiced by reason that there is no perfect record of your Lordship's freeholders, as there is of copyholders and (although) not so perfect as they may be, may it please your Lordship to appoint some to take a survey, and that the Clerk shall make warrants to the bailiffs to summon all the tenants, both freeholders and copyholders, to appear at the next head court, which is upon Monday after Michaelmas Day for copyholders, and Tuesday next after for freeholders; there to be sworn to their fealty and true service to your Lordship, which has been heretofore neglected. Also for the true payment of their rents, and to give a due account and particular of all such lands, both copyhold and freehold, which they hold of your Lordship. And that at the Head Courts, charge shall be given to the juries to present all such tenants as are seised of any freehold land from time to time; for it is supposed that much of the land in Howdenshire is held by knight service, and for want of inquisition after the death of the ancestor, your Lordship remains not only ignorant of

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1 Church Commission MSS A159. The spelling has been modernised and the punctuation altered to improve the meaning.

2 In Howdenshire rents were meant to be paid quarterly and not half-yearly as in the Palatinate.

> your tenants and tenures, but also loses much profit for want of wardships; and also every freeholder at every change, to enter their deeds upon record, by which means your Lordship may know your tenants' reliefs, and other dues upon exchange of tenants.

The author of this memorandum has painted a gloomy picture of lack of discipline on the part of the estate officers and rent evasion on the part of the tenantry. It should not be taken completely at its face value. The Howdenshire Receiver's Accounts for 1619 and 1620 are unfortunately missing, but other extant accounts relating to the early 17th Century clearly leave the impression that both before and after 1619 Howdenshire's arrears record was remarkably good. Nonetheless even if the degree of collapse was being exaggerated, the depicted breakdown was probably not an unfamiliar occurrence, ~~at other times and in other places~~, judging by the deciphered evidence of the Exchequer's assemblage of documents. ~~It would appear that at all times there was a certain degree of laxity in the payment and collection of rents, which had to be restrained within reasonable bounds by the bias of the accounting system and disciplinary measures.~~ For the most part a tolerable state of affairs was preserved, but occasionally, as allegedly in 1619, the situation deteriorated to the point where it attracted adverse comment. Then a special effort was made to imbue both the administration and the tenants with some respect for the Bishop's interests. In general, wherever certain rents were involved, both tenantry and officers could usually be cajoled into respectively disgorging and gathering them, so long as they were actually leviable. But as Bishop Neile's adviser implies, more difficulty lay in the sphere of casual profits, where it was comparatively easy to conceal the pertinent facts when aided by the complicity or indifference of the lower echelons of the

administration. It was a problem that could only be overcome by the use of frequent surveys, and more especially, by the diligence of the Bishop's officers.

Yet the diligence of the administrative personnel was most difficult to attain. Indeed its absence lay at the very root of the administration's weaknesses. As a landlord the Bishop depended heavily upon the officers of receipt. Unfortunately many of them were only loosely attached to his service. Many were not even of his own appointment. Many were recruited from the tenantry and consequently can hardly be blamed for furthering their own interests, or lacking the necessary degree of impartiality. In addition the officers of charge were the "victims" of an accounting system which was tacitly founded upon the assumption that an accountant would cheat and falsify unless deprived of the opportunity to do so and take no pains unless obliged to do so. With this basis of mistrust there could be little corporate action to the advantage of the Bishop. Perhaps there never was any attempt to breed unqualified loyalty outside the inner circle of counsellors; perhaps it was dismissed as a hopeless task. The exploitation of the unpaid Collectors implies that total reliance was placed upon the accounting system for the maintenance of an adequate service. The checks and balances of the accounting system could keep the administration reasonably free of the worst excesses of inefficiency and corruption, but success beyond the most unambitious limits depended very largely upon the degree of co-operation into which the estate officers were prepared to enter, and the presence of sufficient determination to enforce the rules of the accounting system. Both requirements were frequently lacking.

A great deal of administrative weakness was due to a failure to enforce the satisfaction of obligations by tenants and officers of receipt. Not that the means were absent or inadequate. They were as comprehensive as the variety of accounts, but the mounting totals of arrears for most of the pontificates point to only occasional use; the reason being the Bishops' general unwillingness to alienate either tenantry or estate officers.

At tenant level all leases carried provisions for eviction or distraint of goods if the rent still remained unpaid after a stated period of grace.[1] Yet there is hardly any evidence that the Bishops exercised their rights in this way, although the irregular payment of rent afforded ample opportunity. Legitimate eviction was most uncommon, let alone the arbitrary action of Bishop Neile (1617-28), who rid himself of an unwanted leaseholder at West Auckland on the grounds that the village collector had paid his rent into the Exchequer a day too late.[2]

Procedure according to the strict letter of agreement seems to have been avoided in favour of recourse to bonds for debt and legal action. Whenever a tenant or accounting officer was found to be in debt to the Bishop, he could be made to enter into a bond for the satisfactory payment of his arrears by a fixed date. If the Bishop still failed to receive satisfaction, then the logical progression was an action for debt in Chancery. Two examples may be taken from the Orders, Decrees and Reports of the Durham Chancery for 1638.[3] Bishop Morton sued Christopher Emerson, deputy to Richard Emerson, collector of rents in the three parks

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1 E.g., mill lease, 1551, Appendix XXVIII, pp.572-573.

2 Parliamentary Survey of Evenwood, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23380).

3 Durham Chancery Orders, Decrees and Reports, 1638 (Durham MSS 5/21).

of Weardale, for arrears amounting to £14.15.1, pertaining to the years 1632-1635. At the same time Archbishop Neile of York brought an action against the feoffees of a school at Wolsingham, for rent owing to him as a former Bishop of Durham. The large proportions of arrears however, indicate that lawsuits against defaulters were probably still the exception rather than the rule. A letter from Bishop James in December 1616 to the Allertonshire Receiver, Francis Lascelles, certainly implies that they were more of an occasional deterrent than a normal, automatically employed expedient.[1] He was instructing his officer to call in some outstanding bonds.

> 'And I pray you, (as I know you will) with what convenient speede you may, to gather upp that which is behinde, and also to call for such money as is due upon bond. I have bene hitherto loath to sue them, but if they shall not make more accompt of payments, than hitherto they have done, they will force mee to doe that which I am not (but by necessitie) willing to doe.

As regards his officers the Bishop had an extra safeguard in sureties. These were undertaken by the officers of charge before the assumption of their duties, in order to ensure a reasonable performance of function. An officer laying down a surety was obliged to stake a considerable sum of money and a number of guarantors against the proper execution of the charge in his care. If he failed to satisfy the Bishop or his officers of order, then his surety was forfeit. With the high-ranking officers at least, this was no inconsiderable incentive to place the Bishop's interests on a par with their own. That sureties were in frequent use at Durham is certain, although there is no surviving evidence of an officer actually losing his deposit. Again it is likely that

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1 Bishop James to Francis Lascelles, 20 December 1616 (Church Commission MSS 220841).

insufficiencies had to be really excessive before the Bishop took such drastic action; although it appears that in December 1516 Bishop Ruthall had the Coroner of Darlington Ward, the Bailiff of Darlington and the Collectors of Coundon and Redworth imprisoned over their arrears of that year.[1] R.L. Storey asserts that in the time of Bishop Langley the chief officers put down sureties to cover the payment of arrears.[2] It has already been noted that a bond of £2000 was demanded from the Captain/Farmers of Norham Castle, and that Bishop Neile was advised to take guarantees from the Howdenshire Bailiffs.[3] The most interesting evidence however, is contained in a letter sent in 1642 by a Mr. Philip Darell to Richard Baddeley Esq., Bishop Morton's inexperienced Auditor, who in spite of a complete lack of professional qualifications, seems to have acquired his position because he was the Bishop's highly-favoured secretary.[4] Darell, who had considerable experience of the auditor's art, had probably already acted as tutor to Baddeley upon his appointment in 1640, but by all accounts his pupil still had much to learn.[5] Baddeley had apparently acted against his adviser's instructions in accepting an insufficient surety from Moses Skepper, the Coroner of Chester Ward, who had just died owing the Bishop £393. Darell warned his protégé to be more careful in future, especially in the case of a newly-appointed Receiver-General. He pointed out that in the

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1 J. Raine, ed., Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Surtees Society Vol.9, London and Edinburgh, 1839, Appendix CCCLI.

2 R.L. Storey, Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham, 1406-1437, London, 1961, pp.70 and 84.

3 Vide supra, pp. 54, 104.

4 Philip Darell to Richard Baddeley, 17 May 1642 (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 7/10).

5 Philip Darell to Richard Baddeley, 19 April 1640 (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 7/11).

King's service a receiver with a charge of £3000-£4000 would be required to provide thirty bondsmen, each standing in surety for £100 on his behalf; whilst the receiver himself would have to contribute a further £500. At Durham, where the Receiver-General's particular charge was roughly £2000, he advised Baddeley to ask for sixteen guarantors pledging £100 each, with £400 more from the Receiver. In the light of this evidence sureties probably played an important rôle as incentives towards good behaviour. In another respect they must have enhanced the prestige of the Auditor, the officer responsible for their arrangement.

A record of a surety for adhering to the terms of a lease has also been discovered.[1] This occurs amongst lease enrollments for 1622 and concerns Lanchester Mill. The farmers, George Kirkby and Jane Whitfield, were pledged to forfeit £66.13.4 if they broke the terms of their indenture. This was a very high figure considering that the annual rent for the mill was only £3. The arrangement was certainly exceptional, for there is no other example in a full set of Enrollment Books from Bishop Tunstall's pontificate onwards.

Although most of the administrative machinery was intimately bound up with the accounting system, a brief mention must be made of the means used for maintaining general contact with the tenantry and the estate officers. There were the commissions composed from the inner circle of counsellors, which were appointed for the investigation of any matter needing attention.[2] Surveying the Bishop's property was the most common task allotted to them. For the issuing of commands or licences to specific persons recourse

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184959, p.385).

2 Vide supra, pp.22-23.

was had to Bishop's Warrants, which have already received notice with reference to timber allocations.[1] They might be used to authorise a copyholder to make an intake from the waste, or claim timber for the repair of his tenement; or alternatively, to order the tenants of a particular village to carry fuel to the Bishop's Palace. Warrants were also employed for the conveyance of instructions to individuals going about the Bishop's business. Disciplinary measures were usually exercised through the courts. The halmote and forest courts served for the regulation of the agricultural community, punishing such anti-social offences as overstinting, allowing stock to stray and failing to maintain hedges and ditches. More heinous offences, perpetrated against the Bishop himself, such as the wholesale, unauthorised cutting of timber, were reserved for the Chancery Court. Both types of court also acted as registries for land transactions. The lower courts recorded the transfer of customary tenements, whilst the higher court catered in the same way for leasehold transactions.

(d) Conclusions

It is apparent that the Bishop of Durham was equipped with a very sound method of accounting and effective precautionary measures against defaulters. Yet a certain amount of laxity had developed, because of the unwillingness to use the disciplinary machinery at his disposal. Strict enforcement of all his claims would have generated so much ill-will that the resulting increase in economic and administrative efficiency would have been easily outweighed. Even upon secular estates governed by the rules of inheritance, a certain degree of toleration had to be allowed by the owners, if a

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1 Vide supra, pp.86-87. Warrants, 1634-38 (Church Commission MSS 221344).

reasonable amount of cooperation on the part of their officers and tenants was to be maintained. How much more important was the tacit non-enforcement of rules to the Bishop of Durham, who was expected to be an influential figure in the North-East, yet had to begin from the bottom in building up a personal following within his diocese. With these considerations uppermost it is easy to understand why no appreciable improvement in the episcopal income occurred within the 140 years between 1500 and the Civil War.

CHAPTER IV

Receipts

(a) Income Due

From the descriptions of the administrative structure and machinery it has been ascertained that the administration's most important function was the collection of the Bishop's temporal income. The aim in this present chapter is to enlarge upon the sources and the scale of this income, to prove that it was derived principally from the bishopric estates and was composed chiefly of rents. The initial concern is with income due, as expressed in the Receivers' charges.

(i) The County Palatine of Durham

The largest contribution to the Receiver-General's particular charge was made by the Collectors of the Four Wards.[1] It consisted basically of rents derived from the manorial demesne and bondland, and a host of commuted customary works and services. By 1500 the Collector's charge was fast becoming an anachronism. As can be discerned from an analysis of the 1588 Survey, it could be expressed quite simply in terms of freeholds, copyholds, leaseholds and tenancies-at-will, with the commutations completely transformed into ordinary rents.[2] The general tendency was for demesne land to be held by lease and bondland by copy of court roll, but there were many important exceptions; especially in Easington Ward where

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1 Vide infra, a summary of the Collectors' charge for Darlington Ward, Appendix IX, pp.494-501.

2 Vide infra, Appendix X, pp.502-508.

a great deal of bondland had been converted into leaseholds.[1] The conversion of the formerly servile tenures into leaseholds during the period when copyhold tenures were emerging, is indicative of a progressive policy on the part of the Bishops of the time.

The revenue connected with the fifty seven Collectorships comprised approximately 47% of the total temporal income derived from the Palatinate. The Collectors' charge was divided thus:

Number of Collectors		Contribution to the Receiver's Charge	% of the Receiver's Charge
Darlington Ward	25	£420 - £440	16%
Easington Ward	15	£340 - £390	13%
Chester Ward	9	£280 - £340[2]	11%
Stockton Ward	8	£200 - £210	7%

With the aid of a Receiver's Account for 1385-86, a Valor for 1479 and a number of early 16th Century Collectors' Accounts, it has been possible to detect a considerable decrease in the amount of certain revenue (i.e., rents and commuted works and services) during the 15th Century prior to 1479.[3] Altogether decayed

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1 Bondland had been converted into leaseholds at:
Darlington Ward Middridge, Heighington, Killerby and Coundon;
Easington Ward East Burdon, Ryhope, Little Thorpe, Shotton, Sherburn, Morton Grange, Shadforth, Tunstall, Cassop and Easington;
Stockton Ward Sedgefield and Cornforth
On the other hand, demesne land had been converted into copyholds at:
Darlington Ward Cockerton, Darlington and Wolsingham;
Chester Ward Whickham, Ryton, Whitburn and Cleadon;
Easington Ward Newbottle, Houghton-le-Spring and Bishop Wearmouth;
Stockton Ward Hartburn.

2 The charge for Chester Ward was adversely affected by the Grand Lease, which removed Whickham from the list of collectorships from 1578.

3 Durham Receiver's Account, 1385-86, W. Greenwell, ed., Bishop Hatfield's Survey, Surtees Society Vol.32, Durham, 1857, Appendix III, pp.260-275. Valor, 1478-79; Collectors' Accounts, 1505-06, 1506-07 and 1545-46 (Church Commission MSS 189676, 188786, 188817 and 188824). Calculations have been possible because decayed rents have been removed from the Valor and all subsequent Receiver's Accounts, but not from the Collectors' Accounts.

rents accounted for a reduction of £221.11.11¼ in the Collectors' charge, composed thus:

Darlington Ward	£50. 4. 2
Chester Ward	31. 4. 0¼
Easington Ward	112. 9. 4½
Stockton Ward	27.14. 4½

Between 1479 and 1550 rents continued to decline even further, or at least remained static. From 1550 onwards a gradual improvement set in, but by 1640 rent increases had still only accounted for less than a quarter of the pre-1479 losses. Total improvements between 1479 and 1640 amounted to £62.8.2½:

Darlington Ward	£43.11. 2
Chester Ward	18. 5. 7
Stockton Ward	11. 5½

Losses in Easington Ward still continued however, to the extent of £12. 6. 5½, which reduced the overall increase to £50. 1. 9. At the same time there was a definite though uneven growth in the casual profits derived from the halmote courts, in spite of a considerable transference of business, to the Justices of the Peace. Before 1550 total court profits rarely exceeded £40, but by the early 17th Century a figure between £50 and £100 was much more common. A probable explanation for this gradual rise can be found in the quickening rate of land transactions detectable after 1550, and resulting in an increase in the number of copyhold fines. The growth of both certain revenue and casual profits is perhaps indicative of the beginnings of a recovery from an agricultural depression extending over a long period prior to the mid-16th Century. The scarcity of pre-16th Century accounts makes it impossible to describe with any accuracy the way in which the depression came about. It is only certain that at some stage

prior to the 16th Century, a substantial decrease took place in the amount of land under cultivation. The Durham situation would seem to conform to a general economic pattern, however. It is probable that a high peak of development on the bishopric estates occurred during the century and a half preceding the Black Death of 1349; and that the reason for the noticeable decay of income was the decimation of the population by plague epidemics. A severe reduction in the numbers endeavouring to live off the land meant that the cultivation of the soil became less intensive. Fringe tenements were abandoned with a consequent loss of revenue for the Bishop. In the North recovery from the epidemics appears to have been slow. Not until the mid-16th Century is there any sign of a population expansion beginning to replace the losses of the 14th Century.[1]

Contrary to expectation the same trend towards improvement is not reflected in the Bailiff's charge, although comparison with the 15th Century position is rendered difficult by lack of material. Charge increases during our period were slight or non-existent, with a serious decline from the pre-1500 level in the case of the Manor of Bishop Middleham. Only the revenue derived from the City of Durham showed a substantial improvement, which may have been a reflection on its increasing prosperity as a county town. The Bailiffs were responsible for an approximate average of £200 p.a., constituting about 8% of the Receiver-General's particular charge. Between 1500 and 1640 their regular contributions were:

The Bailiff of Gateshead Borough	£35[2] approximately
The Bailiff of Auckland Borough	£ 3 - £4

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1 P. Dickinson, The Historical Geography of Durham during the Middle Ages, Durham, 1958, passim. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis)

2 Gateshead was removed from the list of bailiwicks with the making of the Grand Lease, 1578.

The Bailiff of Darlington Borough	£11 - £20
the Bailiff of Durham	£ 8 - £33
the Bailiff of Stockton Borough and Manor	£61 - £66
the Bailiff of the Manor of Darlington & Coatham Mundeville	£45 - £48
the Bailiff of the Manor of Bishop Middleham	£19 - £22
the Bailiff of the Wapentake of Sadberge	£29 approximately
Sunderland	£ 4

The composition of their charges can be judged from a summary which caters for all the Bailiwicks except Durham and Sadberge.[1] The basic distinction between Borough Bailiffs and Manorial Bailiffs is there readily apparent.

The remaining landed income associated with the Four Wards was collected by the Coroners, who were responsible for some of the more important leaseholds within the episcopal manors, and the tenancies-in-chief and freeholds without.[2] Their share of the Receiver-General's particular liabilities was approximately 17.7%, composed in the following way:

	Contribution to the Receiver's charge	% of the Receiver's charge
Darlington Coroner.	on average £230	8%
Chester Coroner	£200	7%
Easington Coroner	£ 60	2%
Stockton Coroner	£ 20	0.7%

As with the Bailiffs there is no sign of that gradual improvement visible in the Collectors' charges. Apart from Stockton Ward,

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XI, pp. 509-511. The Bailiff of Sadberge differed from his colleagues in that he was basically the collector of freehold rents within the Wapentake of Sadberge; vide supra, p .16. There are no extant accounts for the Durham Bailiwick.

2 Vide infra, Appendix XII, pp.512-515.

where there occurred an insignificant increase of 13/4d., there was in fact a continuing decline from 1479 to 1640.

Reductions in the Coroners' charge, 1479-1640.

Darlington Coroner	£39. 0. 7
Chester Coroner	49.15. 0
Easington Coroner	59.10. 8¼
Total reduction, 1479-1640	148. 6. 3¼

In addition the pre-1479 losses amounted to £116. 1. 5½. Most of the reductions had taken place before the second quarter of the 16th Century however, which means that at least the fast rate of devaluation was halted. One serious complication with regard to the Coroners' Accounts is that the farms of the Boroughs of Darlington, Auckland, Durham and Gateshead were included in them as well as in the Bailiffs' Accounts. The most probable explanation of this baffling duplication is that when the boroughs were put out to farm - as was common in the 16th Century - the Coroners assumed responsibility for the rents, leaving the Bailiffs with a purely formal liability. The implication of this arrangement is that the Bailiffs' quota of the Receiver-General's particular charge must be halved, and the Receiver-General's charge itself reduced by 4%.

At the most conservative estimate the revenue assembled by the Durham collectors, bailiffs and coroners accounted for 73% of the temporal income derived from the Palatinate, Norhamshire and Craike. Most of the remaining 27% also had its origins in land. A further 6% - 7% came from the forest areas and parks superintended by the Master Forester, whose charge varied between a minimum of £150 and a maximum of £200 p.a. Apart from casual income in the

shape of proceeds from the forest courts and wood sales, revenue again mostly took the form of rent. The Master Forester and his Receiver were personally responsible for £44 collected from the customary tenants and leaseholders of the High Forest of Weardale itself, whilst the rest of their charge was principally composed of rents for herbage rights within the several parks. The upper limit of the contribution obtainable from this source was £139. 13. 4;

Stanhope Old Park	£66.13. 4
Stanhope New Park	8. 0. 0
Wolsingham Park	26.13. 4
Evenwood Park	20. 0. 0
Auckland Park	13. 6. 8
Bedburn Park	2. 0. 0
Gateshead Park	1.10. 0
Birtley Wood	1.10. 0

but in practice this was seldom attained because of other priorities. The needs of the Bishop's deer occasionally took precedence in Stanhope New Park and Auckland Park. In the latter, pasture was also frequently retained for the Bishop's own use.[1] At Birtley, the wood's grazing qualities were almost certainly subordinated to forestry needs. At Bedburn also, we learn that in 1500 the herbage was not put out to farm because young saplings had to be protected against grazing stock.[1] The Gateshead Park herbage rights were assigned as part of an officer's fee in 1529.[2] It is not surprising therefore that the Master Forester's charge remained at its 1479 level for the whole of our period. Effective improvements were in any case out of the question when the

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1 Master Forester's Account, 1500-01 (Church Commission MSS 190033)

2 To the Keeper of Gateshead Park and Tower. Vide Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.157).

inhabitants of the High Forest guarded their tenures so jealously, and the largest and most lucrative of the parks - Stanhope and Wolsingham - were acquired by the Crown on long leases in 1582 and 1585 respectively.[1]

The Bishop of Durham was also in possession of some of the most extensive mineral resources in the country. Unfortunately the vast economic potential of the Durham coalfields was realised not to his advantage, but to the enrichment of those entrepreneurs who made a success of farming the mines. Not that they were undeserving of any profits they might earn; mining was a risky business, with many restrictions limiting the ability of the farmer to exploit the full potential of his lease. Furthermore if he was not a member of the Newcastle Hostmen, he found his activities severely curtailed by their monopoly of the coal trade.[2] In the circumstances it is not surprising to find that mine leases produced more decayed rents than any other type of property. Nevertheless the 16th and early 17th Centuries witnessed an increasing exploitation of the Durham coal measures, from which the Bishop was unable or unwilling to gain any immediate benefit; with the result that the income from mineral wealth was hardly less static than that from more orthodox sources.

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1 Volume of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 54137, folios 87-88)

2 J.U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, London, 1932, I, passim.
R.L. Galloway, Annals of Coal Mining, London, 1898, pp.82-170.

TABLE III

The Durham Mines and their Rental Value, 1640[1]

(a) The mines exploited continuously from the early 16th Century until 1640, with the annual rent reserved to the Bishop in 1640

Type	Location	Rent
Coal	Raby, Grewburn and Hargill (Raby replaced by Carterthorne in the 1590s; near Evenwood)	£108. 0. 4
	Tow Law (near Wolsingham)	13. 4
	Findon (near Durham)	1. 0. 0
	Knycheley (near Consett)	1. 6. 8
	Urpeth (near Chester-le-Street)	2.13. 4
	Whickham and Gateshead (the Grand Lease)	117.15. 8
Lead	The High Forest of Weardale	5. 0. 0
Stone	Hunwick (near Bishop Auckland)	1. 0. 0
Slate	Plawsworth (near Chester-le-Street)	5. 0
Iron	The High Forest of Weardale	5. 0. 0
	Total	242.14. 4

(b) The mines newly exploited in the early 17th Century

Coal	Hunwick, Etherley & Coundon Moors	6. 0. 0
	Evenwood	1. 0. 0
	Morton	13. 4
	Frankland	3. 6. 8
	Blackburn Fell (near Lanchester)	20. 0. 0
	Plawsworth	1. 0. 0
	Chester-le-Street & Roughside	6. 0. 0
	Tanfield (near Stanley)	2. 0. 0
	Ryton	16. 6. 8
	Charlaw	13. 4
	Streetgate (near Whickham)	1. 0. 0
	Hollenbush (Chapelry of Lamesley near Ravensworth)	6.13. 4
Slate	Eighton Banks (near Gateshead)	13. 4
	West Thickley	5. 0
	Total	65.11. 8

1 The table is mainly based upon the Receiver-General's Account for 1639-40 (Church Commission MSS 220233)

The two main mining centres of long-standing were Whickham and Gateshead in the north and Raby in the south-west. As can be seen from Table III, a number of new developments were taking place throughout the county by 1640. An increase in the Bishop's overall returns would definitely have resulted from these had the new gains not been offset by a serious loss of revenue from the most productive mines. The first blow was delivered in 1578, when Bishop Barnes (1577-87) was cajoled into leasing the whole of Whickham and Gateshead - ostensibly to the Queen - for a term of seventy nine years, at a rent of £117.15. 8 per annum.[1] In 1511 the coal-mines there had only been worth £48 p.a., but by 1573 their annual rental value had risen to £222.[2] So not only were the contributions of Whickham and Gateshead to the income from land completely curtailed, but there was also a reduction in the mine revenue of at least £100; a total loss of about £175 p.a. The same story was repeated for the Raby grouping. In 1524 the Raby, Grewburn and Hargill pits were leased for £180 p.a.[3] Yet when the See fell into the hands of the Crown in 1587, at the death of Bishop Barnes, the whole lot was farmed out to a certain Henry Smith, on a long lease, for £108 p.a. Under the terms of the agreement Smith was able to develop the Carterthorne mines, and according to J.U. Nef, was realising a clear minimum profit of £100 p.a. by 1598; a return only exceeded in the larger Tyneside enterprises.[4] In 1646 Carterthorne alone was sublet for £350 p.a.[5]

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1 Volume of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 54137, folio 85)

2 Receiver-General's Accounts, 1510-11 and 1572-73 (Church Commission MSS 188771 and 190203).

3 R.L. Galloway, Annals of Coal Mining, London, 1898, p.105.

4 J.U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, London, 1932, I, p.38.

5 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Evenwood, April 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23380).

Consequently the profits from the newer mines were cancelled out. In 1573 the mineral farm was worth £344 (12% of the Durham Receiver's charge), having gained almost £100 in value since 1500. But then Crown interference set in, and the annual yield dropped down to below £250. Recovery was slow, and by 1640 it had only increased to £300.

The last main category of estate income came under the heading of Foreign Receipts. Although the rent (£9.3.4) of three meadows (Bishopsmeadows below Frankland, Wideplace and Brackenburyley) lying within County Durham itself was a regular item, the principal entries referred to rent charges arising outside the County Palatine. Before 1559 the main bulk of foreign receipts was comprised of the Norhamshire rent of £120 p.a. The basic level was thus £130, or just over 4% of the Receiver-General's particular charge; sometimes augmented before 1530 by the proceeds of lead sales. After 1559 Norhamshire was wrested from the Bishop of Durham. At some date after 1576 the Tweed salmon fisheries were restored, but the rent of £82 p.a. only appeared once.[1] The gap was filled from 1567 onwards by the inclusion of the Craike receipts. At first these consisted of the surplus remaining after the satisfaction of all Craike expenses, and lay in the region of £35 - £40 p.a., but with the Crown lease of 1585, they were transformed into a certain rent of £51 p.a.[2] With the addition of other miscellaneous payments, foreign receipts again expanded to reduce the 4% loss arising from the alienation of Norhamshire by half.

A reasonable estimate of the total contribution of the Durham

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1 Vide supra, p.58.

2 Vide supra, p.60.

estates, Norhamshire (before 1559) and Craike (after 1567) to the Durham Receiver's charge would be approximately 95%, of which at least 90% took the form of rents. Receipts arising from a number of Northumberland churches accounted for a further 3%, leaving a final 2% to be divided as casual income between the Sheriff, the Escheator and the Chancery. That portion of this small remainder originating in the Escheator's office is worth examining, since it also was derived from land.

The Escheator's charge was always extremely variable, since the bulk of his receipts were irregular. The only certain income came from the Old Escheats, a selection of small rents from land which had escheated long since to an earlier bishop and had remained in the hands of his successors. In 1525 these amounted to £2.14. 7, but by 1617 they had dwindled to 15/2. The main substance of the charge was composed of New Escheats or feudal dues.[1] As far as surviving records show (summarised in Table IV) there seems to have been a gradual curtailment of feudal incidents, until finally only the Old Escheats remained. Yet there is no logical reason why the Escheator's returns should have dwindled away to nothing after the middle of the 16th Century; unless all feudal dues were successfully claimed by the Crown, for which there is no evidence. The inclusion of large amounts in the Escheator's accounts for 1576 and 1581 seems to be the combustion chamber for most purposes, from the second half of the 16th Century onwards, the Escheator was allowed to by pass the accounting system for some reason.

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XIII, pp.516-517.

TABLE IV

The Escheator's Charge, 1509-1641

1509	£176. 9. 6	1535	£52.18. 8	1555	£ 1. 6.4*	1578	£198.11. 5
1511	148.18. 6	1539	51. 9. 2	1556	3.10.2	1581	64. 4. 0
1512	262. 5. 5	1540	58. 6.11	1558	5. 6.4	1585	1.10. 4*
1514	216. 6. 4	1541	38.11. 2	1559	3. 6.4	1586	1.10. 4*
1518	84.14. 9	1542	48.15. 2	1560	3. 6.8	1595	12. 8*
1519	73.17. 1	1543	66. 7. 6	1561	3.10.4	1597	12. 8*
1521	104. 8. 7	1544	78. 8. 4	1562	7.10.4	1598	12. 8*
1524	122.12.10	1545	54.19. 7	1563	1.10.4*	1599	12. 8*
1525	44. 1. 8	1547	49.15. 7	1565	1.10.4*	1600	12. 8*
1527	32. 0. 2	1548	40.18. 7	1566	1.10.4*	1601	12. 8*
1528	65. 9.10	1550	60. 9.11	1568	1.10.4*	1605	12. 8*
1529	19. 1. 5	1551	74. 8. 7	1569	1.10.4*	1607	12. 8*
1530	25.13. 5	1552	37. 6. 7	1570	1.10.4*	1617-42	15. 2*
1532	34.15. 9	1553	15.13. 0	1573	13. 5.0		
1533	25.13. 6	1554	5.13. 0	1575	1.10.4*		

* denotes Old Escheats only

The total amounts of temporal income due from the County Palatine are summarised in Table V.[1] They have been calculated by subtracting arrears brought forward from the rest of the charge in each of the extant Receiver-General's Accounts. Between 1509 and 1641 the level tended to fluctuate between £2800 and £2500 p.a., with the emphasis upon £2600 ~~and~~ £2700. (Interestingly £2,722 was the size of the charge in a Durham Receiver's Account dating from 1385-86, although no conclusions can be inferred from this single scrap of evidence.)[2] This denotes the continuation of a decline

1 A fuller set of figures on which it is based, is set out in Appendix XIV, pp. 518-522.

2 Durham Receiver's Account, 1385-86, W. Greenwell, ed., Bishop Hatfield's Survey, Surtees Society Vol.32, Durham, 1857, Appendix III, pp.260-275. Valor, 1478-79; Collectors' Accounts, 1505-06, 1506-07 and 1545-46 (Church Commission MSS 189676, 188786, 188817 and 188824). Calculations have been possible because decayed rents have been removed from the Valor and all subsequent Receiver's Accounts, but not from the Collectors' Accounts.

from an earlier peak, accentuated between 1551 and 1600 by the partial loss of Whickham and Gateshead and the cuts in revenue from mineral resources. It is only after 1600 that a slight recovery is visible; the fruit of an economic revival and the gradual recovery of rents which had been written off during the course of the previous two centuries.

TABLE V

Income due from the Palatinate of Durham, 1509-1641

	1509 - 1550	1551 - 1600	1601 - 1641
	Number of years for which evidence is available		
	26	27	14
Level of income due			
£3200	1		
3100	2		
2900	2		
2800	4		2
2700	10	3	6
2600	7	19	5
2500		4	1
2400		1	
2100			1

(ii) The Manor of Craike

The returns of the manor of Craike have already received some mention in connection with the Durham receipts, since it was in fact part of the Palatinate, but a few more details would be of value. Income due varied between £47 and £55 p.a. Its composition can be illustrated from the Reeve's Account for 1505-06.[1] 8 free

1 Craike Account, 1505-06 (Church Commission MSS 189900).

rents brought in less than £2. 130 acres of Exchequerland, called Fordland, divided among twenty seven occupiers, contributed a little over £3. Then came 116 acres of demesne (£6), and 23 bovates (207 acres) of copyhold land (£6) whose rent included the commutation of customary services. 83 cottage lands with their attendant commuted bondworks brought in a further £6. In addition there were the receipts from 28 portions of meadow (£10) and the farm of the herbage rights within the Park and Overfosse (£11). In a Parliamentary Survey of 1648 there was also reference to 250 acres of woodland.[1] Since there were only infrequent sales of toppings and loppings, one must conclude that timber, when cut, was used solely for building or repair work. Finally there were the profits of two courts leet and two courts baron, and the rents for the windmill, forge and common oven (£3).

(iii) The Liberty of Allertonshire

Until 1577 the Allertonshire Receiver was charged with roughly £330-£350 p.a. of which approximately £327 was comprised of certain rents and the remainder of casual revenue.[2] The casual payments were mainly profits of justice, in the shape of the proceeds of 18 courts baron, 2 "capital" courts, and 2 sheriff's tourns (received by the bailiff), 2 halmote courts (charged against the collectors of seven villages), and 1 forest court. Another occasional item was the sale of timber, bark and underwood from Clack and Cotcliff Woods, with further small sums derived from the sale of "estrays". The main sources of the certain rents were the

1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Craike, 1648 (Church Commission MSS 23377).

2 Vide infra, Appendices XIV-XV, pp. 518-527.

borough of Northallerton; the enclosed manorial demesne, with a further 72 oxgangs lying in the open fields, 33 more oxgangs at Brompton, 16 oxgangs at Osmotherley, 8 at Romanby, and Sowerby Grange; 248 oxgangs of copyhold land;

58 oxgangs at Knayton
24 oxgangs at Borrowby
60 oxgangs at Romanby
66 oxgangs at Brompton
40 oxgangs at Thornton-le-Beans; 1

and an assortment of freehold rents. All together these produced £266 p.a., or 81% of the certain rents. Further revenue (£5.10.0) was provided by seven principal mills, situated at Northallerton (2), "Brawath", Osmotherley, Borrowby, "Urlawe" and Sowerby (£15.10.0); a considerable acreage of meadow not included with the demesne (£15), and the lucrative corn tithes belonging to Leake Rectory (£18).[2] The copyhold land also gave rise to 248 woodloads, 248 hens, 1240 eggs and 372 day works p.a.; all commuted at the rate of £9.7.0 p.a. Many of these receipts were unleviable however. By 1577 certain income had been reduced to £251 p.a. by the omission of £76 worth of decayed rents. Thereafter the income due from Allertonshire was usually fixed at between £250 and £290 p.a.

(iv) The Liberty of Howdenshire

The same pattern was repeated to a lesser extent for Howdenshire, where the Receiver had a much weightier onus. Before

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1 The number of copyhold oxgangs has been extracted from the Allertonshire Receiver's Account of 1512-13 (Church Commission MSS 189362). A different set of figures are contained in a Rental of 1627 (Church Commission MSS 190163): Knayton - 58 oxgangs, Borrowby - 24, Romanby - 52, Brompton - 78, Thornton - 40, Osmotherley - 13; a total of 265 oxgangs.

2 The corn tithes were drawn from the villages of Borrowby, Nether Silton, Kepwick, Great and Little Leake and "Brawathe".

1577 it amounted on average to between £500 and £520 p.a., with certain income contributing approximately £486 p.a.[1] Casual receipts were again mainly composed of the usual court proceeds, collected by the Bailiffs, although after 1607 they were removed from the Receiver's charge.[2] Other variable sources of income were "estrays", the goods and chattels of fugitives and felons and the sale of timber and faggots from Walkington Wood. The composition of the certain rents can be expressed thus:

£364 (75%) was contributed by the free farms and bondland which constituted the major part of the liberty. The freeholds were all pervading, but copyholds were concentrated at Howden, Skelton, Kilpin, Saltmarsh, Belby, Eastrington, Ellerker, Brantingham, Welton, Melton, Walkington, Knedlington, Asselby, Barmby, Cliffe and Ricall. The rent attached to them was meant to be surrendered to the Receiver in four installments; within fourteen days after Lowsunday (1st Sunday after Easter), Midsummer (24th June), Michaelmas (29th September) and Andrewmas (30th November). The Bailiffs were faced with the collection of the free rents and were also responsible for the bond-rents, collected by unpaid reeves.

£4.8.9 (0.8%) was derived from the commutation of autumnal works attached to the bondland.

£3.14.8 (0.7%) was the value of 348 hen-rents.

£23.12.0 (5%) came from the farm of the demesne and herbage rights.

£15.17.4 (3%) was derived from the leasing of several mills at Howden, Kilpin, Walkington, Barmby, Ricall, Welton, Ellerker, Hale, Asselby and Cliffe, and the farm of fishing rights. Waterways

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1 Vide infra, Appendices XIV-XV, pp.518-527.

2 Howdenshire Bailiffs' Account (Church Commission MSS B/11/2).

were no uncommon sight in Howdenshire and fishing rights were worth exploitation at Skelton, Saltmarsh, Melton, Asselby, Barmby, Cliffe, Ricall, Welhall and Howden Dyke.

£19.14.11 (4%) was derived from rents paid at Pentecost and Martinmas.

£7.5.11 (1%) from the farm of pennage for pigs.

£33.14.2 (7%) was the rental value of a sizeable acreage of land (260 acres plus a large close) at Saltmarsh and Skelton, known as Dodland. It appears to have been enclosed in the time of Bishop Langley for pastoral purposes.

197 quarters of wheat, oats, and barley were paid as dodcorn rent by the tenants of Howden, Kilpin, Belby and Knedlington; probably in connection with the Dodland. By 1519 much of the dodcorn had been commuted into pennyfarm, but there were still some payments in kind to be stored in the great barn at Howden.

£4.14.3 (1%) took the form of new and increased rents.

£1.1.4 (0.2%) came from the shop farm in Howden borough.

£1.0.0 (0.2%) was the annual rental of the dyeworks.

and

£2.13.4 (0.6%) was derived from the farm of the markets and fairs.

The charge was undermined by decayed rents to a small extent and in 1577 again there was a reduction in the amount of certain rent from £486 p.a. to £461. The loss only amounted to £25, giving the impression that Howdenshire - containing perhaps the richest of the episcopal estates - was least hit by agricultural depression. The new level of income due settled at £470 - £490 p.a.

(v) Entrepreneurial Activities

In the early 16th Century the Bishops of Durham indulged in three types of entrepreneurial enterprise. These made only a small

contribution to the episcopal income when compared with receipts in the form of rent, and were soon abandoned. Nevertheless they are worthy of examination, in order to gain some idea of their potential as sources of income, and to try to discover the reasons behind their curtailment.

As far as the extant material will allow us to judge, coal was being mined by the Bishop's officers at Whickham, Raby, Grewburn and Hargill, if not elsewhere, until the first decade of the 16th Century. According to the surviving accounts, it was by no means an unprofitable venture.[1] One year's operations in 1502-03 brought a net profit of £148. Yet by putting the three mines out to farm, the Bishop was able to demand more in rent than he was receiving as the fruit of his own investment.[2] Furthermore, as a landlord his role was a passive one, whereas as an entrepreneur in 1502-03 he had been forced to expend £138.14.2 in working costs, before he could begin to make a profit. Again there was always the possibility that the venture would end only in financial loss, as a result of flooding, or the exhaustion of the coal seams. It is not surprising therefore, that the Bishops of Durham became the lessors rather than the exploiters of their mineral resources. The absence of hereditary succession tended to dampen the entrepreneurial spirit, whilst the advantages of being simply a landlord in such a risky business were readily apparent. Quite apart from the financial benefit of sharing in the lessee's profits, there was the consideration that the Bishop could make useful contacts in north-eastern business circles, by a judicious

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XVI, pp.528-529.

2 E.g., a rent of £178.10.0 was being charged in 1526-27; Receiver-General's Account (Church Commission MSS 189841).

allotment of mining concessions. Another important factor was the hostility of the City of Newcastle towards the Bishop of Durham over Gateshead and attempts to develop a coal and wool export trade in County Durham independently of Newcastle.[1] The one serious challenge to Newcastle's trading supremacy occurred during Cardinal Wolsey's pontificate (1523-29), but did little to undermine its coal-trade monopoly.[2] Thereafter, faced with the strongly entrenched opposition of the Corporation and the Hostmen's Company, the Bishop could never have sold any coal which he had wrought himself in the vicinity of the R. Tyne. Hence the turning over of many of the pits to his victorious competitors.

Lead processing plants appear to have been in operation for the Bishop's benefit during the pontificates of Bishops Ruthall (1509-23) and Wolsey, as the brain-child of their temporal Chancellor, William Frankleyn. From Frankleyn's letters to his two masters, it can be inferred that one of the objects in smelting lead ore bought from the Bishop's tenants in Weardale, was to refine the silver content for use in the Durham mint.[3] If successful this operation would have entailed a considerable saving, since otherwise silver had to be purchased on the London market.[2] Unfortunately very little is known about this side of the venture. Frankleyn attracted skilled lead-finers to Durham, who, having

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1 Vide infra, pp. 280-283, 293-295.
J. Brand, The History and Antiquities of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, London, 1789, I, passim.

2 William Frankleyn, Chancellor, to Cardinal Wolsey, 11 April 1523, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, II, 2946. This letter is also fully transcribed in W. Hutchinson, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1785-94, I, 404, n.

3 E.g., William Frankleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, 4 April 1523 (S.P. 1/27/2930); Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, III, 2930.

ascertained the presence of suitable lead deposits, were set to work to establish a plant at Gateshead for the smelting of lead ore and the separation of lead and silver by means of coal. By the time of Cardinal Wolsey's translation to Winchester in 1529 very little had been achieved. The plant was set up and was apparently ready for operation, with 40 loads of lead ore brought down from Weardale ready to be processed, but there is no evidence that any part of a probably quite considerable investment was ever recouped.[1] Judgment is clouded by the fragmentary nature of the proof, but it is probable that this part of the enterprise was financially (and perhaps also technically) unsuccessful. The other main objective behind direct involvement in mineral exploitation was the extension of the episcopal income through the production of lead ingots in Weardale and their sale at Newcastle.[2] The income recorded in the accounts as being derived from the sale of lead denotes a reasonable measure of success in this less ambitious part of the venture. The available figures are as follows:

1511	£ 30.10. 8
1512	12.10. 8
1514	1.10. 0
1518	nil
1519	70. 8. 0

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1 William Frankleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, 11 April 1523, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, II, 2946; William Strangeways and Richard Bellassis to Cardinal Wolsey, 24 June 1528 (S.P. 1/48/4416); Instructions from Cardinal Wolsey to William Strangeways and Richard Bellassis, 1528 (S.P. 1/52/5111 (3)); William Frankleyn to Ralph Hungate, 1528 (S.P. 1/52/5111 (4)); Account of William Bulmer, Clerk of the Lead Mines, 1528-29 (Church Commission MSS 190021).

2 William Frankleyn to Bishop Ruthall, 25 June 1518, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, II, 4258.

1521	nil
1524	110. 0. 0
1525	105. 0. 0
1527	20. 8. 4

The nature and scale of the operations can best be comprehended through a summary of the Surveyor's Account for one of the more productive years, 1524-25.[1] In this year it took £160.18. 4 to purchase lead-ore and smelt and market 60 loads of lead, with a market value of £3.13. 4 each. Half the output was sold for £110. Assuming that the second 30 loads were sold at the same price, the total return would have been £220; leaving a net profit of £80, or £1. 6. 8 per load. The profit margin was extremely reasonable, in spite of the effort involved. Both projects came to an abrupt end however, as soon as Cardinal Wolsey's interest was removed. Upon his translation to Winchester in 1529 he farmed out the Gateshead refinery, together with the Bishop's interest in the Weardale lead-mines, for a rent of £5 p.a. and a term of 30 years.[2] The recipient of this farm was his own illegitimate son, Thomas Winter, then Archdeacon of York. He in his turn, again in 1529, assigned the lease to Sir Antony Browne, Knight of the Body.[3] Accordingly the refining apparatus, for what it was worth, passed out of the Bishops' hands and was never reclaimed by them for their own use before 1642. At the same time the Weardale smelting operations were also terminated; perhaps because of the impediment caused by the Winter/Browne lease, ~~or the exhaustion of timber supplies~~.

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XVII, p.530.

2 Extracted Chancery Enrolment, dated 10 February 1529 (Church Commission MSS 244142).

3 Indenture, 13 December 1529 (Public Record Office, Deeds, Aa/211).

The third entrepreneurial enterprise on the other hand, was undertaken not for the purpose of increasing the Bishop's income, but of reducing his level of expenditure. The initial aim behind the Instaurer's activities was to replenish the larders of the episcopal household as cheaply as possible, by buying store cattle and fattening them up on the Bishop's own demesnes at Stockton. Almost incidental to the main object there developed a practice of carrying more stock than the Bishop's household could possibly consume, and selling the surplus on the open market at a reasonable profit. Running parallel with the supply of beef was a sheep farming venture, conducted at Stockton and Burnhope in Weardale, through which a sizeable flock was built up, despite raids, severe winters and the dreaded murrain. The scope of the enterprise, the methods employed and the advantages accruing to a Bishop mostly resident in London, are readily apparent from a study of the Instaurer's Accounts. In 1514-15 for example, 60 cattle and 80 (barren?) cows were bought for fattening on the Stockton demesnes.[1] Of the cattle 6 were diseased, 1 stolen and 1 sold; the remainder were despatched for episcopal consumption - 42 to the Bishop's London residence and 10 to Norham Castle. Of the cows, 4 died of murrain 40 were delivered along with the 40 cattle to Durham House and no less than 38 put back on the market as fat cows. Virtually no stock of this type was carried over from year to year; there was no breeding and rearing, simply a short-term fattening operation. The situation with regard to the sheep husbandry practised up in Weardale as well as at Stockton was very different. Of the 994 animals recorded in the stock list, only 210 (wethers)

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XVIII, pp.531-533.

were purchased; the main body of 784 representing a permanent flock. None were consumed by the episcopal household, whilst only 240 wethers and 32 lambs were put on the market. An examination of all the extant Instaurer's Accounts - a series running from 1512 to 1518 - reveals that the cow and cattle fattening was a regular annual feature; that sheep did accompany the bovates to London, usually in alternate years; and that the permanent flock was as recent in creation as 1514, being built up and maintained until 1517 by purchase rather than breeding. In contrast, during the pontificate of Bishop Hatfield (1345-81) farming was practised at Middridge Grange, Ricknall Grange, Heighington, Coatham Mundeville, Quarrington Grange, and Bishop Middleham, as well as at Stockton, wheat, oats, barley, peas and beans being grown, and horses, pigs, fowl and geese being kept alongside the cattle and sheep.[1]

As far as the value of the Instaurer's predominantly fattening operations is concerned, it can be calculated from the Accounts that the price paid for store animals in the North in 1514-15 was:

bullocks	10.10d each
cows	8. 7½d each
sheep	1.11½d each

If they had been purchased ready for slaughter they would have cost:

bullocks	12. 0d each in the North - 15.0d in London
cows	11. 0d each in the North - 12.0d in London
sheep	2. 7½d each in the North

Consequently by fattening stores the Bishop was able to make a

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1 W. Greenwell, ed., Bishop Hatfield's Survey, Surtees Society Vol.32, Durham, 1857, Appendix II, pp.211-259.

saving of 1/2. to 4/2d. on each bullock, 2/4½d. to 3/4½d. on each cow and 8d. on each sheep. Thus there was a total saving and profit, actual and potential, of approximately £28 on all animals bought, sold or consumed. 52 bullocks and 40 cows had been reserved for the Bishop, at a total saving of £13.2.5. A further 8 bullocks, 38 cows and 240 fat sheep had been resold at an estimated profit of £12.10.7, whilst 210 store sheep had been purchased with a potential saving or profit of approximately £10.[1] In addition, the sale of home-reared lambs and wool and hides had secured a further £14.9.11 bringing realised profits and savings together up to £40.2.11 (besides £10 worth of unrealised profits/savings). Since working costs (including £14.1.4 in lost rent from the pasture utilised by the Instaurer[2]) amounted to £26.5.1, the advantage to the Bishop was reduced to £16.17.10 (£26.17.10 if potential profits and savings are included). Against this meagre return must be offset the loss of 133 sheep; 112 stolen and 21 killed by disease. If these are assigned a value of 2/6d each, then the profits and savings of the enterprise must be reduced by a further £16.12.6; leaving only 5/4d (or £10.5.4).[3] Overall the sheep farming was an unfortunate venture. Before it was terminated in 1518, a further 243 animals died; 156 of them in

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1 The 240 fat sheep had probably been purchased in 1514 @ about 1/6d. each. In 1516 200 fat sheep were sent to London, for the Bishop's use; on the London market they were worth 3/0d each.

2 To arrive at the sum of £14.1.4 the £41.17.0 worth of lost rent has been offset against the £5.7.4 derived from agistments and the £22.8.4 derived from a herbage farm, on the assumption that the Instaurer was not using all the land allocated to him. If this assumption is wrong and the agistments and herbage farm were attached to other land, then the operating costs rise to £54.0.9, involving a loss of £13.17.10, or £3.17.10 if potential profits/savings are taken into account.

3 Alternatively, putting the worst interpretation on the factor of lost rent, (vide footnote 2) there was a loss of £30.10.4 or £20.10.4.

severe weather conditions in 1517-18.[1] The dealings of 1514-15 were fairly typical, so that altogether the Instaurer's activities were of dubious economic value. It must have been realisation of this fact, reinforced by the impact of an unhelpful climate - a severe drought in 1517 being followed by a harsh winter - which prompted the Receiver-General, Thomas Strangeways, to abandon the stock-farming in 1518 and convert the Bishop into a complete rentier landowner.[2] To him the Instaurer's work probably seemed a sheer waste of time and effort for such small or non-existent returns. It is perhaps remarkable that Bishop Ruthall should have realised the advantage of buying stores, without advancing to the logical progression of supplying all his own needs from the demesne, by a resort to crop-growing and stock-breeding. After 1518 he and all the succeeding bishops entirely rejected the establishment of home farms as an expedient for reducing costs and combating rising prices. They entirely disregarded the third precept of Lord Burleigh's Advice to his son: "Live not in the country without corn and cattle about thee: for he that puts his hand to purse for every expense of household, is like him that thinks to put water in a sieve ..."[3]

To conclude, the entrepreneurial enterprises did not have any significant affect on the level of income due during the short

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1 Instaurer's Accounts, 1515-16, 1516-17 and 1517-18 (Church Commission MSS 190191, 190192 and 190193).

2 Instaurer's Account, 1517-18 (Church Commission MSS 190193). William Frankleyn to Bishop Ruthall, 25 June 1518, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, II, 4258.

3 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, IV, 340.

period of their operation. Coal-mining was no more or less productive than the leasing of mineral concessions, as far as can be judged. The impact of the instaurer's activities was virtually nil or perhaps even negative to a small degree. Only the lead-smelting occasionally added something in the region of £100 to the episcopal income in a good year.

(vi) Conclusions

By taking the charges of the three Receivers and the Reeve of Craike and subtracting arrears brought forward, it has been possible to calculate the amount of income due from each. By combining the four sets of figures it is possible to estimate the proportions of the Bishop's overall temporal income.[1] Over the whole period it fluctuated between £3,300 and £3,800 with the usual level lying at £3,500 - £3,700 in the first half of the 16th Century, and at £3,300 - £3,600 after 1550; a drop reflecting a cut in actual income and a pruning away of decayed rents. Of these totals approximately 76% was derived from County Durham, Norhamshire, Bedlingtonshire and Craike, 9% from Allertonshire and 15% from Howdenshire. The calculation of income due has a limited application only, since it reflects nothing more than the theoretical value of the episcopal revenue before the reduction of arrears and decayed rents. Yet it should not be dismissed lightly. The sources of the Bishop's wealth can best be analysed against the backcloth of income due, which in itself serves as an important yardstick against which to measure actual income and the scale of economic growth and decline.

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XIV, pp. 518-522.

There is one serious drawback to the usefulness of the estate accounts; that is the total exclusion of leasehold fines from the purview of the estate administration. Fines usually constituted an important part of any landlord's assets during this period, but the surviving records relating to the Bishopric Estates reveal little more than the fact that they were demanded in the usual way, whilst there is certainly no evidence to suggest that rents were increased in lieu of fines. For an evaluation of their worth to the Bishops of Durham there are only a handful of clues, which at best can provide only an extremely rough estimate. The most valuable evidence is contained in a note of leases to be renewed in 1601, which provides both the rents and the fines for a number of properties.[1] From this no obvious pattern emerges. The amount of the fines was assessed at between two and six times the value of the rents, but on such limited grounds this cannot be taken as a hard and fast rule. This is proved by the one exception in the list; an 8/0d rent to which a fine of £12 (8/0d x 30) was attached. Equally interesting is a document listing compositions for the renewal of a number of Allertonshire leases in 1640.[2] 14 renewals are recorded; the accompanying fines amounting to £58 (an average of £4 per lease). 11 of the transactions concerned parcels of land (oxgangs) which were let at 8/4½d and 10/4½d each. In the majority of instances the renewal fine was set down at £4 per oxgang, or 8 ÷ 10 times the annual rent. In one case the fine was halved to £2 because

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1 Note of Leases to be renewed, 1601 (Church Commission MSS Miscellanea 221562).

2 Compositions for renewing of leases in North Allertonshire, 11 June 1640 (Church Commission MSS 220827).

the tenant was a poor widow. In contrast the lease of Northallerton borough tolls, involving a rent of £7 p.a., was renewed for a fine of only £1, whilst the same tenant, Thomas Lascelles, paid another fine of £7 on a small plot of 2½ acres (rent unknown). The two documents together provide 19 references to the length of time which the old leases had to run, and it is evident from these that 21 year leases were normally renewed around the half-way stage. In the absence of any uniformity it is tempting to believe that in many cases fines were the object of bargaining between Bishop and tenant, with their size dependent on circumstances. If a lease was being made over to a servant, or a favoured tenant, the fine might conceivably be smaller than otherwise. In other instances however, the fine pertaining to a particular tenement might well be fixed by custom, although if there was competition for its occupation, it is not unlikely that it would pass to the highest bidder. There is a little evidence to suggest that bargaining did take place. In the Lease Enrollment Books it is common form for each indenture to begin with the statement that on a certain date, the Bishop of Durham was pleased to grant a lease to A, for a consideration. Unfortunately the amount of the consideration is never specified. More tangible proof is contained in a petition submitted to the Queen in 1577? by Brian Machell of Hamsterley.[1] He and his ancestors had allegedly always possessed the undisputed right to farm Bedburn Park, but upon the expiry of his lease Bishop Barnes (1577-87) had refused to renew it; making out a new grant in favour of a Richard Appleton. Machell had been so eager to recover the lease that

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1 S.P. 15/25/58.

he had offered Appleton 100 marks for his interest. The latter was warned off by the Bishop and eventually assigned the property to William Barnes, one of the Bishop's grandsons. Yet this was still not the end of the tussle, for in his eagerness to continue his occupation of the Park, which had a rental value of £2 per annum, Machell expressed his willingness to pay a fine of £100.

The only firm conclusions to emerge from this speculation are that leasehold fines were probably extremely variable and are impossible of assessment without exact data. Nevertheless at the risk of gross distortion some attempt might be made to estimate their overall dimensions. Although the comprehensiveness of the Lease Enrollment Books cannot be checked or guaranteed, it is safe to assume that for certain years they provide an accurate record of all new leases and renewals undertaken by the Bishop's tenants. If a year is selected for which the information is at its most reliable, and the annual rental value of all the leases made in that year is quadrupled, then it should be possible to make a rough estimate of the amount of income from the attendant fines, on the grounds that in the 1601 document, the average size of fine (out of a collection of 24) was equivalent to the annual rent x 4.[1] This has been attempted for fourteen separate years between 1595 and 1641 in Table VI.[2] No definite inferences arise, but it is reasonable to conclude that fines possibly added a few hundred pounds annually to income due. The estimates range from £59.0.4 to £537.13.4, and average out over the 14 years at £250.17.9.

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1 One abnormal fine equivalent to 30 x the annual rent has been excluded from calculations. The average for the 1640 document is higher, but it provides a narrower sample both in terms of number of transactions and the location of leaseholds, whilst there is a possibility that the arrangements were abnormally affected by the Bishops' War crisis.

2 Compiled from Lease Enrollment Books (Church Commission MSS 184957b, 184959 and 184962).

TABLE VI

An Assessment of Leasehold Fines at four times Rental Value

Year	Number of Leases	Total Rental Value	Total Value of the Fines
1595	63	£120. 3. 2½	£480.12.10
1596	29	53.13. 5	214.13. 8
1618	47	103.10. 3	414. 1. 0
1619	9	20.12. 0	82. 8. 0
1620	30	126.11. 8	506. 6. 8
1621	8	41. 3. 3½	164.13. 2
1622	21	34.10. 0	138. 0. 0
1623	18	65. 6. 0	261. 4. 0
1624	11	14.15. 1	59. 0. 4
1637	28	134. 8. 4	537.13. 4
1638	27	68. 6. 0	273. 4. 0
1639	10	18.15. 1½	75. 0. 6
1640	16	28. 7. 8½	113.10.10
1641	12	51.10. 1	206. 0. 4

(b) Actual Income

The next task is to assess the level of actual income and the losses represented by arrears and decayed rents. [illegible]

The heaviest drain on income due took the form of arrears.[1] It is evident that a considerable multiplication of outstanding debts occurred between 1509 and 1587; with the noticeable exception of Cardinal Wolsey's pontificate. Bishop Ruthall died with at least £1830 owing to him from his tenants; a debt which had accumulated over a span of thirteen years. Bishop Tunstall (1530-59)

1 Vide infra, Appendix XIX, pp. 534-536.

was more successful. He managed to limit his arrears to approximately £1690, in spite of being Bishop of Durham for twenty eight years. Bishop Pilkington (1561-76) lost at least £1250 in fifteen years, whilst Bishop Barnes fared worst of all; being deprived of approximately £2400 in ten years. These accumulations of arrears were perhaps the result of economic difficulties experienced by the tenantry, farmers of mines, in particular, combined with a tradition of leniency towards rent defaulters on the part of the estate administration. Although the detailed evidence is extremely scanty, it does appear that the situation improved to a great extent towards the end of the 16th Century. From 1595 onwards arrears seem to have been limited to below the £500 mark. This distinct drop was perhaps a manifestation of the improvement in general prosperity and economic stability which first becomes noticeable in the second half of the 16th Century. It could also have been the outcome of a stricter enforcement of the revenue-collecting procedures, already pioneered by Cardinal Wolsey who does not seem to have tolerated avoidable arrears, and made necessary by the Bishops' worsening financial position. The bulk of the outstanding payments originated on the Durham estates. Ruthall was the only bishop to be left with large amounts still owing from Howdenshire and Allertonshire.

One noticeable feature of the arrears for the two Yorkshire Liberties is their sudden, occasional accumulation above the norm, followed by discharge within one or two years immediately afterwards. This pattern occurred in Allertonshire between 1546 and 1554, and in Howdenshire between 1532 and 1538, 1582 and 1585 and in 1592 and 1604. The reason for these accretions is that a considerable proportion of the annual receipts was being held back by the Receiver.

Instead of being paid into the Durham Exchequer in time for the Audit, it was not delivered up until the next financial year; in the meantime perhaps being put to use by the Receiver for his own private benefit. Since large sums of money were involved, this was presumably done with the Bishop's knowledge or consent. If the practice was common, it might also account in part for the spasmodic nature of the payments made into the Exchequer by the Durham officers of receipt and the frequency of post-audit settlements.

Some idea of the detailed composition of arrears can be gleaned from Table VII, compiled from nineteen Books of Arrears extant for Bishop Tunstall's episcopate.[1] Through the vertical columns it is possible to observe the gradual diminution of arrears outstanding from any particular year. In Tunstall's fifth year for example, there was still £7.15. 1 owing from his first year, which had been reduced to £1.13. 4 by the twenty eighth. The horizontal readings on the other hand, enable one to study the composition of the sum total of arrears for any given year. For instance, at the end of Bishop Tunstall's nineteenth year the debt stood at £752. Of this £145.14. 4 resulted from the nineteenth year itself, and the remainder in varying proportions from the previous eighteen years. The table gives a very good impression of how arrears snowballed over a long period. In spite of actual payments and the elimination of decayed rents, which helped to reduce the debt, a losing battle was being fought. Arrears were constantly accumulating faster than they were being discharged. Two distinct phases emerge. Until Tunstall's

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1 Books of Arrears, 1533-58 (Church Commission MSS 195701 and 195702).

Table VII The Progression of Arrears, 1530-59 (i)

Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Years
1															1
2															2
3															3
4															4
5	7.15.1	18.4.6	20.2.5	13.18.3	76.1.4										5
6	7.15.1	18.4.6	20.2.5	13.18.3	74.1.4	177.8.8									6
7															7
8															8
9	7.9.10	16.15.4	15.6.6.	12.16.7	37.18.10	73.16.11	27.19.0	43.13.9	27.18.2						9
10	4.12.4	13.1.8	8.18.2	6.3.6	35.11.4	69.14.7	24.7.10	38.3.1	26.11.9	62.3.5					10
11															11
12	4.12.4	13.1.8	5.2.6	5.1.9	33.18.0	66.18.10	21.1.2	37.1.8	19.13.6	44.4.2	32.1.11	51.12.4			12
13	3.13.4	2.0.0	3.7.3	2.8.0	33.0.0	66.0.10	19.16.10	34.15.6	18.15.3	31.3.2	20.12.2	35.12.1	50.7.2		13
14	1.13.4	—	4.1	5.9	—	—	4.10.0	13.6.8	5.15.1	14.14.11	15.14.1	14.6.3	19.14.9	63.9.2	14

Table VII The Progression of Arrears, 1530-59 (2)

Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Years
15	1.13.4	—	4.1	5.9	—	—	10.0	12.6.8	4.1.11	14.14.11	13.18.7	13.0.9	16.8.7	36.3.3	15
16	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	10.0	12.6.8	3.12.3	11.19.4	13.9.0	11.7.5	10.2.0	28.17.10	16
17	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	10.0	12.6.8	2.6.8	8.19.4	13.9.0	11.7.5	10.2.0	23.13.8	17
18	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	10.0	12.6.8	2.6.8	8.19.4	13.9.0	11.7.5	10.2.0	23.0.4	18
19	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	10.0	12.6.8	2.6.8	8.19.4	13.9.0	10.9.8	10.2.0	19.17.4	19
20															20
21															21
22	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	10.0	12.6.8	2.6.8	8.19.4	13.9.0	10.9.8	10.2.0	19.15.0	22
23	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	10.0	12.6.8	2.6.8	8.19.4	13.9.0	10.9.8	?	18.17.5	23
24	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	10.0	12.6.8	2.6.8	8.19.4	13.9.0	10.9.8	9.18.0	15-9-1	24
25	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	12.6.8	2.6.8	8.19.4	13.9.0	10.9.8	7.13.0	14.19.1	25
26	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	12.6.8	2.6.8	2.13.4	10.16.8	9.9.8	6.16.8	9.11.1	26
27	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	12.6.8	2.6.8	2.13.4	10.16.8	9.9.8	6.16.8	9.2.0	27
28	1.13.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	12.6.8	2.6.8	2.13.4	10.16.8	9.9.8	6.16.8	9.2.0	28

Table VII. The Progression of Arrears, 1530-59 (3)

Years	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	Years
15	118.18.6														15
16	100.5.8	178.16.11													16
17	99.10.2	175.17.0	122.4.6												17
18	98.10.10	171.15.8	166.2.8	207.8.6											18
19	96.6.7	170.5.8	112.2.8	154.1.2	145.14.4										19
20															20
21															21
22	11.2.0	101.17.0	24.4.3	114.4.1	91.10.10	167.10.5	158.10.7	291.0.0							22
23	11.2.0	101.17.0	23.18.7	111.3.1	91.10.10	165.17.11	157.18.7	?	441.17.1						23
24	11.2.0	51.17.0	23.18.7	111.3.1	91.10.10	164.11.7	148.12.7	215.5.11	380.15.5	317.9.11					24
25	11.2.0	?	13.7.0	48.2.4	24.6.8	98.4.0	81.11.6	143.2.3	265.17.8	187.19.4	259.6.10				25
26	6.16.8	16.17.9	9.3.4	47.10.0	23.19.2	97.11.10	71.5.10	127.13.9	227.7.4	153.6.6	170.6.9	246.2.11			26
27	6.16.8	16.17.9	9.3.4	47.10.0	23.19.2	97.11.10	71.5.10	127.10.10	226.18.1	153.0.3	167.3.8	241.0.10	186.4.7		27
28	6.16.8	16.17.9	9.3.4	47.10.0	23.19.2	97.11.10	71.5.10	127.10.10	226.18.1	153.0.3	167.3.8	204.10.0	184.4.6	79.2.2	28

eighteenth year arrears were kept within very reasonable bounds, the figure for each year eventually being whittled down to less than £15 over a span of 2 - 11 years. During the last 11 years of his pontificate, however, the incidence of arrears became markedly greater and the rate of discharge slower, so that sizeable sums were still owing from these years at the time of the Bishop's death. It is interesting to note that the change in pattern coincided with the beginning of Edward VI's reign. Were tenants and officers alike deliberately taking extra liberties with a bishop who was distinctly out of favour with his political masters; indulging in a licence which Tunstall was too weak to check even after the upgrading of his fortunes under the Marian regime?

The nature and origin of arrears can be illustrated from a typical Book of Arrears covering the first fourteen years of Bishop Pilkington's pontificate, the contents of which have been summarised in Table VIII.[1] This record is particularly valuable in that marginal annotations indicate how many of the outstanding debts were eventually paid off or written off before the Bishop's death. The sum total of arrears at the end of 1574 came to £1282.19.10½, of which £1095.12. 2½ took the form of unpaid rents; £839.13.0 of it due from the farmers of the episcopal coal-mines. By January 1576, when Pilkington died, these arrears had been reduced by £204.11.7½; £200.0.5 in actual payments and £4.11.2½ in distrained goods. This left a remainder of £1084.0.2, of which £83.6.8 was finally written off as unleviable decayed rents. It is probable that the £200 actually retrieved represented almost

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1 Book of Arrears, 1574 (Church Commission MSS 220003)

all the recoverable arrears, resulting from tenants' remissness and that all leviable arrears were eventually collected. It is probable that most of the remaining £1000.13. 6 was unleviable, because of the inability of certain of the tenantry to pay either rents or fines and amercements. The £893. 4.11 worth of rents which remained uncollected by 1576 were probably just as decayed as the £83. 6. 8 worth which were officially recognised as such. Over the fourteen year span from 1561 to 1574, out of average annual arrears amounting to £91.12.10, probably only £14. 3.10 p.a. consisted of arrears which could be recovered. The remaining £77. 9. 0 was impossible of collection and led to an unreal inflation of arrears. One significant factor to be noted however, is that out of the £976.10. 7 outstanding in rent in 1576, as much as £798.19. 8, or an average of £57. 1. 4 p.a., was derived from coal-mines, as opposed to £177.10.11, or £12.14. 8 p.a., from landed sources. This serves only too well as an indication of how financially hazardous mining operations could be. It is apparent that the unprofitability of coal extraction in the 16th Century affected the level of arrears far more markedly than the misfortunes affecting the agricultural sector of the bishopric estates.

TABLE VIII

Arrears for the Pontificate of Bishop Pilkington, 1561-74

Source	Total	Payments made, 1561-1575	Distraints	Exonerations	Remainder
Four Wards					
Rents	£197. 2. 4½	£45. 6. 9	£3. 2. 8½	£ 3. 6. 8	£ 145. 6.3
Fines	13. 0. 2	1.14. 2	3. 4	-	11. 2.8
Disallowed Fees	46. 6. 8	20. 6. 8	-	-	26. 0.0
Tolls	1.13. 4	-	-	-	1.13.4
Master Forester					
Rents	58.16.10	31.12. 8	5. 2	-	26.19.0
Fines	5.14. 6	-	1. 0. 0	-	4.14.6
Mines	839.13. 0	41.13. 4	-	80. 0. 0	718.19.8
Sheriff	19. 4.11	10. 2	-	-	18.14.9
Ecclesiastical Payments	106. 0. 0	58.16. 8	-	-	47. 3.4
Total	£1282.19.10½	£200. 0. 5	£4.11. 2½	£83. 6. 8	£1000.13.6

To conclude the subject of arrears there is the problem of what happened to them upon the death or translation of a bishop. Tenants and officers of receipt owed their individual contributions not to a perpetual and impersonal entity like the Bishopric of Durham or the estate administration, but to the Bishop himself. When the Bishop was translated or died, any arrears still outstanding were credited to him, his heirs or executors, never to his successor. At the same time the administration passed into the service of a new master and was no longer officially responsible for the production of his arrears. Since the accounting system was no longer working in his favour, he was forced to resort

to court action against individual former tenants or officers for the recovery of his debts. Neile, as Archbishop of York, has already been observed suing for unpaid rent in the Durham Chancery Court.[1] Over a century earlier, in 1509, his predecessor, Archbishop Bainbridge, was also trying to extract his due from the Bishopric of Durham. His method was to write to Bishop Ruthall, begging him to allow his surveyor to collect the arrears owing to him.[2] It is obvious that the goodwill of the present incumbent was essential if any success was to be had by this approach. Probably very few of the arrears outstanding at the removal of a Bishop would have been at all leviable however.

In determining actual income allowance must also be made for those receipts which were officially recognised as unleviable and classed separately from arrears. These chiefly consisted of decayed rents, where the administration had formally acknowledged the genuine inability of a particular tenant to pay his rent (many similar cases were not afforded the same treatment and remained under the category of arrears, especially in County Durham), or the dereliction of a particular tenement. Other receipts had to be abandoned because insolvent debtors had died. Amercements also were occasionally scratched from the accounts, because a wrongdoer was too poor to pay his fine, or had fled beyond the reach of justice. The only other important form of allowance was the reduction made when the Bishop retained land for his own use and was consequently unable to exact rent for it.

An attempt has been made to evaluate as far as is possible, the part played by authorised allowances in reducing income due.[3]

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1 Vide supra, p.108.

2 Archbishop Bainbridge to Bishop Ruthall, 30 September 1509 (S.P. 1/34/187)

3 Vide infra, Appendix XX, pp.537-539.

In County Durham itself, the bulk of the deductions before 1587 arose through the Bishop's own utilisation of pasture land at Auckland and Stockton; amounting to £70 - £80 p.a. between 1540 and 1569, and £22 - £33 p.a. between 1570 and 1586. This would argue a scale of operations even larger than those conducted by the Instaurer early in the 16th Century, but there is no trace in the records either of that officer or any agricultural activities. The bishops were probably using some of the pasture for keeping horses and making a profit out of the remainder by way of agistments. The large amounts of arrears compensated for the scarcity of decayed rents and unleviable fines and amercements, but occasionally in hard years like 1544, 1550, 1555 and 1556, an exceedingly large number of allowances was made. In Howdenshire and Allertonshire on the other hand, there was a greater willingness to distinguish between genuine arrears and decayed rents. Until 1577 the latter comprised the majority of all deductions (approximately £64 p.a. in Allertonshire and £35 p.a. in Howdenshire, except in the odd bad year) but were then completely erased from the charge and discharge. The remaining exonerations were thereby reduced to a low level. The Bishop also retained some grazing land for horses in Howdenshire between 1530 and 1550, the rental value of which varied from £19 to £5 p.a. Overall the annual deductions ordinarily amounted to:

1500 - circa 1538	£100 +
1539 - 1569	£200 - £300
1570 - 1576	£150 approximately
1577 - 1640	-£ 50

but more occasionally higher whenever natural conditions militated heavily against the well-being of the tenantry.[1]

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1 E.g., the Palatinate - 1544, 1550, 1555, 1556, 1562, 1585, 1586
Allertonshire - 1501, 1543, 1549, 1551, 1633, 1634.
Howdenshire - 1533, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1604.

Interpretation of the figures is fraught with hazard, but it is perhaps reasonable to opine that the reduction in the size of allowances was in part a reflection of economic growth.

By subtracting the arrears and allowances for any given year from a Receiver's charge, it is possible to ascertain the amount of ~~real~~ income that was actually collected.[1] The most striking discovery is that in the one hundred and forty years between 1500 and 1640, the Bishop's ~~real~~ actual income neither decreased nor increased to any marked degree, but remained fairly static at the general levels indicated in Table IX.

TABLE IX.

Comparison of Income Due and ~~Real~~ Actual Income

		General Level of Income Due	General Level of ~~Real~~ Actual Income	Difference
		£	£	£
The Co. Palatine	1500-1640	2500-2800	2300-2700	100-300
Craike	1500-1540	47- 55	30- 50	0- 20
	1540-1566	50- 60	50- 60	-
Allertonshire	1500-1577	330- 350	240- 280	50-100
	1577-1640	250- 290		0- 30
Howdenshire	1500-1577	500- 520	430- 480	50- 80
	1577-1640	470- 490		0- 50
TOTAL	1500-1550	3500-3700	3100-3300	0-400
	1550-1640	3300-3600		

This is to imply that the decline from an earlier higher level of income was gradually halted and reversed by the end of the 16th Century, but that the improvements of the latter part of the period were masked by reductions arising from the loss of Norhamshire,

1 Vide infra, Appendix XIV, pp. 518-522.

the virtual alienation of Whickham and Gateshead and a cut in the Escheator's receipts.[1] A static income in itself was not disastrous. It was indicative of stability and contained the promise of future improvement. On the other hand, it must be judged against the inflation which occurred over the same period. E.H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins have calculated the price of a composite unit of consumables in the South of England over a span of seven centuries.[2] Their findings illustrate an unprecedented price rise during the 16th and early 17th Centuries, which, by using the period 1451 - 75 as an index base of 100, can be expressed thus:

1470 - 79	94.3	1560 - 69	278.6
1480 - 89	116	1570 - 79	314.6
1490 - 99	101.3	1580 - 89	357
1500 - 09	104.3	1590 - 99	472
1510 - 19	111.2	1600 - 09	474.9
1520 - 29	148	1610 - 19	528.4
1530 - 39	155.1	1620 - 29	515.8
1540 - 49	192.5	1630 - 39	615.8
1550 - 59	289.2	1640 - 49	617.4

Until 1520 prices were fairly constant, but by 1530 an upward surge was well under way, until by the mid-century 1500 prices had been increased by approximately 180%. The rate of acceleration was to increase still further. By 1600 prices had risen by 370% from the 1500 level, and by 1640 had reached over 500%. These figures are extremely theoretical and must be treated with caution, but there is no doubt that they have a certain amount of validity. Since this price rise was probably to a large extent

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1 Vide supra, pp.114-116.

2 E.H. Phelps Brown and S.V. Hopkins, Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables compared with Builders' Wage Rates, Economica, 1956, xxiii.

the result of population growth outstripping supply, accompanied by an increased velocity and quantity of money in circulation, its effect upon the North would have been far more limited than in the South, but it should not be underestimated when signs of economic expansion upon the Bishopric estates in the early 17th Century have already been noted.[1] Even a price increase of only half the rate recorded above would have been quite significant to the Bishops of Durham, since a proper exploitation of their assets was lacking. There is no evidence that they ever exercised a compensatory right of purveyance; if they did, it would almost certainly have been a cause of discontent and come to the notice of the historian. Even such a privilege as this would only have been a partial buffer against rising costs, when many of the Bishops' household provisions and personal wants were purchased outside the limits of the County Palatine. Furthermore they were affected not only as large consumers, but also as the employers of an extensive labour force. The Phelps Brown - Hopkins analysis of building wages in the South of England over seven centuries suggests that wages also rose as well as prices, although at a much slower rate.[2] In the building trade at least, the 1532 wage rate which had remained constant from 1412, had increased by 200% by the mid 17th Century. Wages most certainly varied from trade to trade and from area to area, but there can be little doubt that the general trend was upwards. Although it is impossible to determine the precise affect of the movement of wages

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1 Y.S. Brenner, The Inflation of Prices in Early 16th Century England, Economic History Review, 1961-62, 2 Ser., xiv, 225-239.

2 E.H. Phelps Brown and S.V. Hopkins, Seven Centuries of Building Wages, Economica, 1955, xxii.

and prices upon the Bishops' financial circumstances, it is probable that their purchasing power was curtailed without the compensation of a corresponding increase in [redacted] income. Admittedly there is the almost unknown entity of leasehold fines to be taken into account, but these are a somewhat doubtful counterpoise to inflation. At the beginning of the 16th Century an income of over £3000 p.a. put the Bishops of Durham alongside the top ranks of the aristocracy, but by 1640 they belonged economically with the lower rungs of the peerage and were being outpaced by many successful members of the gentry and upper bourgeoisie. The social and political eclipse of the Bishops of Durham, occasioned by the Reformation, was therefore accompanied by a corresponding economic decline. They can, without much hesitation, be numbered amongst the victims of the 16th Century price inflation.

CHAPTER V

Outgoings and Net Income

(a) Outgoings

Having established the extent of the Bishop's gross income, the next step is to assess what proportion of the receipts was absorbed by routine expenditure; i.e., in payments of a regular nature, connected with the maintenance of the administration and the management of the estates, for which the Receiver-General was ultimately responsible.[1] It will then be possible to determine the limits of the Bishop's net income, after the ordinary requirements of the administration had been met.

(i) The Maintenance of the Administration

The major item under this head was the provision of fees and wages for the administrative personnel.[1] The maximum amount of money that could be disbursed in this way was in the region of £328 p.a. (the Co. Palatine - £250; Allertonshire - £26; Howdenshire - £42; and Craike - £10), but in practice a somewhat smaller sum was usually involved.

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XXI, pp.540-548.

TABLE X

The Cost of Fees and Wages, 1509-1642[1]

Bishop	The Co. Palatine	Howdenshire	Allertonshire	Craike	Sum Total
	£	£	£	£	£
Ruthall	215	32	23	9	279
Wolsey	202	36	23	10	271
Tunstall	225	40	24	10	299
Pilkington	191	37	25	10	263
Barnes	209	31	23	10	273
Hutton	*204	34	26		264
Matthew	167	18	26		211
James	*212	34	26		272
Neile	164	23	*18		205
Morton	213	26	23		262

The reasons for this divergence between possible and actual payments were that a few offices invariably remained untenanted each year, whilst several officers also failed to receive their fees; usually because they were unable to produce their letters-patent and went unrecognised as lawfully appointed recipients, because they had failed to carry out their duties, or because their offices were in dispute. The overall amount spent on fees and wages generally fluctuated between £260 and £280 p.a.:

Co. Palatine	£200 - £230
Craike	£ 10
Allertonshire	£ 23 - £ 26
Howdenshire	£ 30 - £ 42

with a high peak during Bishop Tunstall's pontificate and a low

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1 The Table has been compiled by averaging out where possible, all the known sum totals of fees and wages for each pontificate. The complete sets of figures are listed in Appendix XXI. There is no positive information for the pontificates of Bishops Fox, Senhouse, Bainbridge and Howson. An asterisk indicates that only one sum total is known.

ebb under Bishops Matthew and Neile. The latter is so pronounced that it was probably the result of deliberate economising by weeding out superfluous offices. The effects of the purge were only temporary, for amongst the officers in receipt of fees circa 1640, there were definitely some virtual sinecurists. It is probable that in most Bishops' opinion the saving involved in the suppression of posts was inadequate compensation for the possible creation of hostility amongst the classes from which the administration was recruited.

Of a similar nature to fees and wages were annuities; annual gifts of money in recognition of services rendered, or as a mark of favour, granted for perpetuity, life, or a term of years. In some quarters they were widely employed as a means of rewarding servants, but apparently not so in the Bishops' service.[1] In the Co. Palatine the amount devoted to annuities varied between £10 and £30 p.a., of which £10 always took the form of a supplement to the Sheriff's fee. Between 1577 and 1642 the amount was fixed permanently at £14 p.a. Elsewhere the burden was usually lighter and far more irregular. In 1547 the Howdenshire charge was saddled with annuities to the value of £27 p.a. These rose later to a maximum of £33, declined to £6 p.a. under Bishop Hutton and then disappeared altogether upon his translation to York in 1595.[2] In Allertonshire a sum of £4 only was involved; the result of an annuity arising in 1560 and terminating before 1575 with the death of the recipient.[3] In summary, whilst the Howdenshire

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1 E.g., by the 3rd (1455-61) and 4th (1469-89) Earls of Northumberland. J.M.W. Bean, The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537, Oxford, 1958, pp.85-98, 128-137.

2 Two payments of £38 and £61 in 1583 and 1584 respectively have been discounted.

3 There was one further isolated payment of £5 in 1594.

annuities were in existence, this form of payment was liable to absorb as much as £60 p.a., but a sum of less than £20 p.a. was more normal.[1]

Compared with fees and wages, a third item, routine administrative expenses, was on a much smaller scale, as is reflected in Table XI.

TABLE XI

Administrative Expenses, 1509-1642[2]

Bishop	The Co. Palatine	Howdenshire	Allertonshire	Craike	Sum Total
	£	£	£	£	£
Ruthall	61	9	5	0.75	75.75
Wolsey	40	10	2.5	0.6	53.1
Tunstall	42	11	1.5	1.3	55.8
Pilkington	20	4	-	1.75	25.75
Barnes	12	13	1	1.5	27.5
Hutton	* 9	2	0.75		11.75
Matthew	17	5.5	1.7		23.2
James	*12	3	-		15
Neile	* 5	3.5	-		8.5
Morton	14	4	0.8		18.8

At first sight it seems as if there was a considerable saving in this quarter after 1559, but this is in fact not so. In the first half of the 16th Century, the Receiver-General was held responsible for a number of payments which afterwards were allocated out of the Bishop's net receipts, once the chief accountant had been discharged from all liability. These were included in his accounts under the headings of Necessary Expenses and Foreign Payments. They will be dealt with in more detail below, in connection with the Bishop's net income.[3] For the present it is

1 Vide infra, Appendix XXI, pp. 540-548.

2 Compiled in the same manner as Table X. Vide supra, p.156.

3 Vide infra, pp.180-181.

sufficient to note that some can be classed as administrative expenses, others not. Apart from these extras, one of the most essential administrative expenses was the provision of materials for the Chancery, Exchequer and Auditor's office. These consisted principally of paper, parchment and ink, money bags and a green baize cloth for the Auditor. Almost as important, for the officials' material comfort, were candles for lighting and coal and wood for heating. As the major event of the financial year, the Audit was also bound to incur expenses in its own right. The initial outlay occurred when the Bailiff of the Exchequer distributed his writs of summons. Then during the actual proceedings there was the cost of housing and entertaining the officers of order and the accountants, and the Auditor's travelling allowance for his journey to Howden and Allerton. If the Bishop was absent from his diocese, the Auditor would have to make an additional journey - most commonly to London - to present the completed accounts, whilst in the earlier part of the period there was the occasional expense of moving large amounts of cash at the Bishop's pleasure. The only other regularly occurring items were court expenses - court dinners and the Steward's allowances - and disbursements made to other officers going about their master's business.

A cautious appraisal of Table XI leads to the conclusion that between £10 and £30 was set aside annually to cover the administration's running costs. Any excess over £30, as occurred before 1559, was due mainly to the inclusion of extraordinary payments of a different nature. Nevertheless, in spite of the reservations, it is still possible to detect some decrease in administrative expenses, particularly in the case of audit costs.

The origin of this reduction was probably a gradual curbing of excessive spending. An exception must be made for Howdenshire however, where the drop from about £10 p.a. to below £5 p.a. was caused by the curtailment of an expense of estate management, included for the sake of convenience amongst the administrative costs. Until 1559 horses were grazed on the pastures of the episcopal manor there. Their winter upkeep necessitated the employment of labour for haymaking and the purchase of beans and oats, at an annual cost of £5, all of which ceased with the deprivation of Bishop Tunstall.

By combining the sums spent on fees, wages and annuities with routine administrative expenditure, it is now possible to determine the cost of providing the Co. Palatine and the outlying liberties with an administration; an administration unconnected with the episcopal estates only in its small civil and judicial departments. Table XII provides a rough estimate which reveals a significant reduction in the amount of money devoted to the administration, beginning with the pontificate of Bishop Pilkington (1561-76).

TABLE XII

The Cost of the Temporal Administration, 1509-1642[1]

Bishop	The Co. Palatine	Howdenshire	Allertonshire	Craike	Sum Total
	£	£	£	£	£
Ruthall	298	39	27	9	373
Wolsey	260	46	26	10	342
Tunstall	288	66	25	11	390
Pilkington	226	70	27	12	335
Barnes	209	70	23	11	313
Hutton	*204	42	27		273
Matthew	198	25	27		250
James	*212	37	26		275
Neile	*164	27	*18		209
Morton	241	30	24		295

1 Compiled in the same manner as Table X. Vide supra, p.156.

Broadly speaking the Durham figures declined from £250-£300 p.a. to £200-£250 p.a. after 1559. For Howdenshire there was a decrease from £40-£80 p.a. to £20-£40 p.a., with Bishop Hutton's pontificate (1589-95) as the watershed. The Allertonshire level remained fairly constant throughout in the region of £20-£30 p.a., but the Craike expenses disappeared altogether after the Crown lease of 1586. The overall picture is one of a drop from £350-£400 p.a. to £300-£350 p.a. under Bishops Pilkington and Barnes (1577-87), followed by a further lowering of costs to £250-£300 p.a. after 1589. Bishop Tunstall (1530-59) allowed more expenses all round than any other bishop during the period. At the other extreme were Bishops Matthew (1595-1606) and Neile (1617-1628), who seem to have reduced their outlay by pruning fees and wages. Outside their pontificates the main causes of contraction must be sought elsewhere. Basically it was due to the lessening of the burden of annuities, the paring of routine administrative expenditure to a minimum and to a lesser extent, to the removal of the need to administer the manor of Craike.

(ii) Estate Management

One of the conclusions reached so far is that by 1580 the Bishop of Durham was a complete "rentier" landowner. Thereafter, apart from a few insignificant expenses whenever the Bishop retained grazing land for his own use, the only liability in the field of estate management was the cost of building operations and necessary repairs.

In contrast to fees, wages, annuities and routine administrative expenditure, it is possible to form definite conclusions about the Bishop's outlay on customary repairs and building projects only in the case of Howdenshire. There, besides the obligation to contribute towards the maintenance of the episcopal mills, the Bishop was also bound to protect his tenants in the low-lying areas from the waters of the Rivers Ouse and Derwent. This duty was effected by means of forty-five separately named staiths, or high, reinforced banks, nine sluices and three sewers, sited principally at Skelton, Booth, Saltmarsh, Kilpin, Howden Dyke, Wheel Hall and Laxton. These flood barriers were in constant need of repair in the ceaseless struggle against inundation. Not only was the provision of labour a drain, but the nature of the repairs required the regular purchase and fashioning of large quantities of timber and faggots, in order to preserve the staiths against erosion. By the middle of the 16th Century at the latest, wood was scarce in Howdenshire itself and frequently had to be imported from considerable distances. For the transportation of the necessary materials, Bishop Tunstall had a boat of his own and hired others. He also kept his own herd of horses and oxen for haulage purposes, which explains why certain parcels of demesne pasture were not always put out to farm during his pontificate.[1] The annual operations were conducted, not by the Clerk of Works or any other single officer, but by commissioners for sewers, with the Receiver and Bailiffs often well to the fore. The disbursements made by them were of considerable proportions in comparison with other regular items of expenditure.[2]

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1 Howdenshire Book of Payments, 1544-45 (Church Commission MSS 220922).

2 Vide infra, Appendix XXI, pp.540-548.

TABLE XIII

The Cost of the Howdenshire Waterworks, 1509 - 1642[1]

Bishop	Number of years in each pontificate for which figures are available	Total Expenditure over these years	Average annual expenditure
		£	£
Ruthall	6 out of 13	453	75
Wolsey	7 out of 7	315	45
Tunstall	28 out of 28	3212	114
Pilkington	15 out of 15	1173	78
Barnes	9 out of 9	729	81
Hutton	4 out of 5	275	68
Matthew	6 out of 11	496	62
James	8 out of 10	928	116
Neile	4 out of 10	345	86
Howson	1 out of 3	110	110
Morton	5 out of 27	767	153

On average the waterworks seem to have accounted for £50-£150 annually, depending upon the conscientiousness of each individual bishop and the vicissitudes of the time. It is known that in 1607-10 Bishop James (1606-17) was fined the large sum of £247. 6. 8 for neglect of staiths.[2] Yet his record of expenditure on waterworks would seem to compare favourably with that of the other bishops, which suggests that in spite of the sizeable amounts of money involved, only the barest minimum of the episcopal resources was being expended in this vital sector.

Within the Co. Palatine there was no necessity for such a continual stream of expenditure, with the result that the Clerk of Work's expenses were far more variable and less conformable to a pattern. For the purposes of generalisation the chief difficulty

1 Compiled from the Howdenshire Receiver's Accounts.

2 Receipt (Church Commission MSS 220928).

is that from 1576 onwards the evidence of the accounts is extremely scanty, forcing one to turn to other sources for some indication of the Bishops' outlay.[1] Prior to 1576 expenditure on customary works and building projects, as far as is known, can be summarised thus:

Bishop Ruthall spent £1320 over 7 years, at the rate of £188 p.a.;
Cardinal Wolsey spent £ 288 over 5 years, at the rate of £ 57 p.a.;
Bishop Tunstall spent £3668 over 21 years, at the rate of £174 p.a.;
Bishop Pilkington spent £ 74 over 10 years, at the rate of £ 7.8.0 p.a.

Prior to 1509 Bishop Fox (1494-1501) not only strengthened the fortifications of Norham Castle but also undertook a considerable building programme inside Durham Castle, principally involving extensive alterations to the Great Hall and the construction of a new kitchen; work which must have entailed a sizeable outlay.[2] Ruthall's greatest burden was the rebuilding of Norham Castle after its partial destruction by the Scots on the eve of the Battle of Flodden in September 1513. Followed as it was by a decisive English victory, this was a personal humiliation and disaster for a bishop who stood high in the King's favour and carried some of the responsibility for safe-guarding the northern frontier.[3] His successor and rival, Cardinal Wolsey, was probably bearing his discomfiture in mind when he directed his allocations for repairs mainly towards the patching up of the same castle. Tunstall, another biship who was frequently absent from his see in the royal service, also seems to have suffered, like his two predecessors,

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XXI, pp.540-548.

2 Notes on the Bishops of Durham (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 10/31) C.H. Hunter Blair and H.L. Honeyman, Norham Castle, Ministry of Public Buildings and Works Guide, London, 1966, p.8.

3 Bishop Ruthall to Thomas Wolsey, 18 September 1513, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, V, 2279.

from the dilatoriness of the captains and farmers of Norham, judging by the number of times the Castle appears in the Clerk of Work's accounts. Bishop Ruthall's earlier distress was also heightened by the fact that, upon arriving in the North, he found his Durham residences in a state of great decay. In a letter to Wolsey he complained that his property was in such a ruinous condition that it looked as if it had been the scene of a battle. At his first coming he might as well have slept in the open for all the shelter it afforded. What with his pressing needs on the border, he would have to tighten his belt, which was difficult because of the demands of northern hospitality. Three hundred persons sitting down to dinner was by no means exceptional, besides sixty to eighty beggars sitting at the gates, waiting to be fed.[1] Much of this letter was undoubtedly special pleading, to excuse the Bishop's shortcomings as part of the northern defences, but behind the sweeping exaggerations there was probably more than a grain of truth. He was forced to set to; his one permanent achievement being the beginnings of a new dining chamber at Bishop Auckland Palace.[2] Another essential task was the repairing of the south end of the Tyne Bridge connecting Newcastle and Gateshead; a vital link between Co. Durham and the Borders. Because of their strategic importance, the Bridge and Norham Castle were the only two properties to receive the attention of the absentee Wolsey, whose obvious intention was to spend as little as possible upon the

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1 Bishop Ruthall to Thomas Wolsey, 24 October 1513, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, V, 2394.

2 A description of the building projects of Bishops Ruthall, Wolsey and Tunstall is contained in William de Chambre's History of Durham, included in J. Raine, ed., Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Surtees Society Vol.9, London and Edinburgh, 1839, pp.151-152, 154, 155.

upkeep of his temporalities. It was not until Bishop Tunstall's pontificate that Ruthall's improvements at Bishop Auckland were continued, but then on a far larger scale. Probably Tunstall's need was just as great as Ruthall's had been, after the neglect of his predecessor and the ravages of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536.[1] In his will he wrote:

> "..... and whereas I found the houses and dwellings of the landes belonging to the Bishoprick of Duresme in such and almost total ruin, that I had not one house at my first comyng to lye drye in, which I have by grete cost and labour so repared as bothe the country doth knowe, and the thinge will show itself, and had never one peny of dilapidac'ones of any of my predecessors, and for my breff time have made so grete cost, I think I ought of reason not to pay any thing for dilapidation to my successors ....." [2]

At any rate, he completed Ruthall's dining chamber at Bishop Auckland and built a gallery and porch of his own.[3] At Durham he continued the modifications begun by Fox. (Fox had shortened the great hall at its southern end in favour of offices and bedrooms, and had built a capacious kitchen and buttery adjoining it. He had also begun to repair the ruined great tower.)[4] He added a gallery to the Castle, built the upper chapel now named after him, improved the gatehouse and fitted it with iron-bound gates, and introduced a water conduit.[5] He also presented the borough with a new toll-booth. After his death the scale and frequency of large improvements were drastically reduced, the only followers of the tradition allegedly being Bishops Barnes, James

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1 Considerations wherefor the bishop of Duresme is not meet to be the president of the Council in the North, 1537, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, XII, Pt.II, 651.

2 J. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, lxvii.

3 J. Raine, A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace, of Auckland, Durham 1852, p.63.

4 W. Page, ed., The Victoria History of the County of Durham, London, 1928, III, 91.

5 J. Raine, A Brief Account of Durham Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1833, p.131.

and Neile. Barnes, whom the Clerk of Work's accounts reveal spending £227 in five years at an average of £45 p.a., is said to have spent £1000 in restoring Stockton Castle, after Bishop Pilkington's neglect, with other works at Durham and Bishop Auckland.[1] Bishop James has been credited with the repair of Durham House, which had been allowed to decay after appropriation by the Crown.[2] Whilst J. Surtees, quoting P. Heylyn, gives Neile the credit for putting right havoc created by Bishop James, and asserts that he spent the rather improbable sum of £6000 on Durham and Bishop Auckland Castles alone.[3] J. Raine also claims that he lavished nearly £3000 on repairs to Bishop Auckland, being reimbursed for much of this expense by his predecessor's executors.[4]

The greatest claim to distinction in this field can be put forward on behalf of Bishops Ruthall and Tunstall however, in that unlike any of their successors in the 16th and early 17th Centuries, they were prepared on top of their major projects, to spend a considerable amount of money on customary repairs; i.e., on the routine maintenance of demesne buildings, enclosures and the numerous mills studding the episcopal manors, for which the Bishop was obliged to provide spare parts and many of the materials used in repair work.[5] In 1511 Bishop Ruthall spent £137.12.6 on

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1 Anecdotes of such Bishops of Durham who carried out improvements to their see (Durham Cathedral, Chapter Library, Allan MSS 7/3). Notes on the Bishops of Durham (Durham University Library, Mickleton-Spearman MSS 10/38).

2 Notes on the Bishops of Durham (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 10/41).

3 J. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, xc.

4 J. Raine, A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace, of Auckland, Durham, 1852, p.74.

5 Episcopal mills in Co. Durham were located at:
Darlington Ward - Darlington, Blackwell, Haughton-le-Skerne, Ricknall, West Auckland, North Auckland, Evenwood, Wolsingham and Stanhope;

customary repairs, of which £76.0.1½ was devoted to mills and mill-ponds.[1] The figures for 1511 were exceptionally high, but as Table XIV shows, he was prepared to accept a regular responsibility. Bishop Tunstall, the most liberal bishop in every respect, went even further. He consistently spent more on the episcopal mills alone than Ruthall devoted to customary repairs of all descriptions.

TABLE XIV

The Cost of Customary Reparations during the Pontificates of Bishops Ruthall and Tunstall [2]

(a) Bishop Ruthall's Expenditure on Customary Repairs

1511 - 1512	£84.11. 7½
1512 - 1513	46. 1. 9
1514 - 1515	31. 5.10½
1515 - 1516	24. 2. 6
1516 - 1517	25. 3. 4½
1518 - 1519	36.16. 0½
1519 - 1520	26. 4. 6½
1520 - 1521	32.11. 7

(b) Bishop Tunstall's Expenditure on Mill Repairs

1532 - 1533	£30. 5.11
1534 - 1535	35. 3.10½
1535 - 1536	25. 0.10
1537 - 1538	41.18. 4
1547 - 1548	41. 8.10
1549 - 1550	66. 6. 8
1552 - 1553	30.14. 2
1553 - 1554	59.18. 0½
1554 - 1555	59. 0. 4½
1555 - 1556	39. 8. 6
1557 - 1558	56. 3.11

Chester Ward - Ryton, Gateshead, Swalwell, Whitburn, Chester-le-Street, Bolam and Lanchester;
Easington Ward - Durham, Shotton, Easington, Wearmouth, Ryhope and Newbottle;
Stockton Ward - Norton, Sedgefield and Cornforth.

1 Vide infra, Appendix XXII, pp. 549-550.

2 Compiled from the Clerk of Works Accounts.

William de Chambre wrote of him that "in all his time he would not allow any stone to be carried away from these old buildings of his which had fallen into ruin."[1] Together Ruthall and Tunstall stood in complete contrast to the post-1559 Bishops, under whom a considerable curtailment in the level of expenditure on routine maintenance appears to have taken place.[2] As far as can be ascertained from the inadequate statistics and the few extant Particulars of Account belonging to the Clerks of Works, mills ceased to be a major consideration under the heading of customary repairs. One reason for this change was that the Clerk of Works became increasingly less involved in this type of work. From the middle of the 16th Century, the lessees of the bishop's mills seem to have been completely responsible for their own repairs, claiming expenses when they submitted their rents. Yet the reduction in expenditure was not simply the result of an organisational change. The rebates claimed by the millers only amounted to a fraction of what had formerly been spent on mill reconstruction. Correspondingly there was a tendency for the clauses referring to the Bishop's obligations in connection with customary repairs to be omitted from leasehold indentures. The evidence is scanty, but it does leave the impression that from 1559 onwards, the Bishops of Durham were gradually and successfully trying to make their leasehold tenants, whether farmers of mills or land, responsible for the entire upkeep of their tenements.

Simultaneously, the amounts devoted to the upkeep of the episcopal manors, parks and residences were also cut, although not to such a drastic extent. Far from the loss of Norhamshire

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1 J. Raine, ed., Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Surtees Society Vol.9, London, 1839, p.155.

2 Vide infra, Appendix XXI, pp. 540-548.

and the removal of the responsibility for Norham Castle leading to a release of capital for building projects elsewhere, the only recorded improvements are the rather dubious ones of Bishops Barnes and Neile. The lists of major construction works undertaken by the Bishops of the first half of the 16th Century come to an end and for the rest of the period references to building works are overshadowed by references to "causae dilapidae", brought by practically every bishop against his predecessor or his executors after the sanctioning provided by 13 Eliz. cap.10, and suggestive of the deliberate neglect of routine maintenance. Bishop Pilkington seems to have committed himself to the profitable abandonment of a plethora of castles and manor houses (Stockton, Westgate, Northallerton, Howden, Welhall) to add to those discarded at an earlier date, prior to the 16th Century (Bishop Middleham, Evenwood, Darlington, Craike, Riccall); thereby reducing the list of episcopal residences to the recently modernised Durham Castle and Bishop Auckland Palace.[1] His destructive act of retrenchment was not reversed by any of his successors. To take the case of Stockton Castle, what had been a usable structure in Bishop Tunstall's day needed an expenditure of £1600 to make it habitable in 1577; by 1647 it was a ruin, its moat partially filled in and its orchards and gardens destroyed.[2] Pilkington and Bishop James were popularly considered to be the worst offenders, but they were by no means alone.[3] In spite of their supposed improvements, both Barnes and Neile were successfully sued for dilapidations by

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1 Vide infra, pp.405-406.

2 W. Page, ed., The Victoria History of the County of Durham, London, 1928, III, 353-354.

3 Mrs. Pilkington's answer to the demands made by the Bishop of Durham for dilapidations, 1577 (S.P.D.12/120/73). Confirmation of the sentence against Bishop James, 15 June 1624 (S.P.D.38/12)

their successors. In 1582 the Consistorial Court of York ordered the executors of the former to pay Bishop Hutton £64.3.6 plus costs.[1] His offences appear to have been trivial however, in comparison with those of Neile, who in 1635 was found guilty by Archbishop Laud of dilapidations valued at £500.[2] At the same time Bishop Morton (1632-59) brought a suit against the widow of Bishop Howson (1628-32) and was awarded £60 from her. A document which indiscriminately lists the dilapidations both committed and suffered by Bishop Howson states that £333 worth of damage had been done at Bishop Auckland Palace; £300 worth in connection with the pulling down of the great kitchen. At Durham Castle the gatehouse had been so neglected that it was ready to fall down and could only be repaired at a cost of £20. Lead and timber had also been removed from the towers at a loss of £40.[3] To complete the record it should also be noted that earlier, in 1610, Bishop James had taken action against his predecessor, Bishop Matthew, although nothing is known of the outcome.[4] A pattern emerges. The policy of an incoming bishop was to save money by doing as few renovations as possible. If he was really unscrupulous, he even made money by pulling down episcopal property and selling the stone, timber and lead. The victim of this short-sighted and selfish policy was the bishop's immediate successor, who automatically sued for dilapidations and then set out upon his own course of negligence

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1 J. Raine, ed., The Correspondence of Dr. Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, Surtees Society Vol.17, London and Edinburgh, 1843, p.83.

2 Archbishop Laud's award against Archbishop Neile, 31 January 1635 (S.P.D.16/282/125). The award was made in favour of Bishop Morton, who had inherited the suit against Neile from his predecessor, Bishop Howson. Morton had appealed to Laud after the case had been fruitlessly before the Audience Court of Canterbury and the Court of Delegates.

3 Dilapidations committed by and against Bishop Howson (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 91/51).

4 Appointment of a commission to examine Bishop Matthew's dilapidations, 10 November 1610 (S.P.D. 39/1).

and depredation.

To conclude briefly with Allertonshire and Craike, there had never been the need for a large and continuous outlay on vital works as in Howdenshire and Norhamshire, or the necessity of maintaining episcopal residences as in County Durham. Bishops Ruthall and Tunstall only spent a few pounds annually on customary repairs, whilst later bishops from Hutton onwards, appear to have left total responsibility to their tenants.

(b) Net Income

By subtracting annual, routine expenditure from annual, actual income, it is now possible to arrive at an estimation of net income; i.e., the money placed at the disposal of the Bishop after the Receiver-General had discharged all routine expenses.[1] This has been attempted as far as the available statistics will allow and the results summarised. The most interesting discovery is the

TABLE XV.

Summary of Net Income, 1500-1642

The County Palatine (including Norhamshire until 1559, and Craike after 1566)	1500 - 1560	£1900 - £2200 p.a.
	1560 - 1642	£2100 - £2400 p.a.
Allertonshire	1500 - 1560	£ 160 - £ 300 p.a.
	1560 - 1642	£ 200 - £ 260 p.a.
Craike	1500 - 1566	£ 30 - £ 40 p.a.
Howdenshire	1500 - 1642	£ 200 - £ 400 p.a.
TOTAL		£2300 - £3000 p.a.
	1500 - 1560	£2300 - £2800 p.a.
	1560 - 1642	£2600 - £3000 p.a.

1 Vide infra, Appendix XXIV, pp. 559-561.

increase in net income from the County Palatine and Allertonshire after 1560, in spite of the absence of any noticeable growth in actual income over the same period. The enlargement of the Bishop's quota therefore, resulted not from any improvement in the temporalities, but as the fruit of a deliberate, economising policy. The application of this policy has already been observed above in the paring down of fees, annuities and routine administrative expenditure, and most particularly in the reductions of the sums devoted to building projects and necessary repairs. It is significant that there was no marked increase in the net income from Howdenshire, where a continuous outlay on the waterworks was imperative. Overall saving reduced the administration's general level of spending from £500 - £800 p.a. before 1560, to £300 - £500 p.a. after that date.

Out of his net income the Bishop had to pay first fruits, tenths and clerical subsidies whenever they fell due. Since these were assessed with reference to the evaluation of the Durham temporalities contained in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, it is worthwhile to ascertain just how accurate and realistic this estimate really was. To reach the figure upon which the Bishop was assessed, the amount allocated for fees, wages and annuities (£318.16.11½) was subtracted from income due (£3128.17.8¾), giving a remainder of £2810.0.9¼.[1] It has already been established however, that the level of income due was normally higher than that employed as the basis of the calculations in the Valor; £3500 - £3700 between 1500 and 1550, and £3300 - £3600 between 1550 and 1642.[2] Hence there was an undervaluation varying between £200 and £600 p.a.

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1 J. Caley, ed., Valor Ecclesiasticus, London, 1810-1834, V.

2 Vide supra, p.139.

Yet income due bore little relation to reality. When the assessment of £2800 is compared with ~~actual~~ income (£3100 - £3300) less fees and annuities (£2800 - £3000), then the estimate is found to be inaccurate in the Bishop's favour by never more than £200, and frequently a good deal less.

In 1561, upon the restitution of temporalities to Bishop Pilkington on 15 March, the valuation contained in the Valor was revised and reduced by £1000.[1] The reason for this curtailment was the detention by the Crown of rents to the value of £878.15.3¾ p.a. derived from:

Norhamshire	£120. 0. 0
Easington Ward	323.13. 4
The Easington Coronership	72. 9. 0
The Wapentake of Sadberge	23. 0.11
The Manor of Coatham Mundeville	47.16. 1
The Manor of Middleham	19. 6.11
The Manor of Gateshead	24.11. 7
The Manor of Craike	29. 7. 4½
Allertonshire	218. 9. 1¼

besides the retention of a pension out of Howdenshire worth £91.5.8¾ p.a.. In all the Bishop of Durham was stripped arbitrarily of his rights of ownership in land yielding annually a certain income of £970.1.0½. Later in the same year the arrangement was altered.[2] All the properties except Norhamshire were leased to the Bishop at the Queen's pleasure for an annual rent of £880, reserving to the Crown all woods and feudal dues. Despite repeated cries of protest and distress from Pilkington,

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1 Patent Roll, 3 Eliz., pt.7, m.57, Public Record Office Copy (Church Commission MSS 244049).

2 Patent Roll, 3 Eliz., pt.10, m.53, Public Record Office Copy (Church Commission MSS 244051).

which even involved him in house arrest, this situation lasted until June 1566, when a full restoration of all the detained lands, except Norhamshire, was effected.[1] Financially this brought no improvement to the Bishop's position, since the rent of £880 was simply transformed into a pension for the same amount, which continued to be paid to the Crown right up to the outbreak of the Civil War. Thus from 1561 onwards, net income was reduced in effect by £880 to £1720 - £2120 p.a.. When the conterminous price rise is taken into consideration, there can be little wonder that the Elizabethan and early Stuart Bishops attempted to increase their shrunken net income by the simplest means known to them - the reduction of their routine expenditure.

Passing to the question of how the Bishops of Durham spent the remainder of their net income, after the deduction of clerical taxes and the Crown pension, one is halted, as in the case of fines, by the absence of useful data. Armed only with a handful of assorted facts, one can offer nothing more than conjectures and general impressions.

The standard 16th Century answer to the query was that a bishop should devote his income to the preservation of his temporalities, which were in the nature of a trust, and to the provision of hospitality and the maintenance of a household befitting his position. The bishops themselves were the first to recognise their responsibilities with regard to hospitality and replied indignantly to the frequent charges of covetousness and hoarding levelled against them. Answering an allegation brought against him in 1587 by Sir Richard Norton, one of his officers, the Bishop of

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1 F.O. White, Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops of the Anglican Church, London, 1898, p.166. William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester and Sir Walter Mildmay to William Cecil, 26 May 1566 (S.P.D. 12/39/81).

Winchester stated:

> "I never yet was whorder of money or purchaser of lands, nor ever mean to be. My only desire is, moderately, without waste, so to maintain the countenance of my place as I may not run in debt in mine old age." 1

In the poorly endowed sees it seems that it was possible for a bishop to spend most of his substance upon the bodily needs of himself and his household. J. Strype mentions that Curtis, Bishop of Chichester, died in 1585, "poor and greatly indebted to the Queen, because he had lived beyond his means, affecting the good housekeeping and hospitality of a lord bishop".[2] Bishop Young of Rochester, also replying to a charge of unethical greed, in 1595, replied that out of an expected income less tenths, subsidies and other allowances, of £340 p.a., he spent on average £250 or 73% on food and drink alone.[3] Some of the protestations sound a little disingenuous, but the very fact that accusations were made proves how important was good housekeeping as an aspect of good lordship. This was particularly true in the North, where hospitality, or the lack of it, in an episcopal household, could effectively make or mar a bishop's chances of becoming a political, social and religious leader in his diocese. When Sandys was appointed to the Archbishopric of York in 1576, he found that his principal residence at Bishopsthorpe, outside York, was required for the President of the Council of the North. In a letter of protest he pointed out that "good hospitality was required of a bishop, as one of the things which gave credit to his function, and so a special means to win the people the better to believe his preaching".[4]

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1 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, III, pt.2, Appendix XXX, 261-263.

2 Ibid, 481-482.

3 Ibid, IV, 315-317.

4 Ibid, II, pt.2, 45.

A secular version of the same argument was employed in 1537 by Bishop Tunstall when, as one of the reasons why he was unfit to be President of the Council of the North, he advanced his inability to provide hospitality in Yorkshire, because of the absence of a suitable residence. He continued:

> "The country men are accustomed, when they resort where house is kept, to have meat and drink 'and if suitors should not find any reule, which the said bishop is not yet able to furnish as appertaineth' it might cause the King's authority among wild people to be despised." 1

Tunstall, in this as in every other respect, was almost a model bishop; William de Chambre wrote of him that

> "he always kept an honourable household, attended in an honourable fashion by gentlemen and commonfolk; wherever he was residing he always kept an honourable and exceedingly large table. He was lavish with alms, a distinguished lord in all aspects of life." 2

Yet it would still probably be true to state that the provision of a household commensurate with the palatinal jurisdiction was a prime consideration for any of the Bishops of Durham under scrutiny.

Unfortunately, when it comes to depicting the size of the bishops' households, there is very little available evidence. The statement by Bishop Ruthall that it was not exceptional for three hundred to sit down to dinner at his table has already been noted.[3] It can perhaps be assumed that roughly the same number was attendant upon Bishop Fox, but the other partially resident careerists, Senhouse, Bainbridge and Tunstall, are likely to have entertained on a slightly lesser scale. Apart from the fact that at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign Tunstall rode to London with

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1 Considerations wherefor the bishop of Duresme is not meet to be the president of the Council in the North, 1537, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, XII, Pt.II, 651.

2 J. Raine, ed., Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Surtees Society Vol.9, London and Edinburgh, 1839, pp.155-156.

3 Vide supra, p. 165.

an escort of sixty horse, nothing further of value is known about the Durham establishments, other than that they contained the usual complement of gentlemen and yeomen attendants and educational facilities for children of both sexes.[1] Recourse must be had to information on other episcopal households, from which inferences can be drawn.

At London, which with a clear value of £1119 in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, was the seventh richest bishopric, Bishop Aylmer in 1580 supported a ménage of sixty persons.[2] Given that Durham, after 1560, was the fourth richest see, and that good lordship was still meaningful in the North, it may be expected that the entourage of the Durham Bishops was somewhat larger.[3] Most certainly so when Bishop Parkhurst of Norwich could support sixty liveried servants and retainers upon an expected income of £900 p.a.. In 1571, after getting into trouble with the Crown over the misappropriation of money by his collector of tenths, he was forced to economise, but still managed to afford twenty six men-servants (including a secretary, gentleman, cook, middle-cook, brewer, caterer, baker and yeoman of the horse), six maids and six retainers, and to keep four poor aged folk and three scholars.[4] Even Bishop Downham of Chester, in the 1560s, could maintain a household of forty on a net income of approximately £325 p.a.[5] The Archbishops of Canterbury, rather better endowed after 1558 than the Bishops of Durham in terms of net income (£2234 - £2434 as opposed to £1720 - £2120), are known to have supported substantial

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1 Strype, op.cit., I, pt.1, 289.
J. Raine, A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace, of Auckland, Durham, 1852, pp.113-114.

2 Strype, op.cit., II, pt.2, Appendix XXXI, 393-395.

3 Vide infra, Appendix XXV, p.562.

4 Strype, op.cit., II, pt.2, pp.508-509.

5 Ibid, I, pt.2, 265-266.

establishments.[1] Archbishop Whitgift deliberately paraded a large retinue in order to inspire respect. He provided his household with military training and could equip a force of 100 foot and 50 horse. In 1589 he entered Canterbury with a mounted following of 500, composed of 100 servants and the gentry and clergy of his diocese. Both he and Archbishop Parker opened their residences to deserving scholars and the sons of the gentry of Kent and Sussex.[2]

Quite apart from knowing very little about the Bishop's household, it is also extremely difficult to discover how much of his annual net income was absorbed by it. The only clues are afforded by one surviving Household Account, one extant Household Book and references in two Books of Great Receipt. From a Book of Great Receipt thought to belong to the year 1449-50, it can be ascertained that the Steward of the Household was supplied with a sum of £254.19.10½ for his operations. A further £133.16.0½ was spent on grain, giving a total of £388.15.11. Forty years later in 1490-91, according to a Book of Wheat, Malt and Carriage of Fuel, £280.19.10 was spent on the purchase of basic household essentials; £257.10.6 on 305 quarters of wheat and 694 quarters of malting barley, £3. 6. 6 on beans, £3. 6. 8 on oats and £12. 6. 0 on coal.[4] Most of the payments were made through bailiffs, coroners and collectors, which is possibly indicative of a right of purveyance being exercised upon the tenantry. The second Book

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1 F.R.H. Du Boulay, Archbishop Cranmer and the Canterbury Temporalities, English Historical Review, 1952, lxvii.

2 J. Collier, An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, London, 1852, VII, 310-315. A.L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth, London, 1950, p.404.

3 Book of Great Receipt, 1449-50 (Church Commission MSS 220242).

4 Household Book, 1490-91 (Church Commission MSS 220198/6).

of Great Receipt, dated 1594-95, shows that the Clerk of the Kitchen and the Steward of the Household were supplied with £232.[1] Finally, the Household Account, covering the period between 9 April 1600 and 26 March 1601, gives the Steward's expenses as £1601.10.4, which amounted to 77% of Bishop Matthew's net income for 1600-01.[2] From these few totals it is hardly possible to gain a general impression. All one can hazard is that the cost of maintaining a household seems to have varied between a few hundred pounds and over a thousand. The conscientious Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, representing Elizabethan episcopacy at its best, claimed to spend £1750 p.a. upon his establishment (fare - £1400, wages - £250, liveries - £100), besides dispensing a further £30+ to scholars and schools and £160+ in charity.[3] His outlay is unlikely to have been matched at Durham.

The 1594-95 Book of Receipt is also valuable in that it lists allocations out of the Exchequer for payments which were normally made by the Bishop himself after 1560. From these it is possible to gain some knowledge of the other expenses facing the Bishop after the satisfaction of his Steward's requirements. The major item was the purchase of goods in Newcastle or London and their delivery to Durham. These might range from wine and spices to cloth and household effects; anything in fact that could not be obtained within the Palatinate itself, and so was normally excluded from the province of the household officials. In 1595 for instance, three hogsheads of Gascony wine at £5 each were bought

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XXIII, pp. 551-558.

2 Household Account, 1600-01 (Church Commission MSS 220231).

3 J. Bruce and T.T. Perowne, eds., The Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D., Cambridge, 1853, p.455.

from a Newcastle merchant, William Eden.[1] It is also known from the Howdenshire Receivers' Accounts that Bishop Barnes allocated £135 in four years from that quarter for the purchase of spices.[2] A regular item of expense was the purchase and carriage of coal and the carriage of wood for heating purposes, which from Bishop Matthew's time at least, might absorb as much as £30 p.a.. The allocations in this quarter for 1594-95 were as follows and amounted to £27.0.6:

for storing coal at Auckland Palace	£4. 0. 0
to the tenants of Escomb for carting 138 loads of wood at 4d. per load to Auckland	2. 6. 0
to the same for carting 122 loads of coal at 10d. per load to Auckland	5. 1. 8
to the tenants of Newtoncap for carting 36 loads of coal at 10d. per load to Auckland	1.10. 0
To the tenants of Coundon for carting 207 loads of wood at 4d. per load from Auckland Park to Auckland Palace	3. 9. 0
to the same for carting 101 loads of coal at 10d. per load from Carterthorne to Auckland	4. 4. 2
to Mr. Harry Smith for 94 loads of coal at 4d. per load (plus carriage)	4.18. 0
to the tenants of Bishop Auckland for carting 20 loads of wood at 4d. per load to Auckland	6. 8
to the same for carting 30 loads of coal at 10d. per load to Auckland	1. 5. 0

Other lesser disbursements included the distribution of alms, the rewarding of messengers, the payment of officials for specific tasks and the settlement of lawyers' fees. Taking all these expenses into account, together with the cost of maintaining a household and the liability to pay first fruits, tenths and subsidies, the Protestant Bishops of Durham might have been left with a surplus of anything up to £1000 p.a.. Before 1560 the

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XXIII, pp. 551-558.

2 Howdenshire Receivers' Accounts, 1581-82, 1582-83, 1584-85, 1585-86 (Church Commission MSS 188990, 189004, 189079 and 189078).

sum at the Bishops' disposal would have been considerably larger, but so were their commitments. It must be admitted that this estimate is largely the result of guess-work. In its support it does seem unlikely, in the light of our knowledge of the behaviour of public servants in the Tudor and early Stuart periods that the Bishops of Durham spent the whole of their net income in the officially approved manner, even when it was reduced to £1720 - £2120 after the Elizabethan Church Settlement; they would not have been human if they had made no attempt to amass a personal fortune out of their endowments.[1] One is further reminded of the leasehold fines, which never received a mention in the estate accounts and were never taken into consideration in any assessment of the episcopal income. It is almost as if they were universally and tacitly recognised as a perquisite of office, to which the Bishops had an unquestionable and personal right; as if they were exempted from the conventions attached to the remainder of their temporalities. In the circumstances one would expect the wills made by the Bishops of Durham to provide some evidence of wealth, but rather surprisingly the extant examples do not.

Of the early Bishops, Fox, Ruthall and Wolsey can certainly be classed as wealthy men, but it is impossible to determine how much of their riches was derived from the Bishopric of Durham, rather than from their other offices and possessions.[2] Only the completely non-resident Cardinal Wolsey, who did not have to provide for a household within the diocese, was likely to have

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1 E.g., J.E. Neale, Essays in Elizabethan History, London, 1958, pp. 59-84. H.R. Trevor-Roper, Historical Essays, London, 1957, pp.128-145.

2 Bishop Ruthall is reputed to have died with £100,000 to his credit. W. Hutchinson, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Carlisle, 1785, I, 398.

benefited financially to ~~any~~ marked degree, considering the liabilities attached to the See at that date. Bishop Tunstall, in spite of his long sojourn at Durham, maintained his exemplary conduct to the end. As his will shows, apart from taking care of a few relatives, he took nothing away from his charge.[1]

> "..... Albeit, to invite them [his successors] the rather to hospitality, and be resident in his diocese, I will that my successor the Bishop of Duresme, for furnishing of his house, which I found clearlie [empty], not only without allmaner of stuffe, but also in great decay and ruin, shall have all maner of hangings of say, bedstocks of Kerved work, joyned, or other plain work, all tables long and short, etc. etc. etc. to remain to my successors, Bishops of Duresme. To Sir Francis Tunstall, my nevewe, £40. To little Thomas Tunstall, sonne to Thomas Tunstall late my servant, 10 marks; which child I do assign to the government of Sir Marmaduke Tunstall with his lease of the Marsh of Stepney. To Roger Tunstall his brother, 10 marks. My funeral to be without all pomp and vanity. The residue to be distributed by my Executors in deeds of charity ..."

Bishop Pilkington, dying in 1576, appears to have left only goods of unstated value, rather than money or land.[2] However, he is known to have founded a free grammar school at Rivington, Lancashire, and to have provided his two daughters with considerable dowries. Thomas Fuller, in his Church History, estimates the amount at £10,000, but Peter Heylyn, in his Examen Historicum, corrects the figure to £800; adding incidentally, that it was quite permissible for the Bishop to lay up £500 p.a..[3] Bishop Barnes' will is also disappointing.[4] His goods were shared among his wife, three younger sons and two younger daughters, leaving to his eldest daughter his best bed, and to his eldest son the lease of Wolsingham Park. In addition there was only a gift of £30 worth

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1 J. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, lxvii.

2 Ibid, lxxx, fn.

3 Vol. XLVII of Bishop Kennett's Collections (Lansdowne MSS 981/85, pp.136-137)

4 Dated 23 August 1587. J. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, lxxxii, fn.

of books to Durham and York Cathedral Libraries, and Brasenose College, Oxford, and a bequest of £20. Bishop Hutton appears to have been more successful than his two predecessors, leaving behind him at his death a personal, landed estate of £500 p.a., and founding the fortunes of the Huttons of Marske, Yorkshire. It is true that he became Archbishop of York after leaving Durham in 1595, but even in 1592 he was able to present his son Timothy with a gift of £1900, upon his marriage to the daughter of Sir George Bowes of Streatlam Castle, Yorkshire.[1]

Bishop Hutton's gift to his son leads to the suspicion that the married bishops may have disposed of a considerable part of their own fortunes during their own lifetimes, to children and relatives. Browne Willis states that Bishop Matthew provided his son Toby with sums amounting to £14,000 during his years at Durham and York.[2] Sir Paul Neile, Bishop Neile's son, who according to his father's will, received only a ring of nine diamonds, is known to have dissipated much of his living, yet still had to pay £802 in composition as a royalist delinquent. Some of this wealth could well have originated with his father, who according to Browne Willis, left his son rich, and his widow a jointure of £300 p.a. for life.[3] Another yardstick of private resources are the marriage alliances arranged by those Bishops of Durham who were blessed with daughters.[4] They were able in the main to effect

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1 J. Raine, ed., The Correspondence of Dr. Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, Surtees Society Vol.17, London and Edinburgh, 1843, p.187.

2 Browne Willis, A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, ... and Bristol, London, 1727, p.53.

3 Ibid, p.55.
J. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, lxxxix.

4 Of Pilkington's two daughters, Deborah was married to Sir James (or Henry) Harrington, and Ruth to - Duntze Esq. of Berkshire.

reasonable matches for their female offspring, in such a manner as to suggest that financially they were on a par with the county gentry.

(c) Comparative Studies

It would be pertinent in conclusion to make some comparisons with the financial situations facing other northern landowners of comparable size, both ecclesiastical and lay. Was the case of the Bishops of Durham unique, or was it common to the [redacted] Church in the North of England? If it was wide-spread, was it in fact confined solely to the Church, or did it apply to all landowners?

(i) The Dean and Chapter of Durham

Beginning close at hand with the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, the story, at least on the surface, is not dissimilar to that recounted above. In 1547-48, income due minus decayed rents (£47.9.0) amounted to £1261.12.5½.[1] In 1641-42, with decayed rents at the same level (£49.5.3), it had risen to £1394.0.9½; an increase of £132.8.4.[2] Although the trend was upwards, it was a very slow rate of growth (10%) over 94 years when compared with the contemporary price rise. Furthermore, £89.16.6 of the increase was derived from South Shields, where an expansion in the salt-making industry had taken place. Another £13.6.8 came from the vill of Bellasis, leaving only

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Of Barnes' three daughters, Elizabeth was married to the son of Ralph Talboys of Thornton, Co. Durham, Mary to - Josselyne and Anne to John Knowslie.
Of Hutton's three daughters, Thomasine was married to Sir William Gee of Bishop's-Burton, Yorkshire, a member of the Council of the North, Anne to Sir John Calverley of Littleburne, Co. Durham, and the third to Richard Remington, archdeacon of York.

1 Durham University Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, Durham Cathedral MSS, Receiver's Book 3.

2 Durham University Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, Durham Cathedral MSS, Receiver's Book 40.

£29.5.2 as the contribution of the remainder of the Dean and Chapter estates. A cursory glance at the accounts also reveals that most of the additions were due to the inclusion of new rents, rather than to improvement of the old.

On the other hand, there were less restraints operating on the Dean and Chapter than on the Bishop of Durham and preventing them from extracting their due from the tenantry. Judging from the complaints that were raised, some attempts were made to expand income by the incalculable method of raising entry fines. An Order in Council dated 17 August 1577, reveals that some of the Dean and Chapter's tenants had been seeking to avoid the liabilities and disadvantages of their leasehold tenures by claiming tenant-right.[1] Their claims were proved to be unfounded, but because of their duty to render border service, they were afforded protection against excessive fines and raised rents. This would imply that instead of providing a tenant, or his heir, with the opportunity to take out a release, upon expiry or death, the Dean and Chapter were presenting them with the alternative of raised entry fines and rents, or eviction. The issue came to the boil again in 1639-40, when a certain George Grey and Antony Smith organised a petition to the Privy Council, again on the subject of exorbitant fines. The Dean, Dr. Balconqual, happened to be a crown nominee however, and the petitioners received short shrift. Their case was dismissed and their funds confiscated, on the grounds that they should have voiced their complaints to the Dean and Chapter in the first instance. In his report of the proceedings to Archbishop Laud, Balconqual maintained that the

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1 An order set down by the Lords of the Queen's Privy Council and by the Lord President and Council of the North, between the Dean and Chapter of Durham and their tenants (Durham Cathedral Library, Allan [illegible]).

Act of Council of 1577 had been overruled by a proclamation of James I.[1] He accepted that tenants should have a right of appeal to the Privy Council if they failed to obtain redress for injustices from the Dean and Chapter, but expressed the wish that they should only be allowed to petition individually. By this means organised opposition would be broken up, and single complainants deterred from action by the expense and inconvenience in which a petition would involve them. The surface calm upon the Dean and Chapter estates is therefore quite deceptive. The Receivers' Books fail to reveal anything of the bitter struggle that was taking place over entry fines and the conversion of tenures, in which the Dean and Chapter appear to have been ruthlessly enjoying a certain measure of success.

(ii) The Archbishop of York

There is perhaps a greater degree of similarity between the situations of the Bishop of Durham and the Archbishop of York, who ranked fifth in the income stakes.[2] Together with Durham and Winchester, York was pruned of temporalities in 1561, to the value of £425.4.5; the 1535 valuation being reduced from £2035.3.7 to £1609.19.2. Thereafter, until 1609, income due minus fees and annuities only managed to exceed the 1561 estimate by approximately £50, as opposed to £200 to £600 p.a. at Durham.[3] Then at some point between 1605 and 1609 certain rents which had been valued at between £1740 and £1760 p.a., were suddenly improved by £216

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1 The case between Dr. Balconqual, Dean of Durham, and the church tenants, as reported to Archbishop Laud, 10 March 1639-40 (S.P.D. 16/447/85).

2 Vide infra, Appendix XXV, pp.559-561.

3 York Receiver-General Accounts, 1597, 1601, 1602, 1605 (Borthwick Institute, York, 67791, 67792, 67793, 67794).

(including £112.15. 2 from rectories and tithes) to approximately £1950 p.a.[1] This increase of 12% acted as a partial recompense for the reduction of 20% in income due which had occurred in 1561. Again Durham, which can boast of no improvements at all, seems to have been left behind, but the discrepancy can be reduced if it is emphasised that the growth of the York temporalities took place, not gradually, but at one point in time, and that both before and after the event, the movement of rents was just as sluggish as it was in the Palatinate.

(iii) The Ninth Earl of Northumberland, 1585-1632

Turning secondly to one of the North's most powerful magnates and the vast improvements that were undertaken under his direction, the contrast with the trifling or non-existent advances of ecclesiastical estate management is profound; especially when it is realised that Henry Percy spent the first twenty of his forty seven years as Earl of Northumberland in a life of prodigality and as a courtier in London, and a further sixteen years in prison (1605-21) for alleged complicity in the Gunpowder Plot. Yet if his achievement was remarkable in comparison with the record of ecclesiastical landowners, it did not make him outstanding in his own class. It was simply the fruit of the economic necessities which the nobility faced more acutely than lesser strata of society. In the case of Northumberland the incentives were the need to repair the financial damage caused by the excesses of youth; the need to compensate for the estates and income temporarily lost to his mother, the Dowager Countess; the maintenance of his position

1 York Receiver-General Accounts, 1609, 1627 (Borthwick Institute, York, 67795, 67796).

as a courtier; the demands of hospitality; the drain of campaigns in the Low Countries; an £11,000 fine incurred in 1605; the cost of extensive alterations to Syon House and the provision of a fine dowry for his eldest daughter.[1]

The nature and condition of the Ninth Earl's landed income have been admirably set out in Mr. M.E. James' edition of the Estate Accounts of the Earls of Northumberland, 1562-1637.[2] In his Introduction Mr. James shows that in 1611 the income due in rents, fines and other receipts from the Northumbrian estates (£1560. 3. 3) was greater by 57% than the comparable income for 1562 (£1001.12. 6). Furthermore, the figure for 1636 (£2723.11. 4) was an improvement on the 1611 total by almost another 75%, giving an overall increase since 1562 of 172%. It is true that with the exception of a few bad years, there was a steady rise in receipts from 1562 onwards, but the periods of accelerated growth still belong to the Ninth Earl's time. The reasons for the enlargement in the rental value of the Northumberland estates are given as the creation of large leaseholds at high rents out of manorial demesnes and parks; the improvement of mill rents; and the making of inroads upon tenant-right, the replacement of customary tenancies according to the custom of Cockermouth by twenty-one year leases, and the conversion of ancient to economic rents. The trends are readily apparent from a comparison of the two Ingrossed Accounts of Bailiffs, Reeves and Farmers in Northumberland which have been edited by Mr. James. For instance, according to the 1581 Account, the herbage rights of West and Hulne Parks were leased for £24.17.3, with a further £5.17.6.

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1 G.R. Batho, The Finances of an Elizabethan Nobleman: Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, 1564-1635, London, 1962.

2 M.E. James, The Estate Accounts of the Earls of Northumberland, 1562-1637, Surtees Society Vol.163, London, 1948.

derived from the sale of hay.[1] In 1612, however, the parks were farmed out in their entirety at a rent of £103.6.8.[2] A similar improvement took place in the case of Lesbury Mill. In 1581 it was leased for £8, but by 1612 the rent had been raised to £30 p.a.[3] Again in the vill of Rennington in 1581 the Reeve had to account for £16.16. 4 from the customary tenants and 2/0d. for a new cottage rent; a total charge of £16.18. 4.[4] Yet by 1612 he was responsible for £21.13. 3; £20.17.3 from the copyholders and 16/0d. for an improved rent, constituting an overall increase of £4.14.11.[5]

Compared with the slow rate of development exhibited on the ecclesiastical estates, the results obtained on the Percy lands seem truly remarkable. Yet it cannot be sufficiently stressed that the Earl of Northumberland's record was by no means exceptional. Generally speaking it was a case of all ecclesiastical landowners being rather more backward in their approach than the majority of their lay counterparts. Returning to the Bishops of Durham who appear to rank among the least progressive of all clerics, the remainder of the thesis will be taken up with an explanation of why this was so.

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1 M.E. James, The Estate Accounts of the Earls of Northumberland, 1562-1637, Surtees Society Vol.163, London, 1948. p.4.

2 Ibid, p.17.

3 Ibid, pp.5 and 19.

4 Ibid, p.7.

CHAPTER VI

The Structure of the Bishopric Estates

The major cause of the static condition of the Bishop's actual income was the nature of the tenures and tenantry upon the episcopal estates. Before this point can be elaborated in detail, tenures and tenants have to be put in context, with a description of the estates and their component parts.

(a) The County Palatine of Durham

A wealth of information is provided for the Durham estates by the Parliamentary Surveys which were conducted in 1647 and 1649, prior to the sale of the church lands, and are worthy of a separate exposition in their own right. From this source a great deal could be written on each of the Bishopric locations, but this rather monotonous procedure has been rejected in favour of a simplified description of each estate unit, presented in tabular form; showing how many tenants there were in each community and roughly how much rent was paid by each; classifying the units in order of size (size being correlated with the number of tenants, except in the case of the boroughs, where the order is determined by a Ship Money assessment of 1636); dividing the tenants of each location into size categories, and lastly listing the prevalent types of tenure in each location and indicating whether any changes had occurred since the formation of the episcopal manors.[1]

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XXVI, sections (a) and (c), pp. 563-570. Certificate of the assessment of £2000 ship-money upon the several wards or hundreds of County Durham, and the boroughs in the said county, March ? 1636 (S.P.D. 16/317/96). The

To substantiate this skeletal outline, detailed examples of each of the seven main kinds of tenant structure found on the Durham estates will be examined. These will also provide a representative picture of the agricultural economy practised in County Durham.

(i) A community where smallholders were numerically dominant: Whickham.

Whickham, lying in the Tyne valley with rising ground to the South, upon a mostly dry soil "intermixed with clayey and moist loam", was sufficiently well endowed with cultivable land, meadow and pasture to support an economy finely balanced between stock-rearing and arable farming.[1] Most of the manor had once consisted of demesne land, but it had long since been converted entirely into copyhold tenements. In 1647 there was estimated to be 861 acres of arable and meadow, situated in twenty one fields; Morrasfield, Lowfield, Whickham meadows, Dunstan Westerhaugh, Matphen's haugh, Colewayhaugh, Easterhaugh, the Ligh, Whitefield, Symond's Crooke, Rowland's Close, Goose Moor, Great Midgem, Little Midgem and the Broadmeadows, Eastfield, Eastersouthfield, Westersouthfield, Corn Moor, Wheatleys, Marshellands, the Whagge and Newfields; of which the last eight were probably arable and the remainder meadow. An open-field system was still operative and the land unit was an oxgang of twelve acres. The common pasture of the manor was divided into seven parcels: Brealme Hagdens, Whinneyhill, Cross Moor, James Hill, Gleanelyhill, Talbott's Green and Longsettles.

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borough assessments were:

Durham	£150
Gateshead	50
Darlington	25
Stockton	20
Bp. Auckland	15

1 J. Bailey, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Durham, London, 1810, attached soil map.

There was also a water-mill at Swalwell, to which the tenants were obliged to take their corn for grinding. In 1647 this was in a state of disrepair, which was considered an inconvenience,[1]

Yet Whickham was more than just an agricultural community. As part of the Grand Lease, it was one of the three most fruitful sources of coal so far exploited in County Durham. Pit shafts studded the common fields to the detriment of the farmers of the township, whilst their pasture land was destroyed by coal dust and wayleaves.[2] It was the coal-mining industry in fact which accounted for Whickham's large population of smallholders. In 1647 most of the agricultural land was in the hands of no more than twenty two tenants, led by eight relatively large farmers;

> James Clavering Esq., holding 167 acres of arable and meadow, besides common of pasture,
>
> seven large farmers with holdings of 92, 89, 71, 65½, 44, 42 and 30½ acres, besides common of pasture,
>
> eleven medium farmers with farms of 24, 24, 21, 18, 16, 15, 15, 12, 12, 10 and 10 acres, besides common of pasture,
>
> and three more medium farmers with an indefinable acreage;

whilst the remaining seventy six, being simply cottagers and householders, were principally employed in the mines, or engaged in carrying coal from the pit-heads to the staiths on the Tyne. Coal was equally responsible for the few encroachments which had occurred on the common pastureland, either for the sinking of shafts, or the building of miners' dwellings.

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1 Parliamentary Survey of Whickham, August 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23386).

2 A case before the Durham Chancery Court in 1619, brought by the farmers of the Grand Lease against the copyholders of Whickham, provides some indication of how much coal-mining was disfiguring the face of the manor, and also demonstrates the copyholders' dependence upon the coal workings. P.R.O. Copies, Extracts from the Registrar's Records, Bundle 29, no 183, Bundle 30, no 195, Bundle 34, no 153 (Church Commission MSS 244227, 244229, 244231).

Sharing a similar community structure with Whickham were the boroughs of:

Durham;

Gateshead, with a population of freeholders, the same economy and environment as Whickham, the former demesne land enclosed and the rest of the cultivated land in open-field form;

Darlington, with a mixed agricultural economy, with the emphasis on arable, probably enclosed;

Stockton, and Bishop Auckland, with fertile soil, an arable, agricultural economy and open-fields; with a pastoral, agricultural economy, a small amount of arable in open-field form, and an abundance of meadow and pasture closes (194+ tenants in 1647);

where a large percentage of the population was engaged in urban activities and small industries. In addition, Gateshead also supplied a labour force for the mining enterprises nearby. The large agricultural villages of:

Wolsingham, with an agricultural economy virtually identical to that of Bishop Auckland (134+ tenants in 1647);

Chester-le-Street with a mixed agricultural economy similar to that of Whickham and Gateshead, and some wholesale enclosures in 1636 (110 tenants in 1588; 71 small, 22 medium, 17 large);

Lanchester and Lynesacke with a pastoral economy (57 tenants in 1647; 41 small, 8 medium, 8 large); with a pastoral economy (41 tenants in 1588; 34 small, 7 medium);

the medium-sized village of:

Stanhope, with a pastoral economy, little arable and no open-fields (29 tenants in 1588 (17 small, 6 medium, 6 large);

and the small villages of:

Redworth, and Bishopley, with a mixed economy and open-fields (13 tenants in 1647; 10 small, 3 medium); with a pastoral economy (10 tenants in 1588; 8 small, 1 medium, 1 large);

were also constructed on the same pattern; all being endowed with a large proportion of small copyholders. The predominance of smallholders in the pastoral communities was connected with the large

extent of common pastureland available to them. The proximity of coal (Chester-le-Street, Lanchester) and lead (Stanhope) might also have contributed to it; likewise the scope for agricultural labour at Chester-le-Street and Redworth. In all these locations the smallholders were only predominant numerically; here, as everywhere else, the bulk of the land (common pasture apart) was occupied by large and middling farmers.

(ii) A community where smallholders and medium-sized farmers were numerically dominant: Ryton.

At Ryton, lying upstream of Whickham, the same environment, tenure, balanced agricultural economy and open-field system were again in evidence. A more progressive attitude was also at work however, judging by the attempt made in 1638 to enclose 1000 acres of common moorland. The division was effected with the Bishop's consent, and the newly created pasture closes let at 4d. an acre; but all in vain, since the hedges and fences were uprooted by the angry occupants of neighbouring villages, who claimed common of pasture on the same wastes. All that remained in 1647 were two enclosures of thirty and sixteen acres.[1] Apart from this attempted improvement, the only differences between Whickham and Ryton occurred in the size of the cultivated area, the size of the population and the composition of the tenantry. Out of fifty six copyholders at Ryton in 1647 - just over half the Whickham number - thirty two were smallholders and twenty were medium-sized farmers, holding from ten to thirty acres of arable and meadow besides common of pasture. Typical of the husbandmen was William Jollie, junior, whose holding was described thus in the Parliamentary Survey:

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1 Survey of the Manor of Chester-le-Street - Township of Ryton, April 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23376).

"William Jollie, by Copy dated 20th April, 6th Cor.R., holdeth half of a Tenure; viz: half of half of thirty six Acres of land with the Appurtenances in Ryton, one Rigg called Wheele half Dire and two Riggs in Broad Meadows, one Bridge nigh the Water Bank excepted, by Surrender of William Jollie and Alice Father and Mother of the said William, and paid Fine 13d., paying Rent inter alia.
Idem William Jollie, by Copy dated 10th - Cor.R., holdeth one Parcel of Meadow in the Lowerford of Water Banks, late in the Tenure of William Walker, with Fishing in the Water of Tyne, thereto belonging, by Surrender of his Father, William Jollie, and paid Fine 2d., paying Rent in all - 3/4d." 1

The upper and middle orders of society, on the other hand, were only represented by four tenants; three yeomen - one occupying an undisclosed acreage, another in possession of over seventy acres and the third of thirty six acres - and Lady Trothe Tempest, widow of Sir Thomas Tempest of Stella, Bart., with the water-mill and over 150 acres of arable and meadow. Lady Tempest's farm, like that of William Jollie and all the intermediate landholders, was composed of small parcels of ground scattered around the common fields. The biggest share of the land resources was held by the medium farmers, followed by the relatively large landholders.

Other villages with the same community structure as Ryton were:

Evenwood, with a pastoral economy, an abundance of closes, and a little arable in open-field form (51 tenants in 1647; 21 small, 20 medium, 10 large); 2

West Auckland, with a mixed economy and wholesale enclosure in 1640 (with 65 tenants in 1647; 33 small, 23 medium, 9 large);

Newtoncap, and Byers Green, with a pastoral economy, a system of closes, and an enclosed moor (23 tenants in 1647; 12 small, 12 medium, 4 large); with a mixed economy, with the emphasis on arable farming, and open fields (23 tenants in 1647; 10 small, 8 medium, 5 large)

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1 Volume of Enrolled Parliamentary Surveys (Church Commission MSS 54000, p.493).

2 At Evenwood in 1638 80 acres of common grazing were enclosed, arousing the opposition of neighbouring Cockfield.

Once again the large proportion of smallholders can perhaps be explained in terms of mining activity (Ryton, Evenwood, West Auckland), and the opportunities afforded by a pastoral economy (Evenwood) and agricultural employment (Ryton, West Auckland, Newtoncap and Byers Green).

(iii) A community where smallholders and large farmers were numerically dominant:

(1) Blackwell

In the same fertile situation as Whickham and Ryton, but at the opposite end of the County, on the north bank of the Tees, lay the village of Blackwell. In 1620 the open-fields had been enclosed and divided into yardlands or units consisting of nineteen acres of cultivated land and one acre of pasture; a division indicative of a basically arable economy. By 1647 the new arrangement had become fully established, giving rise to:

> nineteen smallholdings;
> five medium farms of 12 acres, 14 acres, 15½ acres, 26¼ acres and another of over 20 acres;
> and nine large farms of 205¼ acres plus, 136 acres, 120½ acres, 113 acres, 110 acres, 90 acres, 69 acres, 60 acres and another undefined one. 1

The largest farmer in the village was ~~a certain~~ William Cornforth, paying £4.14.2½ p.a. for his 200 acre holding. Two other Cornforths were also included in the rental; one a yeoman like William and the other a husbandman. There was a tenant of gentry status - Thomas Swinburne of Barmstom and Butterby, holding 113 acres - and also John Middleton, a prominent Darlington draper, with 136 acres. All the land appertaining to the village was held by copyhold tenure and does not appear to have increased in rental value with enclosure. A yardland of 20 acres was worth

1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Darlington, (Church Commission MSS 23378).

approximately 8/0d. p.a. in rent to the Bishop, at just under 5d. per acre.

(2) Shotton

A better example of this type of community structure is provided by Shotton in the Manor of Easington, where ten smallholders were offset by only two husbandmen with holdings of 10 acres each, and twelve yeomen with farms of 92½ acres, 85 acres, approximately 70 acres, 62½ acres (2), 60 acres (3), 55 acres, 50 acres, 47½ acres and 30 acres.[1] Here, as at Blackwell, the lesser members of the community would be employed mostly by their betters as agricultural labourers. Again the emphasis was upon arable farming in severalty. In 1647 the tenures were predominantly leasehold and had been created out of both manorial demesne and bondland, judging by the units of land measurement, which were still husbandlands of 30 acres and mayne lands of 10 acres.

Other townships sharing the same pattern as Blackwell and Shotton were:

Sedgefield, with a mixed economy and enclosure in 1635 (51 tenants in 1588; 27 small, 10 medium, 14 large);

East & West Boldon, with an arable economy and open-fields (32 tenants in 1647; 10 small, 3 medium, 19 large);

Houghton-le-Spring, with a mixed economy with the emphasis on stock-rearing, small open-fields and a preponderance of closes (29 tenants in 1647; 17 small, 3 medium, 9 large);

Haughton-le-Skerne, with a mixed economy, the emphasis on arable farming, and open-fields (10 tenants in 1647; 4 small, 1 medium, 5 large);

Bishop Wearmouth, with an arable economy and open-fields (23 tenants in 1588; 7 small, 1 medium, 15 large);

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Easington, 1649 (Church Commission MSS 23379).

Newbottle, with a mixed economy with the emphasis upon arable farming and an open-field system (19 tenants in 1647; 7 small, 1 medium, 11 large);
and
Easington, with an arable economy and open-fields (41 tenants in 1588; 19 small, 2 medium, 20 large).

(iv) A numerically balanced community: Escomb

Blackwell and Shotton had both undergone an extensive amount of wholesale enclosure at one specific point in their development. Escomb, on the other hand, situated in the Wear valley above Bishop Auckland, appears to have been subjected to piecemeal division over the centuries as the result of a basically pastoral economy. By 1647 the open-fields, which could never have been large, were almost non-existent; the only trace of farming in commonalty being the tenants' right to common of pasture on the moor, which was also partly enclosed. Closes were the dominant feature of the landscape, as is instanced by the description of the holding of Richard Todd, the largest farmer in the village. His farm of 116 acres was composed of:

> 3 messuages and 3 gardens;
> 14 acres of land to be divided;
> 2 parcels of pasture of 19½ acres and 7 acres, with common of pasture; and 8 closes of 27 acres, 26 acres, 19½ acres, 14 acres, 12 acres, 7 acres and 5 acres (2). 1

Escomb is representative of a type of community in which numerically all three types of tenant were present in fairly equal proportions. Socially and materially the yeomen and gentry were of course dominant. On top of a foundation of ten smallholders there were:

> seven medium farmers with holdings of 26 acres plus, 21 acres, 20¼ acres, 19¾ acres, 15 acres, 10 acres and one of unknown size; and ten large farmers with holdings of 116 acres, 96½ acres, 90½ acres, 62¾ acres, 61½ acres, 53 acres, 48 acres, 33¾ acres and two of uncertain dimensions.

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Bishop Auckland, March-April 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23375).

Eight of the large farmers were yeomen. The others were Sir William Darcy of neighbouring Witton Castle, ~~as~~ Ralph Falen, gentleman, and John Eden Esq., son of Ralph Eden, gentleman, an offshoot of the family of Eden of West Auckland.

Other villages adhering to the same pattern were:

Norton, with an arable economy and open-fields, 4 acres in every oxgang enclosed in 1631, and pastureland or common enclosed in 1638 (41 tenants in 1588; 12 small, 12 medium, 17 large);

Bishop Middleham, with a mixed economy, an enclosed demesne, and the original bondland in open-field form (26 tenants in 1588; 8 small, 10 medium, 8 large);

Heighington, with an arable economy and enclosure in 1638 (38 tenants in 1647; 19 small, 11 medium, 8 large);

Coundon, and Cockerton, with a mixed economy, open-fields and some closes (27 tenants in 1647; 10 small, 10 medium, 7 large); with a mixed economy, open-fields and numerous closes (28 tenants in 1647; 11 small, 9 medium, 8 large).

(v) A community where medium-sized farmers were numerically dominant

There is no example upon the Durham estates of a community where husbandmen predominated. They were always accompanied by substantial numbers of smallholders and/or yeomen.

(vi) A community where medium and large farmers were numerically dominant: the High Forest of Weardale.

The only part of the Durham estates where smallholders were numerically inferior to both medium and large farmers was the High Forest of Weardale, in the extreme west of the County. The relative insignificance of the smallholding section of the community here can perhaps be explained in three ways. Firstly, in this moorland area beyond Stanhope arable was extremely scarce. The economy was entirely pastoral, rendering unnecessary the existence of an agricultural labour force. Secondly, the large expanse of territory available to the Weardale population militated against

the occupancy of small tenements. Thirdly, the area's comparative wildness and vulnerability in the face of border raids had in the past called for the establishment of a relatively substantial tenantry. The terrain of mostly untamed waste precluded the presence of the village settlements which were common to the rest of the Palatinate. Farmsteads tended to be isolated or grouped in small hamlet clusters, in some sheltered spot, where it had been possible to mark out the few meadow and pasture closes, of which, apart from common pasturage, each holding consisted. The main line of distribution was naturally the Wear valley itself from Stanhope to Wearhead, but the main tributary streams such as Rookhope, Horseley, Westernhope, Swinhope and Killhope Burns, also harboured a sprinkling of dalesmen.[1]

In contrast to Weardale's 1588 proportions of fourteen smallholders to ninety medium and eighteen large farmers, Wolsingham Park - the only other location in the same category - contained no smallholders at all. In 1588 again, the facilities were shared by thirteen farmers, five of them medium and the eight others, large. Since the parkland was akin to the moorland in physical characteristics, the same factors were operative.[2]

(vii) Communities with large farmers numerically dominant:

(1) Ryhope

Ryhope, a coastal village in the Manor of Houghton-le-Spring, is typical of a number of small communities composed almost entirely of large farmers, with few or no husbandmen and smallholders present. In 1647 it was the second largest settlement of its kind with

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1 Vide infra, Map II, p.580.

2 1588 Survey, Halmote Court Miscellaneous Book, M64 (Church Commission MSS 195566a).

sixteen tenants; two being husbandmen with unspecified holdings and the remainder yeomen with farms of 100? acres, 90? acres, 60 acres (2), 60? acres, 57 acres (2), 57? acres, 55 acres, 50? acres, 45 acres plus a mill, 44½ acres and 40 acres (2). The economy was predominantly arable with the holdings scattered around the village's open-fields. The former bondland and demesne were described in terms of 30 acre husbandlands and 10 acre maynes, as at Shotton in Easington Manor. Husbandland and mayneland together carried a leasehold rent of approximately 11d. per acre, in contrast to 5d. per acre at Blackwell where the quality of the soil was likely to be higher, but all tenures were copyhold.[1]

The one large village of this type was the double unit of Cleadon and Whitburn with twenty-nine tenants; three smallholders, five medium and twenty three large. Again there was the same open-field, arable economy, although here husbandlands were composed of 36 acres, at a minimum of 1/1d. per acre, in spite of the fact that all the land was held by copy of court roll.[2]

An identical, social composition was also present in Stanhope Park. Twenty-four large and four medium farmers were established within its confines, basing their existence entirely upon a pastoral economy.[3]

Other similar villages of Ryhope's size were:

Cornforth,	with an arable economy and enclosure in 1628 (16 tenants in 1588; 2 medium, 14 large);
Shadforth, and Carlton,	with enclosure in 1635 (13 tenants in 1588, 2 small, 11 large); with an arable economy and open-fields (13 tenants in 1588; 1 small, 1 medium, 11 large)

1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Houghton-le-Spring, July and August 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23383).

2 Survey of the Manor of Chester-le-Street - Township of Ryton, April 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23376).

3 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Wolsingham etc., March 1647 (Church Commission MSS 31611).

(2) Middridge

On a slightly smaller scale than Ryhope and its kind was Middridge with:

one smallholder;
one medium farmer with a farm of 17 acres;
and ten relatively large farmers with holdings of 72 acres, 60 acres (2), 48 acres, 36 acres (4), 24 acres and 20 acres.

The economy was again predominantly arable, but here as in all the villages belonging to the Manor of Bishop Auckland, the unit of land was an oxgang of twelve acres, leased out in this case at 1/1d. per acre.[1] An open-field system of cultivation had been practised, but enclosure had taken place in 1637 according to the prescribed procedure. The tenants being in agreement about the benefits of farming in severalty, had applied to the Bishop for permission to enclose and divide the common fields. The Bishop's consent was duly given and the reorganisation was well under way by 1637. Whenever enclosure took place however, it was considered advisable to have the legality of the new arrangement confirmed by a court of law, by means of a collusive action. Accordingly, on 3rd April 1637, certain of the tenants concerned brought a suit against some of their neighbours before the Durham Chancery Court, accusing them of obstructing the division to which they had agreed.[2] The defendants who must certainly have been yeomen, answered that they were too poor to support the cost of enclosure and had been misled over the extent of the division. Being illiterate they had

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Bishop Auckland, March-April 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23375).

2 Extract from the Entry Books of Decrees and Orders, Palatinate of Durham, Registrar's Records, Vol.480, K., p.426, P.R.O. Copy (Church Commission MSS 244152). The court records reveal the presence of some freeholders, paying their nominal rents to the Coroner of Darlington Ward. The community pattern is not impaired however, as they belonged to the large farmer category.

signed the petition to the Bishop, believing that it only concerned the common moor! The Court's reaction to this legal play-acting was to appoint two of the local gentry, Sir George Tonge and Lindley Wrenne Esq., as commissioners for reconciling the differences; whilst informing the defendants that the Bishop's permission for the enclosure would only be withdrawn on condition that they reimbursed the complainants for the outlay which they had so far incurred. The commissioners subsequently reported that they were unable to uphold the defendants' objections and on 7th September 1637, the Court duly ordered that the enclosure should proceed; subject to the two provisos that the expense of the operation should be borne by the richer members of the community and that at least a quarter of the newly enclosed land should be kept in tillage, in order that the farmer of the parish tithes should suffer no financial loss.[1] The fictitious arguments having been brought to an end by a Chancery decree, the division was confirmed by the Court on the 17th September 1638 - the whole object of the exericse.[2] All parties were now satisfied, except the farmer of the tithes and some whose land was crossed by roads i.e., those with genuine grievances. For their benefit a further settlement in 1642 brought the whole business to a satisfactory conclusion.

Similar to Middridge was the village of:

Sherburn, with a mixed economy with the emphasis upon pastoral farming and enclosure in 1635 (12 tenants in 1647; 3 small, 9 large).

On a diminishing scale, down to the number of two tenants, were the

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1 Extract from the Entry Books of Decrees and Orders, Palatinate of Durham, Registrar's Records, Vol.480, K., p.426, P.R.O. Copy (Church Commission MSS 244154).

2 Ibid, p.506 (Church Commission MSS 244155).

village/hamlets of:

Killerby, with a mixed economy, with emphasis on arable farming and enclosed fields; one husbandman holding the mill and six leasehold farms of 60 acres, 46 acres, 45 acres (2), and 33 acres (2), at 1/1d. to 1/6d., per acre, including buildings; 1

Cassop, probably enclosed, with an arable economy and six farms of 90 acres, 60 acres and 30 acres (4); the largest farm let at 2/2d. per acre, the others at 1/8d.; 2

East Burdon, enclosed in 1638, with five farms; 3

Little Thorpe, with an arable economy and open-fields; four farms of 105 acres and one farm of 120 acres; the former bondland let at 5¼d. per acre and the demesne at 9½d., implying that the whole was of inferior quality and the latter enclosed; 2

West Thickley, with three farms; the chief landholder being George Tonge of Denton Esq., son of Sir George Tonge of Thickley and Denton, and a member of a family established in the area since the early 16th Century, originally hailing from Ecclesall, Yorks.; 1

Tunstall, and Warden Law, with three farms; with two.

(3) Middridge Grange

Lastly there were a number of exceedingly large farms or granges, usually occupied by a tenant of gentry status. Middridge Grange for instance, lying detached from the village of the same name, consisted of a mill, 240 acres of arable, 85½ acres of meadow, and 158 acres of pasture; 483½ acres in all. In addition there were 60 day-works in corn and hay - probably commuted - due from the tenants of Middridge, Killerby and Redworth. The annual rent was £26. 9. 8.[4] The tenant in 1647 was Christopher Byerley, who

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Evenwood, April 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23380).

2 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Easington, 1649 (Church Commission MSS 23379).

3 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Houghton-le-Spring, July and August, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23383).

4 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Bishop Auckland, March-April 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23375).

had moved to Middridge Grange from Ricall in Howdenshire. His descendants were to remain there until 1812. He himself lived until 1655 and his son Antony became colonel of a royalist regiment under the Marquis of Newcastle during the Civil War.

The other granges were:

Ricknall Grange,	farmed out with its mill at £30 p.a.; in 1647 it was shared by Sir William Darcy of Witton Castle, John Skelton Esq. of Armathwaite Hall, Cumberland, and James Claxton, probably one of the Claxtons of Old Park or Wynyard; 1
Coundon Grange,	farmed out at £24 p.a.; the tenant in 1647 being Gerard Salvin Esq. of Croxdale, the head of a family, both catholic and royalist, of Norman descent, which had been established at Croxdale since 1400; his daughter was married into the Skelton family; 1
Quarrington Grange, and Morton Grange,	farmed out at £26.13. 4; leased in 1647 for £6 p.a. to Sir Richard Belasyse of Ludworth and Owton, son of Sir William Belasyse of Morton House who was High Sheriff of the Palatinate from 1625 to 1640; his wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir William Lambton of Lambton; the Grange had first been granted to the Belasyse family by Cardinal Wolsey in 1525. 2

(b) The Yorkshire Estates

As regards the Yorkshire estates, there is little to be added to the description already offered.[3] At Craike the demesne land was enclosed, with the copyhold land probably in open-field form. The land itself was noted for its richness and supported a balanced economy.[4] In Allertonshire the demesne was completely enclosed

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Bishop Auckland, March-April 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23375)

2 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Houghton-le-Spring, July and August 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23383).

3 Vide supra, pp.126-130. Vide infra, Appendix XV, pp.523-527.

4 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Craike, December 1647-January 1648 (Church Commission MSS 23377).

at Brompton and partly so at Northallerton; elsewhere it lay in commonalty with the copyhold land. In terrain and economy there was likely to be a strong similarity with Craike. With the exception of Romanby and Sowerby Grange, all the estate villages were exceptionally large by Durham Standards, which is suggestive of a greater degree of prosperity. In 1647 Knayton (71 tenants), Brompton (68) and Borrowby were comparable in size to West Auckland, the third largest centre of population, outside the boroughs, on the Durham estates; whilst Osmotherly (49) and Thornton-le-Beans (42) ranked with Easington and Norton.[1] The classification of tenants according to the amount of rent they paid also reveals a large proportion of smallholders and middling farmers commensurate with the size of the townships.[2] Howdenshire is the least documented of all. Apart from the wolds of Woodside Bailiwick, it was mainly composed of fenland and would consequently have contained a great deal of pasture and meadowland. Although the soil was extremely rich, the means of draining and cultivating it were rather limited at this period, which perhaps accounts for the scarcity of manorial demesne and leasehold tenures and the preponderance of copyholds and freeholds.[3]

(c) General Observations

Turning from the particular to the general, the first impression is one of a rise in prosperity amongst the bishopric tenants at the end of the 16th Century. This has already been observed to a certain extent in the episcopal accounts, as the

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Northallerton, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23385)

2 Vide infra, Appendix XXVI, section (b), p.567.

3 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Howden, 1648 (Church Commission MSS 23384).

beginnings of a recovery from an earlier, economic decline, but there are more positive indications.[1]

The survey of the component parts of the Durham estates is indicative of the presence of an open-field system of agriculture in the eastern section of the county, roughly speaking east of a line passing through Lanchester and Evenwood and below the 500 feet contour level.[2] It is equally revealing of a strong tendency towards wholesale enclosure, with the initiative coming almost entirely from the tenantry.[3] Improvements on this scale required a substantial capital outlay, which is indicative of fairly widespread prosperity. They are also signs of a shrewd business instinct, ready to make gains out of the omissions of an ecclesiastical landlord. The logical course of action for a progressive landowner was to promote enclosure amongst his tenants and then raise their rents. The Bishops of Durham, on the other hand, were hampered in exploiting this golden opportunity to increase their income; thereby enabling the tenantry to improve their

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1 Vide supra, pp. 125-126.

2 Vide infra, Map I, p.579.

3 Wholesale enclosure took place in the early 17th Century at:
Shotton
Blackwell, 1620
Cornforth, 1628
Sedgefield, 1635
Shadforth, 1635
Sherburn, 1635
Chester-le-Street, 1636
Middridge, 1637
Heighington, 1638
East Burdon, 1638
Norton, 1638
West Auckland, 1640
There are also signs of undateable, piecemeal enclosure at Bishop Auckland, Cassop, Cockerton, Coundon, Darlington, Gateshead, Houghton-le-Spring, Killerby, Little Thorpe and Bishop Middleham. The only evidence for enclosure at the instigation of the Bishop is contained in the Evenwood Survey which states that the Bishops' efforts to improve the unstinted commons of Raley Fell were frustrated.
Much useful information on Durham enclosures is contained in E.M. Leonard, The Inclosure of Common Fields in the 17th Century, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 1905, New Series xix, 101-146.

turnover at their landlord's expense, once development costs had been covered.

There is also an equal amount of evidence for a contemporaneous wave of piecemeal enclosure. The Parliamentary Surveys provide many examples, but of greater interest are the warrants made out by the Bishops to particular tenants, for the improvement of parcels of common land. For instance, in the three years, 1634, 1635 and 1637, 19 warrants were issued; ranging from one permitting a tenant to enclose and take out by copy of court roll a parcel of waste 18 yards x 15 yards adjoining premises at Haughton-le-Skerne, to another concerning 15 acres of Ryton Common, to be improved where they could best be spared, without prejudice to the other tenants, and to be held by copy at 4d. per acre, with a fine of 6/8d. per acre.[1] Of particular note is one dated 15 April 1634, allowing the Steward to improve the moors within the parishes of Lanchester, the Boldons, Bishop Auckland, Whitburn, Cleadon and Sedgefield, and to grant the same to persons of his choosing, for the purpose of defraying his expenses at the halmote courts. Here is an instance of the Bishop seeking to release the pressure of an expanding population upon the available resources, and at the same time cutting down administrative expenses and gratifying a favoured official. Equally of interest is "a copy of a draft of an Act of Parliament, designed to be brought into the House by Bishop Morton to enable Bishops of Durham to grant parcels of commons by surrenders to be enclosed, ut de novo incremento", of uncertain date, recorded by John Spearman.[2] According to the preamble of

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1 Warrants (Church Commission MSS 221344)

2 J. Spearman, Enquiry into the Ancient and Present State of the County Palatine of Durham, Edinburgh, 1729, p.123.

the draft, before 1603 many thousands of acres of common land had lain uninhabited, barren and unprofitable. Since 1603 some of this waste had been enclosed and improved and granted to tenants by copy of court roll, with a consequent improvement of agriculture and a valuable extension of timber resources. Morton and/or his tenants were uncertain about the legality of these grants and were anxious to acquire statutory confirmation. The tone of the draft is indicative of the Bishop's benevolent goodlordship; it is noteworthy that no attempt was made to introduce the more advantageous leasehold tenures when the opportunity arose.

As more and more land was being brought into cultivation, or converted from common grazing land into pasture closes, there was also a significant increase taking place in the number of transactions involving land. The Halmote Court Books afford a good insight into the market for copyholds. At Lanchester between May 1530 and May 1544, a period of thirteen years, only 12 parcels of land passed out of the hands of their holders; 10 temporarily by lease and 2 permanently by surrender.[1] All the remaining transactions involved the transfer of land from one member of a family to another, and not alienation. By the early 17th Century the position had changed completely. Between May 1620 and October 1629, eight and a half years, 15 leases and 31 surrenders were recorded for the same village.[2] Again, in 1616, at one single session of the halmote courts for the whole of the Durham estates (7th-30th October), 28 leases and 42 surrenders were presented by copyholders for the Steward's approval.[3] The Parliamentary Surveys likewise bear witness to the brisk traffic in

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1 Halmote Court Books, 5-16 (Church Commission MSS).

2 Ibid, 73-76.

3 Ibid, 71.

copyhold land before the outbreak of the Civil War.

The number of hereditary holdings that had undergone alienation in the early 17th Century comprised no small percentage of the whole.[1]

TABLE XV I

The Alienation of Hereditary Copyholds on the Durham Estates in the early 17th Century

Location	Number of copyhold transactions involving alienation as a percentage of the total	Total number of copyhold transactions
Bondgate, Bp. Auckland	50%	110
Byers Green	26%	30
Coundon	39%	35
Middridge	28%	7
Heighington	30%	23
Newtoncap	44%	45
Redworth	20%	14
Evenwood	39%	48
W. Auckland	71%	42
Chester-le-Street	48%	178
The Boldons	23%	42
Whitburn & Cleadon	45%	37
Ryton	22%	133
Houghton-le-Spring	61%	32
Sedgefield	65%	28

From these statistics taken alone it could be argued that society and the economy had lost an earlier stability; that land was being alienated because tenants were no longer certain of their future, had been overcome by man-made or natural misfortunes, and were no longer in a position to pay even their meagre rents. Other sorts of evidence do not support this contention. Epidemics were

1 Vide Table XVI.

decreasing in frequency and intensity, whilst a greater degree of security was brought to the North by the accession of James I to the English throne. More particularly the details of copyhold and leasehold land transfers disclose that considerable amounts of money changed hands; that the demand for land was equal to the willingness to sell and that land was both bought and sold speculatively.[1] Far from being indicative of uncertainty and instability, the state of the land market was symbolic of a relatively buoyant and prosperous economy, in which land was no longer merely a means of subsistence.

Behind the enclosure movement and the eager pursuit of land (which almost went so far as to create a seller's market) one would expect to find the population increase that contributed so much to the 16th Century price rise. There is proof for this too, although it is far from satisfactory. There are no available population figures for the bishopric estates, but by comparing the Surveys of 1588 and 1647 it is possible to detect a slow, steady rise in the number of the Bishop's tenants in the early 17th Century. In nineteen out of thirty-one locations some enlargement of the tenantry took place.[2] The increases were only striking for West Auckland, Chester-le-Street and Whickham, but if to each new tenant is added his family and dependents, then the population expansion becomes more imposing. On the other hand, the reduction of numbers in eight other locations was not the result of decay, but the consolidation of resources in the hands of fewer, more substantial tenants; a process that analysis of the Parliamentary Surveys shows to have been already well-advanced in most parts of the Durham estates, and which was not reversed by an expansion of

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1 Vide infra, 232-234, 245-246.

2 Vide Table XVII, p. 213.

the tenantry. A comparison of the 1588 survey with the later Parliamentary ones with reference to twenty-two locations reveals signs of consolidation having taken place between 1588 and 1647-49

TABLE XVII

Expansion of Tenantry on the Durham Estates, 1588-1647

Location	Number of tenants in 1588	Number of tenants in 1647	Difference
Bondgate, Darlington	53	70	+17
Blackwell	26	30	+ 4
Cockerton	25	28	+ 3
Haughton-le-Skerne	17	11	- 6
Bondgate, Bp. Auckland	65	67	+ 2
Byers Green	16	22	+ 6
Coundon	16	27	+11
Middridge	15	12	- 3
Heighington	36	38	+ 2
Escombe	17	27	+10
Newtoncap	19	28	+ 9
Evenwood	41	51	+10
Killerby	8	7	- 1
West Auckland	41	65	+24
West Thickley	1	3	+ 2
Chester-le-Street	77	110	+33
The Boldons	22	32	+10
Cleadon & Whitburn	32	29	- 4
Whickham	60	98	+38
Ryton	56	61	+ 5
Little Thorpe	2	5	+ 3
Sherburn	12	12	-
Cassop	6	6	-
Houghton-le-Spring	33	29	- 4
Morton Grange	1	1	-
Warden Law	1	2	+ 1
East Burdon	7	5	- 2
Newbottle	24	19	- 5
Ryhope	20	16	- 4
Tunstall	1	3	+ 2
Cornforth	16	16	-

in no less than fourteen of them.[1] In only four was there a corresponding reduction in the number of lesser tenants, whilst in eight others an increase actually occurred.[2]

The wholesale enclosure of an open-field village was a costly business, the entire expense of which had to be borne by the inhabitants. The richer members of the community were able to shoulder their charge with equanimity, especially as they were ultimately to derive the greatest benefit from the common enterprise; but to the smaller landholder, who had perhaps agreed reluctantly or unwillingly to the scheme, the cost of enclosure might prove an intolerable burden. In the circumstances one might expect to find the lesser tenants selling out to their more enterprising neighbours, and thereby contributing to that consolidation of holdings and increased activity on the land market which have already been noted. Of the twelve Durham villages which were affected by wholesale enclosure in the early 17th Century, only two are known to have experienced a diminution of the tenantry (Middridge - a reduction of 3 from 15 to 12; East Burdon - a reduction of 2 from 7 to 5). Information is lacking for four other locations, two more retained a static tenantry, whilst the remaining four actually supported an enlargement (Blackwell - an increase from 26 to 30); Heighington - an increase of 2 from 36 to 38; Chester-le-Street - an increase of 33 from 77 to 110; and West Auckland - an increase of 24 from 41 to 65). Nevertheless,

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XXVI, Section (a), pp.563-566. The 14 locations where consolidation seems to have occurred were: Darlington (Bondgate), Haughton-le-Skerne, Bishop Auckland (Bondgate), Byers Green, Coundon, Newtoncap, Killerby, Whitburn and Cleadon, Ryton, Little Thorpe, Cassop, Houghton-le-Spring, Newbottle and Ryhope.

2 The reductions occurred at Haughton-le-Skerne, Killerby, Houghton-le-Spring and Newbottle. Increases occurred in all the other 10 locations except Cassop and Ryhope.

of the eight documented locations the evolution of larger farm units is clearly apparent in five (Middridge, East Burdon, Heighington, Chester-le-Street, and Sherburn) and can only be completely ruled out in one (Cornforth).[1]

The Durham estates therefore were subject to agricultural improvements in the form of enclosure and the establishment of larger farms. These were not however accompanied to any significant extent by depopulation; on the contrary the proportions of the lesser tenantry were expanding in a number of locations. If the peasantry was in the process of being dispossessed of its land, it was nonetheless remaining in the countryside and supporting itself there in some way, subsisting on smallholdings and common land and intakes from the common, providing its social superiors with agricultural labour and finding an alternative livelihood in rural industries and particularly coal-mining. On the other hand it is tempting to believe that the marked growth of such population centres as Darlington, West Auckland, Chester-le-Street and Whickham was in part connected with the rise in copyhold surrenders and the displacement of some weaker members of society from the land.[2]

There are certainly signs that society was in a state of flux, in accordance with the property transfers that were taking place. By comparing the names of tenants listed for each location in the 1588 and 1647-49 Surveys, it becomes evident that more than half the families appearing in 1588 were no longer present in the same places by the 1640s.[3] One must also take into consideration

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1 Vide infra, Appendix XXVI, section (a), pp.563-566.

2 Vide Table XVII, p.213.

3 Vide Table XVIII, p.216.

contemporary references to a capitalist exploitation of the land and an infliction of suffering on the poor by the rich.

TABLE XVIII

The Survival of Tenant Families on the Durham Estates, 1588 - 1647/49

The number of 1588 Family Names as a percentage of the 1647/49 total	Number of locations (36)
100%	2
90%	-
80%	-
70%	-
60%	3
50%	5
40%	8
30%	13
20%	4
10%	-
0%	1

A survey of all castles and manor-houses in County Durham in 1593 revealed that 60 seats had decayed and 14 become uninhabited since 1522, leading to a reduction in the shire levy of 134 horse and 104 foot.[1] The reason behind this depopulation, if the survey can be believed, was not an agricultural decline, but an intensified utilisation of land resources, manifested in enclosure, the conversion of arable to pasture, rack-renting and the creation of large farm-units. The relief from civil disorders and Scottish incursions which came with the turn of the century, meant that land need no longer remain a means of supporting armed men for border service and the defence of life and property. It was now possible for the enclosure movement which had affected the Midland shires before

1 Survey of Castles and Manor-Houses in Co. Durham, 1593 (S.P.D. 15/32/83).

the end of the Fifteenth Century to reach the North; for farming in the County Palatine to become a sound, commercial proposition. However if there is hard evidence here of depopulation it did not affect the Bishopric estates, for they hardly figure in the Survey beyond a mention of Bishop Pilkington's spoliation of Westgate Castle.[1]

Bishopric land was, on the other hand, involved in two cases of profiteering reported in a further survey of 1596.[2] The first case concerned a tenement called Horsley Head in Stanhope Park, leased by Francis Maddison at a rent of £3 p.a. He had been obliged to pay a fine of £50 to Nicholas Jackson, Bishop Hutton's servant, and to recoup his losses had sublet a moiety of his holding for 10 years, at an increased rent, to Antony Westgate. In the second instance, another tenement called Sunderland, again in Stanhope Park, had been granted by Bishop Barnes to his servant Henry Roode, for the mere payment of an annual rent of £3. 6. 8. Roode had made capital out of his master's generosity by sub-letting to Robert Emerson and John Atkinson and demanding a fine of £80. In both cases the tenants in occupation had spent so much in obtaining their holdings that they were unable to perform the duty of providing an armed horseman for border service. Border service obligations were not being met - perhaps they were being deliberately evaded under cover of a plausible excuse - but at least the tenants involved were able to cope with the monetary demands made upon them, rather than quit holdings with which their families had long been associated.

Moving on to 1597, Dean James reporting to Lord Burghley on the Palatinate's economic condition, does indeed describe a society

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1 Vide supra, p. 170.

2 Inquisition into the state of castles, forts, houses, etc., within Co. Durham, 11 May 1596 (S.P.D. 12/257/80).

suffering severely, particularly at the lower levels, from depopulating enclosure.[1] According to him, 500 ploughs had been taken out of circulation in the space of a few years and corn had to be imported into the area through Newcastle. Of 8,000 acres lately under cultivation, no more than 160 acres remained. Those who had previously sold corn now had to buy it at inflated prices. Colleges and cathedrals were impoverished because tenants could no longer pay their rents. Whole families were evicted and the boroughs were burdened with four or five families under one roof. As a remedy he urged the reimplementation of the 1563 Statute controlling the conversion of arable, which had been repealed in 1593 because of the cheapness and abundance of grain. The Dean's general statements smack of exaggeration. Whatever validity they possessed for 1597 did not have any long-term applicability to the Bishopric estates, for there is little trace of the abandonment of arable farming and subsequent depopulation in the agrarian patterns revealed by the parliamentary surveys of the 1640s. Admittedly in 1629 the Justices of the Peace for County Durham were also complaining to the Council about the incredibly high price of corn.[2] Wheat was costing £4 per quarter, as opposed to 5/8d. in 1504 and 8/0d. in 1550. Oats stood at £1 per quarter, in contrast to 2/0d. in 1506 and 3/4d. in 1543.[3] This distressful state of affairs, however, can be attributed to an abnormally bad harvest rather than to the anti-social eradication of arable husbandry. Later, in 1634, a pamphleteer was describing how the countryside was

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1 Dean James of Durham to Lord Burghley, January 1697 (S.P.D. 12/262/10)

2 The Justices of the Peace for Co. Durham to the Council, 14 January 1629 (S.P.D. 16/132/17).

3 The earlier prices have been extracted from R. Welford, A History of Newcastle and Gateshead, London, 1884-87, II, 5.

still being depopulated in the interests of extensive farming, at the expense of the commonwealth.[1] The first stage was for a landlord to bully his tenants by court action into converting their customary tenures into leaseholds; alternatively by winning over one or two of them and inducing the rest to follow. When all had concurred, their rents were raised to the point where they could no longer afford to pay; whereupon their village was depopulated. Having made this sweeping statement, the author, A.L., (perhaps Dr. Alexander Leighton - no friend of the bishops) can only offer three instances of this occurrence, none of them concerning the Bishopric estates. The final conclusion must be therefore that the agricultural improvements and rising prosperity apparent on the Bishopric lands were not achieved for the sole benefit of a small core of large capitalist farmers; and that although conditions were more unsettled than in earlier decades, they did not result in any noticeable extra suffering for the lower orders of society.

(d) Village Life

A great deal can be learned about village life on the Bishopric estates from the Halmote Court Books; the records of the twice-yearly courts which regulated the affairs of each community. The courts reflected many aspects of communal existence, as any random entry will show. On 8th October 1616, for example, the tenants at Norton came before the Steward at Stockton and were dealt with in the following way.[2] The Steward first of all recorded two transfers of copyhold land. George Swainston accepted of the Bishop one messuage and two bovates surrendered to his use by

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1 Certain observations touching the estate of the commonwealth composed principally for the benefit of the County of Durham, by A.L., 1634 (Durham Cathedral Library, Hunter MSS 44/6).

2 Halmote Court Books, 71 (Church Commission MSS)

Thomas Blaxton, paying a fine of 12/0d. Ralph Sharpe accepted three acres of arable, one parcel of meadow and a moiety of a house and garden, surrendered to his use by his brother, paying a fine of 6/8d. Then eight private suits were dispatched, followed by the imposition of penalties for offences against the community:

one man was fined 3/4d. for wrongfully cutting hay on the half balks;
another was fined 10d. for wrongfully cutting hay in the common meadow;
one man was fined 6d. for tethering a horse in a prohibited place;
a second man was fined 6d. for allowing horses to wander;
a third man was fined 4d. for allowing horses to graze in the common fields;
one man was fined 4d. for allowing a pig to stray;
twenty-four men were fined ½d. each for allowing 126 beast to wander;
two more were fined 6d. each for the same offence;
one man was fined 6d. and two more 4d. for failing to repair the fold;
another was fined 2d. for failing to repair a hedge;
and finally two men were fined 2/0d each for interfering with the course of a ditch.

Such was the course of all halmote court sessions. The Steward acted firstly as a land registrar, secondly as a mediator in private disputes - usually concerning debts - and lastly as the judge of all offences against the common life of the village.

Another task undertaken by the Steward was the issuing of injunctions and orders in restraint and regulation of the behaviour of the whole community or individual members of it. A selection of these injunctions and orders taken from the entries relating to Lanchester and East and West Boldon, 1530-43, are most instructive:

Lanchester 1530 each tenant to dig part of a ditch and maintain the same, on pain of a fine of 12d.;

all tenants to maintain their hedges, on pain of a fine of 12d.;

1531 all tenants to repair the Bishop's mill with slates and other materials, before the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, on pain of a fine of 3/4d.;

all tenants to improve a certain water-course before the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, on pain of a fine of 6/8d.;

Lanchester 1531 each tenant not to lop branches off trees, except on his own land, on pain of a fine of 3/4d.;

1532 a certain tenant to remove the two bulls he is keeping unlawfully, on pain of a fine of 3/4d.;

all cottagers not to overburden their holdings with stock during winter, on pain of a fine of 3/4d.;

1533 a certain tenant not to drive off his neighbour's sheep and cattle with dogs, on pain of a fine of 7/4d.;

tenants holding husbandlands to keep no more than 2 geese and 1 gosling, on pain of a fine of 3/4d.;

cottagers to keep no more than 1 goose and 1 gosling;

1534 a certain tenant to repair his tenement before the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, on pain of eviction;

all hedges to be made before the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, on pain of a fine of 12d.;

a certain tenant to keep a difficult horse under control, on pain of a fine of 6/8d.;

1538 a certain tenant to dismantle a newly erected building within 15 days, on pain of a fine of 3/4d.;

1541 a certain sub-tenant not to remain in his leased copyholding after the expiration of his lease, on pain of a fine of £2;

all tenants to do repairs immediately after storms and floods, and to round up their stock so that they can do no damage, on pain of a fine of 3/4d.;

1542 tenants not to put their stock into the sown fields or meadows, on pain of a fine of 12d.;

1543 a certain tenant not to block a certain highway, on pain of a fine of 6/8d.;

The Boldons 1530 all cottagers to ring their pigs before Pentecost, on pain of a fine of 12d.;

all cottagers to have only one tenement, on pain of a fine of 12d.;

1531 all tenants to repair the common oven before the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, on pain of a fine of 3/4d.;

a certain tenant to provide a sufficient outlet for the smoke from his house, on pain of a fine of 3/4d.;

1532 tenants not to bleach linen on, or walk over the glebe-land, on pain of a fine of 12d.;

1533 nobody to hinder the taking of horses onto the sown fields once the harvest has been cleared, on pain of a fine of 12d.;

The Boldons

1533 all highways to be marked with stones and no ploughing to be done beyond them, on pain of a fine of 3/4d.;

1537 the tenants of East and West Boldon to make peace over the destruction of some peas and beans, on pain of a fine of 12d.;

1538 all tenants to assist in building the stocks before the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, on pain of a fine of 6/8d.;

a certain tenant not to break his stint, on pain of a fine of 3/4d. for every animal too many;

1541 a certain tenant to remove his sub-tenant because of the poor condition of his holding;

a certain tenant to allow a pauper woman to glean on his tenement, on pain of a fine of 6/8d.;

the tenants of West Boldon to compound with the tenants of East Boldon for damage to the harvest, on pain of a fine of 3/4d. 1

Not only do they furnish an insight into the day-to-day problems faced by villagers, but they also give some indication of the strain imposed upon the system of farming in commonalty by habitual remissness and wilful disregard of regulations. The need for the Steward to intervene on a regular basis implies that the weight of a higher authority was necessary to supplement that of village officialdom - reeves, pinders and haywards - in the enforcement of rules established originally by common consent for the common good. Furthermore, the Steward's involvement in the minutiae of village life is indicative of a considerable paternalistic interest shown by the estate administration in the affairs of the tenantry, with the tenantry's welfare primarily in mind. Injunctions and orders appeared less frequently in the Halmote Court Books as the 16th Century wore on, which suggests a slackening of control. However, the offences which they sought to check still continued to be punished. The most frequent

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1 Halmote Court Books, 5-16 (Church Commission MSS).

misdemeanours, and their attendant fines, which occurred at Lanchester and the Boldons between 1620 and 1629 were:

subletting without licence, 6/8d.;
breaking open the common fold to release impounded stock, 3/4d.;
allowing horses to stray, 2d., 6d., 12d., 3/4d.;
tethering horses in a prohibited place, 2d.;
keeping an unlawful number of geese, 6/8d.;
allowing geese to stray, 3d., 6d., 12d, 3/2d.;
allowing pigs to stray, 2d., 4d., 6d., 8d., 12d.;
allowing cattle to stray, 2d., 4d., 12d., 2/0d.;
allowing sheep to stray, 2d.;
overstinting, 4d., 6d., 12d., 3/4d.;
hounding sheep, 12d.;
failure to ring pigs, 12d.;
intruding into the sown fields, 2d., 4d., 6d.;
intruding into the grass fields, 2d., 6d.;
failure to do repairs to hedges and gates, 2d., 3d., 4d., 6d., 8d., 12d., 10/0d.;
wrongfully diverting water-courses, 12d.;
unlawfully picking peas, 4d.;
unlawfully ploughing, 2d., 4d., 12d;
unlawfully ploughing the green, 6d.;
failure to repair the common oven, 4d.;
cutting timber without licence; cutting underwood on copyhold land for use on freehold property, 6d.; cutting a small oak, 1/4d.; cutting saplings 4/6d.; cutting four oaks, 10/0d.; cutting twenty oaks, £2.16. 0.;
making an illegal recovery, 3/4d.;
disturbing the peace, 3/4d.;
failure to appear at the halmote court, 7d.;
using unseemly words in court, 3/4d.; 10/0d.;
making a disturbance in court, 12d. 1

Like the injunctions they show that the task of making farming in commonalty workable was rendered difficult by a large recalcitrant element amongst the tenantry and the individual tenant's determination to manage his own business to his own advantage. The enclosure

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1 Halmote Court Books, 73-76 (Church Commission MSS).

movement of the early 17th Century bears witness to a successful reaction against the restrictions and unsatisfactoriness of the open-field system.

CHAPTER VII

Tenures and Tenants

It is now appropriate to proceed to an examination of the tenures by which the men of the Palatinate held land of the Bishop, the two most important being tenure by custom and tenure by lease. John Spearman wrote in his Enquiry into the Ancient and Present State of the County Palatine of Durham:

> "I think 'tis a just observation of all historians and travellers, that the subjects and tenants of ecclesiastical Princes (who are only tenants for life) are more oppressed, and their dominions wasted, and trade and improvements discouraged, than under temporal Princes, whose interest it is, for the sake of their own posterity, to provide for and govern well their subjects, encourage industry, and improve their dominons with mildness and tranquillity." 1

This generalisation does not hold good for the Bishopric estates during the period under study. There may not have been much active encouragement of economic activity, but there was certainly no oppression or discouragement, from the absence of which the tenants of the Bishops of Durham were able to derive a clear, material advantage.

(a) Tenure by Copy of Court Roll

The commonest of the customary tenures was the copyhold. The copyholders on the Durham estates enjoyed their tenements upon the most advantageous terms conceivable, probably as the result of an earlier sparseness of the population and the need to involve it in border defence. They enjoyed an hereditary right to their holdings. Little is known about the copyholders on the Yorkshire

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1 J. Spearman, Enquiry into the Ancient and Present State of the County Palatine of Durham, Edinburgh, 1729, pp.41-42.

estates, but it is likely that here hereditary claims were replaced by tenures for terms of years. The customary rents and the entry fines leviable whenever a tenement was sold, sublet, passed to an heir or relative, or taken in widowright, but not when the See of Durham changed hands, were irremovably fixed. In Co. Durham the fines tended to be generally smaller than the anachronistic rents. There were no heriots either. At Brompton and Romanby in Allertonshire, one year's rent was paid as a fine upon inheritance or alienation. If there were less than ten years to run out of a twenty-one year term, then only half a year's rent was due. In Howdenshire, 4d. per acre, or 10 groats per oxgang in the wold villages, was chargeable as a relief, or at alienation by sale. At alienation for lives or years (i.e., by sub-letting) the rate was 2d. per acre, 12d. per messuage and 6d. per cottage.[1]

The other conditions attached to the tenure were not on the whole unfavourable to the copyholders. It was established by custom that the Bishop could not improve the wastes or commons without the consent of his tenants, which assured to them their rights of common pasturage without diminution unless freely surrendered, and deterred their landlord from taking the initiative in the enclosure of land for the purpose of increasing revenue. In fact all improvements were the work of the tenants themselves; no doubt proposed and principally performed by the more substantial farmers. Far from the Bishop whittling away the benefits attached to the copyhold tenure, he himself was sometimes exploited. It was recounted in 1648 how a stinted demesne-land pasture of

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1 The nature of the copyhold tenure has been ascertained from the Surveys and entries in the Halmote Court Books.

1500 acres, called the Park, in the manor of Craike, had been enclosed and divided at some earlier date, the manorial tenants paying an increased rent of £13. 6. 8 for it.[1] At the division the tenants had exchanged their lands without the Bishop's licence and had confused their copyholds with the newly enclosed land. As a result the identity of both copyhold and demesne land had been lost, providing the tenants in 1648 with an opportunity for claiming that all their tenements were freehold.

On the other hand a serious threat to the copyholder's well-being was contained in the Bishop's right to all mineral resources lying beneath copyhold land. Most of the contemporaneous mining operations were conducted on a small scale, so that their affects upon the farming community were limited, but the fate of the copyholders of Whickham, under the rule of the Grand Lessees, foretold a future, large-scale clash of interests.[2] Individual copyholders must have suffered loss by 1640 not only at Whickham but also in such places as Bishop Auckland, Evenwood, West Thickley, Lanchester, Chester-le-Street, Escombe and Newtoncap, where mining speculators were granted permission to sink shafts specifically on copyhold land. Even when the hardship was not so immediate, a copyholder's livelihood could still be damaged to some extent by a mineral concession on the common pasturage, or a mining lessee's right to cut timber on copyhold land. Even so, the mining of coal had hardly begun in earnest by the mid-17th Century. The implications for the Bishop's copyholders were potential rather than actual, in the main.

Less of a handicap was the copyholder's duty to attend

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Craike, 1648 (Church Commission MSS 23377).

2 Vide supra, p.193.

regularly at the twice-yearly halmote court, on pain of a sixpenny fine for failure to appear. Attendance at court was an obligation imposed as much for the benefit of the good copyholder as for the Bishop's profit. Not only could the individual air his grievances and have any injustice righted in his favour, but he could also play a full part to his own advantage in the conduct of local affairs.

Similarly there was more to be said for than against the copyholder's duty of carrying out all his own repairs. If maintenance had been left to the Bishop, dwelling houses and farm buildings would quickly have fallen into a ruinous condition. As it was, all the wood growing upon the copyholder's tenement was placed at his disposal, whilst the Bishop was bound to provide him with heavy timber for major repairs free of charge, whenever it was deemed necessary.

Copyhold tenure had been imposed predominantly upon bondland and still carried in theory the variety of labour services which had been performed by the copyholder's forbear, the villein or bondman. Labour services may well have once been irksome, but by 1500 the vast majority had been previously commuted at a fixed rate.[1] The occasional exceptions occurred where the Bishop's labour needs were still real. Whenever the Bishop of Durham resided in his see, his chief place of abode was Bishop Auckland Palace. To meet his fuel needs there, he reserved the right to requisition the carts of the tenants of Bishop Auckland Manor and to call upon his copyholders to carry timber from his parks and coal from Carterthorne. Although there is no direct evidence, it is also possible that the copyholders were retained for haymaking on the

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1 Vide infra, Appendix IX, pp.494-501.

manorial demesne, whenever meadow was allotted for the feeding of the Bishop's own horses and stock. The only other surviving labour services were the obligation of the copyhold tenants of Moor Close, Bishop Auckland to have 90 horses in readiness to serve the Bishop once a year, in tens, and the duty of the copyholders of Cornforth to keep Durham Castle supplied with lime.[1] All these arrangements might have proved bothersome and inconvenient at times, but they were by no means one-sided. For carrying fuel the copyholders were paid by the cartload. For providing horses the tenants of Moor Close received 6d. per horse per day; and for providing lime the copyholders of Cornforth had the free use of a quarry. When services were so few and as a consequence of the remuneration, so light, they could hardly have detracted from the advantages of an hereditary copyhold tenure.

As with labour services, the Bishop's right to unlimited pasturage on the common grazing, which could have played havoc with the copyholds, was never exploited to any significant extent. Like suit of court, the imposition of stints upon the copyholder was in the best interests of the community, even if it did not always serve the turn of the larger farmer. In any case, limitations were only imposed where there was an intensive demand on the available pasture. In Co. Durham, the Manors of Evenwood and Wolsingham and the High Forest of Weardale were completely unaffected, whilst the tenants of Bishop Auckland were only checked by the vague proviso that they were to pasture no more animals than their tenements could bear.

Another restriction placed upon the copyhold tenants of the Bishopric estates, except at Chester-le-Street, Bishop Auckland

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1 Decree of the Durham Chancery Court, 3 April 1637, Lawsuit 20 (Church Commission MSS A/18/5).

(the West Mill) and in Allertonshire, was the rule that they had to take their corn to be ground at the Bishop's mill. A great deal of importance was attached to this duty, as the farming out of mills was a vital source of episcopal income, which could be jeopardised if the millers' monopolies were not safeguarded by the Bishop's officers. If the farmer of the mill was fair and efficient and could cope with demand, then the copyholders had no grounds for complaint; as at Newbottle in 1647, where the tenants found mill-service no hardship, in spite of the extra burden of having to repair the mill.[1] Where there was a lack of alternative mills the copyholders might even be extremely dependent upon the Bishop's mill. Again in 1647 for example, the tenants of Whickham stated that the decay of Swalwell mill was a great inconvenience to them.[2] On the other hand, if the miller was dishonest, or inefficient, or claimed more than his customary due of the corn brought to be ground (1/13), then the copyholders had good cause to resent his monopoly and sought other means of meeting their requirements. This had clearly happened in 1638 at Bishop Auckland and Haughton-le-Skerne, where one of the millers was driven to enforce attendance through the Durham Chancery Court and another was complaining before it that the local tenants were taking their corn elsewhere.[3] Evasion of mill service was by no means a new problem then, since it was affirmed in a 1637 lawsuit that Bishops Tunstall and Matthew had fined several copyholders 12d. each for possessing hand-mills.[4] Apparently the coercion of recalcitrant

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Houghton-le-Spring, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23383).

2 Parliamentary Survey of Whickham, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23386).

3 Durham Chancery Orders, Decrees and Reports, 1638 (Durham MSS 5/21).

4 Information and Decree of the Durham Chancery Court, 1637, Lawsuit 26 (Church Commission MSS 220648 and 220641).

tenants was not very successful. The main line of defence was to deprive the tenantry of the opportunity to break the Bishop's monopoly by bringing the owners of illegal or unlicensed mills before the Durham Chancery Court. In the 1637 case, the farmers of Whitburn windmill, Thomas and William Wright, cited Thomas Chambers, gentleman, of Cleadon, for erecting a rival windmill on copyhold land, to the detriment of their trade. The prosecution won the suit on the grounds that Chamber's mill had never been licensed by the Bishop, and had the satisfaction of seeing it pulled down. The case for the monopoly-breakers was stated very well in the spirited reply of Robert Cuthbert, accused in the early 17th Century of erecting an illegal horsemill within the confines of the Manor of Darlington.[1] He maintained in the first place that his property lay outside the prescribed boundaries. He then went on to say that the mills of Darlington and Blackwell were very inadequate, and that he was not the only outsider to hawk for the custom of the burgesses of Darlington and the copyholders of Bondgate, Blackwell and Cockerton. In any case, he could not see why he was being prosecuted. He could not prevent the tenants bringing their corn to him. They were in the wrong, not he. Such was the dilemma facing Bishop, millers and copyholders. The financial importance of the Bishop's mills was so great that an effort was made to enforce attendance at them. If the local mill failed to suit the copyholder's needs, then this was one sphere in which his tenure might prove something of a disability.

In the same vein was the copyholder's liability to make use of the common oven. Where a lease of the oven was taken out on behalf of the whole community, then there were no difficulties;

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1 Attorney General Thomas Cradocke versus Robert Cuthbert (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 13).

those tenants using the facilities taking turns to provide the necessary fuel. Resentment could be aroused however if it was farmed out to an individual for profit. The Chancery Decrees of 1638 reveal both an order to the tenants of Wolsingham enforcing use of the common oven and a command to its farmer not to overcharge.[1] On the whole ovens were far less lucrative than mills. Enforcement of use was consequently sporadic, half-hearted and ineffective. The copyholders were likewise not compelled to any noticeable extent, to take their broken implements to the village forge, although they were bound to keep it in a state of repair. This turned out to be an equitable arrangement, as the smith was expected to render his services at all times in return.

It is clear therefore, that the copyhold tenure was weighted fairly heavily in the holder's favour, especially in Co. Durham where it carried an hereditary right. Unless the copyholder had fallen victim to a mining speculator, or suffered from poor milling facilities, the disadvantages of the tenure were minor and the opportunities for profit in an age of rising prices great. John Hacket, the biographer of Bishop Williams of Lincoln, maintained that 6/7 of the income of church tenants was pure gain, and Archbishop Laud at his trial put the proportion at 5/6.[2] It is difficult to check the veracity of these estimates, but copyhold transactions recorded in the Halmote Court Books do reveal that quite profitable livings were being made by farming, sub-letting and selling copyhold land.[3] The best evidence comes from the details of leases involving copyholds. In the first half of the

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1 Durham Chancery Orders, Decrees and Reports, 1638 (Durham MSS 5/21).

2 C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, Oxford, 1963, p.36.

3 A typical copyhold sale and lease are presented in Appendix XXVII, p.571.

16th Century the lessor's profits were not large, but the 17th Century entries indicate that the position was changing for the better, as the following typical examples demonstrate:

Lanchester 1544 Lionel Steleye leased the Parrock at Eastgate in Newbiggin to Roger Mitford of Newcastle for 10 years, at 1/8d. p.a. besides the Bishop's rent of 16/8d. p.a.[1]

Boldon 1620 Richard and Alice Hedworthe leased one cottage land to John Welshe for 9 years at £9 p.a. besides the Bishop's rent of 1/1d. p.a. The cottage land contained 18 acres, which gave the lessors a profit of 10/0d. per acre p.a. Fine or licence of 3/4d.[2]

Boldon 1621 Alice Archer and William Sharpe leased a half husbandland (18 acres) to Robert Sparrow for 9 years, at £3 p.a. besides the Bishop's rent of 1/1d. p.a.; giving them a profit of 3/4d. per acre p.a.. Fine of 4d.[2]

Boldon 1624 Margery Tod leased a quarter messuage and a quarter husbandland (9 acres) to Ralph Robinson for 21 years for £2 p.a. besides the Bishop's rent of 1/1d.; giving her a profit of 4/5d. per acre p.a.. Fine of 3/4d.[3]

Lanchester 1621 Michael Aude leased one tenement and 9 acres to Jerard Laxe for 21 years, at £4 p.a. over and above the Bishop's rent; giving him a profit of 8/10d. per acre p.a. Fine of 6d.[2]

Lanchester 1624 Nicholas Aude leased 4 acres to Thomas Faireborne for 40 years at £1. 6. 8 p.a. besides the Bishop's rent; giving him a profit of 6/8d. per acre p.a. Also one tenement and 9 acres for 40 years, at £4.13. 4 p.a. besides the Bishop's rent; giving him a further profit of 10/4d. per acre p.a. Fine of 12d.[3]

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1 Halmote Court Book 9 (Church Commission MSS).

2 Halmote Court Book 73 (Church Commission MSS).

3 Halmote Court Book 74 (Church Commission MSS).

Wolsingham 1576 Chris Aththe, gent., leased one messuage and 6 acres to Rowland Wright for 21 years, at 3/4d. p.a. besides the Bishop's rent; giving him a profit of 6½d. per acre p.a.[1]

Wolsingham 1586 Robert Lyndsey leased two closes containing 5 acres to Charles Chapman for 12 years, making a profit of 1/0d. per acre p.a. over and above the Bishop's rent.[2]

Wolsingham 1626 William Solsbye leased 5 acres to Lancelot Bainbrigg for 21 years, at £3 p.a. besides the Bishop's rent; making a profit of 12/0d per acre p.a. Fine of 12d.[3]

Whitburn and Cleadon 1616 Isobel Beckwith leased half a messuage and 9 acres, half another messuage and 9 acres, 54 acres, one messuage and 18 acres, another messuage and 18 acres, and one messuage and 36 acres (144 acres in all) to Robert Delavell Esq., for 50 years, at £34 p.a. besides the Bishop's rent; making a profit of 4/8d. per acre p.a. Fine of 15/4d.[4]

Wolsingham 1616 Hugh Hodshon leased 7½ acres to Thomas Jackson for 8 years at £4 p.a. besides the Bishop's rent; making a profit of 11/5d. per acre p.a. Fine of 1/4d.

Edward Emerson leased one messuage and 12 acres to John Tod for 6 years, at £5. 6. 8 p.a. besides the Bishop's rent; making a profit of 8/10d. per acre p.a. Fine of 12d.[4]

When the actual copyholder's profits are added to the returns which the sub-tenant surely expected from his investment, it can be appreciated how unrealistic were the customary rents and fines

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1 Halmote Court Book 34 (Church Commission MSS).

2 Halmote Court Book 39 (Church Commission MSS).

3 Halmote Court Book 75 (Church Commission MSS).

4 Halmote Court Book 71 (Church Commission MSS).

which the Bishop received. No less than 33.4% of his total income came from copyhold land; land whose productivity could not be tapped any further by the landlord without a great deal of trouble.[1]

TABLE XIX

The Contribution of Copyhold Land to the Episcopal Income

	Income from copyhold land	As a percentage of total income due
The County Palatine	£ 732. 4. 7¾	31.1%
Allertonshire	82.15. 8	32.5%
Craike	15. 3. 4	29.8%
Howdenshire	213.15. 1½	46.8%
Total	1043.18. 9¼	33.4%

The absence of hereditary succession to the ownership of the episcopal estates ensured that all attempts to improve income were necessarily of a short term nature and more likely to be at the expense of the Bishop's successors than the tenantry. There was no time or inclination for the inroads into customary tenure made on the Northumberland estates as much for the future benefit of the House of Percy as for the immediate gain of the ninth Earl.[2] The Bishop also lacked the confidence to persevere in any efforts at modernisation because of a lack of affinity with his tenants and resulting insecurity. The very fact of his being a churchman, the manner of his disposal of the temporalities, non-attainment of the traditional standards of "good lordship" and the impermanent nature

1 Vide Table XIX.

2 Vide supra, pp.189-190.

of his sojourn at Durham, all seriously undermined his potential for social command. Bishop Tunstall (1530-59), who must have been one of the most popular Bishops of Durham, carried no weight during the Pilgrimage of Grace and consequently failed miserably in his duty to the King. The 1569 Rebellion showed that relations had deteriorated even further, now that Protestant bishops were being imposed upon a country of Catholic sympathies.[1] There was certainly no love lost between Bishop Barnes (1577-87) and his tenants when he wrote to Lord Burghley in the following vein:

> "I assure your good Lordship, those people (of Northumberland) are far more plyable to all good order, than those stubborn, churlish people, of the County of Durham, and their neighbours of Richmondshire, who shew but, as the proverb is, Jack of Naples charity in their hearts. The customes, the lives of these people, as their country is, are truly savage; .... The malicious of this country are mervailously exasperated against me; and whereas at home they dare, neither by words nor deeds, deal undutifully against me, yet abroad, Etc., they deface me by all slanders, false reports and shameless lyes; though the same were never so inartificial or incredible, according to the Northern guise, which is never to be ashamed, however they bely and deface him whom they hate, yea though it be before the honorablest. A vile kind of people ....."[2]

In these circumstances it was sufficiently difficult for the Bishop to maintain law and order and exact a dutiful obedience, without rendering himself completely powerless by raising a furore over customary tenures. The maintenance of calm was particularly important before 1603, when the tenantry had to be relied upon as a vital link in border defence. Contact with the shire musters, as well as with the Palatinate as a whole, lay through the county gentry, who were also frequently copyholders. These influential local leaders had to be cultivated at all costs, and one of the

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1 W.H. Frere, The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I, London, 1904, pp.41-42, 58-59, 67, 71, 112, 139 and 144. Sir C. Sharp, Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569, London, 1840, passim.

2 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, II, 482-483.

simplest methods was to leave them safely ensconced in their lucrative tenancies. Altogether there were some very good reasons for leaving the copyholds undisturbed. There is only one instance of an assault upon them; Bishop Barnes is reported to have obtained an order from the Court of Requests in 1581, concerning copyhold fines in Allertonshire.[1]

(b) The Customary Tenure of the High Forest of Weardale

In the High Forest of Weardale there was another type of customary tenure, slightly different from the common copyhold. Although it only contributed £83. 7. 7 to the episcopal income (9.4% of the Durham rental and 2.6% of total income due), it is worthy of attention because of the considerable information concerning it contained in the Parliamentary Report of 1647 and an earlier survey of Weardale conducted in 1595.[2] Like the copyholder, the customary tenant of Weardale enjoyed an hereditary possession of his tenement conditional upon border service. His rent was payable in two installments at Whitsun and Martinmas and his goods could be distrained for non-payment. He was also bound to attend a twice yearly forest court, similar in function to the ordinary halmote court, and to pay a custom or tack penny at Easter, as a token of his tenure. His real claim to distinction lay in his complete freedom from the liability to pay fines and his right to alienate his holding at will without seeking the Bishop's licence. Ordinary copyholders had to seek the Bishop's permission for all their transactions, and were subject to the (light) expense of fines and licences. When a man inherited or purchased a customary tenement in Weardale, however, he simply had his name

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1 Mickleton-Spearman MSS 10, p.38.

2 Survey of Weardale, 9 September 1595 (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Weardale). Survey of the Manor of Wolsingham together with the Forest of Weardale, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 31611).

enrolled at the next session of the forest court, paid the traditional tack penny and gave 4d. for the enrollment to the clerk of the court.

Originally the customary tenants of Weardale had been obliged to assist actively in the preservation of the Bishop's deer, but by the 16th Century this service only applied to those actually resident within Stanhope Park. Together with the leaseholders with whom they shared the pasturage of the Park, they were expected to leave the deer with sufficient grazing in summer and keep them adequately provisioned with hay in winter; but their sense of duty was easily overcome by selfish motives. The 1647 Survey contains the information that there were then only 40 deer in a special inner enclosure or frith, as opposed to 200 in the time of Bishop Barnes. The principal cause of this diminution in numbers was the failure of the park-keepers (recruited from the leading tenants within the Park) to organise the cutting in due time of the special meadow doles allocated for deer feeding; doubtless because of the tenants' preoccupation with their own haymaking. 120 deer were alleged to have died in one year alone for want of winter feed. In addition the frith was also utilised for the grazing of horses; not the permissible three or four, but as many as twenty or more. To make matters worse, the park walls had been permitted to decay, allowing sheep to penetrate. A similar fate befell another frith at Burnhope, which in Bishop Tunstall's day had contained 40 - 50 red deer. In 1647 there were no deer and the enclosure had been completely overrun by cattle.[1] Such was the way in which the

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1 A similar story is presented in a document entitled "Our opinions for reformation of all enormities and abuses concerning the wood and game in Stanhope Park, ...", 1619?, Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184959, pp.151-152).

customary tenants repaid the Bishop for the enjoyment of conditions hardly less beneficial than those experienced by freeholders. All rights were jealously guarded and all obligations forgotten in a tendency to exploit land and landlord alike.

Apart from detailing the terms of the Weardale tenure, the two surveys also contain a set of rules governing the inheritance of the customary tenement. The regulations constituted an attempt to reconcile and protect the interests of the actual holder, his wife and the main claimants in line of succession after him, with a bias in favour of the holder. A customary tenant was free to dispose of his land exactly as he wished during his lifetime, but at his death the whole of his possessions were to pass to his wife in widowright (assuming that he was married), until such time as she also died, or alternatively, remarried.[1] If the wife had inherited or bought the tenancy of customary land before her marriage and had subsequently sold it in company with her husband, she was permitted to reclaim her former title upon his decease. Hence married women's personal inheritances were only bought upon the strongest security. The widow's future livelihood was thus completely assured, seemingly at the expense of her children. This situation was allowed to ensue on the assumption that the majority of widows would be willing to make adequate provision for their offspring by means of leases. In the cases where natural affection did not operate, a remedy was available through a proviso enabling the tenant to deprive his widow of the enjoyment of customary land inherited by himself before marriage; wholly by making a deed of uses and appointing feoffees in trust, or partially by sub-letting.

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1 Widowright was also applicable to the copyhold tenure, which suggests that perhaps the other rules of inheritance were as well.

Failing the presence of a widow, or upon her death or remarriage, the customary tenement was to pass to the eldest son of the marriage; failing a son, to the eldest daughter; and failing any children at all, to the next of kin. This law of succession could be in no way altered, unless it was with the full consent of the inheritrix. It afforded a means of keeping the customary tenement intact in the possession of the senior branch of a family, but it was a means dependent upon the tenant's willingness to abide by the customary arrangements during his lifetime.

A further point about the Weardale tenure is that it appears to have been subject to occasional attempts at improvement on the part of the Bishops. Their efforts, which seem to have taken the form of converting the customary tenements into leaseholds, were of a sporadic nature and with one possible exception, ineffectual in the face of the tenants' determination to cling to their rights. Rather surprisingly the pressure began with Bishop Tunstall, of whom it was alleged in the 1595 Survey that he had unlawfully converted a customary tenement into a leasehold and forcibly expelled the tenant.[1] The latter finally won the day by recovering his estate at law, thereby confirming the legal validity of tenant right - the right to hereditary possession of a customary tenement by virtue of border service. The next attack occurred around 1583, when certain tenants complained to the Privy Council that Bishop Barnes had illegally turned their customary tenements into leaseholds and was [illegible] forcing them to pay large entry fines.[2] In their answer to the Bishop's rejoinder the tenants admitted their acceptance of a promise made by the Bishop

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1 Survey of Weardale, 9 September 1595 (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Weardale). Survey of the Manor of Wolsingham together with the Forest of Weardale, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 31611).

2 Reply of the Tenants of Durham to the answer made by Bishop Barnes, 1 May 1583 (S.P.D. 12/160/35).

to the Council of the North, that he would not charge more than four years' rent for an entry fine on leaseholds to which border service was attached. They also acknowledged that by acquiescing in the payment of a fine to which they had been driven by fear of eviction, they were forfeiting their claim to be customary tenants. The only purpose behind their complaints, they said, was to keep the Bishop's demands within reasonable limits. At first sight it looks as if Bishop Barnes had completely undermined the resistance of his customary tenants, but the completeness of the capitulation smacks of deception. It is probable that the complainants were not customary tenants at all, but leaseholders trying to escape an unusual exploitation of their tenure by masquerading under another guise. When the Bishop finally called their bluff they were prepared to admit reservedly to the truth, having secured a limit to the imposition of fines. If this interpretation is correct, then there appears to have been no major attempt against genuine customary tenements until ten years later (14 December 1593), when John Stanhope Esq., the lessee of thirteen customary messuages in Stanhope Park which had passed to the Crown on a seventy years lease in 1585, tried in vain to extract a profit from the sitting tenants and subsequently took them to court.[1] Supremely confident of their position, they maintained that their tenure was in no way affected by the Crown lease and emerged successful. Their triumph was used as a precedent in all succeeding cases to prove the inviolability of tenant right.

It was not until the pontificate of Bishop Neile (1617-28) that trouble once more flared up. In September 1621 Arthur Emerson and

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Wolsingham together with the Forest of Weardale, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 31611, under Stanhope Park).

others were summoned before the Durham Chancery Court for refusing to attend the Weardale forest court until they were recognised as customary tenants, instead of being termed tenants at will according to custom. One year later (12 September 1622) the same defendants were in court again, accused of converting leaseholds in Stanhope Park into estates of inheritance according to tenant right. The case went against them, but the Bishop's officers were powerless to enforce the Chancery decree. In September 1625 it was reported that processes of contempt and commissions of rebellion had been issued to no avail, whereupon Chancellor Hutton empowered the Sheriff to sequestrate their holdings.[1] Again it is uncertain whether the Bishop was attempting to subvert the customary tenure, or whether leaseholders were trying to improve their position. In this case the evidence points more in the direction of the first possibility. Bishop Neile was capable of attacking customary tenants, whilst the resistance of the dalesmen was more befitting the wronged than the deceitful. There are other pointers showing tenant right on the defensive in the North of England after the accession of James I. It is apparent, from a letter sent to Bishop Neile in July 1622, ordering him to confer with the Judges of Assize against claims to tenant right, that it was also Crown policy to stamp out all hereditary, customary tenures on the Borders, on the grounds that the union of England and Scotland under one crowned head had removed their 'raison d'être'.[2] Bishop Neile in fact may only have been following an example set by the King's Council. Whatever the origins of the move, it met with a great deal of opposition and ultimately scant success.

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1 Appendix to Survey of Weardale, 1595 (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Weardale).

2 The Council to Bishop Neile, 27 July 1622 (S.P.D. 38/12).

Victory was assured to the established order in 1639, when crown policy changed in the light of the Bishop's War and the judges unanimously agreed that the union of the crowns in no way affected customary estates of inheritance dependent upon border service in the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland and Durham.[1] Discounting Bishop Barnes' efforts as not being directed against genuine customary tenants, and the 1593 episode as being instigated by a crown lessee, the abortive attempts of Bishop Neile to improve the customary tenements appear to stand virtually alone; even they possibly resulting from royal initiative. This singular lack of achievement bears ample testimony to the strength of entrenched tenant right and the natural reluctance of the Bishops to push their interests too far.

(c) Freehold Tenure

If the customary tenures remained inviolate, there was even less possiblity of extracting further revenue from the freehold tenures - knight service and common socage - which contributed a fixed 17.2% to the episcopal income.[2] Assessed like the customary tenures at only a fixed, token rent, freeholds were the most secure of all tenements, jealously guarded by the common law. Although freeholds 'in capite' were theoretically vulnerable, to the extent

TABLE XX

The Contribution of Freeholds to the Episcopal Income

	Income from freeholds	As a percentage of total income due
The County Palatine	£339.17.10	14.4%
Craike	2. 0. 0	3.9%
Allertonshire	46. 9. 1½	18.6%
Howdenshire	150. 8. 3½	32.9%
Total	538.15. 3	17.2%

1 Resolution of the judges concerning border service, 1639 (S.P.D. 16/438/1).

2 Vide Table XX

that the Bishop could strictly enforce his right to feudal dues, in practice they remained relatively unaffected. The Bishop was hardly prepared to make severe but legally justified demands upon them, when so many lay in the possession of the county gentry, upon whose support in local government he was heavily dependent.

(d) Leasehold Tenure

In the circumstances operative in the Bishopric of Durham before the Civil War, 53.2% of the episcopal income was virtually impossible of improvement. The remaining 46.8% was derived from leasehold rents, which were not bound by custom at a fixed rate, and could accordingly be maintained at a profitable level.[1] However, for reasons to be discussed below, the Bishops of Durham made as few attempts to review leaseholds as they did the customary tenures, with the result that the leaseholders were also able to reap a disproportionate share of the profits from the episcopal estates. When the leasehold tenements were surveyed from 1647 by

TABLE XX I

The Contribution of Leaseholds to the Episcopal Income

	Income from Leaseholds	As a percentage of total income due
The County Palatine	£1190.15. 2¾	50.6%
Craike	33.18. 6	66.3%
Allertonshire	118. 4. 3½	46.3%
Howdenshire	87. 7. 6	19.0%
Total	1430. 5. 6¼	46.8%

parliamentary commissioners with a view to sale, their potential, annual rental value was assessed at £11,875.19 6 above their

1 Vide Table XXI, [illegible]

current rental value of £1430. 5. 6¼ p.a.[1] If it was possible to increase the Bishop's rent by four to nine times whilst still

TABLE XXII

Valuation of the Episcopal Leaseholds over and above the Established Rent, according to the Parliamentary Surveys of 1647 - 49.

The County Palatine	9939. 0.10	(approx. four times the old rent, excluding Whickham and Gateshead)
Craike	200. 1. 6	(approx. six times the old rent)
Allertonshire	920. 5. 2	(approx. eight times the old rent)
Howdenshire	816.12. 0	(approx. nine times the old rent)
Total	11,875.19. 6 p.a.	

leaving the lessee a reasonable return, then investment in a bishopric lease must have been an attractive proposition, even after taking entry fines into account. This supposition is substantiated by the following examples of transactions involving leaseholds. Four of the cases concern land farmed out to the Crown on a long lease, for which due allowance must be made. Duration apart, Crown leases resembled ordinary demises in every other respect.

(1) On 14 January 1604, two closes called Darlington Closes, once a parcel of rough grazing, were passed to the Crown for a period of 80 years, at the usual rent of 10/0d. p.a.. On 28 June 1633, the present assignee, William Wearmouth, sold his interest to Bulmer Isle for £230. The lease still had 50 years to run. At 20 years purchase the annual value of the Closes was £11.10. 0. In 1647 the parliamentary valuation of the lease was £13.16. 8 above the rent.[2]

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1 Vide Table XXII, [illegible]. The Table has been compiled from a Volume of Enrolled Parliamentary Surveys (Church Commission MSS 54000). It does not include leaseholds lying within the manor of Stockton, for which there is no extant survey. Whickham and Gateshead, with an actual, rental value of £127.13.10 p.a., account for £5555.16. 0 of the total, making them worth approximately forty-three times the existing rent.

2 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184961, p.129).

(2) Again on 14 January 1604, Holykeld Close, Haughton-le-Skerne, also passed to the Crown for 80 years, at a rent of £4 p.a. On 16 April 1611 the assignee, Thomas Blakeston, sold his 72 year interest to John Gill for £160. At twenty years purchase this represented an annual value of £8. In 1647 the lease was valued at £20 above the Bishop's rent.[1]

(3) In 1635 two oxgangs of 'new land', belonging to the Northallerton demesne and worth £1. 0. 9 p.a. to the Bishop, were sold for £150. They were part of a Crown lease which had 44 more years to run. At twenty years purchase their annual value was £7.15. 0.

(4) A memorandum dated July ? 1591 refers to a 90 year Crown lease of Howden demesne, running from 30 July 1582. The property concerned was the manor house, with outhouses and gardens attached, a park and other meadow and pasture land amounting to 553 acres, three windmills, salmon fisheries in the Ouse, pasturage for 600 sheep and 100 cattle, with all standing timber etc.. The assignee maintained that the farm was worth 500 marks p.a. above the Bishop's rent of £34. 8. 0. With 81 years still to go, he was prepared to part with the lease for £3000.[2]

(5) On 1 June 1615 Thomas Hyndmers of Chester-le-Street, yeoman, rented half an acre of meadow from the Bishop for 21 years, at 4/10d. p.a.. On 8 November 1619 he sold the remaining 17 years of the lease to William Haddocke of Lamesley, yeoman, for £55. He was to assist Haddocke in procuring a fresh term.[3]

(6) In 1641, Evenwood Park, containing 300 acres, was let by the Bishop for £20 p.a., at 1/4d. per acre. His tenant immediately sublet at £120 p.a. besides the Bishop's rent, giving him a profit of 8/0d. per acre from pasture land for which the sub-tenant paid 9/4d. per acre.[4]

(7) In 1642 Carterthorne coal-mine was farmed out by the Bishop at £70 p.a.. It was sub-let for £350 p.a., giving the lessee an effortless return of £280 p.a..[4]

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Darlington, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23378, under Haughton-le-Skerne).

2 Memorandum of a lease granted by the Bishop of Durham, July ? 1591 (S.P.D. 12/239/113).

3 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.702).

4 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Evenwood, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23380, under Evenwood).

Turning from the potential value of the leaseholds to the conditions attached to them, the first consideration must be their length. Before the reign of Elizabeth there was no restriction on the duration of a lease, other than the approval of the Prior and Convent or Dean and Chapter. In all probability many long leases would have been granted, to satisfy friends, relations and servants, to win support and to assure the Bishop of the immediate benefit of a large fine. Detailed knowledge of leasing policy begins with Bishop Tunstall. Out of 36 leases noted in an Enrollment Book as stemming from his pontificate, 22 were for 21 years and 14 for a longer term, ranging from 29 to 90 years.[1] The majority of the latter type were assigned to tenants who rested high in the Bishop's favour, thereby signifying that his motivation was not to enlarge his income from fines. Under Bishop Tunstall Durham remained immune from the worst evils engendered by long leases, but this was far from so elsewhere. Accordingly in 1559 the length of leases on episcopal estates was restricted by statute (1 Eliz. cap. 19.) to 21 years or three lives. Although three lives were theoretically equivalent to 21 years, they could lead to a much longer term if well chosen. Bishop Pilkington (1561-76) was proably aware of the discrepancy and stuck rigidly to leases for years, leaving his successor, Bishop Barnes, to set the precedent for succumbing to the demand for the more desirable three lives arrangement. Thereafter leases for lives were regularly granted, although with the exception of Bishop Neile's pontificate, not to the same extent as leases for years. There are some indications that half-hearted attempts were made to curb new conversions. Once a lease had been

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1 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a).

transformed from years to lives however, under pressure or out of favour, then it was difficult to effect a second change. No statistics are available for the pontificates of Bishops Barnes, Hutton (1589-95) and Matthew (1595-1606), but lease enrollments dating from the time of Bishop James (1606-17) reveal that terms of three lives were firmly established by the turn of the century. Out of 50 recorded leases, 39 were for 21 years and 18 for three lives.[1] Under Bishop Neile the accent changed from acquiescence to active encouragement, leading to the outnumbering of leases for years by leases for lives. Out of 39 noted enrollments, 16 were for terms of 21 years and 23 for three lives.[2] Moreover, 9 of the 23 leases for lives are known to have been converted from terms of years by Neile himself, in spite of the fact that his colleague, William Laud, was campaigning against leases for lives and actually persuaded Charles I to ban them in 1633. It is likely that Neile was exploiting his tenants' eagerness for the better terms for his own private gain. Under Bishop Howson (1628-32) the more normal proportions were restored, but the move to eradicate leases for lives met with no success against their firm establishment. Even if no more new leases for lives were granted, many were already in existence by the 1630s, and there are no instances of reconversion. Out of 57 leases passed by Bishop Morton (1632-59), 25 were for lives and 32 for years, whilst the 1647 Parliamentary Surveys show an equality between the two types of leasehold.[3]

Apart from leases for lives and years, there also seem to have been a few leaseholds held at the will of the Bishop. The evidence for these comes from the 1588 Survey, according to which their

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958).

2 Lease Enrollment Books (Church Commission MSS 184959 and 184960).

3 Lease Enrollment Books (Church Commission MSS 184961 and 184962).

contribution to the total income due from leaseholds was 5.1%.[1] By 1647 there was no further mention of them, indicating either that terms unfavourable to the tenants were being concealed, or that the Bishops had abandoned their position of strength in face of their tenants' desire for security.

Whatever the type of leasehold, its duration was intimately bound up with the difficult question of entry fines.[2] There can be no doubt that the legislation of 1559 was beneficial to the Bishops. By checking individual selfishness in making a long lease and extracting a large payment in return, it did at least ensure that the incidence of fines was even. Apart from Bishops Barnes and Neile, none of the post-Reformation Bishops seem to have laid too much stress on fines, for the selfsame reasons that they did not try to improve the leaseholds to the detriment of their tenants.[3] ~~As will be seen, the provision of revenue for the Bishop was only one of a leasehold's uses.~~ Many bases were granted for considerations other than financial ones and the resultant fines were only nominal. Even when they were taken in full, they did not necessarily augment the Bishop's income. It has already been noticed how two fines slipped through the hands of Bishops Barnes and Hutton into the maws of their servants.[4] In the circumstances it is possible that fines regularly supplemented offices and land grants as a means of reward.

The purpose of the 1559 Act (1 Eliz. cap. 19.) had been to endow each bishop with a fair share of the income from entry fines. In no way was it intended as an attack upon the long occupation

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1 Halmote Court Miscellaneous Book (Church Commission MSS M64, 195566a, pp.2-70).

2 Vide supra, pp. 140-143.

3 Vide supra, pp. 240-241, 248.

4 Vide supra, p.217.

of leasehold tenements. What mattered was not that a lessee should only be in possession of his holding for 21 years or three lives, but that he should be made to pay entry or renewal fines at regular intervals. Accordingly there is a frequent occurrence of releases in the Enrollment Books. There was no bar upon the renewal of a lease so long as the landlord was cultivated by his tenant, or the landlord had cause to court his lessee. In many cases customary possession of a leasehold was recognised and allowed to develop. Indeed in 1647 the leaseholders of the Manor of Houghton-le-Spring all claimed an hereditary right to their tenements.[1] Even when tenant right was not asserted, occupations of more than 21 years were extremely common. The long sojourn of the Belasyse family at Morton Grange has been noted above.[2] On a smaller but more typical scale is the history of the possession of a tenement by the Milburns of Bedlington. In 1607 Robert Milburn, gentleman, bought the 18 year remainder of a 21 year lease of some land in Bedlington from Roger Fenwick of Bitchfield, Northumberland.[3] By 1618 Robert had been succeeded by Owen Milburn, gentleman, who surrendered the remaining 8 years of the lease for a new one of 21 years.[4] In 1622 he became Steward of the Bedlingtonshire Halmote Court, an appointment which coincided with the conversion of his lease from years to lives.[5] In 1626 Owen died and was followed in possession by his son, William Milburn, gentleman.[6] He was still in occupation of the lease in 1642, although it was then reduced to two lives. This completed

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Houghton-le-Spring, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23383, Preamble)

2 Vide supra, p.206.

3 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.113).

4 Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184959, p.21).

5 Ibid, p.364.

6 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184960, p.102).

an uninterrupted span of 35 years, with the association still unbroken.

After the conditions governing the duration of a lease, the most important clauses in any leasehold indenture - on paper at least, were those concerning the payment of rent. Most agreements contained a proviso that if the rent remained unpaid at the end of a certain number of days after the official rent-day, then the lease was to be forfeited. Under Bishop Tunstall the normal period of grace was one month or forty days, but after 1559 it was usually limited to twenty days. In some cases, where the terms of a lease were moderated on behalf of a favoured lessee, the threat of forfeiture was replaced by distraint of goods, or even a fine. For instance in 1635 Sir Thomas Tempest of Stella, Bart. and Sir Lionel Maddison of Newcastle were granted a lease, for three lives, of coal-mines at Ryton. Their basic rent was £6.13. 4 p.a., with an additional £1. 6. 8 for every pit worked. For every £1. 6. 8 remaining unpaid after a period of 39 days grace, the lessees were liable to a fine of £10.[1] Nevertheless, in spite of the seeming strictness of the regulations, the Bishops' deterrent was allowed to lie dormant.[2] [illegible] emphasised how little importance the official rent-days had outside the Exchequer, which would not have been so bad enforcement taken place.[2] This waiving of the rules is understandable when it is realised that the Bishops' executive officers, as holders of some of the best leases, were likely to make the most gain out of their masters' laxity. To substantiate the point further, there is extant evidence for only two attempted evictions on the grounds of

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184961, p.619).

2 Vide supra, pp. 99-102.

non-payment of rent; both occurring during the pontificate of Bishop Neile. The first case, already mentioned, involved the expulsion of a lessee from his tenement on merely technical grounds because it was coveted by the Bishop's secretary, Edward Lively.[1] In the second instance Neile's action was less high-handed, but still outside the bounds of accepted episcopal behaviour. In 1617 he dispossessed the assignee of the Crown lease (dated 20 June 1578) of the rectory of Leake, Allertonshire, on the basis that the rent had not been paid until after the expiration of a 20 day period of grace. The lessee disputed the eviction at York Assizes, probably on the grounds that the original 50 year lease only allowed the Bishop a fine of £3. 6. 8 and distraint of goods for non-payment. In the face of this resistance Neile withdrew, but only after recouping his losses. On 7 July 1620 he agreed to make out a new lease for 21 years, in return for a consideration or fine of £129 and the settlement of all arrears up to that date.[2]

After payment of his rent there was usually very little restriction on what a leaseholder could do with his tenement. Only occasionally was a tenant specifically prevented from sub-letting outside his immediate family circle, or to someone resident outside the location of his holding. Until the beginning of the 17th Century the Bishops were unconcerned with sub-tenancies so long as the rents were paid and did not accordingly demand their enrollment. Beginning with Bishop Matthew's pontificate however, there are signs of an increasing desire to pin down responsibility for each tenement to a particular individual, by keeping a complete record of all leasehold transactions. It was during Matthew's pontificate

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1 Vide supra, p. 107.

2 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184959, p.258).

that certain leaseholders at Ryhope, Easington, East Burdon and Sedgefield were first required to apply for the Bishop's licence before sub-letting.[1] Bishop Matthew also instituted the practice of appointing two attorneys to take possession of each leasehold after the termination of a tenancy and to hand it over intact to the new lessee.[2] By this means it was possible to ensure that the old tenant left with a good grace, and his holding in good repair, and that the right new tenant took his place. Bishop James continued this policy of a closer supervision of leaseholders by generalising his predecessor's provisions. After complaining in 1614 that new and improved leases, assignments and renewals had gone unrecorded by the Auditor, he also ordered that no more rent should be accepted until all leasehold transactions had been enrolled.[3] This command brought a large increase in the Auditor's perquisites, since he received 3/4d. for the enrollment of every lease for years and 6/8d. for every lease for lives. Bishop Neile went a stage further by inserting a special proviso into his indentures to the effect that all alienations or assignments of leases had to be recorded on pain of forfeiture. The alienator, assignor or seller of an episcopal lease was now required to surrender his indenture back to the Bishop, whereupon the latter was to make out a new lease to the buyer, or assignee, for the remaining term of years or lives.[4] It was emphasised in the lease indentures that this eradication of assignments recently introduced to the Enrollment Books - eliminating the immediate tenant at the end of his association with his holding and making the sub-tenant directly responsible to the Bishop - was not designed to enforce

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1 E.g., Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184957b, Folios 10-13).

2 E.g., Ibid, Folio 6.

3 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.300).

4 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184959, passim).

payment of an extra entry fine by the assignee. Theoretically only the Auditor's fee was involved, but there was a tendency under Neile for a completely new lease to be made out; in which case of course, an entry fine was due. Taken in conjunction with the Bishop's willingness to convert terms of years into lives, it does look as if Neile was consciously creating new opportunities for increasing the turnover of leases and the corresponding incidence of fines. One last refinement was introduced by Bishop Howson. He stipulated in his leasehold transactions that if a tenant died with his lease unexpired, his heirs or executors were to take out a new lease for the term still to run, within two months of his death; customary fees only to be paid.[1] Thus by 1642 all sub-tenants had been brought into direct contact with their landlord; whereas only main tenants had been known to the Bishops before 1600.

The conditions mentioned so far were all of a general nature and applicable to any kind of leasehold. There were in addition more particular clauses in lease indentures, dependent upon the type of property being conveyed. For the purpose of categorising them leases can be divided into three groups, one broad and two well-defined.

(i) Land leases, borough farms and leases of dwelling houses and buildings used for agricultural or industrial purposes.

The principal condition common to all these types of lease was the requirement that the tenant should be responsible for all repair work and the decent upkeep of his tenement, on pain of forfeiture. The landlord's obligation to provide great timber was tacitly assumed, and there is no doubt that it was fully observed. After 1600 a

1 E.g., Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184960, p.637)

clause was inserted in some land leases obliging the lessee to draw up a survey of his leasehold at his own expense after three years occupation and to renew it every ten.[1]

The only other standard insertion was the demand that the tenant should perform all customary duties and services in a satisfactory manner. Since the majority of these had been commuted for cash payments, nothing more was implied than the obligation to attend the Bishop's courts and the shire musters. Where other specific obligations still existed, they were dealt with separately. In the 16th Century they amounted to the following:

> The lessee of a number of closes in Gateshead, together with a tenement called the Staith House, was to provide grazing for the Bishop's horses whenever he passed through Newcastle; for which service he was to be paid. 2
>
> The lessees of Sherburn lime kiln (the inhabitants of the village) were to deliver 4 fothers of lime annually to Durham Castle in place of rent. To assist them in this duty, the Keeper of Frankland Wood was to send them 4 fothers of tree tops for firing. 3
>
> The lessee of a messuage at Cornforth had to assist the copy holders of the village in their duty of burning and casting lime. 4
>
> The lessees of Darlington High Park were to maintain 10 post horses, for use at the notification of the Constable of Darlington, at the rate of 1d. per mile. 4

Voiding of the lease was also the penalty imposed for failure to observe other particular conditions which occasionally occurred. A selection is provided below.

> The lessees of Stanhope New Park were obliged to allow the deer access to their land. They were not to overstint the Park with cattle. 5
>
> The farm of Darlington Borough was to be void if the farmer died, or quit his office of Bailiff. 6

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1 E.g., Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184959, p.116).

2 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.15).

3 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184957b, Folio 13).

4 Ibid, Folio 58.

5 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.18).

6 Ibid, p.106.

> The leaseholders of Wolsingham Park were to graze no more than 5 beast, or 3 beast and 1 horse, or 25 sheep, for every 6/8d. paid in rent. 1
>
> The lessees of Northallerton demesne were to serve only the Bishop of Durham or the Crown. 2
>
> The lessee of Burnhope in Weardale was to help rescue his neighbours' goods in a hue and cry; was not to harbour any evilly disposed persons; and was to sell his lead ore only to the Bishop's Moor Master. 3

As with all the other requirements, enforcement was extremely lax. Evictions only seem to have been carried out for non-payment of rent and then only rarely.

(ii) Mill leases

Mill leases are disappointing in that they do not state which of the Bishop's tenants were bound to grind at each mill. In most respects they are similar in content to ordinary land leases, but deserve special attention because of the conditions governing repairs and the change of emphasis which occurred in them. Up to and including the pontificate of Bishop Tunstall the responsibility for repairing a mill was apportioned in various ways, although the commonest practice was for the landlord to shoulder the major burden, leaving the farmer simply with the maintenance of the gearing. At some mills (Norton) the Bishop carried out all reparations. At others, on the other hand, (Bedlington, Darlington and Blackwell) he only undertook the carriage of millstones and the provision of great timber. A typical mill lease of this period, with the exception of the special arrangements made necessary by the Bishop's frequent demands on the services of the miller, is that of the Burn Mill, Bishop Auckland.[4] After

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1 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.137).

2 Ibid, p.292.

3 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.215).

4 Vide infra, Appendix XXVIIIa, pp.572-573.

1559 however, a deliberate effort took place to pare down the Bishop's expenses, until his obligations were generally reduced to the supply of heavy timber, leaving the lessee charged with gearing, millstones, stone, thatch, small timber, iron-work and builders' wages. This transition had been completed at the Burn Mill by the pontificate of Bishop James.[1]

(iii) Mine leases

Thirdly, coal-mine leases were of an entirely different genre. Until the mid-16th Century they perhaps tended to be fairly restrictive and prohibitive of capitalist enterprise, due to an over-cautious protection of the Bishop's interests. Not only were the number of pits, or shafts, to be worked at once frequently specified, (especially on the richest, and most accessible sites at Whickham and Gateshead) but the output of each pit was also fixed at 320 corves (34 tons 8 cwt.) per day.[2] Bearing in mind the means of production available at the time, an allowance of over 30 tons per day, per pit, was probably not ungenerous. If output fell behind on one day, the mine lessee was able to make it up on another, and was allowed a reduction in rent if his workings were incapable of producing the prescribed amount of coal. He was also permitted free access to his site across the Bishop's land (wayleave), often against the wishes of the sitting tenants, given space to stack the fruits of his labour and provided with facilities for loading his coal onto boats, wherever a navigable waterway was available (staithroom). In addition the Bishop undertook the

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.204).

2 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.21). Circa 1550 20 corves amounted to 1 chaldron. Circa 1600 one Newcastle chaldron was equivalent to 43 cwt..

provision of the vast amount of timber needed for shoring up shafts and tunnels, on condition that the entrepreneur paid for its felling and transportation. In return the latter was enjoined to refrain from wilful damage, for which he had to atone by loss of his lease and the payment of compensation.

By the pontificate of Bishop Pilkington a greater efficiency and capacity in mining operations seems to have been recognised in the raising of the limitation of daily output to 360 (38 tons 14 cwt.), 400 (43 tons) and 480 (51 tons 12 cwt.) corves.[1] It is evident that lessees were sometimes allowed to exceed the scales laid down for them, provided that they were prepared to pay more rent; which suggests that the Bishops were not attempting to impose restraints upon an expanding industry, but were trying to maintain a reasonable ratio in a most business-like manner between their rents and the entrepreneurs' profits. Whatever the motivation behind the implementation of a quota system, it should not be held primarily responsible for the frequent occurrence of arrears in the payment of mine rents.[2] The basic causes of the farmers' difficulties were the natural obstacles to successful mining and the monopolistic actions of the Newcastle Hostmen controlling the coal trade.

The other conditions of Bishop Pilkington's mine leases became standardised into a form continually adopted down to 1642. They were as follows:

(1) the Bishop to provide the tenant with timber on the same terms as before.

(2) the tenant to be given every facility for wayleave and staithroom.

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1 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, pp. 12, 178, 241, 248 and 252).

2 Vide supra, p.147.

(3) the rent to be reduced if the workings failed.

(4) the tenant to adhere to customary mining regulations; i.e., he had to abide by established mining practice and leave all equipment in good repair at the expiration of his lease.

(5) the tenant to pay particular attention to the maintenance of pit props and water-gates.

(6) the tenant to allow inspection by the Bishop's surveyor; in some cases the Surveyor actually sited pit shafts.

(7) the tenant to pay double compensation for wilful damage in place of eviction.

(8) the tenant to have the right to take away all coal wrought by him, for one year after the expiration of his lease. (This clause was sometimes excluded.)

(9) the number of pits to be specified.

With the loss of the most lucrative mines, at Whickham and Gateshead, by way of Bishop Barnes' Grand Lease, the restraint on the number of pits tended to be dropped, whilst the regulation of output stopped completely.[1] Once coal-mines had become accepted as a recognised source of profit, they were passed by the Bishops to relatives, servants and favoured tenants upon easy terms. The 17th Century also witnessed a wide interest in exploratory mining, which was encouraged as being in the Bishop's interest, by the granting of relatively unrestricted concessions.[2] An early but typical example of the new, freer type of lease relates to the Raby coal-mines and contains some interesting details concerning the Bishop's right of purveyance.[3]

In addition to the general conditions governing the issue of all mine leases, certain concessions had special provisions attached, mostly aimed at securing a regular supply of cheap or free coal for the episcopal residences. The mining speculators were one class of tenant over whom the Bishop was able to exercise a clear right of purveyance, based on his unquestionable control, untrammelled

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1 Vide infra, p.297.

2 Vide supra, p.121.

3 Vide infra, Appendix XXVIIIb, pp.573-575.

by custom, of all mineral resources. In connection with the Bishop's fuel needs, it is noteworthy that the duty of carting coal and wood was practically the only one still imposed upon the otherwise emancipated copyholders, albeit with strict limitations upon the Bishop's demands. Supply agreements did not take any set form. As the following examples will show, they varied with the current episcopal requirements:

(1) Bishop Tunstall leased one coal pit at Whickham to Robert Lewen Esq. of Newcastle, on condition that he donated 16 chaldrons (34 tons 8 cwt.) of best coal yearly to St. John's College, Cambridge; the College paying for its transportation. 1

(2) Bishop Pilkington farmed out two pits at Hargill and Grewburn to George Stafforde Esq. of Holywell, on condition that he supplied the Bishop with coal at the reduced rate of ½d. per horse-load and 4d. per waggon-load. 2

(3) Michael Johnson, gentleman, rented three pits at Findon from Bishop Matthew, with the proviso that he must deliver annually 20 chaldrons (43 tons) of free coal to Durham Castle. 3

(4) Bishop James farmed out three mining concessions on Hunwick, Thickley and Coundon Moors to his son Francis and his servants, John and Nicholas Wilkinson, on condition that they provided him with 40 fothers (cartloads) of cheap coal annually if it was needed; at the rate of 4d. per load. 4

(5) Bishop Morton renewed a concession to Thomas Layton, gentleman, in Frankland Park and on the copyhold land and common of Witton Gilbert and the Chapelry of St. Margaret, provided that he delivered up 5 fothers of coal besides the rent. 5

In most cases the mine lessees were charged with a definite amount of coal, of modest proportions. With at least Durham and Bishop Auckland Castles requiring heating, it is extremely unlikely that the Bishops used purveyance and free coal for the satisfaction of all

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1 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.11).

2 Ibid, p.178.

3 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.1).

4 Ibid, p.388.

5 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184962, p.123).

their needs. Some, if not most of their coal, must have been bought on the open market.

The remaining special clauses affecting coal-mines can be classified as providing some sort of compensation for episcopal tenants affected by mining operations on their land, or allowing a share in the benefits of mining to the people of the Palatinate. A selection follows:

(1) Robert Lewen in the aforementioned lease granted to him by Bishop Tunstall was liable to pay double compensation to those suffering damage from wayleaves. 1

(2) According to the conditions of George Stafforde's lease of pits at Hargill and Grewburn, the lessee had to sell his coal at the customary price of ¼d. per horse-load; only a fraction above the Bishop's reduced rate. 2

(3) Bishop Matthew leased some coal pits at Hollingbush, in the Chapelry of Lamesly, to Henry Sanderson, gentleman, of Newcastle, on condition that he compensated the local copyholders for damage done to their land. 3

(4) Michael Johnson, the farmer of the three pits at Findom under Bishop Matthew, was charged with the task of providing all the inhabitants of the City of Durham with coal at ¼d. per bowl. 4

Finally, the winning of minerals other than coal also gave rise to a number of special insertions in the conventional mining lease, depending upon the particular requirements of the extractive industry concerned. For instance, when Bishop Howson leased to Sir John Zouch of Codnor Castle, Derbyshire, the right to extract iron-stone on common land anywhere within the parishes of Stanhope, Wolsingham and West Auckland, he also gave him leave to dig peat for smelting the ore and to erect forges and workers' cottages, provided that he accepted responsibility for his own poor.[5]

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1 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.11).

2 Ibid, p.178.

3 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184957b, Folio 32).

4 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.1).

5 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184960, p.620).

(e) The Tenants.

It was stated above that the Bishops of Durham made little or no attempt to increase their leasehold revenues, even though the imposition of economic rents was legally feasible.[1] The reason was that Leaseholds, like all other forms of land tenure, were not designed solely to furnish the ecclesiastical landlord with revenue. They had another valuable function in providing the Bishop with an important source of patronage. In consequence of this secondary role, leaseholds had to remain with the customary tenements in an unimproved state, in order to satisfy the desires of those whom the Bishops wished to favour. A detailed study reveals that leases employed as 'douceurs', rewards, gifts to relatives and in fulfillment of the county gentry's expectations were not exceptional. They occur frequently in the enrollment books and encompass the most valuable leasehold property. The same consideration was likewise applicable to the most important blocks of copyhold land, although they have been omitted from this present investigation.

(i) The provision of leases for servants and officers.

One of the most outstanding motives for serving a bishop, in a personal capacity in his household, or as an administrative officer, was the expectation of perquisites as a supplement to a rather nominal fee or wage. As with employment under the crown, service was rarely rewarded with adequate, direct payment; the stipulated fruits of office were only of secondary importance in comparison with the expected unofficial pickings. That the added inducement should sometimes take the form of a lease was an assumption as

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1. Vide supra, p. 249.

natural to the giver as to the receiver. It lay within the power of a bishop to reward those he wished to gratify not out of his own pocket, but out of the patrimony of the Church. In defending his actions before the Privy Council in 1583, against the accusations of would-be customary tenants, Bishop Barnes wrote in the following self-righteous vein:

> "..... And as for these particular complaints, I assure your honours I have not had any one penny for any of their livings, but granted the same upon good consideration either to my servants in respect of their service, as all other my predecessors have done heretofore, or else have bestowed them at the request of some of my honourable friends, ..." 1

The Book of Leases and Patents containing indentures dating from the pontificates of Bishops Tunstall and Pilkington, which signifies whether a lessee was in episcopal employment, confirms that Bishop Barnes did in fact have a well established precedent for his leasing policy.[2] Out of 43 leases which can be attributed to Bishop Tunstall, no less than 31 were granted to officers and servants. The proportion for Bishop Pilkington's pontificate was much smaller (11 out of 30), but leases in the possession of employees still amounted to one third of the total. A few examples will show what kind of leaseholds were involved in these transactions:

Bishop Tunstall — Robert Rowe, yeoman, Bailiff of Durham, and Ralph Surtees, merchant, were granted sites on the River Wear at Durham for the erection of watermills. Their rent was £2. 6. 8 p.a. and the lease was to run for 70 years. In spite of the tenants' obligation to do all their own repairs and grind corn for use in the Castle, their favourable situation in the Palatinate's most thriving town ensured a safe return. 3

Antony and Thomas Thomlinson of Gateshead held three coal-pits at Gateshead, for which they paid a rent

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1 Bishop Barnes to the Privy Council, 27 March 1583 (S.P.D. 12/159/48). Vide supra, pp. 240-241.

2 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a).

3 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.6).

of £60 p.a.. They also had the right to dig an unlimited number of new pits for a rent of £6.13. 4 per pit. In addition Antony was a member of a syndicate leasing two and a half pits at Whickham for £50 p.a.. Together the Thomlinsons held by far the largest concession in the Bishopric's principal coal-field. Antony had succeeded his father as the Bailiff of Gateshead, the Custodian of the New Tower there and the Keeper of Gateshead Park. Thomas had been joint Clerk of Works with his father and inherited his Surveyorship of Coal-Mines. 1

Stephen Duffield of Bishop Auckland, the Bishop's servant, received a 30 year lease of the Burn Mill, Bishop Auckland, at a rent of £6 p.a.. Although he was bound to grind the Bishop's corn free of charge, he was to receive a reduction of 6/8d. in his rent for every month that his master was in residence; an effective cut at the time of granting of £4 p.a.. For the outlay of a further £8. 3. 8 p.a. he also received the farm of a windmill, watermill and horsemill at Northallerton. Both his concessions lay in large centres of population. 2

Bishop Pilkington — Ralph Dalton, clerk, Clerk of Works 1534-56, received a grant of the watermill at Evenwood. 3

The concentration upon the most lucrative types of leasehold was extremely marked and continued to be so right up to 1642, as can be seen from this further selection of typical leases:

Bishop Matthew — In 1595 Thomas Hewetson, Steward of the Bishop's Household, was granted a 21 year lease of Ricknall watermill for £3.10. 0 p.a.. 11 years later, in 1605, the remaining term of years was sold for £83. 4

Simon Coymyn of Durham, gentleman, co-Auditor with his brother Timothy, was granted the right to work an unlimited number of pits at Knitchley, for 13/4d. p.a. per pit. Timothy held a similar concession at the more developed site of Blackburn, paying £20 p.a. per pit. These leases were taken out at a time when there was an appreciable expansion of coal-mining in Co. Durham. 5

George Dixon of Cockfield and Ramshaw, gentleman, Bailiff of Evenwood, was appointed farmer of the watermills both at Evenwood and West Auckland, paying a rent of £5.13. 4 p.a.. 6

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1 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, pp.13, 14, 124, 157 and 158).

2 Ibid, pp.113 and 115.

3 Ibid, p.263.

4 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.60).

5 Ibid, pp.3 and 19.

6 Ibid, pp.492 and 495.

Bishop James

William Gibson of Bp. Auckland, gentleman, the Bishop's servant, received a lease of the watermills at Darlington and Blackwell for a rent of £22 p.a.. As in all mill leases, a high rent signifies a considerable profit for the lessee. 1

Timothy Barnes of Bishop Auckland, gentleman, a relative of the late Bishop Barnes, was the recipient of a lease of 40 pasture-gates in the Grange Close, Cockerton, for £2 p.a. in consideration of good service. In 1623 he appeared as the Bailiff of Darlington and Coatham Mundeville. 2

Bishop Neile

John King, the Bishop's notary public, held a lease of Chester-le-Street mill and bakehouse for £8. 8. 0 p.a.[3]

Edward Lively, the Bishop's secretary, received no less than eight leases from his master: part of Wolsingham demesne (£1.11. 4 p.a.); a tenement in Bishop Middleham; the Copeland and Hole Meadows at Bishop Auckland (£2. 2. 0 p.a.); Burnhope in Weardale (£4 p.a.); the Shawes Close at Craike (18/0d p.a.); pasture-gates in the Grange Close at Cockerton; coal-pits at Chester-le-Street (£5 p.a. + £1. 6. 8 p.a. for every pit over the number of three); and one oxgang of Osmotherley demesne (5/10d. p.a.). He was also a member of a syndicate farming a coal concession on Hunwick, Thickley and Coundon Moors. 4

Bishop Morton

Sir William Bellassis of Morton, Sheriff, and Thomas Layton of Bishop Auckland, gentleman, Steward of the Bishop's Household, secured a release of all waste land between the high and low water-marks on all rivers within the Palatinate. This concession was particularly valuable for the construction of coal staithes and the siting of ballast dumps. Layton alone was also the recipient of five further leases: a coal concession on Tanfield Moor (£2 + 6/8d. per pit p.a.); another in the Chapelry of Lamesley (£1 p.a.); a third in Frankland Park and on the waste and copyhold land of Witton Gilbert and the Chapelry of St. Margaret (£3. 6. 8 p.a.); cottages at Chester-le-Street (£1 p.a.); and the still-house adjoining Durham House in the Strand (£5 p.a.). 5

(ii) <u>The provision of leases for relatives</u>.

Relatives accompanying a Bishop to his see naturally expected

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.640).

2 Ibid, p.706.

3 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184959, p.30).

4 Ibid, pp.422, 679 and 806. Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184960, pp.140, 372, 399, 402, 412 and 425).

5 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184962, pp.40, 42, 45, 123, 249 and 346).

the same pickings as the ordinary officers and servants, if not preferential treatment. Thus it was established practice for a bishop to make provision for his kinsfolk, particularly his children, once clerical marriage had been recognised by the Crown. The Durham Enrollment Books afford several examples of the disposition of leases for this purpose.

In 1529 Cardinal Wolsey (1523-29) leased the new lead refinery at Gateshead to his illegitimate son, Thomas Winter, for a term of 30 years, at £5 p.a.. Winter also received the right to mine all mineral deposits in the Bishopric of Durham, with the exception of coal.[1]

Bishop Tunstall granted a lease of Norton watermill to his kinsman Antony Tunstall, gentleman, who occupied the office of Bailiff of Stockton. The grant was for thirty years and the rent £16.13. 3 p.a..[2] Antony was a scion of the house of Tunstall of Thurland, from which the Bishop himself was descended. The Bishop also made out leases to a Roger Tunstall, yeoman, who was described as his servant and was probably a beneficiary under his will. Roger received a house and 120 acres at Little Thorpe for 40 years (£5 p.a.) and two meadow closes at Stockton for 31 years (£3 p.a.).[3]

Bishop Barnes, in keeping with his character, made liberal endowments to members of his family. He began quite modestly with a grant of one close and three parcels of meadow to his sons, John, Barnabas and Timothy, for three lives (£3. 0. 8 p.a.).[4] A little later however, his brother John, Spiritual Chancellor of

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1 Chancery Enrollment, 10 February 1529 (Church Commission MSS 244142, P.R.O. Copy, Cursitor's Records 74, m.2).

2 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.10).

3 Ibid, pp.1 and 2.

4 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.161).

the Diocese and the Queen's Justice Itinerant for the Palatinate, together with another kinsman, William Barnes, is found to be the purchaser of a lease of Wolsingham Park and watermill (£33.19. 4 p.a.), previously farmed out to the Crown by Bishop Barnes for 80 years along with a number of other valuable leaseholds. They were holding the property in trust for the Bishop's eldest son, Emanuel, a future Doctor of Divinity and Prebendary of York Minister.[1] As will be seen below, Bishop Barnes can be censured for tying up the best parts of the episcopal estates in long leases. It may be that he was persuaded to do so the more readily by the promise that members of his family would be given ~~first~~ an option on some of the property when it was put up for assignment by the Queen. By a neat manoeuvre which personally cost the Bishop nothing - except perhaps a troubled conscience - a coach and horses were driven through the requirements of the law and Emanuel allowed to enjoy a lucrative lease for a much longer term than would normally have been possible. John and William also received a farm of Stockton Closes (£20 p.a.) in their own right, whilst William alone took up a lease of Bedburn Park (£2 p.a.) in spite of the protests of Brian Machell, who claimed a customary right to the farm of the Park and its keepership.[2]

Toby Matthew, another maker of Crown leases, also falls under suspicion as a bishop who robbed his successors of their freedom of action, if nothing more, to provide his kin with means of support. At the accession of James I, land with an annual rental of £105. 8. 0 was passed to the Crown for a term of 80 years. By April 1604 all this property had come into the hands of the

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.583).

2 Ibid, p.378. (Vide supra, pp.141-142).

Bishop's eldest son Toby, by way of his friend Dudley Carlton, the future Viscount Dorchester.[1] It has been suggested that by 1596 there was friction between Toby junior and his father, engendered by the former's riotous living and indebtedness, so there is a possibility that the Bishop was not a party to these negotiations; that the younger Matthew engineered his acquisition of the Crown lease to score off his parents and force an involuntary assistance from them.[2] On the other hand it is also stated that the Bishop remained deeply attached to his son, in spite of his faults and his conversion to Roman Catholicism;[3] and bestowed over £14,000 upon him during his own lifetime;[3] if his protective instincts were indeed so strong then he might well have regarded a long lease of episcopal property, with its high market value, as one way of helping his son to meet his debts. Toby Matthew also received a messuage in Killerby from his father in a more orthodox manner.[4] The children of the Bishop's second son, John, likewise benefited from their grandfather's concern for their future. They were granted a 21 year lease of a tenement at Little Thorpe (£4.14. 9 p.a.), which with 16 years to run, was sold on their behalf for £200.[5]

Bishop James gave his youngest son Francis, a coal-mining concession on Hunwick, Thickley and Coundon Moors (£6 p.a.), in association with his servants, John and Nicholas Wilkinson. Another relative, Edward James, described as a London merchant,

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.7 and 281). Miscellanea (Church Commission MSS A/13/1).

2 A.H. Mathew and A. Calthrop, The Life of Sir Tobie Matthew, London, 1907, pp.11-13.

3 D. Mathew, Sir Toby Mathew, London, 1950, pp.10 and 21. Vide supra, p.120.

4 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184957b, Folio 9).

5 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.71).

received a lease of coal-pits at Chester-le-Street (£4 p.a.), with unrestricted freedom of action.[1]

Finally, William, Bishop Howson's eldest son, became the farmer of Bedburn Park, in succession to members of the Barnes family.[2]

(iii) The provision of leases for the gentry.

After the Bishop's relatives and servants had taken their pick of the most attractive morsels available, the remainder were put at the disposal of the local gentry. Under the Tudor monarchy the aristocracy had discovered that prestige and power could be gained from service under the state. They found that by abandoning their manners and the doctrine of good lordship, they were free to subject their landed interests to proper businesslike exploitation, leaving the Crown and the Church to provide offices, grants of land, annuities and pensions for themselves and their clients. Yet Satisfaction of the local demand for reward, in return for service, had always been a particular concern at Durham, where the Bishops had exercised a royal prerogative of their own and had been numbered among those chiefly responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the North. The undistinguished conduct of Bishops Tunstall and Pilkington respectively, during the Pilgrimage of Grace and the Northern Rebellion, however, suggests that by the 16th Century episcopal patronage was not being dispensed with any tangible degree of success. It was no longer a matter of actively engaging support for the Bishop's authority, so much as preventing an unsatisfactory state of affairs from becoming worse. The county gentry had become so conditioned to lucrative leases, that

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, pp.388 and 768).

2 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184961, p.46).

they felt entitled to them without any compensatory expenditure of effort on their part. Any attempt at tamrering with leaseholds, or the methods of their bestowal, would only have led to undesirable opposition and non-cooperation. This attitude towards the episcopal estates had been encouraged by the Crown's treatment of the temporalities of the Church, accompanied by the churchmen's acquiescence in their own spoliation, and in many cases by lack of sympathy with the direction the Church had been forced to take after 1529.

In the circumstances it will not be surprising to find a large number of leases in the hands of the local gentry. Out of an enrollment book containing records of 73 leases, no less than 30 were made out to tenants above yeoman status.[1] The names and seats of a typical selection of upper class tenants are set out in Appendix XXIX, which lists the 50 gentlemen, esquires and titled persons to whom Bishop Neile granted leases between 1618 and 1626.[2] A further collection of specimen leases will show that the gentry of County Durham and Yorkshire shared the cream of the episcopal property with the Bishops' relatives and servants:

Bishop Tunstall	Cuthbert Layton, gentleman, received a lease of the New Park, Stanhope (£5 p.a.). 3
Bishop Pilkington	George Stafforde of Holywell, Esq., was the farmer of two coal-pits at Hargill and Grewburn (£48 p.a.) 4
Bishop Matthew	Christopher Conyers of Horden, Esq., was the recipient of a lease of Easington windmill (£2 p.a.)5
Bishop James	Sir Nicholas Tempest of Stella held a half share in a lease of 4 coal-pits at Ryton (£5.6.8 p.a.) He also farmed Ryton watermill (£2 p.a.). 6

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1 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a).

2 Vide infra, pp.576-577.

3 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.18).

4 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.178).

5 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.217).

6 Ibid, pp.388 and 768.

Bishop Neile	Sir Thomas Bellassis of Ouston, Yorks., received a lease of Ricknall Grange and watermill (£33.10. 0 p.a.) 1
Bishop Howson	Created Baron Falconbridge of Yarm (1627), Sir Thomas secured a release of the same property for three lives in 1631. In 1634 he sold his interest to William Darcy of Brancepeth Castle, Esq., for £2,400. 2
Bishop Morton	William Mallory of Studley, Yorks., Esq., was the farmer of three coal-pits at Carterthorne (£70 p.a.) 3

It is obvious that mill and mine leases were in demand from those sufficiently influential to extract profitable (or supposedly profitable) leaseholds from the Bishops of Durham.

One final point of note is the constant participation of Newcastle merchants in mining concessions in the north-east of the Palatinate. For example:

Bishop Tunstall	Antony Bird, Robert Lewen Esq. and John and Stephen Sotheran, all Newcastle businessmen, held between them three leases, involving two and a half pits at Whickham, with a rental of £50 p.a. 4
Bishop Pilkington	Robert Barker, Bertram Anderson, Edward Lewen and Andrew Gaston, all merchants involved in the coal trade, farmed 8 pits at Whickham for a rent of £126 p.a.. 5
Bishop James	Henry Maddison of Newcastle shared a concession at Ryton with Sir Nicholas Tempest. Thomas Liddell, a Newcastle alderman, was a partner in a lease of a coal-mine at Blackburn (£20 p.a. per pit) with Hugh Wright of Durham, gentleman, the Bishop's Clerk of Great Receipt, and his brother, Richard Wright, a mercer of Durham. 6
Bishop Morton	John Morley Esq., mayor of Newcastle, John Claveringe, alderman, and Thomas Liddell Esq., now with a seat at Ravensworth, leased a coal concession at Chester-le-Street for £20 p.a. per pit. 7
	Sir Lionel Maddison of Newcastle shared a similar lease with Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State and Treasurer of the Royal Household (1641). 8

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184959, p.9).

2 Lease Enrollment Books (Church Commission MSS 184960, p.697 and 184961, p.265).

3 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184962, p.128).

4 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, pp.9, 11 and 173).

5 Ibid, pp.12, 183, 241, 248 and 252.

6 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, pp.222 and 290).

7 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184962, p.135).

8 Ibid, p.366.

As far as the profitability of the episcopal mines was concerned, it was absolutely essential that these leading citizens of Newcastle should be admitted to the ranks of the privileged because of their monopoly of the sea-coal trade. With their indisputable command of the Tyne outlet, they were naturally able to secure occupation of the Bishopric's most productive coal-field, most conveniently situated at Whickham and Gateshead. Having once procured full control from Bishop Barnes, with the aid of the Crown, they were content for the time being to leave the riskier ventures to the rest of the field.[1] As other mines at Ryton, Chester-le-Street and Blackburn were developed in the early 17th Century, they began to invest in these also, but the bulk of the new, speculative mining was left to the less cautious gentry.

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1 Vide infra, pp. 298-302.

CHAPTER VIII

Church and State

Under the conditions prevailing upon the estates of the Bishopric of Durham in the 16th and early 17th Centuries, a leasehold was an acquisition of considerable value. In normal circumstances the most lucrative leases were only available to the Bishop's friends, relatives and servants and the gentry of the north-eastern shires, but there were speculators further afield who cast hungry eyes over them. They were joined by others whose application for favourable treatment had been rejected and those, their greed insatiable, who sought for more than the Bishop was prepared to yield. All these envious, discontented and greedy elements turned to the Crown, the one authority after the separation of the English Church from Rome that could force the dependent, ecclesiastical hierarchy to obey its commands, however unpalatable and contrary to Church interests they were felt to be. The 16th Century, which had heralded a wave of anti-clericalism and the English Reformation, was an auspicious era for the spoliator of Church property. Even after the excesses in which Henry VIII and the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland concurred, very little restraint was placed upon him. Elizabeth I was half-hearted in protecting her episcopate, in spite of its difficulties in trying to establish the nascent Church of England, and had few scruples against fleecing it herself. To the earlier brand of anti-clericalism, aimed at a clergy failing in its duty, were added the denunciations of the Puritans. Together they nurtured a dislike

of the Church and its personnel which the Queen considered it politic to humour since it drew attention away from the monarchy's own large degree of responsibility for the troubled state of the nation's religious life. Together they also provided excellent cover for those amongst the property owners who wished to carry the attack upon the wealth of the Church beyond the dissolution of the Monasteries, in the hope of further personal gain. The mood of the landed class with which Elizabeth wished to court popularity, is well expressed by Thomas Wilson.[1] He explains with obvious relish that the wings of the clergy had been well and truly clipped of late by courtiers and noblemen and "some quite cut away, both feather, flesh and bone". He then goes on to justify this assault upon the Church by the leading laity:

> ".... For that order of men (the clergy) have most damnified England by their profuse spending upon their pleasures, and upon idle serving men and other mothworms which depended upon them and eat the fat of the land and were in no way profitable; for it is not long since you should not ride nor go through country or town but you should meet such troops of this priests retinue as exceeded 100 or 200 of these caterpillars, neither fit for war nor other service, attending upon the pontifical crew, furnished and appointed in the best manner that might be; but since their wings were clipped shorter they hold opinion that England hath flourished more".

The spoliation of the Church by the combination of Crown and leading laity took several forms, but the most common was an attack upon its leasehold property. To the leases which were being deliberately farmed out by the bishops as rewards to their supporters, both active and passive, must be added others, snatched from their grasp on terms detrimental to the material well-being of the Church. The external demand for episcopal property, backed by the power of the State, made doubly sure that bishopric estates

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1 F.J. Fisher, ed., The State of England 1600, Camden Miscellany, XVI. 1936, Camden Society, LII.

could never be managed on a solely economic basis, so long as the Church remained in a weak condition, open to victimization.

During the reign of Henry VIII the thirst for church land was slaked by means of the dissolution of the monasteries, the weakest section of the ecclesiastical institution. The secular clergy suffered little more materially than an attack upon their privileges and jurisdiction, but at the higher levels they were prepared for a later assault upon their temporalities by a forced renunciation of the papal authority and a complete submission before the new, supreme head of the English Church. When the restraining hand of Henry Tudor was lifted in 1547, power passed from the Crown to the group of noblemen surrounding the person of the young Edward VI, who on becoming their own masters had no hesitation in lining the pockets of themselves and their supporters at the expense of the highly vulnerable episcopal bench. The desire had been present long enough and now the opportunity had arisen with the succession of a boy-king. According to the Laudian Peter Heylyn, precedents had already been set by Henry VIII, who had taken episcopal property piecemeal, in order not to attract attention. He had decided "not to fall upon the spoil too near the Court, for fear of having more partakers in the Booty, than might stand with his profit". Bishop Holgate was preferred from Llandaff to York, in return for which he transferred 70 manors and townships to the Duchy of Lancaster, receiving unimprovable impropriations, pensions and tithes in their place. Both the Bishoprics of London and Canterbury were then dismembered in the same way, with compensation; "yet having opened such a gap, and discovered this secret, that the sacred Patrimony might be alienated with so little trouble; the Courtiers of King Edward's time, would not be kept from breaking violently into it, and making

up their own fortune in the spoil of the Bishopricks .... So impossible a thing it is for the ill example of Great Princes, not to finde followers in all ages, especially where profit, or preferment may be furthered by it".[1] Heylyn also describes how the 'Court-Harpies', led by Sir Thomas Seymour, brother of Henry's third Queen, attacked Archbishop Cranmer before the King; accusing him of the mismanagement of his temporalities and recommending that bishops should be deprived of their estates and supported by a fixed stipend payable out of the Exchequer.[2] These proposals were in fact drawn up in 1540 into a bill for the disendowment of the Church, although it was not actually put before Parliament.[3] According to F.C. Dietz, L. Stone and T.F.T. Plucknett in the 1530s they were treated seriously at a high level, with Thomas Cromwell considering a further strengthening of the monarchy through the statutory confiscation of all episcopal temporalities. His scheme was never effected because of the crisis of 1538 and the conservatism of the King.[4] G.R. Elton however, has challenged the evidence upon which their assertions are based, claiming that the plans which undoubtedly did exist, originated outside the government and were never seriously entertained; Cromwell and Henry VIII having no intention of going beyond the dissolution of the monasteries.[5] The latter's argument carries the most conviction. In any case

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1 P. Heylyn, Ecclesia Restaurata, London, 1670, Part I, p.18.

2 Ibid, p.17.

3 A bill drawn and not put up for the parliament house, to give power to the king to assign to Bishops and Deans, and to Colleges such livings as he should think fit and to help the rest to his people, 1540 (S.P.1/152/11).

4 F.C. Dietz, English Government Finance, 1485-1558, London, 1964, pp.113-114. L. Stone, The Political Programme of Thomas Cromwell, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xxiv. T.F.T. Plucknett, Some Proposed Legislation of Henry VIII, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th Series, xix, pp.119-144.

5 G.R. Elton, Parliamentary Drafts, 1529-40, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xxv.

the prevalent feeling at Court is well summarised in a story of the times, told later to Sir John Harrington. Harrington writes:

> "..... I heard this pretty tale, that a Bishop of Winchester one day in pleasant talk, comparing his Revenue with the Archbishops of Canterbury, should say, your Graces will showe better in the Rack, but mine will be found more in the Manger, upon which a Courtier of good place said, it might be so in diebus illis; But saith he, the Rack stands so high in sight, that it is fit to keep it full, but that may be, since that time, some have with a provideatur swept some provender out of the Manger: ....." 1

During the reign of Edward VI many of the bishoprics were stripped, in the established, piecemeal fashion in order to avoid adverse comment, but Durham remained untouched under the protection of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, who superseded Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, as the effective ruler of England. Northumberland did not extend his patronage to the See out of love for its bishop, Tunstall (1530-1559), or an awareness of its strategic value in the North. He simply wanted it wholesale for himself. Somerset had fallen from power principally because he lacked the means to defeat his enemies, once they had turned against him. Northumberland, a much more ruthless and ambitious politician, readily learned by his predecessor's mistakes. He determined to prevent his own overthrow by securely entrenching himself, by means of territorial acquisition and high office, in some particular part of the country, to which he could withdraw in an emergency. Like Richard Duke of Gloucester (Richard III), he chose the North. In 1550 he became Lord Warden of the three border Marches. The following year he acquired the Percy title of Duke of Northumberland and completed the temporary eclipse of the Percy family by taking over much of

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1 Sir J. Harrington, A Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, 1653, pp.61-62.

its estates. In 1552 he increased his grip upon the North by adopting the office of Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland, Cumberland, Newcastle and Berwick. All that remained to consolidate his power, was to gain control of the rich and importantly situated Bishopric of Durham. The groundwork had already been laid with the house arrest (May 1551) and then imprisonment (December 1551) of the Bishop of Durham. It was relatively easy for Northumberland to launch an attack against a bishop who was commonly recognised as a very lukewarm supporter of the Henrician Reformation, let alone the more revolutionary tendencies of King Edward's reign. The alleged grounds for Tunstall's incarceration was involvement in a plot against the State, probably in connection with the fallen Duke of Somerset, the evidence being a letter written by the Bishop, [illegible] Northumberland's strategy was to have Tunstall condemned by Act of Attainder as a preliminary to deprivation, but his plan misfired. The House of Lords proved cooperative enough, its members' instinct for self-preservation uppermost, and only Archbishop Cranmer and Lord Stourton speaking up for the victim. The House of Commons, on the other hand, rejected the bill. Northumberland was not very popular with the lower chamber, which had less cause to fear him than the lords and bishops. It was dissatisfied with the written depositions in which the case against Tunstall was contained; it wanted to inspect the incriminating letter - too innocuous in fact to be placed actually before Parliament - and witness a personal confrontation between the Bishop and his accusors. Northumberland was thwarted, but not defeated. As an alternative course he appointed a commission to investigate Tunstall's crime; which exhibited none of the House of Commons' scruples and duly found him guilty of misprision

of treason, adequate justification for the deprivation which followed (August 1552).[1] With the Bishopric of Durham now officially vacant and its revenues at the disposal of the Crown, it was inevitable that Northumberland should have himself appointed guardian of the temporalities, for his own financial and material benefit.[2] In May 1553 he took possession of Durham House in the Strand and became steward of the episcopal revenues. Yet even Northumberland had to conform outwardly to accepted standards, if his position was to be safeguarded. He knew that sooner or later a new bishop would have to be appointed and he therefore applied himself to the problem of how his grip upon the Palatinate was to be retained. By October 1552 he had produced the ideal solution. In a letter to Secretary Cecil he revealed a bold scheme, far removed from the contemporary, piecemeal depredations.[3] The Bishopric of Durham in its existing form was to be abolished by Act of Parliament, and two new bishoprics created in its place, based on Durham and Newcastle. They were to be endowed on a much smaller scale than the old Bishopric, the new Bishop of Durham only receiving temporalities to the value of £1333 p.a.. With reduced endowments a good deal of the former bishopric estates, including all the episcopal residences, would be left in the possession of the Crown. This residue was to pass under the care of the Lieutenant of the North, Northumberland himself. With

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1 J. Collier, An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, London, 1852, V, 465-466. G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Oxford, 1829, II, 401-402. J. Ridley, Thomas Cranmer, Oxford, 1966, p.335. J. Gairdner, The English Church in the 16th Century from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary, London, 1902, pp.295, 301 and 307. J. Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstal, London, 1938, pp.286-292. H.R. Trevor-Roper, The Bishopric of Durham and the Capitalist Reformation, Durham University Journal, March 1946, xxxviii, 48-51.

2 His machinations can be detected from a letter to William Cecil, 7 April 1552 (S.P.D. 10/14/18).

3 Northumberland to William Cecil, 28 October 1552, R. Welford, A History of Newcastle and Gateshead, London, 1887, II, 287-288.

Northumberland all-powerful, there could be no obstacles in his path. As Thomas Fuller recognised, the circumstances were ideal:

> ".....Rich and entire the revenues of this see, such as alone would make a considerable addition to the Crown. Remote the situation thereof, out of southern sight, and, therefore, if dissolved, the sooner out of men's minds. Besides, Cuthbert Tunstall, the present Bishop of Durham, was in durance, and deprived for his obstinacy; so that so stubborn a bishop gave the state the fairer quarrel with so rich a bishopric, now annexed to the King's revenue." 1

Gilbert Burnet has defended Northumberland's plan on the grounds that once 3000 marks had been allocated to sustain the two new creations, there would be little of the original temporalities left for exploitation.[2] This argument is not borne out by an analysis of the episcopal revenues, whilst the intervention of Cranmer, no friend of the Bishop of Durham, also suggests that Northumberland's manoeuvres were not in the best interests of the Church.[3]

There was no effective opposition in the North itself. One of the major, vested interests, the Corporation of Newcastle, was in fact won over by Northumberland and cunningly taken into partnership. Northumberland cleverly exploited the long-standing friction which had built up between Newcastle and the Bishopric. In its efforts to develop a monopoly of trade and industry on the Tyne, the Newcastle city corporation had continually been thwarted by the existence opposite, on the south bank of the Tyne, of the borough of Gateshead, one of the principal trade outlets and coal-mining centres of the Palatinate and therefore worthy of the Bishop's protection. 'De facto' domination of the Tyne coal trade had been enhanced in 1530 by the acquisition of a statute

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1 T. Fuller, Church History of Britain, London, 1842, II, 351. Fuller implies wrongly that Tunstall was deprived for his opposition to the Edwardian Reformation.

2 G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Oxford, 1829, II, 442-444.

3 Vide infra, Appendix XXIV, pp.559-561.

prohibiting the loading of ships at all Tyne anchorages outside Newcastle itself, but a risk remained that this stranglehold might be lessened in the future so long as Gateshead maintained an independent existence.[1] Hitherto Gateshead had proved unassailable, but in 1552 it lay undefended. The city fathers of Newcastle quickly realised that their best interests lay in support of Northumberland and they consequently threw in their lot with him. In return for their support Northumberland put his weight behind a bill for the annexation of Gateshead to Newcastle. No doubt he had visions of doing business on a grand scale with the masters of the Tyne coal trade, once he had secured control of the Bishopric's best mines. The Bishopric of Durham had many enemies and few friends and the business was quickly put in hand. In November 1552 Northumberland wrote to William Cecil suggesting that Tunstall's Auditor should be summoned to London with his accounts, so that the best parts of the estates could be picked out.[2] May 1553 saw the manoeuvre completed, with the aid of a cooperative, protestant Parliament. In accordance with Northumberland's wishes, one Act of Parliament abolished the Bishopric of Durham and created the two smaller sees in its place; a second satisfied the ambition of Newcastle in the desired manner.[3]

These two Acts of Parliament would have certainly marked the end of the Bishopric of Durham in its original form, had it not been for the sudden death of the King and the decisive manner in which Mary Tudor claimed her birthright. But for the accession

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1 R.L. Galloway, Annals of Coal Mining, London, 1898, p.86. J. Brand, The History and Antiquities of Newcastle upon Tyne, London, 1789, II, 17-18. William Frankleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, 11 April 1523, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, II, 2946.

2 Northumberland to William Cecil, November 1552 (S.P.D. 10/15/57).

3 Parl. Roll. 7 Edward VI, m.9, no 10, m. 11, no 12, Public Record Office Copies (Church Commission MSS 244042 and 244043).

of Mary, Northumberland's plans would have come to fruition, to provide an outstanding example of successful, lay spoliation of the Church of a most flagrant kind. Mary was of course the ardent enemy of Northumberland and the Protestant Reformation and therefore lost no opportunity to reverse the doings of her brother's reign. Bishop Tunstall was released from prison, reinstated as Bishop of Durham and after a great deal of difficulty, put back in possession of his temporalities by an Act of Parliament which revoked the two statutes passed under Edward VI.[1] Tunstall's restoration was a close matter. As Fuller put it:

> 'Well it was for the see, (though dissolved,) that the lands thereof were not dispersed by sale unto several persons, but preserved whole and entire (as to the main) in the Crown. Had such a dissipation of the parts thereof been made, no less than a state-miracle had been requisite for the re-collection thereof.' 2

If the estates had once been broken up and private property rights become involved in Tunstall's restoration, then even a Catholic Parliament would have stubbornly refused to accommodate the Queen's wishes. The House of Commons realised that it was being asked to establish a very dangerous precedent. There was after all little difference in principle between restoring secularised episcopal land and restoring former monastic property. It is significant that when the zealous Cardinal Pole returned to England a little later, Convocation was employed to press upon him the inadvisability of trying to reestablish the monasteries.[3] In addition pressure was being exerted against the Bishop on behalf of Newcastle, and anti-clericalism and protestant fears were also

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1 Parl. Roll, I Mary, no 37, 1553, Public Record Office Copy (Church Commission MSS 244044).

2 T. Fuller, Church History of Britain, London, 1842, II, 351.

3 P. Heylyn, Ecclesia Restaurata, London, 1670, Part II, p.42.

opposing factors. A personal appeal was necessary before the Commons voted 201/120 in his favour.[1] In the circumstances, Bishop Tunstall was fortunate to recover all that he did, with only two losses incurred. Firstly the long-standing appropriation of the Bishopric's London outpost, Durham House in the Strand, was allowed to stand. In 1529 Henry VIII had commandeered it for the Earl of Wiltshire and in 1536 had compelled Bishop Tunstall to surrender possession altogether in exchange for Coldharbour in Thames Street. This inferior replacement was apparently enjoyed from 1538 to 1553 when it was regranted to the previous occupant, the Earl of Shrewsbury. In 1554 the Bishop was left with neither Durham House nor Coldharbour but in 1558, due to the efforts of Cardinal Archbishop Pole, at least the reversion of Durham House was secured.[2] Secondly and of greater importance were the concessions the Bishop was forced to make in order to buy off the hostility of the thwarted Newcastle Corporation. In compensation for its loss of Gateshead and the conservatorship of the south bank of the Tyne, the Bishop granted the Corporation a 450 year lease of part of the Gateshead river frontage (the Saltmeadows) and the borough tolls, through control of which Newcastle began, quite effectively, to strangle the economic life of its compromised neighbour.[3]

The crisis passed, leaving in its wake the potential ruin of Gateshead. The bulk of the Bishop's temporalities had survived

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1 G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, 1829, II, 560-561. R.W. Dixon, History of the Church of England, London, 1891, IV, 165.

2 J. Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstall, London, 1938, pp.204 and 299. Bishop Tunstall to Cardinal Pole, 16 August 1558. (S.P.D. 12/13/57).

3 J. Brand, The History and Antiquities of Newcastle upon Tyne, London, 1789, II, 19. Leases by Indenture temp. Edward VI and Mary (Church Commission MSS 190172).

the assault, but the implications were very clear. The episcopal income was very obviously at the mercy of the political situation. It was patently clear that the last vestiges of ecclesiastical independence had been shattered and that the Bishop of Durham could not find security in his position as overlord of the County Palatine; his was an empty title. The reign of Mary Tudor brought respite, but the lull was not to last long. Northumberland's gross dismemberment was not to be repeated until the Civil War, but Bishop Tunstall's successors found little consolation in the establishment of the Church of England. During Edward VI's reign several bishoprics had been spoiled with ease because the incumbents were Catholic in sympathy. The unfortunate men were easily blackmailed into granting away large slices of their estates, as the price of a peaceful existence without unwelcome publicity and molestation.[1] Once the Church had become fully Protestant in its higher reaches, this line of approach was no longer feasible. Queen Elizabeth was determined to protect the Church of England, but she interpreted protection in a rather limited sense. The doctrine of the Church, its modes of worship and its structure ware to be maintained by the authority of the State, but she saw no reason why the piecemeal spoliation of temporalities of the recent past should not continue, as a means of retaining the support of the influential laity, by aiding them in their designs against ecclesiastical estates. The disposal of Church land by long lease was to be organised into a useful and inexpensive form of crown patronage. The outcome of Elizabeth's reasoning was the important statute, I Eliz. c. 19 (April 17th 1559), which appeared to provide a defence for the property of the Church,

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1 P. Heylyn, Ecclesia Restaurata, London, 1670, Part I, p.100.

but in fact left it as defenceless as ever.[1]

The main provision of the Act was that archbishops and bishops should no longer grant leases for more than 21 years or three lives, unless the Queen herself was the recipient.[2] Ostensibly the church hierarchy was now protected against itself. No matter how much a bishop was exposed to pressure, or succumbed to his own weaknesses, he could no longer abuse his trusteeship and ruin the assets of his successors by conceding long leases. In practice however, the exception in favour of the Crown put an entirely different complexion upon the Statute, as was apparent to the worldly-wise. Thomas Fuller suggests that the loophole in the Act was the result of a mistake in drafting, which was avidly seized upon and exploited by the Queen's courtiers, quite contrary to her intentions; that the impact of the measure was nullified by the action of shutting ninety nine gates of Thebes and leaving one open.[3] This cannot really be the case. Fuller is either being naive, or trying his hardest to exonerate Elizabeth from any collusion in the spoliation of the Church. If the possibilities were apparent to the Court, then they would certainly be recognised by the Queen as well. Henceforth all trafficking in episcopal property would initially have to be negotiated through the agency of the Crown.

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1 The Complete Statutes of England, VI, Ecclesiastical Law, London, 1929.

2 In 1571 this provision was extended to deans and chapters, colleges, hospitals and all other clergy by Stat 13 Eliz. c. 10.

3 "But no armour can be made of proof against the darts of covetousness, especially when they come from a high and heavy hand of great men in authority. This law was not so cautiously drawn up, but that some courtiers found a way to evade it; seeing the "Crown" was not expressed therein, and left capable of such leases, by which single shift they frustrated the effect of this law. Thus a ship may, though not as suddenly, be certainly sunk with one, as with a thousand leake." T. Fuller, Church History of Britain, London, 1842, II, 499.

To quote Thomas Fuller:

> "some potent courtier first covertly contracts with a bishop, (some whereof, though spiritual in title, were too temporal in truth, as more minding their private profit than the public good of the church,) to pass over such a proportion of land to the Crown. This done, the said courtier begs the land of the queen even before her Highness had tasted thereof, or the lips of her exchequer ever touched the same; and so an estate thereof is settled on him and his heirs for ever. And thus covetousness came to her desired end; though forced to go a longer journey, and fain fetch a farther compass about". 1

If the bishop concerned was reluctant to enter into the deal, then Crown pressure could be employed to induce his eventual cooperation, so long as the intending beneficiary had the ear of the Queen, or her chief ministers and courtiers. The advantages accruing to the Crown from this new arrangement were considerable. The transference of coveted church land could now only be accomplished with Crown consent. The Queen had the power to decide whether to uphold a particular bishop against lay attack, or throw him to the wolves; whether to aid a supplicant in his quest for profit at the expense of the Church, or keep him hungrily dancing in attendance. Thereby the value of Crown patronage was enhanced. The Queen controlled the destinies of both the churchmen and their detractors and could therefore expect more obedience and reverence from them; not to mention more revenue for herself. If she had really wanted to provide episcopal temporalities with a solid defence she could have adopted one of the recommendations of the commission which produced the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticorum at the end of Edward VI's reign, which suggested that no lease should exceed a term of 10 years, and that a contract entered into by a bishop should not be binding on his successor. Royal confirmation and

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1 T. Fuller, Church History of Britain, London, 1842, III, 201-202. Long leases were in fact more common than outright changes of possession.

enforcement of the shelved Reformatio could have contributed enormously to the initial success of the Church of England.[1]

Remaining doubt about Elizabeth's true intentions can be dispelled by reference to the second provision of the 1559 Act; "that the Queen, upon the avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric, may resume the temporal possessions thereof into her hands; recompensing the value thereof with parsonages impropriate" and tenths belonging to the Crown in the diocese concerned. This clause enabled the Queen to pick the best estates out of any vacant bishopric, to cull the best flowers out of the whole garden of the Church, as Peter Heylyn expressed it;[2] surrendering in their place for the most part, impropriate rectories which had originally belonged to the monasteries. These were frequently in a ruinous condition and the revenue derived from them was rarely capable of much improvement. As Elizabeth had astutely realised, they were hardly comparable in value to the cream of the episcopal estates, the potential of which had hardly been tapped, and where revenue in the form of fines and casualties was not taken into the reckoning. As for clerical tenths, they too made a poor exchange. The knowledge that they were contributing to their superiors' income caused the parochial clergy to hold the episcopal bench in contempt, thereby weakening the standing of the latter yet again. In short, the bishops were deprived of resources which could be expanded, in return for an income which was usually static, or inclined to deteriorate, and was difficult of collection. By way of justification it could be argued that it was more desirable for impropriations and tenths to support the

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1 J. Collier, An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, London, 1852, V, 478-482.

2 P. Heylyn, Ecclesia Restaurata, London, 1670, Part II, p.121.

heads of the Church rather than the monarch; and that deprived of some of their estates the bishops would be more inclined to live less like princes and conduct themselves more like pastors, labourers and watchmen.[1] The bishops themselves were fully aware of their exploitation. In vain they opposed the bill in the House of Lords, against overwhelming lay support. Archbishop Parker and a number of bishops protested in writing and offered an annual, cash payment to avoid the diminution of episcopal estates.[2] Richard Cox, and other bishops-elect writing privately to the Queen, pointed out that the bishops would no longer be able to educate poor scholars, build colleges, or assist her financially in the future. They also appealed to her conscience, her fear of divine retribution, her wish to avoid a bad reputation and biblical arguments.[3] The Church's only ally in this case could be public opinion and Elizabeth carefully avoided arousing it. The bishops and bishops-elect had to remain compliant, or forfeit all chance of promotion. Many of the bishoprics (e.g., Exeter, Salisbury, Winchester and York) suffered quite severely as a result of the Statute; the new bishops being deliberately installed slowly to facilitate the supposedly fair exchanges. In 1597 the Archbishop of York's certain income was assessed at £1840.15. 2, of which £779. 2. 0 or 42%, was derived from impropriated rectories and tenths, mainly acquired after 1559 in exchange for good land.[4]

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1 The latter argument was mentioned by John Jewel; G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Oxford, 1829, III, 554-555.

2 J. Bruce and T.T. Perowne, eds., The Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D., Cambridge, 1853, pp.97-101.

3 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, I, Part I, 143. J. Collier, An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, London, 1892, VI, 257-261.

4 Archbishopric of York, Receiver-General's Account, 1597 Borthwick Institute MSS 67791).

At Durham the loss was actual rather than potential, and of a far greater extent. Not only was the Bishopric stripped of some of its best estates, but compensation was withheld as well, apart from a reduction in the 1535 valuation of the temporalities.[1] To effect this spoliation the See was left vacant from July 1559 when Bishop Tunstall was deprived for the second time, to March 1561 when Bishop Pilkington (1561-76) was granted his depleted temporalities. Archbishop Parker's plea, in October 1560, that the long delay was harming the Protestant cause in the North of England, fell on deaf ears.[2]

Exactly why Durham was singled out for such high-handed treatment, contrary to the letter of the 1559 Statute, it is now difficult to explain. The basic reason was probably the remoteness of this rich see. Durham lacked parliamentary representation and the appropriation was unlikely to arouse much embarrassing attention in an area which did not take readily to the Elizabethan Church Settlement. The Queen knew there would never be any shortage of candidates for this much desired bishopric, even after a drastic pruning. Another reasonable explanation, proposed by Peter Heylyn, is that Elizabeth considered the Bishop of Durham capable of contributing more to the upkeep of the border defences, from which he benefited.[3] This theory accords well with the known facts. Relations between England and Scotland were at this time very tense. The Queen was also very short of money and was therefore likely to seize upon all possible means of defraying her necessary expenses. In fact the appropriated rents collected in

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1 Vide supra, p.174.

2 G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Oxford, 1829, III, 563-564.

3 P. Heylyn, Examen Historicum, London, 1659, pp.103-104.

County Durham were sent north to Berwick for defensive purposes. Equally reasonable is F.O. White's suggestion that the government felt the Bishop of Durham's temporal power to be excessive and therefore in need of pruning.[1]

According to Thomas Fuller: "Many a Bishopric so bruised itself when it fell vacant, that it lost some land before a new bishop was settled therein; where the elects contracted with their promoters on unworthy conditions".[2] This was not the case at Durham, where Bishop Pilkington was the victim of the spoliation, rather than an aider and abetter. From the very beginning of his pontificate he attacked the appropriations and by means of forceful, much repeated arguments first secured a lease of the confiscated property, then its eventual restoration, in return for an annual pension.[3] The objections employed by Pilkington, although somewhat exaggerated, provide some idea of the affects of the seizure. The Bishop himself was seriously hit financially. A statement of the Bishop's revenue and expenditure put his net income at £2883. 6. $5\frac{3}{4}$.[4] Out of this a deduction of £1042 was made for the property lost to the Crown, plus a £22 wayleave rent; leaving a sum of £1841. 6. $5\frac{3}{4}$. Subsidies and tenths consumed £345.19. $2\frac{3}{4}$ of this and first fruits a further £829.12. $1\frac{1}{2}$. The Bishop was therefore left with a remainder of £665.15. $1\frac{1}{2}$, out of which he had to furnish all his expenses, administrative and personal. The implications for the bishopric estates were no less severe. In 1565, in a letter to Sir William Cecil,

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1 F.O. White, Lives of the Elizabethen Bishops of the Anglican Church, London, 1898, p.166.

2 T. Fuller, Church History of Britain, London, 1842, II, 499.

3 Vide supra, p.174.

4 Statement of the revenues of the Bishop of Durham, 1559 (S.P.D. 12/8/9).

Pilkington argued a convincing case for the complete restoration of the lost lands:

> "... The inconvenience in detaining of them as the lawyers say, is such that all such as hold any lands within these parcels of the bishop, cannot sell, nor alienate, nor make any good conveyance or estate in law, to any person; not so much as a jointure to his wife, as has been proved of late: nor sell any part after his office found, because the bishop cannot give his 'liberate' of them, as even now is in experience by one Claxton that sold his land to Perkinson. Who procured divers of the council's letters that I would grant him his livery, which I cannot, being exempted from me. Nor the Queen's Majesty neither can grant it him, for that she holdeth them contrary to law. And having not his livery, say the lawyers, 'Nullum ei restat liberum tenementum'. The like is judged to be in copyholders and leases also. Which causeth great murmurings among the people, and maketh many intruders and usurpers. Whereof must needs issue infinite suits, brawlings, and quarrelings ....." 1

Thus the Crown's arbitrary action had knocked awry the legal foundations of land tenure on the disputed estates, with resultant confusion; a confusion which, Pilkington subtly hinted, was blamed upon the new Protestant religion and its advocates. The Bishop went on to add that since he had been stripped of his resources, he would be less effective in a military emergency. Again from his own point of view, he found difficulty in raising sufficient people from his depleted possessions for jury service, commissions and the carriage of his goods etc.. His feudal dues had also dropped in value. As the Crown's lessee, he found it difficult to collect rent promptly from his sub-tenants, whilst the Queen demanded immediate payment. Earlier in 1561 the Bishop had pointed out that the reduction in temporalities had led to a dangerous weakening of his authority, which was detrimental to the Crown as well as to the Church:

> "I can testify to the state of the country. There need rather power and authority to be given than taken away. They understand the taking away of the bishop's living; whereby

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1 Bishop Pilkington to Sir William Cecil, 13 March 1565 (Lansdowne MSS 8/84).

> my power is the less, and the less am I regarded. Westmorland is non-resident; Evers of no great power: the worshipful of the shire set against me: the people rude and heady, and by these occasions more bold." 1
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> "I do not see that they will be ruled without a great power and of him whom they fear. They see how small the bishop's power is, and therefore they contemn it .... This boldness the people grow into because they see that such as refuse to acknowledge their due allegiance not only escape punishment, but are had in authority and estimation." 2

There was one small consolation for Pilkington however. In 1565 Cecil, one of the chief ministers involved in spoiling the Bishopric, wrote to the Bishop asking for a lease of the manor of Craike on behalf of his son. Pilkington must have taken great delight in replying that since Craike formed part of the estates in the Crown's hands, he could do nothing to gratify Cecil's desire.[3]

So far the Reformation had boded ill for the Bishopric of Durham. By 1566 it had narrowly escaped complete dissolution and suffered the substantial loss of revenue amounting to £880 p.a. Thereafter the tempo of the assault eased, but only gradually. The next crisis occurred with the revolt of the Northern Earls, 1569, and ended in complete defeat for the Bishop. The collapse of the Northern Rebellion led to the forfeiture of the Durham estates of the Earl of Westmorland. The Earl was the tenant-in-chief of the Bishop of Durham, who therefore had a perfect right to claim his lands. This right was recognised by the Queen's commander against the rebels, the Earl of Sussex, who recommended that either some agreement should be made with Bishop Pilkington, to induce him to forego or share his windfall, or else he should be translated, so that the Westmorland estates could be dealt

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1 Bishop Pilkington to Sir William Cecil, October 1561 (S.P.D. 12/20/5).

2 Bishop Pilkington to Sir William Cecil, November 1561 (S.P.D. 12/20/25).

3 Bishop Pilkington to Sir William Cecil, 7 March 1565 (Lansdowne MSS 8/81).

with 'sede vacante'.[1] Yet once again, knowing her own strength and the weakness of the opposition, Elizabeth showed a total disregard for the law. In spite of the fact that 'quo warranto' proceedings were then pending before the Court of King's Bench, to determine the ownership of the forfeited property, she had a bill passed by Parliament to the effect that the Westmorland estates should pass to the Crown, even if the Bishop's claims were upheld.[2] This departure from feudal law was justified on the grounds that the Queen alone had borne the cost of suppressing the rebellion and incidentally saving the Bishop of Durham and his possessions. Bishop Pilkington could have little grounds for complaint when he had deserted his post and sought refuge in London. The immediate effect of this third attack upon the Durham temporalities was merely to prevent the Bishop from securing a fortuitous and undeserved, new source of income. Yet in its wider implications it was rather more damaging. It revealed to all interested parties how helpless the Prince Bishop of Durham was before the power of the Crown.

The Bishop's discomfiture in 1571 seems to have been duly noted. In 1575 a document was produced entitled "Inconveniences that would happen within the Bishopric of Durham on dissolution of the County Palatine there".[3] The origins of this defence of the palatinal jurisdiction are uncertain, but it would appear that the Bishop of Durham's franchise and privileges were once more under fire. Perhaps the implied questioning of the Bishop's position was connected with a new attempt by the Corporation of

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1 The Earl of Sussex to Sir William Cecil, 25 December 1569 (S.P.D. 15/15/125).

2 Stat (1571) 13 Eliz. c. 16, Public Record Office Copy (Church Commission MSS 244047).

3 7 March 1575 (S.P.D. 12/103/42).

Newcastle to annex the borough of Gateshead, which developed the following year, taking advantage of Pilkington's death. Thinking the times auspicious, the ruling oligarchy of Newcastle sought once again to secure complete control of Gateshead and its mineral wealth; a task which had been under way since at least the time of Bishop le Poer (1228-37).[1] A bill for the proposed annexation was submitted to Parliament, but floundered. Bishop Pilkington and the Bishopric were evidently not so friendless and helpless as had been imagined. Pilkington had been an astute fighter. Although the odds were often against him, he never gave up trying to defend his rights. In this case, because the Corporation of Newcastle did not carry much weight in the upper circles of politics, his tenacity paid off. He had had the foresight to employ Sir William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, and a leading parliamentary figure, to represent his interests in Parliament. It was Fleetwood who used his influence, especially with Lord Burghley, even after Bishop Pilkington's death, to have Newcastle's bill stopped. He had presented Gateshead as a loyal protestant borough, being oppressed by its powerful, catholic-ridden neighbour.[2] The burgesses of Gateshead themselves, probably under prompting, had also sent convincing petitions of their own to Burghley and the Speaker of the House of Commons.[3] For them the proposed annexation meant the stifling of industry and trade, heightened impositions, jurisdictional confusion, encroachment upon the town's commons and appropriation of its

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1 Parliamentary Survey of Gateshead, October 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23381).

2 Sir William Fleetwood to Lord Burghley, 12 March 1576 (S.P.D. 12/107/75).

3 R. Welford, A History of Newcastle and Gateshead, London, 1884-87, II, 476-480. W.H.D. Longstaffe, The Attempt to Annex Gateshead to Newcastle in 1575, Archaeologia Aeliana 1858, ii, 219-225.

coal-mines; for the rest of Co. Durham, a dangerous impoverishment. Gateshead was again saved, but its precarious independence was not to last long. Its very existence depended upon the sustained support of the Bishop of Durham. In the very next pontificate this was lost.

With the death of Bishop Pilkington in 1576 the assault upon the Durham temporalities at last became orthodox, with the extortion of long leases of the best episcopal property. As before, the machinations were on a grand scale. The change was intimately connected with the arrival of a new bishop at Durham. Bishop Pilkington had been a zealous defender of the rights and properties in his charge and had fought a very determined, if not always successful, rearguard action against the lay attack. But now William Harrison could well write of the Bishopric that "the sunshine thereof (as I hear) is now somewhat eclipsed and not likely to recover the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may look to increase in her estate",[1] for Pilkington's successor, Richard Barnes (1577-87), was a churchman of a very different kind. Barnes rightly perceived that the way to promotion in the Church lay through the patronage of the leading courtiers; and that their invaluable help could be solicited by promised assistance from the inside in their raids on church temporalities. He had accordingly secured the protection of Lord Burghley, who had placed him in the Bishopric of Carlisle and then arranged his translation to Durham. Barnes' relationship with Burghley can be assessed from a letter written by him in 1576 to thank the

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1 G. Edelen, ed., The Description of England by William Harrison, New York, 1968, p.60. First published in 1577.

Lord Treasurer for his projected promotion.[1] It is one of complete obligation, as can be seen from the following excerpts:

> "I am to render not only by these letters intyre thanks to your honour, for your goodness towards me, in commending me to her highness in way of my preferment to Deereham, and for interposing your credit for my service, etc. ....., but also to devow my self and service unto your honour for ever; and to assure you, that neither I shall be found unthankful or ingrate, nor unmindful to accomplish your lordship's behests: and so, as I trust, shall tend to th'advauncement of God's glory, and her highness good service, and your lordship's good comfort: and that within short time, if I may be well backed at the beginning by her highness and your good lordship, and other of the honourable privy council, as I doubt not but I shall be"
> "Now by your good means being preferred to a better (living), if in time I be not thankful, etc. if I discharge not my duty, and answer not your undertakings, then I deserve to be noted as most ingrate, ..."

Bishop Barnes' part of the bargain might have been nothing more than acting as Lord Burghley's agent in the North, but the long list of desirable property granted away on long lease by the Bishop through the agency of the Crown, suggests otherwise.[2] It is probable that Barnes received the rather unusual boost from lowly Carlisle to high-ranking Durham on condition that he helped to satisfy lay appetites at his successors' expense; also to his own profit, as entry fines would be involved.

Between the years 1577 and 1586 Bishop Barnes relinquished episcopal control of the best parts of the Bishopric estates for many years to come. In order to conform to the law, long leases were first made out in the name of the Queen and then assigned immediately to their intended recipients. There is no reason to believe that pressure had to be exerted upon Bishop Barnes in order to ensure his necessary co-operation. Queen and Bishop alike readily

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1 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, II, Part II, Appendix IV, 600-601.

2 Vide Table XXIII, p.297. The Table has been compiled from a Volume of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 54137, Folios 85-89).

took part in the operation, no doubt for the financial benefits their participation entailed. Altogether £556. 3. 9½ of the

TABLE XXIII

Bishop Barnes' Crown Leases, 1577-86

Date	Property involved	Duration of the lease	Annual Rent
1577	The Tweed salmon fisheries, Norhamshire;	100 years	£ 82. 0. 0
1578	The Grand Lease of Whickham & Gateshead;	99 years	117.15. 8
1578	Darlington and Blackwell mills; a messuage called Roker near Northallerton;	40 years	27.18. 8
1578	The tithes of the rectory of Leake, Allertonshire;	50 years	18. 0. 0
1578	The twelve cavills of land at Chester-le-Street;	50 years	12. 0. 0
1581	Bishop's Close near Byers Green;	80 years	8. 0. 0
1581	Bishop Middleham Park and demesnes;	80 years	10. 0.10
1582	Middridge Grange and watermill;	80 years	26. 9. 8
1582	Wolsingham Park and watermill;	80 years	34. 0. 0
1582	Quarrington Grange;	80 years	26.13. 4
1582	Sowerby Grange, Allertonshire;	80 years	8. 0. 0
1584	Various property in Howdenshire;	90 years	34. 0. 8
1585	Coundon Grange;	70 years	24. 0. 0
1585	Morton Grange;	70 years	6. 0. 0
1585	13 messuages at Westgate in Stanhope Park;	70 years	15. 0. 0
1585	Skelton and Saltmarsh cowpastures, of 280 acres, in Howdenshire;	70 years	17. 1. 8
1586	The Manor of Craike, Yorkshire;	80 years	51. 1.11½
1586	The Manor of Wheelhall, Howdenshire;	80 years	8. 5. 4
1586	Sundry property in Howdenshire;	80 years	29.16. 2

Bishop's annual income was tied up in Crown leases ranging in extent from 40 to 100 years. Except in the case of the Grand Lease, the transactions entailed no immediate loss.[1] Nevertheless they were against the material interest of the Church, since

1 Vide supra, p.122.

futune bishops were debarred for some considerable time from undertaking improvements and augmenting their incomes with entry fines from these properties.

The most important and interesting of Bishop Barnes' Crown leases is the Grand Lease, which put not only the borough of Gateshead but also the neighbouring mining village of Whickham at the complete mercy of Newcastle for 99 years. Whereas Bishop Pilkington had taken pains to protect the Palatinate's foremost trade outlet and coal-mining area, Bishop Barnes possessed no scruples about sacrificing them in order to satisfy those to whom he was under obligation. The transaction was completed through the agency of a certain Thomas Sutton, a protégé of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Master General of the Ordnance and reckoned to be the richest commoner in England when he died in 1611, on the strength of a fortune made in northern coal-mining.[1] In 1568 his connections brought him the post of Master of the Ordnance in the North Parts. He took up residence at Alnwick for the next thirteen years and no doubt became fully acquainted with every local opportunity for personal profit.[2] In 1577 Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, used his influence with the Queen to secure a lease of Whickham and Gateshead on Sutton's behalf. His representations resulted in a lease dated 1 February 1578, granting the desired property to the Queen for a term of 99 years. This was assigned to Sutton, on the 19 April, 1578.[3] Events thereafter have been subject to different interpretations.

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1 E. McClure Thomson, ed., The Chamberlain Letters, London, 1966, I, 43.

2 R.L. Galloway, Annals of Coal Mining, London, 1898, pp.93-94.

3 Memorandum on the Grand Lease (Church Commission MSS 244329). Another source puts the length of the lease at 79 years: Volume of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 54137, Folio 85).

H.R. Trevor-Roper has maintained that Sutton was interested in the lease for its mining possibilities; that he tried to work the Whickham and Gateshead coal-mines himself, was frustrated in selling the coal by the Newcastle Hostmen, failed to gain admission into their trade monopoly and was finally forced to sell out to the Corporation of Newcastle.[1] On the 19 November 1583 a revised lease for 99 years was assigned to the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle, Sutton receiving £12,000 from them for relinquishing his interest.[2] Soon after, according to Archdeacon Cradock of Northumberland, the lease was valued at £50,000 p.a.[3] J.U. Nef on the other hand, implies that the lease was secured from the start for the benefit of the Corporation of Newcastle; that Sutton was sub-letting to Newcastle coal-magnates even before the lease was assigned to the Corporation in 1583.[4] The first sequence is more convincing. Although there was an association between the Dudleys and Newcastle, it was purely one of convenience. Sutton's links were closer and the Grand Lease was far more likely to have been contrived for his benefit in the first instance. R. Welford also records that in 1578 the Corporation of Newcastle petitioned the Queen to the effect that markets held in Gateshead

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1 H.R. Trevor-Roper, The Bishopric of Durham and the Capitalist Reformation, Durham University Journal, March 1946, xxxviii, 53-56.

2 Copy of the revised Grand Lease, 26 April 1582 (Church Commission MSS 244053). J. Brand, The History and Antiquities of Newcastle upon Tyne, London, 1789, II, 269.

3 Ibid, I, 481. Brand is quoting R. Gardiner, England's Grievance Discovered in Relation to the Coal Trade, London, 1655, p.13. Cradock was Archdeacon of Northumberland in 1619 and spiritual Chancellor of the Durham diocese, 1619-27. Cradock's estimate is halved by J.U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, London, 1932, I, 153. Nef also asserts that the Grand Lease output was 50,000 tons p.a., c.1600, and 75,000 - 100,000 tons p.a., c.1636, ibid, 361.

4 J.U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, London, 1932, I, 151-154.

were an infringement of its own privileges, for which it paid £100 p.a..[1] This step would surely have been considered unnecessary if the Corporation had known that Gateshead was soon to be at its mercy. In both cases however, the end result was identical. By 1583, because of its commanding position, Newcastle had won its long struggle for mastery of Gateshead. Its monopoly of coal production and trade on the Tyne was secured, at the expense of the Bishops of Durham and their subjects. Its merchants had earlier become entrenched as lessees of the Bishopric's Tyneside mines;[2] now through the Grand Lease the conditions of tenure were altered drastically in their favour.

The extent of the Bishops' loss can be gauged from Sutton's selling price and various estimates of the lease's value. One source puts the Grand Lessees' annual return at £1500-1600; another, at £1200.[3] It is obvious that a great deal more could have been made of the Tyneside mines, if they had remained under episcopal control and had been farmed out separately, as they were before 1578. The Grand Lease implied an immediate deficit in the episcopal income of approximately £175 p.a.;[4] a figure which was theoretically bound to grow larger with time. Bishop Barnes hoped to cover the actual loss at least during his own incumbency by stipulating that the rents from mining concessions at Whickham and Gateshead in being at the making of the Grand Lease should be

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1 R. Welford, A History of Newcastle and Gateshead, London, 1884-87, II, 504.

2 Register of Leases and Letters Patent, 1543-76 (Church Commission MSS 184957a, passim).

3 Causes why the leases of Whickham and Gateshead, and the Coalmines in the Bishoprick of Durham should be set aside, 1591 (Lansdowne MSS 66/86). R. Welford, A History of Newcastle and Gateshead, London, 1884-87, III, 112.

4 Vide supra, p.122.

handed over by Sutton and his assignees until their expiration. The rents involved amounted to £110 p.a. in addition to the Grand Lease rent of £117.15. 8. They were paid regularly until Barnes' death, but thereafter, as his successor, Bishop Hutton (1589-95) complained, fell into abeyance.[1] Not content with their good fortune and large profits, the coal magnates of Newcastle were still bent on reducing the Bishops' interest in the Grand Lease to the smallest possible proportions. In the same spirit the southern end of the Tyne Bridge had been carefully excluded from the lease, so that the Bishops of Durham should remain responsible for its upkeep.

The Grand Lease was undoubtedly a retrograde step for the Bishopric of Durham, but it has been presented as a beneficial transfer as far as the common good was concerned. Both J.U. Nef and H.R. Trevor-Roper imply that the Bishops of Durham were reactionary mining landlords, under whom the early development of the first centre of the British coal-industry was retarded; that the Grand Lease broke the Bishops' grip upon the coal-industry and allowed its expansion upon capitalist lines.[2] Theirs is an opinion which cannot be wholeheartedly endorsed after a study of episcopal mine leases prior to 1578. The Bishops did not try to curb the exploitation of mineral resources. They were concerned only to extract their due as landlords and their terms were not ungenerous. They could have enlarged the incentives to mining entrepreneurs more than they did, but they cannot really be accused

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1 Bishop Hutton to Lord Burghley, 25 May 1591 (Lansdowne MSS 66/85). A valuation of the lordships of Whickham and Gateshead, 25 May 1591 (Lansdowne MSS 66/84).

2 J.U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, London, 1932, I, 135-142, 155. H.R. Trevor-Roper, The Bishopric of Durham and the Capitalist Reformation, Durham University Journal, March 1946, xxxviii, 45-48.

of placing obstacles in their path.[1] Moreover the making of the Grand Lease brought no immediate advantage to the national economy. It merely completed a monopoly for the exclusive benefit of the Newcastle Hostmen. Although the lease had been bought on behalf of the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle, the mines of Whickham and Gateshead passed into the occupancy of the twenty leading citizens who controlled the coal-trade. Far from developing the rich coal-fields at their disposal, they carefully regulated and restricted output, and according to their enemies in 1597, were actually cutting down on the number of pits being worked.[2] Their restrictive monopoly was so effective that in 1590 the Lord Mayor of London was driven to complain to Lord Burghley and the Privy Council about the excessive price of coal. When the Grand Lease was made, a chaldron of Newcastle coal had cost 6/0d; previously 4/0d. By 1590 it was priced at 9/0d.[3] In 1599 the monopolists were overcome by their local opponents and forced to relinquish their control of the mines back to the Corporation, but this factional strife brought little general relief.[4] The release of a restricted amount of coal seemed to all the competing coal-owners more lucrative than the provision of unlimited supplies.

Another of the Crown leases worthy of attention is that of Wolsingham Park and water-mill, which reveals the Bishop's willing complicity in the creation of long leases. This grant of property with a rental of £34 p.a. was passed to the Queen for a term of

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1 Vide supra, pp.257-259.

2 R. Welford, A History of Newcastle and Gateshead, London, 1884-87, III, 112.

3 Ibid, p.61.

4 Ibid, p.132. R. Galloway, Annals of Coal Mining, London, 1898, p.99.

80 years on 24 October 1582.[1] On 7 March 1583 the lease was assigned to Roger Gifford, Elizabeth's physician, in whose favour the transaction was being negotiated. Gifford did not keep possession of the Park for long. On 29 November 1586, probably in accordance with a prior agreement, he sold his interest for £300 to a certain Henry Bispan and one of the Bishop's kinsmen, William Barnes, who seem to have been acting on behalf of the Bishop's dependents. In spite of a law-suit with Gifford over the transfer, the profits of the lease were enjoyed by the Bishop's sons Emanuel and John, and by his grandson Toby.[2] Thus Bishop Barnes eked a little profit out of his betrayal of the Church's interests by providing some security for his children at the expense of his successors. The Barnes family had also acquired Gifford's interest in the water-mill (Bishop's rent, £6.13. 4 p.a.), in 1620 the remainder of the mill-lease was sold for £240, with roughly half the term of years expired.[3] Roger Gifford was not the only prominent, court figure to speculate on the Bishopric estates. Sir Francis Walsingham acquired an assignment of the Crown leases of the manors of Craike and Wheel Hall and other property in Howdenshire, which he soon disposed of to his advantage.[4]

The best documented Crown lease of Bishop Barnes' pontificate is that of Bishop Middleham Park and demesnes and Bishop's Close near Byers Green, granted to the Queen in 1581 and assigned by

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1 Volume of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 54137, Folio 87).

2 Lease Enrolment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.583).

3 Lease Enrolment Book (Church Commission MSS 184959, p.317).

4 Volume of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 54137, Folio 89).

her to a certain George Frevile Esq..[1] Frevile was a retainer of the Earl of Sussex, occupying the office of Clerk of the Ordnance in his service. He first visited Durham in 1569, in connection with the Northern Rebellion and appears to have settled down in the area in the employment of the Crown. At some stage he was Keeper of Raby Castle, the former seat of the Nevilles. In 1590 he was granted property by the Queen at Hardwick, near Stockton, and established a home there. In 1603 he was knighted by James I.[2] Frevile was obviously a man who could command some influence at Court, which he put to good use in securing a hold upon part of the Bishopric estates. The story behind the Crown lease is revealed in a letter sent to Bishop Barnes by the Privy Council a few months before the grant was made.[3] Frevile had been required to give up two prebendal corps which he had leased from the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral. He had done so in return for the promise of compensation elsewhere. The compensation he hoped to receive was a long lease of Bishop's Close and land at Bishop Middleham which he already held on a 21 year lease from the Bishop of Durham. Barnes therefore was requested to gratify the wishes of Frevile and the Privy Council by making out an 80 year lease to the Queen, for the benefit of her servant. Thus Frevile was to be satisfied cheaply, to the detriment of the Bishopric of Durham. The episode illustrates how vulnerable the Church was when one of its farmers or prospective tenants could command support at Court. Once again it was Barnes' successors, rather than the Bishop himself, who suffered a loss. Frevile later

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1 Volume of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 54137, Folio 89). Parliamentary Surveys of the Manors of Bishop Auckland and Bishop Middleham, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23375 and 23374, under Byers Green and Bishop Middleham).

2 R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1823, III, 34.

3 The Privy Council to Bishop Barnes, 20 June 1581 (S.P.D. 12/149/45).

maintained that he paid a fine of £100, for property with a rental variously estimated at around £18 or £23 p.a..[1] If the entry fine was typical, Bishop Barnes' surrender to lay demand could have been personally very lucrative.

George Frevile belonged to the relatively small fry who could only administer annoying pinpricks; only cumulatively significant. Much more dangerous was a leading courtier like the Queen's favourite, Robert Dudley, who given his head, could easily cripple a bishopric. In 1587, upon the death of Bishop Barnes, Leicester pointed out to Elizabeth in a petition that the bishoprics of Durham, Ely, Oxford and Bristol were vacant and could therefore be ravaged with ease. He suggested that the Queen should deprive these undefended sees of estates to the rental value of £1,200 p.a., compensating them in the usual unsatisfactory fashion with impropriated rectories, tithes and tenths. Leicester then calmly asked that £1,000 worth of the confiscated episcopal property should be bestowed upon himself in fee simple.[2] Fortunately and wisely, Elizabeth refused his request. She appreciated that the plunder of the Church could not continue successfully unless pursued with moderation. To Leicester and his kind the Church was the helpless guardian of a mass of valuable real estate, to be exploited in a variety of ways, to the mutual advantage of themselves and the Crown. Their outlook is admirably expressed in another petition delivered to the Queen, circa 1595, by the Lord Keeper, Sir John

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1 G. Frevile to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1582 (S.P.D. 12/157/91). Frevile was seeking Walsingham's help in the presentation of a petition to the Queen in defence of his rights at Bishop Middleham which were being challenged by another episcopal tenant, Henry Eure.

2 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, III, Part I, 689-690.

Puckering:

> "That it may please your most excellent majesty to grant me, your most bounden servant, your princely favour, that I may have a lease of part of the possessions of the bishopric of Ely, not exceeding a third part thereof in value, for such a reasonable term of years as the bishop may grant unto your majesty; yielding unto the bishop and his successors the best accustomed rents now or any time heretofore, answered to the bishop for the same, and performing as usual, covenant for payment of rent, and doing reparations.
>
> For the accomplishment whereof it may please your majesty to translate one of the eldest bishops; who may make the same lease. By whose great age it is like the same bishopric will not tarry long forth of your majesty's hands. I find no other suit so fit for your majesty to grant me as this; for the exchanges, fee-farms, and leases of your majesty's own lands are to be taken from your own self, and from your royal revenues ... It may perchance be objected, that your majesty having now the revenue of the bishopric, doth forego the same by making a bishop. Answer, Your majesty, by giving the bishopric, shall have the first-fruits, which is one year's profit, and the tenths and subsidies besides: which you cannot have, while the bishopric remains in your majesty's hands: which, together, I take it, will be as profitable to your majesty, as it is now the bishopric remaineth in your hands. And your majesty shall hereby have moreover the first-fruits of that bishopric from whence your majesty shall be pleased to translate the bishop to Ely; and also of so many as you shall be pleased by that occasion to remove or translate.
>
> The clergymen may perchance think your majesty doth decrease the revenues of the church by making a lease of the bishop's lands. Answer, So long as the inheritance and the ordinary rent of the bishopric is not diminished, they cannot think any thing thereof, but rather may be glad, that after so long vacancy your majesty will be pleased to make a bishop. Because there will be one see the more filled than hath been many years heretofore: and where for want of a bishop, a great number of papists are harboured in that diocese, and the bishop's houses much decayed. Your majesty, by making a bishop, may easily remedy those inconveniences. And moreover, if your majesty make a bishop of Ely, he is to do your highness divers services; as finding of men and horses in time of war, etc." 1

A procession of bishops with Barnes' susceptibilities would have led to serious consequences for the See of Durham, but happily his successor, Matthew Hutton, was made of sterner material. As

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1 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, IV, pp. 343-344.

far as can be judged, Bishop Hutton made no bargain to secure his appointment. In fact he did his best to repair the damage committed with his predecessor's complicity. This proved difficult, since no legal flaw could be detected in Bishop Barnes' Crown leases. Undeterred, but in vain, Bishop Hutton stressed the injustice of the Grand Lease and urged its cancellation. In a memorandum of 1591 he pointed out that the benefits of the lease were being shared by a cartel of 8 to 10 persons, at the expense of himself suffering a loss of income, the citizens of Gateshead being deliberately exposed to ruin and the general public having to pay higher prices for their coal.[1] At the same time he pursued the more realistic policy of trying to get the Grand Lessee's rent raised. Writing to Lord Burghley in May 1591 Hutton reiterated an argument put forward by his auditor, John Bathe, that the annual rent of £117.15. 8 only applied to the lease of the Manor of Whickham and the Manor and Borough of Gateshead; that an additional £110 p.a. ought to be paid for the accompanying coal-mines, even after the expiration of those mining concessions already in existence when the Grand Lease was made.[2] He went on to ask that if the Queen agreed with this interpretation of the Grand Lease, he should receive some compensation for his loss in the form of the rent of the Tweed salmon fisheries (£82 p.a.) which had been withheld since the death of Bishop Barnes.[3] Poor

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1 Causes why the leases of Whickham and Gateshead, and the Coalmines in the Bishoprick of Durham should be set aside, 1591 (Lansdowne MSS 66/86). R. Welford, A History of Newcastle and Gateshead, London, 1884-87, III, 112.

2 Vide supra, pp. 300-301.

3 Bishop Hutton to Lord Burghley, 25 May 1591 (Lansdowne MSS 66/85). A valuation of the lordships of Whickham and Gateshead, 25 May 1591 (Lansdowne MSS 66/84).

Hutton had no success with his pleas, being forced to endure a loss of £192 p.a. (£110 from Whickham and Gateshead and £82 from the Tweed fisheries), but he must be given credit for trying to recover his due against stiff opposition.

Bishop Hutton was not only active in pursuing that already lost, but also in protecting the remaining assets of the Church. He was not called upon to defend those parts of his own estates over which he still had normal control, but he did behave creditably in defence of Sherburn Hospital, to which the Bishop of Durham had a right of presentation. When the mastership of Sherburn Hospital had fallen vacant, the Bishop had bestowed it upon one of his own kinsmen, a Bachelor of Divinity and a senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Bishop Hutton can be accused of nepotism, but only of an innocuous kind. Betraying a slight feeling of guilt, he justified his choice by pointing out that he had brought a first-class scholar into a very backward area. In any case, the appointee himself acknowledged his unsuitability for the office and exchanged it with a certain Dr Bellamy for a prebend attached to Durham Cathedral and a benefice. This arrangement was satisfactory all round since Bellamy knew some medicine as well as theology and was capable of tending both the bodies and the souls of the hospital inmates. The business had all been settled when Bishop Hutton received a letter from the Queen's secretary informing him that Elizabeth intended to issue a dispensation so that a layman, Sir Henry Lee, could be admitted to the mastership. The Bishop replied, explaining the position, only to learn of the Queen's extreme displeasure. He was to instruct Bellamy to restore the mastership to his kinsman, who was to come to some agreement with Lee. Bishop Hutton

then appeared at his defiant best. He was sorry, but it was already too late to alter the provisions in Lee's favour. Bellamy refused to surrender the mastership and there was no real reason why he should do so. Meanwhile his kinsman had already been inducted into his new benefices. In any case, he knew that Sir Henry Lee required Sherburn Hospital only for the profits he could extract out of its endowments. Under him it would not be applied to its rightful purpose and would therefore be better off in the hands of Bellamy. In spite of the intense pressure Bishop Hutton appears to have held his ground and eventually won the day, since Dr. Bellamy retained his office.[1]

The Bishop's running battle with the Court was continued upon his translation from Durham to the Archbishopric of York in 1595. After being nominated to York, Hutton was apparently asked to pass some long leases to the Queen, in return for his promotion. He had declined, protesting that such an action on his part would be unsavoury and unethical. He even suggested that the death of his predecessor at York, Archbishop Piers (1589-94), had been hastened by remorse, after allowing himself to be badgered into making a long lease. His refusal elicited a threatening letter from Sir Robert Cecil and Sir John Wolley, strongly urging the Bishop to forget his scruples and refuting the contention that he was laying himself open to a charge of simony.[2] The most significant passage ran:

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1 Bishop Hutton to Lord Burghley, 30 March 1590, J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, IV, 19-21.

2 Sir R. Cecil and Sir J. Wolley to Bishop Hutton, 17 January 1595, J. Raine, ed., The Correspondence of Dr Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, Surtees Society Vol.17, London and Edinburgh, 1843, p.93.

> "And where it seemeth by your man's report that you think it might be simonious in these cases to pass any such promises to the Queen, as though you bargained for the Bishopric, we think it very absurd to make the person of the Prince and a subject anything like; for he that can least distinguish cannot but see also that the case is wholly changed when a Bishop is a suitor for a Bishopric by any subject's mediation, or takes a living upon condition, and where a prince that gives all, requires for some consideration but somewhat of him on whom (out of her own free grace) she is contented the whole shall be conferred. To conclude: your Lordship shall do well to advise yourself of some better reason if you determine to make denial; ...."

No layman would have dared to write to Bishops Fox and Ruthall and Cardinal Wolsey in such terms. The times had indeed changed. It would be pleasant to believe that Matthew Hutton held firm once again, but his eventual consecration as Archbishop of York and the reluctant eventual passing of long leases imply surrender. He had made his share of protest and risked enough. Perhaps the offer of an archbishopric was too much of a temptation, in spite of his protestations.

The accession of James I finally brought relief to the beleaguered bishoprics, preserving their incumbents against lay pressure and the worst consequences of their own ambitions. The new king's concern for the Church of England was far more sincere than Elizabeth's. He was interested not only in maintaining outward appearances, but also in the complete welfare of the established Church. He envisaged the Church as a main support of the monarchy and therefore tried to strengthen it in every possible way, whereas Elizabeth had sought profit and advantage from its vulnerability. Accordingly, one of James I's first acts was to secure the passage of a bill (1 Jac. I. c.3) preventing the Bishops from making long leases even to the Crown. In the words of Thomas Fuller he was:

> "graciously pleased to bind himself for the liberty of the church. He knew full well all courtiers' - and especially his own countrymen's - importunity in asking, and perhaps was privy to his own impotency in denying; and, therefore, by this statute, he eased himself of many troublesome suitors. For hereafter no wise man would beg of the King what was not in his power to grant, and what, if granted, could not legally be conveyed to any petitioner. Thus his Majesty manifested his good-will and affection to religion; and, although this law could not finally preserve church-lands to make them immortal, yet it prolonged their lives for many years together." 1

Henceforth the ceaseless demand for favours had to be satisfied almost entirely out of the resources of the Crown, thereby adding to its weaknesses at the time of a growing conflict with Parliament.

As quickly as James I's beneficial statute was passed, it did not become law soon enough for the Bishopric of Durham. Succumbing to the 'impotency in denying' described by Thomas Fuller, on 24 December 1603 the King wrote to Toby Matthew (1595-1606), Hutton's successor, asking on behalf of a servant for an 80 year lease of land with an annual rental of £60.[2] The demand was excused on the grounds that the desired property was already farmed out and was not essential to the provisioning of the episcopal household. The requirements of the Crown's assignee were clearly specified. Their total rental value was not included, but can be ascertained from other sources as approximately £100 p.a.. The discrepancy between this figure and the royal demand for property with a rental of £60 p.a. could be dismissed on the grounds that the would-be recipient was ignorant of the actual rentals involved; but this is hardly likely. A speculator was almost bound to inquire into the value of the property in which

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1 T. Fuller, Church History of Britain, London, 1842, III, 202.

2 Miscellanea (Church Commission MSS A/16/2 and A/13/1).

he was interested, and in fact the parties concerned had taken the trouble to seek out the names of the sitting tenants and the terms on which they held their leases. An alternative explanation is that the proportions of the Crown lease were deliberately played down in order to mislead the grantor, who might not have been familiar with the exact composition of his estates. This is equally improbable. Bishop Matthew had occupied the Bishopric of Durham for the past eight years. Even if he was not acquainted initially with the property in question, his administration would have quickly supplied all the relevant details. There is one other possibility. A rental value lower than that intended might have been mentioned in order to keep adverse publicity to a minimum, in the knowledge that the Bishop would readily grant a lease based on a higher amount. Bishop Matthew did in fact satisfy all the Crown's demands in a lease dated 14 January 1604, in spite of the doubts and hesitations of the ratifying Dean and Chapter.[1] It can be suggested therefore, that collusion had taken place between the Bishop, the King and his assignee; that like Barnes, Bishop Matthew was not an unwilling victim, but an active participant in an underhand transaction. ~~There is some evidence to support this contention.~~ In March 1604 the entire lease was assigned by James I to one Dudley Carlton Esq., the future Viscount Dorchester. At the time he was M.P. for St. Mawes in Cornwall and secretary to the Earl of Northumberland. Rather more to the point he was also friendly with Bishop Matthew's son Toby, M.P. for St. Albans, to whom he quickly transferred the Crown lease in April 1604. There is some reason to believe that

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1 Miscellanea (Church Commission MSS A/16/2 and A/13/1).
Vide supra, pp.25-26.

Matthew senior strove patiently to keep his prodigal but favourite offspring solvent.[1] He may accordingly have solicited the King's help on his progress south in 1603 and arranged through the Crown to provide his son with a regular income out of the Bishopric of Durham. Not a very commendable action, but one upon which a desperate parent would readily seize. Carlton may have been an agreeable intermediary, introduced to make the manoeuvre appear slightly less obvious. The argument fits the few clues, but it is basically conjectural. It could equally be argued, although not so convincingly, that Toby Matthew the younger secured the lease, to aid his finances on the eve of a trip abroad and spite his father, with whom he was at odds. The origins of this last Crown lease must remain vague. It is certain however, that another £100 worth of episcopal rent was frozen for a long time to come and another block of episcopal property put at the disposal of the speculators.

The younger Matthew did not keep possession of the Crown lease for long. Departing for Italy he no doubt had greater use for a large, lump sum of cash, rather than smaller, annual amounts. In June 1604 he sold his interest intact to a Mr Edward Easton of Gray's Inn, who proceeded to dispose of the lease in lots. In February 1605 for example, he sold the remaining term of years attached to the Bishop's demesne at Tunstall (Bishop's rent, £16 p.a.) to Sir James Bellingham of Bellingham, Northumberland. In 1608 the latter conceded the property to Richard Middleton, gentleman, who had been the actual, occupying tenant all along.[2]

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1 Vide supra, pp.267-268.

2 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.7).

His ancestor, John Middleton, Esq., of Middleton Hall, Westmorland, had received a 70 year lease of the demesne from Bishop Tunstall in 1550.[1] By 1608 the tenancy position of 1603 had been restored, but not before several speculators had passed the property through their hands, with the intention of making a profit. Richard Middleton doubtless paid dear for the renewal of his security.

Another parcel of the Crown lease was Haughton-le-Skerne watermill, from which the Bishop of Durham derived a rent of £4 p.a.. Edward Easton sold his interest in 1607 to Thomas Blakestone of Newton Hall; like Middleton a member of the county gentry. He maintained his control of the property until 1613, when he assigned the remainder of the lease for £95 to Hugh Simpson, a yeoman of Haughton-le-Skerne, who was probably the miller in occupation.[2]

Woodhouse Closes near Bishop Auckland (Bishop's rental, £4 p.a.) were passed on by Easton in 1608 to Sir Henry Belasyse, the son of the previous farmer, Sir William Belasyse of Newborough Abbey, Yorkshire.[3] The Belasyse family was well-known and influential in the North, with a foothold in the County Palatine through possession of a seat at Henknold. Both William and Henry had married into the Fairfax family. In 1611 Henry was created a baronet and his son, Sir Thomas Belasyse, became Baron Fauconberg of Yarm in 1627. Sir Henry did not retain the lease of Woodhouse Closes for long. Before 1608 was out he had sold it to a gentleman neighbour at Henknold, Francis Wrenn, one of two

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 190172).

2 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.281).

3 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Bishop Auckland, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23375, under Bishop Auckland).

brothers who appear to have moved to Co. Durham from Cambridge. He remained in possession until 1625, when he assigned the lease to Thomas Robson and John Martindale, of whom nothing is known.[1]

The lease of Darlington Closes had been sold by Easton in 1607 to Thomas Blakestone Esq., along with the watermill at Haughton-le-Skerne. In 1609 Blakestone disposed of them to William Wearmouth, a leading merchant and citizen of Newcastle, who, the following year, sold the lease to Bulmer Isle, an apothecary and grocer there and a native of Darlington. The Bishop of Durham only received a rent of 10/0d. p.a. for the closes, yet Bulmer Isle paid £230 for possession of the lease.[2] Thomas Blakestone also bought up the interest in Hallykeld Close, Haughton-le-Skerne (Bishop's rent, £4 p.a.), which he assigned in 1610 to John Gill, gentleman, for the sum of £160.[3] Gill, a native of Yorkshire and resident in Durham, probably for the purposes of trade, appears to have established himself at Haughton-le-Skerne.

When William James (1606-17) succeeded to the Bishopric of Durham in 1606, he found that approximately £650 of his annual income was derived from long Crown leases inherited from Bishops Barnes and Matthew. These apart from the Grand lease, did not reduce the episcopal revenue, but nonetheless they were an unwarranted burden, contrary to the true interests of the Church as a landowning institution. In the first place they prevented the Bishop from trying to improve his income from the choicest parts of the Bishopric estates. He was deprived of a fair share of the profits of the land, accruing to him as landlord. He may not have

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1 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Bishop Auckland, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23375, under Bishop Auckland).

2 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Darlington (Church Commission MSS 23378, under Darlington).

3 Ibid, under Haughton-le-Skerne.

desired to improve his patrimony, but that is beside the point. If he had wished to do so, he would have found the best facilities removed. Secondly, the Bishop's ability to reward friends and servants, gratify relatives and exercise patronage throughout the County Palatine, by dispensing leaseholds, was severely curtailed. The limitation of leases to 21 years or three lives, which seemed to ensure that all leasehold property would be placed fairly regularly at the Bishops' disposal, had been effectively nullified by the Elizabethan provision in favour of the Crown. In the third place, the Bishop's chances of supplementing his ordinary income with occasional fines were again seriously limited. Fourthly, as is apparent from the subsequent history of parts of the 1604 Crown lease, the Bishop's sitting tenants were left at the mercy of land speculators, who were principally concerned with making their investments worthwhile. These tenants' respect for the Bishop would not be increased by this sudden, dubious change in fortune. Finally, the creation of long leases tended to break up the compactness and cohesion of the episcopal estates and disrupt the work of the administration. Long leases were disadvantageous to the Bishopric in every possible way. Bishops Barnes and Matthew had much to answer for, although their behaviour was human and understandable.

Bishop James had even more cause to bemoan the activities of his predecessor. Not only was Bishop Matthew guilty of making a long lease; he had also framed the grant in a loose and ambiguous manner, which enabled the recipients to exploit its loopholes to the further detriment of the Bishopric. The outcome is shown in the records of a law-suit brought by Bishop James against some of the assignees of the Crown lease.[1] When Bishop Matthew had made

1 Durham Lawsuits, 8; Bishop James to the assignee of the lease of the Northallerton demesnes, 10 September 1609 (Church Commission MSS 221317, 221349; Miscellanea A/17/3).

out the lease, he had intended it to include, as requested, a parcel of demesne land adjoining the borough of Northallerton and the village of Brompton, worth £29. 1. 4 p.a. in rent. Yet his description of the property in the indenture was so imprecise that it was possible to infer that it applied to the whole of the Bishop's demesne lying within Allertonshire. The flaw in the lease was quickly perceived by two individuals, William and Richard Best, who informed the first Crown assignee, Dudley Carlton, that he could justifiably claim land with a rental of £200 p.a., instead of merely £29. They undertook for a consideration to arrange the sub-letting on Carlton's behalf, of property which had never intentionally been granted to him. The Northallerton demesne land passed with the rest of the Crown lease into the hands of Edward Easton. He assigned his interest in it in 1608 to two local men, John Grant and Thomas Johnson, who sold out in 1610 for £1680 to Sir William Cave of Doncaster. The lease assigned to Cave included 72 oxgangs of land and several mills which had not been included in the original transfer. Cave employed the Bests and a number of others to persuade the sitting tenants to recognise him as their landlord and compound with him for new leases. In the process one of the tenants, Thomas Clerkson, was dispossessed in favour of a certain William Basse. Proving troublesome, an action was brought against him before the Court of Common Pleas, which filled Clerkson's fellow tenants with alarm. At this stage Bishop James entered the lists, to restrict Cave to the bounds of the original lease and to bring relief to his distracted Allertonshire leaseholders, who were being plagued by Cave's representatives. The outcome of his suit is not known, although it is likely to have been favourable. Whatever the

result, Bishop Matthew's blunder (or deliberate lack of precision) drove his successor to the expense of a lawsuit and seriously jeopardised episcopal control of one of the Yorkshire estates. The agonies and confusion suffered by the tenants on the ground are immeasurable.

Bishop Matthew committed one other disservice to the Bishopric of Durham during his pontificate, but perhaps in a good cause. The liberty of Norhamshire had been witheld from the Bishops of Durham since 1558.[1] Being in the possession of the Crown, it had been leased by the Queen to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick. His interest passed to his son, Sir Robert Carey, who falling out of favour at the beginning of James I's reign, was forced to sell out to George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, for £6800. Dunbar, a highly influential courtier, seems to have procured an outright grant of the liberty from the king, but a snag arose in that it was not really within James' power to bestow. In theory and law it was still part of the Bishopric of Durham. Therefore, in January/February 1604 Bishop Matthew was prevailed upon to make the 'de facto' alienation legal, by disclaiming all his rights in Norhamshire.[2] A dangerous precedent was thereby established. Whereas the Bishop should have taken every opportunity to recover lost territory and assert the injustice of the confiscation of Church land, Matthew actually recognised a seizure and abused his trusteeship. If a bishop could be persuaded to alienate property in perpetuity, what did it matter if the facilities for extracting long leases were withdrawn! It was indeed fortunate that James I and his son proved better protectors of the Church

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1 Vide supra, p.58.

2 (S.P. 38/7).

than the late Queen. However, if Peter Heylyn is to be believed, Bishop Matthew can be exonerated.[1] The Earl of Dunbar is said to have approached Bishop Bancroft, soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury, over his designs on the liberty, and through his mediation and prompting struck a bargain with Bishop Matthew, both for the good of the Bishopric of Durham and the Church in general. In return for the Bishop's relinquishing of Norhamshire, Dunbar was to use his influence at Court to secure the restoration of Durham House. Durham House, the Bishop's London residence, had been appropriated by Northumberland at the time of his assault upon the Bishopric of Durham. Upon his restoration Bishop Tunstall had acquired the reversion of the property, but nonetheless it had remained in the possession of Queen Elizabeth.[2] At her death it was occupied by Sir Walter Raleigh, a courtier who rapidly became 'persona non grata' under James I, and was to suffer imprisonment for alleged complicity in a plot to alter the succession. In the circumstances it was relatively easy for Dunbar to fulfil this part of his pledge. In addition, the Earl was to assist Bancroft in his campaign to abolish the bishops' legal right to grant long leases to the Crown. Bancroft's efforts were rewarded and Dunbar may well have contributed to his success. Heylyn concludes that the agreement was highly advantageous for the Church:

> "which as it was the best Market that ever Toby Mathew was at, so was it the best bargain which was ever driven for the Church of England; so far from swallowing up that B'rick, that it was the only means to save that, and preserve the rest".

If Dunbar's valuable services were procured and actually contributed to the restoration of Durham House and the passing of Stat 1 Jac.I c.3,

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1 P. Heylyn, Examen Historicum, London, 1659, pp.176-178.

2 Vide supra, p.283.

then Bishop Matthew can be excused. He had sacrificed property already well and truly lost for some very tangible gains.

With the passage of the act forbidding long leases under any circumstances, the worst of the lay assault upon the patrimony of the Church was over. Nevertheless, bishops were still open to interference in the management of their affairs; although with less significant consequences. Writing to his correspondent, John Chamberlain, in 1606, Dudley Carlton revealed that Toby Matthew was dissatisfied with his recent promotion to the Archbishopric of York.[1] He disliked the drop in income and had complained to Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, the Lord Treasurer, that he had been harshly treated over the payment of first fruits. He also lamented that the temporalities of York had been wasted during the vacancy. Carlton added that William James, the new Bishop of Durham, was no happier. He had been compelled, probably as the price of entry to his see, to put the newly recovered Durham House at the disposal of the Duke of Lennox. The Bishops of Durham stood little chance of retaining their own London property when suitable living accommodation close to Westminster was in such high demand. Even Bishop Neile (1617-28), himself an experienced courtier, was not spared. In 1625 he received an order from Secretary Conway to lend his residence to the French Ambassador.[2] Later, in 1640, Bishop Morton (1632-59) was the recipient of a similar directive from Secretary Windebank.[3] He had rented Durham House to the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Coventry. Coventry had died and Morton was instructed to extend the same terms to the

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1 Dudley Carlton to John Chamberlain, 20 August 1606 (S.P.14/23/10).

2 Baron Conway to Bishop Neile, 31 December 1625 (S.P. 16/12/91).

3 Sir Francis Windebank to Bishop Morton, 21 January 1640 (S.P. 16/442/60).

new Lord Keeper, Sir John Finch. The Bishops were in fact receiving rent from their imposed tenants and suffering no financial loss. Yet at the same time they were being deprived of one more sphere of uninhibited action. They were prevented from becoming London property speculators, if they had so desired, and were deprived of a London residence.[1]

Bishop James' loss of control over Durham House was not his only concession to lay pressure. During his pontificate the mastership of Sherburn Hospital again feel vacant. This time it was requested by the Crown on behalf of Thomas Murray, tutor to the Duke of York.[2] James I succeeded where Elizabeth I had failed. Although Murray was clearly going to be an absentee master, requiring the Hospital for profit, Bishop James complied with the King's demand. In his defence it should be added that he lacked Bishop Hutton's legal grounds for refusal to comply. Of more immediate concern, Bishop James also followed Bishop Matthew's precedent in alienating episcopal property. The Crown lease of 1604 had included part of the Bishop's London property, namely the gate-house and stables of Durham House, demised at a rent of £10 p.a.. The land on which these buildings stood was highly prized by the speculators. This particular parcel of the Crown lease was subsequently bought for 'great sums' by Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, with development in mind. His intention was to build a high-class shopping centre, called Britain's Burse, to supply

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1 There is a conflicting claim, not substantiated by the references quoted, that Bishop Morton was bullied by the Earl of Pembroke into completely alienating Durham House in the 1630s; C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, Oxford, 1963, p.314.

2 The King to Bishop James, 22 March ? 1608 (S.P. 15/39/50). Vide supra, pp.308-309.

the needs of the Court.[1] Considering the outlay of capital necessary for the project, Salisbury required greater security and permanency of tenure than the 80 year lease could provide. Accordingly, he used his eminence to persuade Bishop James to make a new grant of the property in perpetuity, in return for some attractive incentives. Salisbury offered to build the Bishop a new set of stables on part of the site, at an eventual cost of £600, and to increase the annual rent for them from £10 to £60. Bishop James fell for the bait and alienated the desired property; Salisbury securing an Act of Parliament to endow the transfer with the utmost validity.[2] The Bishop's behaviour was basically incorrect, but it can be partially justified. In the first place Bishop James was not the recipient of a personal bribe. He made the renunciation of ownership on terms which would benefit future bishops as well as himself. Secondly, he had achieved a material improvement in the Durham temporalities, in the form of new stables and increased rent; a very rare occurrence indeed. The Bishop himself had no qualms about the deal and felt that he and Salisbury deserved congratulation for their exemplary conduct. In a letter to Robert Cecil he wrote:

> "... and yet I accepted as much to me and my successors, as was in former times taken away from my predecessors. I wish all great lords in former times, and in these, would follow your lordship's example, then we poor bishops and clergymen should have less cause to complain! ... If two of my noble predecessors had been so nobly dealt withal, or had been so careful as men of their places ought to have been, I and my successors should have had corn, beef, and mutton, to have

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1 Project addressed by Thomas Wilson to Lord Salisbury for making Britain's Bourse flourish, November 1609 (S.P. 14/49/6); L. Stone, Inigo Jones and the New Exchange, Archaeological Journal, 1957, cxiv, 106-121.

2 An Act for the assurance of certain lands and rents to the Bishop of Durham ...., and of certain other lands to Robert, Earl of Salisbury ..., 16 June 1610 (S.P. 14/55/27).

found our houses, all which I now buy, and had easily been delivered of that £880 which I now yearly pay to Berwick." [1]

All in all Bishop James is not blameworthy in the same sense as Bishops Barnes and Matthew. He secured compensation for his concession and in other respects fought tenaciously for his rights. He repudiated a charter of incorporation granted by his predecessor to the townsmen of Durham and successfully defended his claims against them before the Court of Exchequer, even to the extent of incurring the King's displeasure.[2]

One final example of the way in which the influential laity could effectively inhibit the Bishops' control of their temporalities can be taken from the pontificate of Bishop Morton. It illustrates the point that ecclesiastical landlords could not always gratify their own servants with ease. Morton's predecessor, Bishop Howson (1628-32), had leased a coal-mine at Carterthorne to the feoffees in trust for William Lord Eure. Apparently a flaw had been discovered in the grant, the lease cancelled, and a fresh one made out to Bishop Morton's right-hand man, Thomas Layton. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the case, some creditors of the original lessees, including Lord Arundel of Wordaur, did not accept the change of circumstances with resignation. Possession of the coal-mine was disputed, in the course of which Layton brought an action against Lord Arundel's workmen before the judges of the northern circuit. Whereupon Lord Arundel petitioned the King

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1 Bishop James to the Earl of Salisbury, 16 February 1612 (S.P. 14/68/63).

2 Bishop Matthew's Charter of Incorporation to the City of Durham, February 1602, Miscellanea (Church Commission MSS 221621); Bishop James v. John Patteson et mult. al. concerning the right to hold markets and fairs in Durham, Court of Exchequer, 14 June 1610, Book of Transcripts (Church Commission MSS 57144, pp.47-54); the Mayor of Durham to Sir Thomas Lake, 9 October 1617 (S.P. 14/93/121).

to order the judges to stay the proceedings, on the grounds that he lacked sufficient time to organise his defence. Arundel's standing in society produced the desired effect. The King complied with his wishes and Layton was frustrated in his hopes of a quick victory.[1] He was also probably defeated in the delayed legal proceedings, since Lord Eure's trustees were still in occupation of the coal-mine in 1647.[2]

It is clear that very strong pressures were operative upon the Bishops of Durham from outside their Bishopric. In no sense were they free to pursue their own interests alone. Profit-hungry speculators were ever waiting to snap up every opportunity of acquiring the Bishopric's beneficial leases. Until 1604 the Crown was ready to assist them. Through its agency church land was extremely vulnerable; not always at the hands of the laity only, but sometimes its own guardians as well. The best of the Bishopric lands was much sought after and consequently became the subject of long leases, releasing it for long periods from episcopal control. Invariably the property concerned in Crown leases would have repaid the largest dividends, if an attempt had been made to establish improved rents. Yet no scheme of improvement and modernisation was possible in the setting of the Reformation and its long aftermath. The complete subordination of the Church to the State was paralleled by the exposure of ecclesiastical landowners to the needs of an upper class laity beset by intense social and

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1 Petition of Lord Arundel to the King, July ? 1634 (S.P. 16/272/79).

2 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Evenwood, April 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23380, under Evenwood leaseholders).

economic pressures.

The nearby estates of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral also came under fire, but not with the same intensity. Nothing worse occurred than the extraction of ordinary, short leases by the Crown, on behalf of favoured persons. Long leases were apparently almost impossible of attainment, since they were expressly forbidden in the Cathedral Statutes.[1] There is also the consideration that there was not one grantor to bribe or bully, but several. In 1538 Thomas Cromwell wrote to Hugh Whitehead, Prior of Durham, asking him to grant Stephen Brackenbury, the King's servant, a piece of land called Rylley. The Prior begged to be excused from sanctioning such a lease because it was not the Cathedral's practice to farm out this particular property. It was cultivated by the monks for their own maintenance and its loss would entail a diminution of their ability to perform the duty of hospitality.[2] Eighty-five years later James I wrote to the Dean and Chapter reminding them that they had promised a lease of some of their possessions to his dependent, William Toderick. The King was displeased to find him still waiting hopefully. The delay had occurred because some of the Chapter were opposed to any submission to kingly pressure.[3] The same belligerent attitude was still evident a little later when Robert Dodsworth, Sewer of the Chamber, complained to the Council that the Dean and Chapter of Durham would not renew his lease of some tithes belonging to them. They had persisted in their refusal in spite of a letter from the King himself. George Moorcroft, one of

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1. A. Hamilton Thompson, The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham, Surtees Society Vol 143, London & Durham, 1929, pp.95,97.

2. The Prior of Durham to Thomas Cromwell, 29 April 1538 (S.P. 1/131/868).

3. The King to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, 4 April 1623 (S.P. 14/142/26).

the prebendaries, was named as the instigator of the opposition; his motive being that he wanted the lease for his own son.[1] Judging by their unpopularity with the tenantry and their show of spirit in the face of the Crown, the Dean and Chapter of Durham appear to have been far more vigorous than the Bishops in conserving their temporalities;[2] probably because they enjoyed the security of corporate status, bore fewer obligations and responsibilities, had greater cause to be self-seeking and self-protective (being individually much less well-endowed) and stood much less in the public eye. Nevertheless, in spite of putting up a stiffer resistance, they were still prone to lay interference in their affairs and designs upon their property.

A brief insight into the affairs of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster strengthens the conviction that the cathedral clergy were troubled by lay demands on a substantially smaller scale than the bishops. In 1588, for example, the Queen wrote to the Dean and Chapter for a lease in reversion of Bishops Burton rectory, on behalf of Sir Edward Hastings.[3] It is true that a term of 31 years was demanded, but provision was made for a fine of one year's rent after the first 21 years. On the other hand, being of inferior status, the Dean and Chapter were treated to none of the superficial reverence reserved for bishops. The Queen's Mandamus was quite dictatorial in tone. If the cathedral clergy were asked for similar concessions, they were at least expected to comply immediately, without demur. Under the Stuarts, the tenor

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1 Petition of Robert Dodsworth to the Privy Council, 1625? (S.P. 14/188/40).

2 Vide supra, pp. 186-187.

3 Mandamus from the Queen to the Dean and Chapter of York, 10 June 1588, J. Raine, The Correspondence of Dr. Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, Surtees Society Vol. 17, London and Edinburgh, 1843, p. 76.

of the royal demands changed. The Dean and Chapter of Durham summoned the confidence to deny the Crown an impossible event under Elizabeth. At York in 1605 the Dean and Chapter refused a renewal of a lease of Bishops Burton rectory to Ralph Hansby, a surveyor of the King's stables. When James I wrote to remedy the situation, he did not order the Dean and Chapter to make rapid amends, as his predecessor would have done. He mildly asked them to gratify Hansby, if it was possible, otherwise to present reasons why they could not.[1] James I's partnership with the Church was a very welcome relief after the rough passage experienced under the Tudors.

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1 James I to the Dean and Chapter of York, 20 March 1605 (S.P. 14/13/29).

CHAPTER IX

The Administrative Personnel

An attempt has been made in the last two chapters to explain the static nature of the income of the Bishops of Durham in the 16th and early 17th Centuries. One important contributory factor was the attitude of the Bishops and their tenants towards leasehold property. Another was the intensity of lay designs upon the episcopal estates, made effective by the complete subordination of Church to State. Equally significant was the large amount of land held by hereditary, customary tenures unfavourable to the landlord. A fourth consideration, which must now be examined, is the composition of the administrative personnel. It has already been stated that many offices were filled by men, usually of gentry status, who did not perform their duties in person; that many appointments were made without reference to the candidates' suitability; and that the Bishops usually only relied upon a small inner group of executive officers.[1] These points can be elaborated to demonstrate that the administration was not a suitable vehicle for improved estate management; that it was one more impediment hindering the proper development of the Bishops' resources.

(a) The attitude towards administrative posts.

Administrative posts were treated in very much the same way as the Bishops' leasehold property. They were not only the agencies

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1 Vide supra, pp.64-66.

through which the management of the episcopal estates was conducted, but also a means of rewarding servants, supporting relatives and winning over the local gentry. Patronage was just as important to a bishop as the presence of a workable estate administration. The Bishops' requirements were not all compatible however, which led inevitably to the sacrifice of efficiency. A sound administration was of little value to a bishop, if not wholly unobtainable, when it entailed the abandonment of the essential and traditional obligation of patronage.

(i) Administrative posts employed as a means of rewarding Bishops' servants

A considerable number of administrative posts were bestowed upon the servants of the Bishops of Durham. It can be argued that the insertion into the administration of officers who were diligent and loyal would lead to beneficial results; but this was not usually the case. When a servant was granted an office, it was frequently done without any serious intention of increasing the scope of his duties and employing his talents within a wider field. Usually the sole object was to provide the servant with a reward for services rendered in some other capacity; to give him an opportunity for supplementing his income with the fruits of office without expecting very much effort in return. In some instances the servant became a sinecurist. Usually there was some function to be performed, but this could easily be delegated to a deputy, employed cheaply for the purpose. [redacted] An example of an office being used as a type of payment can be taken from the pontificate of Cardinal Wolsey (1523-29). Hugh Ashton, a former Receiver-General, had been engaged in collecting arrears of rent. In 1525 Wolsey wrote to him thanking

him for his diligence and promising him a 'substantial office'.[1] The intended post was obviously meant to be mainly of financial benefit to him. Tunstall, the most benevolent of the Bishops of Durham in every respect (1530-59), partially staffed his administration with the same end in view. A number of men specifically described as his servants were rewarded with estate offices as a token of the Bishop's esteem:

> Anthony Dixon became Coroner of Chester-le-Street Ward in 1544. He was also the farmer of the tithes of Leake Rectory. 2
>
> John Vaux, Richard Pemberton and Thomas Malison were appointed successively as Bailiffs of Stanhope. 3
>
> William Cornforth, yeoman, was made one of the four foresters of the High Park of Weardale in 1550. 4
>
> Brian Huddleston, gentleman, became Coroner of Darlington Ward, Keeper of Fenwick Park in Norhamshire, and Bailiff of Bishop Auckland. 5

Bishop Tunstall was careful not to dispose of key offices in this way. Bishop Morton (1632-59) on the other hand, was so overcome with affection for his secretary, Richard Baddeley, that he not only appointed him Surveyor of Manors (1635), but also Auditor (1640);[6] although Baddeley lacked the qualifications to discharge the professional duties attached to these chief offices of order. The inexperienced Auditor was forced to lean heavily upon others for advice and appears to have lost the Bishop money, through his

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1 Cardinal Wolsey to Hugh Ashton, 1525 ?, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, IV, Pt.III, Appendix XXXI.

2 Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.40).

3 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton and Spearman MSS 2, under Stanhope).

4 Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.153).

5 Ibid, pp.7-9.

6 A very full and reliable list of appointments is contained in a Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2). Appointments are listed under offices, arranged alphabetically.

unfamiliarity with the auditing procedures.[1] The results of bestowing offices as rewards were not usually so serious, but the efficiency of the estate management was always necessarily impaired to some extent. Bishops' servants were usually too absorbed in extracting the profits of office to contribute significantly to a functional administration.

(ii) Administrative posts employed as gifts to Bishops' relations.

If the Bishops of Durham were prepared to reward servants with offices, they were even more inclined to bestow them upon relatives as gifts, or means of support. In the event of a Bishop's kinsman being appointed to an office, there was little chance that he would discharge his duties conscientiously. Like the Bishop's servants he would feel no responsibility towards the Bishopric once his benefactor had died or departed, and be nothing but a liability to succeeding Bishops. The first recorded example of the appointment of a relative for the period under study is the granting of the Constableship of Durham Castle to Bishop Ruthall's brother, Richard.[2] Bishop Tunstall again proved generous. His kinsman, Antony Tunstall, succeeded to the office of Bailiff of Stockton in 1539.[3] Antony was descended from a cadet branch of the Bishop's family of Tunstall of Thurland Castle, Lancashire. He had moved to the Palatinate from Kendal, Westmorland, probably in the service of the Bishop, and had settled at Stockton. He married Katherine Newse, the daughter of a London merchant with property in the North, and raised a family which became assimilated

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1 Vide supra, p.109.

2 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2). Appointments are listed under offices, arranged alphabetically.

3 Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.4).

into the county gentry. One son, Robert, was later Deputy Sheriff of Durham; another, Ralph, became Archdeacon of Northumberland and chaplain to Archbishop Grindal of Canterbury.[1] Sir Brian Tunstall, son of the Bishop's step-brother Brian, killed at Flodden in 1513, was appointed Surveyor of Mines and Forests, Steward of Norham Castle and Master-Forester.[2] As a Knight of Rhodes he was almost certainly an absentee.[3] Another nephew, Sir Marmaduke Tunstall, head of the family and a commissioner for the suppression of the monasteries in Lancashire, received the Constableship of Durham Castle in 1539.[4] His son, Sir Francis Tunstall, was still in possession of the office in 1568.[2] A lesser kinsman, Roger, mentioned in the Bishop's will, was also appointed one of the four keepers of Stanhope Park and Bailiff of Tweedsmouth in Norhamshire.[5]

The catalogue can be continued for later Bishops of Durham. Bishop Pilkington (1561-76) granted the office of Bailiff of Stockton to Barnabas, son of his brother Leonard.[6] Leonard was Master of St. John's College, Cambridge and the absentee rector of

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1 R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1823, III, 272.

2 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2). Appointments are listed under offices, arranged alphabetically.

3 C. Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstal, London, 1938, Appendix I.

4 Ibid.

5 Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.15). Vide supra, p.183. Antony and Roger Tunstall were also the recipients of extremely beneficial leases; vide supra, p. 226.

6 Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.284).

Whitburn, Co. Durham. Together with another of the Bishop's brothers, John, he was also a prebendary of Durham Cathedral.[1] There were various opportunities for a bishop to advance his family in his diocese and Bishop Barnes (1577-87) certainly used his position with very good affect in this direction. To supplement a liberal distribution of extremely lucrative leases within the family, his kinsman, William, became Bailiff and Coroner of Darlington, whilst his brother John held the offices of Clerk to the Justices of Assize, Clerk to the Justices of the Peace, Coroners' Clerk and Chancery Clerk; from all of which he derived a steady flow of legal fees, as well as the official salaries.[2] John also served his brother as Spiritual Chancellor to complete his hold upon the administration of the law within the Bishopric, and received an additional income as rector of Haughton-le-Skerne. He was allegedly much hated and feared and considered to be the evil genius behind the rather weak-willed Bishop.[3] In contrast Bishop Hutton (1589-95) had little recourse to offices as gifts for his family. There is only reference to the appointment of his nephew, Matthew Hutton, as Bailiff of the borough of Bishop Auckland; an innocuous position.[2] Bishop Matthew (1595-1606) on the other hand, granted his eldest son, Toby, the important office of Surveyor at a time when he was away at University and completing

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1 R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, lxxix.

2 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2).

3 F.O. White, Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops of the Anglican Church, London, 1898, p.185. R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, lxxxii. G. Carleton, The Life of Bernard Gilpin, London, 1636, pp.190-191, 194-196.

his education at Gray's Inn.[1] There were vital functions attached to the Surveyorship which would almost certainly have to be delegated elsewhere. Thus the Bishop's concern for his son's maintenance led to an undesirable duplication of office. This was not the only occasion on which Matthew family considerations interfered with the working of the estate administration. The Bishop also appointed his second son, John, Receiver and Bailiff of Allertonshire, without any intention that he should perform the attendant duties.[1] These were performed for him by Richard Best, gentleman, of Northallerton; a man with whom Bishop James (1606-17) came into conflict over his predecessor's long lease of the Northallerton demesnes.[2] James himself acted no better than Bishop Matthew with respect to offices. He too regarded the administration as a source of income for his kin, as well as the instrument of management for his temporalities. His sons, Timothy and Francis, became joint Keepers of Birtley Wood and Bailiffs of Bishop Auckland.[1] They were hardly likely to attend the borough market or supervise the felling of timber. John was an Oxford M.A. and Timothy a London merchant. In addition, the Bishop's brother, Francis, was endowed with a whole array of posts. He was Keeper of Durham House, Chief Steward, Escheator, Clerk to the Justices of Assize, Clerk to the Coroners and Chancery Clerk.[1] With such a collection of offices to his name, one would expect him to have been resident at Durham, like John Barnes; but this was not so. Francis James had far greater responsibilities elsewhere. A Doctor of Civil Law, he was a

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1 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2).

2 Vide supra, p. 317.

Master of Chancery, a judge attached to one of the Courts of Audience and Chancellor of Wells.[1] Another kinsman of the Bishop, Hugh James, gentleman, was also granted the office of Clerk of Works.[2] Finally Bishop Morton proved very indulgent towards the Blakestone family, associated with Newton Hall, Co. Durham and Old Malton, Yorkshire, to whom he was related by marriage. His brother-in-law, William Blakestone, was appointed Master Forester in 1636.[2] There was some justification for this grant, since William seems to have been the Bishop's special executive.[3] He was replaced later as Master Forester by Henry Blakestone, who also became a Forester of Birtley Wood and Stanhope Park. Ralph Blakestone had also been Forester of Birtley Wood and Robert Blakestone was Bailiff of Bishop Middleham.[2] As gentlemen the Blakestones might have undertaken the duties of the Master Forester, but hardly the tasks assigned to humble woodsmen and bailiffs.[4]

(iii) Administrative posts employed as a means of patronising the local gentry.

The functioning of the estate administration was similarly impaired by the Bishops' tendency to employ offices as a means of patronising the local gentry. The dispensing of patronage was absolutely vital to the Bishops of Durham, socially and politically. Those whom they sought to cultivate were not satisfied with leaseholds alone; besides the profits extracted from attractive leases they also required the perquisites of office obtainable in the Bishops' service. The administration were to be

1 R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, 216.

2 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2).

3 Vide infra, p. 373.

4 For the complementary bestowal of profitable leases upon Bishops' kinsmen, vide supra, pp. 266-269.

exploited as well as the estates. The extent to which the facilities of the estate administration were put at the disposal of the local gentry can be gleaned from a survey of the officers holding appointments under Bishop Tunstall. Out of 76 recorded letters patent of appointment 41 were granted to persons above yeoman status, including 7 knights and 2 noblemen.[1] Of these only 13 were lawyers or professional men. 17 had been appointed by Bishop Tunstall's predecessors; 3 were related to the Bishop. 20 belonged to the Palatinate, 5 to Yorkshire, 4 to Lancashire, 2 to Cumberland and 1 to Northumberland. Details of a small selection follow:

> Francis Baynes was appointed Bailiff of Bishop Auckland in 1557. He belonged to a Lancashire family connected by marriage with the Tunstalls.
>
> Richard Belasyse of Henknold, Co. Durham, became Bailiff of Stockton under Cardinal Wolsey; he held the post until 1539. He was also acting deputy Bailiff of Bishop Auckland from 1528 to 1539. 2
>
> Richard Downes of Bishop Auckland and Evenwood was Parker at Bishop Auckland, 1505-1539. 3
>
> William Lord Eure of Witton Castle, Co. Durham, held the office of Coroner of Chester-le-Street Ward from 1526 to 1544. He was also appointed Escheator in 1526. 4
>
> Sir Thomas Tempest of Holmside, Co. Durham, the prominent northern lawyer who took part in the trials following the Pilgrimage of Grace, was Chief Steward from 1510 to 1544.
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> His younger brother, Nicholas Tempest, of Stella and Stanley, Co. Durham, became a Parker at Wolsingham in 1526. 5

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1 Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a).

2 R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, 203. F.W. Dendy, ed., Visitations of the North, Surtees Society Vol 122, London, 1912, p.15.

3 Visitation of Durham, 1615, Sunderland, 1820, p.105.

4 The Direct Pedigree of Eure of Witton, London, 1880.

5 Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, XI, 246. Visitation of Durham, 1615, Sunderland, 1820.

Nicholas Featherstonehaugh, member of a Stanhope family, held the post of Forester of Roughside. 1

Richard Hedworth of Whickham was appointed Bailiff of Whickham by Cardinal Wolsey and was in possession of the office until 1565. 2

John Lord Lumley of Lumley Castle, Co. Durham, was Master Forester until 1544. 3

John Metcalfe, possibly of Richmondshire, held the office of Auditor from 1505 to 1540. He was also Auditor for the North Parts to Henry VIII. 4

With the exception of John Metcalfe, a true professional, it is doubtful whether any of these gentlemen became personally involved with their offices. Like the Bishops' servants and relatives, they mostly employed deputies to perform all necessary tasks. When administrative posts were treated simply as a source of income or prestige in this way, the effectiveness of the episcopal estate management was bound to be diminished. The number of people connected with the administration was multiplied out of all proportion, leading to a loss of control from the centre. The Bishop engaged one man to fill an office and was actually served by another; usually less effectively, because the stand-in was receiving only a portion of the salary and perquisites attached to his job and was not directly responsible for his own mistakes and short-comings. Under these circumstances the administration could hardly do more than preserve the 'status quo'; it was hardly a suitable instrument for improvement of the Bishop's assets.

(b) Administrative posts as the object of lay pressure.

Bishops appreciated the value of administrative posts

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1 Visitation of Durham, 1615, Sunderland, 1820, p.78.

2 R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1820, II, 197.

3 E. Milner, Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle, London, 1904.

4 R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1823, III, 219.

sufficiently to bestow them as rewards, gifts and financial aids upon their servants and kinsfolk. The local gentry realised their potential enough to covet them. In the circumstances it is therefore not surprising to find the Bishops of Durham coming under pressure from the Crown and the influential laity outside the Palatinate, to distribute their letters patent of appointment in the same way as the best leases. Not only did the Bishops willingly and knowingly undermine the efficiency of their estate administration; they were also occasionally forced to do so.

In some quarters almost a proprietary claim to offices on the episcopal estates was put forward. Thomas Lord Darcy affords an early example. When he sent a memorandum in 1509 to Bishop Ruthall's Chancellor, asking on behalf of Sir Ralph Eure for the posts of Sheriff and High Steward, he wrote as if he expected his wishes to be obeyed; notwithstanding the Bishop's position at Court.[1] In the event, he was not accommodated. Much later in 1531, when his fortunes were fading, he alleged in a letter to Cuthbert Tunstall that the Bishop had promised him the self-same offices before his preferment to Durham. He complained that Tunstall had done nothing to keep his pledge, except lend him £100, which his Chancellor was now demanding back.[2] To the influential bishops of the first part of the 16th Century a petitioner like Darcy was little more than a nuisance, to be appeased with loans or politely rejected. Yet as Bishop Tunstall

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1 A Memorandum by Lord Darcy to the Chancellor of Durham, to be shown to the Bishop, 1509, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, I, 290.

2 Lord Darcy to Bishop Tunstall, 1531, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, V, 77.

was to learn so bitterly, the times were rapidly changing, to the detriment of the Church. With the Henrician Reformation ~~it was~~ ~~subjected to a secular authority more intent upon raiding its temporalities than defending it against the critical laity. Under the new regime~~ the bishops were forced to comply with the wishes of their detractors. ~~As men of the world they dare not withhold what was in their power to bestow. Consequently~~ Darcy and his kind stood a much greater chance of gaining their objectives after the chastening of the higher clergy. The Bishops of Durham were no longer free to manage their own affairs in the same confident manner as Thomas Ruthall or Bishop Tunstall in his early days.

The implications of the new relationship between Church and State became apparent as early as 1532. In that year Bishop Tunstall came under suspicion for his misgivings over the proposed royal supremacy. William Lord Eure had been granted the Captaincy of Norham Castle by the Bishop and began to fear that the imminent disgrace of his patron would provide a lever for those who had designs on his office. If Bishop Tunstall proved a broken reed, Lord Eure recognised where the new focus of power lay. He explained his fears to Thomas Cromwell and asked for his protection.[1] By 1537 the position was quite clear. However distasteful he found it, Bishop Tunstall was compelled to admit that Cromwell was his master and sought to placate him after the Pilgrimage of Grace by appointing him Steward of Howdenshire, with the freedom to choose his own deputy. In case a future bishop looked askance at the grant, Cromwell was offered the unusual privilege of distraining for his fee of £7. 6. 8 p.a., if ever it should be

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1 Lord Eure to Thomas Cromwell, 13 May 1532 (S.P.D. 1/70/1011).

withheld.[1]

Bishop Tunstall was forced by necessity to pander to Thomas Cromwell. Bishop Barnes on the other hand, became the willing tool of William Cecil. Differences apart, the final result was the same. Both Bishops were required to demonstrate their good intentions by bestowing offices at the request of their powerful patrons. Soon after his transference to Durham Bishop Barnes was asked to grant the Keepership of Birtley Wood to Burghley's servant, Thomas Speede. The Bishop readily complied, although pointing out that the appointment was really a needless charge.[2] The office was clearly recognised by Barnes as a sinecure at his own expense. At least he had the consolation that Burghley was modest in his demands. Upon Bishop Barnes' death, Henry Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick, exhibited no such moderation. He wrote via Sir Francis Walsingham to solicit the Queen's aid in securing the High Stewardship of the Durham estates from the next incumbent. In order to promote his expectations, Hunsdon maintained, quite erroneously, that the Stewardship was customarily occupied by the Earls of Westmorland and that since their departure from the office, the tenantry had been treated badly by the Bishops. He professed his willingness to bring them relief and was quite sure that the next bishop would make the desired appointment 'if Her Majesty would but move it to him'.[3] In spite of his efforts Hunsdon did not succeed in his bid. If he found a promoter in

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1 Bishop Tunstall to Thomas Cromwell, 18 August 1537, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, XII, Pt.2, 536. Letters Patent of Appointment (Church Commission MSS 220883).

2 Bishop Barnes to Lord Burghley, 14 August 1577 (Lansdowne MSS 25/32).

3 Lord Hunsdon to Sir Francis Walsingham, 8 February 1588 (S.P. 15/30/79).

Walsingham, the new Bishop, Hutton, seems to have acquired a more influential protector in Lord Burghley, who intervened frequently to save helpless churchmen from the worst excesses of the laity.[1] Hunsdon was not kept out of the Palatinate by the Bishop. He was rejected at Court, rather than at Durham.

It is apparent that the Reformation put administrative posts on episcopal estates at the disposal of the Crown, its leading councillors and courtiers. They were even more exposed to lay ambitions than the Church's leasehold property, since appointments made under pressure were not as demonstrably injurious to bishopric endowments as long leases and were in no way restricted by law. There is also the consideration that bishops did not resist them with any urgency, since they had already consciously prejudiced the efficiency of their administrations by employing them to fit a dual role. In the early 17th Century the lay interest in episcopal temporalities was checked by the total prohibition of long leases, but no measures were taken to curb the minor assault upon administrative posts. If a letter sent in 1617 to Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State, can be believed, court figures were still involved in the disposal of administrative posts on episcopal estates.[2] The letter was written upon the death of Bishop James by his Under-Steward, Robert Cooper, and addressed to Lake at Edinburgh, where he was attending the King. Cooper was afraid of losing his office under a new master. He not only recommended himself to the bishop-elect, but made doubly sure of his position by seeking the protection of the Secretary of State as well. This

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1 Vide infra, p. 386.

2 Robert Cooper to Sir Thomas Lake, 19 May 1617 (S.P. 14/92/33).

was not merely a painstaking search for security on the part of an over-anxious official. Cooper's self-introduction to Lake was apparently a necessity, since some of his fellow-officers and neighbours had already made trips to Edinburgh, to present their credentials in person. Cooper apologised for not making a personal appearance. Unlike some of his colleagues, he was a working official. If the halmote courts were not held under his chairmanship, the welfare of the Bishopric's copyhold tenants would be jeopardised. In case this excuse was not sufficient to win the Secretary's approval, Cooper added that he was also engaged in preventing the dead Bishop's executors from selling goods which were legally part of the temporalities of the See.

(c) The attractions of office-holding.

There is no doubt that administrative posts on the Bishopric estates were prized, although not to the same extent as leasehold property. They were considered worthy of relatives, servants and the local gentry; ~~by the Bishops;~~ they attracted interest outside the Palatinate and received the attention of the powerful figures of the day. With reference to this popularity it is now necessary to examine the attractions of office-holding.

There was certainly more to most administrative posts than the accompanying wages and fees, which in spite of inflation, remained fixed in amount like the Bishops' customary rents. Even the higher offices were hardly worth acquiring for their salaries alone, and it was certainly not the official recompense which induced men of substance to fill the lower positions. The fee of £1. 0. 0 p.a. attached to the Keepership of Wolsingham Park for instance, could only have been a real incentive to a man of humble origins. Quite clearly the lure of an office lay in its

perquisites. Most officials, from the village collector to the Auditor, Steward, Surveyor and Receiver-General, could legitimately claim expenses incurred in the course of their duties. This right was easily open to abuse unless carefully controlled. The officers of receipt at all levels were also accustomed to handling varying sums of cash belonging to the Bishop, ~~They were not strictly accountable until the end of the financial year~~ and ~~sometimes~~ had the opportunity to use the money on their own account! ~~a practice which would also explain the observed delay in making payments into the Exchequer~~[1] Officers engaged in legal work, such as the Escheator and the Steward, undoubtedly exacted fees for their services; and so too did those engaged in drawing up documents employed in the administration, like the Engrosser of the account rolls. In the main, the perquisites of office, like leasehold fines, are surrounded by an aura of mystery and remain vague and indefinable. A few details can be found however, which afford some glimpses of the hidden appeal of office-holding.

The officers of order, as the most responsible of estate officials, seem to have been well-furnished with perquisites. Both the Auditor and the Steward were enabled to exploit the growing demand for land which became apparent by the end of the 16th Century. Whenever a lease was negotiated it was brought to the notice of the Auditor, who caused the transaction to be recorded in a register. For acting as the registrar of leases the Auditor was entitled to a fee at the expense of the Bishops' leasehold tenants; 3/4d. for a lease of 21 years and 6/8d. for a lease of

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1 Vide supra, pp.99-102.

three lives. In addition, the Auditor's Clerk who actually copied the indentures for the record, received a fee of 6d. (21 years) or 12d. (three lives).[1] The Steward's scale of fees are unknown, but at least in 1634 the provision made for his expenses was very liberal indeed. He was allowed to improve common grazing over an extensive area and pass the resulting enclosures over to copyholders at a rent of 4d. per acre, with an entry fine of 6/8d. per acre.[2] An enterprising Steward would have had no difficulty in meeting the cost of the halmote courts and making a handsome, personal profit besides.

On a lesser plane the keepership of a park or wood seems to have been a particularly worthwhile office, since it was usually accompanied by the right to free pasture, hay or timber. The Keeper of Bedburn Park was entitled to the tops and bark of all the trees felled within the confines of his charge; a right valued at £100 in 1649.[3] The Master Forester and the two Keepers of Stanhope Park were each allowed to mow hay for 20 days within the Park's deer enclosure.[4] At Evenwood the Keeper had the right to live in the hunting lodge and pasture 8 cows, 4 oxen, 2 horses and 20 sheep. He could also cut sufficient hay in the Park to feed his stock through the winter.[5] The Keeper of Birtley Wood was likewise entitled to herbage rights, but had to pay a rent of 16/2d. p.a.. This was of small account in comparison with the real

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.300).

2 Vide supra, p.209.

3 Survey of the Manor of Wolsingham, March 1647, and Supplementary Survey, 1649 (Church Commission MSS 31611, under Bedburn Park).

4 Ibid, Supplementary Survey.

5 Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.88).

value of the concession. In 1612 the Keepership was leased by its holder for three years at an annual rent of £26.13. 4, which presumably still left a profit for his two tenants.[1]

The administration of the Bishopric's mineral resources inevitably proved fruitful. When William and Thomas Thomlynson were appointed Clerks of the Mines in 1529, they were entitled to claim, besides their annual salary of £6.13. 4, one chaldron (18 cwt. or 4 cart-loads) of coal per day out of every mine at Gateshead, Whickham and Lynn-Dean.[2]

Manorial Bailiffs benefited in a similar, material fashion. The Bailiff of the Manor of Stockton (and Keeper of the Bishop's residence there) was allowed pasturage for 2 horses and 10 cows.[3] When Barnabas Pilkington was granted the office by his uncle, the Bishop, he also acquired the use of the gardens and orchards attached to the castle.[4] The Bailiff of the Manor of Darlington on the other hand, qualified for the possession of two closes containing two acres and one rood and valued at £5 p.a. in 1647. In addition he received 4 quarters of wheat annually from the tenants of Blackwell. Wheat was worth 8/0d. per bushel in 1647, which brought the Bailiff a gain of £12.16. 0 p.a.. The Bailiff's annual fee was £2.13. 4, but his office was worth at least £20 p.a..[5]

The Coroners of the four Wards also fared well, receiving extra dues from the Bishop's tenantry, as well as the perquisites

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184958, p.234).

2 J. Brand, The History and Antiquities of Newcastle upon Tyne, London, 1789, I, 478-479, II, 264.

3 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2).

4 Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.284).

5 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Darlington (Church Commission MSS 23378, under Darlington).

connected with their legal functions. The Coroner of Stockton Ward could claim £14. 3. 4 p.a. besides his official fee of £1.[1] The Coroners of Easington and Chester-le-Street Wards took their bonuses partly in the form of payments of corn. For example the Easington Coroner was entitled to 7/8d. from the parish of Newbottle, 6 pecks of wheat from the Herringtons, 14 bushels of wheat and 4/8d. from Tunstall, 17 bushels of wheat and 5/8d. from Ryhope and 10 bushels of wheat and 1/8d. from Burdon. These extras added a total of £17.19. 8 p.a. to his basic fee of £3.

These perquisites appertain to a fair cross-section of the offices within the episcopal, estate administration. It is therefore a reasonably safe supposition to class them as typical and to state that practically every officer in the Bishop's employment derived more than a mere fee from his position. If the emoluments of office were attractive, the general terms of service were also very much in the officer's favour. The letters patent of appointment were usually weighted towards their recipients at the expense of an efficient administration.[2] The majority of officers received their appointments for life and were virtually irremovable, provided their letters patent were in order. In most cases appointees were also given leave to nominate deputies, which implies that they could sell or lease their offices, as well as hire others at cheap rates to perform their duties. They acquired a legal, proprietary right to their posts, which debarred the Bishop from exercising a direct control over his administrative personnel. Officers of receipt were frequently even relieved

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1 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2).

2 A typical form of appointment is set out in Appendix XXX, p.578.

of dependence upon the Bishop for their fees, since they received the right to deduct their dues from collected revenue. In addition, favoured appointees sometimes gained a right of distraint if their fees were not paid. The only safeguard for the Bishop was a clause providing for the dismissal of officers of charge if they failed to make an annual account. This stipulation at least ensured that the Bishop was not cheated of his regular income, but it failed to produce an administration capable of implementing the reforms which were necessary if the [redacted] value of the Durham temporalities was to be maintained or improved.

It is clearly apparent that the system of office-holding and the light in which it was viewed, favoured the officer rather than his employer. During the whole of the period under study there is only one recorded instance of an official favoured by one Bishop falling foul of another and being worsted in the encounter; and on that occasion the unfortunate individual's antagonist was none other than Cardinal Wolsey, at that time the most powerful figure in England. The officer concerned was Thomas Strangways, employed by Bishop Ruthall as Clerk of Works. He was principally involved in the Bishop's improvements to Bishop Auckland Palace and was apparently so devoted to Ruthall's service that he continued building operations at his own expense when official supplies of money dried up in 1519.[1] His personal sacrifice was ill-advised. Bishop Ruthall died without recompensing his servant and Strangways was forced to beg his due from a new master. In 1528 he is found writing to Thomas Cromwell, as a mediator between himself and Cardinal Wolsey.[2] He offered to complete the work at Bishop

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1 Thomas Strangways to Bishop Ruthall, 26 August 1519 (S.P.D. 1/19/440).

2 Thomas Strangways to Thomas Cromwell, 1528 (S.P.D. 1/52/5111).

Auckland under a bond of £1,000, on condition that he was granted the wardship of George Bowes and his brother William in holy orders, was appointed as chaplain to the Cardinal and endowed with the benefice of Bishop Wearmouth.[1] Strangways' request seems to have been granted, probably through the intervention of his more influential brother, but the following year his fortunes had dropped to rock-bottom. He was imprisoned for debt and wrote a sorrowful letter to the Duke of Norfolk and the King's Council, complaining about the ill-treatment he had received at Cardinal Wolsey's hands.[2] He had spent eight years in the service of the Bishops of Durham without payment and at a personal cost of £600; including four years in the employment of Cardinal Wolsey at a cost of £400. Eventually to offset his outlay, he had been granted the wardship of George Bowes, but even before he had been able to enjoy it, was compelled to release it to Sir William Bulmer. He had claimed £700 in compensation, but had in fact only received £66.13. 4. Bulmer had paid Wolsey £800 for the wardship, had sold part of it for £1900 to Sir William Eure and had retained profits for himself to the value of £1200. To add to his misfortunes Strangways had been deprived by Wolsey of his lease of the parsonage of Codingham, at a personal loss of £580. He had also been expelled from the portership of Berwick which he held for life; worth £280, including £40 invested in Thomas Cromwell for help in obtaining the office. The outcome of the episode is unknown. If Strangways' allegations were true, his case as an ill-used office-holder was unique. On the other hand there is

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1 For reference to William Strangways vide infra, pp. 366-367.

2 Thomas Strangways to the Duke of Norfolk and the Lords of the Council, circa 1529, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, IV, Pt. III, 6586.

some reason to believe that his plaintive cry was grossly exaggerated, coinciding as it did with the successful attempt of Cardinal Wolsey's enemies to encompass his ruin.

In the prevailing circumstances of tenure it is hardly surprising that the responsibilities of office-holding were taken lightly and that offices were regarded as transferable commodities rather than positions of trust. This common attitude has already been observed in practice with reference to the Keepership of Birtley Wood.[1] Other instances can be added. In 1529 for example, the Durham Chancellor, William Frankleyn, wrote to Thomas Cromwell concerning the office of the Bailiff of Darlington.[2] Bishop Ruthall had conferred the post upon Richard Waldegrave, who had passed it on to the Chancellor's brother. The latter now wished to surrender his interest to William Wytheham and was hoping that Cromwell would prevail upon his master, Cardinal Wolsey, to issue a fresh patent in Wytheham's name. The Bailiwick was quite clearly conceived as a piece of property, to be exploited for profit by its various holders. Frankleyn's brother could no doubt command a higher selling price from Wytheham if he supplied his buyer with a new appointment in his own name. Forty years later the office was in the possession of Thomas Vaux, a yeoman of Durham. In 1575, under the pretext of nominating a deputy, he sold his letters patent for £40 to Ralph Eure, Esq..[3] There was evidently more to the position than the annual fee of £5. Eure would not have been prepared to wait for eight years before receiving a return on his investment.

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1 Vide supra, pp.344-345.

2 William Frankleyn to Thomas Cromwell, 6 April 1529 (S.P.D. 1/53/5431).

3 Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.281).

Another interesting transaction took place in 1567, when John Sheen of Wolsingham sold his Forestership of Roughside to Richard Emerson of Ludwell for £6.13. 4.[1] The selling price was probably low because of doubts over Sheen's life, on which possession of the office depended. If Sheen died within the space of six years following the sale, his executors were to refund £1 for every one of the six years unexpired; unless Emerson succeeded in securing a new grant in his own name. In this case there was definitely more to the office than the annual fee of £1. Commuted bondworks at least provided an extra perquisite of 10/0d. p.a..

The Bailiwick of Darlington and the Forestership of Roughside were minor offices in which only limited damage could be caused by the mercenary approach to office-holding. It could however affect positions of the highest importance. In 1558 Richard Norton, the Captain of Norham Castle and the chief administrator of Norhamshire, planned to sell his post for £300 to Sir Henry Percy, Deputy Warden of the Eastern March. Bishop Tunstall disapproved, on the grounds that Norton's proposed action was illegal; whereupon his disappointed officer put his case before Queen Mary, hoping that the Bishop would be overruled.[2] He received even less satisfaction from that quarter.[3] If Bishop Tunstall viewed Norton's proposal from a legal angle, Mary was much more concerned with its practical implications. She pointed out that she had obtained the Captaincy of Norham for Norton in the hope that he would discharge his duties meaningfully and weld his

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1 Ibid, p.89.

2 Richard Norton to Queen Mary, 23 January 1558 (S.P.D. 15/8/71).

3 Mary I to Richard Norton, 31 January 1558 (S.P.D. 15/8/75).

charge into an effective, defensive bastion against the Francophile Scots. Instead, Norton had shown little concern for the Castle's security and the Queen's service. He had first farmed out his office and was now trying to sell it; making it "a matter of merchandise". Having paid dearly for the post, the prospective buyer would hardly take his responsibilities seriously; being primarily absorbed in recouping his initial outlay. Norton was to abandon his plans and start performing his functions. If he was not prepared to do so, then he would be replaced. The Queen clearly felt that the Captaincy of Norham Castle was an office of special trust, from which the holder should seek prestige and honour, rather than monetary gain. Norton, on the other hand, conceived his post as a source of profit, rather than a position calling for a conscious effort on his part. He cannot be entirely blamed for his viewpoint. He shared it with the Bishops of Durham, who had formed a habit of farming out Norhamshire, in spite of its strategic importance for the security of the kingdom.[1] Offices were recognised as merchandise as much by bishops as by officers. So long as they did so, the administration was bound to suffer.

(d) The undesirable element amongst the administrative personnel.

The result of the Bishops' employment of offices as a source of patronage and the attractions of office-holding, was the creation of a partially uncontrollable and unreliable estate administration. The stereotyped nature of the letters patent of appointment ensured that during every pontificate a major proportion of the administrative personnel was not of the Bishop's own choosing. The situation was not improved by a tendency on the part of the

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1 Vide supra, pp.53-58.

Bishops to make as many new appointments as possible on the eve of their promotion to other bishoprics; thereby ending their pontificates with an inexpensive display of munificence. Bishop Hutton for example, made at least 18 grants of office during his last year at Durham, and Bishop Neile, 25. It is possible that some incoming Bishops disputed and rejected some of these dubious appointments, replacing them with their own nominations. Bishop James issued at least 16 letters patent during his first year at Durham, whilst Bishop Morton granted as many as 31. Yet the extent of their remedial action should not be exaggerated. In many cases the Bishops would simply be confirming existing appointments. In the light of the legal obstacles positive redress was extremely difficult. In the end each Bishop was forced to reconcile himself to the presence of a certain number of officers who would not have his best interests at heart; also a small, hostile element that would be the cause of much annoyance and embarrassment. This latter was apt to generate a great deal of friction and occasionally render the administration completely ineffective, wherever it came into contact with it.

Typical of the troublesome breed was John Lord Lumley, who as Master Forester of Weardale and Surveyor, was engaged in a long, running battle with Bishops Ruthall and Wolsey. He was appointed to office by Bishop Bainbridge (1507-08) shortly before his translation to York, in a way which Bishop Ruthall found unacceptable.[1] The Bishop informed him that he had failed to prove his title to the Mastership in a satisfactory manner and ordered him to surrender the keys of Westgate Castle and the rolls

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1. Lumley's appointment is dated 31 August 1508 (Church Commission MSS A/17/7). Bainbridge was translated to York in September 1508.

of the forest courts to William Hilton. He accused Lord Lumley of trying to browbeat him, after being involved by his advisers "in untrue surmises and colorable tales".[1] Lumley was not a man to readily respond to a mere command. He was a powerful figure in the Palatinate, quite prepared to defy an absentee Bishop who had little real strength in the North, in spite of his high position at Court. With the exception of one year (1510-11) when William Hilton was designated as the official Master Forester, he clung tenaciously to his office for almost the whole of Bishop Ruthall's pontificate; fully conscious of the fact that the Bishop had no desire to retain his services. His continuance as Master Forester and Surveyor was based upon the alleged legality of his letters patent, rather than any eventual reconciliation with the aggrieved Bishop. He seems to have occupied a storm-centre of opposition to Ruthall and instigated a great deal of lawlessness. In 1518 William Frankleyn, the Bishop's Chancellor, offered to prepare a book of articles against Lumley, if he was summoned up to London for trial. He assured his master that the punishment of the fractious lord would act as a useful deterrent.[2] Such a troublemaker could have played no constructive part in the work of the administration, prizing his office only for its monetary influence and nuisance value. Fortunately the tide eventually turned in the Bishop's favour. If Lord Lumley himself can be believed, Bishop Ruthall finally succeeded in ejecting him from office. When the Bishop died in 1523, Lumley complained that

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1 Bishop Ruthall to Lord Lumley, 1509, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, I, 291.

2 William Frankleyn to Bishop Ruthall, 25 June 1518, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, II, 4258.

he had been prevented from occupying his post for 4 years and had been deprived of his fee.[1] Cardinal Wolsey also seems to have taken the same firm line, settling the Master Forestership upon Richard Pemberton. However, a receipt of 1529 signifies that some sort of compromise took place; Lord Lumley being consoled with at least some of the arrears of pay owing to him.[2] The generosity of an outgoing Bishop had saddled the administration with a stubborn liability, which it took years to remove; a time during which the management of the High Forest of Weardale must have been thrown into a state of confusion.

Resistance to the Bishop from within the estate administration was not solely the preserve of the aristocracy. Members of the gentry class were equally capable of blatant defiance, as is instanced by the case of Gervase Cawood, Bishop Tunstall's Receiver for Howdenshire. When the Bishop wrote to Thomas Cromwell in 1537, appointing him Steward of the Liberty, he also mentioned that he had discharged Cawood from office because of his complicity in the Pilgrimage of Grace.[3] One would expect Cawood, an accused person, to have accepted his dismissal with resignation; not wishing to draw unwelcome attention to his late activities and thankful only to be losing his office. This was not the Receiver's approach at all. He boldly adopted the manner of an injured, innocent party and expressed an intention to put his complaint before the King. His behaviour prompted Bishop Tunstall

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1 Wrongs done by the Bishop of Durham to Lord Lumley, 1523 (S.P.D. 1/27/2806).

2 Receipt from Lord Lumley to Robert Hervy, 15 March 1529 (S.P.D. 1/53/5384).

3 Bishop Tunstall to Thomas Cromwell, 18 August 1537, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, XII, Pt.2, 536. Letters Patent of Appointment (Church Commission MSS 220883).

to supply Cromwell with more facts about the recent happenings in Howdenshire, the truth of which could be verified by his suffragan, the Bishop of Llandaff.[1] The Bishop alleged that Cawood had been one of the chief instigators of the rebellion in the East Riding and had even acted as secretary to Robert Aske. If these were not considered sufficient grounds for the forfeiture of his letters patent, the Receiver had also robbed his master of 50 fat cattle, blaming their disappearance upon the marauding Pilgrims. In addition he had been £100 in debt to the Bishop over the last 7 years and was then exactly £94 in arrears. Surely, Tunstall concluded, "such a weed is meet to be put out of a garden where good fruit in peace should grow". The Bishop made his point and finally succeeded in ridding himself of Cawood, but not before a considerable amount of damage had been done. Quite apart from the material losses occurring in the administration of Howdenshire, Bishop Tunstall had been forced into an undignified squabble and compelled to justify his actions before a lay arbitrator. Both the temporalities and the dignity of the Bishop were bound to suffer.

Another possible troublemaker was Ninian Burbage, keeper of one of the episcopal woods under Bishop Barnes. In 1584 he wrote to the Privy Council complaining that his fee had been withheld for six years, on the grounds that he had wasted his charge. He denied the allegation and asserted that the Queen's Surveyor would find the Bishop himself responsible for the wrongful felling of timber.[2] This incident must be treated with extreme caution. Burbage's

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1 Bishop Tunstall to Thomas Cromwell, 7 April 1538, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, XIII, Pt.1, 708.

2 Petition of Ninian Burbage to the Council, July 1584 (S.P. 12/172/40).

petition could well be the product of a resentful wrongdoer thirsting for revenge. Equally, with Bishop Barnes, the officer could have been singled out as a scapegoat to deflect blame from his unprincipled master. A similar dual interpretation can be read into the statement of Bishop Barnes' executors in 1588 that Sir Henry Gate, Receiver for Howdenshire, owed the deceased Bishop £400; and Gate's contrary assertion that the opposite was true and his charge cancelled out.[1] Either the executors were trying to conceal a large debt, or Gate was taking advantage of the Bishop's death to pocket some of the episcopal revenues.

Officers of the calibre of Lord Lumley and Gervase Cawood (and perhaps Ninian Burbage and Sir Henry Gate) presented an extreme but occasional problem. Much more familiar were the appointees who extracted all they could from their offices, without contributing one iota of useful service in return. Their adverse impact upon the administration was less dramatic, but of considerable affect, because of their numbers. Characteristic of his kind was Robert Meynell, a Yorkshire gentleman, against whom Bishop Pilkington complained bitterly in 1561.[2] Meynell was a Sergeant-at-Law who had held a variety of legal offices under Bishop Tunstall, including the Stewardship and Clerkships to the Chancery and the Justices of Assize. He immediately fell foul of Bishop Pilkington because of his Roman Catholic beliefs, particularly when he continued to sit on the Council of the North whilst refusing to take the oath of uniformity. The Bishop had

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1 John Clopton, the Queen's Receiver for Northumberland, to Lord Burghley, 12 January 1588 (S.P. 15/30/70).

2 Bishop Pilkington to Sir William Cecil, 14 November 1561 (S.P. 12/20/25).

refused to allow Meynell to exercise any jurisdiction within the Palatinate, which had brought upon him the hostility of many of his flock. It was for this reason that he sought to justify his denial of the recusant officer on other than religious grounds. He maintained that Meynell was in employment purely for personal gain and had derived an unprecedented profit from the perquisites of office, whilst discharging few of his duties. He had prospered so well out of his position, worth only £14 p.a. in official salary, that he had been able to buy £400 worth of land. Meynell was not the only culprit in this respect. The Sheriff of Durham, Robert Tempest, described as the wealthiest man in the county, also received a specific mention. Altogether, the temporal jurisdiction was in a very sorry state. The fees accompanying offices were small, but the perquisites were large. Unfortunately these had already been dealt out, so that Pilkington was experiencing difficulty in recruiting reliable officers to fill vacant posts. The Bishop, fresh from his protestant exile, wrote in very disillusioned terms against his whole administration, as if all his officers were profiting at his expense. Although his complaints were a reaction to his hostile, Catholic surroundings, there was still probably a large element of truth in his allegations. There can be no doubt that the religious conservatism prevalent in the North helped to diminish the degree of loyalty and service accorded to the Elizabethan Bishops.

The unreliability and unseemly behaviour of officers, like the lay demand for desirable leases, were phenomena common to the Church in general. A few years after Bishop Pilkington contended with Sergeant Meynell, the Dean and Chapter of Durham were in controversy with Christopher Neville, uncle to the Earl of

Westmorland, over an office concerned with the mustering of the Cathedral tenantry. Both parties appealed for the assistance of William Cecil.[1] Neville claimed the office as an hereditary, family possession, whilst the Dean and Chapter sought to rid themselves of his services and the charge of a £10 fee, by claiming that the post, for which no provision had been made in the Cathedral Statutes, was only occasional and extraordinary. The Dean and Chapter wished to economise by cutting down expenses, but were thwarted by an influential tenant and officer who claimed a permanent salary for duties which he performed at infrequent intervals during emergencies. Once more there occurred the inevitable conflict between efficiency and the gratification of vested interests.

A similar or worse state of affairs existed outside the Bishopric of Durham. Lord North, Steward to Bishop Cox of Ely, bitterly attacked the Bishop with an intimidating set of charges and a large book of complaint, after failing in 1575 to gain Cox's cooperation over a long lease of Somersham, one of the Bishopric's best manors; forcing the Bishop to seek the protection of William Cecil, and the aid of the Queen's physician, Dr. Masters.[2] Sir Robert Stapleton, servant to Archbishop Sandys, even descended to blackmail against his patron. Having arranged for a married woman to be discovered naked in the Archbishop's bed, Stapleton successfully used the threat of publicity to extract £600 and a lease from the distraught and terrified Sandys. Consumed with greed he then pushed his victim too far by demanding a 70 year lease (via the Crown) of Southwell and Scrawby, two of the

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1 Christopher Neville to Sir William Cecil, 10 December 1568; the Dean and Chapter of Durham to Sir William Cecil, 13 December 1568 (S.P. 12/48/56 and 58).

2 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, II, Pt.1, pp.534-548.

Archbishop's best manors, lying in Nottinghamshire; his rashness goaded Sandys into exposure of his embarrassing and humiliating predicament and the whole enterprise was dashed.[1] Another officer of the predatory kind was Sir Richard Norton, in the service of the Bishop of Winchester in 1587, who charged his lord with covetousness, in the hope of overawing him. As the Bishop himself explained to Lord Burghley, "Sir Richard Norton is nigh himself, and of a great stomac, and useth broad speech, thinking belike to make me afraid, as he doth some others."[2] These cases, like the few comparatively milder ones recorded for the Bishopric of Durham, are known to the historian because of the excessive conduct or demands of the officers concerned. There were in addition many other officials acting as liabilities to estate administrations and a drain on episcopal incomes, who never received a mention in the correspondence of the bishops. They were quietly tolerated because their behaviour and requirements were less extravagant. A semi-ineffective administration, resulting from the inadequacies of its personnel, was considered to be a necessary evil; an inevitable side product of ecclesiastical landownership.

(e) Measures taken to repair the effectiveness of the episcopal estate administration.

~~As long as the Church was subordinated to temporal~~ ~~State and administrative offices were acquired by~~ ~~than the episcopal estate administration could~~ ~~family offices.~~ The limitations of the machinery at their disposal were appreciated by the Bishops. They wished the

1 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, III, Pt.1, pp.142-157.

2 Ibid, III, Pt.2, Appendix XXX, pp.261-263.

administrative structure to provide more than the management of their temporalities and were consequently prepared to endure inadequacies with respect to its primary function. At the same time they were concerned to avoid a total breakdown of administration. This was achieved by ensuring that a proportion of the administrative personnel - usually the most important - was not recruited from the ranks of those who considered service and loyalty to be the least significant aspects of office-holding. An attempt was made to effect a balance between those to whom offices were simply perquisites and those who were seriously engaged in managing their lord's affairs.

The balance was usually imperfect, at the expense of an effective administration, but at least from 1561 onwards some effort was made to achieve an equilibrium by the deliberate practice, increasingly pursued, of leaving the more inessential offices unmanned whenever they fell vacant. Under Bishop Pilkington the average number of empty offices was twelve p.a. Under Bishop Barnes it was sixteen and rose to twenty-five and twenty-six under Bishops Matthew and Morton respectively.[1] The advantages of this policy were twofold. It reduced the carriage of dead weight within the administration and represented a saving in the outlay on fees and wages. However, in spite of its evident popularity with the Bishops, it could not be taken too far. Their calculations had to include the gratification of family, servants and local gentry, as well as the management of their temporalities. If too many sinecures and minor posts were pared away, the seekers of patronage would become disgruntled, or demand satisfaction in

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1 These figures have been derived from a study of the expenditure on fees and wages recorded in the Receiver-General's Accounts.

other more important sectors of the administration and so inhibit its performance even further.

Another expedient for improving the efficiency of the administration was the conducting of occasional inquiries into the credentials of holders of letters patent of appointment. The evidence is slender, but there is reason to believe that such investigations took place at the beginning of each pontificate. In 1618 for example, soon after Richard Neile (1617-28) became Bishop of Durham, the collector and tenants of Blackwell were instructed not to deliver the fee-corn of 4 quarters of wheat to Thomas Tunstall, the Bailiff of the Manor of Darlington.[1] Tunstall had presumably forfeited his claim to office at Bishop Neile's initial inspection of his administrative personnel. More definite proof is provided in a command sent by Bishop Morton in 1632 to his Auditor, Timothy Comyn, and Receiver-General, Hugh Wright, before he had even arrived in his diocese.[2] Comyn and Wright were to withhold the payment of fees from all personnel, except the officers of receipt, until the Bishop had checked the validity of their letters patent upon his arrival in Durham. This second remedy for the shortcomings of the administration was equally of limited affect. The importance attached to office-holding ensured that very few letters patent were open to rejection because of flaws in their composition. In any case a bishop had to proceed with caution and discretion when reviewing the appointments of his predecessors, if he valued the cooperation of the upper classes within his bishopric and his prospects within a Church

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1 Lease Enrollment Book (Church Commission MSS 184959, p.24).

2 Bishop Morton to Timothy Comyn and Hugh Wright, 8 November 1632 (Church Commission MSS Miscellanea 221137).

geared to the requirements of the State.

In the prevailing circumstances the Bishops of Durham were unable to trim the balance of the administration to any noticeable degree by their practices of deliberately leaving offices vacant and vetting letters patent. ~~So long as offices within the estate administration held out certain attractions to the laity, there could be no question of a totally loyal and dedicated administrative personnel. The Bishops through long usage chose to employ an administrative machine that, since it was required to fulfil two essentially incompatible functions, was for the main part far less than 100% satisfactory. It was served by officers who were virtually irremoveable, who, with a few exceptions, had to be tolerated at all costs. Bishops Pilkington, Barnes, Matthew, Neile and Morton were in no way seeking to end this arrangement by their remedial action. They were merely trying to make an adjustment in favour of the administration's most immediate task of controlling the temporalities.~~ But at all times a modicum of efficiency had to be maintained. This was mainly achieved, not by attempts to improve the reliability of the administrative personnel as a whole, but by placing the direction and supervision of the administration in the hands of a person or persons ~~invariably~~ committed to the interests and service of the Bishop. The inadequacies of the body of the administration were by and large accepted with resignation and counter-balanced by the effectiveness of its head.

An early representative of that inner circle of advisory and executive officers upon whom the Bishops relied, rather than on the main corpus of their administrations, was William Frankleyn, Chancellor and Receiver-General to Bishop Ruthall (1509-23) from 1515 onwards. Born around 1480, he was educated at Eton and

King's College, Cambridge, graduating in 1504 as a Bachelor of Common Law.[1] He then proceeded to enter the Church and began his connection with Bishop Ruthall. His association with the Bishop stood him in good, material stead, since the reward for his temporal services took the form of substantial ecclesiastical appointments. He became Archdeacon of Durham, Master of Kepier Hospital in Co. Durham, a prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral and the collegiate church of Lanchester and rector of Houghton-le-Spring. In return for this ample payment Frankleyn assiduously protected his master's interests. He acted as chief liaison officer between Ruthall and the administration of the Bishopric of Durham in all its aspects, particularly during the Bishop's frequent absences in the employment of the Crown. Reference has already been made to a letter in which Frankleyn complained to Bishop Ruthall of Lord Lumley.[2] His proposal for curbing the turbulent lord was just one item in a long report acquainting the absentee Bishop with the affairs of his diocese. Its main heads give some indication of the extensive scope of Frankleyn's activities. The account opens with the very important topic of law and order. Frankleyn admits that the peace and security of the Bishopric are being threatened by the men of Tynedale and Redesdale, especially those under the protection of Lord Dacre and Ralph Fenwick. The Chancellor is evidently absorbed in a struggle against lawlessness and the power of the overmighty subject, characterized by Lord Lumley's belligerent stand against the Bishop's authority. Yet in spite of his gloomy tidings, he is able to conclude the first section of his letter on a brighter note. The Bishop has experienced some

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1 Dictionary of National Biography.

2 Vide supra, p. 353.

success in restoring order to his diocese and has won the hearts of the people with his efforts. Having dealt with the matter which would cause Bishop Ruthall the most concern, Frankleyn then turns to the more mundane business of the estate administration. He has discovered that the freeholders of Allertonshire are bound to pay an entry fine and hopes to prove the same for Howdenshire. He has organised the fattening of livestock at Stockton, ready for the Bishop's use in London. He has commissioned some miners to prospect for lead in Weardale. They have found several good veins and are prepared to guarantee a clear profit of £40 p.a. if diggings are undertaken. Finally he expresses his determination to send the Bishop as much ready cash as possible, even though a severe drought has increased the difficulties of rent collection. Frankleyn reveals that he is fully conversant with, and involved in, the work of the Stewards of the Yorkshire Liberties, the Instaurer and the Surveyor of Mines, as well as discharging his own duties as Receiver-General. He was clearly an all-round administrator, upon whom the successful management of the Bishop's temporal affairs depended.

William Frankleyn's performance was so impressive that he was adopted by Cardinal Wolsey when Bishop Ruthall died and employed as his chief executive officer at York, as well as Durham. Material advancement continued under his new patron. He became a prebendary of York and a salaried official attached to the Council of the North. In 1528 he was named in a commission to treat for peace with James V of Scotland. At Durham he continued to fill the master role, with the additional power of making appointments without consulting the Cardinal. A letter written by Frankleyn to Wolsey in 1523 reveals him as active as ever.[1]

1 William Frankleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, 11 April 1523, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, II, 2946.

He requests that the Cardinal should have the liberties of the County Palatine confirmed in Parliament, in order to establish his right to export coal from the south bank of the Tyne, without hindrance from the coal-owners of Newcastle. Large profits could be raised from the Bishopric mines, to the extent of 1,000 marks p.a., if Newcastle's monopoly of the coal trade was broken. If successful, the bid would have general implications as well. With a challenge from Co. Durham, the Newcastle entrepreneurs would be forced to increase their production in Northumberland, which would lead to a plentiful supply of coal at cheaper prices. In addition, by having his privileges and rights made clear, the Cardinal would also be able to reclaim control over the borough of Hartlepool, worth 200 marks p.a.. At the same time, Frankleyn's letter suggests that he was growing dissatisfied with his task of general supervision; that his interest had become engaged in the Surveyor's specialist work - particularly his concern with the lead deposits of Weardale.[1] He asks if he may relinquish the Chancellorship and become Surveyor instead. He was so keen to pursue his belief that the episcopal temporalities could be considerably enlarged through development of mineral resources, that he was prepared to make a personal sacrifice, abandoning that part of his supremacy derived from the Chancellorship for a secondary post, in order that he might be able to exercise his talents more fully in that area of estate management where he felt most qualified to act:

> "The chauncelership is miche better in every behalf than the other rame is and in profyt by 40 or 50 marks a yere but the Cause moving me to make this overture is this I am yonge inow and maye take payne and labour being of full myend to applie myself to do your grace the most honour plesure and service that may be in my power ....."

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1 Vide supra, p.132.

Cardinal Wolsey however, did not share Frankleyn's sense of urgency about this proposed re-channelling of his skills. He continued to retain him in his broader capacity, although there is a record of the Chancellor acting as Surveyor of the Weardale lead-mines in 1524-25.[1]

One further aspect of Frankleyn's work is depicted in another letter of 1522.[2] He informs Cardinal Wolsey that he has organised a muster of the men of Durham for action against the Scots, at the instance of Lord Dacre. The Chancellor ~~was~~ appears to have been personally active in border warfare and politics, with Norham Castle as a base. During the vacancy following Wolsey's translation to Winchester, Norham was suprised by the Scots and it was Frankleyn who organised its recovery.[3]

Yet even the ubiquitous Frankleyn was not indispensable. For reasons unknown he fell from favour and was replaced as general factotum by another ambitious cleric, Dr William Strangways, Dean of the Collegiate Church of Bishop Auckland. Frankleyn revealed his awareness of a challenge as early as 1523. In his letter of that year already quoted, he warns Cardinal Wolsey not to take Strangways into his service, as apparently he was thinking of doing. The Doctor was a treacherous Scot, who had been granted his deanery by Bishop Ruthall, at the request of one of his predecessors, Bishop Fox of Winchester, and then displayed a singular lack of gratitude. He had spoiled his charge, taking away timber and deer. A fine of £500-600 would not be inappropriate as punishment for the damage he had caused. Whether Frankleyn's accusations

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1 Vide supra, p.132.

2 William Frankleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, 10 September 1522, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, II, 2531.

3 Dictionary of National Biography.

were true or false, they fell on deaf ears. At the end of Cardinal Wolsey's pontificate William Strangways was acting as Surveyor, which suggests that Frankleyn's motives for desiring the Surveyorship were not only the ones he openly professed. Strangways also appears to have alternated with his rival as Chancellor and Receiver-General and to have ultimately emerged victorious from the power-struggle.[1] By 1528 he had stepped completely into Frankleyn's role of general manager, in company with Richard Bellasyse, [illegible]. Strangways and Bellasyse became the recipients of the Cardinal's instructions for the management of his temporalities, in succession to Frankleyn.[2] Like him they rendered an account of their activities to their absentee master. In June 1528 for example, they reported that they had negotiated a satisfactory lease of the Tweed salmon fisheries with the men of Berwick-on-Tweed and had compiled a list of all wardship lands within Wolsey's jurisdiction. In connection with the latter they were seeking out the most profitable way of disposing of the marriageable wards. They also commented on progress at the Gateshead lead-smelting plant, where the imported craftsmen were still perfecting their technique preparatory to starting the process.[3] William Frankleyn meanwhile, survived his eclipse at Durham and continued to play a prominent part in northern affairs. In 1536 he was appointed Dean of Windsor, perhaps in reward for his political services to the Crown. With the

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1 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2).

2 Vide supra, p.32.

3 William Strangways and Richard Belasyse to Cardinal Wolsey, 24 June 1528, Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1864-1932, IV, Pt.2, 4416.

accession of Edward VI he fell foul of the new regime, was forced to surrender most of his livings and retired to the parish of Chalfont St Giles in Buckinghamshire.[1]

The evidence for the existence of a chief executive unrestricted by the formal arrangement of the official administration, is somewhat hazy for the rest of the 16th Century. Under Bishop Tunstall the mantle of William Frankleyn and William Strangways probably fell upon the shoulders of Robert Hyndmer, Chancellor and Receiver-General for most of the Bishop's long pontificate. He was another lawyer-churchman like Frankleyn and served Bishop Tunstall in a spiritual capacity as Vicar-General, as well as managing his temporal affairs. He succeeded Frankleyn as rector of Houghton-le-Spring, and Strangways as Dean of the Collegiate Church of Bishop Auckland. As the Bishop's familiar, he came under fire with Tunstall during Northumberland's assault upon the Bishopric.[2] Bishop Barnes' mainstay was undoubtedly his brother John, who held several Clerkships as well as being Spiritual Chancellor and rector of Houghton-le-Skerne. John's control of affairs was allegedly regarded as being oppressive.[3]

The pattern for the early 17th Century is much clearer. Bishop James probably placed a great deal of reliance upon his brother Francis, but the latter's involvement in important duties

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1 Dictionary of National Biography.

2 Collection of Officers and Offices within the Palatinate (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2).

3 Vide supra, p.333.

elsewhere precluded his employment as the pillar of the administration.[1] As an alternative the Bishop seems to have built up a nucleus of capable executives, based upon the Exchequer, which retained its coherence to some extent right up until the outbreak of civil war. Two of its principal members were the Bishop's Solicitor, John Richardson, and his Auditor, Timothy Comyn. In 1611 they were given a commission to receive leasehold rents instead of the Receiver-General, and to occupy leaseholds on the Bishop's behalf whenever rents remained unpaid.[2] This provision, probably introduced to counteract the deficiencies of the accounting system with a rigid supervision of incoming rents by the Bishop's most diligent officials, did not remain a solitary gesture. Richardson and Comyn were again the recipients of a similar appointment at the hands of Bishop Neile in 1617; their authority extended to cover rents of all kinds.[3] The following year Comyn was again entrusted with the same task, accompanied this time by Hugh Wright, the Clerk of Great Receipt, and John Craddock, Archdeacon of Northumberland.[4]

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1 Vide supra, pp.334-335.

2 Letters of Attorney to John Richardson and Timothy Comyn, 1 June 1611, Lease Book (Church Commission MSS 184958). John Richardson was the lawyer son of a Durham citizen, who had worked his way up in the episcopal service; clerk to the coroners under Bishop Barnes; deputy attorney general under Bishop Hutton. He was also a chancery clerk, clerk of assize and clerk of the peace under Bishop James. In addition he held local office under the Crown as a receiver of fines and remembrancer to Prince Charles. His son, John, was a counsellor-at-law and escheator to Bishop James. He was married to the daughter of a former clerk of works, Christopher Athey. Timothy Comyn was the son of Simon Comyn of Whitby Strand and Durham who had served Bishop Matthew as receiver-general, auditor and steward. Timothy had first married the widowed daughter of Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby and then the daughter of Robert Rookebye of Marske, Esq., who acted as receiver for Allertonshire and Howdenshire under Bishops James, Neile and Howson.

3 Letters Patent of Appointment, 3 November 1617 (Church Commission MSS 221146).

4 Letters Patent of Appointment, 10 October 1618 (Church Commission MSS 221147). Hugh Wright had been clerk of great receipt since

Comyn and Wright performed the same function for Bishop Howson in 1631, joined by John Parsons Esq., who held no official position in the episcopal service.[1] Finally Bishop Morton employed the experienced Richardson, Comyn and Wright in the same capacity in 1635, together with Thomas Layton, Steward of his household.[2] It is possible that the appointment of commissions for the supervision of rental income became a regular occurrence, for which only sporadic evidence has survived. On the other hand, the departure from the normal accounting procedure may only have been an emergency measure, brought into occasional use when the payment of dues became abnormally remiss. Whatever the answer, it is certain that the Bishops of Durham, from James to Morton, were accustomed to lay heavy dependence upon a small circle of executive officers, whose importance bore little relation to their official positions in the administrative hierarchy.

The reliable members of the estate administration and their colleagues, like Craddock, Parsons and Layton, recruited from other quarters, were by no means confined to the task of enforcing the payment of rents. They were involved in all the more vital aspects of the management of the Bishops' temporalities. In 1623 for example, Bishop Neile was disturbed by a breakdown of the administrative machinery in Howdenshire. He therefore instructed John Richardson, Timothy Comyn and Hugh Wright to clear up the

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the pontificate of Bishop Matthew. Bishop Neile made him clerk to the halmote courts as well. He belonged to a leading Durham family and was a prominent alderman, being nominated the first mayor of Durham in 1602. Two brothers were in business in Durham and two more in London. He first married the daughter of a Staffordshire esquire and then another daughter of Sir Hugh Cholmley. His eldest son was established as a country gentleman.

1 Letters Patent of Appointment, 9 November 1631 (Church Commission MSS 221148).

2 Letters Patant of Appointment, 16 May 1635 (Church Commission MSS 221149).

abuses which were rife in that liberty, in consultation with the local officials, William Rookesby, the Receiver, Sir William Hilliard, the High Steward, and Mr Bolt the learned Steward.[1] Later, in 1640, Thomas Layton and another of Bishop Morton's recruits, William Collingwood, Bailiff and Steward of Stockton, were appointed to enroll all the Allertonshire leases and make compositions for releases, in company with Thomas Swinburne Esq..[2] The following year, Hugh Wright, Thomas Layton, William Collingwood and Richard Baddeley, the Bishop's Secretary and Auditor, supported by Thomas Swinburne, Robert Collingwood and Sir William Darcy, were given virtual direction of the whole temporal administration.[3] They were empowered to negotiate releases and wardships, grant liveries, licences of alienation and pardons, fix fines and amercements and undertake forfeitures. The affect of this appointment was to place the management of the episcopal estates in the hands of a body of trustees. The Bishop's motives in delegating so much authority can be variously explained. Morton's

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1 Letters Patent of Appointment, 28 March 1623 (Church Commission MSS Miscellanea A/15/3).

2 Letters Patent of Appointment, 31 May 1640 (Church Commission MSS Miscellanea A/17/11). William Collingwood was the son of Robert Collingwood, gent., of Hetton-le-Hill, Co. Durham; his mother being a distant relative of Archbishop Whitgift. His paternal grandfather was Sir Cuthbert Collingwood of nearby Great Eppleton, who married the co-heiress of Sir George Bowes of Dalton and Streatlam, Co. Durham. Thomas Swinburn was of Northumberland origin. He was either T. Swinburne of Edlingham, Northumberland, whose mother Jane was the daughter of Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, or T. Swinburne of Barmston and Butterby, Co. Durham, the son of John Swinburne of Wylam, Northumberland. Thomas Layton was of Yorkshire extraction.

3 Letters Patent of Appointment, 9 November 1641 (Church Commission MSS Miscellanea 221209). Sir William Darcy was the son of Conyers Lord Darcy of Hornby Castle, Yorkshire, later to become Earl of Holderness (1682). His uncle, also Sir William Darcy, had a seat at Witton Castle, Co. Durham. He was appointed Sheriff of Durham in 1641, and after the Civil War served the Bishopric again as Chancellor (1660).

devoted biographer, Richard Baddeley, would have us believe that the Bishop was only exercising his natural goodness, in establishing an impartial body to make liberal and free compositions with his tenantry; that he was keen to concentrate upon his spiritual functions, having entrusted the administration of his temporalities to a chosen group of able and faithful lay executives.[1] The date of the commission is suggestive of a different explanation, however. The Bishopric of Durham lay under the occupation of the Scottish Covenanters and Bishop Morton was also no doubt vainly endeavouring to maintain control of his diocese after his own departure to the uneasy distance of London.

The officers who served Bishops James, Neile, Howson and Morton in a special capacity were in the main professionals who sometimes readily passed from the employment of one bishop to the next. They augmented their livings, not in the parasitical fashion of the majority of their colleagues, but by earning their masters' high esteem, through their experience and knowledge of the Durham administration and demonstrable devotion to duty. No member of the early 17th Century inner circle of executives ever possessed the status and omnicompetence of William Frankleyn, but occasionally there is reference to a servant who was set apart in a position of special authority and enjoyed a closer personal relationship with the Bishop. Richard Baddeley probably falls into this category. A more notable example of the type was George Wither, who probably came to the County Palatine with Howson (1628-32) and was given the initial responsibility of establishing

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1 R. Baddeley, The Life of Dr Thomas Morton, late Bishop of Duresme, York, 1669.

the new Bishop's control over his temporalities. In 1628 he was assigned the task of surveying the episcopal resources and entrusted to receive money on the Bishop's behalf.[1] In addition to his general commission, he was also instructed to attend to a number of other specific tasks, with the purpose of safeguarding Bishop Howson's rights.[2] He was to confer with Timothy Comyn and Hugh Wright for the settling of the episcopal accounts; to determine how much money was owing to the Crown, in connection with the vacancy following the promotion of the Bishop's predecessor; and to transmit the balance to the Bishop in London. He was to try to deal with the difficult problem of exacting fines for criminal offences; and to investigate undervalued fines. John Richardson, an official who had been at the heart of the administration for many years, was appointed to assist him. Finally William Blakiston, Morton's brother-in-law, was chosen to afford that Bishop a general insight into his affairs at the beginning of his pontificate.[3] In 1633 he was commissioned to undertake a survey of Howdenshire, with particular reference to wasting and spoiling, concealments, improvements, encroachments, the decease of freeholders, waterways and staithes.[4] It is noticeable that the elevation of Wither and Blakiston was only temporary. They did not develop into overseers in the mould of William Frankleyn, but merged instead into that small group of administrators who had come to represent the Bishop's interests.

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1 Letters Patent of Appointment, 8 November 1628, Lease Book (Church Commission MSS 184960, pp.444-445).

2 Ibid, pp.445-447.

3 A gentleman seated at Malton, Yorkshire; married to the daughter of Sir William Belasyse of Morton, Co. Durham.

4 Letters Patent of Appointment, 1 February 1633 (Church Commission MSS Miscellanea 220902).

The available evidence points to the conclusion that the Bishops of Durham made no attempt to utilise the whole of their estate administration for its primary purpose. As far as the main bulk of the administration was concerned, they gave priority to secondary considerations and were content to forfeit the facilities which control over a large, well-directed organisation could have provided. For practical purposes, the official administrative hierarchy was to some extent meaningless and anachronistic; what life it still possessed being infused into it by a mediaeval accounting system. Real power did not conform to the gradations of the hierarchy, but rested in the hands of a person or persons who, sharing the special confidence of the Bishop, wielded an authority in excess of official status. This inner executive counterbalanced the worst failings of the administration, but little more. Incorporating only a minority among the upper echelons of the administration, it could not impart efficiency to the machine. A truly effective administration depended upon the co-operation and disinterestedness of all its parts, which could never be achieved so long as administrative posts were viewed primarily as sources of unearned income by their holders and as a fount of patronage by the Bishops. Until a drastic change of attitude took place, the episcopal resources could not be rescued from stagnation through the agency of the estate administration.

CHAPTER X

The Bishops and Their Temporalities

In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to explain the fairly static nature of the income of the Bishops of Durham. The type of tenure upon the episcopal estates, the preoccupation with patronage, lay exploitation, and the composition of the estate administration have all been listed as contributory factors. It now remains to examine a final cause of stagnation, from which the others were in part derived, namely the attitude of the Bishops themselves towards their patrimonies. If these ecclesiastical landlords had adopted the same progressive outlook as many of their lay counterparts, the obstacles to improvement could have been partially nullified and reduced in significance. Unfortunately the changes which transformed much lay landownership did not affect the material possessions of the Church; mainly because of the vital difference which existed between secular and ecclesiastical property. Lay possessions were hereditary and hence to be nurtured in the interests of their owners and their posterity. Ecclesiastical possessions belonged ultimately to an institution and were allocated only on a temporary basis to its individual members for their sustenance. Churchmen therefore, shared more in common with farmers of wardships than with the outright owners of lay estates. For this reason they were not only the victims of a predatory age. Bishops did not merely accept the 'status quo' with regard to tenures, tenants and administrators and bow before

lay pressure. In their turn they also employed the same extortionate devices that were applied against them. If they were exploited by tenants, administrators and those with influence in the State, they were still able to profit in their own way at the expense of the Church and their successors. Instead of shoring up the defences of the Church against the assault of the laity, they weakened its resources even further by wilfully making detrimental grants and leases, ~~wantonly~~ destroying stands of timber and causing dilapidations, all for personal gain. The Bishopric of Durham fared better than some of the other sees, in that its incumbents, with the probable exception of Bishop Barnes (1577-87), did not figure amongst the worst offenders. However, all the Durham Bishops of the 16th and early 17th Centuries were moulded by their environment to the extent that they failed to probe the roots of their increasing impoverishment. Any improvements to their financial position tended to be of a temporary nature, momentarily advantageous at the expense of the future.

Until the Henrician Reformation brought about an estrangement between Church and State bishoprics were frequently bestowed upon important clerics in the royal service, as an inexpensive and convenient type of reward. Accordingly it was through their employment by the Crown that Bishops Fox (1494-1501), Senhouse (1502-05), Bainbridge (1507-08), Ruthall (1509-23), Wolsey (1523-29) and Tunstall (1530-59) came to occupy the See of Durham. Richard Fox, Keeper of the Privy Seal, secretary to Henry VII, and a respected adviser and diplomat, progressed from Exeter to Winchester, by way of Bath and Wells and Durham, as his credit rose. These promotions were viewed by the recipient primarily as symbols of rising status and sources of an expanding income to match his

elevation in the royal estimation. William Senhouse, Fox's successor at Durham, served the Crown in a lesser capacity, as a northern representative of the kingly power. He was involved in the administration of Crown lands in Yorkshire, in financial matters, in diplomatic missions to the Scots and with the royal council at York. His political importance was reflected in his passage from the Abbey of St Mary at York to the Bishopric of Carlisle and thence to Durham. Christopher Bainbridge, Master of the Rolls, was primarily a diplomat, who graduated to Durham from the Deaneries of York and Windsor. Having ambitions within the international Church, he exchanged Durham for the lower income but greater prestige of the Archbishopric of York. His successor, Thomas Ruthall, an industrious, efficient administrator, possessed the same offices during the early years of Henry VIII's reign as Bishop Fox had done under Henry VII. He negotiated the leap from the Deanery of Lincoln to the Bishopric of Durham as early as 1509 and was then content to remain there until his death, playing treble to Cardinal Wolsey's bass. Thomas Wolsey himself hardly needs any billing. He does however provide an example of the mercenary attitude of these careerist bishops at its worst. In October 1528 he wrote to the King, bringing to his notice the death of the aged Bishop Fox of Winchester.[1] He confidently put forward his own claim to the richest bishopric in the land, which had hitherto escaped his clutches, by pointing out that it would be easier to manage from Court than far-away Durham. He was prepared to

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1 Cardinal Wolsey to Henry VIII, 6 October 1528 (S.P.D. 1/50/4824).

surrender the Bishopric of Durham, but brazenly recommended his own bastard son, Thomas Winter, Dean of Wells, as his successor there. As an inducement to follow the Cardinal's advice, the King was made aware that he would have at his disposal preferments to the annual value of £2000 relinquished by Winter. Cuthbert Tunstall, the last of the civil servant bishops, was a senior administrator in the same mould as Bishops Fox and Ruthall, until he fell from favour with the Reformation. In his heyday he held the offices of Master of the Rolls and Keeper of the Privy Seal and proved an able diplomat. Even in his decline his administrative experience and presence in the North brought him the Presidency of the Council of the North. His ecclesiastical career was as typical as that of his predecessors at Durham. A distinguished academic record led him into the service of Archbishop Warham as Spiritual Chancellor in 1508. By 1515 his talents had been brought to the notice of the Crown; his services being rewarded in 1519 with the Deanery of Salisbury. His growing usefulness ensured that his stay at Salisbury was brief. 1522 saw his removal to the substantial Bishopric of London and in 1530 he succeeded Cardinal Wolsey at Durham. All of these bishops, with the exception of Fox and Tunstall, treasured their ecclesiastical promotions mainly for the wealth and dignity attached to them. They spent little time in their dioceses as a result of their secular employment and paid scant attention to their spiritual duties. Ruthall and Wolsey, at least, were attentive landlords, but only because they valued self-interest very highly.[1] Whilst Bishop of

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1 E.g., vide supra, pp. 23-24, 109.

Durham, Fox conformed to the pattern, but later, upon retirement to his diocese of Winchester, he attempted to compensate for his past remissness and concentration upon worldly affairs.[1] Bishop Tunstall on the other hand, had always exhibited an awareness of the duties and responsibilities as well as the perquisites attached to promotion within the Church.[2] Too weak to actually refuse the unwelcome demands of his king, he was finally freed by royal displeasure at his evident disapproval of the Henrician Reformation to follow his natural, spiritual bent. Retiring from the toils of the Court to his distant charge, he became in every respect the best bishop to hold the See of Durham in the 16th Century.

The establishment of a Protestant Church in England and the complete destruction of clerical independence heralded a drastic change in the status of the leading churchmen. From the death of Bishop Gardiner to the advent of Archbishop Laud, the senior ecclesiastics were deprived of any substantial participation in national politics. They were eclipsed as advisers, diplomats and central administrators and confined largely to the management of church affairs and local administration. With the making of the Elizabethan Church Settlement a bishop's place was clearly assumed to be his diocese, where he was expected to protect the new religious order from its many assailants. Expectations were high, but in reality the transformation of the Church into its new reformed state was only half-hearted and superficial, because as H.R. Trevor-Roper has aptly remarked, the character

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1 Fox resigned the Privy Seal and retired to his diocese in 1515, remaining there until his death in 1528.

2 C. Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstal, London, 1938, passim.

of the bishops reflected the nature of the government.[1] Lay designs on ecclesiastical property continued, with the connivance of the State, with the result that standards within the Church improved at a very slow rate. Enforced political idleness did induce the bishops to devote more time to their spiritual functions, but their attitude towards temporalities hardly changed at all. They may well have been conscientious, energetic, hard-worked Civil Servants, as A.L. Rowse suggests, but so long as churchman continued to be victimised and exploited by the laity, they were bound to seek their own compensations according to the spirit of the age;[2] especially when the authorisation of clerical marriage now meant that most clergy had families to support and provide for. Their attitude towards property was now likely to be even more closely aligned with that of the laity, in spite of W. Harrison's remarks that bishops had always bequeathed property to their kin, and that the decline in episcopal hospitality was understandable in the light of inflation and the spoliation of temporalities.[3] A handful of Elizabethan bishops, such as Parker, Jewel, Whitgift and Bancroft, were appointed on merit alone, to grace the church with their learning and to direct its affairs, but the preferment of many of their colleagues closely resembled a commercial transaction and was utterly devoid of dignity. W.H. Frere is perhaps being too derogatory when he describes the majority

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1 H.R. Trevor-Roper, Historical Essays, London, 1957, p.130.

2 A.L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth, London, 1950, pp.389 and 391.

3 G. Edelen, ed., William Harrison's Description of England, New York, 1968, p.37.

of Elizabethan bishops as men of no worth, but he is surely correct in comparing them to sponges, whom the Queen "could first squeeze herself and then leave them to suck up what they could in the positions where she placed them".[1] Every year the two universities produced a number of highly educated graduates who had decided to pursue a career in the Church. In many cases their desire to perform God's work by holding high office in the Church commensurate with their abilities, was offset by their yearning for wealth and prestige. They recognised the clerical profession as one of the few pathways enabling a meritocracy, mainly recruited from the middle ranges of society, to reach a high social status.[2] Before the Reformation it was possible to attain the ultimate goal of a bishopric through service to the State, but the recent curtailing of political employment caused the scramble for ecclesiastical promotion to become far more competitive because it was now less dependent upon innate bureaucratic ability. The acquisition of a bishopric was of vital importance to the aristocracy of the church. They were afflicted by the covetousness endemic in Tudor society and were prepared in many cases to utilise any means which might further their ambitions. Their desperate need to recoup their investment in the Church by securing the temporalities of a bishopric, was quickly appreciated by the leaders of lay society, much to the detriment of the Church. Episcopal appointments were made by the Crown, but direct

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1 W.H. Frere, The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I, London, 1904, p.303.

2 A.L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth, London, 1950, p.408. D. Mathew, The Social Structure in Caroline England, Oxford, 1948, pp.69-71.

representations to the monarch were of little avail in acquiring even a modest see. The competition for preferment was so fierce that candidates were forced to attract the support of one or more influential patrons, who could canvass on their behalf and sway the royal decision in their favour. This service was seldom performed for disinterested motives. Crown and courtiers alike viewed the dilemma of the churchmen as a potential source of financial gain. A prospective bishop was therefore frequently required to provide a monetary incentive, or to pledge a generous distribution of his future temporalities. He mostly acquiesced, in the knowledge that if he denied his masters, an opponent would show no such hesitation. The process in itself was corrupting, but in addition it often led to financial embarrassment, which induced the successful candidate to join his lay detractors in the depredation of his see. Consequently although spiritual standards were undoubtedly raised by the confinement of bishops to their dioceses, the property of the Church continued to be abused, mis-managed and undeveloped. However, in order to present a balanced appraisal of the Elizabethan bishops, one should join H.R. Trevor-Roper and W. Harrison in drawing notice not only to their defects but also to their relatively successful defence of the Anglican Church and their benefactions, which continued despite the mounting pressures.[1]

The marked change in the position of the Church involved a shift in the basic pattern of a successful ecclesiastical career.

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1 H.R. Trevor-Roper, Historical Essays, London, 1957, p.130. G. Edelen, ed., William Harrison's Description of England, New York, 1968, p.37.

It began normally enough in the Elizabethan Church with outstanding studies at Oxford or Cambridge and a university administrative appointment to follow, but thereafter no involvement in politics occurred. Instead there began a search for important protectors who could provide the cream of the profession with lucrative livings and secure the introductions necessary for entry into a deanery and then a bishopric. As revealed by a study of the Bishops of Durham, this involved an abject submission before the followers of Mammon amd a major confrontation with venality.

James Pilkington (1561-76), the scion of Lancashire gentry, is first noticed as a Bachelor of Divinity at St John's College, Cambridge. An adherent of the protestant faith, he received the vicarage of Kirby (Kendal) for arguing against transubstantiation in 1549 and then sought voluntary exile at Zurich, Geneva and Basle during the Marian reaction. Upon his return he was recruited as a potential leader for the reorganisation of religion and appointed master of his old college, as well as Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.[1] These positions were of a temporary nature, for it was not long before he was called upon to carry Protestantism into the Catholic North, probably at the instance of Secretary Cecil. Pilkington was noted for his calvinistic leanings, but these did not prevent him from accepting a bishopric; a bishopric moreover, which had been illegally stripped of a good part of its temporalities.[2] However much the Bishop

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1 F.O. White, Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops of the Anglican Church, London, 1898, pp.163-167. J. Scholefield, ed., The Works of James Pilkington, B.D., Lord Bishop of Durham, Cambridge, 1842, Introduction. C. Garrett, The Marian Exiles, Cambridge, 1966. The Bishop was the third son of Richard Pilkington of Rivington Hall, near Bolton, Lancashire.

2 Vide supra, pp. 174, 289-290.

can be praised for his later campaign against this irregularity and the bold stand he took against vestments, one cannot overlook the fact that he initially accepted the terms of the spoliators. His religious outlook was reformed, but his attitude towards temporalities less so.

Judged by the standards of the day, there was little wrong with Bishop Pilkington in comparison with his successor Richard Barnes. Concerning his somewhat unusual elevation to Durham in 1577 there is no doubt that Barnes put himself entirely at the disposal of William Cecil and profited quite well from the arrangement. He paid the highest price asked of any bishop of that diocese, apparently without scruple, to his own personal gain and to the detriment of the Church.[1] He first came into prominence as Master of St Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, and by 1570 had graduated to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University. He simultaneously embarked upon a career in the Church, gaining the Archdeaconry of the East Riding, the spiritual Chancellorship and the Suffragan Bishopric of Nottingham in the Archbishopric of York, and in 1570 the Bishopric of Carlisle. These pre-Durham promotions were secured through the backing of the Earl of Sussex and Sir Thomas Gargrave of the Council of the North, in spite of the opposition of Edmund Grindal, who disliked the antipathy towards puritans which Barnes exhibited, no doubt as a promotional aid. He was reputedly held in low esteem; by his clergy for bullying; by the many refractory nonconformists of all shades in his diocese for hounding; by his tenants for greed; and by all and sundry for conniving at the activities of his brother

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1 Vide supra, pp.295-298.

and Spiritual Chancellor, John Barnes, described by John Strype as a "very vile man, unclean, and an extortioner".[1]

Matthew Hutton (1589-95), the next Bishop of Durham, was recognised as a sound scholar and eloquent preacher, whose integrity was never seriously challenged until his promotion to the Archbishopric of York in 1595.[2] Yet even he appreciated the importance of that lay patronage which brought the worst out of so many churchmen, and personally indulged in the customary but undignified practice of soliciting for preferment. It was a mark of his stature within the Church that services rendered for him were largely unconditional. His career originally began to blossom under the patronage of Bishop Grindal, whose chaplain he became in 1561. He received in quick succession, at Cambridge, appointments as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Master of Pembroke College and Regius Professor of Divinity. Hutton was not content to remain long in a purely academic world however. In 1565 he successfully sought the aid of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in acquiring a vacant prebend at Westminster. The precaution of putting himself under obligation to a patron for such a secondary preferment was perhaps unnecessary. Leicester himself wondered why his protégé had made the effort when he was held in such great respect by the Queen, as a result of judicious court preaching.[3] It was perhaps a measure of the urgency with which Hutton regarded

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1 F.O. White, Lives of the Elizabethen Bishops of the Anglican Church, London, 1898, pp.181-185.

2 Vide supra, pp.309-310.

3 Earl of Leicester to Matthew Hutton, 7 June 1565, J. Raine, ed., The Correspondence of Dr Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, Surtees Society Vol 17, London and Edinburgh, 1843, Letter I, p.53.

the fostering of his ambitions. Two years later he was rewarded even further with the Deanery of York. Robert Dudley was again probably instrumental in this advancement, along with further preaching, since he had promised more help at the appropriate time. Certainly Hutton was still begging favours of his powerful patron as late as 1582.[1] By the time of his next promotion, to Durham in 1589, Leicester was dead and it was his great rival Burghley supported by Archbishop Whitgift, who urgently requested Hutton's elevation to the episcopal bench.[2]

Hutton's successor, Toby Matthew (1595-1606), was another churchman with impeccable qualifications, but he was also more susceptible to the prevailing pressures. Aptly described by J.E. Neale as "that shameless if reverend place-seeker", he was the last of the Bishops of Durham to seriously abuse his position before church temporalities were finally safeguarded by Jacobean legislation.[3] An Oxford graduate, he began his climb into the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as Master of St John's College and Dean of Christ Church, before securing the Deanery of Durham in 1583, with the aid of Lord Burghley; very valuable aid in the light of the Queen's reluctance to promote him on grounds of age and married status, in spite of her appreciation of his preaching.[4] Hearing of the Lord Treasurer's interest in his candidacy for the Deanery in 1581, Matthew wrote to him

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1 Lady Huntingdom to Matthew Hutton, 22 October 1582, Ibid, Letter XVIII, p.71.

2 F.O. White, Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops of the Anglican Church, London, 1898, pp.298-307.

3 J.E. Neale, Essays in Elizabethan History, London, 1958, p.64. Vide supra, pp.311-313.

4 F.O. White, Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops of the Anglican Church, London, 1898, pp.336-337.

anxiously endeavouring to discredit the claims of his rival, Dr Bellamy, whose promotion he avowed, would be harmful to the Church, the Dean and Chapter of Durham and the County Palatine.[1] If it was considered important that religion, justice and peace should be preserved from decay, Matthew humbly presented himself as a person well-suited for the task. He continued even less modestly. If Burghley assisted his supplicant, he would be performing a memorable act.

> "So shall my selfe be most bounden to doe your Lordship all honor and service in these partes. So shall that Countree generally, and specially that Churche continually praie for your prosperous estate. So shall God rewarde both in you and in your posteritie so godlie a travaile in so good an acte, an acte worthie your calling, credit, and conscience ....."

Once success was assured however, Matthew's high-flown language descended to a more mundane level. In August 1582 he is found making a request that all formalities should be completed forthwith, so that he could occupy his Deanery immediately; not in his eagerness to preserve religion, peace and justice, but for fear lest his temporalities should be dissipated.[2] There was a ruling, he pointed out, that all tithes and produce accruing to himself as Dean and contributing two-thirds of his income, were to pass automatically into the hands of the resident prebendaries if he was unable to put in an appearance before Michaelmas. If the Deanery remained officially vacant until after that date, he would be deprived of the means of exercising hospitality during his first year of office and consequehtly would create

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1 Toby Matthew to Lord Burghley, 22 February 1581 (Lansdowne MSS 1/34/17).

2 Toby Matthew to Lord Burghley, 25 August 1582 (Lansdowne MSS 1/36/54).

an unfavourable impression. To substantiate a claim for the revenues of the Deanery 'sede vacante', Matthew painted a gloomy picture of the prospect facing him. His future residences were supposedly in a dilapidated condition and woods and other resources were being spoiled during the interval between Deans. Moreover, the divided Church of Durham was desperately in need of an indifferent governor, who would experience great difficulty in reaching it if his official appointment was delayed until the winter months. The new Dean was scarcely able to wrap a respectable cloak around his yearning for the fruits of office. Perhaps Burghley, the recipient of his petition, decided to curb his greed; or perhaps the Queen was retaliating against his forwardness and indiscreet championing of the suspended Grindal in 1581; for in spite of his passionate appeal, Matthew was unable to take up his duties until 1583.

Dean Matthew was an insatiable careerist however, and not many years passed before he was setting his sights on a higher target, with the death of Bishop Barnes of Durham in 1587. This time he sought a patron in Secretary Walsingham, employing one of the latter's servants, Francis Mills, as an intermediary.[1] As was customary with him, he opened his plea with an exhibition of false modesty. He assured Mills that initially he had not desired elevation to the Bishopric, He was uncertain of his own suitability for the increased responsibility attached to the greater charge and tired of the struggle for promotion; being disillusioned by 'my very hard passage, as it were, through the

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1 Toby Matthew to Francis Mills, 23 November 1587, J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, III, Pt.2, Appendix XXIX, 466-468.

pricks, for every suit that I ever obtained in court.' He went on to suggest, in a rather more honest vein, that possession of the Bishopric of Durham was fraught with disadvantages. The temporalities of the see were seriously impaired and the state of religion bad enough to break the spirit of the most zealous protestant. Finally, there had been the grumblings of his wife, 'the night crow, that ever croketh in mine ears,' urging him to negotiate a return to civilisation. Yet the Dean's doubts had been overcome for him and he had determined to put forward his claim. He therefore asked Mills to represent his interests and keep him informed on the tactics of possible rivals. A little later he expressed his willingness to withdraw if the Earl of Leicester was found to be backing a candidate. This was in fact the case, but Walsingham informed the Dean that Leicester would procure his promotion to the Bishopric of Salisbury, if his own candidate, Pierce of Salisbury, was successful at Durham. Matthew characteristically rejected this second offer of help, on the grounds that he wished to pursue his vocation at Durham and prevent a successor reaping the benefits of his hard endeavours.[1] He no doubt considered the Bishopric of Salisbury as a backwater, hardly worth the effort of attainment and hardly preferable to the Deanery of Durham as a step towards the highest reaches of the Church.

In the event neither Walsingham nor Leicester possessed as much influence with the Queen as Lord Burghley, who obtained the Bishopric of Durham for his own claimant, Matthew Hutton. Dean Matthew doubtless took note of this outcome, for he began to

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1 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, III, Pt.1, 682.

stake all future furtherance of his ambitions upon the Lord Treasurer. Although dependent upon Burghley, he stopped short of the grovelling submissiveness common to many churchmen and was not prevented by awe from achieving the maximum advantage from his association. When Hutton's promotion to York was broached in 1594, he discovered that Queen Elizabeth was considering him for the vacancy at Durham 'of her owne princelie consideration rather than upon anie suite of myne, or solicitation of my frendes'. He lost no time in confidently informing his promoter of the fact, indicating diplomatically that he was no longer interested in the Bishopric of Worcester, towards which Burghley was currently steering him, having previously failed him in a contest over the Bishopric of London earlier that same year.[1] Once confirmed in his expectations however, he was careful to thank his patron for his 'especiall furtherance' and to repay his 'singular favour' with a gift of £100.[2] Matthew also betrayed yet again his paramount concern for material considerations. He wrote to Burghley before his actual translation to the Bishopric of Durham, asking him to impress upon Thomas Calverley and David Colmore, temporal and spiritual Chancellors of the Diocese, the need to protect the temporalities, 'sede vacante', against the ravages of tenants and officers.[3] He would rather impair the resources of the Bishopric in his own right, than find them exploited at his own expense.

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1 Toby Matthew to Lord Burghley, 14 November 1594 (British Museum, Lansdowne MSS 1/77/19). F.O. White, Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops of the Anglican Church, London, 1898, pp.338-339.

2 Toby Matthew to Lord Burghley, 15 December 1594 and 1595 (Lansdowne MSS 1/77/20 and 1/79/40).

3 Toby Matthew to Lord Burghley, 19 March 1595 (Lansdowne MSS 1/78/19).

During the second half of the 16th Century therefore, the Bishops of Durham accepted with varying degrees of willingness the conditions of preferment dictated to them by their lay masters. Their acceptance did little to improve the well-being of the Church and in at least one instance was patently injurious to the endowments of the Bishopric. Yet on the whole their human failings caused less material damage than the destructive ambitions of some of their more unscrupulous colleagues. In some bishoprics the price of a cleric's scramble for promotion fell much more heavily upon the temporalities of the Church.[1]

It is easy to condemn the churchmen for giving priority to their own selfish designs, instead of the interests of the institution which they were meant to serve, but it must be remembered that they were only following established conventions which only a man of outstanding character would dare to flaunt. The very fact that they sought promotion within the Church indicates an acceptance of harsh reality and the deliberate shelving of the possible dictates of conscience. The really virtuous individuals remained content as parish priests, only entering the higher ranks of their profession if their reputation for godliness smoothed an untrammelled path. In these circumstances very few bishops refused to pay the price of preferment when called upon to do so. Resistance was virtually useless and indignant protest was hardly more than a salve for feelings of guilt.

Thomas Fuller in his Church History of Britain reveals nothing

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1 Vide infra, Chapter XI.

but puritan-like condemnation for the unworthy prelates who betrayed the nascent Church of England, but his laudian critic, Peter Heylyn, demonstrates a wide degree of insight and perceptiveness in his rival Ecclesia Restaurata. He seems to imply that 16th Century society was bound to produce a certain kind of churchman and received spiritual ministrations from a Church no better than it deserved. He understood the pitfalls and temptations waiting to ensnare an ecclesiastical hierarchy transformed from a body of civil servants into the helpless victims of an anti-clerical alliance of omnipotent monarch and influential laity, and made vulnerable by its driving ambition, social origins and intense respect for authority. The blame for the spoliation of the Church is eased from the shoulders of the clergy and placed more equitably upon society as a whole. Heylyn realised that a churchman was virtually powerless to thwart the designs of a layman of consequence, if he valued his own career above all other considerations. He also knew that the promotion of self-interest was a commonplace in the 16th Century and therefore reserved a special mention for clerics who, in his opinion, bore some small regard for the welfare of the Church. He was prepared to exonerate several of the clergy from the charge of possessing a destructive ambition, by claiming for them an awareness that they were safeguarding the bulk of their temporalities by sacrificing some part of them. One such was William Barlow, translated from the Bishopric of St David's to Bath and Wells in 1548, after inserting some war propaganda against Scotland into a sermon. He gratified Protector Somerset with 18 or 19 manors, but Heylyn saw some grounds for alleviating his guilt.

> "More of which strange Donations we shall find in others: the more to be excused, because there was no other means (as the Times then were) to preserve the whole; but by advancing some part thereof to the spoil of others". 1

Much greater was the predicament of Benson, first Dean of Westminster, who learned that Somerset was convinced that one cathedral was sufficient for London's needs and was intent upon abolishing the new foundation. He saved his church by buying off the opposition to its continued existence; but only by making great inroads into his patrimony. Seventeen good manors in Gloucestershire were farmed out for 99 years to Sir Thomas Seymour; thereby providing him with an incentive to intercede with his brother. A similar lease was also bestowed upon the Protector's confidant, Sir John Mason.[2] Whereas Fuller lacks compassion for his subjects, Heylyn is perhaps being overgenerous. Barlow and Benson and others like them, were more inclined to equate the good of the Church with their own security of tenure and the extent of their credit at Court, than with Heylyn's essential surgery. If they were well-meaning, their good intentions were costly; they were no less harmful than the perpetrations of such reprobates as Bishop Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield (1543-54), Bishop Capon of Salisbury (1539-57) and Bishop Kitchen of Llandaff (1545-66), who sought to blunt the hostility of the Edwardian regime and cling precariously to their sees, with the aid of generous bribes of episcopal land.

Regardless of this difference of interpretation, there is no doubt that the conduct of the English bishops of the 16th Century was remiss and detrimental to the endowments of the Church. It

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1 P. Heylyn, Ecclesia Restaurata, London, 1670, Pt.I, p.54.

2 Ibid, p.60.

was therefore fortunate from every angle that standards began to improve in the 17th Century; an improvement reflected in the appointment of the Bishops of Durham. At first no change was observable, for the preferment of the first 17th Century Bishop, William James (1606-17), depended like that of his predecessors, on political patronage. Pursuing the familiar academic career, he became Master of University College (1572) and Dean of Christ Church (1584) at Oxford. At some stage he held the post of chaplain to the Earl of Leicester, who probably helped him towards his first substantial position in the Church, the Archdeaconry of Coventry, acquired in 1577.[1] From there he succeeded Dean Matthew at Durham in 1596 and in 1606 is found soliciting the aid of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, for the Bishopric of Durham, vacated by Matthew on his promotion to York.[2] His letter of supplication, in which he emulates his predecessor's style, bears an indication that he was also enjoying the support of Lord Carew for his proposed advancement. His successor, Richard Neile (1617-28), was more addicted than most to the pursuit of wealth, power and prestige within the Church, but the manner in which he acquired his promotions is indicative of a gradual advance in the status of the ecclesiastical profession. His career opened in the usual way, with an utter dependence upon lay patronage. A chaplaincy to first William and then Robert Cecil brought its rewards in the form of a prebend at Chichester, the vicarage of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, the Deanery of Westminster (1605), the Bishopric of Rochester (1608) and the Bishopric of

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1 T. Fuller, Church History of Britain, London, 1842, III, 266.

2 Dean James to the Earl of Salisbury, 8 February 1606 (S.P.D. 14/18/72).

Lichfield (1610). Commenting upon his succession to the Deanery of Westminster in 1605, John Chamberlain made the pertinent observation that he was 'a man of no great note, more than that he is the earle of Salisburies chaplain, ...'[1] There then occurred a deviation from the normal path of progression. With the aid and recommendation of Archbishop Bancroft, Neile became a courtier, securing access to the person of the King through his position as Clerk of the Closet.[2] His success was symbolic of the churchmen's return from the political wilderness, and their reestablishment of direct contact with the monarch thereby lessening their dependence upon influential laymen and enabling them to become more resistant to exploitation. James I's misuse of crown patronage might have led to the appointment of indifferent, negligent, secular bishops, of whom Neile was perhaps typical, but at least the way was prepared for the raising of standards under a successor who was very much concerned to elevate the standing of the Church of England.[3]

Richard Neile wasted no opportunity for turning the realignment of Church and State to his own personal advantage. He was justly stigmatized at the height of his influence as one

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1 N.E. McClure, ed., The Letters of John Chamberlain, Philadelphia, 1939, John Chamberlain to Ralph Winwood, 12 October 1605, I, 209.

2 P. Heylyn, Life of Archbishop Laud, London, 1668, p.60.

3 A critical view of the Jacobean bishops is presented by H.R. Trevor-Roper, James I and his Bishops, Historical Essays, London, 1957 and by the hostile Sir A. Weldon, The Court and Character of King James, London, 1817, pp.40-41. On the other hand J. Rogan maintains that a raising of episcopal standards took place after 1603 in his King James's Bishops, Durham University Journal, June 1956, xxxxviii, No 3. The Durham evidence would suggest no obvious deterioration in the quality of the Early 17th Century Bishops, but equally no obvious improvement before the 1630s.

of the unprincipled courtiers who flattered James's vanity at the expense of honesty and truth, in the hope of obtaining some material token of the King's favour.[1] His perseverance was rewarded in 1613 with the Bishopric of Lincoln and then the Bishopric of Durham in 1617. The latter was acquired when he happened to be in the North with his royal master upon the death of Bishop James.[2] He had earned it as a stout defender of the royal prerogative; in 1614 he had incurred the sharp displeasure of the House of Commons for a vigorous denunciation of the parliamentary opposition to the levying of impositions.[3] If all the Jacobean bishops had been of the same calibre as Neile, the 17th Century Church of England would hardly have bettered the standards of its Elizabethan fore-runner, but fortunately one of his fellow courtier-bishops, William Laud, was filled with concern for the welfare of the Church and aware of the possibilities attendant upon the revival of clerical influence. Laud, the cornerstone of the Arminian Church and the favoured adviser of Charles I, was not averse to aiding Neile's further search for promotion, with translations to Winchester (1628) and York (1631), in return for an earlier helping hand when he was still the under-dog, but at the same time he was also intent upon cleansing the Church of the vices encouraged by lay interference

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1 R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, lxxxviii.

2 Ibid.

3 N.E. McClure, ed., The Letters of John Chamberlain, Philadelphia, 1939, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 26 May 1614, I, 533-534. Earlier Neile had assisted in the Essex divorce case, Sir A. Weldon, The Court and Character of King James, London, 1817, pp.24-25. Later he was to be active in High Commission and Star Chamber and as a commissioner for colonies and plantations, W.H. Hutton, The English Church from the Accession of Charles I to the Death of Anne, London, 1903, p. 55.

in ecclesiastical affairs. He sought to end the traffic in Church appointments and to foster some interest in the duties as well as the trappings of office; to encourage preferments based on merit rather than influence and bargaining. He wished to silence such critics of the Church as Alexander Leighton, who could with some justification write of its personnel in the following vein:

> "One of the ancients discovered well, the cause of the break-neck-haste to be Bishops ...: For delicious faire, gorgeous apparell, and pompous train, they seek to be Bishops, and Prelates over Churches, that they may rather rule over the Church, than benefite the Church." 1

His outlook is well expressed in Peter Heylyn's Biography, in a description of his dealings with Godfrey Goodman, the self-seeking Bishop of Gloucester (1625-40); the very epitome of the worldly prelate Laud was seeking to eradicate.

> "It had been Laud's great care, as he grew into credit with his Majesty to give a stop to such corruptions as had been used too frequently in the Court, about Church Preferments, which made him the less acceptable to many which were near the King in Place and Service, who formerly had been on the taking hand, and made a market of the Church as they had occasion. Goodman of Gloucester having staid in that Diocess long enough to be as weary of them as they were of him, affected a move to the See of Hereford, and had so far prevailed with some Great Officer of State, that his Money was taken, his Conge d'eslire issued out, his election passed. But the Archbishop coming opportunely to the knowledge of it, and being ashamed of so much baseness in the man, who could pretend no other merit than his money, so laboured the business with the King, and the King so rattled up the Bishop, that he was glad to make his peace, not only with the Resignation of his Election, but the loss of his Bribe." 2

Laud's influence was not felt immediately at Durham, since the promotion of his friend Neile to Winchester was followed by the appointment of another courtier bishop, George Monteigne, who

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1 A. Leighton, An Appeal to Parliament, or Sion's Plea against the Prelacy, 1628, p.334.

2 P. Heylyn, Life of Archbishop Laud, London, 1668, p.263.

wrote to his protector, the Duke of Buckingham, describing his promotion from the Bishopric of London as the 'worst kind of banishment, next neighbour to a civil death'. Without even visiting his new see, he put in a plea for the newly vacant northern metropolitan seat, expressing to his powerful patron the desire to find a final resting place at York, so that like Job he could die in the nest where he was born. Turning from this sentimental approach to a more practical argument, he insinuated that a great deal was expected of the Duke of Buckingham and that the world would question his omnipotence if he failed to secure the advancement of his supporters.[1] Monteigne's expectations were no sooner granted however, than the royal favourite was assassinated, leaving Laud with very little effective competition for the King's attention in church matters. In 1633 his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury gave him fairly untrammelled control of the Church of England.

The new spirit which Laud engendered was finally carried to the Bishopric of Durham in the persons of John Howson (1628-32) and Thomas Morton (1632-59); two prelates who lacked the predatory characteristics of some of their predecessors, shared the Archbishop's enthusiasm for the edification of the Church and were not so obviously motivated by personal considerations. Chosen on merit and for past services to the cause of religion rather than to courtiers, they took up office with clear consciences

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1 Bishop Monteigne to the Duke of Buckingham, 1 April 1628 (S.P.D. 16/100/4). Browne Willis, A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, ... and Bristol, London, 1727, p.249. Monteigne was never actually consecrated Bishop of Durham.

and unsullied reputations, without the necessity of having to recoup the cost of promotion from a swift and destructive exploitation of their temporalities. Little is known of John Howson beyond the bare outlines of his progress through the Church and the fact that he was a keen controversialist whose works were printed at the royal command.[1] Thomas Morton, on the other hand, has a devoted biographer in the person of his secretary, Richard Baddeley, who produced a detailed if highly biassed account of his master's life.[2] In some ways his career followed the old conventions. After lecturing in logic at Cambridge University, he was ordained priest (1593) and presented with a benefice by his father, an alderman of York, for extra maintenance whilst serving as chaplain to the Earl of Huntingdon, President of the Council of the North, Ralph Lord Eure, ambassador to the Emperor and the King of Denmark (1602), and the Earl of Rutland (1603). Yet lay patronage brought little reward, other than a seat on the Council for the Welsh Marches (1607), at the request of its President, Lord Eure. Instead it was the more enlightened section of the ecclesiastical hierarchy which furthered Morton's advancement. Archbishop Bancroft encouraged him to produce his first tract, the Apologiae Catholicae, and thereafter recommended him for the Deanery of Gloucester (1607). Graduating to the Deanery of Winchester (1609), he was promoted at court by Lancelot Andrewes, the respected Bishop of Ely and King's almoner, and henceforth

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1 R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, London, 1816, I, xci.

2 R. Baddeley, The Life of Dr Thomas Morton, Late Bishop of Duresme, York, 1669.

proceeded on the strength of his own reputation to the Bishoprics of Chester (1616), Lichfield (1618) and Durham (1632). In 1602 he was highly commended for his conduct during an outbreak of plague at York and as a bishop was noted for the zeal with which he sought the conversion of both roman catholics and puritans. At long last the Bishopric of Durham was occupied by a churchman who exhibited one of the more worthy traits of the Elizabethan Church - the outlook of Hooker and Andrewes - and conformed in many ways to the pattern which Laud strove so tirelessly to establish (although he was not an Arminian), against whom the Long Parliament could find no complaint. His presence was indicative of a change in the accepted conditions of clerical appointment, which ushered in a new respect for ecclesiastical temporalities.

An effort has been made to connect the lack of economic dynamism in the Bishopric of Durham with the ethos of its incumbents, as regulated by their environment. In the process the behaviour of the Bishops of Durham as landowners has been described in general terms and with reference to the semi-alienation of church property. It now remains to consider more closely the conduct of bishops once established in their sees and to discover how it improved in the 17th Century in accordance with the new Laudian attitude.

The bishops of the early 16th Century tended to live in sumptuous style, but through service to the state were reasonably well-equipped to do so. Their post-Reformation successors on the other hand, were forcibly or voluntarily deprived of many of their assets and simultaneously affected by inflation, escape from which was rendered difficult by the peculiar nature of

ecclesiastical landownership. The inevitable result was a tendency towards personal acquisitiveness, common to the whole of Tudor society, but unseemly in its clerical section. Economic trends decreed that many churchmen should ear-mark more of their revenues for personal requirements and less for the maintenance of the dignity of the Church and the performance of their duties. The days when large episcopal establishments aroused the jealousy of the upper class seemed to have passed. It was possible for Bishop Aylmer of London (1577-94) to wonder at the 'orderly Troop of Tawny Coats' which accompanied Bishop Whitgift of Worcester to Parliament, and to ask his colleague how he managed to retain such a large body of men on such a slender income; and for Whitgift to reply tartly that he devoted his income to an accredited purpose.[1] Bishops ceased to dispense hospitality and its close neighbour, charity, in the customary fashion. Building projects were curtailed or abandoned. Extra profit was gleaned from suits of neglect brought against predecessors and economy sought in the deterioration of property. The perishable commodity of timber was selfishly wasted. In the setting of Elizabethan England Sir John Harrington could describe Bishop Overton of Coventry and Lichfield (1580-1609) as exceptional for his age, because 'he keepeth good hospitality for the poore .... and keepeth his house in good reparation',[2] Those at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy had always been self-seeking, but now in straitened circumstances their need was more desperate

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1 Sir J. Harrington, A Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, 1653, p.8.

2 Ibid, p.84.

and their covetousness correspondingly more inimical to the welfare of the Church.

The mismanagement of temporalities can be explained therefore, as basically the result of their recipients' search for ready cash for personal use. A lay estate was frequently modernised by an indigent but talented owner, yet increasing poverty rarely brought improvements to church land. The factors which differentiated between lay and ecclesiastical landownership dictated that the exigencies of a clerical life should only lead to stagnation and decay. Natural covetousness apart, many bishops were forced by the high price paid for their patrimonies to exacerbate the damage already caused by lay pressure. The absence of hereditary succession and the knowledge that occupation of a see was of a temporary nature, caused many bishops to realise capital into liquid assets and to shun long-term investments which would benefit the Church and their successors, but not themselves. The exaction of fines for example, was preferred to the arduous but ultimately advantageous process of revising land tenures. The greed which the bishops exhibited was emulated by friends, relatives, creditors, servants, neighbours and tenants, who could only be appeased by grants of office and uneconomical leases, at the expense of administrative efficiency and profitability. Such was the general scheme which can be illustrated from a host of particular instances.

~~Ethics were understandably no higher at dean and chapter level. At Durham in 1577 for example, two disgruntled members of the Chapter accused their colleagues of breaking the cathedral~~

~~statutes by granting 21 year leases of the manors attached to the prebends. These should rightfully only have been leased from year to year, so that any resident prebendaries could claim them for their own maintenance. The wrongdoers were therefore charged with seeking personal, financial gain at the expense of the corporate rights of the Cathedrals.~~[1]

The Bishopric of Durham would seem to have been spared from the worst excesses of episcopal behaviour, but there is ample evidence to show that its incumbents were subject to the same malaise which affected their colleagues everywhere.[2] They too were prone to pressure from both outside and within their diocese and in certain cases were motivated by the desire to amass personal capital and recoup losses and outlays. In relative terms the damage they caused was not extensive, since the Durham temporalities were sufficiently large to absorb a sizeable shock; yet enough to effectively retard the development of the episcopal estates. Unconditioned, like the rest of their kind, to make the sacrifices upon which future improvements depended, the Bishops of Durham were shackled in any case to their current habits by the conventions of Tudor society. As already described, Bishops Barnes and Matthew were led by weakness of character and personal greed and ambition to reduce the expectations of their successors with long leases, contrary to the material interests of the Church.[3] On the other hand, the Bishops of Durham seem to have pursued a mild and conciliatory

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~~1 Supplication of Ralph Lever and Richard Fawcet against the Dean and Chapter of Durham, March 1577; Statement by Ralph Lever and Richard Fawcett to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, March? 1577 (S.P.D. 12/111/52, 15/25/7).~~

2 Vide infra, Chapter XI.

3 Vide supra, Chapter VIII.

policy towards their tenants, to their own financial detriment.[1] Although judgment is impaired by the lack of evidence on leasehold fines, they appear on the whole to have preserved a reputation for good lordship and to have escaped the charges of oppressive exploitation levelled against ~~the Dean and Chapter of Durham and~~ other members of the episcopal bench. Their caution was probably linked with their responsibility for keeping the peace in the County Palatine and until 1603, for providing a force for defensive and offensive operations on the Border.

If there were obstacles in the way of improving the value of the episcopal estates, extra revenue could be raised by less satisfactory means. Dilapidations provided a universal expedient which was well practised at Durham; each bishop demanding damages from his predecessor for wilful neglect or dismantlement of buildings and then himself embarking upon a trail of destruction or money-saving abandonment of property. The cases of Bishops Pilkington, Barnes, Neile and Howson have already been dealt with elsewhere, ~~(pp. 170-171)~~, but one might dwell upon the typical occurrence which took place in 1577, after the death of Bishop Pilkington.[2] His widow alleged that his successor, Bishop Barnes, was asking for so much compensation that she could not satisfy his demands and also fulfil her duties as an executor and mother. She maintained that any evident dilapidations were the legacy of Bishop Tunstall (who had worked harder than any other Bishop of our period to restore the episcopal property),[3] that 'where any decay shall be found in his

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1 Vide supra, Chapter VII.

2 Vide supra, pp. 170-171.

3 Vide supra, p. 166.

(Pilkington's) time, the same is recompensed with advantage in emending and replacing of more necessary houses decayed in Bishop Tunstall's time, and his predecessors ....' To complete her rebuttal, she sought the protection of a powerful patron, not on the grounds that she feared exposure, but because her husband's ex-officers would present Barnes with suitable but false evidence, in the hope of earning his favour.[1] When the protestations of injured innocence have been cast aside, there is little to commend either party. Bishop Barnes was not an aggrieved guardian of temporalities, righteously condemning the depredations of one less honourable than he. He was exploiting his position for personal gain; hoping to squeeze the maximum amount of compensation out of his predecessor's widow, regardless of consequence, before making his own destructive contribution to the spoliation of the Bishopric estates. Nor was Bishop Pilkington as blameless as his widow implied. According to her testimony, his policy was to maintain the more important episcopal residences which his precursors had misused, at the expense of more secondary buildings, 'which being for the most part superfluous and vain houses, need not to be new builded, and therefore were chargeably amended and repaired from time to time ....' One of the Bishop's charges in the second category was the little-frequented Westgate Castle in Weardale, which was described in a 1595 Survey as being in a state of good repair in 1558; roofed with lead and composed of brewhouse, buttery, pantry, hall, great chamber, lesser chambers, stables and officers' quarters. Far from repairing it 'from

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1 Mrs. Pilkington's answer to the demands made by the Bishop of Durham for dilapidations, 1577 (S.P.D. 12/120/73).

time to time', Pilkington sold the lead from the roof to Newcastle merchants and took away much of the timbering, to the extent that £300 was needed to restore the castle to its 1558 condition. Needless to say the necessary restoration work was never carried out. Another £80 worth of damage occurred under Bishop Barnes and £20 worth under Bishop Hutton, reducing a former, substantial dwelling to a virtual ruin.[1] The other 'superfluous and vain houses' suffered a similar fate at Pilkington's hands.[2] The episcopal residences at Middleham, Stockton, Howden and Thorp Hall all suffered a measure of dismantling, the metal, timber and stone derived therefrom being sold for the Bishop's private profit.[3] The College at Bishop Auckland also suffered the loss of its bells and the conversion of chapels into a bowling alley and shooting butts. There seems to have been little in the way of recompense for these depredations.[3] It may be deduced from the evidence that at one time or another, all the episcopal houses were plundered in a similar way, even Auckland Palace itself.

Another unauthorised source of profit was the commercial sale of timber. The acknowledged purpose of ecclesiastical woods was to provide the bishops with timber for their own building projects, to supply the tenantry with the means of repairing and embellishing their properties and to furnish pit-props for the coal-mines and shoring for the flood prevention

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1 Survey of the High Forest of Weardale, 19 September 1595 (Mickleton-Spearman MSS 2, under Weardale).

2 Vide supra, p.170.

3 J. Raine, A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace, of Auckland, Durham, 1852, p.70.

scheme in Howdenshire. As the source of a valuable and relatively scarce commodity, the woods were to be nurtured carefully and tapped sparingly. Nevertheless, two Bishops were accused, probably with justification, of abusing their control of the supplies of timber for purely personal ends. Typically, one was Bishop Barnes, who in 1580 was denying allegations of misconduct which emanated from the Queen herself.[1] He studiously listed the few occasions on which he had freely disposed of small trees and saplings, all for worthy causes, and declared how much timber he had felled for his own legitimate use. Apparently suspicions were not dispelled quite as easily as the Bishop hoped. One of the keepers of woods, Ninian Burbage, had been dismissed as part of Barnes' efforts at self-exoneration. In 1584 he reported the Bishop to the Privy Council, protesting that he had been singled out as a scapegoat to mask his former master's guilt.[2] Without more information it is difficult to decide which of the two principals was the victim of deception, but the Queen's intervention in 1580 would suggest that Bishop Barnes was far from blameless in his management of the episcopal woods. The second offender was Bishop Neile, who in 1626 was charged amongst other things with the misappropriation of timber, by the King's Attorney General, Sir Robert Heath.[3] The Bishop was accused of cutting down 2,200 trees in Frankland Wood and on the common land around Durham for the purpose of private sale. 2,000 of the trees were said to

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1 Bishop Barnes to the Queen, 25 March 1580 (S.P.D. 12/136/75).

2 Vide supra, pp.355-356.

3 Information, Law Suit 49 (Church Commission MSS 221341).

have given him a return of £1,000. A further 200 trees, worth £100, were sold out of Allertonshire. Neile's behaviour was branded by the prosecution as an evil example for other bishops. It was also contrary to the interests of the King, who was deprived of the opportunity of employing the episcopal timber, 'sede vacante', for ship-building or the repair of royal residences. Whether the charges were upheld or not, it is extremely probable that the Bishop had provided ample grounds for complaint. In addition Bishop Pilkington has been credited with the destruction of the woods at Benfieldside.[1] Certainly conditions were favourable for the underhand exploitation of timber resources. In the words of John Spearman:

> "... there have been former attempts made by some Bishops of Durham to destroy the wood and timber in the Bishoprick, under the pretence of its being of use to them in the working of their coal mines, and other mines of lead and iron." 2

Pilkington's possible misconduct completes the list of recorded wrong-doings said to have been perpetrated by the Bishops of Durham in connection with the episcopal estates. 'In toto' they fell short of the enormities committed in some sees, yet still made a significant contribution to the stagnation and decay which beset the temporalities. The Bishops were obsessed with financial considerations in such a short-sighted manner, that cumulatively they produced a deterioration in their condition. The assertion that they were basically self-seeking is substantiated by a report on Newcastle and County Durham, produced in 1616 for the Secretary of State, Sir Ralph Winwood,

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1 J. Raine, A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace, of Auckland, Durham, 1852, p.70.

2 J. Spearman, Enquiry into the Ancient and Present State of the County Palatine of Durham, Edinburgh, 1729, p.60.

by a certain Zeth Beridge, alias William Morton.[1] Beridge paints the Bishops of Durham in a blacker hue than any other contemporary account, led into exaggeration by a strong addiction to the common law, dismay at the North's attachment to Roman Catholicism and disgust for the prelates who allowed the old religion to flourish so strongly. Hismain contention was that the Bishops of Durham from 1558 onwards were all afflicted with the sin of covetousness, exacerbated by the regal nature of their office. The prestige and power associated with the Bishops' regality led to corruption on a grand scale. Bishop Barnes became profane, proud, covetous and lascivious. Bishop Hutton, upon arrival an honest and good churchman, was transformed by greed. Toby Matthew, as Dean of Durham, had cried out against his covetousness and dealings with recusants, but upon succeeding to the Bishopric, had developed exactly the same faults. His oppressions had aroused the anger of a combination of gentlemen, against whom he had appealed to the law. Sir Edward Coke warned him that he had no case and advised him to appease his opponents. His successor, Bishop James, was also cast in the same mould, seeking to deprive the citizens of Durham of their newly acquired charter of incorporation. His claims had to be buttressed with the support of Lord Salisbury, purchased by the surrender of part of Durham Place. In the opinion of Judge Nicholas Spring, the King would have relieved the people of the Palatinate, if he had known how the Bishop subjected them to vassalage. These accusations, although containing an element of truth, are harsh and partially unjust, aimed, like the reports

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1 Zeth Beridge to Sir Ralph Winwood, 24 September 1616 (S.P.D. 14/88/94).

of the monastic commissioners of 1535, at a particular object, regardless of a strict adherence to fact; in this case at the complete absorption of the ecclesiastical liberty into the state system. Yet they could never have been levelled if the Bishops of Durham had shown any signs of rising above the standards of their age.

In two instances Beridge has perhaps been too lenient in his appraisal, for neither Bishop Hutton nor Bishop Matthew were lacking in ambition before their attainment of episcopal status.[1] Further examination of Hutton's career tends to dispel the impression that his ethics of conduct surpassed the average by a considerable margin. In 1586, as Dean of York, he became involved in an undignified campaign to discredit Archbishop Sandys; who lost no time in replying in kind and eventually emerged victorious from the duel.[2] The Archbishop accused Hutton of openly defending the practice of usury and thwarting measures taken against some money-lenders of York; it was insinuated that he even had a personal interest in their undertakings. In addition, he had favoured the infamous Sir Robert Stapleton and made it abundantly clear that he pursued a church career only for its material rewards.[3] It was rumoured that he was already in a position to spend £500 p.a. on the purchase of land. He was in possession of five or six livings worth approximately £1000 p.a., two of which were in the care of ignorant curates. At one time he had been the only resident member

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1 For Matthew vide supra, pp.386-390.

2 Archbishop Sandys to Lord Burghley, 22 May 1586, J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Oxford, 1824, Supplement to Vol IV, Document XV, 596-597. Also Ibid, III, Pt.1, 464.

3 Vide supra, pp.358-359.

of the York Chapter and in 1585 was only sharing the commodities due to residentiary canons with two other prebendaries. To crown his sins, he even claimed a share of the archiepiscopal revenues, whilst devoting his own income to purely personal uses. He had also been a party to Archbishop Grindal's wholesale disposal of leases and offices before removal to Canterbury, which constituted a flagrant abuse of his trusteeship. These allegations were doubtless exaggerated in the current fashion, but they were nonetheless probably grounded upon some basis of fact. At any rate, Sandys' counter-attack made some impression, since the recalcitrant Dean was forced to make his submission and revoke his stand on the usury issue. It seems therefore that Hutton was not such an honest and good churchman prior to his Durham appointment as Beridge would have his masters believe. It was not simply the Bishopric of Durham which exerted a corrupting influence, but the whole church system, tightly enmeshed as it was with the secular world and permeated with materialism.

The mismanagement of temporalities was bound to continue until society, awakening to puritan criticism of the Church of England, adopted a more demanding attitude towards the provision of its spiritual needs. In the meantime some improvement was presaged by the rather ineffectual reforms imposed from above by a Stuart monarchy less addicted to Tudor erastianism and eager to mould the Church into an effective ally against the aspirations of the articulate laity. As was the case with clerical appointments, the Crown's expectations were given concrete form by that great idealist, William Laud. In the words of his biographer, Peter Heylyn:

> "he saw the Church decaying both in Power and Patrimony: Her Patrimony dilapidated by the Avarice of several Bishops, in making havock of their Woods to enrich themselves; and more than so, in filling up their Grants and Leases to the utmost term, after they had been nominated to some other B'rick, to the great wrong of their Successors. Her Power he found diminished partly by the Bishops themselves, in leaving their Diocesses unregarded, and living altogether about Westminster, to be in a more ready way for the next Preferment;" 1

His remedy for this parlous state of affairs consisted of a number of recommendations, issued in 1629 as a royal command to all members of the episcopal bench.[2] All bishops not in the King's service were to withdraw to their sees. There, they were to live in their official residences and not on property purchased or leased by them. In this way they would be compelled to repair the ravages and neglect of their predecessors and refrain from creating dilapidations of their own. In addition, they were not to plunder their timber resources, or even fell trees or make leases and releases after nomination to another bishopric. If they persisted in the common forms of misbehaviour, then they would be forced to remain permanently in the bishoprics which they had abused. The intentions of Charles I and Laud were extremely sound, but impossible to enforce without arousing serious dissensions in the Church at a most inappropriate time. Their instructions were little more than a bluff, which after a critical reception, was contemptuously ignored by the bulk of the episcopacy. The reformers found that their plea for the readjustment of the episcopal image was falling on deaf ears; that the deep-seated failings of the ecclesiastical hierarchy could not simply be removed with a few strokes of the pen. Their

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1 P. Heylyn, Life of Archbishop Laud, London, 1668, p.198.

2 Instructions from the King in Council to the Bishops, 1629 (Church Commission MSS Miscellanea 221086).

exhortations were directed at churchmen who thought primarily in terms of private advancement and profit, rather than service to the Church; whose viewpoint is very well expressed by Heylyn, in a summary of the objections raised by the lesser bishops to the standing orders of 1629.[1] They

> "thought it the worst kind of banishments to be confined unto the Country, complaining privately, that now the Court-Bishops had served their own turns upon the King, they cared not what miseries their poor brethren were exposed unto; who if they were constrained to live in their Episcopal houses, or in any other place within their Diocesses, must be constrained also to keep up such a Part, and maintain such open Hospitality as their Revenues could not bear. Nor was it thought a less injury to them, that they could not make the best of their time, but were required to be good husbands for another man, who was to enjoy the place which they were to leave; when they were fain to take it as it came to their hands, without any prevention going before, or satisfaction following after."

Against such arguments as these there could be no headway. They reflected a tendency to equate sound estate management with an unwise and unnecessary self-sacrifice, and the material welfare of the Church with the advancement of rivals. Their protagonists, products of an age of exploitation, could not be re-educated to accept the necessity of stemming the puritan assault upon the Anglican Church by setting their own houses in order. They could only be tolerated until the new criterion of ecclesiastical preferment favoured by Laud had resulted in a new type of churchman taking the helm with a willingness to move in the requisite direction.

One of the first harbingers of a new order was Bishop Morton of Durham, whose ecclesiastical career differed radically from that of the majority of his colleagues.[2] His record as a

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1 P. Heylyn, Life of Archbishop Laud, London, 1668, p.202.

2 Vide supra, pp.399-400.

landowner at Durham illustrates the positive outcome of the reappraisal of recruitment to the episcopal bench. Richard Baddeley, his biographer, praised him for the prudence, generosity and moderation with which he exercised his rights and employed his revenues. His integrity, sense of justice, temperance and other christian virtues were apparently well-remembered in his diocese. He sought nothing more than an acknowledgement of his right to ship-wrecks and never demanded more than a quarter of the forfeitures and deodands to which he was entitled. In cases of hardship he remitted the whole. On one occasion he waived his claim to a suicide's estate worth £2000; taking only a nominal £50 which he distributed amongst his servants. Arrangements for the making and renewal of leases were extremely liberal; negotiations being left to an independent commission. Temperate in his needs to the point of being abstemious, the Bishop was nonetheless nobly hospitable. He enriched no relative and 'never Purchased one foot of land nor other temporall Possession in all his long life, notwithstanding his plentifull incomes; but as his Revenues increased, so were they expended in Hospitable, charitable and other Christian uses.'[1] This saintly portrayal of Morton substantiated in part by Spearman, is probably magnified, but there is no denying that his pontificate witnessed a fresh approach to the episcopal temporalities.[2] Their original purpose was rediscovered. They became once more an instrument for the promotion of the work of the Church and less of a source of personal gratification for

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1 R. Baddeley, The Life of Dr Thomas Morton, Late Bishop of Duresme, York, 1669, p.93.

2 J. Spearman, Enquiry into the Ancient and Present State of of the County Palatine of Durham, Edinburgh, 1729, p.42.

their immediate recipient. In practical terms this change in outlook ensured that the bishopric estates were better managed; in the sense that resources were conserved, instead of squandered for short-term advantages. They were administered for the Church; for future bishops, as well as for the present incumbent. The Church was still not ready to follow the example of the laity with a full-scale exploitation of its assets, but progress lay not far ahead, after the interruptions of the Civil War and Interregnum. The ground had already been prepared by the Laudian revival; the continuing exigencies of churchmen, the proven advantages of estate development and the evolution of agriculture and industry were to supply the necessary incentives.

CHAPTER XI

Conclusion

In concluding this survey of the Bishopric Estates with a summary of the Durham material, and the picture and interpretations that have been constructed from it, prominence must be given to the setting within which the estate organism functioned. Firstly the jurisdictional peculiar must be taken into account. By the sixteenth century it had little obvious bearing on the uniqueness of the Durham experience; creating little real distinction between the Bishop of Durham and other more orthodox episcopal landowners. But it cannot be dismissed entirely; there is a possibility that a desire to preserve the remaining vestiges of the franchise and hence the distinctiveness of Durham, may have underlain the Bishops' benevolent outlook towards their officers and tenantry, as they strove to ward off further state intervention by the avoidance of adverse publicity. Secondly and much more importantly, there is the geographical location of the Bishopric. The distance between the North of England and the capital, its pronounced local particularism and resistance to central direction, its turbulent ruling-class and its proximity to Scotland and the troubled border regions, all combined to turn the Bishop of Durham into an intruded government agent, with a substantial role to play in terms of keeping the peace, enforcing crown policy and upholding national security - the presence of the Council of the North notwithstanding. In this context the Bishop was obliged to utilise not only his palatinal jurisdiction and ecclesiastical authority, but also the influence derived from the ownership of extensive estates appositely distributed throughout the North-East from the Tweed to the Humber; given the limitations upon his power and the formidable range of opposing factors, it was inevitable that such influence should be

exercised persuasively rather than forcefully, to win friends for whatever the Bishop represented with a display of goodlordship. Such strategic considerations were reinforced by related social ones. As an outsider projected at the highest level into a relatively closed community, the Bishop had to work hard for social acceptance if he was to perform his political and ecclesiastical duties with any hope of success; which provided further strong grounds for adoption of a concessionary attitude as a landowner. These considerations were clearly incompatible with any remodelling of the estate structure in response to economic change, since the resultant disruption was bound to imperil the socio-political objectives on which the Bishop's masters set such store. From an economic standpoint the Bishopric estates were well-sited. Their value basically determined by topographical and geological features, they were widely scattered in a variety of situations to give the Bishop a useful stake in several different types of economic activity - agricultural, pastoral and industrial. The poverty of Norhamshire and the upland areas of Co. Durham was nicely counterbalanced by the contrasting richness of the more intensively farmed Yorkshire property and the newly developed coal seams. In line with the material progress of England as a whole, as it moved slowly towards economic growth, there was considerable potential in these temporalities, but its fulfillment had to depend upon the extent to which the logic of the Bishop's position as a churchman and a political and social leader could be kept from impinging on the economic possibilities. In practice the place of the Bishopric within the political system, and the consequences arising from it, ensured that estate improvement stemming from financial considerations could never attain the high priority that it achieved under economic pressure with other substantial landowners whose responsibilities happened to be less. Part of the cost of the Bishop's circumstances was the perpetuation of an administrative structure that was by its nature an extremely poor vehicle for any attempt at efficient utilisation of the Bishopric's endowments.

The Exchequer records supplemented by the copious notes of James Mickleton have made it possible to depict in considerable detail the formal organisation of the Durham estate administration. It may be objected that it is both unnecessary and misleading to devote so much attention to these arrangements, since the ground-plan bore only a limited resemblance to the operating procedures that were actually practised. Such a criticism can be disputed in two ways. The investigator is justified in putting on record the structured dispositions of the administrative machine, firstly to demonstrate that beneath all the imperfections lay a persistent attempt to conform to an idealised conception of estate management involving neatness and efficiency through specialization of function and strict accountability; and secondly to furnish a measurement of the extent to which the Bishops and their advisers were forced by a variety of pressures and needs to depart from this ideal and accept a series of detracting compromises. The result was a situation in which the Bishops were to a large extent the prisoners of a most unsatisfactory system, in which the conflicting provision of service and patronage were confusedly intermingled, exploitation of office regularly took precedence over fulfillment of duty, superfluous posts were retained for extraneous purposes and there was too much dependence upon immovable personnel inherited from predecessors and the performance of innumerable, non-accountable deputies. Yet the system was not entirely without vitality and the Bishops were not entirely without room to manoeuvre. In spite of the limitations they were able to take some positive steps to safeguard their personal interests and those of the Church; especially by abandoning in practice the rigid specialism and formality built into the administrative structure, in favour of an healthy flexibility, adaptability and interchangeability that gave considerable scope for an invaluable core of professional administrators to make a beneficial impact and save the administration from at least the worst consequences arising from its defective evolution. Although there was always too much dead weight within the

administration, the disappearance of at least some useless officers whose posts were moribund because the Bishops had become rentiers and their feudal jurisdiction had atrophied (e.g., bailiffs, approvers, surveyors, forest officers and the instaurer), is another lesser sign that the Bishops and their supporters were capable to some extent of coping with the problems of administration and rectifying the deficiencies; but never enough to convert the administrative machine into an instrument for the overdue modernisation of the Bishopric estates.

The serious administrative short-comings which still persisted in spite of such salutary adjustments are well-illustrated by a close study of that central activity - the handling of the estates' monetary output. In this case the detailed appraisal of the accounting system made possible by the survival of a voluminous multiplicity of financial records, is justified by the fact that even allowing for the exemption of hidden revenue like entry fines, the main bulk of the episcopal income was subject to it; the formal accounts do not reveal the whole story of episcopal finance, but they accurately reflect a large part of it, and are consequently not to be dismissed along with the hierarchical structure as an irrelevance. The documentary material demonstrates the perpetuation into the early-modern period of a medieval accounting method that retained its appropriateness because of the nature of the administration. Its continuing validity lay in the fact that its emphasis was centred upon the enforcement of predetermined monetary obligations - a matter of no mean importance at a time when there was ample cause for the distrust of officers and tenants and professional attitudes towards service had not penetrated very far. Such an approach was inevitably restricted to a concern with minimal, elementary standards of performance, and was badly suited for any enlargement of the episcopal revenues; such an extension of capability had to await the introduction of a more up-to-date, reorientated system, which in turn could not be effected without a thorough-going reform of personnel recruitment that was inconceivable before the Civil War. Like

the administrative structure examined in Chapter II, the accounting system had on paper a neat, efficiently comprehensive appearance, that was similarly disrupted in action, once exposed to the unruly, unconforming human element. Once again fluidity can be observed, but in this instance it is more indicative of weakness and failure than judicious modification, as the rudimentary proficiency of which the system was potentially capable was sacrificed for the appeasement and satisfaction of officers and tenantry. The adequate set of safeguards and sanctions - the procedures for taking bonds from officers of charge, distraining the goods of defaulters and fully employing the facilities of the law for extraction of the Bishop's due - seems to have been largely left in abeyance, with a resultant slump in respect for the accounting regulations. Deferred payments of sizeable proportions, which must have been of considerable financial advantage to their beneficiaries, were permitted to develop into one of the less obvious, but nonetheless important, forms of episcopal patronage, at the expense of administrative inconvenience and confusion; and of course it was quite a short step from deferred payment to non-payment. With the disciplinary arrangements relaxed, the accounting system began to suffer from the basic defect that there was no clear-cut distinction between officers and tenants; the estate managers were in the main not a race apart, but belonged themselves to local society and to the tenantry and therefore were likely to collude with their charges, if allowed, against the best interests of the Bishop. Here the communications factor also comes into play; the widespread nature of the estates created opportunities for evasion and self-seeking and acted as an impediment to the Durham-based corps of committed, senior officers upon whom the detection of irregularities had to depend. Such a state of affairs surely contributed in conjunction with uncontrollable economic setbacks, to the administration's failure to preserve the value of the temporalities at the level attained in the later middle ages. Naturally epidemics and population contraction, poor seasons and social and political

instability had an important part to play, but evidence such as the accusations levelled against the Howdenshire officials in 1619, detailing culpable laxity over surveys, rent-days and casualties, suggests that the inadequacies of the accounting system in operation were another causatory factor of no small proportions.[1]

Analysis of the accounts from the standpoint of income due points to the conclusion that under the strain of such internal and external difficulties, the estate administration was having a hard struggle to restore the episcopal income to the height that had been achieved before the onset of the slump experienced between the 1380s and the 1480s. The Collectors' Accounts reveal recovery, but of a slow and partial kind. The Bailiffs' Accounts on the other hand, show no such improvement and imply that the Bishops were being denied any benefit from the urban expansion of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that could have contributed something to their economic salvation, but was channelled instead to the borough farmers and the principal residents of the towns concerned; by differing routes control over Durham and Gateshead was relinquished altogether. In similar vein the continuing decline in the Coroners' returns leads to the inference that the widely dispersed freehold property, upon which the Bishops had the slightest of claims, was gradually being prized out of their cognizance, as its owners exploited the system's weaknesses to secure an untrammelled possession. Disparkment could have been a source of revival, but according to the Master Forester's Accounts the opportunity was lost because of a combination of obstacles - well-entrenched customary rights, the priority given to officers' perquisites, hunting requirements, the Bishops' grazing needs and the crown leases. Judging by the same accounts forestry was equally undeveloped; although the recorded proceeds accord so badly with the serious charges of misappropriation of timber brought against Bishops Barnes and Neile, as to lead to the suspicion that here we might be dealing

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1 Vide supra, p. 104.

with an unquantifiable source of concealed income.[1] Coal-mining looked to be a promising growth-point, but it failed to live upto expectations as retarding factors cancelled out the gains and caused the returns to remain static; the most rewarding workings were not capitalized upon because of the stranglehold of the Newcastle coal-magnates, the Grand Lease coup and the underleasing of the Raby pits; and the failure rate for the extractive industry turned out to be cripplingly high, as the compilation of Bishop Pilkington's arrears clearly illustrates.[2] The contents of the Escheator's Accounts are equivocal, but it seems unlikely that the feudal jurisdiction was able to provide much financial consolation. If they are accurate then they reflect the virtual annihilation of feudal dues in the second half of the sixteenth century and intimate that the Anglican Bishops were pressured into surrender of their rights by royal disapproval and landowning resistance. If on the other hand they are incomplete because feudal dues were handled with more circumspection and divorced from the audit proceedings once they became controversial, as seems more likely, then it is still probable that they were adversely affected by Elizabeth's usurpation in the aftermath of the Northern Rebellion, to make unrepeatable sums like the £800 obtained by Cardinal Wolsey for the wardship of George Bowes.[3] At the same time Foreign Receipts were devastated by the loss of Norhamshire; for which there was no compensation to be found in the Yorkshire estates, where the Receivers' charges were reduced rather than expanded, because of the off-loading of decayed rents. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Bishops had decided that their financial position was not to be rectified through entrepreneurial activity - the direct exploitation of mineral resources, demesne land and common pasturage. There were too many powerful objections - in general terms the need to furnish working capital, the disincentive of the episcopal succession and the consequent curtailment of patronage opportunities; more specifically in mining there was the formidable challenge of Newcastle and

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1 Vide supra, pp. 407-408.
2 Vide supra, p. 146.
3 Vide supra, p. 348.

the undesirability of a head-on conflict with its ruling clique, and in agriculture the hazardous nature of farming and the drawback that the tenantry could no longer be enlisted as a plentiful source of cheap labour. William Frankleyn, it is true, discarded such conventional wisdom, but had his backing removed before he had time to offer a convincing demonstration of the profitability and advisability of his more dynamic approach. The fact that the fruits of his labour passed to Thomas Winter and his assigns rather than the Bishopric of Durham, confirms the impression that the episcopal succession and capitalistic development did not go well together. Therefore the only signs of healthy growth are to be found in the Durham collectorships and the mining sector; with the former it was limited regrowth rather than new growth; with the latter a more substantial benefit was nullified by irresistible outside intervention. The overall result was that income due continued to diminish, quite out of correlation with the condition of the North-East's economy, which was showing signs of fresh vitality by the mid-sixteenth century.

For the purposes of calculating the exact value of the temporalities the figures for income due are rather unrealistic, representing expectations rather than actuality. To obtain a truer assessment they must be adjusted to take account of unleviable and hidden income. The study of arrears and decayed rents under Bishops Tunstall and Pilkington lays bare the enormity of the unleviable income problem, compounded of economic shortcomings, administrative defects and the alacrity of the Bishops' debtors in exploiting any weaknesses and the implications of the episcopal succession. The fact that Pilkington only secured £4 by distraint out of a total debt of £1,282, is indicative of the extent to which the enforcement machinery had become inoperative.[1] The reduction of arrears after mid-century raises the possibility that the revenue-collection system was tightened up as the Bishops' financial position deteriorated, but a more probable cause was the gradual establishment of a

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1 Vide supra, p. 146.

sounder economy, coupled with the writing-off of irrecoverable decayed rents that had been allowed to inflate the deficit for far too long - their presence, along with the size of arrears, suggests that the level of income due had been pitched impossibly high, especially in connection with the coal-mines, in emulation of the fourteenth century peak, and illustrates the depth of the economic depression out of which the Bishopric estates were toiling with such difficulty. With concealed income, notably leasehold entry fines, one has to decide whether they made any appreciable difference in the opposite direction without any firm evidence on which to base that decision. Calculations based on the handful of recorded entry fines and their relationship to rent, point to a negative conclusion, which is substantiated by the sanction given by the Council of the North in 1583 to entry fines of only 4 X the annual rent when border service was involved[1]; and there is the additional consideration that fines seem to have been customarily shared by the Bishops with their clients as part of the distribution of episcopal largesse, so limiting the direct cash benefit. On the other hand there are hints that Bishops Barnes and Neile both deliberately explored the monetary potential of entry fines; Neile in particular appears to have actively encouraged the turnover of leases by converting 21 year terms into three lives, and can be credited with a fine of £129, which was 39 X the associated rent of £3.6.8d. p.a.[2] The practice of renewing leases at an early stage can also be taken as evidence of fine exploitation, although equally it can be viewed as yet another concession to the tenant, strengthening his security of tenure. On balance, taking into the reckoning the affect of patronage needs - the drafting of beneficial leases for favoured tenants and the presentation of fining opportunities to favoured attendants - and the stultifying long leases, it is difficult to believe that hidden income was sufficient to alter substantially the range of actual income delineated in the formal accounts. Such a conclusion carries with it the related belief that actual income remained fairly static throughout an

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1 Vide supra, pp. 240-241.
2 Vide supra, p. 252.

inflationary period, and that consequently the Bishops suffered a drastic cut in real income, the severity of which was governed by the rate of inflation applying to the North of England. This important financial eclipse, involving loss of purchasing power and socio-political status, must be viewed within the context of a broader state of crisis for the Bishops of Durham, of which the other principal elements, lying largely outside the confines of this thesis, were the stresses attendant upon the Reformation, a decline in political credibility - evident in the failure to compete with other northern magnates and exert effective leadership in relation to border defence and the two major rebellions of 1536 and 1569 - and the encroaching power and authority of the crown.

The financial deterioration was further complicated by the incidence of clerical taxation based unlike lay taxes on an accurate valuation of the temporalities, and the peculiar additional levy of £880 p.a. which Elizabeth felt justified in exacting from what she clearly regarded as an over-endowed see. There was also the tradition of extensive household provision, which could not be amended too quickly for the sake of economy without a serious loss of reputation; the curtailment of farming operations and payments in kind did not help in this respect. Then after 1558 there were the demands emanating from the adoption of clerical marriage; the compulsion to found a family, the need to furnish acceptable maintenance for widows and younger sons and to launch daughters with respectable dowries, all involved the assemblage of a personal fortune by some means. Given the overall dimensions of the financial problem and the inability to expand income, the modest reduction detectable in outgoings could not help very much, but there was some consolation in the fact that expenditure upon the Bishopric estates was in any case conveniently limited - one of the few blessings in a worsening situation. Direct wage payments to officers were relatively low; their main reward lay in the opportunity to exploit their posts at the expense of employer and tenants alike. The Bishops' rentier status obviated the need for expense on equipment

and working capital and allowed the cost of providing and maintaining buildings and enclosures to be passed on wholly or in part to the tenantry, who were reconciled to what was a reasonable cutback in material assistance by the otherwise highly favourable conditions of tenure. The Howdenshire drainage system remained a steady burden, but the loss of Norhamshire, in some ways regrettable, did at least remove the responsibility for upkeep of its fortifications. At the time the deliberate neglect and dismantling of episcopal residences as an economy measure and a minor source of additional income, was much criticised by the purists. Such a policy can be cited as an abuse of the temporalities, but there is some room for mitigation, in that the abandoned seats had been rendered uninhabitable by the current changes in living standards and inflation had made the support of such a superfluity of dwellings utterly untenable.

Any estimate of outgoings becomes questionable because of the fragmentary references to household expenditure, but it is reasonable to believe that the temporalities still yielded some kind of cash surplus for private disposal by the Bishops, in spite of the extent of the financial drawbacks and commitments; this was one of the economic features of the wealthier sees which contained the capacity to withstand a good deal of erosion. The net gains were achieved independently of the concealed income which served as an undefined additional bonus; its absence from the accounts denotes its approved designation as a fund personal to the Bishops to help them meet their private requirements. The continuing existence of a cash remainder substantiated by entry fines and the undisclosed sale of timber and building materials, was of course one of several pressing reasons why the Bishops took no firm action to halt the contraction of their income; although conditions were worsening, a point of urgency and desperation had not yet been reached. The actual size of the annual profit cannot be ascertained, but the services that the Bishops were able to perform for their children and the insertion of their families into the upper gentry offer some indication of the scale of benefits to be gained at the culmination of a successful career

in the Church. The wills of Bishops Pilkington and Barnes are misleading in that in all probability the proceeds had already been passed on. More usefully the Hutton correspondence shows what could be garnered with good management out of two sees, of which Durham was the richer. Bishop Matthew's £14,000 worth of support for his son Toby may over-impress unless it is appreciated that spread over a 33 years sojourn at Durham and York it amounts to an annual charge of £424.[1]

The temporalities attached to the Bishopric of Durham were sufficiently extensive for all needs to be met, but the provision was considerably less generous than it had been before depression and inflation took their toll; there is a distinct impression of descent from an aristocratic standing and scale of values. By 1600 at the latest a chance to reverse this trend was being presented through a definite upturn in the economy of the Bishopric estates, as the beneficial affects of population growth and inflation eventually came to be felt in the North. The evidence for wholesale and piecemeal enclosure, farm consolidation, agricultural profits, a buoyant land market, industrialization and urban expansion makes a pleasant contrast with the signs of earlier retardation - notably abandoned holdings and the inability to pay undemanding rents. The Percy accounts show how much advantage could be derived by a large landowner from these improving circumstances. Yet at Durham there was no change; whilst the Percy returns were multiplying, the Bishops were permitting newly-enclosed common land to be taken out on archaic copyhold terms - on the rare occasion when a Bishop took the initiative over enclosure the expected profits were allocated to an officer.[2] They failed to participate in the rising tide of prosperity not only because of the administrative inadequacies, but also because they were saddled with extremely unfavourable tenancy agreements, that could not be modernised without an effort of will that was entirely absent and repercussions that might well conflict with fulfillment of their functions as church and community leaders.

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1 Vide supra, pp. 183-184.
2 Vide supra, p. 209.

The transition from a feudal to a modern landlord/tenant relationship was well under way by the sixteenth century, but in a markedly one-sided manner. Population decline in the past had enabled the tenantry to obtain liberating and advantageous conditions of tenure for themselves - pegged down rents and the virtual elimination of labour services and payments in kind. The entrenchment of such terms as custom, becoming increasingly prejudicial to the landlord, was not a totally insurmountable obstacle to episcopal estate development, but the Bishops' obligation to bind the "Haliwerfolc" to themselves and inculcate loyalty to the state, meant that they were effectively debarred from attempting to adjust the contractual balance in their favour and iron out some of the inequalities. Situations like that obtaining at Blackwell, where copyholders were able to rent 20 acre yardlands for 8.0d. pa. (less than 5d. per acre) and a 200 acre farm carried an unchanging rent of £4.14.2½, were consequently allowed to persist without modification from the later middle ages right into the seventeenth century.[1] The customary tenures were uncompromisingly weighted against the landlord. Not only were rents and entry fines frozen at an especially low rate, but there was also no facility for levying fines at a bishop's succession, and control over enclosure, a common vehicle for reform elsewhere, lay crucially in the tenants' hands. Only activation of the Bishops' mineral rights could disturb their equanimity, and even then mining brought with it additional employment prospects and opportunities for gain as well as disruption. Signs of episcopal resistance and retaliation are understandably rare. Quite apart from the Bishops' unwillingness to exacerbate resentment and opposition, there was the extra consideration that any necessarily protracted, expensive and hard-fought campaign against the customary tenures would if successful, be likely to benefit future bishops, rather than the one who made the initial risky investment in this form of improvement. Bishop Barnes' alleged assault is significantly associated with the less well-protected Yorkshire copyholds; the 1593 attack upon the Weardale tenant right came from a crown lessee rather

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1 Vide supra, pp. 197-198.

than the Bishop; and Neile's dealings in the same direction are far from being a clear-cut case of episcopal aggression.[1] The leasehold tenure was equally preserved in an outmoded form; its condition illustrating the point that alongside the other factors to be taken into account, tenancy agreements, like offices, had become caught up in the episcopal patronage system. The parliamentary surveys of the 1640s in putting a realistic valuation upon the leaseholds, reveal that financially the Bishops could have easily matched the leading aristocracy, had they been free to realise the economic potential of their lands. The introduction of leases for lives suggests that favourable customs were still being created on the leaseholders' behalf. On the other hand there is a possibility that the Bishops were gaining some redress by the seventeenth century with the positive inducement of entry fines, through the promotion of early releases and the elimination of sub-tenancies.

The undeveloped character of the Bishopric estates and in particular the lucrativeness of the leasehold property from the tenants' point of view, did not escape the notice of the sharp-eyed speculators who haunted the Court, and so provoked the powerful outside interference that was to act as a further inhibiting factor against alteration of the "status quo". The contemporary commentators who recorded the processes whereby the resources of the bishoprics were diverted to the crown and through it to the influential laity, tended to deplore the spoliation as a self-evident evil. Their works are valuable for their vigilant observation of the murkier aspects of the Reformation era which have not received too much publicity from modern church historians, but their denunciations must be tempered somewhat. Although the long crown leases virtually took many choice sections of the estates out of the Bishops' control for a long period of time, they can hardly be cited as a major bar to improvement when it is known that there were no improvement plans for them to hinder; the damage was largely hypothetical. Similarly it was not too serious a matter if they reduced the patronage pool, and if the crown lessees disturbed the Bishops' relationship with the tenantry in the

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1 Vide supra, pp. 237, 241 and 242.

course of seeking out their profits, since in practice there was not much of a relationship to be destroyed; long usage had accustomed the recipients of episcopal favours to take them for granted as a matter of right, and to neglect their reciprocal obligations; any possibility of a rapport with the people of the Bishopric was limited by the fact that the Bishops were invariably outsiders, prevented from building up the requisite family influence by the transitory nature of their connection with the area, and bound by the nature of their office to shun any close identification with their charges. The attentions of crown and courtiers caused some reduction in income, but it was not enough to hinder the Bishops in the performance of their duties, or to deny them their modest personal enrichment; if the diversion of assets had not taken place, then the Bishops would almost certainly have been the main beneficiaries, so one can hardly describe the predators as serious contributors to the economic problems of a Church which had no immediate intention of redeploying the episcopal temporalities in a more equitable and useful manner. It is even possible to justify the worst assault upon the Bishopric - Northumberland's attempted dissolution - as a genuine effort to carry Protestantism into the North and improve the ecclesiastical provision there; although it is impossible to ignore Northumberland's political strategy, the fact that there was no straightforward transfer of the Durham temporalities to the two new sees, the selection of the best lands for retention by the crown, the malleability of the new, protestant bishops on temporal issues, and the protest of Archbishop Cranmer against a detrimental measure disguised as a reform. Overall the spoliators seem to have adversely affected the Bishops as landowners and careerists, rather than the Church as a whole. It was the Bishops' ability to bestow the best leases upon favoured relatives, servants and friends and their personal income from fines that really suffered. George Freville's fine of £100 that amounted to only 5 X the rent on an 80 years lease, indicates that the crown leases yielded very meagre returns as well as restricting future fining opportunities;[1] other crown lessees of greater standing may well have had to pay even less for their acquisitions than Freville;

1 Vide supra, p. 305.

The Elizabethan attack upon the temporalities, occasioning a £1,000 reduction in the Valor Ecclesiasticus rating, caused Durham to become one of the major victims of the crown's anti-clerical attentions. The severity of this blow tends to obscure the realisation that the situation could easily have been a good deal worse. Had it not been for the longevity of Bishop Tunstall and the designs of Northumberland, Durham might well have been subject to the withering, forced alienation of manors and surrender of temporalities that caused such damage to other bishoprics during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Then poised on the brink of dismemberment, ready to share Westminster's unique fate, it was saved by Edward's timely death and Mary's determined assertion of the Tudor succession. Admittedly its fortunate escape from the pre-1553 blitz, when the ransacking of the bishoprics was at its height, probably prompted Elizabeth's pruning measures; but it was ultimately of benefit to Durham that eventually these should take the final form of a cash levy, rather than an outright seizure of property, or the dubious exchange arrangements introduced elsewhere. When the storm abated there were left as a reminder the burden of this levy and the handicap of the long crown leases, but the potential for considerable future development of the temporalities remained essentially unimpaired.

Durham did not experience every deleterious facet of the church-state relationship, but it clearly provides a fair reflection of its changing phases. The rough treatment meted out to Bishop Tunstall is representative of the early, violent stages of the Reformation, whilst the imposition of long leases is typical of the more restrained and less blatant pressure of the Elizabethan era. Bishop Pilkington's fight against confiscation and the dating of the last crown leases from 1604 show that the important transitions did not coincide neatly with the start of fresh reigns. Throughout the period under study the Bishopric was also exposed like every other see, to another, unobtrusive form of exploitation that has been largely overlooked - the legitimate crown appropriation of revenues during vacancies

arising usually from the death or translation of its incumbents. Since the monarch controlled episcopal appointments it was natural and inevitable that vacancies should be employed as a useful source of irregular, crown income; with the length of the [illegible] vacancies bearing some relation to the varying degrees of respect in which the Church was held. Between 1500 and 1640 the Bishopric of Durham experienced fourteen vacancies which put the temporalities at the disposal of the Crown for approximately twelve years. This span can be broken down in the following way:

Henry VII - three vacancies amounted to three years and three months, giving an average length of one year and one month;

Henry VIII - two vacancies amounted to one year and two months; average length - seven months;

Edward VI - Bishop Tunstall's deprivation lasted one year and six months;

Elizabeth - four vacancies amounted to four years and ten months; average length - one year, two and a half months;

James I - two vacancies amounted to four months; average length - two months;

Charles I - two vacancies amounted to one year and two months; average length - seven months.

Interestingly the longest vacancies and the longest average vacancies occurred under Henry VII and Elizabeth I, the two monarchs most aware of the Crown's fiscal problems. The figures also suggest a Stuart unwillingness to weaken the Church materially in the manner of their Tudor predecessors. Henry VIII's record is abnormally presented owing to the involvement of Cardinal Wolsey in one of the two appointments and the unusually long tenure of Bishop Tunstall. An investigation of the vacancies affecting the other bishoprics reveals that the Durham pattern was fairly regular if not absolutely typical.[1] Concerning the total length of time during which the episcopal temporalities were in the possession of the Crown, the arithmetical average for all the bishoprics of England and Wales was twelve years (median = 10 years, 11 months; lower quartile = 7 years; upper quartile = 13 years, 10 months), coinciding very well with the Durham figure. However if two

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1 All subsequent calculations are based upon F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, eds., Handbook of British Chronology, London, 1961, pp. 202-280.

abnormal bishoprics (Ely - 25 years, 7 months; Oxford - 44 years, 9 months) are excluded from the calculations, the arithmetical mean drops below the Durham level to ten years, one month. The average lengths of vacancy for each reign were:

Henry VII - two years, six months;
Henry VIII - one year, two months;
Edward VI - eight months;
Mary I - ten months;
Elizabeth I - six years, five months;
James I - ten months;
Charles I - eleven months.

These findings confirm the opinion that episcopal vacancies were deliberately employed as a fiscal expedient by Henry VII and Elizabeth I, especially the latter. Admittedly her strikingly high average was pushed up by three extremely long vacancies (Ely - 19 years; Bristol - 15 years, 5 months; and Oxford - 40 years, 11 months), but even without these it still stands at four years. Clearly Henry VIII and the courtiers of Edward VI were just as keen to exploit the bishoprics through their incumbents as their vacancies, whilst Mary I left a number of sees empty for a surprisingly long time considering the strength of her devotion to the Church. It also appears that the Early Stuarts were not quite as conscientious in keeping the episcopal bench fully manned as the Durham situation indicates. Finally it is interesting to note that overall 57% of the vacancies arose from natural causes - i.e., the death of the resident bishop. The other 43% occurred mainly through translations, but also to some extent because of deprivations and resignations. Most of the reigns conformed quite closely to the overall percentages, with the exception of those of Edward VI and Mary I, when the Reformation upheavals pushed the assisted vacancies up to 67% and 60% of the total.

The interventions of Crown and Court were a hazard and a nuisance, but they did not determine the stagnant quality of the estate administration as much as the characteristics of the personnel employed in it. The estate offices had become identified as attractive commodities and absorbed into the episcopal patronage system alongside the temporalities.

The end-product was the manning of the administration by a motley collection of mainly unserviceable individuals - Bishops' relations, servants and friends and local notables all enjoying their offices as gifts, strangers with pull in high places squeezing their snatched posts for all they were worth, virtually unknown proxies, persons of limited loyalty and commitment appointed in the past by previous incumbents, and even destructive trouble-makers abusing their positions in a malicious and extortionate manner. The profitability of office-holding despite the restricted fees and wages, which lay at the heart of the administration's low key performance, cannot be strictly defined; the appeal of office suggests that it added up to a good deal more than the list of known perquisites attached to each office. There were obviously advantages to be gained from the handling of monies and from acting as middleman between the administration and a variety of suitors. Office-holding may also have been used as a route towards the acquisition of lucrative land and mine leases on easy terms. Even where the cash returns were negligible, an office might still be considered valuable in terms of the prestige, power and contacts that were associated with it. At first sight it seems strange to find a minor post in the possession of some eminent figure, but in combination with other positions, both inside and outside the episcopal administration, it may well take on meaning as one segment in a widespread web of influence and interest. If the charges concerning Robert Meynell's income from a variety of legal offices are to be trusted, then the potentialities of office-holding must have been great and the official salary-scale totally unreal.[1] In the circumstances it was a matter of vital importance that certain counter-measures were taken to safeguard the administration from complete seizure; that in the main the most central offices were kept clear of patronage requirements; and that there was a countervailing, professional approach to office-holding. In contrast with the common attitude, which was

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1 Vide supra, p. 357.

concerned with the exploitation rather than the duties of office, this professional outlook was to merit substantial rewards and career advancement directly from the employer through provision of a dedicated and reasonably proficient service. On the whole the professionals were not innovators trying to steer the estate administration onto a new, progressive course; like the Bishops, they recognised the limitations hedging them about and the need for balance and compromise between competing objectives. With the exception of William Frankleyn - that fascinating amalgam of idealism, restless energy and organising ability - their aim was to counteract the most glaring flaws in the present system and make it work as best they could; the attainment of a modern-style business efficiency, unflinching, unqualified assault upon every obstacle and challenge, and the conversion of the Bishop into an unassailable power within his domain and a capitalist entrepreneur to boot, were alien and inconceivable goals to all but Frankleyn, and would remain so until the existing rules and conventions were changed.

The blocks in the path of such change were for the time being formidable, and prominently placed amongst them was the intrinsic conditioning of the Bishops themselves. They were induced by the arrangements for episcopal succession to regard their temporalities in a transient light, and consequently tended to have more in common with keepers of wards or office-holders than with conventional landowners with a much more permanent stake in the sources of their income. After the establishment of the Church of England they did acquire a new dynastic interest to bring them closer to their lay counterparts, but even then it was a dynastic interest largely divorced from the ecclesiastical estates in their care. Hence the marked preference for short-sighted, financial expedients and the shunning of long-term improvements involving initial cost and outlay and a problemmatical recoupment. Whatever energies the

Bishops possessed were also directed by their superiors into other channels; before the Reformation it was affairs of state at the highest level - afterwards the precarious maintenance of law and order and religious matters. The difficult task of implanting the Anglican Church in stony, northern soil called for the avoidance of innovation on the landowning front, as did preservation of the Durham franchise in its final form - which might [illegible] be endangered if the people of the Bishopric became sufficiently disgruntled to campaign effectively against their lack of parliamentary representation. The absence of complaints about the Bishops' followers being excessively preferred at the expense of the local community, and the paucity of references to episcopal extortion both bear witness to the seriousness with which the Bishops took their allotted role as social stabilisers. If the opportunity for up-to-date estate management was missing, so was the will for conscientious estate management; because of the particular social climate in which the Bishops were formed, as well as the repercussions of the episcopal succession. Inflation - which raised the standard of living and introduced a growing preoccupation with money matters - the educational revolution, employment of the Church as an avenue for social advancement and clerical marriage together created an intensively competitive environment in which the selfishness and other failings of the sixteenth-century churchmen readily flourished. The fierce struggle for place, the promotion race, aspirations for wealth and family considerations caused them to fall into the clutches of the court speculators, succumb to harmful pressures and demean the Church by misusing its facilities in imitation of its lay detractors. Fortunately the institution which they served so unevenly suffered only limited damage through their human frailties, because the episcopal temporalities were largely irrelevant as far as its survival and success were concerned; but it was nonetheless a pity that the bishopric estates could not be harnessed to provide a sounder economic base for the spiritual efforts of

the Church.

Although the Durham Bishops conformed noticeably to the common pattern, there was still room for wide variation and even anomalies; individually they were all quite distinctive, but at the same time they could not help being representative of certain recognizable types, and their careers were equally illustrative of shifts in the character of the episcopate and its relationship with the rest of the ruling class. Bishop Fox and outstandingly, Cardinal Wolsey belonged to the dying breed of churchmen/statesmen - wielders of power in their own right, freed from the subordination and dependency that were the lot of most of their peers. Bishops Senhouse and Ruthall were typical of the less ambitious, less assertive, civil servant-bishops; they like the [illegible] statesman-bishops, characteristically placed the Durham temporalities on the periphery of their attention as part-payment for services rendered to the State. In contrast Bishop Tunstall represented the sixteenth-century episcopal bench at its rare best. In spite of his conventional rise and close familiarity with worldly matters, he was exceptionally conscious of his ecclesiastical obligations and tried to fulfil the secular tasks allotted to him without selling the Church short. He (and Bishop Morton) stood apart in using the temporalities primarily for their original purpose - as an aid to the performance of his pastoral duties. Looked at from another angle, his eclipse was symbolic of the drift of the higher clergy out of the political mainstream and their new vulnerability in the wake of the reformation movement. In further contrast Bishop's Barnes and Matthew serve as good examples of the venality of the new, insecure, protestant hierarchy, denied proper access to Court and Government and saddled with pressing family responsibilities. They do not however, furnish an example of the Tudor episcopate at its worst. Even taking into account the unsubstantiated allegations made about Barnes and the baleful influence of his brother, no Bishop of Durham

seems to have sunk to the current levels of notoriety, or to have disgraced his profession and committed major structural damage to the degree that occurred in some other less fortunate sees. The outlook of Barnes and Matthew was commonplace, but it was not the only response to the harsh realities of Elizabethan church politics. A minority of churchmen were prepared to swim against the tide despite the odds, demonstrating a spark of vitality and independence. At Durham there was no bishop until the coming of Morton scrupulous enough to use the temporalities strictly for their proper purpose, but there was Hutton, who prized his integrity and reputation and clung to them far longer than most, and Pilkington, who had the nerve to challenge Elizabeth's alienation of a sizeable chunk of the estates and joined that select band of bishops who were shamed and goaded into resisting, however hopelessly, appropriations, exchanges, long leases and demands for simoniacal payments. Pilkington's motives must not be mistaken for sheer altruism. His tenacious and fearless defiance of the Crown was indeed inspired by a deep anxiety over the plight of the Church in its struggle for a northern foothold, but it probably sprang equally from injured pride and personal acquisitiveness, brought into the reckoning by the recently imposed reduction in income from which his predecessors had not suffered; a concern for both the establishment and flowering of the Church of England and the material well-being of the Pilkington family were part and parcel of one whole. Finally in the Early Stuart Bishops one can detect something of the Laudian spirit which denoted renewed self-assertion and an escape from the worst of the lay toils that was in time to make possible an improved standard of behaviour and a more responsible - and hence go-ahead - attitude towards the temporalities.

It is important that each Bishop's conduct towards the temporalities should be assessed and understood within the context of

his own age and its morality, and not judged in accordance with some exalted code that was not applicable at that time. It is true that the conformist bishops were judged harshly by some of their contemporaries, with the implication that they were falling below the level of performance expected of them by society at large, but such judgements are not a sound basis for historical opinion. They were often highly coloured by distorting, anticlerical sentiments, and frequently concealed pressure groups that had singled out the episcopate as a target. Even when prejudice, vested interests and propaganda were not involved, there was an understandable failure to make due allowance for the impact of a variety of rapidly changing circumstances. The critics failed to appreciate fully the consequences of inflation, the new relationship between Church and State and clerical marriage. The historian can understand the potency of the political and social forces acting upon the bishops, and the reasons why rising prices and family concepts caused them to curtail traditional forms of expenditure and appropriate the temporalities [redacted] for more overtly personal ends, but such perception was difficult without the advantage of historical perspective. The bishops themselves impaired their cause by often adjusting to the new stimuli rather too drastically; it would have helped if there had been more resistance to spoliation and less collaboration and indulgence in it, and more subdued family provision, dilapidation and timber exploitation.

It has been demonstrated that the requirements of the Bishops' position and the situation confronting them determined the condition of the temporalities and their static nature in a period of economic growth. Although the study is confined to a single bishopric, it seems appropriate in conclusion to enquire briefly into the typicality of the Durham experience. The writings of contemporary commentators and scattered references to the temporal activities of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the works of a range of church historians permit an unsystematic comparison in relation to episcopal behaviour and the secular pressures - which confirms that Durham had much in common with other sees in these two respects, although elsewhere the affect could be more moderate or more severe. A more satisfactory approach, allowing for cross-checking on a broader front, is to compare the Durham story with similar, specific examinations of other bishoprics - which is possible in the case of Bath and Wells and Ely.

~~material advantages~~

~~Another part of the research on the Durham temporalities to be compared with other bishoprics is to compare the material advantages~~

P.M. Hembry in her study of Bath and Wells, 1540-1640,[1] confirms the impression that within a basic framework of similarities there was scope for considerable variation on the main themes. To begin with the gratification of family, the Bishops of Bath and Wells bestowed offices and leases upon their kin just like their Durham counterparts, but in a manner which made a much greater impact upon the temporalities. Bishop Clerk (1523-41) put the administration of his estates in the hands of a brother, who derived an official salary of £108 p.a. from all his offices and also gained a monopolistic hold upon all the mills in Wells. When the Bishop died, two of his successors were saddled with his occupation of the important office of Receiver-General until 1555.[2] The pattern was repeated under Bishop Bourne (1554-59), whose brother lingered on as Receiver-General until the 1580s. The latter also acquired a twenty-one years lease of three valuable manors, one of them rent-free. Bourne's successor Bishop Berkeley (1559-84), later received less than half his due from four manors because they had previously been let to members of the Bourne family on over-generous terms.[3] Then again, the ill-health of Bishop Godwin (1584-90) caused him to abdicate control of the temporalities to his son Thomas and son-in-law Thomas Purfey,

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1 P.M. Hembry, The Bishops of Bath and Wells 1540-1640, London, 1967.

2 Ibid, pp.54, 58.

3 Ibid, pp.91-93, 134.

who abused their position and used it to become substantial leaseholders.[1] These three pontificates probably left more of a mark in this respect than any of the Durham ones.

Turning to the subject of exploitation of temporalities through the Crown, Bath and Wells like Durham, experienced a number of serious assaults; but in contrast to the Durham case, most of the telling blows were delivered before 1558 and consequently tended to be more damaging. By 1559 the gross income of the Bishopric had been cut down by 55% or £1,227 from its 1535 level, by means of the permanent loss of eighteen manors (eight remaining), most of it due to Protector Somerset's ambition to build himself a considerable landed interest in the west Country. Before the depradations had begun gross income had totalled £2,202 (1539); now it was reduced to £974, and ten years earlier had even sunk as low as £347. The enormity of the preceding spoliations did not prevent Queen Elizabeth from applying her exchange policy; taking a manor worth £113 p.a. in return for £61 worth of tenths and a tenth abatement of £53. At the same time (1559) advantage was taken of the vacancy following upon Bishop Bourne's deprivation to lease away essential parts of the Palace at Wells - the Bishopric's principal residence - for twenty-one years at uneconomic rents and to saddle the manor of Wells with £100 worth of fees and annuities. Thereafter the pace fortunately slackened. In 1574-75 Lord Henry Seymour's designs upon the manor of Banwell were thwarted by the determined resistance of the Dean and Chapter, thereby restricting the occurrence of long leases to

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1 P.M. Hembry, The Bishops of Bath and Wells 1540-1640, London, 1967, pp.148, 170.

two under Bishop Godwin; who collaborated in the making of a ninety-nine years lease of the manor of Wivelscombe (worth £80 p.a.) for the benefit of Raleigh, and a one hundred and twenty years lease of further property (worth £34 p.a.) for the enrichment of Sir Thomas Gorges, a gentleman of the privy chamber.[1] Thus Bath and Wells suffered more permanent damage, whilst Durham experienced more setbacks of temporary though long, duration.

Like their Durham counterparts some of the Bishops of Bath and Wells were open to censure for behavioural short-comings. The worst offender, Bishop Barlow (1548-53), described as being overbearing, tactless, impetuous, greedy, unprincipled and over-ambitious for his family, was probably unrivalled at Durham, even by Bishop Barnes.[2] On the other hand, Bath and Wells seems to have lacked 'saints' like Bishops Tunstall and Morton. Whilst Tunstall was facing his final deprivation with an unsullied record, his colleague at Bath and Wells, Bishop Bourne, was taking his revenge at the expense of his protestant successor; disposing of leases, reversions, annuities, offices and fees in a malicious manner, and extracting wholesale compositions from the tenantry before his departure.[3] Durham was not subjected to anything like the slack control arising from Bishop Godwin's ill-health, but Bath and Wells does not appear to have suffered such extensive dilapidations as Durham, perhaps because of the severe loss of property which occurred in the first half of the

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1 P.M. Hembry, The Bishops of Bath and Wells 1540-1640, London, 1967, pp.114, 131-132, 138, 147, 149, 151.

2 Ibid, p.82.

3 Ibid, pp.134-135. Perhaps Bishop Lake (1616-26) was their equal.

16th Century; Curll (1629-32) was apparently the only Bishop to be heavily fined over the destruction of buildings.[2]

A last distinction between Durham and Bath and Wells concerns the improvement of temporalities. From the pontificate of Bishop Berkeley onwards the latter bishopric was the scene of a vigorous and successful attempt to raise the level of the episcopal income; an attempt clearly inspired by the severe diminution of revenue that accompanied the early stages of the Reformation. As a result net income was raised from a minimum of approximately £500 to over £800 p.a.. One of the main ploys was to exploit the growing productivity of the Mendip lead-mines by means of the scrupulous exaction of royalties, which rose from two tons of lead in 1567 to thirteen tons p.a. in the 1630s. In contrast at Durham the Bishops were prevented from deriving a real financial advantage from their more extensive mineral rights and resources by powerful lay interests. Other important parts of the Bath and Wells strategy were the strict implementation of market controls and the harrying of the tenantry over entry fines and heriots.[1] If the Durham Bishops were pursuing the same kind of policy, it was probably with less intensity; the surviving evidence for such activity is certainly not as strong. Judging by the nature of anti-clerical bills put before the House of Commons in 1597-98 and 1601, the increasing regularity of entry fines upon episcopal estates was attracting a hostile reaction in the form of a bid to restrict the bishops' freedom of action over the granting of leases.

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1 P.M. Hembry, The Bishops of Bath and Wells 1540-1640, London, 1967, pp.140-142, 188-191, 198-202, 255.

2 Ibid, pp.148, 224.

In 1601 the bishops had an advocate in John Boys, Member for Canterbury, steward to the Archbishop and himself an episcopal tenant, who successfully stressed the great importance of entry fines in the realms of episcopal finance and patronage, and acknowledged that it was normal for leases to be renewed after four or five years.[1] The first part of his assertion was undoubtedly true for all the bishoprics. The second part might have been true for Canterbury and Bath and Wells, but it was probably not applicable to Durham, where the rate of leasehold exploitation appears to have been much slower. At any rate, in spite of the limitations imposed upon their temporalities, a number of the Bishops of Bath and Wells began to prosper (Bishop Still, 1593-1608, the principal profiteer, was able to found three landed families and leave £3000 besides) in the more settled atmosphere which developed in the second half of the 16th Century, in a manner which suggests that the scope for improvement and the determination behind it were generally speaking greater than they were at Durham.[2]

Felicity Heal's recent study of the economic problems of the Bishopric of Ely in the 16th Century makes it possible to extend this more constructive form of comparison to a second episcopal area; revealing once again a pattern of similarities and contrasts.[3] Like Durham (and unlike Bath and Wells) Ely emerged unscathed from the critical Edwardian period - but owing to a very different set of circumstances. Its most profitable estates were tucked away in the remoteness of East

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1 P.M. Hembry, The Bishops of Bath and Wells 1540-1640, London, 1967, p.204.

2 Ibid, pp.192-193, 214-215.

3 F. Heal, The Tudors and Church Lands: Economic Problems of the Bishopric of Ely during the Sixteenth Century, Economic History Review, May 1973, Second Series, xxvi, 198-217.

Anglia, with few parks and chases to attract envy; there were no sufficiently influential landowners in the vicinity to apply pressure, the Howards having concentrated on monastic land and then being in political eclipse; and above all, Bishop Goodrich of Ely was a close associate of Northumberland. A second common factor was that both bishoprics (unlike Bath and Wells) maintained their nominal value - but again in a different manner. Whereas Durham suffered loss of property, loss of control over the most profitable coal-fields and a heavy crown levy to cancel out income expansion, the value of the Ely temporalities remained roughly constant because that bishopric was subjected to exchanges. By the early 17th Century these exchanges had become a significant mark of distinction between Durham and Ely; half the Ely revenues being derived from impropriated rectories, tenths and tithes by 1609, whereas the bulk of the Durham income originated throughout from the episcopal manors. A third area of shared experience was provided by the inevitable impingement of Crown and Court. Both bishoprics were forced to endure alienations, involving loss of status, embarrassment and inconvenience rather more than real economic deprivation - Ely more so than Durham, but then it was compensated with exchanges and avoided the financial burden and long leases imposed upon Bishop Pilkington and his successors.[1] Bishops Pilkington and Cox had much in common in the strenuous manner with which they resisted court exploitation, whilst the latter's ordeal was in some ways akin to the earlier torment of Bishop Tunstall.

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1 Vide supra, Chapter VIII.

A last aspect of similarity occurs in the tendency of the incumbents of both bishoprics to favour kin and provide for their families by way of their temporalities; Bishop Cox setting a fine example of the way in which the income of the Church could be used to furnish small estates for sons, respectable dowries for daughters and jointures for widows. In spite of the common ground a number of qualifying distinctions have appeared. In other fields clear-cut contrasts can be observed.

On the debit side Durham never faced anything like the nineteen years vacancy which followed the death of Bishop Cox in 1581 - the product of the Crown's financial need in time of war and the attractiveness of Ely's endowments coupled with its relative political unimportance. On the credit side the Ely bishops, unlike their Durham counterparts, persevered throughout with demesne-farming, thereby enjoying the benefit of home-produced provisions for the household, which must have helped considerably in the struggle against inflation. The tradition of keeping up home farms for self-consumption must have been difficult to renew once broken, because of the initial capital investment and rental loss involved; but if maintained, as at Ely, until the onset of rising prices, then its attractions became readily apparent to a succession of bishops. Finally Ely under Bishop Cox witnessed a bout of estate management of an aggressive and comprehensive type never practised at Durham in the same period - involving advantageous employment of those parts of the manorial demesne kept in hand, the marketing of surplus produce, exploitation of timber resources, the striking of hard bargains with tenants, energetic litigation and the proper implementation of penalty clauses against them, full

exercise of seigneurial rights and the redemption of long leases. These actions reflect not only the determination of a strong-minded bishop to use the assets of the Church in his charge to the best possible personal advantage, but also the relatively light responsibilities attached to his bishopric. Durham also had its strong-minded bishops, but they refrained from Cox's vigorous approach probably because of an awareness that the kind of antagonism he aroused was incompatible with their considerably more important peace-keeping, defence and patronage role.

APPENDIX I

The Bishops of Durham 1494-1659

Richard Fox

Received the temporalities - 8 December 1494.
Translated - a. 20 August 1501.
Educated Magdalen College, Oxford, Pembroke Hall, Cambridge and Paris LL.D.
Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral, 1485.
Bishop of Exeter, 1487-92.
Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1492-94.
Bishop of Winchester, 1501-28.
Chancellor of Cambridge University, 1500-02.
Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1505-18.
Founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1516.
Councillor, 1485.
Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1487-1516.
Secretary to Henry VII, 1500.
Responsible for the Northern Border under Henry VII.
Diplomat under Henry VIII.

William Senhouse

Received the temporalities - 15 October 1502.
Died - 1505.
Educated at Gloucester or Durham College, Oxford, as a Benedictine monk.
Abbot of St Mary's, York, 1485 - 1502.
Bishop of Carlisle, 1495-1502.
Administrator in the North Ports.

Christopher Bainbridge

Received the temporalities - 17 November 1507.
Translated - 20 September 1508.
Educated Queen's College, Oxford; LL.D.
Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, 1496-1508.
Prebendary of Salisbury and Lincoln Cathedrals and York Minister.
Dean of York, 1503-07.
Dean of Windsor, 1505.
Archbishop of York, 1508-14.
Cardinal, 1511.
Master of the Rolls, and Councillor, 1504-1507.
Ambassador to Pope Julius II, 1509.

Thomas Ruthall

Received the temporalities - 3 July 1509.
Died - 4 February 1523.
Educated at Oxford University; D.D., Cambridge, 1500.
Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral and York Minster.
Dean of Lincoln, 1505.
Chancellor of Cambridge University, 1503.
Councillor to Henry VII and Henry VIII.
Secretary to Henry VII and Henry VIII from c.1499.
Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1516-23.

Thomas Wolsey

Received the temporalities - 30 April 1523, (in commendam).
Translated - 8 February 1529.
Educated Magdalen College, Oxford.
Fellow and Bursar of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Chaplain to Henry VII, 1507-09.
Dean of Lincoln, 1509.
Almoner to Henry VIII, 1509.
Dean of York, 1513.
Bishop of Lincoln, 1514.
Archbishop of York, 1514-30.
Cardinal, 1515.
Legatus a latere, 1518.
Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1518-23, (in commendam).
Bishop of Winchester, 1529-30, (in commendam).
Chancellor, 1515-29.

Cuthbert Tunstall

Received the temporalities - 25 March 1530.
Resigned - 28 September 1559, (temporarily deprived 1552-53).
Educated Baliol College, Oxford, King's Hall, Cambridge and Padua.
LL.D., Padua, 1505.
Chancellor to Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, 1508-c.1516.
Dean of Salisbury, 1521-22 or 23.
Bishop of London, 1522-30.
Master of the Rolls, 1516-22.
Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1523-30.
Diplomat.
President of the Council of the North, 1530-39.

James Pilkington

Consecrated - 2 March 1561.
Died - 23 January 1576.
Educated St John's College, Cambridge; D.D.
Master of St John's College and Regius Professor of Divinity, 1559-61.

Richard Barnes

Confirmed - 9 May 1577.
Died - 24 August 1587.
Educated Brazenose College, Oxford; M.A., 1556; D.D., 1579.
Chancellor of the Archdiocese of York, 1561-71.
Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham, 1567-70.
Bishop of Carlisle, 1570-77.
Member of the Council of the North, 1574.

Matthew Hutton

Consecrated - 27 July 1589.
Translated - 24 March 1595.
Educated Trinity College, Cambridge; D.D., 1565.
Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University, 1561.

Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University, 1562-67.
Chaplain to Edmund Grindal, 1562.
Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 1562-67.
Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral, 1562.
Prebendary of Westminster Abbey, 1565.
Dean of York, 1567-89.
Archbishop of York, 1595-1606.

Toby Matthew

Consecrated - 13 April 1595.
Translated - 28 August 1606.
Educated University College and Christ Church, Oxford; D.D., 1574.
Public Orator of Oxford University, 1569-72.
President of St John's College, Oxford, 1572-77.
Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, 1576-84.
Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, 1579.
Chaplain to the Queen, 1572.
Dean of Durham, 1583-95.
Archbishop of York, 1606-28.

William James

Consecrated - 7 September 1606.
Died - 12 May 1617.
Educated Christ Church, Oxford; D.D., 1574.
Master of University College, Oxford, 1572-84.
Archdeacon of Coventry, 1577-84.
Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, 1584-96.
Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, 1581, 1590.
Dean of Durham, 1596-1606.

Richard Neile

Confirmed - 9 October 1617.
Translated - 7 February 1628.
Educated St John's College, Cambridge; D.D., 1600.
Chaplain to Lord Burleigh and Robert Cecil.
Prebendary of Chichester Cathedral.
Dean of Westminster, 1605-10.
Bishop of Rochester, 1608-10.
Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1610-14.
Bishop of Lincoln, 1614-17.
Bishop of Winchester, 1628-32.
Archbishop of York, 1632-40.
Clerk of the Closet to James I.

John Howson

Confirmed - 17 September 1628.
Died - 6 February 1632.
Educated Christ Church, Oxford; D.D., 1601.
Prebendary of Hereford Cathedral, 1587-1603.
Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral, 1592.
Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, 1602.
Chaplain to Elizabeth I and James I.
Bishop of Oxford, 1619-28.

Thomas Morton

Confirmed - 2 July 1632.
Died - 22 September 1659.
Educated St John's College, Cambridge; D.D.
Fellow of St John's College, and Lecturer in logic, 1592.
Chaplain to the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the Council of the North, 1598.
Chaplain to Lord Eure, Ambassador to the Emperor and the King of Denmark, 1602.
Royal chaplain, 1606.
Dean of Gloucester, 1607-9.
Dean of Winchester, 1609-16.
Bishop of Chester, 1616-19.
Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1619-32.

APPENDIX II

The Location of the Bishopric Estates

(a) The Manorial Layout of the Bishopric Estates in County Durham.[1]

Darlington Ward.

(i) The Manor of Darlington. (rental of £160 in 1510)
Darlington Borough
Bondgate, Darlington
The Bailiwick of Coatham Mundeville (Darlington demesnes including a former park)
Blackwell
Cockerton
Haughton-le-Skerne
*Whessoe

(ii) The Manor of Bishop Auckland. (rental of £260 in 1510)
Auckland Borough
North Auckland (including Auckland Park)
Byers Green
Coundon
*Coundon Grange
Middridge
*Middridge Grange
*Redworth
Heighington
*Ricknall Grange
Escombe
Newtoncap

(iii) The Barony of Evenwood. (rental of £100 in 1510)
Evenwood (including Evenwood Park)
*Killerby
West Auckland
*West Thickley

(iv) The Manor of Wolsingham. (rental of £254 in 1510)
Wolsingham
+Wolsingham Park
*Greenwellside
+Wigside
North and South Bedburn (including Bedburn Park)
Lynesacke
*Bishopley
The Parish of Stanhope
+Stanhope Park
+The High Forest of Weardale

Chester-le-Street Ward.

(i) Chester-le-Street (rental of £49 in 1510)

(ii) The Manor of East and West Boldon. (rental of £140 in 1510)
East and West Boldon
Whitburn and Cleadon

(iii) Lanchester. (rental of £26 in 1510)

(iv) The Manor and Borough of Gateshead. (rental of £38 in 1510)

(v) Whickham. (rental of £44 in 1510)

(vi) Ryton (rental of £24 in 1510)

Easington Ward

(i) The Manor of Easington. (rental of £173 in 1510)
Easington
*Little Thorpe
Shotton
Sherburn
Shadforth
*Cassop
*Quarrington Grange

(ii) The City of Durham.

(iii) The Manor of Houghton-le-Spring. (rental of £200 in 1510)
Houghton-le-Spring
*Morton Grange
*Warden Law
*East Burdon
Newbottle
*Middle Herrington
Ryhope
*Tunstall
Bishop Wearmouth

Stockton Ward

(i) The Manor of Bishop Middleham. (rental of £100 in 1510)
Bishop Middleham (including a former park)
Cornforth
Sedgefield

(ii) The Manor of Stockton (rental of £174 in 1510)
Stockton Borough
Stockton (bondland and demesne land - including a former park)
Hartburn
Norton
*Hardwick Field
Carlton

(iii) The Manor and Bailiwick of Sadberge. (rental of £34 in 1510)
(The nucleus of the manor is Sadberge with outlying property in West Newbiggin, Seaton (Carew), Aislaby, Morton Field, Neasham, Hurworth, Conniscliffe, Carlbury, Killerby, Morton, Greystones, Coatham Mundeville, Nesbitt, Elstob, Middleton St. George and Middleton One Row.)

(b) Norhamshire and Islandshire in Northumberland.

Places from which rent was derived.[2]

*Norham Castle
*Norham Borough
*Buckton
*Fenwick (including Fenwick Park)
*Horncliffe
*Longridge
*Tweedsmouth
*Tweed Fisheries
+*Ross
+*Low Lynn
+*Holy Island
+*Grindon
+Newbiggin
+Twizel
+Tilmouth
+Berrington
+Cornhill
+Heaton
+Duddo
+Ancroft
+Felkington
+Allerdean
+Thornton
+Goswick
+Scremerston
+Kyloe
+Beal
+Ord
+Cheswick
+Haggerston
Tindal House
Murton
"The Great Heugh"

(c) The Lordship of Bedlington in Northumberland.

Bedlingtonshire was a Bailiwick composed of:

Bedlington
East and West Sleekburn
Choppington
Blyth
Netherton
Cambois

The Bishop's demesne and bondland was concentrated at Bedlington itself (rental of £32 in 1547).

(d) Allertonshire in the North Riding of Yorkshire. (rental of approx. £300 in 1627)
The Manor of Northallerton.[3]

North Allerton
North Allerton Borough
Brompton
Knayton
Thornton-le-Beans
Borrowby
Leake Rectory
Romanby
Osmotherly
Sowerby Grange
Foxton

Other places associated with the Liberty of Allertonshire through knight service.[4]

Deighton
Worsall
Hornby
Harlsey
Hutton Sessay
Hutton Conyers
Norton Conyers
Holme with Halgrave
Crosby
West Ellerbeck
Kirkby
Thimbleby
Hutton Bonville
Over Dinsdale
Winton
Stanke
Haltikeld
Sigston
Landmoth and Catto
Lazenby
Silton
Birkby
Castle Winton
Catterick
Leake and Kepwick
North Ottrington
Thornton le Street
North Kilvington
West Rounton
"Girsby"
"West Kenton"
"Westhurley"
"Westame"

(e) The Manor of Craike in the North Riding of Yorkshire (rental of £50 p.a.)

(f) Howdenshire in the East Riding of Yorkshire.[5]
(rental of approx. £500 in 1505)

Location of the Bishop's demesne and bondland.

Bailiwick of Ouse and Derwent.
Knedlington
Barmby
Asselby
Cliffe
Ricall
Wheel Hall

Bailiwick of Howden.
Howden (including Howden Park)
Howden Borough
Skelton
Saltmarshe
Kilpin

Bailiwick of Woodside.
Belby
Melton
Ellerker
Brantingham
Eastrington
Welton
Walkington Park (near Beverley)

Freehold property was situated at:

Bailiwick of Howden.	Ouse and Derwent	Woodside
Cotness	Turnham Hall	Portington and Burland
Laxton	South Duffield	Balkholme
Blacktoft	Woodhall	Linton
Sand Hall	Hogthorpe	Newland
Metham	Babthorpe	Sandholme
Yokefleet	Barnhill Hall	Owsthorpe
Duncates Hall		Greenoak
Warwicks Hall		Hive
		Cavil
		Thorpe Grange
		Bellasize
		Thornton Hall with Scalby

Notes.

1 This section has been compiled from a Survey dated 1588, Halmote Court Miscellaneous Book M64 (Church Commission MSS 195566a, pp.2-70). The places listed are, either villages or boroughs, unless marked * (hamlets, granges, or solitary farmsteads) or + (scattered dwellings). The rental value of the manors in 1510 has been calculated from the Receiver-General's Account for 1509-10 (Church Commission MSS 189832). The figures exclude freehold rents collected within the manors by the four coroners - an insignificant sum, and also the income from mines; they therefore provide an indication of the comparative value of the component parts of the bishopric estates as collections of agricultural holdings, which is primarily what they were.

2 Earlier accounts dating from the 15th and early 16th Centuries name other locations from which the Bishop derived an income, mainly in the form of free rents. Evasion, depopulation and decay probably accounted for their later disappearance. An asterisk denotes places where the Bishop was in possession of demesne land or bondland. A cross (+) denotes places where the Bishop derived some income from tenancies-in-chief and freeholds. The list is compiled from a Survey, dated 3 Eliz., printed in J. Raine, The History and Antiquities of North Durham, London, 1852, pp.15-27 and a note of 37 towns in Norhamshire and Islandshire owing service to Norham Castle, 8 May 1593 (P.R.O., S.P. 15/32/76).

3 Rental, 1627 (Church Commission MSS 190163).

4 Survey, 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23385).

5 Survey, 1648 (Church Commission MSS 23384).

APPENDIX III

Episcopal Forests, Parks and Woods

(a) The Location of the Forest Areas and Courts, within the County of Durham

* Court no longer in operation after 1500.

* Middlewood and Frankleyn / or Frankland (near Durham)
* Chester-le-Street
* Ryton and Whickham
* Gateshead
* Lanchester
* North and West Auckland
* Birtley (near Chester-le-Street)
Hamsterley (near Wolsingham)
Stanhope Park
Wolsingham Park
High Forest of Weardale (Westgate)
Roughside (in the High Forest)
Bolyhope (" " " " ")

(b) Parks and Woods within the County of Durham.

Parks.

* Disparked by 1500.

Bishop Auckland Park (500 acres)
* Bedburn Park (containing timber)
* Evenwood Park (300 acres)
Stanhope Park (7 miles in circumference)
* Wolsingham Park
* Gateshead Park (420 acres)
* Darlington Park
* Stockton Park
* Bishop Middleham Park (70 acres)

Woods.

Benfieldside Wood (in Lanchester Ward)
Birtley Wood (near Chester-le-Street)
Cockburn Wood (near Chester-le-Street)
Frankland Wood and Middlewood (in the parishes of St. Margaret and St. Oswald, Durham)
Blackbank and the Shull (in Hamsterley Ward)

(c) The Forest Officers within the County of Durham.[1]

Master Forester (£6.13. 4)
Particular Receiver for the High Forest of Weardale (£2)
Bailiff of Stanhope (£2)

Bailiff of Wolsingham (£2)
Steward of the Forest Court of Weardale[2]

Keeper of Bishop Auckland Park (£4.11. 0)
Paler of Bishop Auckland Park (£1.10. 4)
Keeper of Bedburn Park/Keeper of Blackbank and the Shull £1. 2. 9)
The Bailiff of Lynesacke and Bedburn usually acted as Keeper of Bedburn Park
Keeper of Evenwood Park (£1.13. 4) 3
2 Foresters or Keepers of Wolsingham Park (£1 each)
2 Foresters or Keepers of Stanhope Park (£2. 6. 8 each)
Paler of Stanhope Park
Usually the Particular Receiver
Keeper of the New Park, Stanhope (£2. 5. 6) 4

Forester and Keeper of Benfieldside Wood (10/0d.)
Also Bailiff of the Exchequer
Forester and Keeper of Birtley Wood (£1.10. 4)
Keeper of Cockburn Wood (13/4d.)
Also Bailiff of Chester-le-Street
Forester or Keeper of Frankland Wood and Middlewood (£2.17. 0)

4 Foresters of the High Forest of Weardale (£1.10. 4 each)
Forester of Roughside (£1)

(d) Defunct Forest Offices within the County of Durham.

Keeperships of Darlington, Stockton and Bishop Middleham Parks
Keepership of Gateshead Park (survived as a sinecure until 1585)
Forestership of Ryton and Whickham (survived until temp. Bishop Ruthall)
Forestership of Bolyhope and Harthope (survived until circa 1500)
Forestership of Chester-le-Street
Forestership of Lanchester (survived until circa 1500)
Forestership of North and West Auckland (survived until circa 1500)
Forestership of Hamsterley

(e) The Outlying Parks and Woods.

Norhamshire.	Fenwick Wood (decayed) Fenwick Park (disparked)
Bedlington.	Choppington Wood (decayed)
Craike.	Park (1500 acres; some deer before 1586) Wood (250 acres)
Allertonshire.	Clack Wood (Osmotherly) Cotcliff Wood (Borrowby)
Howdenshire.	Howden Park (1½ miles in circumference; disparked) Wheel Hall Park (10 acres; wooded; disparked) Walkington Woods (240 acres)

Notes.

1 Only those officers who appear to have had a clear existence in the 16th and early 17th Centuries have been listed. The figures in brackets represent annual fees or wages; they were particularly susceptible to alteration and therefore should not have too much weight put upon them. They can serve only as rough guides.

2 No record of appointment before 1560.

3 No appointments after 1584.

4 Appointments very spasmodic.

APPENDIX IV

The Collectorships within the Four Wards of the County of Durham

* indicates a Collectorship where the occupant was a Bailiff in receipt of a fee.

\+ indicates an extraordinary Collectorship or farm.

Darlington Ward. (23)

Bondgate in Darlington
\+ Whessoe (held by the Parkinsons until at least 1617)
Blackwell
Haughton-le-Skerne
Codkerton
Heighington
Middridge
Killerby
\+ West Thickley (held by the Tonges)
West Auckland
North Auckland
Coundon
Redworth
Byers Green
Escombe
Newtoncap
+* Lynesacke)
+* North Bedburn) held by the Pykehalls, Lambes and
+* South Bedburn) Ducketts; fee of £1. 6. 8 p.a.)
Wolsingham
Greenwellside
Wigside
Bishopley
Stanhope
* Evenwood (fee of 13/4d. p.a.)

Chester-le-Street Ward. (9)

* Chester-le-Street (held in conjunction with the keepership of Cockburn Woods; fee of £1. 6. 8 p.a.)
East Boldon
West Boldon
Whitburn
Cleadon
Ryton
Lanchester
* Whickham (fee of £2 p.a.)
* Bedlington (in Northumberland; fee of £2. 6. 8 p.a.)

Easington Ward. (15)

Easington
Little Thorpe
Cassop
Sherburn
Shadforth
Newbottle
Burdon
+ Warden Law (Wykeclyffes and Bowes dominant)
Herrington
Ryhope
Shotton
Houghton-le-Spring
Bishop Wearmouth
+ Murton (held by the Bellasise family)
+ Tunstall (Middletons and Ayres dominant)

Stockton Ward. (8)

Sedgefield
Norton (held by the Coroner of the ward; fee of £1. 6. 8 p.a.)
Carlton
+ Hardwick Field
Bishop Middleham
Cornforth
Stockton
Hartburn

RECEIVER-GENERAL £26.13.4 (2)

AUDITOR £20

Steward £20

Surveyor of Lordships £13.6.8

Surveyor of Mines £6.13.4

Escheator ? (3)

Master Forester £6.13.4

Bailiffs – Darlington (M&B) £7.13.4 (6)

Coroners – Darlington £6.13.4

Durham (B) Stockton (M&B) £6.13.4

Approvers £6.13.4 ?

CLERK OF GE. RECEIPT £5

Gateshead Auckland (M&B) £5

Clerk of Works £5

Surveyor of the Lead Mines ? (3)

UNDERCLERK £4

Keeper of Auckland Park £4.11.0

Chester £4

Moormaster 1/10 of lead output

AUDIT CLERK £3.6.8

Clerk of the Halmote Courts £3.13.4

Easington £3

Instaurer £3

EXCHEQUER BAILIFF £2

Clerk of the Markets ? (3)

Conservator of Waters £2

Weardale Receiver, Bailiff of Stanhope & Wolsingham £2

Other Keepers of Parks and Woods, Foresters and Palers £2.17.0 – 10.0 (4)

Stockton £2.6.8 (5)

Bedlington Whickham Sadberge Middleham £27 (7)

Keepers of Auckland Palace and Gardens £2 (9)

ENGROSSER £1.6.8

Stewards of the Borough Courts £1.6.8 – 13.4

Chester Lynesacke & Bedburn £1.6.8

Evenwood 13.4

Collectors (8)

Northamshire - Bedlington	Allertonshire	Gralke	Howdenshire
Captain acted as Receiver, Steward and Escheator, with an overall fee of £66.13.4			
	Steward £10		Receiver £10
	Receiver / Bailiff £8.18.0 (£5/£3.18.0)		
		Bailiff / Keeper of the Park and Manor £7.12.0	Steward £7.6.8
Clerk of the Halmote Courts £3.6.8 Bailiffs of Fenwick and Tweedsmouth £3			Bailiff of the Liberty £3.6.8. Bailiff of Woodside. Keeper of Wheal Hall Manor £3.0.8
Bedlington Bailiff. £2.6.8 Bedlington Steward £2		Steward £2.13.4	Bailiff of Howden £2
	Keeper of Northallerton Manor and Clerk and Cotcliff Woods 18.7 / £1.1.0 = £1.19.7		Keepers of Howden Manor and Park and Wellington Wood. (18) Clerk of the Halmote Courts £1.6.8
			Bailiff inter Ouse and Derwent 6.8d.
Collectors	Collectors	Collector	Collectors

Notes.

1 A name underlined in BLUE denotes an officer of order.
A name underlined in BLACK denotes an officer of charge - receipt.
A name underlined in GREEN denotes an officer of charge - expense.
Where the size of fee has altered the most common figure has been taken.

2 Capital letters denote an officer centrally attached to the Exchequer.

3 An interrogation mark indicates that the amount of an officer's fee is not known and that his position in the structure has been estimated.

4 Appendix IIIc., pp.459-460.

5 In theory the Coroner of Stockton Ward received £1 as coroner and £1. 6. 8 as collector of Norton.

6 M & B denotes a manorial and borough bailiff combined.
B denotes a borough bailiff.
The absence of M & B or B denotes a manorial bailiff.

7 The Bedlington Bailiff received a fee of £2. 6. 8 p.a.
The Bailiffs of Whickham, Sadberge and Bishop Middleham received a fee of £2 p.a.

8 Appendix IV, pp.462-463.

9 The Keeperships of Darlington and Stockton Manors came to be merged with the offices of the Darlington and Stockton Manorial Bailiffs as the episcopal residences there fell into disuse.

10 The Keeper of Howden Manor received a fee of £1.14. 4; £1.10. 4 of it for serving as Gardener.
The Keeper of Howden Park received a fee of £1.6.8.
The Keeper of Walkington Woods received a fee of £1.

APPENDIX VI

The Account of Hugh Ashton, Receiver-General, 1509-10.[1]

THE BISHOPRIC OF DURHAM.

The account of Hugh Asshton, clerk, Chancellor and Receiver-General of the Durham Exchequer; accounting for both his receipts and the customary payments and expenses incurred by him and paid out from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel (29 September) in the first year of the pontificate of the Lord Thomas (Ruthall), by the grace of God Bishop of Durham, until the Feast of St. Michael next ensuing, in the second year of the same Lord Thomas, Bishop of Durham; in other words, for the space of one whole year.

Darlington Ward.

An account of £31. 1. 4 received out of the issues of the will of Bondgate in Derlyngton (Darlington) and charged against Leonard Emreson (Emerson), collector there this year. Besides £1.18. 0 in court profits. 2 As is apparent from his examined account. 3

£8.0.9 received from John Parkynson, collector for the vill of Whessowe (Whessoe), out of the receipts of his office this year, as appears in his examined account; with £1 in court profits.

£24.4.9 received from Thomas Grysby, collector for Blakwell (Blackwell), out of the receipts of his office this year, as appears in his examined account; with £1.6.4 in court profits.

£9.7.11 received from Hugh Sympson, collector for Haughton (Haughton-le-Skerne), out of the receipts of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 10/6d. in court profits.

£30.2.8 received from Robert Semere, collector for Heghyngton (Heighington), out of the receipts of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 17/0d. in court profits.

£24.16.2½ received from John Marshall, collector for Cokerton (Cockerton), out of the receipts of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £2.13.0 in court profits.

£23.17.9 received from Agnes White, collector for Midderige (Middridge), out of the receipts of her office this year, as is apparent from her examined account; with 6d. in court profits.

£17.18.11 received from John Hochonson (Hutchinson), collector for Killerby, out of the receipts of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 1/0d in court profits.

£12 received from Richard Tonge, collector for Westthikly (West Thickley), out of the receipts of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£26.19.7½ received from Roger Buk, collector for Westaukeland (West Auckland), out of the receipts of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £1.10.4 in court profits.

£34.16.1 received from John Rakett, collector for Northaukeland (North Auckland), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £1.7.0 in court profits.

£18.2.6½ received from John Peyrson (Pearson), collector for Coundon, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 6d. in court profits.

£3.15.7 received from John Taillor (Taylor), collector for Redeworth (Redworth), out of the receipts of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£18.14.8 received from Thomas Walker, collector for Byres (Byers Green), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 4/2d. in court profits.

£19.15.6 received from John Chapman, collector for Escombe, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £1.8.4 in court profits.

£17.3.3 received from John Cornfforth, collector for Neutoncap (Newtoncap), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 1/6d. in court profits.

£13.0.6 received from Robert Whelpden, collector for Lynesake (Lynesack), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 19/9d. in court profits.

£7.0.1 received from the aforesaid Robert, collector for Northbedborne (North Bedburn), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £3.5.4 in court profits.

£16.2.9 received from the same Robert, collector for Southbedborne (South Bedburn), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£21.10.8 received from Percival Madyson, collector for Wolsyngham (Wolsingham), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £2.19.2 in court profits.

£7.18.2 received from John Vasy, collector for Grenewelsyd (Greenwellside), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£6.11.9½ received from Henry Marle, collector for Wigsyd (Wigside), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£5.5.6 received from Robert Mowbray, collector for Busshopley (Bishopley), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 17/2d. in court profits.

£28.1.3½ received from Richard Stobbs, collector for Stanhop (Stanhope), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £6.3.2 in court profits.

£23.9.4 received from Ralph Shirewood, collector for Evenwodd (Evenwood), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £1.4.8 in court profits.

£122.10.3½ received from John Parkynson, coroner for Darlyngton Ward, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account. 4

Total for this Ward - £672.7.11.

Chester-le-Street Ward.

£49.17.11¼ received from Thomas Byrtffeld, collector for Chestre (Chester-le-Street), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £3.0.10 in court profits.

£50.16.6 received from Robert Johnson, collector for Estboldon (East Boldon), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £2.12.4 in court profits.

£14.11.10 received from John Billey, collector for Westboldon (West Boldon), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£23.8.5 received from James Mathew, collector for Clewdon (Cleadon), out of the receipts of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£52.17.0 received from John Newton, collector for Whitburne (Whitburn), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £1.3.8 in court profits.

£24.14.10 received from John Poyd, collector for Ryton, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 13/8d. in court profits.

£26.9.6½ received from Robert Sympson, collector for Langechestre (Lanchester), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 18/10d. in court profits.

£44.0.11½ received from Thomas Herryson, collector for Whikham (Whickham), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £5 in court profits.

£29.14.9 received from Thomas Armorer, bailiff of Bedlyngton (Bedlington), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£298.10.6 received from John Rakett, coroner for Chester Ward, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £5.16.6 in court profits.

Total for this Ward - £545.2.3¼.

Easington Ward.

£50.19.0 received from Nicholas Ludworth, collector for Esyngton (Easington), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 18/4d. in court profits.

£11.6.3 received from William Rawlynson, collector for Thorp (Little Thorpe), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£21.1.8 received from William Taillor, collector for Cassop, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £1.1.8 in court profits.

£20.13.2 received from Richard Smyth, collector for Shaldefforth (Shadforth), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 6/6d. in court profits.

£38.9.1 received from Robert Appilby, collector for Neubotell (Newbottle), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 18/10d. in court profits.

£19.11.2 received from John Shaldfford, collector for Shireborne (Sherburn), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 1/0d. in court profits.

£44 received from William Byrden, collector for Revehop (Ryehope), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£2.19.4 received from William Robynson, collector for Herryngton (Herrington), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 5/4d. in court profits.

£11. 9. 0 received from Robert Thomson, collector for Byrden (Burdon), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£4.13.4 received from Ralph Bowes, knight, farmer of Wardon (Warden Law).

£26.13.8 received from Thomas Hill, collector for Shotton, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£47. 7. 2½ received from Robert Thomson, collector for Wermoth (Bishop Wearmouth), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £1.16.10 in court profits.

£30.0.6 received from Thomas Galloway, collector for Houghton (Houghton-le-Spring), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 9/10d. in court profits.

£6 received from Ralph Conyers, collector for Moreton (Morton), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£19.8.4 received from Robert Ayr, collector for Tunstall, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£80.8.1¾ received from Richard Aldewodd, coroner for Easington Ward, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

Total for this Ward - £434.19.10¼.

Stockton Ward.

£35. 8. 3½ received from Richard Gibson, collector for Segeffeld (Sedgefield), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 13/6d. in court profits.

£53.13.5½ received from John Rakett, collector for Norton, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £2.9.9 in court profits.

£17.7.2 received from William Page, collector for Carleton (Carlton), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 13/10d. in court profits.

£21.6.8 received from Robert Hochonson, collector for Middelham (Bishop Middleham), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 11/6d. in court profits.

£29.18.4 received from Robert -----, collector for Cornefforth (Cornforth), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 1/0d. in court profits.

£20. from the tenants of the vill of Norton for Herdwyk (Hardwick).

£11.19.5½ received from John Feulor (Fowler), collector for Stoketon (Stockton), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 5/0d. in court profits.

£12.6.1½ received from Thomas Kitchyn, collector for Hertborne (Hartburn), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 1/0d. in court profits.

£20.19.4 received from Robert Bentley, coroner for Stockton Ward, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

Total for this Ward - £222.19.0.

The Bailliwicks.

£34.16.5 received from Richard Buk, bailiff of Sadbergie (Sadberge), out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; 5 with 15/2d. in court profits.

£47.9.7 received from Nicholas Turpyn, bailiff of Cotommonndevile (Coatham Mundeville), out of the receipts of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 6/10d. in court profits.

£19.6.3 received from William Hall, bailiff of Middelham, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£61.17.0 received from Robert Sympson, bailiff of Stoketon, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with 11/2d. in court profits.

£16.2.0 received from William Bette, bailiff and appruator of the borough of Derlyngton, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £1.12.4 in court profits.

£5 received from Thomas Middelton, bailiff of the borough of Aukeland, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account.

£38.6.8 received from John Richardson, bailiff of Gateshead, out of the receipts of his office for this year, as is apparent from his examined account; with £1.12.4 in court profits.

Total for the Bailliwicks - £222.17.11.

The Office of the Master-Forester.

£149.1.8 received from John Lord Lumley, Master-Forester, and William Hilton Esq., out of the receipts of their office for this year, as is apparent from their examined account. 6

£20 received from Ralph Shirewodd, farmer of the herbage rights in Evenwodd Park, for his farm this year, as appears from the examination of his account. 7

£2 received from -------, farmer of the herbage rights in Bedborne Park, for his farm this year, etc.

£11.19.8 received from Richard Bowes, farmer of Aukeland Park, and farmer of the herbage rights in the same, for his farm this year, etc.

£1 received from the farm of a slate quarry called Esshquarrell this year.

£10 received from the prioress of the nunnery in Newcastle, for licence to carry coal over the Lord's land this year.

£178.19.7 received from Robert Sympson and his associates for the farm of the coal-mines of Raley (Raby), Groweburn (Grewburn), and Hardgyll (Hargill) this year.

£1 received from Robert Acke, farmer of the coal-pits at Fyndon (Findon).

£1.6.8 received from the farm of a certain coal-mine at Urpeth this year.

£8 received from George Bird, farmer of one coal-mine at Whikham this year.
£20 received from John Richardson, farmer of a coal-mine near Gateshed called Besynborne; leased to him this year.

Nothing from the farm of the millstone quarries in Ysehope (Ireshope) and elsewhere this year. Because nothing has been entered. The farm recently standing at 6/8d. p.a.

Nothing from George Emreson and others for the farm of a licence to carry coal over the Lord Bishop's land, from Lord Lumley's pit near Fengerhous, next to Whikeham, because it is lying waste this year. The farm recently being for £5 p.a.

Nothing from Henry Boynton, knight, for licence to carry coal over the Lord Bishop's land from his pit called Ravynsill. The rent recently being £3.6.8 p.a.

Nothing from the Master of St. Edmund's Hospital in Gateshed, for a licence to carry coal over the Lord Bishop's land, because it is not taken up. The rent recently being £10 p.a.

Nothing from William Juskipe and his associates for the farm of coal-mines at Gateshed, because they are retained in the Lord Bishop's hands this year.

Nothing from the farm of a certain coal-mine at Tollowe (Tow Law), because it is lying waste this year. Recently rented at £2 p.a.

Nothing from the farm of a certain coal-mine at Brassyd (Brasside), because it is lying waste in the Lord Bishop's hands this year. The rent recently being £1 p.a.

Nothing from the farm of a certain coal-mine at Ryton, because it is lying waste in the Lord Bishop's hands this year. The rent recently being £1.6.8 p.a.

Total - £403.7.7[8]

The Office of the Escheator.

But £159.2.1½ received from John Parkynson, Escheator in ------- Durham, out of the issues of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account. 9

Total - £159.2.1½.

Payments from Various Churches.[10]

£8 received as a payment from the Prior of Carliole (Carlisle), out of the churches of Corbrige (Corbridge) and Whittyngham (Whittingham), paid in two equal installments at the Feasts of Pentecost (the 7th Sunday after Easter Day) and St. Martin (11th November), falling within the period of this account.

13/4d. in payment from the Prior of Albaland (Blanchland) out of the church of Bolom (Bolam), paid annually at Martinmas.

£1 from the Prior of Hexham out of the church of Wardon, paid annually at the same Feast of Martinmas.

£2 in payment from the church of Symondborne (Simonburn), paid annually at the aforesaid Feast.

£1 in payment from the church of Ovyngham (Ovingham), paid annually at the aforesaid Feast.

13/4d. in payment from the church of Embledon, paid annually at Martinmas.

£20 in payment from the church of Carliole for a moiety of the church of St. Nicholas in the town of Newcastle upon Tyne, paid annually in two equal installments at Easter and Michaelmas.

£26.13.4 in payment from the church of Stanfordham, paid annually at the same Feasts.

£20 from the Prior of Carliole for a moiety of the church of the blessed Nicholas in Newcastle upon Tyne, paid annually at the same Feasts.

£2.13.4 in payment from the Abbot of Alnewyk (Alnwick) for the church of Woller, paid annually at the same Feasts.

13/4d. in payment from Hexham ---- for the church of Hawtweswell, (Haltwhistle), paid annually at the same Feasts.

6/8d. in payment from the Prior of Hexham for the church of Aldeston (Alston), paid annually at the same Feasts.

3/4d. in payment from the chantry chapel(s) of Farneacres for the hospital of Freresyd (Friarside), paid annually at the same Feasts.

£1 in payment from Benton, paid annually at the same Feasts.

6/8d. in payment from the Prioress of the nunnery in Newcastle upon Tyne for the hospital at Gateshed, paid annually at the aforesaid Feasts.

3/4d. in payment from the Abbot of Coverham for the church of Seham (Seaham), paid annually at the aforesaid Feasts.

£2 in payment from the Master and brethren of Staynederop (Staindrop) College, paid annually at the aforesaid Feasts.

Total - £87.13.4.

The Office of the Sheriff.

£9.1.8 received from William Bulmere, knight, Sheriff of County Durham and Sadberge, out of the issues of his office this year, as is apparent from his examined account. 11

Total - £9.1.8.

The Office of the Sequestrator.

£25.18.4 out of the issues of the office of Sequestrator in the Bishopric of Durham, as is apparent from his examined account.

Total - £25.18.4.

Foreign Receipts.[12]

£3.6.8 received from ------, farmer of Wydepleys (Wideplace), for his farm this year.

£5 from the farm of Busshopmednes (Bishopsmeadows) below Frannkeleyn (Frankland) this year.

16/8d. received from the farmer of a certain pasture called Brakenburyleze (Brackenburyley) this year.

£80 received from Richard Cholmeley, knight, farmer of Norhamshire this year, including £62 from the farm of the Twedemothe (Tweedmouth) fisheries.

Wardships, marriages, reliefs, escheats, advowsons and other casualties in Norhamshire do not occur here, as the farmer rendered no account for them before the Auditor.

Nothing of any profit pertaining to the issues of the mines of lead and iron in Werdale (Weardale) this year.

But £6.10.0 received from Oswinus Ogle and others for the farm of the rabbit warrens on Holy Island, and for the farm of all the Lord's lands and tenements there this year.

£31.2.8 received from Christopher Brigham for one cartload and 68 stones of lead sold to the same Christopher this year.

£1.5.0 received from the farm of the iron mines in Werdale this year, as appears in the Book of Great Receipt.

Total - £128.1.0.

Fines attached to Writs and Fees for Charters.[13]

£6.9.4 received in fines attached to writs in the Durham Chancery this year, as appears in the Book of Great Receipt.

£3.1.0 received in fees for charters from various persons, etc.

Total - £9.10.4.

rents and farms	£2314. 5. 7½
court profits	63.16. 0
office of Escheator	159. 2. 1½
payments from various churches	87.13. 4
office of Sheriff	9. 1. 8
the coal-mines at Raley, Groborne and Gateshed	209. 6. 8

Sum total of receipts (due) - £2921. 1. 8.

licences to carry coal	10. 0. 0
sale of lead	31. 2. 8
sale of iron	1. 5. 0
fines on writs	9.10. 4
office of Sequestrator	25.18. 4 [14]

Out of which is taken:

Fees and Wages.

As the fee of Hugh Asshton, ----, Chancellor of Durham and Receiver-General, at 40 marks p.a. allocated as in preceding accounts. £26.13. 4

As the fee of ----------, the Lord Bishop's Chief Steward in the Bishopric of Durham, at £20 p.a. etc.	Nothing because the office is vacant.
As the fee of William Lee, Constable of Durham Castle at 20 marks p.a., granted to him for life, according to his letters patent, etc.	£13. 6. 8
And in money paid to Humphrey Conysby and William Farefax, the Bishop's Chief Justices of Assize, for 2 sessions of court held at Lent and in the Autumn.	6.13. 4
And as the fee of John Metkalff, the Lord Bishop's Auditor, at £20 p.a., as appears by the Lord Bishop's letters patent granted to the same John for life, etc.	20. 0. 0
As the fee of John Bentley, Clerk to the Justices of Assize, at £4 p.a.	4. 0. 0
As the fee of John Rakett, Chancery Clerk at £2 p.a., etc.	2. 0. 0
As the fee of the same John, Clerk to the Justices of the Peace, at £3 p.a., etc.	3. 0. 0
As the fee of the same John, Clerk of the Great Receipt at Durham, at £5 p.a., etc.	5. 0. 0
As the fee of Robert Bentley, Substeward in the Bishopric of Durham, at £3. 6. 8 p.a., etc.	3. 6. 8
As the fee of the clerk who writes the account rolls of all the ministers, at £1. 6. 8 p.a., etc.	1. 6. 8
As the fee of Nicholas Gardiner, Keeper of the Lord Bishop's garden at Aukeland, at 1d. per day according to his letters patent, etc.	1.10. 4
As the fee of William Smethurste, Keeper of Durham Gaol, at £2.13. 4 p.a.	2.13. 4
As the fee of ----, the Lord Bishop's Attorney-General, at £5 p.a.; nothing as in previous accounts.	
As the fee of Richard Downes, Keeper of Aukeland Park, at 3d. p.d., etc.	4.11. 0
As the fee of John Elton, chantry priest at Aukeland College, and school-master there, at £2 p.a., etc.	2. 0. 0
As the fee of Lewis Wynkeffeld, Ranger in the Forest of Werdale, at £6.13. 4 p.a., etc.	Nothing
As the fee of Lionel Madyson, Bailiff of Stanehope, at £2 p.a., etc.	Nothing

As the fee of ---, Surveyor of all the Lord Bishop's (demesnes) at 10 marks p.a., etc. Nothing

As the fee of ---, Keeper of Evenwood Park, at 1d. p.d. according to his letters patent, etc. £ 1.10. 4

As the fee of the clerk who writes out the court rolls, at 6/8d. p.a., etc. 6. 8

As the fee of the Lord Bishop's Steward in Norhamshire, at £4 p.a., etc. Nothing

As the fee of Henry Warderobe, Keeper of Aukeland Manor, at £2 p.a. according to letters patent granted to him for life, etc. 2. 0. 0

As the fee of William Bulmere, knight, Sheriff of Durham at £10 p.a., etc. 10. 0. 0

As the fee of Roland Tempest, Undersheriff for County Durham, granted £3. 6. 8 by the Lord Bishop, etc. Nothing

As the fee of Robert Sympson, Bailiff of Stoketon, at £6.13. 4 p.a. according to letters patent recently granted to him for life by the Lord Richard (Bishop Fox), etc. 6.13. 4
Disallowed by command of the Lord Bishop. 15

As the fee of William Bettes, Bailiff of the Borough of Derlyngton, at £5 p.a. according to letters patent granted to him by the Lord Richard, recently Bishop of Durham, etc. 5. 0. 0

As the fee of John Richardson, Bailiff of Gateshead, at £5 p.a. according to letters patent granted to him for life, etc. 5. 0. 0
Disallowed as above.

As the fee of Nicholas Turpyn, Bailiff of Cotommonndevile, at £2.13. 4 p.a., besides one robe of ample proportions, or 10/0d. in lieu of the same, etc. 2.13. 4

As the fee of Thomas Middilton, Bailiff of Aukeland, at £5 p.a. according to his letters patent granted for life, etc. 5. 0. 0

As the fee of William Hall, Bailiff of Middelham, at £1 p.a., etc. Nothing, as before.

As the fee and reward of Robert Tenante, Bailiff of Durham, at £6.13. 4 p.a., etc. 6.13. 4
Disallowed as above.

As the fee of John Richardson, Keeper of the new tower at Gateshead, at 1d. p.d. according to his letters patent granted to him for life, etc. 1.10. 4
(Disallowed) As above.

As the fee of the collector of the rents and farms of the vills of Lynesacke and Bedborne, at £1.6.8 p.a., etc. Nothing as before.	Nothing
As the fee of Thomas Armorer, Bailiff of Bedlyngton, st £2.6.8. p.a. according to letters patent granted to him for life, and confirmed by the Prior and Convent at Durham.	£ 2. 6. 8
As the fee of John Herryson, Bailiff of Wolsyngham, at £2 p.a., granted to him during good behaviour by Richard, recently Bishop of Durham, etc. (Disallowed) As above.	2. 0. 0
As the fee of Robert Hedeworth, Bailiff of Whikham, at £2 p.a. according to letters patent granted to him for life, etc.	2. 0. 0
As the fee of Robert Bille, Bailiff of Chestre, at £1.6.8 p.a., newly granted by the Lord Richard, etc., during good behaviour. (Disallowed) As above.	1. 6. 8
As the fee of John Buk, Surveyor of all the Lord Bishop's coal-mines in the Bishopric of Durham, at £3.6.8 p.a., etc.	3. 6. 8
As the fee of ---, Master-Forester in the Bishopric of Durham, at £6.13. 4 p.a., etc.	6.13. 4
As the fee of 3 foresters in the High Forest of Werdale, at £1.2.9 each p.a., etc.	3. 8. 3
As the fee of 2 foresters in the old park at Stanehope, at 2d. each p.d., etc.	6. 1. 4
As the fee of Roland Tempest Esq., Keeper of Wolsyngham Park at 4d. p.d. according to letters patent granted to him for life, and confirmed by the Prior and Convent, etc.	6. 1. 4
As the fee of John Rakett, forester in Frannkeleyn Park, and forester at Ryton and Milneborne fflashe, at £2.17.0 p.a. according to letters patent granted to him for life, etc.	2.17. 0
As the fee of John Richardson, forester in Gateshed Park, at £2.17. 0 p.a. according to his letters patent, etc. (Disallowed) as above.	2.17. 0
As the fee of Christopher Madyson, forester at Bolyhope, at £1 p.a., etc.	Nothing
As the fee of Nicholas Fetherstanehalgh, forester at Rughsyde (Roughside), at 10/0d. p.a., being employed in the collection of assize rents and firepence this year, etc.	Nothing

As the fee of Nicholas Hunter, forester in Byrtley (Birtley) Park, at 1d. p.d., etc.
Taken out of the assize rents. £ 1.10. 4

As the fee of the forester of Lanchestre (Lanchester) Ward, at 6/8d. p.a., employed in collecting the assize rents this year, etc. Nothing

As the fee of one forester in Hampsterley (Hamsterley) Ward, at 13/4d. p.a., employed in collecting the assize rents in this same ward this year, etc. Nothing

As the fee of George Foster, forester of the Ward of Benffelsyd (Benfieldside), at 10/0d. p.a. Nothing because it is included in the account of the coroner for Chester Ward. Nothing

As the fee of Antony Smyth, clerk to the Master-Forester, at 13⅓4d. p.a. Nothing

As the fee of John Parkynson, Coroner of Derlyngton Ward, at £6.13. 4 p.a., etc. 6. 13. 4

As the fee of John Rakett, Keeper of the Lord Bishop's armoury in Durham Castle, at £1.6.8 p.a., etc. 1. 6. 8
Disallowed.

As the fee of William Werdale, Audit Clerk, as Ingrosser and Keeper of all the account rolls, and for good attendance at the time of the Audit; accounted at £3.6.8 p.a., and according to various considerations influencing the aforesaid Lord Bishop; as in the case of Richard Crosby, a previous Audit Clerk at Durham, etc. Nothing

As the fee of the clerk to the Sheriff of County Durham and Sadberge, at 13/4d. p.a. Nothing

As the fee of Richard Aldewod, Coroner of Esyngton Ward, at --- p.a. Nothing from the Lord Bishop because it is included in the casualties. Nothing

As the fee of John Rakett, collector of the rents and farms at Norton, at £1.6.8 p.a.. Nothing because it is included in the account of the collector of Norton. Nothing

As the fee of Thomas Hoppere, Paler of Aukeland Park, at £1.10.4 p.a., etc. 1.10. 4

As the fee of Robert Batemanson, forester of Bedborne Park, at ¾d. p.d. Nothing

As the fee of George Emreson, Keeper of the New Park at Stanehope, at 1½d. p.d., etc. 2. 5. 6

As the fee of Robert Batemanson, Keeper of Blakbank (Blackbank) and the Shull in Hampsterley Ward, at £2 p.a., etc. — Nothing

As the fee of William Kirkeham, Approver and Bankman of the coal-mines at Raley, etc. — Nothing

As the fee of the Approver of the coal-mines at Groueborne, at £2 p.a. — Nothing

As the fee of the Sergeant of the town of Gateshed, at £1.6.8 p.a., etc. — £ 1. 6. 8

As the fee of Christopher Broune, Steward of the Borough Court of Gateshed, at £1.6.8 p.a., etc. — 1. 6. 8

As the fee of Robert Athe, Clerk of Works in the Bishopric of Durham, at £5 p.a., etc. — 5. 0. 0

As the fee of John Rakett, Coroner of Chestre Ward, at £4 p.a., etc. — 4. 0. 0

As the fee of Christopher Broune, Steward of the Borough Court of Derlyngton, at 13/4d. p.a., etc. Nothing because it is allocated in the Bailiff's account. — Nothing

As the fee of Robert Bentley, Coroner of Stoketon Ward, at £1 p.a. Nothing because it is allocated in the account of the Coroner of Stoketon Ward. — Nothing

Total - £178.19. 1.

Annuities.

As the annuity of John Hochonson and William Dossy, chantry priests of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Cuthbert, in the Galilee Chapel at Durham; an annuity created in perpetuity by Thomas Langley, recently Bishop of Durham (1406-37); to be received (by them) in the Durham Exchequer at the Feast of the Nativity, Easter, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (29th August) and Michaelmas, from the hands of the Receiver there, for time evermore; according to the acquittance drawn up by John and William themselves, as to what has (already) been paid and what (still) remains to be paid. — 4. 0. 0

As the annuity of William Wightman, chantry priest of St. James in Derlyngton, at £3 p.a. according to his acquittance, etc. — 3. 0. 0

As the annuity of the chantry priest at Cotommonndevile, at £3 p.a. according to his acquittance. — 3. 0. 0

Total - £10.

Necessary Expenses.

In money paid out for various necessary items and expenses incurred in the Durham Chancery and Exchequer this year: 10 dozen parchments - £1, 60 small parchments - 3/0d. - bought for the Chancery and the Auditor in the Exchequer; 45 leather bags for the Lord Bishop's money - 3/9d.; materials for the making of ink - 3/4d.; one leather bag for the ministers' accounts - 8d.; a green-coloured baize cloth for the Auditor in the Exchequer - 5/0d.; a green cloth for the Chancery - 14/0d.; 14 dozen and 2 pounds of small candles - 18/4d.; paper - 8/9d.; as appears in the Book of Great Receipt.

£ 3.16.10

In money paid out for 10 cartloads (i.e. the carriage of 10 cartloads) of coal for the Chancery and the Exchequer, at the time of the Audit, at 1/4d. per cartload. 13. 4

In money paid to John Layffeld for 4 straw mats for the Chancery at 6d. each, and 3 more costing 1/8d. for the Exchequer. 3. 8

In money paid out for 6 mattresses (?) for the use of the Chancellor, the Justices of Assize and the Justices of the Peace in the Mutehall (Moothall); with the stuffing of the same. 16 7. 4

In money paid in expenses to John Metkalff, the Lord Bishop's Auditor, for riding from Richmond to various places beyond Durham - Allerton (Northallerton), Howden and Crayke (Craike), for the purpose of hearing and auditing the accounts of all the officers and ministers, and for the speedy levying of rents and farms belonging to the Lord Bishop, at the time of the Audit. Now as in earlier accounts. 1. 6. 8

Total - £6. 7.10.

Payments made to the Bailiff Itinerant of the Durham Exchequer.

In money paid to William Tierry, Bailiff Itinerant of the Durham Exchequer, and others, for riding to various places in the Bishopric of Durham, in order, not only to warn all and singular collectors, bailiffs, farmers and other ministers and officers of the Lord Bishop to appear before the Auditor for the rendering of their accounts, but also to distrain upon the same for non-payment of the Lord Bishop's rents and farms; carrying the distrained goods to Durham Castle and keeping them there until the Lord Bishop received satisfaction. As appears in the Book of Great Receipt, etc.

Total - £3. 3.10.

Foreign Payments.

In money paid for 12 cartloads of hay, recently growing in

Busshopmednes and bought for the use of the Chancellor, Auditor and other officers of the Bishop at the time of the Audit. Cost - 3/4d. per load, besides 6/0d. for their carriage to Durham Castle. Stacking of the same - 2/6d. As appears in the Book of Great Receipt, etc. £ 2. 8. 0

In money paid out by John Rakett (Clerk of the Great Receipt) in looking after his horses: for 9 cartloads of hay at 3/4d. each - £1.10.0; provender and shoeing - £2; together with £2 paid for the board of a clerk attending John for the receipt of money, and in connection with court profits. As appears in the Book of Great Receipt. 5.10. 0

In money paid to the keeper of the hall, for tending to the fire and other duties within the Durham Exchequer, besides 6d. for bringing in coal. As appears in the Book of Great Receipt and in former accounts. 3.10

In money paid to --- Gibson and John Pullen, lawyers, for their labours, and as a reward for coming as far as Durham for the inquisition post mortem of Lord Lumley; £2 by command of the Chancellor; besides 5/6d. paid to John Rakett for riding from Durham to Westgate in Werdale for two courts held there at the Invention of the Holy Cross (3rd May); and also £1 paid to John Wilson for riding to London with letters sent to the Lord Bishop from the "keeper of the peace" at the court held in Werdale, for his expenses in going, sojourning there and returning; as will appear from an examination of the Book of Great Receipt. 3. 5. 6

Total - £11. 7. 4.

Expenses at the Time of the Audit.

In money paid out for the expenses of Hugh Asshton, clerk, Chancellor, John Metkalff, Auditor, and John Rakett, Chancery Clerk, his servants and other officers of the Lord Bishop; being in Durham during the months of November, December and February, both to audit the accounts of particular officers, and to levy and receive money from the tenants and officers of the Lord Bishop. Details to be found in the Book of Great Receipt.

Total - £20. 1. 9.

Payments made to the Clerk of Works.

In money paid out to Robert Athe, Clerk of Works, for various repairs carried out on various mills and manors within the Bishopric of Durham this year. Details to be found in the Book of Great Receipt and in an indenture made between the said accountant, the aforesaid Robert Athe, and the Receiver-General, remaining in the hands of the former. 188. 5. 7

In money paid out for various works in connection with the repair and mending of the wall enclosing Wolsyngham Park this year - £1; besides 13/4d. paid out for the repair of the stone-wall surrounding the firth (enclosure) in Stanehope Park. £ 1.13. 4

Total - £189.18.11.

Payments made to the Constable of Norham Castle.

In money paid out to John Aynesley, Constable of Norham Castle, for various repairs undertaken by himself on various buildings, or Norham Castle (itself), this year. Details to be found in the Book of Great Receipt and in an indenture made between John Aynesley and the Receiver-General.

Total - £153. 0. 0.

Payments made to the Clerk of the Iron and Lead Mines.

In money paid out to Guy Fethirstanehalgh, Clerk of the Lord Bishop's mines of lead and iron in Werdale, both for buying lead and iron (ore) from the Lord Bishop's tenants, and for the heating of the furnaces and the carriage of fuel for the same. Details to be found in the Book of Great Receipt.

Total - £45.19. 8.

Payments made to the Lord Bishop.

In money paid to the Lord Bishop out of this year's income, through the hands of Hugh Asshton, clerk, Chancellor of Durham, by indenture dated 28th June, and paid out of this account, the indenture remaining with the account. 616.12. 8

Paid to the same Lord Bishop out of the aforesaid issues, through the hands of the said Hugh Asshton, clerk, with money received from John Rakett, on 22nd December of this year, according to an indenture remaining with this account. 1154. 3. 7

And paid to the same Lord Bishop out of the aforesaid issues, through the hands of the aforesaid Chancellor, with money received from the said John Rakett, by indenture dated 18th February of the said year, and paid out of this account. 60. 0. 0

And paid to the same Lord Bishop out of the aforesaid issues, through the hands of the aforesaid Chancellor, with money received from Christopher Werdale, clerk, Sequestrator, according to an acknowledgement made by the said Chancellor at London in March before the Auditor. 17.18. 4

And paid to the same Lord Bishop out of the aforesaid issues, through the hands of the aforesaid Hugh Asshton, clerk, with money received from the office of the Vicar-General, by his acknowledgement at London before the Auditor in March. £ 8. 0. 0

And paid to the same Lord Bishop out of the issues of the lands of Lord Lumley, through the hands of the aforesaid Hugh Asshton, by his acknowledgement at London in March. 50. 0. 0

Total - £1906.14. 7.

The sum total of money allocated and paid out as aforesaid is £2525.13. 0. There is owing £395.8.4 which is charged against the Receiver in his account. (Most of) the debt falls under the title of Arrears, out of which various collectors, bailiffs and other officers of the Lord Bishop in the Bishopric of Durham owe the following arrears, found at the bottom of their accounts, at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel in the second year of the pontificate of the Lord Thomas, by the grace of God, Bishop of Durham. The names of the debtors and the amounts they owe are noted in detail on a certain Roll of Arrears. £326.7.1½d. out of which £71.10.1½d. is unlevied.
There remains charged to the aforesaid accountant - £69. 1. 2½d.

Total receipts	£2921. 1. 8	
Total expenditure	2525.13. 0	
	395. 8. 8	
Still in the hands of the accounting officials		£254.17. 0
Unlevied		71.10. 1½d.
Remaining in the hands of the Receiver-General		69. 1. 2½d.
		395. 8. 4.

Notes

1 Church Commission MSS 189832.
The original text is in Latin. The translator's additions to the text are bracketed. Place names are spelled as in the Account, with their modern equivalents in brackets.

2 The year's proceeds from the manorial court.

3 A reference to the detailed Collectors' Accounts.

4 A reference to the detailed Coroners' Accounts.

5 A reference to the detailed Bailiffs' Accounts.

6 A reference to the Master-Forester's own account.

7 Some prominent tenants and farmers settled their accounts direct with the Exchequer, without the mediation of an estate official. Their transactions were too straightforward to warrant the compilation of a record similar to the accounts of the collectors, coroners etc., but a note was made of their rentals and payments.

8 From the pontificate of Bishop Hutton (1589-95) mine receipts were entered in a separate section. The Master-Forester had never been responsible for them previously, in spite of the designation of the category in which they had been placed. They had been put there originally when mining was of no real significance and remained there even when the Bishopric's mineral resources began to be valuable because of the innate conservatism of the administrative system.

9 A reference to the Escheator's own account.

10 The profits from various appropriations, mainly in Northumberland.

11 A reference to the Sheriff's own account. He accounted for the profits of justice arising from the Bishop's regalian rights.

12 A miscellaneous section grouping together the profits from certain pieces of meadow, iron and lead workings and Norhamshire. Only the Norhamshire receipts in fact originate outside Co. Durham. Thus the heading is somewhat misleading.

13 Profits arising from the operations of the Bishop's Chancery and hence his regalian rights. Thus the receipts handled by the Escheator, Sheriff, Sequestrator and Chancery are quite distinct from the main bulk of the receipts which arise from the ownership of extensive property; whilst they

originate from the possession of unusual regalian rights and in the case of the Sequestrator, a spiritual jurisdiction.

14 The sum total is surrounded by a brief summary of receipts due, organised in a slightly different fashion from the Charge itself.

15 This and subsequent entries suggests that the newly installed bishop was taking strong exception to a number of the appointments made by his predecessor, Bishop Fox; perhaps on the eve of his departure from Durham, as a cheap form of reward at his successors' expense.

16 This item probably refers to cushions in use during court sessions.

APPENDIX VII

A Summary of the Declaration of Account of William Redmayne, Esq., Receiver-General, 1530-31 1

The Bishopric of Durham with Norhamshire and Bedlingtonshire.

Charge.	Total receipts with arrears brought forward -	£ 2793. 0. 7½	
	Rents and farms	2276.11. 6½	
	Sheriff's Office	10.13. 9	
	Court profits	36. 4. 4	
	Escheator's Office	39.10. 9½	
	Coal-Mines	221. 3. 4	
	Wayleaves	.13. 4	
	Chancery profits	3. 0. 0	
	Payments from various churches	87.13. 4	
	Bedlingtonshire mines	1.13. 4	
	Gateshead mines	- - -	
	Profits of the Mint	3. 6. 8	
	Arrears brought forward	112.10. 2½	
Discharge.	Payments and allowances -	£ 665. 4. 8	
	Fees	214. 2. 2	
	Annuities	20. 0. 0	
	Necessary expenses and foreign payments	41.10. 6	
	Audit expenses	17.15. 9	
	Repairs and construction	287.11. 3	
	Pasturage retained for the Bishop's own use	84. 5. 0	2
	To be accounted for -	£ 2127.15.11½	
	In the hands of the Receiver-General	2049. 7. 4	
	Remainder (for which the Receiver-General is liable)	78. 8. 7½	
	Arrears 1st. year £19.13. 6		3
	2nd. year 58.15. 1½		
	TOTAL -	78. 8. 7½	

Allertonshire.

John Layton deputy for Edmund Skerlett.

Charge.	Total receipts (including arrears brought forward) -	£ 307.12. 8¾	
	Rents and farms	263.10. 3¼	
	Court profits	7.14. 2	
	Profit from strays	6. 8	
	Arrears brought forward	36. 1. 7½	

Discharge.	Payments and allowances -	£ 36. 8.11¾
	Fees	25.18. 5
	Repairs	3.16. 0
	Alms	7. 4
	Necessary and Audit expenses	3. 4.10¼
	Respited payments	3. 2. 4
	To be accounted for -	£ 271. 3. 9½
	In the hands of the Receiver-General	202.11. 7½
	Remainder in arrears	68.12. 2

Craike.

Charge.	Total receipts plus arrears -	£ 55.12. 3
	Arrears brought forward	8. 8. 9
	Rents and farms	47. 3. 6
Discharge.	Payments and allowances -	£ 17.14. 6
	Fees	10.11. 8
	Necessary expenses	14. 2
	Land retained for the use of the Bishop	1. 8. 0
	Cartage of hay	1. 9. 0
	Repairs	3.11. 8
	To be accounted for -	37.17. 9
	In the hands of the Receiver-General	36.18. 4
	Remainder in arrears	19. 5

Howdenshire.
Gervase Cawood, Receiver.

Charge.	Total receipts plus arrears -	£ 476. 8. 2
	Arrears	- - -
	Rents and farms	441.17. 5
	Court profits	7.11. 8
	Sale of faggots	23. 3.10
	Sale of Seatcorn	3. 5. 1 4
	Profits from strays	3. 2
	Reliefs	7. 0
Discharge.	Payments and allowances -	£ 221. 0. 1½
	Fees	38.17. 4
	Necessary and Audit expenses	7. 5. 3
	Repairs	114.18. 0½
	Cost of making faggots	3. 7. 0
	Pasture in the Bishop's hands	12. 7. 4

Provender	£ 7. 6. 0
Respited payments	29. 6. 8
Paid to Robert Constable	3.14. 1
Cost of haymaking	3.14. 1
To be accounted for -	£ 255. 7. 7
In the hands of the Receiver-General	251. 0. 0
Remainder in arrears	5. 7. 7

London. Not yet accounted.

Summary.

Total receipts with arrears brought forward	£3632.13. 9¾
Expenditure and allowances	940. 8. 8½
Remainder to be accounted for	2692. 5. 1¼
In the hands of the Receiver-General	2538.17. 3½
Remainder in arrears	153. 7. 9¾

Notes.

1 Church Commission MSS 220205/2.

2 An allowance of £84. 5. 0 because land previously farmed out for a rent of £85. 5. 0 p.a. is being used for pasturing the Bishop's own livestock.

3 i.e. the first and second years of the pontificate of Bishop Tunstall, 1530-59.

4 A customary payment in kind.

APPENDIX VIII

An Analysis of the Dates of Payment recorded in the Book of Great Receipt for 1525-1526. 1

DATE	NUMBER OF PAYMENTS
May 1526	
29	1
30	1 (2)
June 1526	
1	2
2	1
5	4
7	2
8	3
9	18
11	3
12	2
15	1
16	26
18	3
19	3
20	3
21	1
22	1
23	24
25	7
27	2
28	3 (109)
July 1526	
1	10
2	2
3	2
4	1
7	6
9	1
10	3
14	3
20	1
21	8
24	1
28	2 (40)
August 1526	
2	1
8	1
10	2
13	1 (5)
September 1526	
1	1
6	1
15	1
17	2 (5)
October 1526	
2	1 (1)
November 1526	
15	1
17	2
20	1
21	3
22	1
24	14
26	3
27	2
29	5
30	1 (33)
December 1526	
1	13
3	12
4	8
5	3
6	5
7	11
8	16
10	21
11	8
12	10
13	14
15	15
16	24
17	26
18	15
19	4
20	2
21	1 (208)

DATE	NUMBER OF PAYMENTS
January 1527	
5	2
11	1
12	4
19	3
25	2
26	11
28	5 (28)
February 1527	
11	1
25	1 (2)
March 1527	
1	1
24	1
29	1
31	1 (4)
April 1527	
2	2
3	1
6	3
7	1
8	2
9	3
10	6
11	5
12	1
13	2
15	2
24	1 (29)
May 1527	
3	2 (2)
June 1527	
26	1 (1)

Notes.

1 Compiled from the Book of Great Receipt for 1525-26 (Church Commission MSS 220243/2).

APPENDIX IX

A Summary of the Collectors' Charge for Darlington Ward. 1

Darlington, (Bondgate).

Total charge	£34.19. 6	
Decayed rents	£ 3. 6. 3	
Demesne land	15.16. 7	£10 for 10 bovates of bondland of 15 acres each. 2 £5.16. 5 for 120 acres.
Bondland	8.10. 0	34 bovates of 15 acres each, at 5/0d. each
Exchequerland	2. 1.11 3	
Farm of the pinder's office	2.13. 4	Decayed to £1.13. 4. 4
Customary works	3. 3.10	11/4d. in lieu of 34 wodlads attached to the 34 bovates of bondland. 5 £2. 2. 6 in lieu of labour services attached to the 34 bovates.
New rents	1. 6.10	
3 halmote courts	1. 4. 8	

Haughton-le-Skerne.

Total charge	£ 9.14. 8	
Decayed rents	6d.	
Free farms	16. 0	5 entries
Demesne land	3. 0. 0	£2.11. 0 for 70 acres. 9. 0 for 9 bovates of bondland at Beamond. The manor of Beamond is valued at £6.13. 4 p.a., but comes under the charge of the Bailiff of Darlington.
Cottages	10. 9	9 cottages
Mill	- - -	Worth £2.13. 4, but under the Bailiff's charge.
Customary works	4. 6. 5	£3.12. 0 from 9 bovates of bondland. 12. 0 from 8 cottages. 2. 3 for 9 wodlads.
3 halmote courts	14. 4	

Whessoe.

Total charge	£ 8. 0. 9	
Decayed rents	4. 0	

Free farms	£ 13. 4	4 entries.
Bondland	4.18. 8	£4.13. 4 from 14 bovates of 15 acres each, at 6/8d. each. 5/4d. in cottage rent.
Customary works	3. 6	For 14 wodlads.
3 halmote courts	16. 0	8/0d. paid by the tenants for a pasture (an enclosure) on the common moor.

Blackwell.

Total charge	£ 25.13. 8	
Decayed rents	16. 8	
Free farms	3. 2	2 entries.
Bondland	10.10. 0	42 bovates of 15 acres each.
Cottages	8. 4	Cottage work performed within the manor of Darlington in addition.
Exchequerland	2. 2. 8	
Pasture land	1. 6. 0	2 pastures.
New rents	2. 2. 0	Increased bondland rent.
Pinder's office	10. 0	
Scatcorn	3. 6. 8	15 qtrs. of oats from 21 bondlands at 1/4d. each. 6 qtrs. of wheat from 5 bovates, once bondland, at 5/0d. each. 5 qtrs. of barley from the same 5 bovates, at 3/4d. each. 6
Customary works	3.14. 3	11/9d. wodlads. £2.12. 6 commuted bondwork.
3 halmote courts	1. 3. 0	
Mill	- - -	Included in the charge of the Bailiff of Darlington.

Cockerton.

Total charge	£27. 5. 4	
Decayed rents	3. 4½	
Free rents	1. 2. 0	1 entry
Demesne land	7.10. 0	8 bovates of 15 acres each, which were anciently bondland, at 18/9d. each.
Bondland	9.15. 0	39 bovates (15 acres) at 5/0d. each.
Cottages	5.10	4 cottages.
Exchequerland	11. 1	
Pinder's office	10. 0	
Increased rents	4. 4	
Customary works	3.10. 7	Customary works attached to the 39 bovates of bondland commuted at £2.18. 9. 11/10d. 39 wodlads.

3 halmote courts £ 3.14. 6

Heighington.

Total charge	32. 1. 4½	
Decayed rents	2. 5. 2	
Free farms	17. 0	12 entries.
Bondlands	9. 0. 8½	31 bovates. Commutation of customary works included.
Cottages	2. 6. 5	6 cottages. Commutation of customary works included in the rent.
Exchequerland	1.15. 5	
Water-mill	4.13. 4	
Scatcorn	11.13. 8	From 28 bovates of husbandland; 7 5 qtrs. of wheat - £1; 50 qtrs. of barley - £10; 10 qtrs. of oats - 10/0d; 28 hens - 3/8d. 8
New rents	6. 6	
3 halmote courts	10. 6	

Middridge.

Total charge	£28. 2.11	
Decayed rents	4.16. 4	
Free farms	4. 0	1 entry.
Demesne land	3. 2. 3	42 acres and herbage rights concerning another 40 acres.
Bondland	22.14. 0	15 messuages and 15 husbandlands at 1/0d. per acre. Rent includes payment in lieu of customary works, wodlads, Castleman, Milch Cow, Cornage, Yolwating and Michelmet. 9
Farm of the pinder's office		£1 included in the bondrent.
Exchequerland	7. 4	
1 mess. and 40 acres	1. 3. 4	
30 hens		5/0d. included in the bondrent.
Increased rents	9. 0	
Cottage rents		Included in the lease of Middridge Grange.

Killerby.

Total charge	£24.15. 2	
Decayed rents	6.16. 9	
Bondland	22.10. 0	12 bovates (15 acres) at 18/9d. each.
Water-mill	2. 0. 0	

New rents	£ 1. 0	
3 halmote courts	6	
		Commuted customary works, milch cow and cornage etc. included in the bondrents.

West Thickley.

Total charge	12.13. 4	
Farm of the manor and village (all copyhold land)	12.13. 4	(The collector is strictly speaking a farmer).

West Auckland.

Total charge	£26. 5. 7½	
Decayed rents	1. 2. 6½	
Bondland	4. 1. 0	17 bovates (15 acres) at 5/0d. each.
	15. 6	5 cottages, 2 messuages and 40 acres.
Mills	8.18. 4	Wydehope water-mill - £4.13. 4. West Auckland water-mill - £4. Fulling-mill - 5/0d.
Customary payments	12. 9	Rent called Cutteland from the 17 bovates.
	6. 0	Milch cow.
	3. 6½	17 hens and 70 eggs.
	4. 9. 9	Wodlads - 8d. per bovate = 9/11d. Carriage of iron ore from Auckland to Coundon - 8/10d. Bondwork - £1.18. 4. Carriage of corn from Coundon Grange - £1. 2. 8. Carriage of a cask of wine - 10/0d.
Exchequerland	2. 7.11	
New rents	4. 2.10	
3 halmote courts	4. 8	

North Auckland.

Total charge	49.11.11¼	
Decayed rents	14.17. 3	
Free rents	4. 5. 1	
Demesne land	10.10. 9½	Ancient and new. Farm of the demesne - £5.12. 4¼. A further 9 acres - £4.18. 5.
Meadowland	4. 2. 8	
Bondland	5. 8. 4	5 bondlands at pennyfarm; rent inclusive of wodlads, cornage, scatpennies, hens and eggs. 10

Cottages	£ 1.16. 0	18 cottages.
Exchequerland	7. 1. 4	
Pinder's office	1. 2. 6	
New rents	8. 9. 5	
Mills	5. 6. 8	Water-mill - £2.13. 4. Fulling mill - £2.13. 4.
3 halmote courts	1. 9. 2	
		Farm of the borough included in the Coroner's charge - £5.

Coundon.

Total charge	£19. 2. 6½	
Decayed rents	1. 0. 6	
Free farms	12.10½	3 entries.
Demesne land	10. 2. 8	
Pasture farms	2.16. 4	73 acres and 1 messuage.
Cottages	3.14. 3	
Exchequerland	11. 7	
Hens and eggs	15. 0	26 hens and 1400 eggs.
New rents	3. 2	

Byers Green.

Total charge	£18.12. 8	
Decayed rents	1. 8	
Cottages and Exchequerland	10.11. 6	
Farm of a close	8. 0. 0	
3 halmote courts	6	

Redworth.

Total charge	£ 3.15. 7	
Drengage land	2. 2. 3	Within and without Middridge Grange 11
Demesne land	2. 0	
Exchequerland	1. 6. 8	
Hens	2. 8	16 hens.
		Customary works connected with Middridge Grange.

Escombe.

Total charge	£17.17. 8½	
Decayed rents	1. 7. 8	
Bondland	10.19. 0	28 bovates, rent, including cornage, milch cow, averpennies and wodlad. 12

Exchequerland	£ 3.13. 2½	
Hens and eggs	6. 6	30 hens and 300 eggs.
New rents	2.14. 2	New mill - £2. 6. 8.
Halmote courts	1. 0	

Newtoncap.

Total charge	£22.10. 1	
Decayed rents	5.10. 8	
Free farms	1. 0. 2	3 entries.
Bondland	11. 6. 8	27 bovate of 6 acres each, at pennyfarm. Rent includes common oven, milch cow, averpennies, 26 hens and 120 eggs.
Exchequerland	9. 7. 7	
1 cottage	2. 4	
New rents	13. 4	

Lynesake.

Total charge	£12.10. 5	
Decayed rents	1. 8. 7	
Free farms	2. 4. 0	2 entries.
Exchequerland	7.19. 9	
New rents	10. 8	
Halmote courts	1.12. 8	

North Bedburn.

Total charge	£ 3.14. 3	
Free farms	2. 4	1 entry
Exchequerland	3. 7. 9	
New rent	4. 2	

Wolsingham.

Total charge	£34.14. 8	Incorporating Greenwellside and Wigside.
Decayed rents	7. 5½	
Bondland	12.10. 0	Wolsingham £6.13. 2. 30 bovates (15 acres) at 3/10¾d. each - £5.16.10.
Cottages	6. 0	8 cottages at Wolsingham.
Demesne land	7.13. 8	At Wolsingham only.
Commuted bondwork	1.12. 7	Wolsingham only.
Exchequerland	15. 9. 8½	Greenwellside - £8. 5. 9. Wigside - £7. 3.11½.

Wodlads	£ 5. 0		
Hens and eggs	8. 2		Wolsingham only. 14 hens and 30 eggs
New rents	1. 5.10		Greenwellside - 8d. Wolsingham - £1. 5. 2.
Halmote courts	17. 6		
			Scatpennies collected by the Coroner.

Bishopley.

Total charge	£ 4.10. 9	
Decayed rents	5.11	
Exchequerland	4. 5.11	
New rents	4.10	

Stanhope.

Total charge	£22.19. 7½	
Decayed rents	17. 6	
Bondland	14. 0	6 bovates (12 acres) at 2/4d. each.
Cottages	2. 5. 3½	Including 7/0d. for works.
Hens	10. 8	64 hens to the pinder.
Commuted bondwork	13. 0	
Exchequerland	15.15. 4	
New rents	2.13. 8	
Halmote courts	7. 0	

South Bedburn.

Total charge	£16. 1. 5	
Free farms	6. 5	4 entries.
Exchequerland	11.15. 6	
Watermill	2. 0. 0	
New rents	1.19. 5	

Notes.

1 Compiled from the Collectors' Accounts for 1505-06, 1506-07 and 1545-46 (Church Commission MSS 188786, 188817 and 188824). The details of these accounts have been summarised.

2 Bondland = land held by copy of court roll. At Darlington, and also at Cockerton, some of the demesne had been given over to copyholders. It was more usual for it to be farmed out under lease.

3 Exchequerland = another form of land held by copyhold tenure. It had originally been distinguished from bondland by the absence of labour services.

4 The pinder was entitled to a few acres of land, and corn dues from the other tenants. He was exempt from the payments made in lieu of labour services. The pinder's office was sometimes farmed communally by a whole village.

5 The labour services attached to the bondland have all been commuted into money payments.
Wodlad (woodload) = the obligation attached to each bovate of bondland to carry 5 loads of wood for the Bishop's use; now commuted.

6 Scatcorn = a payment in corn associated with bondland in places where there was good arable. By the early 16th Century it was normal for the scatcorn to be commuted into scatpennies.

7 Husbandland = 1 bovate or oxgang of 15 acres of arable, with complementary meadow and common pasture rights.

8 The obligation of providing the Bishop with hens and eggs was also frequently attached to bondland. As with scatcorn, a money equivalent was now the rule.

9 Castleman = the obligation to send a man for the defence of Durham Castle.
Milch Cow = the obligation to provide the Bishop with a milch cow.
Cornage = a payment associated with pasture land and cattle; perhaps the pastoral equivalent of scatcorn. Both scatpennies and cornage had been fixed and no longer bore any relation to actual acreages of corn or head of cattle, as they may have done originally.
Yolwayting = a commuted service connected with Christmas.
Michelmet = a commuted service connected with Michaelmas.

10 Pennyfarm = a term denoting the commutation of services and payments in kind.

11 Drengage land = a variant of bondland.

12 Averpenny = a payment in lieu of allowing the Bishop to use his tenants' common oven or horses.

APPENDIX X

An Outline of the Collectors' Charge for the Four Wards.[1]

		£ s d	
Darlington Ward.			
North Auckland.[2]			
Byers Green.	2 freeholds	18. 0	4.87%[3]
	16 copyholds	9.12. 7	51.89%
	1 leasehold	8. 0. 0	43.24%
	average court profits	3. 4	
		18.13.11	
Coundon.	4 freeholds	12. 9½	3.1%
	5 copyholds	7.19.10	40.6%
	7 tenancies-at-will	11. 2. 5	56.3%
	average court profits	2. 6	
		19.17. 6½	
Middridge.	2 freeholds	14. 0½	3.05%
	5 copyholds	5. 1. 4	22.17%
	5 leaseholds	6.14. 4	29.13%
	6 tenancies-at-will	10. 9. 8	45.65%
	average court profits	10. 0	
		23. 9. 4½	
Redworth.	Copyholds	3. 6. 7	100%
Heighington.	5 freeholds	14. 8	2.4%
	14 copyholds	5. 2.11½	17.5%
	14 leaseholds	22. 9. 2	76.7%
	4 tenancies-at-will	19. 2	3.4%
	average court profits	1. 0. 0	
		30. 5.11½	
Escombe.	19 copyholds	17.18. 6½	100%
	average court profits	6. 8	
		18. 5. 2½	

		£ s d	
Newtoncap.	4 freeholds	1. 0. 6	5.81%
	17 copyholds	16. 3. 4	94.19%
	average court profits	6. 8	
		17.10. 5	
Darlington, Bondgate.			
	55 copyholds	24.18. 5	78.05%
	1 leasehold	7. 0. 0	21.95%
	average court profits	1. 6. 8	
		33. 5. 1	
Blackwell.	1 freehold	2.10	0.5%
	27 copyholds	20.18. 0	99.5%
	average court profits	1. 6. 8	
		22. 7. 6	
Whessoe.[4]			
Cockerton.	2 freeholds	1. 2. 2	5.0%
	25 copyholds	20.19.10½	95.0%
	average court profits	5. 0	
		22. 7. 0½	
Haughton-le-Skerne.	2 freeholds	16. 0	3.77%
	14 copyholds	15. 3.11	71.69%
	2 leaseholds	5. 3. 4	24.54%
	average court profits	13. 4	
		21.16. 7	
Evenwood.	5 freeholds	2.11. 2	10.03%
	36 copyholds	20.11. 9	79.53%
	5 leaseholds	2.13. 4	10.42%
	6 tenancies-at-will	1. 7	0.02%
	average court profits	2. 6. 8	
		28. 4. 6	
Killerby.	5 leaseholds	13. 5. 2	74.32%
	3 tenancies-at-will	4.12. 6	25.68%
	average court profits	6. 8	
		18. 4. 4	

		£ s d	
West Auckland.	1 freehold	3. 0	0.68%
	41 copyholds	15.16. 5	67.8%
	3 leaseholds	7. 6. 8	31.6%
	average court profits	1.13. 4	
		24.19. 5	
West Thickley.	1 copyhold	12. 0. 0	100%
Wolsingham. Wigside. Greenwellside.	Copyholds average court profits	33. 9. 9½	100%
		2. 0. 0	
		35. 9. 9½	
North and South Bedburn.	freeholds and copyholds	21.13. 1	
Lynesacke.	3 freeholds	1.12. 0	16.5%
	41 copyholds	8. 1. 9	83.5%
	average court profits	1. 0. 0	
		10.13. 9	
Bishopley.	2 freeholds	12. 8	15.79%
	8 copyholds	3. 3. 4	84.21%
	average court profits	3. 4	
		3.19. 4	
Stanhope.	31 copyholds	20. 2. 2½	100%
	average court profits	1. 0. 0	
		21. 2. 2½	

Chester Ward.[5]

Chester-le-Street.			
	2 freeholds	1.11. 0	3.2%
	71 copyholds	20.12. 7½	42.7%
	9 leaseholds	25. 5. 8	52.2%
	3 tenancies-at-will	18. 0	1.9%
	average court profits	2. 0. 0	
		50. 7. 3½	
East Boldon.	14 copyholds	35.10. 2	100%
West Boldon.	7 copyholds	9. 8. 7	93.4%
	1 leasehold	1. 3. 4	6.6%
	average court profits	1. 0. 0	
		11.11.11	

		£ s d	
Whitburn.	24 copyholds	51. 0. 6	96.2%
	1 leasehold	2. 0. 0	3.8%
	average court profits	2. 2. 0	
		55. 0. 6	
Cleadon.	11 copyholds	21. 8. 5	100%
Ryton.	2 freeholds	1. 7. 6	5.33%
	63 copyholds	22. 9. 4	86.84%
	1 leasehold	2. 0. 0	7.83%
	average court profits	2. 0. 0	
		27.16.10	
Lanchester.	1 freehold	18. 0	3.86%
	66 copyholds	24. 6. 9	85.59%
	1 leasehold	3. 0. 0	10.55%
	average court profits	1.10. 0	
		29.14. 9	
Easington Ward.			
Houghton-le-Spring	3 freeholds	18. 2	3.1%
	27 copyholds	23. 4. 9	79.3%
	1 leasehold	2.13. 4	9.1%
	2 tenancies-at-will	2.11. 1	8.5%
	average court profits	1.13. 4	
		31. 0. 8	
Morton Grange.	1 leasehold	6. 0. 0	100%
Warden Law.	1 copyhold	4.13. 4	100%
East Burdon.	7 leaseholds	11.16.10	100%
	average court profits	2. 0	
		11.18.10	
Newbottle.	17 copyholds	17.17. 4	49.0%
	11 leaseholds	18.11. 1	51.0%
	average dourt profits	1. 6. 0	
		37.14. 5	

		£ s d	
Middle Herrington.			
3	copyholds	1. 6. 0	48.1%
1	leasehold	1. 8. 0	51.9%
	average court profits	3. 4	
		2.17. 4	
Ryhope.			
1	freehold	10. 0	1.3%
19	leaseholds	40.17. 0	98.3%
1	tenancy-at-will	3. 4	0.4%
	average court profits	13. 4	
		42.13. 8	
Tunstall.			
1	leasehold	16. 0. 0	100%
Bishop Wearmouth.			
22	copyholds	39. 9. 2	93.48%
2	leaseholds	2.15. 4	6.52%
	average court profits	12. 0	
		42.16. 6	
Easington.			
6	freeholds	1. 9. 1	3.1%
20	copyholds	9.11. 7	20.8%
22	leaseholds	34. 5. 6½	74.4%
3	tenancies-at-will	15. 8	1.7%
	average court profits	1. 6. 0	
		47. 7.10½	
Little Thorpe.			
3	leaseholds	10. 0. 0	100%
Shotton.			
6	freeholds	16. 2	3.27%
4	copyholds	1. 8. 8	5.72%
10	leaseholds	15.11. 8	63.67%
4	tenancies-at-will	6.13. 8	27.34%
	average court profits	6. 8	
		24.16.10	
Sherburn.			
12	leaseholds	20.12. 2	97.5%
3	tenancies-at-will	9.10	2.5%
	average court profits	2. 0	
		21. 4. 0	

		£ s d	
Shadforth.	1 copyhold	1. 2. 7	5.2%
	11 leaseholds	19.11. 6	92.4%
	3 tenancies-at-will	8. 4	2.4%
	average court profits	7. 4	
		21. 9. 9	
Cassop.	5 leaseholds	17.10. 0	87.5%
	1 tenancy-at-will	2.10. 0	12.5%
		20. 0. 0	
Stockton Ward.			
Sedgefield.	6 freeholds	7.10¾	1.1%
	29 copyholds	19. 5. 8	53.6%
	12 leaseholds	15.15. 8½	44.1%
	5 tenancies-at-will	10. 2¼	1.2%
	average court profits	1.13. 4	
		37. 8. 9½	
Bishop Middleham.			
	21 copyholds	8.13.11	39.05%
	9 leaseholds	12.17. 6	58.05%
	1 tenancy-at-will	12. 9	2.9%
	average court profits	10. 0	
		22.14. 2	
Cornforth.	1 freehold	1. 7. 0	4.9%
	2 copyholds	7. 0	1.05%
	14 leaseholds	28. 0. 2	94.25%
	average court profits	10. 0	
		30. 4. 2	
Stockton.	8 freeholds	12. 2½	5.41%
	Borough rents	19. 4½	7.92%
	21 copyholds	10.8. 3	86.67%
	average court profits	2.0. 0	
		13.19.10	
Hartburn.	12 copyholds	11.18. 1¾	100%
	average court profits	13. 4	
		12.11. 5¾	

		£ s d	
Norton.	1 leasehold	16.13. 4	30.5%
	50 copyholds	36.15. 3¾	69.5%
	average court profits	2.10. 0	
		55. 8. 7¾	
Carlton.	14 copyholds	16.13. 4	100%
	average court profits	13. 4	
		17. 6. 8	
Hardwick Field.	1 leasehold	20. 0. 0	100%

Notes.

1 Compiled from a survey of the Durham estates dated 1588 (Church Commission MSS 195566a, Halmote Court Miscellaneous Book M. 64, pp.2-70).

2 The collector's charge cannot be satisfactorily separated from that of the Bailiff of Bishop Auckland. Vide supra, Appendix IX.

3 The percentages refer to the certain rents only.

4 The collector's charge cannot be satisfactorily separated from that of the Bailiff of Darlington. Vide supra, Appendix IX.

5 Whickham and Gateshead are not included because they had been demised on long lease to the Crown.

APPENDIX XI

A Summary of the Durham Bailiffs' Charges.

The Bailiff of the Manors of Darlington and Coatham Mundeville.[1]

Total charge	£50.15. 2	
Decayed rents	1.18. 2	
Free rents	4.10. 0	16 entries.
Farm of Beamond Hill	13. 6. 8	100 acres of pasture amongst newly cultivated land, held by the tenants of Cockerton and including £1.6.8 in increased rents - £5.6.8 Farm of the fields and pastures - £8.
Darlington Park	5.10. 0	Farm of the herbage rights.
Demised land	19.13. 8	18 entries.
Demised pasture-land	- - -	Included in another accountant's charge.
Farm of the manor of Coatham Mundeville	6. 6. 8	
Customary works (commuted)	8. 0	From the tenants of Bondgate, Cockerton and Blackwell.
Halmote court proceeds	11. 0	Held at Coatham Mundeville & Brasserton.
New rents	9. 2	

The Bailiff is responsible for his own fee, and the fee of the keeper of Darlington manor.

The Bailiff of Darlington Borough.[2]

Total charge	£ 18. 4. 3	
Decayed rents	2. 5. 6	
Haughton watermill	4. 0. 0	
Fishing at Darlington	2. 0. 0	
13 shops and a granary	2.19. 4	
Farm of the dye-works	1. 6. 8	
Market tolls	4.11. 5	Stallage and picage - 8/0d.[3]
Court proceeds	3. 6.10	

The Bailiff of the Manor of Stockton.[1]

Total charge	£ 62. 4. 8	
Farm of the demesne	32.10. 0	
Demised land	16.19. 4	North Meadow demised to the tenants of Norton - £5. 33 acres given over to the Bishop for the extraction of iron.

Farm of the Park	6. 6. 8	
Farm of the pasture-land	6. 6. 8	

The Bailiff takes his own fee.

The Bailiff of the Borough of Stockton.[1]

Total charge	£ 5.17. 4	
Decayed rents	1.15. 8	
Cottage rents	1. 6. 8	From 103 burgages.
Common oven	11. 0	
Farm of the ferry	3. 6. 8	Decayed to £2.
2 shops	9. 0	Under the tollbooth.
Halmote court proceeds	- -	
Release fines	4. 0	

The Bailiff of the Manor of Bishop Middleham.[1]

Total charge	£42. 4. 2	
Decayed rents	6.11. 2	
Decayed commuted customary works	6.14. 9	
Demesne land in Middleham	7. 0. 0	Including commuted cottage works.
Free farms at Mainsforth	2.17. 5	11 entries.
Demised land	6. 7. 8	Meadow - £3. 100 acres - £3. 6. 8.
Herbage rights	6.15. 4	Farm of the Park - £2.13. 4.
Customary works (commuted)	10. 1. 9	
Increased rents	3. 7. 8	
Farm of a coal-mine	5. 0. 0	

The Bailiff of Auckland Borough.[4]

Total charge	£ 4.17. 0	
Farm of the borough	3. 2. 0	Farm of all the burgages called Landmale - £1. 2. 0. Farm of the tolls - £2.
Court proceeds	1.15. 0	Fines of free tenants for suits of court - 14/8d. Amercements - 9/8d. Picage and stallage - 10/8d.

The Bailiff's fee was £5.

The Bailiff of Gateshead Borough.[5]

Total charge	£ 41. 6.11	
Decayed rents	2. 0. 0	
Farm of closes	27.11. 0	
Farm of the fishings	7. 0. 0	
Farm of the mills	1.10. 0	Windmill - £1. Watermill - 10/0d.
Farm of the bakehouse	2. 0. 0	
Farm of the borough	1. 6. 8	Farm of the landmale rents.
Court proceeds	1.19. 3	

Notes.

1 Compiled from the Bailiff's Account for 1497-98 (Church Commission MSS 188769).

2 Compiled from the Bailiffs' Account for 1506-07 (Church Commission MSS 188918).

3 Stallage - the right to erect a stall.
Picage - the right to break the ground for the purpose of erecting a booth.

4 Compiled from the Bailiffs' Account for 1504-05 (Church Commission MSS 188777).

5 Compiled from the Bailiffs' Account for 1506-07 (Church Commission MSS 189631).

APPENDIX XII

A Summary of the Durham Coroners' Charge.[1]

Darlington Ward.

	£ s d		
+*	49.15. 4½	Darlington Borough.	Lease of the borough, with the dye-works and Haughton mill - £13.13. 4. Lease of Darlington and Blackwell mills - £26. 6. 8.
	3. 6. 8	Manor of Oxenhall.	The Earl of Westmorland was the tenant-in-chief.
*	15. 4	Haughton-le-Skerne.	
*	1. 6. 6	Blackwell.	
	11.17. 4	School Aycliffe, "Hudworth" (Heworth ?) and Heighington Grange.	Vill of "Hudworth" - £2. Lease of Heighington Grange - £8. 3. 4.
*	31. 4. 6½	Middridge.	Lease of Middridge Grange - £26. Lease of a new water mill - £1.
*	2. 0.10	Killerby.	
	37.14. 4	Ricknall Grange	Lease of the Grange - £32.
+	2.16. 2	Brasserton.	Customary payments.
*	1. 4. 4	West Thickley & Newbiggin.	
	13. 4	Old Thickley.	Cornage.
	9. 7. 2	West Auckland.	Manor of "Ridyng" - £1. 6. 8. Vill of Lutterington - £1.
+*	52. 9.11	North Auckland.	Lease of Woodhouses - £7.10. 0. Manor of Old Park - £3. Manor of Henknoll - 8/0d. Lease of the Mill - £16. Farm of the Borough - £5. Land at Binchester and Auckland - £8.12. 0.
	22. 8. 0	Coundon Grange	Lease of the Grange.
*	2.15. 2	Byers Green.	
*	1. 5. 0	Escombe.	
	1.11. 9	Newton with Hunwick.	
*	4.17. 2	North Bedburn.	Manors of Wadley and Woodifield - 6d. and £1. Vill of Harperley - £1.
*	1.13.10	South Bedburn	Bedburn Hall & the vill of Hoppyland.
*	25. 7. 8	Wolsingham.	Manor of Broadwood - £2. Vill of Bradley - £1.2.0 Vills of Thornley, Greenwell, Helmepark & Redmires - £3. 2. 0.

	£ s d		
			Sunnyside - £1. Vills of Newlands and Frosterley - £1.11. 0 and 13/4d. Farm of a watermill and fulling mill - £6.13. 4
*	12. 0	Bishopley.	
*	18.17. 9	Stanhope.	Farm of the watermill - £6.13. 4.
	9. 4. 8	Manor of Wotton.	
	293. 4.10		

Chester-le-Street Ward.

	£ s d		
*	13.14. ?	Chester-le-Street.	Wear fisheries - £10.
	17.10. 0	Urpeth, Pelton, Pelaw, Picktree and North Biddick.	Manor of Urpeth with watermill farmed at £9.
	1. 6. 8	Newfield.	A copyhold.
	9.19. 2	Framwellgate.	Manor of "Erlehouse" - £3. 3. 9. Manor of Nettlesworth - £1. 7. 0.
	11. 5. 6	Scattered Exchequerland.	
	11.14.11	Newton & Plawsworth.	Vill of Plawsworth - £1. Vill of Newton - £5.6.8.
	4.17. 9	Exchequerland.	
+	46.17.10	Gateshead.	Farm of the borough and the Tyne fishings - £35.
	9. 9. 7	Kibblesworth & "Wodyngden".	Manors of "Bromyngholme" & Farnacres. Land in Pokerley and Ravensworth.
	5.14.10	Waldridge, Pontop and Satley.	Vill of Satley and the mill - £2.13. 4.
	17. 1	Knitsley.	
	2.11. 1	Twizell & Edmondsley.	
	1. 1. 8	Crawcrook & "Dernecroke".	
	7.12. 0	Hedleyside, Ivesley Burdon, Huntinghouse and Hedley.	Vill of Hedleyside - £1.13. 0. Vill of Huntinghouse - £2. Watermill on the R. Derwent - £2.13. 4.
	3.13. 4	Colepikehall & Ivesly.	Vill of Ivesley - £2.13. 4.
	8. 9. 2	Broom & Flass.	
	4. 0. 5	Greencroft.	
	12. 5. 0	Burnhope & Hamsteels.	
	4. 9. 2	Cornsay.	
	3.11. 3	Roughside.	

	£ s d		
	4. 9. 7	Tamfield.	
	6.17. 9	Wheatley & Holmside.	
	3. 7. 2	"Heley" with Rowley.	
	7.11. 4	"Coxhede", "Alensheles", Medomsley & Hamsterley	Vill of Edmundsley - £1.2.0 Manor of "Coxhede" - £1.2.0 160 acres called Hamsterley.
	10. 0	Bushblades.	
	17.10	"Colierley" & "Crukehugh".	
	1. 6. 8	Witton Gilbert.	
	13. 8	East Rowley & Langley.	
	2. 6. 5	Maydenstane Hall.	
*	6. 5. 6	East & West Boldon.	
	8. 9. 6	Usworth.	
	4. 0. 0	Farm of the Vill of Washington.	
*	2. 6.11	Whitburn & Cleadon.	
*	5. 2. 0	Ryton.	Farm of the fishing - £5.
*	6	Lanchester.	
	7. 7. 4	Benfieldside.	
*	39.12. 7	Whickham.	Vill of Swalwell - £1.9.4 Vill of Winlaton - £20. Farm of the mill - £12.6.8.
*	31.11. 7	Bedlington.	Land at West Sleekburn - £7.13.4. Manor of Camboise - £4.19.0 Vill of Netherton - £4.14.8. Vill of Choppington - £4.18.0. Manor & Vill of East Sleekburn - £6.15.3.
	3. 6. 2	Broomshiels.	
	2. 0. 4	Kyopath.	
	1. 2. 4	Billingside.	
	5.14. 6	Butsfield.	
	325.19. 3		

Easington Ward.

	£ s d		
*	4.14. 4	Easington.	Manor of Pespool - 13/4d.
*	1.13. 4	Cassop.	Vill of Tursdale - 13/4d.
*	3. 4	Shadforth.	
*	3. 5	Sherburn.	
*	5.10. 2	Herrington.	2/3 of the manor of East Herrington; customary payments - £3.1.4; 140 acres of Exchequerland - £2.2.2.
	17. 8	Burdon.	Vill of Little Burdon - 10/0d.
*	9. 2. 6	Houghton-le-Spring.	Vill of South Biddick - £5.

	£ s d		
*	6. 8	Bishop Wearmouth.	
	6.13. 8	Sunderland.	Borough Rent - £6.
	5. 9. 4	"Hoton".	
	15. 2	Coxhoe.	
	1. 6. 8	Vill of "Holam".	
	5. 3.10½	Sheraton.	
	28. 4. 6	Whitwell & Quarrington.	Manor of Whitwell - 6/8d. Farm of Quarrington Grange - £26.13.4.
+	60. 0. 1	Durham City.	Farm of the borough and mill - £54.13.4.
	118. 0. 1½		

Stockton Ward.

*	9. 0. 8¼	Sedgefield.	Vill of Butterwick - £6.13. 4.
*	3.12. 8	Norton.	
	2.11. 0¾	Preston.	
	11. 4	Carlton.	
	3. 9. 5	Mainsforth.	
*	2.13. 7	Bishop Middleham.	
*	17. 6	Hardwick.	
*	2.17. 7	Stockton.	
	25.13.10		

Notes.

1 Compiled from the Coroners' Accounts for 1540-41 and 1546-47 (Church Commission MSS 188795 Darlington, 188648 Easington, 188915 Stockton and 188682 Chester). The summary consists of: (1) a list of the locations where the Coroners were responsible for rent collection; (2) the sum totals collected in each location; (3) a note of the most important tenancies in their charge. Unless otherwise specified the entries refer to tenancies-in-chief and freeholds. An asterisk denotes a location where a collector also operated. A cross denotes a location where a bailiff also operated.

APPENDIX XIII

New Escheats, 1524-25.[1]

Herbotell. £38.14. 6 from the issues of the manor of Beamysh (Beamish) .... in County Durham, with .... messuages, ... acres of land, ... acres of moor, ... acres of meadow, ... in Tawinfeld (Tanfield), Hedley, and Pokerley (Pockerley), and half the manor of Kilbesworth (Kibblesworth) ... with one wasted garden in the North Bailey, Durham. Which Wicher Herbotell, Esq., held in fee the day he died. He held the manor of Beamysh by knight service - the land in Tawinfeld of Elena, the late wife of Sir Robert Conyers, by service unknown - the land in Hedley of the heir of William Lumley, by services unknown - and the garden in Durham of the Bishop, by the service of Castleward. Which separate particulars are valued together at £38.14. 6 p.a. above the deduction contained in a certain inquisition and extent kept with the Escheator. 2

Graylands. £3. 3. 2½ from the issues of the third part of one messuage, 200 acres of land, 100 acres of pasture, 20 acres of woodland ... in West Auckland, next to Wolsingham; with the third part of a messuage in Coldrowley, and the third part part of one parcel of meadow in Whickham; remaining in the hands of the Bishop after the death of Thomas Gray, Esq., during the minority of his sisters and heirs, Margaret and Mary. The messuage, 200 acres of land, 100 acres of pasture and 20 acres of woodland are held in capite, by the payment of £1.11. 0 at the Exchequer - the demesne messuage in Consett is held of the Bishop by services unknown - the lands in Coldrowley and Whickham are held of the Bishop in capite, by the payment of 9/7d. Valued at £4.14.11 p.a. Deduction of £1.11.7½, being one third, because of the coming of age of one of the heirs.

Thomas Asteley. £5.9.8¾ from the issues of the manor of Egglesclyff (Egglescliffe) ... and the manor of Aslekby (Aislaby) ... Of which Thomas Asteley died seised. The manor of Egglesclyff was held of the Bishop by homage and fidelity, half a knight's fee, and suit of court in the Wapentake of Sadberge. The manor of Aslakby is held by homage, the payment of 60/0d., and customary services at Sadberge Gaol. The manors are valued at £20 each p.a. The property was retained for 50 days after the death of Thomas Asteley, before being returned to his son and heir, William.

Relief. £2.10. 0 Relief for the manor of Egglesclyff.

Richard Hoton. 11/6d. from the issues of a capital messuage in Hunwick ... and one messuage, 40 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow and 30 acres of pasture ... in Hunswick, with 3/4d. in rent ... in Hunwick; viz, 2/6d. free rent from Roger Eure, 6d. from Sir Thomas Tempest, 3d. from the Prior of Durham, and 1d. from Richard Downes jun. in right of his wife. Also one messuage ... called Whitehall, and one tenement called Hewhirst. Of which Richard Hoton died seised in tale for himself and his male heirs. All these lands and free-rents are parcel of the manor of Hunwick, held as the fourth part of a knight's fee. Valued at £8. 5. 4 p.a. Retained by the Bishop for 25 days.

Alienation. £2. 6. 8 from the issues of the aforesaid land in Hunwick, besides some more, now in the Bishop's hand, because it was granted to John Essh, Esq., for the term of his life, and the lives of his living male heirs, without licence, by Richard and Margaret Hoton. The alienated land is valued at £4.14. 0.

Relief. £1. 5. 0 Relief paid by William Hoton, son and heir.

Total - £54. 0. 7

Notes.

1 A translation of part of the Account of Sir William Eure, Escheator, 1524-25 (Church Commission MSS 189615). The translator's additions are bracketed.

2 Wicher Herbotell, a tenant-in-chief, has died; allowing the Bishop to claim the receipts from his estate until an heir is admitted. It is evident that the Bishop has laid claim to the returns from land not held directly of him, on the strength of its occupation by one of his tenants-in-chief.

APPENDIX XIV

The Temporalities of the Bishopric of Durham, 1509 - 1641. [1]

	The Palatinate of Durham.[2]			Howdenshire.	
Year.	Income Due.[3]	Real Income.[4]		Income Due.	Real Income.
1509	£2818	£2354	(£464)[5]	£536	£418 (£118)
1513	3179				
1514	3233				
1518	2909				
1519	3151			509	
1521	2782	2818*	(+36) [6]	521	442 (79)
1524	2919	2627	(292)	508	475 (33)
1525	2807			508	
1527	2847	2359	(488)	513	478 (35)
1528	2815			512	
1529	2601	2494	(107)	509	463 (46)
1530	2774			512	
1531	2680			520	
1532	2696	2556	(140)	564	426 (138)
1533	2726			515	
1535	2686				
1537	2741			507	
1539	2709	2581	(128)	505	439 (66)
1540	2738	2676	(62)	510	443 (67)
1541	2750	2533	(197)	510	438 (72)
1542	2718	2658	(60)	518	440 (78)
1543	2761			518	
1544	2741	2462	(279)	513	399 (114)
1545	2693	2551	(142)	507	392 (115)
1548	2629	2428	(201)	510	431 (79)
1550	2690	2410	(280)	510	446 (64)
1551	2742	2493	(249)	507	449 (58)
1552	2731	2006	(725)	500	407 (93)
1553	2617	2451	(166)	502	430 (72)
1554	2581	2386	(195)	503	486 (17)
1555	2632			512	
1556	2636	2433	(203)	515	460 (55)
1558	2625	2542	(83)	512	456 (56)
1559	2517	2211	(306)	532	479 (53)
1560	2661			516	
1561	2469	2269	(200)	514	447 (67)
1562	2641	2424	(217)	506	453 (53)
1563	2652	2441	(211)	534	482 (52)
1565	2611			520	
1566	2634	2429	(205)	519	467 (52)
1568	2725			516	
1569	2620			511	
1570	2544	2344	(200)	481	
1573	2693	2527	(166)	519	462 (57)
1575	2630	2670*	(+40)	510	418 (92) [7]

The Palatinate of Durham.				Howdenshire.		
Year.	Income Due.	Real Income.[4]		Income Due.	Real Income.	
1585	£2668	£2632	(36)	£479	£685*	(+206)
1586	2674			484		
1590	2683	2319	(364)	484	451	(33)
1595	2639					
1597	2600	2514	(86)	485		
1598	2604					
1599	2604	2235	(369)	492	423	(69)
1600	2578					
1601	2704	2576	(128)	485	414	(71)
1605	2579	2470	(109)	476	466	(10)
1607	2623	2445	(178)	474	452	(22)
1617	2824			480		
1618	2675	2394	(281)	479	470	(9)
1621	2616			474		
1627	2624					
1631	2710			473		
1633	2195	2024	(171)	476	445	(31)
1634	2719	2471	(248)	499	477	(20)
1637	2788					
1638	2744	2547	(197)	480	432	(48)
1640	2692			479		
1641	2754			476		

Allertonshire.				Craike.		
Year.	Income Due.	Real Income.		Income Due.	Real Income.	
1509	£334	£226	(£108)	£ 47	£30	(17)
1513	335					
1514				48		
1518				50		
1519	338					
1521	337	248	(89)	50	43	(7)
1524	336	308	(28)	48	48	(-)
1525				51		
1527	332	242	(90)	49	36	(13)
1528	332					
1529	311	218	(93)	51	51	(-)
1530				49		
1531	335			47		
1532	332	244	(88)	55	43	(7)
1533				50		
1537	335			51		
1539	329	277	(52)	51	38	(12)
1540	344	273	(71)	49	62*	(+13)
1541	335	254	(81)	51	51	(-)
1542	354	273	(81)	53	53	(-)
1543	334					
1544	342	229	(113)	51	51	(-)
1545	332	194	(138)	51	51	(-)

Year.	Allertonshire. Income Due.	Allertonshire. Real Income.	Craike. Income Due.	Craike. Real Income.
1548	£359	£209 (150)	£52	£52 (-)
1550	360	307 (53)	52	52 (-)
1551	331	213 (118)	53	53 (-)
1552	333	237 (96)	51	51 (-)
1553	338	186 (152)	51	51 (-)
1554	339	331 (8)	53	53 (-)
1555			53	
1556	327	231 (96)	50	50 (-)
1558	338	201 (137)	51	51 (-)
1559	329	57 (272)	50	50 (-)
1560	336			
1561	327		51	51 (-)
1562	344	249 (95)	54	54 (-)
1563	342	264 (78)	55	55 (-)
1565			51	
1566	342	248 (94)	51	51 (-)
1570	335	278 (57)		
1573	330	251 (79)		
1575	338	266 (72)		
1585	267	251 (16)		
1590	257	254 (3)		
1595	306			
1597	287	261 (26)		
1598	287			
1599	285	264 (21)		
1600	285			
1601	282	276 (6)		
1605	273	259 (14)		
1607	279	257 (22)		
1617	281			
1618	281			
1633	315	264 (51)		
1634	355	235 (120)		
1637	281			
1638	293	284 (9)		

Year.	Total for Income Due.	Total Real Income.	Difference.
1509	£3735	£3028	£707
1521	3690	3551	139
1524	3811	3458	353
1527	3741	3115	626
1529	3472	3226	246
1531	3582		
1532	3647	3269	378
1537	3634		
1539	3594	3335	259
1540	3641	3454	187
1541	3646	3276	370
1542	3643	3423	220
1544	3647	3141	506
1545	3583	3188	395
1548	3550	3120	430
1550	3612	3215	397
1551	3633	3208	425
1552	3615	2701	914
1553	3508	3118	390
1554	3476	3256	220
1556	3528	3174	354
1558	3526	3250	276
1559	3428	2797	631
1561	3361		
1562	3545	3180	365
1563	3583	3242	341
1566	3546	3195	351
1570	3360		
1573	3542	3240	302
1575	3478	3354	124
1585	3414	3568 *	+154*
1590	3424	3024	400
1597	3372		
1599	3381	2922	459
1601	3471	3266	205
1605	3328	3195	133
1607	3376	3154	222
1617	3585		
1618	3435		
1633	2986	2733	253
1634	3573	3183	390
1638	3517	3263	254

Notes.

1 Compiled from the Receivers' Accounts.

2 Excluding the Manor of Craike until after 1566.

3 Calculated by subtracting Arrears Brought Forward from the Charge.

4 Calculated by deducting Arrears and Exonerated Dues from the Charge.

5 The bracketed figures denote the difference between income due and real income.

6 An asterisk denotes a situation where real income exceeded income due because of the payment of arrears in sizeable quantity.

7 The reduction in Howdenshire income due after 1575 was caused by the abandonment of certain decayed rents and the arrears arising from them. A similar review of income due was conducted for Allertonshire at the same date.

APPENDIX XV

A Rental Abstract for the Yorkshire Estates belonging to the Bishopric of Durham.

Craike.[1]

Leaseholds	£33.18. 6	66.35%
Copyholds	15. 3. 4	29.74%
Freeholds	2. 0. 0	3.91%
Total rental	£51. 1.10	

Allertonshire.[2]

Northallerton.

48 oxgangs of Old Land at 8/4½d. per oxgang	£19. 0.10	24.3%	
24 oxgangs of New Land at 10/4½d. per oxgang	12.18. 4½	16.4%	91.1% leaseholds
Enclosed desmesne land	39. 6.10	50.4%	
Borough rents	7. 0. 0	8.9%	
Total rental	£78. 6. 0½d		

Brompton.

33 oxgangs of enclosed desmesne at 4/5d. per oxgang, held by lease	£ 7.17. 1	28.8%
66 oxgangs of copyhold land	19.11. 0	71.2%
Total rental	£27. 8. 1	

Romanby.

8 oxgangs of leased desmesne at 8/1½d. per oxgang	£ 3. 3. 8	20.5%
60 oxgangs of copyhold land	15.12. 0	79.5%
Total rental	£18.15. 8	

Sowerby Grange.

Farm	£ 7.18. 0

Thornton-le-Beans.

40 oxgangs of copyhold land	£13.11. 0

Leake Rectory.

Farm of the tithes	£18. 0. 0

Borrowby.

Farm of the mill	£ 2. 0. 0	17.8%
24 oxgangs of copyhold land	9. 4. 2	82.2%
Total rental	£11. 4. 2	

Knayton.

58 oxgangs of copyhold land	£20.14.10	

Osmotherley.

16 oxgangs of desmesne at 5/10d. per oxgang, held by lease	£ 7.19. 6	66.1%
Copyholds	4. 2. 8	33.9%
Total rental	£12. 2. 2	

Freeholds.

Scattered throughout the liberty	£46. 9. 1½	

Howdenshire.[3]

Ricall.

Customary tenures	£12.14. 6	76.3%
Freeholds	1.19. 0	11.9%
Mill farm	1. 0. 0	5.9%
Fishing farm	1. 0. 0	5.9%
Total rental	£16.13. 6	

Cliffe.

Customary tenures	£10.13. 6	35.1%
Freeholds	16.11. 4	60.3%
Fishing farm	8. 0	4.6%
Total rental	£27.12.10	

Barmby.

Customary tenures	£18.19. 5	83.3%
Freeholds	6	0.5%
Mill farm	1.16. 8	7.9%
Fishing farm	1.18. 8	8.3%
Total rental	£22.15. 3	

Asselby.

Customary tenures	£ 9.15. 1	89.8%
Freeholds	16. 0	7.3%
Fishing farm	4. 8	2.9%
Total rental	£10.15. 9	

Wheelhall Manor.

Farm		£ 5.14. 0	

Knedlington.

Customary tenures		£15.14.11	82.2%
Freeholds		14. 9	3.6%
Dod farm		2.13. 1	14.2%
Total rental		£19. 2. 9	

"Yawdeffleitt Booth" Ferry.

Farm		£ 2.13. 4	

Howden.

Customary tenures		£ 6. 9. 8	11.1%	
Freeholds		18.19. 6	32.5%	
The Borough - Burgage rents	£ 17.10			
Shops	1.12. 0	6. 3. 2	10.6%	
Dye-Works	1. 0. 0			
Tolls	2.13. 4			
2 Mills		2.13. 4	4.6%	leaseholds £26.16. 0
Ferry at Howden Dyke		9. 0	0.7%	
Demesne land	£21.14. 2	23.13. 8	40.5%	45.8%
Farm of the Dod Corn	1.19. 6			
Total rental		£58. 8. 4		

Kilpin.

Customary tenures	£ 5.12. 9	39.4%	
Dod farm	13. 4	4.9%	
Mill farm	1.10. 0	10.5%	
Freeholds	6. 8. 4	45.2%	
Total rental	£14. 4. 5		

Skelton.

Customary tenures	£ 3.15. 3	19.0%	
Dod farm	12.12.11	63.0%	
Freeholds	2.17.10	14.5%	
Farm of the fishing	13. 4	3.5%	
Total rental	£19.19. 4		

Laxton.

Freeholds	£ 6.19. 0	98.6%	
Desmesne land	3. 6	1.4%	
Total rental	£ 7. 2. 6		

Saltmarsh.

Customary tenures	£ 8.14. 6	29.3%
Dod farm	17. 2. 8	57.7%
Freeholds	3. 2. 4	10.8%
Farm of the ferry and the fishing	12. 0	2.2%
Total rental	£29.11. 6	

Belby.

Customary tenures	£ 6.19. 3½	87.3%
Dod farm	13. 4	8.9%
Freeholds	6. 0½	3.8%
Total rental	£ 7.18. 8	

Eastrington.

Customary tenures	£14.10. 8	96.7%
Freeholds	9. 2	3.3%
Total rental	£14.19.10	

Ellerker.

Customary tenures	£22. 9.10	84.9%
Freeholds	7. 0	2.6%
Demesne land	3.13. 4	12.5%
Total rental	£26.10. 2	

Brantingham.

Customary tenures	£ 9. 7. 0	99.0%
Demesne land	2. 0	1.0%
Total rental	£ 9. 9. 0	

Walkington.

Customary tenures	£23. 2. 8	95.8%
Freeholds	6. 8	1.4%
Mill farm	13. 4	2.8%
Total rental	£24. 2. 8	

Welton.

Customary tenures	£38. 2. 2

Melton.

Freeholds and copyholds	£ 6. 0. 7	89.5%
Farm of the fishing	13. 4	10.5%
Total rental	£ 6.13.11	

Bishop's Meadow (near Babthorpe Hall).	
Farm	£ 4. 0. 0
Freeholds.	
Scattered throughout the Liberty	£90.10. 8

Notes.

1 Based on a Parliamentary Survey dated December 1647-January 1648 (Church Commission MSS 23377).

2 Based on a Parliamentary Survey of 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23385).

3 Based on a Rental, circa 1540 (Church Commission MSS 195126).

APPENDIX XVI

Coal-Mining Proceeds, 1502-03.

A Summary of the Account of William Lee, Surveyor and Approver of the Coal-Mines of Raby, Grewburn and Hargill, 6th November 1502 - 11th November 1503. [1]

Arrears	None		
Sale of coal from Raby	£205.12. 0	Received for 102,800 corfs.[2]	
Sale of coal from Grewburn	76.11. 0	Received for 38,290 corfs.	
Hargill	6. 0. 0	For the farm of the mine, from Thomas Thomson, besides a contribution of 10,000 corfs.	
Total income from the mines	£288. 2. 0		
Expenses at Raby	£ 86.13.11[3]	Wages of hewers, barrowmen and drawers	£68.10. 8
		Purchase of corfs and candles	7.16. 0
		Purchase of mining tools	1.11.11
		Sinking and draining of 3 new pits	4. 6. 4
		Wages of the nightwatchmen	6. 0
		83 cartloads of coal going as tithes to the Dean of Auckland	4. 3. 0
Expenses at Grewburn	£ 36.16. 3[4]	Labour costs	£25.10. 4
		Corfs and candles	5. 7. 6
		Tools	1. 5.11
		Sinking of 2 pits	3.15. 6
		Anti-flooding device	17. 0
Fees and wages	£ 15. 4. 0	For the accountant as approver and bankman at Raby, including £1.6.8 for his servant	£ 8. 0. 0
		For the accountant as approver at Grewburn	2. 0. 0
		To his deputy, John Wharton, at 1/0d. per week	2.12. 0
		Food and drink allowance	2.12. 0

Allowance of 18/0d. for 18 cartloads of coal given as a reward to the Chaplain of the College of Auckland.
Allowance for 6/8d. given to the Audit Clerk for writing the account.

Total payments and allowances	- £139.18.10	
Remainder	- 148. 4. 2 5	Of which £100 had been delivered to Robert Chambre, clerk, Chancellor and Receiver-General, at the time of account.

Notes.

1 Church Commission MSS 190026.

2 Corf - wicker basket for carrying coal; contained 2 bushels and 2 perches, worth 8d.

3 Leaving a profit of £118.18. 1.

4 Leaving a profit of £39.14. 9.

5 This figure represents the profit from the year's enterprise.

APPENDIX XVII

Lead Proceeds, 1524-25

A Summary of the Account of William Frankleyn, Clerk, Surveyor of Lead-Mines in Weardale, 1524-25. [1]

Arrears - none.

Received from himself as Receiver-General, in order to buy lead-ore from the tenants of the High Forest of Weardale £160.18. 4

Received from Gilbert Middleton, merchant of Newcastle, for 30 loads of lead at £3.13. 4 each £110.

Total receipts £270.18. 4

Expenditure - £160.18. 4.

Purchase of 330 loads of lead-ore[2]	£97.10. 0
Carriage of the 330 loads of lead-ore from Weardale to the Balehills in the Parks of Wolsingham and Stanhope	14.12. 6
Cost of smelting the ore	25.10. 0
Carriage of 360 loads of fire-wood for smelting purposes out of Stanhope and Wolsingham Parks	6. 5.10
Carriage of 60 loads of lead from the Baylhills to Swalwell on the Tyne	13. 0. 0
Carriage of the 60 loads by water to Newcastle	1. 0. 0
Carriage of the 60 loads from the quayside to the weighhouse, and the cost of having them weighed	2. 0. 0
To the tenants for work on the bayls and watching of the ore	1. 0. 0

Paid to the Receiver-General by Gilbert Middleton - £110.
30 loads of lead in hand at the Sandhill in Newcastle.

Notes.

1 Church Commission MSS 190018.

2 One load of lead-ore weighed 60 stones. 6½ loads (or 390 stones) of lead-ore smelted down to 1 cartload (or 160 stones) of lead. Thus the 330 loads of lead-ore made 60 loads of lead.

APPENDIX XVIII

Stock-farming, 1514-1515.

A Summary of the Account of the Instaurer of Stockton, 1514-1515.[1]

Arrears	£ 57.10. 0	Working capital left over from the previous year.		
Sale of cattle	80.15. 0	8 infirm cattle	£ 7. 0	
		38 cows sold to various persons	20.18. 0	
		42 fat cattle delivered to the Steward of the Bishop's London Household	31.10. 0	*2
		10 fat cattle delivered to William Frankleyn, Treasurer to the Household, for the soldiers in Norham Castle	6. 0. 0	*
		40 fat cows delivered to the Steward in London	22. 0. 0	*
Farm of the herbage rights	22. 8. 4			
Farm of the pasture remaining in the Lord's hands	41.17. 0*			
Profit from agistments	5. 7. 4			
Sale of 240 sheep	31.10. 0			
Sale of 32 lambs	1.12. 0			
Sale of 91 stones of wool	12. 2. 8			
Sale of hides and skins	15. 3			
Gross receipts	253.17.11 3			
Allowance made for the rent of the land retained by the Bishop, and employed by the Instaurer for fattening his stock	41.17. 0			
Purchase of cattle and cows	67. 2. 0	60 cattle	£32.11. 4	
		80 cows	34.10. 8	
Purchase of 210 sheep	20. 8. 4			
Necessary expenses at Stockton and elsewhere	1.16. 0	For scouring a ditch	10. 0	
		Sheep shearing	7. 4	
		Paid to the shepherd in Weardale for recovering some stolen sheep from Hexham	3. 4	
Expenses of the Instaurer driving to London	3. 1. 1			

Cutting hay	£ 2. 0. 0		
Fees	5. 6. 8	Instaurer	£ 2. 0. 0
		Shepherd and stock-keeper	1. 6. 8
		2 shepherds at Burnhope	2. 0. 0
Value of the animals reserved for the Bishop's use	59.16.10	42 fat cattle and 40 fat cows sent to London	53.10. 0
		10 fat cattle sent to Norham	6. 0. 0

Sum total of expenses and allowances £201. 1. 1 4

Remaining in the hands of the Instaurer 52.16.10

Stock List

Cattle	3	remaining from the previous year		
	60	purchased		63
	10	sent to Norham Castle		
	42	sent to Durham House, London		
	6	died of disease		
	1	stolen at Bramham on the way to London		
	1	sold to some poor people at Newport		60
	3	remaining - 2 were bulls		3
Cows	2	remaining from the previous year		
	80	purchased		82
	78	sold or delivered for the Bishop's use		
	4	died of murrain		82
Sheep	Wethers[5]	210	purchased	
		654	home-reared	864
		240	sold	
		112	stolen in Weardale	
		5	died of murrain	357
		507	remaining - 107 at Stockton	507
	Biduae[6]	654	remaining from the previous year	
	Hoggets[7]	60	remaining from the previous year	60
	Ewes	38	remaining from the previous year	38

	16 died of murrain	16
	22 remaining	22
Lambs	32 from the 38 ewes	32
	32 sold	32

Notes.

1 Church Commission MSS 190250.

2 The asterisked receipts exist only on paper to facilitate an exact balance between the charge and discharge. The Instaurer did not in fact receive any payment for animals consumed by the episcopal household and garrison; nor did he receive any rent from land which he himself was using for grazing purposes.

3 Besides cash in hand (£57.10.4) actual receipts amounted to £95. 0. 7.

4 Allowances amounted to £101.13.10; £41.17. 0 being the rental value of the land used in the Instaurer's operations, and £59.16.10 being the market value of the animals reserved for the Bishop's use. Actual expenses amounted to £99. 7. 3; the purchase of livestock accounted for £87.10. 4, and wages and operational expenses for the remainder.

5 Wether - sheep in its fourth year.

6 Bidua - sheep in its third year. The 654 biduae are really ex-biduae; they are listed twice, as biduae and as wethers.

7 Hogget - sheep in its second year.

APPENDIX XIX

Arrears, 1509-1642.[1]

Bishop.	Year.	The Palatinate of Durham. £	Allertonshire. £	Howdenshire. £
Ruthall	1509		-	-
	1510			81
	1511	306?		
	1512	250?		
	1513	788	88	
	1514	1067		
	1515		136	246
	1518	1780		
	1519	1896	109	198
	1521	1436	111	224
	1522		129	263
	Ruthall died in February 1523.			
Wolsey.	There were no arrears at Durham. At Allerton and Howden they were insignificant.			
Tunstall.	1530	-	-	-
	1531	112	36	-
	1532	78	68	5
	1533	158	89	107
	1535	256		
	1536		95	138
	1537	453	92	106
	1538		30	116
	1539	408	67	-
	1540	436	48	-
	1541	389	44	-
	1542	513	54	6
	1543	477	65	18
	1544	598	33	38
	1545	478	66	-
	1546		125	-
	1547		80	-
	1548	766	108	-
	1549		177	-
	1550	976	111	-
	1551	992	77	-
	1552	1165	90	-
	1553	1810	107	32
	1554	1898	177	43
	1555	2002		39
	1556	1582	-	9
	1557			12
	1558	1614	57	15
	Tunstall died in November 1559.			

Bishop.	Year.	The Palatinate of Durham.	Allertonshire.	Howdenshire.
		£	£	£
Pilkington	1561	-	-	-
	1562	134	-	13
	1563	223	16	-
	1564	355	7	-
	1565	434		21
	1566	542	18	-
	1567		27	-
	1568	799		-
	1569	863		-
	1570	1049	37	41
	1571		19	8
	1572		28	-
	1573	1030	27	-
	1574		30	5
	1575	1178	43	22
	Pilkington died in January 1576.			
Barnes.	1577		-	-
	1578	126	12	29
	1579		14	47
	1580		24	58
	1581	1542	7	81
	1582		6	105
	1583		-	414
	1584		-	331
	1585	2477	-	236
	1586	2387		34
	Barnes died in August 1587.			
Hutton.	1590		1	64
	1591			97
	1592		15	203
	1593		23	25
	1594		31	-
	Hutton was translated to York in March 1595.			
Matthew.	1595	-	-	
	1596			25
	1597	73	28	-
	1598	290	-	
	1599	359	-	-
	1600	86	-	-
	1601	118	18	
	1602		18	33
	1603		18	41
	1604		18	141
	1605	100	18	-
	1606		18	-
	Matthew was translated to York in August 1606.			
James.	No information for Durham.			
	No arrears for Allerton.			
	Negligible arrears for Howden.			
Neile.	No information for Durham and Allerton.			
	Negligible arrears for Howden.			

Bishop.	Year.	The Palatinate of Durham. £
Howson	No information	
Morton.	1633	149
	1634	226
	1637	218
	1638	175
	1640	171
	1641	619
	1642	201

Notes.

1 This appendix has been compiled from the arrears brought forward sections which head the Receivers' Accounts.
A dash (-) denotes no arrears. A gap denotes no information.

APPENDIX XX.

The Receivers' Allowances, 1501-1641.[1]

Year.	The Palatinate of Durham. [2]	Howdenshire.[3]	Allertonshire.[4]	Total.
	£	£	£	£
1501			144	
1503		35		
1504		53		
1505		33		
1506		40		
1509	34	38	65	137
1513			82	
1514	87			
1515		47	83	
1518	39			
1519	71	44	85	200
1521	-	40	71	111
1522		40	75	
1523		36	65	
1524	3	36	73	112
1525	-	35		
1526		36	69	
1527	-	35	71	106
1528	-	37	71	108
1529	-	42	65	107
1530	-	56		
1531		53	68	
1532	-		67	
1533	-	86		
1535	9			
1536		58	69	
1537		56	71	
1538		66	69	
1539	99	65	71	235
1540	108	67	74	249
1541	91	66	70	227
1542	95	68	68	231
1543	78	82	124	284
1544	398	152	79	629
1545	114	115	80	309
1546		113	81	
1547	82	74	81	237
1548	82	78	81	241
1549		60	104	
1550	265	63	85	413
1551	77	58	106	241
1552	79	60	80	219
1553	79	59	81	219
1554	91	54	69	214
1555	484	51		
1556	313	51	79	443
1557		52		
1558	71	52	78	201
1559	71	53	79	203

Year.	The Palatinate of Durham.	Howdenshire.	Allertonshire.	Total.
	£	£	£	£
1560	33	53	79	165
1561	66	53		
1562	127	66	78	271
1563	79	52	85	216
1564		52	84	
1565	82	51		
1566	72	51	84	207
1567		51	80	
1568	72	51		
1569	75	51		
1570	22		75	
1571		51	75	
1572		51	75	
1573	22	51	75	148
1574		50	75	
1575	22	55	75	152
1577		-	2	
1578	33	1	2	36
1579		-	2	
1580		-	11	
1581	32	66	-	98
1582		14	-	
1583		-	-	
1584		5	-	
1585	125	-	2	127
1586	97	3		
1590	-	-	-	-
1591		-		
1592		4	2	
1593		4	2	
1594		5	7	
1595	-		7	
1596		7		
1597	11		27	
1598	9		25	
1599	9	7	21	37
1600	9		3	
1601	9	8	6	23
1602		12	9	
1603		16	5	
1604		72	10	
1605	9	9	14	32
1606		8	15	
1607	11	13	22	46
1609		9		
1610			30	
1611		14	31	
1612		8	10	
1613		7	15	
1614		7	10	
1615		7	18	
1616		11	27	
1617		7	21	
1618	15	8		
1621		7		
1626		12		
1631		7		

Year.	The Palatinate of Durham.	Howdenshire.	Allertonshire.	Total.
	£	£	£	£
1633	20	7	50	77
1634	20	22	84	126
1635		8		
1636			11	
1637	20		10	
1638	20	12	9	41
1639		13		
1640	20	9		
1641	20	13		

Notes.

1 Compiled from the three series of Receiver's Accounts.
A dash (-) denotes no allowances.
A gap signifies no information.

2 Between 1540 and 1587 part of the allowance was for pasture-land retained by the Bishop for his own use. Until 1569 it was valued on average at £70-£80 p.a. After that date its value dropped to between £22 and £33 p.a.

3 Rent was lost through pasture-land being put to the same use in Howdenshire between 1530 and 1550. Until 1537 it was valued at £12 p.a. The acreage was then increased until it was worth £19 p.a., until 1548, when it dropped in value to first £9, and then £5 p.a.
In the Howdenshire Receiver's Accounts there is a clearly identifiable section devoted to decayed rents. They were valued on average at £35 p.a. until the pontificate of Bishop Barnes (1577), when they were completely written off.

4 Decayed rents in Allertonshire have the same history. Until 1577 they stood at approximately £64 p.a.

APPENDIX XXI

Ordinary Expenditure, 1509-1641.[1]

1. The County Palatine of Durham.

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total[2]	Fees & Wages	Annuities	Routine Administrative Expenses	Repairs & Building Work	Other Disbursements[3]
		£	£	£	£	£	£
Ruthall	1509	260 (224)	181	10	33	30	6 LM
	1511	625 (273)	202	30	41	350	2 LM
	1512	708 (286)	208	30	48	250	172 I
	1514	521 (257)	181	30	46	165	99 I
	1518	519 (357)	245	20	91	123	39 LM
	1519	762 (347)	241	20	86	351	64 LM
	1521	394 (343)	246	10	87	51	
Wolsey	1524	239 (239)	198	20	21	-	
	1525	432 (242)	202	20	20	-	190 LM
	1527	256 (236)	196	20	20	-	20 LM
	1528	603 (331)	211	20	100	226	46 LM
	1529	317 (255)	205	10	40	62	
Tunstall	1530	394 (250)	201	20	29	144	
	1532	607 (263)	203	20	40	344	
	1533	462 (282)	215	20	47	180	
	1535	372 (300)	232	20	48	72	
	1539	640 (279)	226	20	33	361	
	1541	619 (285)	228	20	37	334	
	1542	536 (283)	225	20	38	253	
	1543	554 (290)	229	20	41	264	
	1544	540 (288)	228	20	40	252	
	1545	431 (288)	228	20	40	143	
	1547	398 (290)	228	20	42	111	
	1548	379 (290)	229	17	44	89	
	1550	590 (295)	231	17	47	295	
	1551	398 (298)	231	17	50	100	
	1552	325 (289)	223	17	49	36	
	1553	338 (292)	223	17	51	46	
	1554	489 (295)	232	17	46	194	
	1555	436 (296)	232	17	47	140	
	1556	432 (303)	233	17	53	129	
	1558	365 (290)	233	17	40	75	
	1559	413 (307)	247	17	43	106	
	1560	439 (384)	259	31	94	55	
Pilkington	1561	169 (154)	107	24	23	15	
	1562	307 (265)	220	24	21	42	
	1563	262 (249)	190	30	29	13	
	1565	259 (259)	211	30	18	-	
	1566	286 (286)	237	30	19	-	
	1568	241 (238)	189	30	19	3	

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total	Fees & Wages	Annuities	Routine Administrative Expenses	Repairs & Building Work	Other Disbursements
		£	£	£	£	£	£
	1569	185 (185)	143	19	23	-	
	1570	203 (203)	172	13	18	-	
	1573	208 (208)	179	12	17	-	
	1575	208 (207)	177	12	18	1	
Barnes	1581	237 (237)	208	14	15	-	
	1586	233 (233)	210	14	9	-	
Hutton	1590	217 (217)	204	4	9	-	
Matthew	1595	220 (220)	193	14	13	-	
	1597	222 (202)	175	14	13	1	19 CW
	1598	219 (201)	176	14	11	2	16 CW
	1599	219 (194)	138	14	42	-	25 CW
	1600	206 (182)	147	14	21	3	21 CW
	1601	206 (182)	157	14	11	1	23 CW
	1605	215 (208)	183	14	11	4	3 CW
James	1607	243 (238)	212	14	12	-	5 CW
Neale	1618	196 (183)	164	14	5	-	13 CW
Morton	1633	278 (239)	208	14	17	-	39 CW
	1634	255 (246)	216	14	16	-	9 CW
	1637	280 (254)	225	14	15	-	26 CW
	1638	280 (254)	225	14	15	-	26 CW
	1640	250 (231)	206	14	11	-	19 CW
	1641	232 (224)	199	14	11	-	8 CW

2. Howdenshire.

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total[2]	Fees & Wages	Annuities	Routine Administrative Expenses	Repairs & Building Work	Other Payments[4]
		£	£	£	£	£	£
Senhouse	1503	79 (26)	22		4	53	
	1504	147 (49)	37		12	98	
	1505	85 (59)	43		16	26	
	1506	79 (59)	44		15	20	
Ruthall	1509	84 (44)	32		12	40	
	1510	126 (46)	41		5	80	

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total	Fees & Wages	Annuities	Routine Administrative Expenses	Repairs & Building Work	Other Disbursements
		£	£	£	£	£	£
	1515	141 (51)	30		21	90	
	1519	95 (23)	18		5	72	
	1521	123 (37)	30		7	86	
	1522	120 (35)	28		7	85	
Wolsey	1523	103 (53)	42		11	50	
	1524	44 (44)	35		9	-	
	1525	118 (49)	35		14	69	
	1526	44 (44)	35		9	-	
	1527	44 (44)	35		9	-	
	1528	135 (44)	35		9	91	
	1529	149 (44)	35		9	105	
Tunstall	1530	230 (57)	42		15	173	
	1531	178 (64)	42		22	114	
	1532	196 (56)	42		14	140	
	1533	163 (64)	42		22	99	
	1536	169 (58)	42		16	111	
	1537	215 (71)	41		30	144	
	1538	207 (62)	42		20	145	
	1539	169 (53)	42		11	116	
	1540	185 (57)	42		15	128	
	1541	190 (56)	42		14	134	
	1542	179 (50)	42		8	129	
	1543	198 (53)	42		11	145	
	1544	169 (52)	42		10	117	
	1545	144 (50)	42		8	94	
	1546	148 (50)	42		8	98	
	1547	168 (80)	42	27	11	88	
	1548	177 (79)	42	27	10	98	
	1549	160 (81)	43	27	12	79	
	1550	181 (84)	42	27	15	97	
	1551	191 (76)	38	30	8	115	
	1552	174 (76)	38	33	5	98	
	1553	184 (76)	38	33	5	108	
	1554	220 (75)	38	33	4	145	
	1555	198 (76)	38	33	5	122	
	1556	195 (76)	38	33	5	119	
	1557	181 (72)	38	33	1	109	
	1558	136 (65)	38	20	7	71	
	1559	152 (76)	38	30	8	76	
	1560	192 (75)	38	30	7	117	
Pilkington	1561	119 (58)	38	16	4	61	
	1562	151 (73)	38	30	5	78	
	1563	167 (72)	38	30	4	95	
	1564	157 (69)	35	30	4	88	

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total	Fees & Wages	Annuities	Routine Administrative Expenses	Repairs & Building Work	Other Disbursements
		£	£	£	£	£	£
	1565	190 (76)	38	33	5	114	
	1566	222 (72)	38	30	4	150	
	1567	156 (72)	38	30	4	84	
	1568	149 (72)	38	30	4	77	
	1569	127 (59)	32	23	4	68	
	1570	127 (71)	38	30	3	56	
	1571	160 (70)	34	30	6	90	
	1572	141 (75)	41	30	4	66	
	1573	145 (62)	35	23	4	83	
	1574	133 (76)	33	36	7	57	
	1575	149 (77)	42	30	5	72	
Barnes	1577	130 (47)	30	10	7	83	
	1578	114 (52)	22	25	7	62	
	1579	124 (58)	33	10	15	66	
	1580	152 (57)	27	23	7	95	
	1581	165 (63)	33	23	7	72	30 S
	1583	203 (82)	29	38	15	92	29 S
	1584	204 (98)	31	61	6	72	34 S
	1585	176 (85)	31	30	24	91	-
	1586	234 (96)	35	30	31	96	42 S
Hutton	1591	103 (40)	31	6	3	62	
	1592	139 (43)	35	6	2	96	
	1593	108 (42)	35	6	1	66	
	1594	95 (44)	36	6	2	51	
Matthew	1596	149 (45)	37	6	2	104	
	1601	92 (15)	12		3	77	
	1602	137 (39)	18		21	98	
	1603	72 (12)	12		-	60	
	1604	81 (11)	11		-	70	
	1605	116 (29)	22		7	87	
James	1607	101 (36)	34		2	65	
	1609	190 (36)	35		1	154	
	1611	141 (38)	36		2	103	
	1612	128 (48)	36		12	80	
	1613	144 (34)	33		1	110	
	1614	118 (38)	36		2	80	
	1615	198 (34)	33		1	164	
	1616	207 (35)	33		2	172	
Neale	1617	129 (33)	30		3	96	
	1618	191 (34)	30		4	57	
	1621	105 (19)	16		3	86	
	1626	128 (22)	18		4	106	
Howson	1631	138 (28)	25		3	110	

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total	Fees & Wages	Annuities	Routine Administrative Expenses	Repairs & Building Work
		£	£	£	£	£
Morton	1633	104 (26)	23		3	78
	1634	220 (36)	30		6	184
	1635	105 (29)	23		6	76
	1638	280 (30)	30		-	250
	1639	202 (33)	26		7	169

3. Allertonshire.

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total[2]	Fees & Wages[5]	Routine Administrative Expenses.	Repairs
		£	£	£	£
	1501	37 (35)	25	10	2
Ruthall	1513	34 (32)	25	7	2
	1515	36 (32)	25	7	4
	1519	30 (28)	25	3	2
	1521	32 (29)	25	5	3
	1522	20 (17)	15	2	3
Wolsey	1523	17 (17)	15	2	-
	1524	27 (27)	25	2	-
	1526	27 (27)	25	2	-
	1527	30 (30)	25	5	-
	1528	27 (27)	25	2	-
	1529	27 (27)	25	2	-
Tunstall	1530	29 (29)	25	4	-
	1531	31 (27)	25	2	4
	1532	25 (25)	23	2	-
	1533	27 (27)	24	3	-
	1536	29 (27)	25	2	2
	1537	31 (28)	25	3	3
	1538	28 (28)	25	3	-
	1539	29 (25)	25	-	4
	1540	35 (29)	25	4	6
	1541	30 (30)	25	5	-
	1542	25 (25)	25	-	-
	1543	28 (25)	25	-	3
	1544	25 (25)	25	-	-
	1545	27 (25)	25	-	2
	1546	26 (25)	25	-	1
	1547	27 (24)	24	-	3
	1548	29 (25)	25	-	4
	1549	27 (27)	25	2	-
	1550	29 (29)	25	4	-
	1551	27 (26)	26	-	1
	1552	29 (26)	25	1	3
	1553	27 (27)	25	2	-
	1556	19 (19)	15	4	-

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total £	Fees & Wages £	Routine Administrative Expenses £	Repairs £
	1558	17 (17)	15	2	-
	1559	26 (25)	25	-	1
	1560	31 (31)	29 A	2	
Pilkington	1562	25 (25)	25		-
	1563	29 (29)	29 A		-
	1564	29 (29)	29 A		-
	1566	29 (29)	29 A		-
	1567	24 (24)	24		-
	1570	41 (29)	29 A		12
	1571	25 (25)	25		-
	1572	33 (33)	33 AA		-
	1573	32 (29)	29 A		3
	1574	27 (27)	27		-
	1575	23 (23)	23		-
Bowes	1577	23 (23)	23	-	
	1578	19 (19)	19	-	
	1579	24 (24)	19	5	
	1580	33 (30)	27	3	3
	1581	24 (23)	23	-	1
	1582	23 (23)	23	-	-
	1583	25 (23)	23	-	2
	1584	25 (25)	25	-	-
	1585	15 (15)	15	-	-
Hutton	1590	25 (25)	25		
	1592	26 (26)	26		
	1593	29 (29)	26	3	
	1594	31 (31)	31 A		
Matthew	1595	26 (26)	26	-	
	1597	39 (39)	26	13	
	1598	26 (26)	26	-	
	1599	26 (26)	26	-	
	1600	24 (24)	24	-	
	1601	32 (32)	28	4	
	1602	26 (26)	26	-	
	1603	26 (26)	26	-	
	1604	26 (26)	26	-	
	1605	26 (26)	26	-	
James	1607	26 (26)	26		
	1610	26 (26)	26		
	1611	26 (26)	26		
	1612	26 (26)	26		
	1613	26 (26)	26		
	1614	26 (26)	26		
	1615	26 (26)	26		
	1616	26 (26)	26		
Neile	1617	18 (18)	18		

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total	Fees & Wages	Routine Administrative Expenses	Repairs
		£	£	£	£
Morton	1633	23 (23)	23	-	
	1634	23 (23)	23	-	
	1636	23 (23)	23	-	
	1637	25 (23)	23	2	
	1638	25 (23)	23	2	

4. Craike.

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total[2]	Fees & Wages.	Routine Administrative Expenses	Repairs
		£	£	£	£
	1501	11 (11)	10	1	-
Senhouse	1503	12 (9)	7	2	3
	1506	12 (12)	10	2	-
Ruthall	1509	10 (10)	10	-	-
	1512	18 (4)	3	1	14
	1514	11 (10½)	10	½	½
	1515	11 (10½)	10	½	½
	1517	11 (11)	10	1	-
	1518	17 (11)	10	1	6
	1520	13 (11)	10	1	2
	1521	9 (7)	6	1	2
Wolsey	1523	12 (11)	10	1	1
	1524	10 (10)	10	-	-
	1525	17 (11)	10	1	6
	1526	10 (10)	10	-	-
	1527	11 (11)	10	1	-
	1529	15 (11)	10	1	4
Tunstall	1530	10 (10)	10	-	-
	1531	17 (13)	10	3	4
	1532	14 (12)	10	2	2
	1533	12 (11)	10	1	1
	1536	12 (11)	10	1	1
	1537	15 (11)	10	1	4
	1538	12 (11)	10	1	1
	1539	13 (11)	10	1	2
	1540	13 (12)	10	2	1
	1541	13 (11)	10	1	2
	1542	13 (11)	10	1	2
	1544	12 (11)	10	1	1
	1545	12 (11)	10	1	1
	1546	12 (11)	10	1	1
	1547	12 (11)	10	1	1
	1548	14 (11)	10	1	3
	1549	12 (11)	10	1	1

Bishop.	Year.	Sum Total	Fees & Wages.	Routine Administrative Expenses	Repairs
		£	£	£	£
	1550	22 (11)	10	1	11
	1551	13 (12)	10	2	1
	1552	13 (12)	10	2	1
	1553	13 (11)	10	1	2
	1554	13 (11½)	10	1½	1½
	1555	14 (11)	10	1	3
	1556	26 (12)	10	2	14
	1557	35 (12)	10	2	23
	1558	26 (11)	10	1	15
	1559	13 (12)	10	2	1
Pilkington	1561	12 (12)	10	2	
	1562	12 (12)	10	2	
	1563	12 (12)	10	2	
	1564	12 (12)	10	2	
	1565	11 (11)	10	1	
	1566	12 (12)	10	2	
	1567	12 (12)	10	2	
	1569	12 (12)	10	2	
	1570	11 (11)	10	1	
	1571	12 (12)	10	2	
	1574	12 (12)	10	2	
	1576	11 (11)	10	1	
Barnes	1577	12 (12)	10	2	
	1579	11 (11)	10	1	
	1581	10 (10)	10	-	
	1582	12 (12)	10	2	
	1583	7 (7)	6	1	
	1584	15 (15)	14	1	
	1585	12 (12)	10	2	
	1586	12 (12)	10	2	

Notes.

1 Compiled from the Receivers' Accounts. A dash (-) indicates that no disbursement was made over £1.

2 The figure in brackets denotes the sum total minus the cost of building operations and repairs and other disbursements; i.e., it represents the cost of running the administration.

3 LM = capital invested in lead-smelting enterprises.
I = the Instaurer's working capital.
CW = money spent on the purchase and carriage of wood and coal.

4 S = money allocated for the purchase of spices.

5 A = the inclusion of an annuity.

APPENDIX XXII

Clerk of Works Account, 1511.[1]

Charge.	£ 7. 1.10	money remaining in the hands of the Clerk of Works from the last financial year.
	163. 0. 7	received from the Receiver-General at various times; as recorded in the Book of Great Receipt.
	4.18. 8	sale of tops, lops and bark - 2
	£3. 5. 4	from 176 trees felled in Frankland Wood for the repair of mills;
	1.13. 4	from 20 trees felled in Birtley Wood for the repair of the manor and mill of North Auckland.
	£175. 1. 1	total charge.

Discharge.	£129.18.10	customary repairs -	
		£16. 5. 8	Durham mill-pond;
		8. 9. 0½	Durham mill-pond;
		12. 5. 2½	A great weir on the R. Wear;
		2. 6. 7	A weir at Bishop's Meadows, near Frankland Wood;
		40. 4. 9½	Bishop Auckland manor;
		2.19. 9	Darlington manor;
		16. 0	Ryhope mill;
		13.10	Ryton mill;
		1. 9. 2	Gateshead mill;
		9. 6	Darlington common oven;
		4. 0	Darlington mill;
		2.12. 4½	Blackwell mill;
		2 1. 8	Ricknall mill;
		2. 0	West Auckland mill;
		1. 5. 4	North Auckland mill;
		4. 0	Bishop Wearmouth mill;
		3.12. 9½	Sedgefield mill;
		1.18.10	Norton mill;
		5. 4	Stockton manor;
		7. 6	Wolsingham mill;
		7.11	Lanchester mill;
		9.19. 8	North Auckland fulling mill;
		2. 6. 6	Bolam mill;
		10. 8	Stanhope mill;
		5. 0. 0	the Mint;
		2. 0	Newbottle mill;
		2.16. 7½	Chester-le-Street mill;
		3.14. 8	the great stable in Durham Castle;
		1. 1.10	the chancel of Stanfordham church;
		2. 8	Durham mill.
	3. 3.10½	119 stone, 5 lbs. of iron purchased in Weardale.	
	1.19. 0	for the working of the iron.	
	7. 6. 8	mill-ponds -	

	£2. 0. 0 Ryhope; 3. 6. 8 North Auckland; 2. 0. 0 Easington.
5. 0	farm of a close, in order to carry timber through it, from Frankland Wood, to repair the mill-pond at Durham.
14.13. 4	money paid to the Surveyor of the Bishop's coal-mines at Gateshead.
152. 5.10	total expenses.
22.15. 3	remainder, charged against the Clerk of Works.
6. 8	paid to the Audit Clerk for compiling the account.
22. 8. 7	remainder - £11.13.11 in the hands of the Clerk of Works; 11. 1. 4 still owing from the sale of wood.

Notes.

1 A summary of the Clerk of Works Account dated 14 February - 15 November 1511 (Church Commission MSS 190052).

2 i.e., those parts of a tree which could not be used in repair and construction work.

APPENDIX XXIII

Payments made in 1594-95 by Michael Calverley, the Clerk of Great Receipt 1

Payments to the Judges of Assize.

To Mr Justice Beamonde and Mr Sargion Drew, 6 August 1595, by my Lord's commandment	£20. 0. 0
To their Servaunts the same daye	6. 8
To Mr William Barnes for the dyett of the saide Judges at Darlington, as appeareth by his Bill of 9 August	2. 0. 0
Total -	£22. 6. 8

Fees paid for Pentecost term 1595.

To Mr John Barnes, 23 June 1595, for his fee for one half yere ended at Pentecost last, as appeareth by Mr Auditor's Debenter, and the saide Mr Barnes his Acquittaunce; videlicet, for the clarkshippe of the Chauncery - £1; for the clarkshippe of the peace - £1.10. 0; and for th'office of the clarkshippe of the justices at Duresme - £2	4.10. 0
To Mr William Barnes, 25 June 1595, for his half yeres fee of the Balliwicke of Darlington, etc	2.10. 0
To William Rannson, Bailif of Craike, by thands of John Richardson, 26 June 1595, for his half yeres fee, etc	3.16. 0
To Mr John Bath, Auditor, for his half yeres fee, as appeareth by his Acquittaunce of 26 June 1595.	
To Mr Robert Tailboys, 28 June 1595, for his half yeres fee of th'office of th'attorney generall and Custos Rotulorum, etc	2.10. 0
To Thomas Leaver, keeper of Aucklande parke, 19 July 1595, etc	2. 5. 6
To Ralph Trotter, 20 August 1595, for his half yeres fee as one of the keepers of Stanhoppe parke in Weredaile, etc	1.10. 0
Total -	£27. 1. 6

Fees paid during the terms of Michaelmas and Martinmas.

To Mr Henry Lindley, 19 November 1595, by th'andes of Richard Bowtflower, for his whole yeres fee ended at Michaelmas last, for the connstableshippe of the Castle of Durham, etc	14. 0. 0
To William Vaux, 16 November 1595, for his whole yeres fee of the Master Forestershippe of Weredaile forrest, ended at Martinmas last, etc	6.13. 4
To Mr John Conyers Esq, high Sheriffe of the Countye pallatine of Durham, by th'andes of Mr Robert Robson, undersheriff, 22 November 1595, for his two half yeres fees, ended at Pentecost and Martinmas last, etc, as appeareth by the saide Mr Robson his Acquittaunce	20. 0. 0
To Mr. James Calfhill, Master of the Grammar Schoole in Durham, for his whole yeres fee ended at Martinmas last, etc	2. 0. 0

	£	s	d
To John Rangell, Master of the Pettyeschoole in Durham, 22 November 1595, for his whole yeres fee	2.	0.	0
To Mr William Barnes, 26 November 1595, for his half yeres fee of the Balliwicke of Darlington, ended at Martinmas last	2.	10.	0
To Christopher Skepper, 28 November 1595, Clarke of the Halmott Courts in the Bushoppricke of Duresme, with Bedlington and Bedlingtonshire, for his whole yeres fee, etc	3.	13.	4
To Thomas Leaver, keeper of Aucklande parke, 29 November 1595, for his half yeres fee, etc	2.	5.	6
To Ralph Meadowes, keeper of Frauncklin woodde, 29 November 1595, for his whole yeres fee, etc	2.	17.	0
To William Baker, Bailiff or Messinger of the Exchequer in Durham, 29 November 1595, for his whole yeres fee, ended at Martinmas last, £2. And for the keepershippe of Benfeildside nigh Lanchester, 10/0d., etc	2.	10.	0
To Mr John Bathe, Auditor, 27 November 1595, for his half yeres fee, etc.	10.	0.	0
To Mr Richard Stephens, Stewarde of the Brough of Stockton, 1 December 1595, for his whole yeres fee, etc		13.	4
To Mr Henry Parkinson, Bailiff of Cottam Mundivell, by th'andes of Richard Aickrigge, 3 December 1595, for his whole yeres fee	2.	13.	4
To Mr John Barnes, 2 December 1595, for his half yeres fee for the clarkshippe of the Chauncery, etc	4.	10.	0
To Mr Robert Tailboys, 4 December 1595, for his half yeres fee for the office of the attorney generall, etc	2.	10.	0
To Mr Barnaby Pilkington, Bailiff of Stockton, 1 December 1595, for his whole yeres fee	6.	13.	4
To William Rannson, Bailiffe of Craike, 5 November 1595, for his half yeres fee, etc	3.	16.	0
To George Emerson, 1 December 1595, Collector of the Rents of the high Forrest of Weredaile, for his whole yeres fee	2.	0.	0
To John Robson, pallicer of the parke of Bishop Aucklande, 6 December 1595, for his whole yeres fee	1.	10.	4
To George Simpson, 6 December 1595, for his whole yeres fee for the keepershippe of Couckborne nigh Chester - 13/4d.; and for the Ballywicke of Chester - £1.6.4, etc	2.	0.	0
To Mr Thomas Calverlie Esq, 6 December 1595, Stewarde of the Halmott Courts within the Bushoppricke of Duresme, for his whole yeres fee, etc	20.	0.	0
To Ralph Trotter th'elder, 9 December 1595, one of the keepers of Stanhope parke in Weredaile, for his half yeres fee, etc	1.	10.	4
To Gregory Butler, 13 December 1595, for his whole yeres fee etc, for the Coronershippe of Stockton Warde - £1; for the collectorshippe of Norton - £1.6.8; and for the Stewardshippe of the Brough of Bishop Aucklande - 13/4d.	3.	0.	0
To Henry Mawgham, 15 December 1595, keeper of the Orcharde and Garden at Aucklande, for his whole yeres fee, etc	2.	0.	0
To Mr Thomas Ogle, 19 December 1595, Stewarde of Bedlington, for his whole yeres fee, etc	2.	0.	0
To George Emerson and Thomas Shawe, Bailiffs of Stanhoppe, for one whole yeres fee, etc	2.	0.	0
To the saide George Emerson, 20 December 1595, one of the keepers of Stanhoppe parke in Weredaile, for one whole yeres fee, etc	2.	5.	6

	£ s d
To John Stobbes, 2 January 1595, one of the foresters of Roughside in Weredaile, for one whole yeres fee, etc	1. 0. 0
To George Maison, gentleman, 8 January 1595, forester of Birckley, for his whole yeres fee, etc	1.10. 4
To Christopher Atthee, gentleman, 10 January 1595, for his whole yeres fee of the Coronershippe of Darlington warde, etc	6.13. 4
To the saide Mr Atthee the same daie, for his whole fee of the Clarkshipp of the workes	5. 0. 0
Total of fees for Martinmas term -	£141.15. 0

Still more Fees.

To Matthew Hutton, Bailiff of North Aucklande, for his whole yeres fee etc, 6 February 1595	5. 0. 0
To George Dixon, Bailiff of Eavenwoodde, for his whole yeres fee	13. 4
To Michael Calverlie, coroner of Chester Warde, for his whole yeres fee	4. 0. 0
To Ralph Trotter the younger, for his fee, 5 March 1595	1.10. 0
To Lancelot Lambe, Bailiff of Linesacke, for his whole yeres fee	1. 6. 8
To Mr Thomas Fox, Stewarde at Craike, for his whole yeres fee, etc	2.13. 4
Total -	15.13. 4

Necessary Expences.

To Mr Henry Sanderson of Newcastle, 23 June 1595, to buy Necessaryes at London, by my Lord's Commaundment	12. 0. 0
To my Master by John Sclator, 25 June 1595	20. 0. 0
To William Stocke, 26 June 1595, and by him to Thomas Leaver, for payinge of Charges at Aucklande, in gettinge in of Cooles there	4. 0. 0
To William Eden of Newcastle, 26 June 1595, by th'andes of Ralph Downes, for 3 hogesheades of Gascoigne wyne, at £5 a Hogesheade	15. 0. 0
To William Baker, to buy certaine provisions at Newcastle, by my Master's Comaundment, 26 June 1595	6. 0. 0
To John Richardson, for his charges to Hoveden in June and Julie 1595, as appeareth by a Bill under his hande, 13 July 1595	4. 4. 9
To William Baker, 13 July 1595, to buy yron at Newcastle	1.10. 0
To the poore, and in rewards, at Stockton, Newcastle, and Durham, as appeareth by a Bill thereof, 15 July 1595	4. 0.10
To Mr Toby Matthewe, 21 July 1595, My Lord's Surveyor, by his Lordshippe's comaundment, as appeareth by his hande in my booke	1. 0. 0
To one Swynnerton, 22 July 1595, that came from Litchfeilde, in rewardes, by my Lord's comaundment	10. 0
To the Tenauntes of Escombe, 2 August 1595, for leadinge 138 loades of woodde to Aucklande, at 4d - £2.6.0; and for 122 loades of coales at 10d - £5.1.8; as appeareth by a Bill under Mr Stewarde's hande	7. 7. 8

	£	s	d
To Witton the carryer, 2 August 1595, for 2 skins of ffoynes to my Lord		8.	0
To Henry Fawdon, the same daie, for goeinge to Mr Lawsons of Brough with my Lord's letter		1.	6
To Mr Hillyarde, 1 August 1595, for his Councell at Durham, by my Lord's comaundment	2.	0.	0
To a Pursivant that brought downe writts from London, delivered to the undersheriff, 6 August 1595		3.	4
To John Sclator the same daie, to pay at Newcastle for th'impost of your Lordshippe's wyne	4.	10.	0
To John Gill, 14 August 1595, for a Capias versus Tiplady, as appeareth by a Bill under Gill's hande		5.	6
To the poore at Brancepeth, and by the way, 17 August 1595		2.	11
To Henry Fawdon, 21 August 1595, for caryinge of my Lord's letter to Mr Fothergill at Yorke		3.	4
At Hollingbush, 22 August 1595, to the collyers, and for makeinge the gate fast there			10
To Mr Hutton, for his fee versus Lampton		6	8
To John Cooke, a poore scholler, at his goinge to Cambridge, by my Lord's comaundment	1.	0.	0
To Mr Theaker's man, 28 August 1595, by my Lord's comaundment	1.	0.	0
To one John Walker the same daie, that brought a booke from Mr Thomas Bell		5.	0
To the saide Walker the same daie, and by him to be given to the said Mr Bell, by my Lord's comaundment	2.	0.	0
To John Dixon the cooke, 13 September 1595, for his half yeres waidges, ended at Michaelmas last	1.	13.	4
To Mr Toby Matthewe, 14 September 1595, towardes his charges in his Survey, as appeareth by his hande in my booke	1.	0.	0
For a pounde of red wax to my Lord		1.	8
To Mr Toby Matthewe, 17 September 1595, towardes his charge in his saide Survey, as appeareth by a Bill under his Lordshippe's hand		10.	0
To John Richardson, 25 September 1595, in charges for his journey to Yorke, as appeareth by a Bill signed by your Lordshippe	1.	11.	10
To Mr Toby Matthewe, for charges in his Survey, as appeareth by a Bill thereof signed by your Lordshippe's hande, 27 September 1595		6.	8
To Sir James Dalbye, 29 September 1595, towardes his expenses from Hoveden	1.	0.	0
To the poor, 28 August 1595		3.	4
For 3 quires of paper to your Lordshippe, 3 October 1595		1.	0
To one Wolf, a Bristoll man, 1 October 1595, by your Lordshippe's comaundment		3.	4
To weadow Harrison of Byers grane, with a Passport, by your Lordshippe's comaundment, 12 October 1595		2.	0
To Mr B. Pilkington which Mr Stephens borrowed of him for your Lordshippe's use at Whitborne, and disbursed about the wreck there, 18 August 1595	2.	0.	0
To John Wall's man, for cariage of a private letter			6
To Mr John Richardson, by my Lord's comaundment, in charges for his journey to Hoveden, as appeareth by a Bill thereof under his hande, 29 October 1595	3.	10.	4

	£	s	d
To the Tenauntes of Newton Capp, 15 November 1595, for leadinge 36 loads of coales to Aucklande, at 10d the loade; as appeareth by a Bill thereof under Mr Stewarde's hande	1.	10.	0
To the tenaunts of Coundon, 15 November 1595, for leadinge 10 skore and seaven fothers of woodde from Aucklande parke to the Mannor of Aucklande at 4d a fother - £3.9.0; and for 101 fothers of cooles from Carterthorne to the saide Mannor of Aucklande at 10d - £4.4.2; as appeareth by a note under Mr Stewarde's hande	7.	13.	2
To Mr John Barnes, Clarke of the Chauncery, for Allowaunce of paper, parchment, ynke, and other Disbursements there; as appeareth by a Bill thereof; 4 December 1595, signed by your Lordshippe	9.	0.	0
To Agnes Newton, 4 December 1595, for makeinge the fyers in the Exchequer; as appeareth by her Bill under Mr Auditor's hande		4.	8
To the waites of Durham the same day as heretofore hath bene used; as appeareth by a Bill thereof under Mr Auditor's hande		1.	4
To Mr Henry Smith for 94 loades of cooles at 4d, had at his pitts since Whitsonday last, as appeareth by a Bill thereof under Mr Stewarde's hande	4.	18.	0
To the saide Mr Smith, which he payed to Mr Anthonie Hutton for wayleave, as hath bene heretofore accustomed		10.	0
Charges payed out in the Survey taken in the Bushoppricke of Durham, Hoveden, Craike, and North Alverton this yere, 1595, with some other charges in that Bill contayned; as appeareth by the same Bill signed with your Lordshippe's hande	11.	19.	8
To one that brought a letter to your Lordshippe from the Maire of Newcastle, 18 December 1595		2.	0
To Cuthbert Watson, deputie Bailiffe of Bedlington, 19 December 1595, for the Court Dinner there holden, 21 October last, by Mr Thomas Ogle, Stewarde; as appeareth by his note under the clarke's hande of that Court	1.	14.	0
To the Tenaunts of Bishop Aucklande, 20 December 1595, for leading 20 loades of woodde at 4d - 6/8d; and 30 loades of coales at 10d - £1.5.0; as appeareth by a Bill thereof under Mr Stewarde's hande	1.	11.	7
To Thomas Pearson, merchant, 21 December 1595, by my master's comaundment, for wayres had of him; as appeareth by the said Thomas Pearson's Bill	2.	18.	4
To William Baker, 7 January 1595, for the Sessions Dinner, to your Lordshippe's other Justices, and your Lordshippe, and their Retenew; as appeareth by a Bill thereof	2.	18.	2
To the poore that daie, by my Lord's comaundment		10.	0
To John Rande, 23 January 1595, for 4 gilt daggers which he delivered to my Lord at Aucklande	1.	4.	0
To John Rande, by my Lord's comaundment, £215 for London, as appeareth by John Rande his acquittance	215.	0.	0
My charges to Alnewicke, by my Lord's comaundment		6.	8
My charges to Newcastle, for the delivery of the saide Money to John Rande		2.	6

	£	s	d
My man's charges at Newcastle in chaunginge £100 of the saide Money into golde		1.	9
Total -	362.	15.	3

Of which £136.5.3 figures in the account of Henry Appleton, gentleman, Steward of the Household.

Still Necessarie Expences.

To Mr Michael Heath, to paie to Mr Pubbert - £30; and to Mr Thomas Lawson - £20	50.	0.	0
To Thomas Towers by your Lordshippe's comaundment		10.	0
For paper used in your Lordshippe's Accompts		6.	8
To Mr Auditor - Pentecost term	1.	6.	8
To the saide Mr Auditor for paper		11.	0
To John Richardson for paper	1.	3.	0
To Mr. Auditor for his horsemeat at the time of the Audit	1.	6.	8
To the Receiver for his horsemeat		13.	4
To Mr Auditor for his grene Cloth		5.	0
And to him for a Bagge			8
Total -	56.	3.	0

Money payed to Abel Birch, late Clarke of your Lordshippe's Kitchinge, as appeareth by his hande in my booke. As also to Mr Henry Appleton, Steward of your Lordshippe's householde, as appeareth by an Indenture under his hande.

To Abel Birch, 23 June 1595	6.	0.	0
To William Stocke, the last of June 1595, to be by him payed to the saide Clarke	4.	0.	0
To the saide William Stocke, 3 July 1595, to be by him payed to the saide Clarke	6.	0.	0
To the Clarke himself, 9 July 1595	10.	0.	0
To the Clarke himself, 21 July 1595	10.	0.	0
And to himself, 2 August 1595	20.	0.	0
To Mr Henry Appleton, Stewarde, 23 July 1595	30.	0.	0
To the saide Mr Henry Appleton, 26 July 1595	20.	0.	0
To him, 9 August 1595	10.	0.	0
To him, 13 August 1595	20.	0.	0
To him, 28 August 1595	20.	0.	0
To him, 9 September 1595	30.	0.	0
To him, 1 October 1595	36.	0.	0
And to him, 6 October 1595	10.	0.	0
Total -	232.	0.	0

Money payed and delivered to my Lord himself.

To John Sclator, at my Lord's comaundment, 16 July 1595; and by him delivered to his Lordshippe, as appeareth by Sclator's hande at my Booke	280.	0.	0
To my Lord in Gold, 17 September 1595, by th'andes of Richard Lax	3.	0.	0
To my Lord, 1 October 1595, which his Lordshippe gave to Mr Pepper	2.	0.	0

	£ s d
To my Lord, 2 October 1595, and by his Lordshippe to William Savile, Mr Cowper, and William Savile's man	2. 5. 0
To my Lord at severall times, as appeareth by his Lordshippe's Bill	460. 0. 0
To my Lord himself, 12 January 1595, by th'andes of Edward Ewbancke	20. 0. 0
Total -	767. 5. 0

Afterwards.

To my Lord himself, 19 February 1595, for the pencions payed by Mr Dethicke; as appeareth by his Lordshippe's booke	18. 0. 0

Money payed to her Majestie.

To Mr William Clopton Esq, her Majestie's generall Receyver in the Countye of Northumberlande, the Busshoppricke of Duresme etc; by th'andes of John Rangell; for the Annuity or Pencion dew to her Majestie at Pentecost last, out of the Busshoppricke of Durham; as appeareth by a Bill thereof, 9 July 1595, under the saide Clopton's hande and seale	385. 0. 0
To the saide Mr William Clopton, by th'andes of the saide John Rangell, 28 November 1595, for her saide Majestie, dew at Martinmas last, etc=	385. 0. 0
To the saide Mr William Clopton, by th'andes of Edward Ewbancke, as appeareth by Mr Clopton his Acquittaunce	55. 0. 0
Total -	825. 0. 0

The Tenthes and Subsidyes payed for the Deanery of Duresme and the Rectory of Bishop Weremouth. 2

To Mr William Clopton, by th'andes of Stephen Pegge, 3 October 1595, for the Subsidy of the Deanery of Durham, due 2 October 1594	26.12. 0
To him for the Subsidy of Bishop Weremouth then due	8. 0. 0
To him for the Tenthes of Bishop Weremouth due at Christmas 1594	8.19. 9¾
To him for the Subsidy of the saide Deanery due 19 February 1594	26.12. 0
And to him for the Subsidy of Bishop Weremouth then due	8. 0. 0
Total	78. 3. 9¾
Total payed out by the Receiver	2456. 7. 2¾
Paid out more than he received	8.19. 8¾

Notes.

1 Church Commission MSS 220184.

2 Bishop Matthew had been Dean of Durham before translation to the Bishopric.

APPENDIX XXIV

The Net Income of the Bishops of Durham, 1501-1641.

Money at the Disposal of the Bishop after the Demands of Routine Expenditure had been met.

Year.	The County Palatine.	Howdenshire.	Allertonshire.	Craike.	Sum Total.
	£	£	£	£	£
1501			310	26	
1503		344		14	
1504		229			
1505		378			
1506		269		20	
1509	2090	311	189	19	2609
1510		319			
1511	2026				
1512	2164			35	
1513			232		
1514	2436			26	
1515		465	270	49	
1517				26	
1518	2198			43	
1519	2023	348	235		
1520				32	
1521	2421	316	215	33	2985
1522		357	291	46	
1523		359	202	36	
1524	2386	428	280	37	3131
1525	2049	342		34	
1526		428	172	34	
1527	2101	432	212	33	2769
1528	2149	330	235		
1529	2176	313	190	35	2714
1530	2195	219	196	29	2639
1531		279	202	36	
1532	1922	209	216	28	2375
1533	2142	208	240	51	2641
1535	2155				
1536		317	240	42	
1537		222	293	17	
1538		238	200	34	
1539	1940	267	247	25	2479
1540	2206	257	237	48	2748
1541	1812	246	223	38	2319
1542	2125	260	246	39	2670
1543	2005	215	213		
1544	1921	229	203	38	2391
1545	2117	247	166	38	2568
1546		242	270	39	
1547	1936	268	196	39	2439
1548	2047	263	179	37	2526
1549		282	266	39	
1550	1815	264	278	28	2325
1551	2086	257	184	39	2566
1552	1680	232	206	38	2156

Year.	The County Palatine.	Howdenshire.	Allertonshire.	Craike.	Sum Total
	£	£	£	£	£
1553	2110	245	158	36	2549
1554	1894	212	277	39	2422
1555	2029	292		38	
1556	1999	265	211	23	2498
1557		265		19	
1558	2173	320	183	24	2700
1559	1797	326	29	36	2188
1560	2099	270	100		
1561	2097	325		38	
1562	2116	301	223	41	2681
1563	2185	313	235	42	2775
1564		290	215	37	
1565	2159	297		39	
1566	2140	244	218	38	2640
1567		312	235		
1568	2335	315			
1569	2173	290			
1570	2138	372	235		2745
1571		318	228		
1572		331	203		
1573	2317	317	218		2852
1574		319	244		
1575	2459	268	242		2969
1577		324	223		
1578	2354	350	235		2939
1579		360	225		
1580		305	228		
1581	2298	200	233		2731
1582		68	236		
1583		360	234		
1584		368	235		
1585	2386	508	236		3130
1586	2315	80			
1590	2092	365	227		2684
1591		269			
1592		517	230		
1593		142	233		
1594		380	232		
1595	2364		242		
1596		324			
1597	2290		220		
1598	2257		235		
1599	2014	385	237		2636
1600	2273		239		
1601	2367	325	243		2935
1602		340	245		
1603		308	235		
1604		478	234		
1605	2296	354	233		2883
1606		378	215		
1607	2192	351	230		2773
1609		101			

Year.	The County Palatine.	Howdenshire.	Allertonshire.	Craike.	Sum Total.
	£	£	£	£	£
1610			224		
1611		326	220		
1612		358	235		
1613		337	264		
1614		351	243		
1615		286	247		
1616		261	239		
1617		342	241		
1618	2179	379			
1621		307			
1626		356			
1631		256			
1633	2244	341	239		2824
1634	2213	256	213		2682
1635		361			
1636			246		
1637	2267		245		
1638	2266	151	258		2675
1639		233			
1640		401			
1641	1832	345			

APPENDIX XXV

The Crown Valuation of the Temporalities of the Leading Bishoprics. 1

(a) The Valor Ecclesiasticus Valuation of 1535.

1.	Winchester	£3885. 3. 3¾
2.	Canterbury	£3093.18. 8¾
3.	Durham	£2821. 1. 5¼
4.	Ely	£2134.18. 5¾
5.	York	£2035. 3. 7¾
6.	Lincoln	£1962.17. 4½
7.	Bath & Wells	£1843.14. 5½
8.	Exeter	£1566.14. 6½
9.	Salisbury	£1385. 5. 0½
10.	London	£1119. 8. 4
11.	Worcester	£1049.17. 3¾

(b) Post-1535 Revaluation.[2]

1.	Canterbury	unchanged
2.	Winchester	£2491. 9. 8½
3.	Ely	unchanged
4.	Durham	£1821. 1. 5¼
5.	York	£1609.19. 2
6.	Salisbury	unchanged
7.	London	unchanged
8.	Worcester	unchanged
9.	Lincoln	£ 894.18. 1½
10.	Bath & Wells	£ 533. 1. 3
11.	Exeter	£ 500. 0. 0

Notes.

1 The Appendix has been compiled from:
(a) an undated MS. in the Dean and Chapter Library, Durham (Hunter MSS 13/22);
(b) a Valuation of Bishoprics in England, probably compiled by Bishop Barnes (Durham University Library, Mickleton-Spearman MSS 10/20).
Attention has been restricted to the 11 bishoprics worth more than £1000 p.a. in 1535.

2 The revaluations were necessary in 6 cases because of crown annexation of episcopal property. With the exception of Exeter (temp. Edward VI) they were made in 1560-61.

APPENDIX XXVI

An Analysis of the Tenantry on the Bishopric Estates in the County Palatine of Durham and Allertonshire.

(a) A Classification of Tenants in the Co. Palatine according to the Amount of Rent paid p.a. [1]

Place.	Date.	Total Number of Tenants.	Rent per annum.* a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	Size of Rents over £12
Darlington,[2] Bondgate.	1588	53	33	11	6	2					1						£16
	1647	70	46	12	5	4								1		2	£22
Blackwell.	1588	26	14	2	6	2	2										
	1647	30	18	3	6	2		1									
Cockerton.	1588	25	10	7	4	4											
	1647	28	10	10	6	2											
Haughton-le-Skerne	1588	17	9	3	1	4											
	1647	11	6	1		2		2									
Auckland,[3] Bondgate.	1588	65	43	11	6	3	2										
	1647	67	51	6	2	3		1		1	1	1				1	£139
Byers Green.	1588	16	7	4	4							1					
	1647	22	15	3	2			1				1					
Coundon.	1588	16	7		6	2	1										
	1647	27	14	6	5	1		1									
Middridge.	1588	15	1	3	5	6											
	1647	12	1	1	3	4	2	1									
Heighington.	1588	36	17	6	8	4	1										
	1647	38	22	8	4	2				1		1					
Escombe.	1588	17	4	4	6	2	1										
	1647	27	14	3	9		1										
Newtoncap.	1588	19	10	5	1		3										
	1647	28	20	4	1	1	1				1						
Redworth	1647	13	11	2													
Evenwood.[4]	1588	41	22	10	7	1		1									£20
	1647	51	31	10	6	1		1								2	£70
Killerby	1588	8	1		2	3	1	1									
	1647	7	1			3	2	1									

Place.	Date.	Total Number of Tenants.	Rent per annum.* a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	Size of Rents over £12
West Auckland.	1588	41	22	13	2	3	1										
	1647	75	39	17	7	1	1										
West Thickley.	1588	1														1	£12
	1647	3	1		1											1	£12
Wolsingham Park	1588	13		5	3	2	2					1					
Lynesacke.	1588	41	34	7													
Bishopley.	1588	10	8	1	1												
Stanhope.	1588	29	17	6	3	1	1	1									
Stanhope Park.	1588	28		4	7	10	4	1	1							1	£12
Weardale.	1588	52	14	20	15	3											
Chester-le-Street.	1588	77	61	7	5	1				1		1				1	£13
	1647	110	87	6	10	3		2				2					
E. Boldon.	1588	14	1	2	3	2	3	2	1								
W. Boldon.	1588	8	2		5		1										
E. & W. Boldon	1588	22	3	2	8	2	4	2	1								
	1647	32	12	1	9	4	5		1								
Cleadon.	1588	9		2	2	2	2	1									
Whitburn.	1588	24	2	1	4	10	5	1	1								
Cleadon & Whitburn.	1588	33	2	3	6	12	7	2	1								
	1647	29	4	4	4	9	6	1		1						1	£12
Lanchester.	1588	57	41	8	5	1	2										
Whickham.	c1550	60	29	21	7	1	2										
Ryton.	1588	56	37	14	4	1											
	1647	61	50	6	4								1				
Easington.	1588	41	19	2	12	6	2										
Little Thorpe.	1588	2					1			1							
	1649	5				4		1									
Shotton.	1588	24	10	2	9	3											

Place.	Date.	Total Number of Tenants.	Rent per annum.* a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	Size of Rents over £12
Sherburn.	1588	12	3		2	6	1										
	1649	12	2	1		8	1										
Shadforth.	1588	13	2		4	7											
Cassop.	1588	6				4			2								
	1649	6				4			1					1			
Houghton-le-Spring.	1588	33	21	3	3	3		2		1							
	1647	29	19	1	1	6		1		1							
Morton Grange.	1588	1								1							
	1647	1								1							
Warden Law.	1588	1						1									
	1647	2				2											
E. Burdon.	1588	7			6	1											
	1647	5			3	1			1								
Newbottle.	1588	24	10		3	8	3										
	1647	19	8		3	3	2	1	1	1							
Ryhope.	1588	20	1	1	3	15											
	1647	16		2	2	8	1	3									
Tunstall.	1588	1														1	£16
	1647	3				2								1			
Wearmouth.	1588	23	7	1	4	5	3	2		1							
Cornforth.	1588	16	2		7	6			1								
	1647	16	1	1	7	6			1								
Sedgefield.	1647	51	28	9	6	6	1	1									
Middleham.	1647	26	8	11	3	2	1							1			
Stockton Demesnes.	1588	8				1	1	2	1	1						2	£15 £23
Stockton.[5]	1588	19	6	10	3												
Hartburn.	1588	10	1	5	4												
Norton.	1588	41	12	12	13	3										1	£16
Carlton.	1588	13	1	1	11												

* a = 0 - 9/11d
b 10/0d - 19/11d
c £1 - £1.19.11
d £2 - £2.19.11
e £3 - £3.19.11
f £4 - £4.19.11
g £5 - £5.19.11
h £6 - £6.19.11
i £7 - £7.19.11
j £8 - £8.19.11
k £9 - £9.19.11
l £10 -£10.19.11
m £11 -£11.19.11
n £12 +

Notes.

1 Appendix XXVI, section (a) has been compiled from a collection of surveys (Church Commission MSS):
Rental of Whickham, c., 1550 (189721),
Survey of 1588, Halmote Court Miscellaneous Book, M64, pp.2-70 (195566a),
Survey of the Manor of Bp. Auckland, March-April 1647 (23375),
Survey of the Manor of Darlington (23378),
Survey of the Manor of Evenwood, April 1647 (23380),
Survey of the Manor of Wolsingham and the Forest of Weardale, March 1647 (31611),
Survey of the Manor of Chester-le-Street, April 1647 (23376),
Survey of the Manor of Easington, 1649 (23379),
Survey of the Manor of Houghton-le-Spring, July and August 1647 (23383),
Survey of the Manor of Bp. Middleham, June and July 1647 (23374).
It is based on a calculation of the amount of rent paid by each individual tenant. The boroughs of Bp. Auckland, Darlington and Gateshead and the villages of Coatham Mundeville, Redworth, Wolsingham, North and South Bedburn and Bp. Middleham have been omitted because of the absence of a comprehensive list of tenantry. For the locations listed the roll of tenants is usually complete apart from the exclusion of a small number of freeholders who paid their rents to the Coroners. In most cases size of rent is indicative of size of holding, but this rule does not apply to freeholders paying nominal rents; these however were few in number and their presence does not distort the picture to any serious extent.

2 The 1588 Survey refers to copyholders only.

3 The rent of £139 was derived from a post-1642 lease.

4 The 1588 Survey does not refer to the lessees of the Park and Carterthorne coal-mine.

5 Excluding the burgage tenants and the lessees of the demesne.

APPENDIX XXVI

(b) A Classification of Tenants in Allertonshire according to the Amount of Rent paid p.a.

Place.	Total Number of Tenants.	Rent per Annum. * a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Size of Rents over £12.
Northallerton	?								
Brompton	68	40	23	4	1				
Romanby.	17	7	2	6				2	
Sowerby Grange.	6		1	5					
Thornton.	42	31	8	3					
Leake Rectory.	1								£18
Borrowby.	65	58	4	2	1				
Knayton.	71	57	6	5	2	1			
Osmotherley.	49	43	3	2	1				

* a = 0 - 9/11d
b 10/0 - 19/11
c £1 - £1.19.11
d £2 - £2.19.11
e = £3 - £3.19.11
f £4 - £4.19.11
g £5 - £5.19.11

Note.

Compiled on the same basis as section (a) from the Parliamentary Survey of 1647 (Church Commission MSS 23385).

APPENDIX XXVI

(c) A Classification of the Durham Estates, 1647:
(i) the Number of Tenants.
(ii) Type of Tenantry.
(iii) Type of Tenure.

Place.	Number of Tenants	Type of Tenantry.			Type of Tenure.	
		small	medium	large	Original	C16th.
Durham.	?	A				
Gateshead.	?	A				F
Darlington.	?	A				
Stockton.	?	A				
Bp. Auckland	194+	A			B/D	c/L
Wolsingham.	134+	A				C/1
Chester.	110	A3	71	22	17	B/D	C/L
Whickham.	98	A1	76	14	8	b/D*	C
Bondgate, Darlington.	70	A2	41	17	12	B/d	C/1
Bondgate, Bp. Auckland.	67	A4	40	16	10	B/D	c/L
West Auckland.	65	B2	33	23	9	B	C/1
+Lanchester.	57	A1	41	8	8	B	C
Ryton.	56	B1	32	20	3	B/D*	C
+Weardale.	52	F3	14	20	18		CT/1
+Sedgefield.	51	C3	27	10	14	B *	C/L
Evenwood.	51	B2	21	20	10		C/1
+Lynesacke.	41	A1	34	7	0	B	C
+Easington.	41	C4	19	2	20	B/d*	c/L
+Norton.	41	D2	12	12	17	B	C/1
Heighington.	38	D4	19	11	8	B *	c/L
The Boldons.	32	C1	10	3	19	B	C
Blackwell.	30	C1	19	5	9	B	C
Whitburn & Cleadon.	29	G1	3	5	23	B/D*	C
Houghton-le-Spring.	29	C2	17	3	9	b/D*	C/1
+Stanhope.	29	A1	17	6	6	B	C
Stanhope Park.	28	G2	0	4	24		CT/1
Cockerton.	28	D1	11	9	8	B/D*	C
Newtoncap.	28	B1	12	12	4	B	C
Escomb.	27	D1	10	7	10	B	C
Coundon.	27	D2	10	10	7	b/D*	C/L
+Bp. Middleham.	26	D4	8	10	8		c/L
+Shotton.	24	C4	10	2	12	B/D*	c/L
+Bp. Wearmouth.	23	C3	7	1	15	b/D*	C/1
Byers Green.	23	B2	10	8	5	B/d	C/1
Newbottle.	19	C3	7	1	11	b/D*	C/L
Ryhope.	16	G1	0	2	14	b/D*	L

Place.	Number of Tenants		Type of Tenantry. small	medium	large	Type of Tenure. Original	C16th.
+Cornforth.	16	G4	0	2	14	B/d*	c/L
Redworth.	13	A1	10	3	0	B	C
+Wolsingham Park.	13	F5	0	5	8		L
+Shadforth.	13	G4	2	0	11	B *	c/L
+Carlton.	13	G1	1	1	11	B	C
Middridge.	12	G4	1	1	10	B/d*	c/L
Sherburn.	12	G1	3	0	9	B	C
+Bishopley.	10	A1	8	1	1	B	C
+Hartburn.	10	G1	1	5	4	B/d*	C
Haughton-le-Skerne.	10	C2	4	1	5	B/D	C/L
Killerby.	7	G5	0	1	6	B *	L
Cassop.	6	G5	0	0	6	B *	L
East Burdon.	5	G5	0	0	5	B *	L
Little Thorpe.	5	G5	0	0	5		L
West Thickley.	3	G1	1	0	2	B	C
Tunstall.	3	G5	0	0	3	B/D*	L
Warden Law.	2	G1	0	0	2	B	C
Morton Grange.	1	G5	0	0	1	B/D*	L
Middridge. Grange.	1	G5	0	0	1	D	L
Ricknall Grange.	1	G5	0	0	1	D	L
Coundon Grange.	1	G5	0	0	1	D	L
Quarrington Grange.	1	G5	0	0	1	D	L
The Bedburns.	?						C

Key.

Place. A cross (+) denotes locations for which no detailed information is available in the Parliamentary Surveys. In these cases calculations have been based upon the 1588 Survey.

Type of Tenantry.

A = Small Tenants numerically dominant.
B = Small and Medium Tenants numerically dominant.
C = Small and Large Tenants numerically dominant.
D = an even numerical distribution of Small, Medium and Large Tenants.
E = Medium Tenants numerically dominant.
F = Medium and Large Tenants numerically dominant.
G = Large Tenants numerically dominant.

1 = Tenantry composed of copyholders.
2 = Tenantry composed of copyholders and a few leaseholders.
3 = Tenantry composed of copyholders and leaseholders in equal proportions.
4 = Tenantry composed of leaseholders and a few copyholders.
5 = Tenantry composed of leaseholders.

Small Tenants = smallholders in occupation of a dwelling house and less than 10 acres of land.
Medium Tenants = farmers occupying more land than the Small Tenants, but usually paying less than £1 p.a. in rent.
Large Tenants = farmers usually paying more than £1 p.a. in rent. The term is used in a relative sense.

Type of Tenure.

F = freehold land.
B = bondland.
b = bondland where its rental value is less than that of another type of land in the same location.
D = demesne land.
d = demesne land where its rental value is less than that of another type of land in the same location.
C = copyhold land.
c = copyhold land where its rental value is less than that of another type of land in the same location.
L = leasehold land.
l = leasehold land where its rental value is less than that of another type of land in the same location.
CT = land held by customary tenure.

An asterisk (*) denotes a location where demesne land has been converted into copyholds, or bondland into leaseholds; vide supra, Chapter IV, footnote 3.

APPENDIX XXVII

Copyhold Transactions recorded in the Halmote Court Books for 1627 and 1629.

(a) A Transfer of Copyhold Land by Sale, 1627[1]

Memorandum that on 13 October in the 3rd year of the reign of Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland and Defender of the Faith, came Thomas Sharpe, younger son of Thomas Sharpe of Hauthorne without the Court held at Durham before William Smyth Esq., Steward. And took of the Lord one messuage and one husbandland. In which Robert Hall and Jane his wife both having right, (Jane acting of her own accord, not compelled by force or fear of her said husband, but of her own free and spontaneous will) they surrendered and quitclaimed into the hand of the lord all right, estate, claim, interest and demands, to the service and use of the aforesaid Thomas, Thomas Sharpe and his descendants having the same by right, according to the custom of the Court, paying p.a. at the usual terms the rent that was rendered before. And doing that which is expected by the lord and his neighbours.

(b) A Copyhold Demise, 1629.[2]

To this court came June Emerson, widow, and here in full view, by licence of the Court, demised to Robert Emerson half a messuage of Exchequer land and half a cottage with a croft, called Craupeshouse, to be held by the same Robert Emerson and his assigns from the feast of St. Martin the Bishop in Winter next following, until the end and term of 60 years, provided the said June shall live that long, thenceforward following and fully to be completed. Rendering for the same p.a. to the said June and her assigns 18/0d of legal english money at the Feasts of Pentecost and St. Martin the Bishop in Winter, in equal portions, in addition to the lord's farm and the services due there. And there is given to the lord for a license to demise - 3/4d.

Notes.

1 Translated from Halmote Court Book 75, Folio 1581 (Church Commission MSS). The location of the holding was Whitburn and Cleadon.

2 Halmote Court Book 76, Folio 159. The transaction was recorded on 26 October 1629.

APPENDIX XXVIII

Transcripts of Leases

(a) A Mill Lease, 20 March 1551.

This Indenture Maid the XXth day of marche in fyfte yere of the Reigne of our soveraigne lorde Edwarde the VIth by the grace of god kynge of England, France and Ireland defender of the faith and in earthe of the churches of England and also of Ireland the supreme hedde betwixte the Reight reverend father in god Cuthbert Bishoppe of Duresme one the one partie and Stephen Duffelde of bishoppe Aukeland in the countie of Duresme yeoman one that other partie Witnesseth that the said bishoppe haith demysed graunted and to farme latten and by these presents demyseth graunteth and to farme latteth unto the said Stephen Duffelde all the water corne mylne in Aukeland afforsaid called the burne withall the sute and sokyn to the same belongyng and the Rayse and course of the Water togethere withe grasse yerely boithe Wynter and Somer in Aukeland parke for one cariage horse for the said mylne so that the said horse do not pasture nor feede att any tyme within the Rayles of the hagge of aukeland parke afforsaid And also demyseth and graunteth unto the said Stephen one little close called the myrye close nere Aukeland lying upon the westsyde of Newgaite within the town feildes of Aukeland afforsaid all wheche are nowe in the tenure and occupacon of the said Stephen Duffelde To have and to holde the said mylne horse grasse and the said mylne close and all othere the premisses with there appurtenances to the said Stephen Duffeld and his assignes frome the feaste of St Martyn in Wynter nexte cumyng after the date herof unto thende and terme of twentye and one yeres from thense next ensuying and fully to be complete and ended Yeldyng and payng therfore yerely duryng the said (term) unto the said bishoppe and his Successars att thexchekker of Duresme for the said mylne Sex pounds and for the said close the some of XIIs of lawfull money of england att two times of the yere that ys to say att the feasts of penthecost and St Martyn in Wynter by evyn porcions Provyded alwayes ytt ys covenanted and agreyd betwixt the said parties that the said Stephen Duffelde and his assignes att all tymes Duryng the said terme whenever the said bishoppe or his Successors shall kepe house within the mannor house of Aukeland afforsaid shall grynde yerelye frely att the said mylne all mannor of corne to be occupyed in the said house without takyng any toole or malcter for the same and in recompense therof the said bishoppe for hym and his Successors doith covenante and graunte by these presents to allowe yerely unto the said Stephen and his assignes for the free gryndyng of the said corne the some of Six shillyngs and eight pens for every moneth when any house shalbe kept att the said mannor out of the said Rent of Six pounds for the said mylne any thyng conteyned in this presente indenture to the contrary notwithstandyng. Moreover yt ys covenanted and agreyd betwixte the said parties that the said bishoppe and his Successars frome tyme to tyme during the said terme shall repaire maynteyne and upholde the said mylne in all

maner of necessary Reparacons of there owne propere costs and charges cogges and rangs onelye excepted wheche the said Stephen Duffelde for hym and his assignes doith covenante to fynde att his and there costs and charges as oft as nede shall require during the said terme And yf ytt shall happen the said yerelye Rent of Sex pounds or the said yerelye rent of XIIs or any parte or parcell therof to be behynde and unpaide in parte or in all at any of the said feasts att wheche ytt aught to be paide by the space of one moneth that then and att all tymes after ytt shalbe lawfull to the said Reverende Father and his Successors into the saide mylne and close and other the premisses with thappurtenances to Reentre and theme to have agayne as in his or there formare staite this indenture or any thing therin conteyned to the contrarye notwithstandying In witnesse wherof to thone parte of these indentures remaynyng withe the said Steven Duffelde and his assignes the said Reverende father haith caused his greate Seale to be putt and to thother parte of the same Indenture Remaynynge withe the said Reverende father and his Successars the said Stephen Duffelde haithe set his seale the day and yeare furste above written.

Transcribed from a Register of Leases (Church Commission MSS 184957a, p.30).

(b) A Coal-Mine Lease, 8 October 1569.

Thys Indenture maid the 8th October in the 11th yeare of the reign of our Sovereign ladie Elizabeth by the Grace of God of England France and Ireland Quene Defender of the Faith etc. Betwene the Reverende Father in God James by the Grace of God Byshope of Duresme upon the one partie and Henrie Smythe servant to the said Reverende Father of the other partie.

Wytnesseth that the said Reverende Father Haithe demysed graunted and to ferme letten And by these presents demyseth graunteth and to ferme letteth unto the said Henrie Smythe, All those his cole mynes or pittes called Rayley in the Countie of Duresme lying and adjoynynge on the east parte to the more close and Eschombe hurste and on the northe easte adjoynynge to Eschombe Carre and upon the west parte adjoynynge to the southe syde of the Rone tree pitte so discendinge to a place called Butterknolle, And on the north west parte to a water or river called Lyngborne, my lorde Ewries parke on the northe and Evenwood Parke discendinge by the newe fyne heade on the Southe, To have and to hold the said cole mynes or pittes, to the said Henrie Smythe his executors and assignes from the daye of the dayt hereof for and duringe the full terme of twentie one yeres then next and immediatlye followinge fullye to be complet and ended, Yeldinge and payinge therefore yerelye duringe the said term of 21 yeres to the said Reverende Father his Successors and assignes at thexchequere of Duresme to the hands of the generall Receyvor of the said Reverende Father and his successors or the deputie of the said Generall Receyvor for the tyme beinge the summe of threscore tenne poundes of lawfull money of Englande at the feasts of St Martyne the Byshope in winter and Penthecost by even porcions to be paid,

And yf yt fortune the said yerelye rent of £70 or anye parte or parcell thereof to be behinde and unpaid to the said generall Receyvor or his deputie for ye tyme beinge at and in the said Exchequere of Duresme by the space of one moneth next after eyther of the said feasts before mencioned That then and frome thenceforthe this present lease to cease and shalbe utterlie frustreat and voyde,

And the said Henrie Smythe for him his executors admynystrators and assignes covenanteth graunteth and promyseth by thes presents to and with the said Reverend Father his successors and assignes that he the said Henrie Smythe his executores and assignes and workemenne shall and will well and sufficiently worke the said mynes and pyttes in such manner and forme as other the mynes of the said Reverend Father within the said Countie of Duresme ar and aughte to be wraught, And that he the said Henrie Smyth his executors and assignes and workemenne shall leave from tyme to tyme sufficient pillers standinge within the said mynes, and water gaites within the said pittes, durynge the said terme and that also yt shalbe lawfull for the vewer of the said Byshope from tyme to tyme to serch and vewe within the said mynes and pyttes to see that there be no decaye waiste or anye kynde of spoile used by the workemene within the said mynes and pittes

Also yt ys agreed betwene the said parties that yf it fortune at anye tyme duringe the said terme anye wayste spoile decaye or losse to be maide done or commytted wythin the said mynes by the worke menne of the said Henrie his executors or assignes other then ther due and ordinarie worke for the tyme beinge that then the said Henrie his executors or assignes shall and will immediatlye thereuponne paye or cause to be paid to the said Reverend Father his successors and assignes the duble value of suche losse and damages as shalbe susteyned therbye and the same to be appointed by the vewer for the tyme beinge and othere indefferente men to be apointed by the said parties whereof the said vewer to be the cheife,

And the said Reverend Father for him and his successors covenanteth and graunteth by these presents to fynde and allowe the said Henrie his executors and assignes duringe the said terme woode and tymbre for ye mayntenance of the pittes the water gaytes lodges and stayth, and the same woode to be delyvered by suche officer of the said Reverend Father and his successors as he or his successors shall apointe, Also Yt Ys agreed that yf it fortune duringe the said terme the mynes nowe usuallye wraught to decaye so as there be left or remaynynge with in the same mynes no sufficient coles within the same graunde That then immediatlye upon due proffe serche and tryall to be hadde by the vewer of the said Byshope for the tyme beinge and other indyfferent mene to be apointed by the said parties, whereof the said vewer to be cheife That then the said lease and rent utterlye to cease ende and determyne,

And further the said Reverend Father and his successors shall and will discharge the said Henrie his executors and assignes of all manner of way leaves paid to the Erle of Westmerland, or to anye other lawfullye claymynge the same,

And the said Henrie for him his executors and assignes covenanteth graunteth and promyseth by these presents to and with the said Reverend Father and his successors That he the

said Henrie Smythe his executors and assignes shall and will duringe the said terme yerelye serve the said Reverend Father and his successors sufficientlye for his house wheresoever he lyeth wyth good coles to be gotten within the lymyttes aforesaid and to be laide above the graunde at the costs of the said Henrie and his assignes he the said Reverend Father and his successors payinge to the said Henrie and his assignes for everie horse lode one halfpenny and for everie wayne lode after the rayt of 4d the lode And also the said Reverend Father and his successors paynge for the cariage of the same coles In wytnesse whereof to thone parte of these presente Indentures remaynynge with the said Reverend Father the said Henrie Smythe haith putte his seale And to thother parte of these present Indentures remaynynge wyth the said Henrie Smyth the said Reverend Father haith putte his grait seale the daye and yere furste above wrytten and in the nynthe yere of the consecracion of the said Reverend Father 1569.

Transcribed from the Patent and Close Roll of Bishop Pilkington (Public Record Office, Durham MSS, Cursitor's Records 82 m.12).

APPENDIX XXIX

Tenants of Gentry Status who received Leaseholds from Bishop Neile, 1618-1626

Sir Thomas Bellassis of Ouston, Yorks.
Sir William Wray of Beamish Park.
Thomas Smythe, gent., of Waldridge.
Sir Thomas Layton of -------, Yorks.
John King, gent., of Durham.
Lancelot Hilton, gent., of Gainford.
Ralph Lambton, gent., of Tribley.
Thomas Bedford, clerk, vicar of Bishop Middleham.
William Scurfield, gent., of Elstobb.
Sir Richard Vaughan of Thorpe in the Willows, Yorks.
Sir John Dormer of Dorton, Bucks.
Francis Lascelles, Senior, of Northallerton, Yorks.
Guy Bainbrigge, gent., of Chester-le-Street.
John Widower, Junior, gent., of Cornforth.
Marmaduke Danbye of Scorton, Yorks.
William Jackson, gent., of Newcastle.
Thomas Tunstal, gent., of Coatham Mundeville.
Huntingdon Beamaund, Esq., of Wollerton, Notts.
Robert Angell, merchant, of London.
John Bate, merchant, of London.
Thomas Danbye, Esq., of Leake, Yorks.
Antony Cradocke, gent., of Bishop Auckland.
Robert Collingwood, gent., of Hetton.
John Wilkinson, gent., of Ferryhill.
Nicholas Wilkinson, gent., of Ferryhill.
Richard Hedworth, Esq., of Chester-le-Street.
Christopher Barnes, gent., of Durham.
Sir William Lambton of Lambton.
William Lambton, gent., of Tribley.
Owen Milburn, gent., of Bedlington, Northumberland.
Francis Knight, gent., of Northallerton, Yorks.
Toby Blakeston, Esq., of Newton.
Christopher Byerley, gent., of Middridge Grange.
John Richardson, Junior, Esq., of Durham.
George Dixon, gent., of Rainshaw.
Christopher Skepper, gent., of Durham.
Thomas Tempest, Esq., of Stella.
Lionel Maddison, merchant, of Newcastle.
John Widower, Senior, of Cornforth.
Francis Lascelles, Junior, of Gray's Inn.
Thomas Lascelles, gent., of Northallerton, Yorks.
Abraham Robinson, clerk, of Easington.
Sir Perceval Willoughby of Wollerton, Notts.
William Angell, fishmonger, of London.
Robert Bowyer, merchant, of London.
Thomas Gifford, Esq., of Shotton, Yorks.
Leonard Waistell, gent., of Scorton, Yorks.
William Williamson, Junior, gent., of West Auckland.
Francis James, Esq., of Edmanton, Middlesex.
Edward Lively, gent., of Durham.
Francis James, Esq., of Washington.
John Stevenson, Esq., of Durham.
Barbara Lisle, widow.
Thomas Barnes, gent., of Durham.
Moses Skepper, gent., of Durham.

William Skepper, gent., of Durham.

John Skelton of Armathwaite Hall, Cumb.

William Shawe, D.D., Master of Sherburn Hospital.

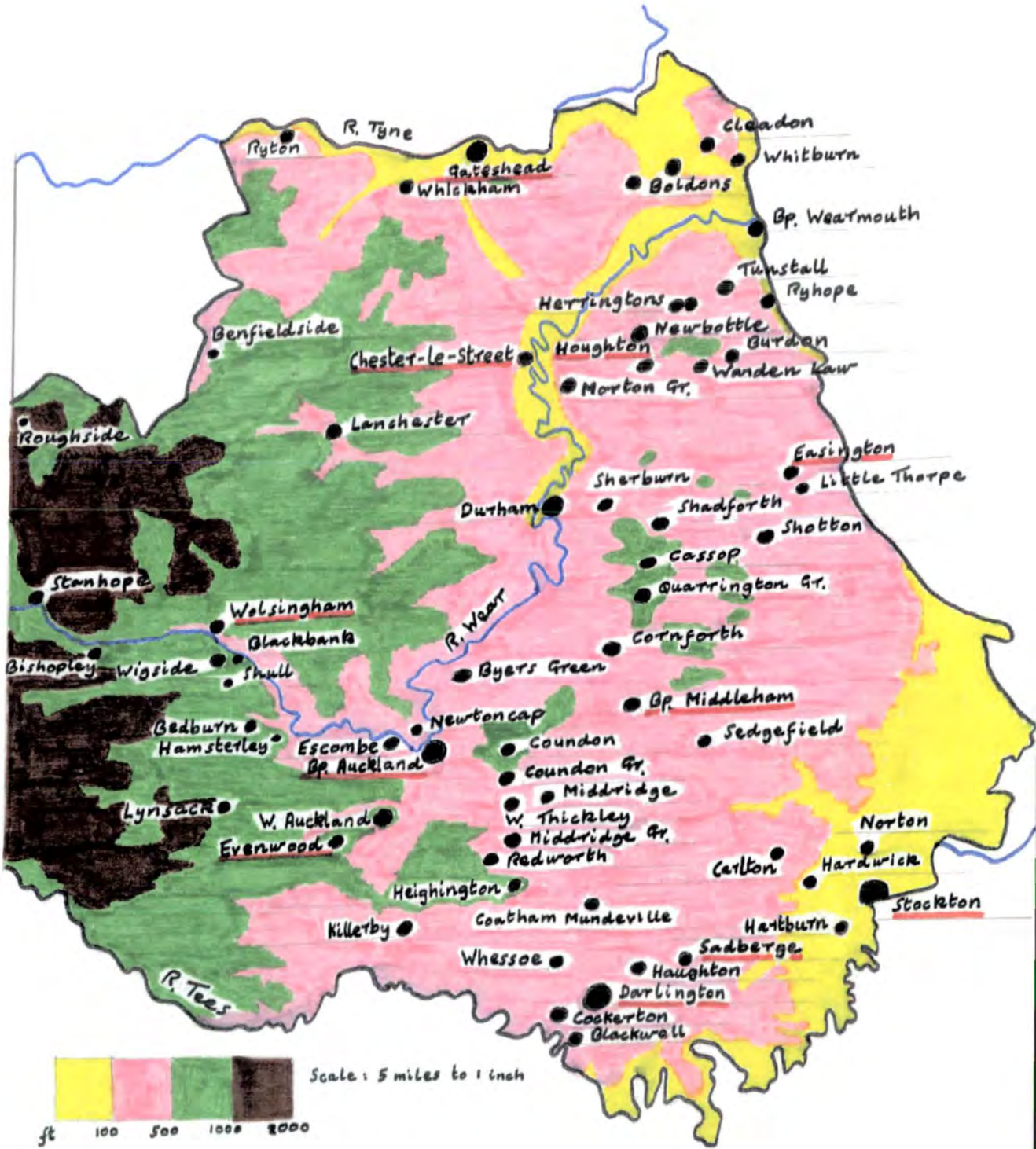
The list has been compiled from two Lease Enrollment Books (Church Commission MSS 184959 and 184960). A few clergy and merchants have been included with the gentry. The residences of the persons listed lay in Co. Durham unless it is specifically stated otherwise.

APPENDIX XXX

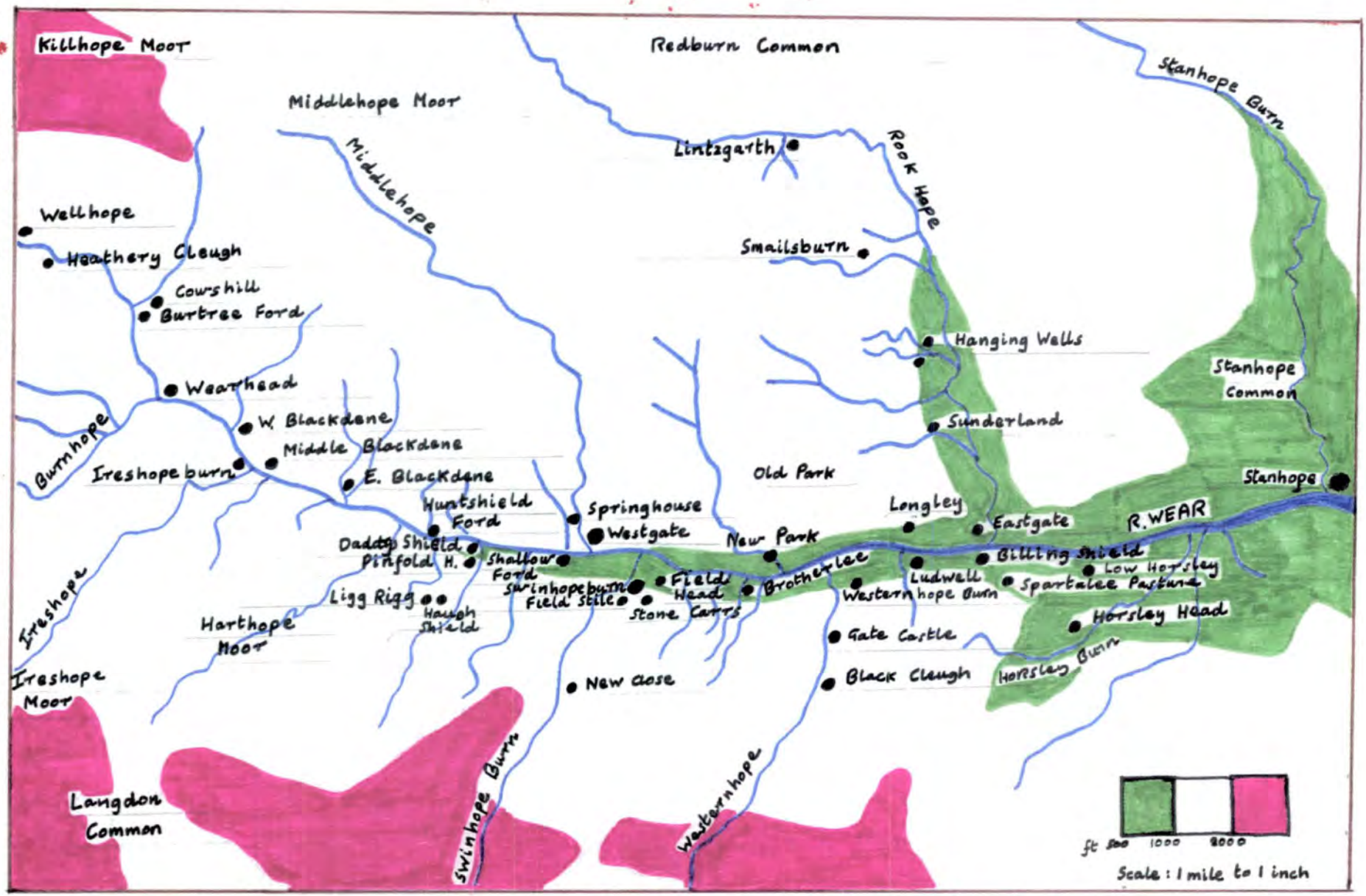
The Letters Patent of Anthony Dixon, for the Coronership of Chester-le-Street Ward, 4 August 1544.

Cuthbert, by the grace of God, Bishop of Durham, sends greeting to all those whom these present letters will reach. Let it be known that we, by our grace, and being fully confident of the loyalty, circumspection, and declared industry of our servant Anthony Dixon, have appointed and ordained the same Anthony Coroner of Chester Ward within our Bishopric of Durham; that office and whatever belongs to the same, to be held and exercised by the same Anthony for life, by himself, or through his sufficient deputy occupying it, through whom he will willingly be responsible to us and our successors. Provided always that the aforesaid Anthony renders an annual, faithful account in our Durham Exchequer, before our Auditors, or those of our successors, of all and singular monies and receipts coming into his hands in any way by reason of his aforesaid office. Receiving annually from us and our successors for that office during his lifetime £4 of English money, to be paid annually at the festival of St Michael the Archangel, and allocated to him out of the receipts of his office; together with all other profits, rightful privileges, and emoluments belonging to, or observed as part of the same office in any way whatsoever. Giving and granting to the same Anthony full power and authority to undertake and carry out each and everything appertaining to that office. Firmly charging and commanding all and singular our bailiffs, officers, officials, and tenants, within the aforesaid Ward, that they are to be helpful, well-intentioned, obedient, and favourably inclined in all things, as is needful, towards the aforesaid Anthony, in the execution and fulfillment of his office. In Witness of which, we have caused these our letters patent to be drawn up. Witnessed by Robert Hyndmer, clerk, our Chancellor, at Durham, 27 July in the 16th year since our translation. Accordingly, we, Hugh, Dean, and the Chapter, as much as the grace within us will allow, on behalf of us and our successors, do ratify, approve, and confirm in its present tenor, all and singular the abovesaid, in accordance with the main points stated above. Yet always safeguarding in every way the rights and liberties of the Cathedral Church of Durham. In Witness of which, our Chapter seal is attached to these presents. Performed at Durham, in our Chapter House, 4 August, 1544.

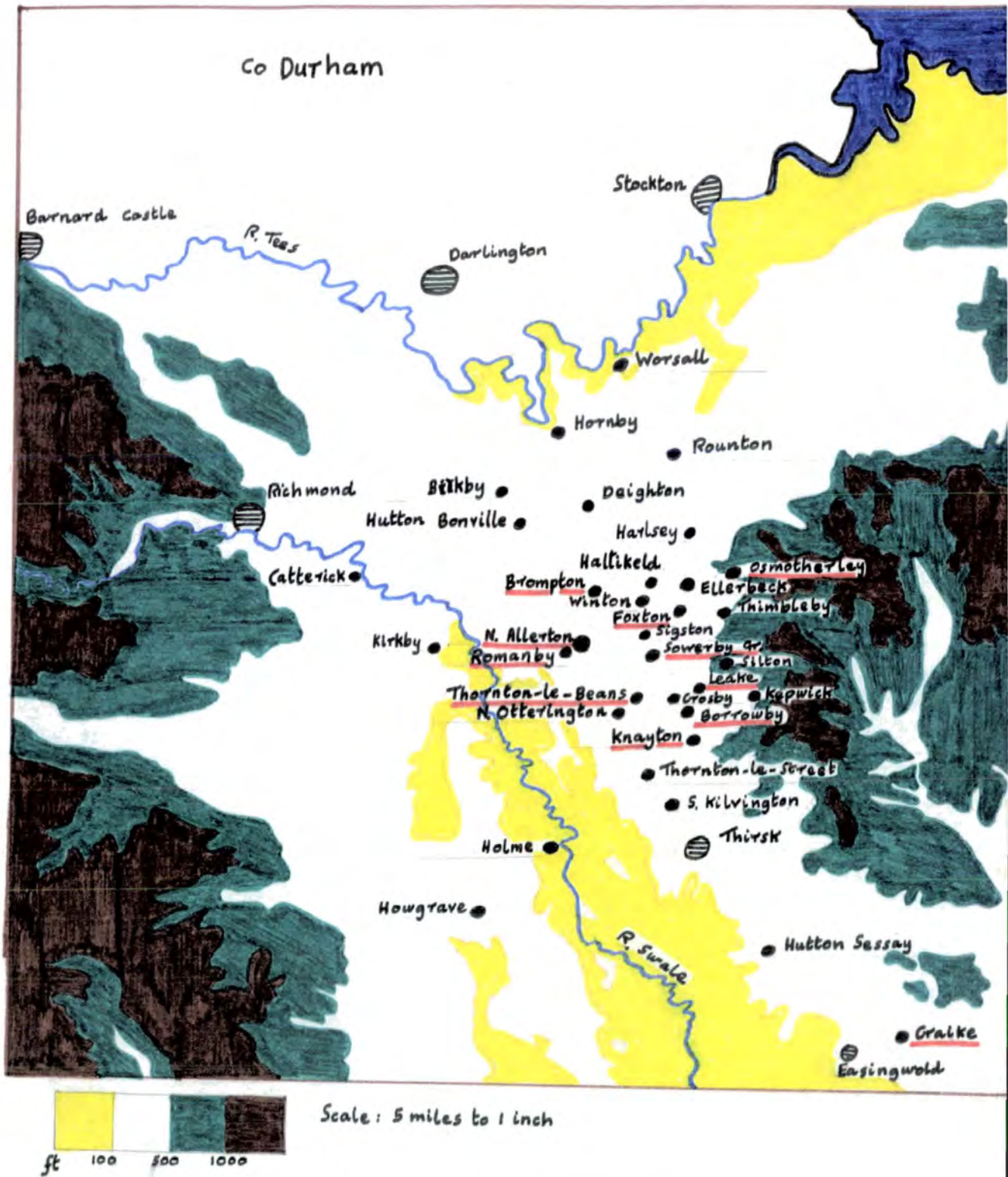
Translated from the original Latin entry in a Register of Leases and Letters Patent (Church Commission MSS 184957a, pp.40-41).



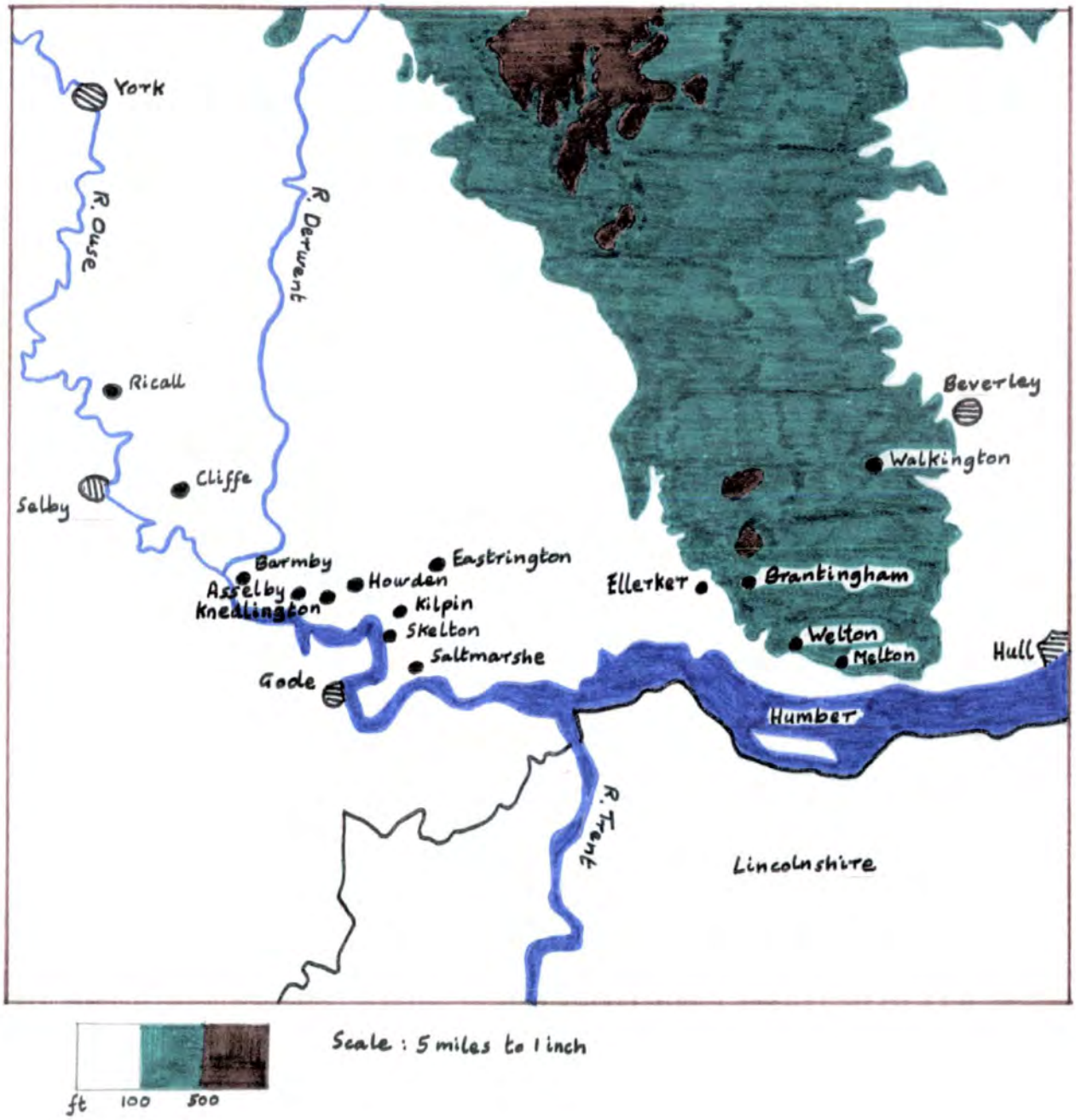
Map I The Location of Episcopal Property within the County of Durham



Map II The Principal Locations of the Customary and Leasehold Tenements within the High Forest of Weardale



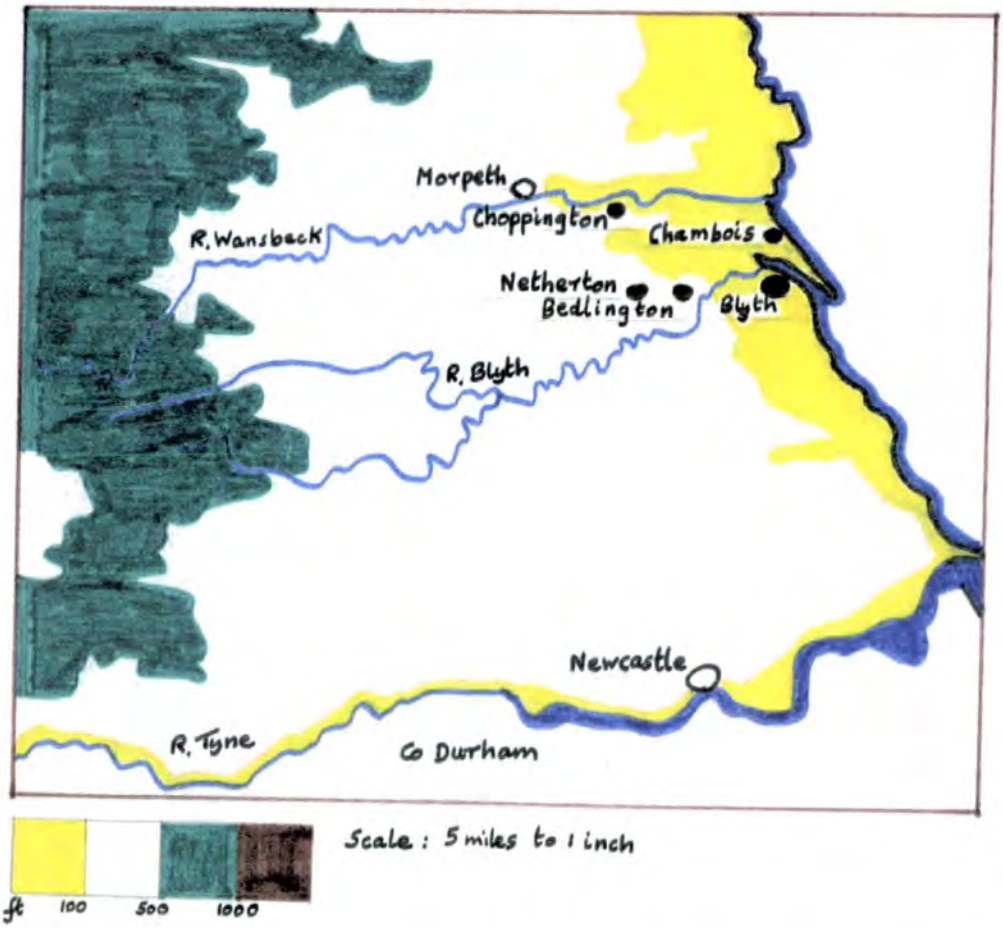
Map III The Location of Episcopal Property within the Liberty of Allertonshire



Map IV The Location of Episcopal Property within the Liberty of Howdenshire



Norhamshire
Bedlingtonshire



Map V The Liberty of Norhamshire and the Lordship of Bedlington

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