The revenues and financial administration of the bishopric of Durham 1457-79

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THE REVENUES AND FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE BISHOPRIC OF DURHAM 1457-79

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ABSTRACT

For the period 1457-79 so many financial documents have survived that it is possible to examine the financial administration of the bishopric in more detail than G.T. Lapsley or R.L. Storey have done. Attention is drawn to the political background of the period, and in particular, to the careers of the bishops for the time under study: Laurence Booth being remarkable for his change of allegiance from Queen Margaret to Edward IV; while William Dudley owed his advancement to support of the Yorkists.

The thesis is organised around the surviving account rolls. Within the Palatinate the various financial officials were dependent on the receiver-general in Durham Castle. The study opens with an examination of the account rolls of the ministers responsible for the land: the coroners, the collectors and the bailiffs. Attention is then turned to the accounts of the master forester, then to those of the coal and lead mines. Next comes the accounts of the sheriffs and escheators, then those of the clerks of the works, and the instaurers. While the officials of the Yorkshire estates - of Allerton, Howden and Crayke - were not subordinate to the receiver-general, at times they did make payments to him, and therefore they are included before the major section on the receiver-general. The holders of the various/

various offices are discussed within the appropriate sections.

The study is concluded with an examination of the financial position of the bishopric at this time; the financial effects of the incoming bishops; of the confiscation of the temporalities by Edward IV; the changing trends in the financial state of the bishopric; and the effects of the political disturbances. Finally, an attempt is made to calculate the disposeable income of the bishop and to compare it to the incomes of other leading men in the kingdom.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

B.I.H.R.	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
C.C.R.	Calendar of Close Rolls
C.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls
D.K.R.	Deputy Keeper's Reports
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
Dobson	R.B. Dobson Durham Priory 1400-50
E.H.R.	English Historical Review
Foss	E. Foss Judges of England
Hunter Blair	C. Hunter Blair 'The Sheriffs of County Durham'.
Jacob	E.F. Jacob The Fifteenth Century
Langley	R.L. Storey Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham, 1406-37
Lapsley	G.T. Lapsley The County Palatine of Durham
Neilson	N.Neilson 'Customary Rents'.
Ross & Pugh	C.D. Ross & T.B. Pugh 'Materials for the Studies of Baronial Incomes'.
Rymer	T. Rymer & R. Sanderson Foedera, Conventiones, etc.
Sommerville	R. Sommerville History of the Duchy of Lancaster
Surtees	R. Surtees History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham.
V.C.H.	Victoria Historyof the County of Durham
Wedgewood	J.C. Wedgewood History of Parliament

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I Justification for the study

It may be thought necessary to provide a justification for a study of the financial organisation of the bishopric of Durham 1457-1479, in view of G.T. Lapsley's major work on "The County Palatine of Durham", and R.L. Storey's more detailed study of "Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham 1406-1437". However, Lapsley's work is sub-titled "A Study in Constitutional History", and while his remarks on the financial organisation are illuminating, the scope of his work does not enable him to consider in detail the financial administration. Storey's limits are set by the episcopate of Thomas Langley, but unfortunately, although examples of most of the financial documents have survived for this period, sufficient have not survived to constitute a run of documents, nor even to establish a series of norms.

The period 1457-1479 was chosen for this study because of the high rate of survival of documents for the period. For the 22 years of the study, 15 of the receiver-general's main accounts have survived, and 14 of his arrears accounts.(1) These documents are vital for any estimate of the financial position of the bishopric, and also to understand the nature of the relationship of the various subordinate ministers' accounts/

accounts to the receiver-general's. Of these subordinate accounts a good proportion of those of the coroners, collectors and bailiffs have survived, and examples of those of other officials within the county of Durham. Examples of the accounts from the Yorkshire estates - Howdenshire, Allertonshire and Crayke - have survived, which is particulary fortunate since the officials in these estates were not responsible to the receiver-general in Durham Castle. Officials in the Northumberland estates (excluding Bedlington) were similarly independent of the Durham exchequer, but these accounts form the one serious gap among those that have survived: no example for this period is known to be extant. In all, 178 documents have survived, as can be seen on the table overleaf.

The period 1457-1479 comprises largely the time of Laurence Booth's episcopate - since he was Bishop of Durham from 1457 to 1476. Also included were the first three years of William Dudley's episcopate, 1476-1479. The closing date of the period of study was chosen mainly since it marked the last year in which a large number of the financial documents survive. The rest of Dudley's episcopate is a lean period for the financial historians. A minor reason for chosing the closing date was that it gave an opportunity to examine the impact on the finances of a change of bishop, and the effect on the system of a new bishop.

Lastly, in justification of the nature and period of this study, it was thought that a study of the finances of the bishopric of Durham during the political disturbances of these times could be valuable. The bishopric of Durham had long been regarded from Westminster as the keystone to the northern defences/

TABLE OF SURVIVING FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS 1457-79.

DATING	1457-58	1458-59	1459-60	1460-61	1461-62	1462-63	1463-64	1464-65	1465-66	1466-67	1467-68	1468-69	1469-70	1470-71	1471-72	1472-73	1473-74	1474-75	1475-76	1476-77	1477-78	1478-79
REGNAL YEAR	HVI -37	-38	-39	EIV -1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19
EPISCOPAL YEAR	B-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	D-1	-2	-3
Receiver-general main		x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x
Receiver-general arrears	x			x		x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x
Valor							x													x?		x
Sheriff & Escheator							x														x	
Coroner of Darlington			x	x						x										x		
Chester	x			x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x					x	x?		x
Easington			x						x	x			x	x				x			x	
Stockton			x	x	x	x		x				x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
Collectors of Darlington	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Chester	x		x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x			
Easington		x			x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	
Stockton		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x			x		x	
Bailiff of Bailiwicks	x		x				x	x	x					x		x		x	x		x	
Hart								x		x	x				x			x	x			
Hartlepool								x	x		x				x			x	x		x	
Master Forrester																				x	x	x
Coal Mines	x		x	x	x																	
Lead Mines		x																				
Clerk of Works		x											x?						x		x	
Instaurer	x	x											x				x	x		x		
Receiver of Howden																						x
Allerton																					x	
Reeve of Crayke																x						

defences of England, but compounded to this was the more recent rivalry in the North of the different branches of the Nevil family. Futhermore, Laurence Booth was a protege of Queen Margaret, yet he promptly changed sides in 1461. However he ran foul of Edward IV, having the temporalities confiscated for two years before being restored to favour. He then kept clear of the troubles of the Readeption and was elevated to the archdiocese of York.

The grounds for the justification of this study, then, are that the financial organisation of the bishopric of Durham has not been studied in depth before; that the period chosen has a large number of the necessary documents surviving; that what happened to the financial position of one of the richest men in England in the third quarter of the 15th century may shed further light both on the movement of incomes in the 15th century in general and in particular, the period of the Wars of the Roses.

II Laurence Booth and William Dudley

The nature of the study does not require full biographies of the two men who successively were bishops of Durham, but it has been thought useful to include at this juncture an outline of their careers on the grounds that it would illuminate details of their rule as bishops.

The career of Laurence Booth is yet another example of how the Church in the Middle Ages provided an avenue for social advancement. Laurence Booth was the illegitimate son of Sir Robert Booth.(2) His legitimate brothers also entered/

entered the church: William became Archbishop of York, and John, Bishop of Exeter. Laurence was sent to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he became a bachelor of Civil Law by 1448 and a licentiate by 1450. In 1450 he became master of his hall, retaining the position until his death. By 1456 he was Chancellor of the University,(3) retaining the position till at least December 1458. Having obtained papal dispensation as the son of unmarried parents for promotion to Holy Orders before 1442, and to the priesthood in 1446, he then set about obtaining and exchanging church livings. In January 1440 he became Rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London, exchanging this in December 1441 to become Rector of Cottenham, Cambridgeshire. This he vacated in December 1456. In 1444 he became Rector of Hemingford Abbots, Hertfordshire, and vacated this in 1448. In 1446 he became a canon and prebendary at Stoke by Clare, Suffolk, and he still retained these positions in 1454. In July 1449 he became a canon and prebendary at Lichfield, but he exchanged these positions in November of the same year when he became a canon and prebendary at St Paul's, London. In November 1450 he obtained papal dispensation to hold two incompatible benefices. From 1452-57 he was canon and prebendary at Beverley, Yorkshire. He became archdeacon of Stow in the diocese of Lincoln in April 1452, but vacated the office in September 1452. Also in 1452, he became vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry. It is, therefore, not surprising that he sought and obtained a papal indulgence to farm his benefices in July 1452. From 1453 to 1457 he was a canon and prebendary of York. He became Dean of St. Paul's, London in November 1456, and Provost of Beverley, Yorkshire in May 1457/

in May 1457 - both positions being vacated on becoming Bishop of Durham.

It would be a mistake, however, to think of Booth as concentrating on spiritual or academic concerns. It would seem that his main interests were legal and political. He attached himself to Queen Margaret's following and he rose to be her Chancellor in 1452. This was but a springboard to the post of Keeper of the Privy Seal in September 1456. In the same year he was appointed one of the commissioners to renew existing truces with Scotland, and in 1457 was appointed one of the tutors and guardians of the Prince of Wales.(4)

On 15th September 1457, Laurence Booth was appointed Bishop of Durham by the provision of Calixtus II. Booth had been recommended by letters of the king, Margaret of Anjou and some of the chief magnates of the realm. Later the king sent another letter - this time recommending his doctor, John Arundel. In the event Calixtus preferred the first candidate.(5)

Perhaps the most interesting of the political events of Laurence Booth's career are those from the time he became bishop until the confiscation of the temporalities of the bishopric. Booth owes his advancement to the influence of Queen Margaret, yet he played no prominent part in the clashes of Yorkists and Lancastrians, 1459-61. He retained his bishopric and was favoured by Edward IV, but then fell foul of him in 1462, having his temporalities confiscated and being spoken of in official documents as the "late bishop".(6)

Booth continued as Keeper of the Privy Seal at least until 7th July, 1460.(7) Because of his official position, he was one of the embassy which negotiated a truce with the Scots/

Scots at Newcastle upon Tyne in September 1459. This would account for the bond he entered into with the Bishop of London and the Prior of the Hospitallers for payment of £100 by the Chief Keeper of the Hanaper.(8) Far more important than this, however, and more consonant with the bishop's position, are the instructions to the collectors of customs at Newcastle and at London to allow Booth to export sacks of wool without paying custom duties until £1048 in each case was cleared, since it is stated that the king owes Booth that sum.(9) Booth found the times suitable to acquire property near London - at Battersea, Wandsworth and Wassington.(10)

In November 1459, Booth attended the Coventry Parliament where he was among those swearing allegiance to Henry VI and to the Prince of Wales, and he acted as trier of petitions. With the attainting of the Yorkist lords, he seized the lands of the Earl of Warwick which lay within the bishopric. Despite this, at the Parliament following the battle of Northampton Booth was given a general pardon.(11) He appears to have played no conspicuous part in the events leading up to the Battle of Towton, but must have made his peace with Edward IV at the right time, for at the Parliament following Towton he served as trier of petitions and had the right to forfeitures within the bishopric specially reserved. He continued in favour for the rest of 1461 and the early months of 1462, for on 20th February 1462 he and William Nevil, Earl of Kent, were granted for life the king's manor or lordship of Wressle, Yorkshire.(12) Four days later, he was granted for life the priory and manor of Tooting Beck, Surrey and a parcel of the priory of Okeburn with the advowson /

advowson of the church of Streatham, Surrey.[13] Earlier in the month he was appointed one of the ambassadors to John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles.[14] This may be partly accounted for by the driving back on 28th June, 1461, of an attack by the Lancastrians on Durham.[15]

It comes as a surprise then, to find that in December 1462 the teporalities of the bishopric were confiscated. It is tempting to link this, however, with the complaint of John Lound, who had been appointed temporal chancellor by Robert Nevil, that Booth in 1461 became a "heavy lord and doeth strangely", and Lound went to George Nevil, Edward IV's chancellor.[16]

The temporalities were ordered to be seized on 7th December 1462,[17] and officers were appointed, as in the case of a vacancy on 28th December 1462.[18] The commission gives no reason for the seizure. The first clause suggests that Edward's interest was financial, but both the Dictionary of National Biography and R.L. Storey[19] believe that suspicion of Booth for involvement with Queen Margaret's campaign of that year to be more likely. The custody of the temporalities were given to Sir John Fogge, treasurer of the king's household; to Sir John Scott, controller of the household;[20] and to Sir Thomas Colt; to them was committed the arrears due to Booth, the care of his goods and chattels, and they were further commanded to pay out of such arrears £3,000 to the treasurer of the royal household.[21] It is far from certain that any such sum was paid over.[22] Stephen Preston and John Sturgeon received letters under the Privy Seal of the King committing to them the charge of the coals belonging to Laurence, late bishop of Durham, and granting them the authority/

authority to sell it.[23]

It took Booth something over a year to convince the king of his loyalty. On 15th April, 1464, he was allowed by the king to absent himself for three years from all Parliaments and Councils, and to live where he liked in England.[24] Two days later the temporalities were restored to him.[25] A letter under the Privy Seal was sent to those officers appointed for the period of the temporalities being in the king's hands, ordering them to give up their offices as the temporalities were restored.[26] But another letter was sent to the Chancellor of the bishopric under the Signet directing him to levy immediately all sums due to the bishopric so that the king might be paid what was due to him.[27] A letter was sent under the Signet to John Sturgeon, late receiver-general of the temporalities of the bishopric, to William Raket and Robert Wardale, former auditors there, directing them to surcease from such offices and to have no more to do with any debts or duties owing to the Lord Bishop there, who had excused his non-payment of certain moneys by alleging the action of letters to them commanding the levying of the arrears of the temporalities of the bishopric.[28] During the period of the confiscation and up to 1466, Booth resided for long periods at Cambridge.[29]

For the next seven years Booth left little trace of his activities, and it would seem that he led the life of a private person, possibly giving some time to the running of his estates.[30] Equally, Booth's role at the time of the Readeption is not clear - there are no references to his taking sides and he was not appointed a Justice of the Peace by Henry VI./

by Henry VI. But from the subsequent events it seems clear that Booth did not commit himself heavily to the Lancastrians. It is not clear, however, if he consistently adhered to Edward IV. Booth did profit from his loyalty. He obtained a letter under the Privy Seal from Edward IV, that he, Edward, was content that the bishop should enjoy the possession of the manor and castle of Barnard Castle forfeited to the Church and Bishop, for the time being, of Durham by John Balliol.(31) In July 1471, he was granted, for £700 paid to the Exchequer, the manor of Milton, Cambridgeshire, late of Robert Lowe, Esq., forfeited to the king. Also granted was land in Battersea, Wandsworth and Wassingham, late of John Stanley, Esq., forfeited to the king.(32) Two days earlier Booth had been named one of the administraters of the Principality of Wales, the Duchy of Cornwall, and the county of Chester for the king's eldest son.(33) Lastly, he retained the Warwick forfeitures within the Palatinate.

From 1471 Booth became, once again, influencial in the administration of the kingdom. In the Parliaments of 1471, 1472 and 1473, he served as a trier of petitions. In the later year he obtained a royal licence admitting his right to coin in Durham not only 'sterlings', as had been the custom with his predecessors, but also half-pence.(34) In 1473 Booth achieved his greatest office - that of Chancellor of England. Bishop Stillington, the Chancellor, became ill and the Great Seal was transferred to Booth on 27th July. He presided in the Parliament of that year, prorogued it, and shortly after its reassembly, dismissed it, having exhorted the Commons to deal liberally with the king in the approaching war/

war with France.[35] Booth did not retain the office long: he returned the Great Seal on 25th May, 1474. The Dictionary of National Biography concludes that the burden of the office was too great for Booth,[36] maintaining that Booth's policies were continued by his successor and also that his continuing favour at court is shown by the king putting into his custody the temporalities of the Archbishopric of York within ten days of the death of the disgraced Archbishop Nevil.[37] It is not clear that this conclusion is correct. The Archbishop of York had no Palatine authority, he did not control a key frontier region, and he did not have the same financial resources.[38] On the other hand the ecclesiastical dignity of the Archbishop of York was greater, as he was Primate of England and a Papal Legate.[39] It may be, that with advancing age (he was to die in 1480) Booth found the ecclesiastical dignity more than compensation for the loss of political power.

Booth was installed as Archbishop of York on 8th September 1476. He was not, however, to enjoy his new dignity long, since he died on 19th May 1480. He was buried at the collegiate church of Southwell, beside his brother, Archbishop William. He retained the Mastership of Pembroke Hall to his death and was a liberal benefactor of the college, leaving it nearby houses, and confirming to it Soham, Linton and Isleham, and leaving it the manor of Orton Waterville, Huntingdonshire, and the advowson of the rectory.[40] In his will he left the manor of Battersea and a house he had built there to the Archbishop of York.

Relations between Booth and his successor, William Dudley/

Dudley, appear to have been less than cordial. On 2nd May 1477, Dudley gave Booth a bond of 8,000 marks that he would obey the king's arbitration and judgment in all matters of controversy, quarrels and demands concerning the repairs and delapidations in the bishopric. Booth gave Dudley a similar bond with the same conditions, but the record is marked 'cancelled because the Bishop requested that it should be cancelled.'(41) Dudley took the matter further: a papal letter dated the 13th June 1477 was sent to the bishops of Worcester, Carlisle and Rochester on the petition of Dudley. It had been alleged that Booth had allowed dilapidation and waste on the estates, and that he had alienated fees not only to his relatives but also to other powerful men. The bishops were to hear both sides and decide what was just, without appeal.(42) A year later, however, Dudley gave Booth a quittance of all actions and demands that he might have against him by reason of non-payment of waste and dilapidations of the churches of Durham and of all castles, demesne, manors etc. belonging to the said bishop , by guile, negligence or failure, which repairs the said Laurence, as the then Bishop of Durham was bound to execute.(43)

This was not the only problem facing Booth after he left Durham. On 10th June 1478 Ralph Booth, clerk of the archdeaconry of York, and John Booth, Esq., son and heir of Robert Booth, Esq., gave a bond of £1,000 to the king. The condition was that:

> "Whereas great sums are owing to the Archbishop by divers persons while he was Bishop of Durham it is agreed, that the Archbishop, before Michaelmas next, shall show the king/

king such debts as are owing to him, and the debtors' names; and the king before All Hallows next shall appoint as many of the debts as amount to 1,000 marks and after the same choice is made, shall make the Archbishop or his executors have knowledge of his choice and the parcels of the debts so chosen, after which the Archbishop shall not discharge any of the debts so chosen but by assent of the king; and he shall avow suits and executions of the same when by command of the king against the debtors at the king's costs and charges; he shall suffer the king to enjoy or levy to his own use in the Archbishop's name the said sum of 1,000 marks without interruption so that he be not hurt or prejudiced by the deed or negligence of any person assigned to be attorney to sue for the recovery of the said debts, that then the said obligation be void." (44)

The key to understanding this debt of 1,000 marks seems to lie in the entries on the Calendar of the Close Rolls which follow. First, Booth gives the king the quittance of all actions etc.; then gives the same to John Fogge, John Scott (late controller of the king's household) and John Sturgeon. These three men were the officials sent to Durham by the king at the time of the confiscation of the temporalities. It would seem as if Booth was able to make composition with the king for the sums of money which the king still claimed and that Booth would not have the burden and costs of raising the money.

Laurence Booth, then, was able and adroit enough to have obtained the second highest ecclesiastical office in the country, and, briefly, the senior administrative one. All this in times/

in times of political disruption. He rose by service to one of the parties, was acceptable to the other, then fell foul to the second and struggled to regain trust and favour. This is due primarily, it is suggested, to Booth's character as an administrater, prepared to continue administering despite political change.(45) He also seems to have been shrewd politically, by changing loyalty to Edward IV in 1460-61, and remaining loyal to him at the time of the Readeption. His one political mistake, it would seem, was to dally with Queen Margaret in 1462.

William Dudley's career in contrast was politically straight forward: he was attached to Edward IV's service early, remained loyal at the Readeption, and for this was rewarded with ecclesiastical preferment. Within the national records there is no reference to him for administrative service despite his closeness to the king.

William was the younger (probably the third) son of John Sutton de Dudley, baron Dudley, by Elizabeth Barkeley, his wife.(46) His father had served in France under Henry V, and he bore the royal standard at the king's funeral. He was Viceroy of Ireland, 1428-30, and ambassador to Brittany in 1447, and to Burgundy in 1449. He served as treasurer of the household to Henry VI 'for a time'. Not unnaturally he favoured the Lancastrians, was captured at the Battle of St. Albans, 1455, and subsequently sent to the Tower.(47) Later he made his peace with Edward IV and his son William was firmly attached to the Yorkists.

William went to Oxford University, supplicating for his B.A. in March 1454, which was determined in October 1454; and supplicating/

and supplicating for his M.A. in February 1456, which was dispensed in March 1462. Like Booth he obtained a succession of benefices. From 1457-75 he was rector of Malpas, Cheshire; 1461-76, dean of Wolverhampton; 1465-76, rector of Shrawardine Chapel, Shropshire. In 1466 he became rector of Wells, Norfolk and vacated it the same year to become rector of Hendon, Middlesex, holding this probably until 1476. From 1466 he was a canon and prebendary of York; from 1468 he was a canon and prebendary of St. Paul's, London; from 1471, a canon and prebendary of Salisbury. In 1471 he became a canon and prebendary of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, resigning it to become dean of the Chapel Royal in the same year. Also in 1471 he became dean of the King's Free Chapel of Bridgnorth, Shropshire. In 1472 he became a canon and prebendary of Newarke College and Hospital, Leicester, and in the same year, its dean. In 1472 he became canon and prebendary of Chichester. The following year he was made dean of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. In 1475 he became canon and prebendary of Beverley, Yorkshire, and the same year, archdeacon of Middlesex, and also rector of Stamford Dingley, Berkshire. All of these positions he vacated when he became bishop of Durham, by papal provision 31st July 1476.

Outside this list of ecclesiastical preferment little is known of William Dudley. Perhaps the event which ensured his rise to power was his taking 160 men to Doncaster to join Edward IV after his landing at Ravenspur Head in 1471.(48) He was one of the envoys who negotiated the treaty of Picquigny, August 1475; an envoy to treat for a commercial treaty with France/

France in July 1477; and took part in the negotiations with Charles de Montigny, bishop of Elne, envoy of Louis XI, in January and February 1479.

It seems possible he was attached to the Woodvilles, since, on 24th June 1475, custody of the lands of the late Earl of Shrewsbury, late Earl of Wiltshire and late Earl of Oxford was granted to the Queen, Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury, and William Dudley.(49) But William was also a supporter of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and R.J. Knecht says this is why Dudley was made Chancellor of Oxford University in succession to Lionel Woodville.(50) William Dudley died on 29th November, 1483, and was buried beneath an elaborate monument in the chapel of St. Nicholas in Westminster Abbey.

While little is known of the personality of Laurence Booth, at least sufficient records concerning him have survived to build up an idea of his official persona. In contrast, William Dudley is a shadowy creature, leaving traces almost solely by the record of his ecclesiastical preferments.

III Organisation of the thesis.

Finally in this introductory chapter, there remains to be discussed the organisation of the thesis. Since the research was centred upon the surviving account rolls of various ministers, the thesis follows a parallel pattern.

Within the Palatinate the various subordinate ministers were dependent upon the receiver-general in Durham Castle. The study/

The study, therefore, opens with an examination of the account rolls of the ministers responsible for the land: the coroners, the collectors and the bailiffs. This is followed by the accounts of the Master Forrester, for the coal mines and for the lead mines. Next come the accounts of the sheriffs and escheators, then those of the clerk of the works, and the instaurers. While the officials of the Yorkshire estates of Allerton, Howden and Crayke were not subordinate to the receiver-general in Durham, at times they did make payments to him, and for this reason they have been included before the major section on the receiver-general.

It was decided to discuss the holders of the various offices within the appropriate sections. This was done partly because many men held only one office or type of office and, therefore, there was unlikely to be much duplication of information; it was also felt that such discussions of the persons of the office holders provided information which illuminated the nature of the offices within the period of the study, and, therefore, it was appropriate to include it within the relevant sections.

The study closes with an examination of the financial position of the bishopric of Durham. This will be compared with the political background of the period, and with the economic background of the century; and the relative financial importance of the bishopric of Durham will be estimated.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CORONERS

R.L. Storey has already pointed out the special characteristics of the coroners in the Palatinate of Durham: that the bishop appointed them for the four wards (the one for Sadberge being hereditary), and that the cause of this was connected with the fiscal responsibilities.(1) The men who filled these posts were of social standing, part of an administrative class of landowners. From the list of coroners there are two examples of two members of a family serving as coroners. Thomas Asklakby was coroner for Chester ward in 1457-58 and Richard Asklakby was coroner of Easington ward while the temporalities were seized to the king's hand. William Claxton was coroner of Darlington ward from 1458-59 to 1463-64 and Ralph Claxton was coroner of Easington ward from 1464-65 to at least 1474-75. Moreover there is one example of three members of one family being coroners: the Sayers - John, Nicholas and Thomas - held the office of coroner of Stockton ward from 1458-59 to at least 1479-80. Further, the coroners belonged to families other members of which served the bishop in other offices. Robert Preston was coroner of Easington ward in 1443-44, 1455-56 and from at least 1459-60 to his death in 1462, while Henry Preston was Constable of Durham Castle/

Durham Castle. Richard Lewyn was coroner of Chester ward from 1458-59 until 1465-66 and clerk of the works from January to May 1458 and he was son and heir of Alice, widow of William Raket.(2)

A further sign that the coroners were a professional class can be seen in the length of time the offices were held. John Sayer may be unusual in serving at least sixteen consecutive years as coroner of Stockton ward; but Ralph Claxton, it is presumed, held the office in the Easington ward for eleven years. In the more onerous wards of Darlington and Chester, William Claxton held office in the former for six years, while at Chester, Richard Lewyn held it for eight years and then was followed by John Blenkinsop who was there for seven years. Of those holding it for a shorter period of time, Richard Asklakby is clearly a special case: he was appointed by Edward IV while the temporalities were seized to his hands and it would appear that he was fairly quickly replaced when Booth resumed the temporalities, because Ralph Claxton is coroner in 1464-65. It would appear that Thomas Popley and Thomas Asklakby, coroners of Darlington and Chester wards respectively in 1457-58, were replaced as part of an administrative reorganisation by the new bishop. The same reason may account for the removal of Laurence Stansfeld.(3) The lack of evidence precludes any estimate of the time in office of Roland Thirlfeld, John Parkinson and Richard Booth.

These administrative officials, according to Storey(4) and Lapsley(5) were appointed by letters patent under the great seal of the bishopric, after taking an oath for the true performance/

performance of their duties. The evidence for this procedure is thin during the episcopate of Laurence Booth: there are only three references to the appointment of coroners in the calendar.(6) The first is in letters patent of Edward IV, the temporalities being in his hands, appointing Richard Asklakby coroner of Easington ward, which was vacant by reason of the death of Robert Preston.(7) The second is the grant to Laurence Stansfeld of the office of coroner of Chester ward in the 19th year of Booth.(8) The third is the recognisance for the due execution of the office of coroner of Darlington ward by Ronald Thirkeld in the 10th year of Booth.(9)

Such men needed to be of position and ability, for their financial responsibilities were heavy. Each year they rendered account, and approximately 40% of these accounts have survived for the years of the study.(10) The form of the account for the four wards was the same. There is first a total of arrears from previous years. Then there are marginal headings of all the vills in the ward from which the coroner should collect revenue. The entries under the vills form a paragraph consisting of individual items and who owed them,(11) following which there is a 'summa'. At the end of the list of vills there is a 'summa totalis recepte cum arreragiis'. Following this there is a heading of decayed and decreased rents and farms, with the items enumerated under vills. Next there is a heading of 'liberationes denariorum', which consists of payments to the receiver-general under two headings: arrears and current issues. There is next the 'summa omnium allocationum et liberationum denariorum predictorum', with the 'et debet'. This is followed by a further/

further list of allowances: the only principle in the order of which appears to be which notes come to the scribe's hands first as he was drawing up the account. Then the final 'et debet'. This is usually followed by a list of items for which the coroner asks to be respited, until further inquiry can be made. This is a purely formal request as the total under this heading is increased by the same regular amount every year. This is usually followed by details of the debts of the coroner and his predecessors, and occasionally debts of important men in the ward: notably the Earl of Westmoreland in the Chester ward. From what has been said above, it is clear that the coroner's rolls were designed to show the liability of these officials.

The coroner was not simply held liable for the arrears of his own years in office. First, he was held liable for the arrears for all previous coroners during the episcopate of the bishop for the time being: for instance, Roland Thirlfeld becomes coroner of the Darlington ward for the year 1466-67,(12) yet in the account for this year he is charged with arrears of £765.0.11¾d.(13) Second, as a corollary of the first, if a man was coroner during two episcopates, in the account for the second of them he was only held liable for his years in office under that bishop. In the Chester ward, Laurence Stansfield was coroner in 1475-76, the last full year of Booth's episcopate; and also in 1476-77, the first year of Dudley's.(14) But in the roll of 1478-79 Stansfield is only reckoned to have arrears for Dudley's first year.

The first item in the accounts, the arrears, is the figure of the final 'et debet' at the foot of the preceeding year's account.(16) /

year's account.[16] That is, it includes the amounts for which the coroner is asking respite. For instance, in the year 1461-62 in the Chester ward there is a final 'et debet' of £920.8.3d.[17] which appears in the account of 1462-63 as the figure under arrears.[18] Therefore it is clear that the auditors refused to exonerate the coroners of the amounts they asked to be respited, which in 1461-62 totals £207.10.5d. The remaining account in the 'et debet' is made up from the figures given under the heading 'supra' after the respites, in this case £37.4.8d. owed by Thomas Asklakby, a former coroner, and £675,13.2d. from Richard Lewyn, the present coroner, consisting both of arrears and current issues. The annual growth in arrears, where this can be ascertained, (this depends on the existence of two consecutive rolls) appears to follow no clear trend, at least the paucity of figures makes any generalisation rash.

ANNUAL VARIATION IN ARREARS

(in £'s)

	1460-61	1461-62	1462-63	1466-67	1467-68	1468-69
Darlington	150			1		
Chester		329	241		89	54
Easington				43		
Stockton	6	7	18			

	1469-70	1470-71	1471-72	1472-73	1475-76	1477-78
Darlington						
Chester	126	78				
Easington		21				
Stockton			-20*	11	2	6

*This is a real decline in arrears

The entries for the vills and the totals of these - what I shall call the 'nominal rents' - remain fairly stable./

stable. But there is enough variation to show that these were under constant review, even though the difference between the nominal and the reality remained wide. The total for the Darlington ward varied between £270.1.10d. in 1459-60[19] and £285.9.1½d in 1466-67;[20] Chester ward, between £313.13.7d. in 1470-71[21] and £326.17.6d. in 1476-77;[22] Easington ward between £121.19.2¾d. in 1459-60[23] and £129.15.3¾d. in 1474-75;[24] Stockton ward, between £25.13.9¼d. in 1460-61[25] and £25.18.10¼d. in 1477-78.[26] These variations can in part be explained, but not entirely. For instance, in Stockton ward, no reason can be discovered why 188884 (1460-61) is £25.13.9¼d. instead of £25.13.10d.; or why 188886(1462-63) is £25.13.11d. The entries are the same in the other rolls in existence as 1468-69 which totals £25.13.10d. The cause, however, of some of the variations can be demonstrated. First, it can be caused by the change in the farm, very often of a town or a mill: for instance at Northaukland in 1459-60[19] and 1460-61[27] the town and mills together render £16; in 1466-67[20] the mill renders £16 and the town, £5; in 1476-77[28] the mills render £17.6.8d. and the town, £5. The trend is by no means always upwards as can be seen in the Easington ward from the farm of the town and the mills of Durham[29]: in 1459-60, 1466-67,[30] 1469-70,[31] 1470-71[32] it is at the rate of £53.6.8d.; in 1465-66[33] it goes up to £60 and in 1474-75[34] and 1477-78[35] it is £54.13.4d. The second cause of the variations is the presence of renders of corn, oats and malt, or rather commutation of such renders: the quantity of the render is the same in all years but the price varies. For example in the Darlington ward at Brafferton, there is a render/

render of seven bushels of corn and seven of oats and one quarter six bushels of malt. Other items there total £2.3.6d[36] and the triple render brings the total to £2.16.4d. in 1459-60;[37] £3.1.3½d. in 1460-61;[38] £2.14.7d. in 1466-67;[39] and £2.11.5¾d. in 1476-77.[40] In the Chester ward alone new entries appear from land previously waste; at Kyowepeth in 1478-79 there is a new entry of one shilling for a 'parcel of waste.'[41] There are also new entries at Hampsteles and Burnhope in 1475-76 and 1476-77; at Rughside in 1476-77; and at Heley and Rowley in 1475-76.[42] Also in the Chester ward alone there are entries for the profits of the hallmoot courts: such entries occur at Urpeth, Exchequer Land at Newton and Plawesworth, Broom and Flassh, Hampsteles and Burnhope, Corneshowe, Rughside, Benfeldside, Buttesfeld, - but the total charge for the period under study is only £7.6.7d.

I shall turn to the sources of the revenue with which the coroners were charged. Lapsley thought that the coroners' accounts were unsatisfactory and inadequate evidence for this purpose: 'The earliest coroner's account which has survived (1466) shows principally a list of rents and issues of lands, which for one reason or other - for escheat, nonage or the like - were in the hands of the bishop; but this list is made up only of incidentals; the details of the more regular issues of his office had been noted separately.' He continues in a footnote: 'Ecclesiastical Commissioners, ministers' accounts 189697. The coroner noted the issues of his office "in quodam quatirno papiri de recepta sua in cancellaria Dunelm." This practice appears more fully in the account for 1530, where the sums alone are named.'[43]

The coroners'/

The coroners' rolls cannot have been used in the drawing up of the receiver-general's accounts. It is true that the figures of payments from current issues is the same as totals of receipts in the receiver-general's rolls recorded as being in the charge of the coroner. However, the receiver-general's rolls record the receipts from each vill in the coroner's charge and this information cannot be obtained directly from the coroners' rolls,(44) and the receiver-general's rolls nowhere record the total received from each coroner. The only clue as to how the receiver-general received his detailed information is in the phrasing of the formula of the 'liberationes denariorum':

> 'Et in denariis liberatis .....receptori generali Dunelm. tam de arreragiis quam de exitibus huius anni tam per manus suas proprias quam per manus diversorum liberorum tententium et aliorum firmariorum denariorum in Scaccario Dunelm. solutis sic ut continetur in quodam quatirno papiri de recepta sua in cancellaria Dunelm. remanenti.'(45)

No such 'quatirnus papiri' is known to have survived for the period of this study.

Storey's comment on the role of the coroners is as brief as Lapsley's, but more apposite:

> 'The tenants-in-chief of the bishopric held their lands by various kinds of services which usually included the payments of certain sums at the exchequer in Durham. The collection of these feudal rents was the responsibility of the coroners of the four wards and the wapentake of Sadberge: the account roll of a coroner describes him as being/

> as being also "the collector of all the free farms and of the exchequer", and the receipts listed are the fixed sums paid by hereditary tenants who were usually people of some social standing. (cites 188879)'[46]

It merely remains to illustrate this from the sources. The examples have been chosen from the entries in the Darlington and Chester wards and represent the commuted price of the items mentioned. Gilded spurs were to be rendered at Halghton, North Bedburn, and South Bedburn; there was carriage of wine at Westhikley, West Auckland and Usworth; of wax at Broom and Flassh; cumin from the exchequer land of Newton and Plawsworth; pepper from Consett; unmewed sparrowhawks at North Bedburn (two cases) and South Bedburn. This is not an exhaustive list but serves to illustrate the point that the land, for which the value of these items was to be rendered, had been granted a considerable time before, when render in kind was thought to be more convenient than render in money. The examples quoted are unusual rather than being the norm. The vast majority of the entries are for free rents of lands or farms[47] of organisational units - for instance, towns,[48] vills, granges,[49] mills[50] and mines.[51] The hereditary tenants might be people of some social standing, but the totals for the vills are made up of, in many cases, a multitude of small amounts. A relatively concise example of this is Blakwell:

> 'Et de £1.3.8d de libero redditu Johannis Blakwell. pro uno messuagio et quinque bovatis per annum ad eosdem terminos.
>
> Et de 12d. de redditu eiusdem Johannis pro uno tofto et uno crofto/

uno crofto continentibus unam rodam et dimidiam terre per annum ad eosdem terminos.

Et de 2d. de libero redditu eiusdem Johannis pro uno crofto quondam Johannis Oxenhall. per annum ad eosdem terminos.

Et de 4d. de libero redditu Willelmi Strigate. capellani pro uno acri terre apud Eclestanetoftes. per annum ad eosdem terminos.

Et de 16d. de libero redditu Petri Thomson. pro dimidio acri et dimidia rode terre iacante apud Oxenflat. per annum ad eosdem terminos.

Summa £1.6.6d.' (52)

A further indication that this revenue came from Storey's 'feudal rents' can be seen in the fact that the vast majority of the entries of the Chester ward, where land was granted for life or term of years, concern land coming from waste. (53) It is noticeable that the majority of these entries are for small areas at a low rent per acre: the total for the 41 entries in any year is £7.11.4d., while only four of these account for £4.14.2d. It will be noticed that there are two entries each for Framwellgate and for Newton and Plawsworth: for the free farms and the exchequer land. These entries are merged in the receiver-general's accounts and, in the coroners' accounts themselves, the figures for decayed rents and for allowances do not specify which they apply to. There seems to be no difference in kind in the entries under the two headings and no plausible explanation for the differentiation has been arrived at.

The decayed rents show a comparable stability to the nominal rents./

nominal rents. An analysis of the entries for the Chester ward shows that the entries divide into two kinds: the decayed rents proper, when we are told that the land is in the lord's hands, often for lack of tenants; and, what is more exactly known as decreased rents when we are told that the land is let for life or term of years at a lower farm, or more fully, that the land fell to the lord's hands for lack of tenants and has been let for less. This explanation holds good for Easington ward: but the Stockton ward is a little different. Here, the heading is 'exonerated rents', and it describes the entries more accurately. There is one case of decreased rent, while at Maynsford two items are to be charged to the bailiff, and at Preston, one to the escheator. The total at Stockton remains fixed at £1.10.11d. for each year for which records survive, except for 1475-76 where the decreased rents, instead of being 17.6d., is 7.6d. with the note that the land has been let to the tenants.(54) In the Easington ward the total of £1.17.4d. is maintained during all the years. The position in the Darlington and Chester wards is complicated by the fact that the medieval and modern totals of the entries do not agree. At Darlington it is not particularly serious: in 1459-60 and 1460-61 the medieval total is £8.1.0d. and the modern, £8.; and in 1466-67 and 1476-77, £6.13.4d. and £6.14.4d.(55) The difference in the years is due to the disappearance in the later two of an entry of £1.6.8d. for the Wolsingham mills; an increase of one shilling allowed for a landholder at North Auckland; and possibly, that the allowance of two shillings to the dean of Auckland is underlined and hence may not have been allowed/

allowed by the auditors. Therefore it seems that the reason for the difference between the medieval and modern totals remains in all the accounts, whatever it may be. At Chester the reason is equally unknown: for most years the addition of the entries gives a figure 2d. lower than that worked from the total of these and the payments. That is, except for 1457-58 where the addition of the entries comes to £1 more and in 1470-71 where it is 2.2d. lower. The annual variations can be accounted for by changes at Framwellgate in 1460-61 and in 1466-67 and 1468-69; at Urpath in 1468-69; at Newton and Plawsworth and Gateshead in 1475-76.(56)

I have said(57) that the receipts in the receiver-general's accounts coming from the coroners match the payments from current issues on the coroners' accounts. These usually are the largest item in the payments, but the payments of arrears to the receiver-general is always of size, and appear as the 'foreign receipts' on his arrears accounts. It is unfortunate that no details of the arrears are given either in the receiver-general's accounts or the coroners': it is quite impossible to say how much of the arrears were due in the previous year and how much in the years before. Major variations in the arrears can often be traced to low current issues (where the rolls survive). For instance, probably the war in the north caused current issues in 1461-62 to be abnormally low - in the Chester ward only £10.9.4d., and in the Stockton ward, £1.17.0d.,(58) - and the arrears in 1462-63 abnormally high: in the Chester ward, £123.18.10½d., and in the Stockton ward, £19.5.6½d.(59)

For most other years the fluctuations in levels of payments to the /

to the receiver-general are not wide, with one curious exception. In the year 1475-76, that is 18-19 Booth, the only rolls surviving - those of Chester (60) and Stockton (61) wards - state that nothing was paid to the receiver-general. Unfortunately, the receiver-general's roll for that year has not survived, and the arrears roll for the following year, even if it had survived, would not have helped as it was Dudley's first year. No reason is given in the coroners' rolls for this and no satisfactory explanation has been deduced.

MONEY PAID BY THE CORONERS TO THE RECEIVER-GENERAL
(to nearest £)

	DARLINGTON		CHESTER		EASINGTON		STOCKTON	
	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A
1457-58			193	0				
1458-59								
1459-60	69	42			73	3	16	2
1460-61	117	111	108	62			12	6
1461-62			10	47			2	4
1462-63			95	124			11	19
1463-64							[illegible]	[illegible]
1464-65							12	3
1465-66					79	1		
1466-67	127	41	147	57	72	28		
1467-68			147	68				
1468-69			120	46				
1469-70			128	72	80	17		
1470-71			141	58	82	37	15	29
1471-72							13	1
1472-73							12	1
1473-74								
1474-75					84	1	22	0
1475-76			0	84			0	1
1476-77	140	0	138	0			18	0
1477-78					83	0	17	0
1478-79			166	47				
TOTAL	453	194	1395	665	553	86	160	69
Average - excluding first years of episcopates for arrears and last for current -	112	49	127	66	79	12	13	6

Average totals for all four wards - £464.

N.B. C = current. A.= arrears.

It has been said above, that the payments from the coroners' accounts equal the total of those in the receiver-general's accounts. The principle of this is clear, but in practice there are differences. In the 25 cases where both the coroners' rolls and the receiver-general's rolls exist the totals are identical in only 12 of the cases. Of the 13 where there are differences, 8 of these could be due to scribal error - for example in 1467-68 in the Chester ward, the coroner's roll states that £147.8.3d.[62] has been paid over, while the receiver-general's states that the sum received is £158.8.3d.[63] The differences are in both directions, sometimes the receiver-general's figure is lower than the coroner's. In the other 5 cases the difference is more complex. For instance, in the Easington ward in 1474-75, the coroner gives the figure of £84.7.9d.[64] and the receiver-general, £73.14.0d.[65] Again, there are instances of the difference working in the other direction. This later class of differences lead to the speculation that the coroners' and receiver-general's rolls alone do not tell the full story of the payments made to the receiver-general, and hence to the possibility that the differences mentioned above were not, or were not all, scribal. However, the detailed procedure in making the payments cannot be discovered as no documents survive for this period which can shed any light on the question. It is possible that the 'quatirnus papiri' referred to in the payments would have solved the problem. Any hypothesis on the lines that the differences represent either money paid to the receiver-general, or a payment not allowed, following the coroner closing his account for the year but before the receiver-general closed his, is faced with the difficulty that the coroner would never get his account straightened/

straightened out, since there is no trace of any adjustments in the following years.[66]

The arrears from the coroners' accounts are transferred to the previous year's receiver-general's arrears account.[67] Twelve examples of this has been noted and the figures correspond exactly in nine of these. The other three examples are all for the same year: the arrears account for 1458-59[68] and the coroners' accounts for 1459-60,[69] and the differences are considerable. No cause of the year's difference in the accounting system appears from the evidence of the study. But a possible hypothesis can be arrived at from what we know of the accounting procedure. It is known that the audit frequently lasted into January and February, and further, that the receiver-general's arrears account was the last to be closed.[70] If the coroners closed their accounts at Michaelmas, or a few days later, it is quite possible that by late January or early February they would have collected more money which they would have paid to the receiver-general. The receiver-general would have his money, and would presumably have to account for how he got it, so it would be entered on his account which was still open: his arrears account. The coroners, however, having closed their accounts would be forced to enter it on their accounts which would end on the following Michaelmas.

Following the 'liberationes' there is the statement of the total of payments and decays and an 'et debet'. Between this and the final 'et debet' there is a paragraph of allowances. These are largely non-recurrent items and a rag-bag - if they had been easily and regularly classifiable they would not appear between the 'et debets'. An attempt, however,

however, must be made to classify the entries. First, there are allowances for mills which have been standing empty for part of the year to enable repairs to be done. These entries are usually for small amounts, often two or three shillings, and represent the number of days that the mill was empty at whatever rate the farm was at. There are no payments for work done, these appear elsewhere, probably in the clerk of the works account.(71) Next there is the allowances for payments made or goods rendered to the bishop's officers. The account of 1466-67 for the Darlington ward(72) provides a number of these: for £2 paid to Thomas Langton, former treasurer of the household, by Thomas Popley, farmer of Richenhall; for £1.15.7d. allowed from the charge of William Parish (the coroner) the price of grain paid to the lord's household; for £0.2.9d. paid to Henry Radcliff, treasurer of the lord's household, for carriage to Midelham in the previous year. Occasionally, there are allowances for the payment of the coroner's fee,(73) and more surprisingly for other officials too: in the Darlington ward in 1476-77 there is an allowance £4.11.3d. paid to the master forester, in fee of James Tipping, keeper of the park of Auckland at 3d. a day.(74) In the Chester ward in 1475-76 (Booth's last full year as bishop), there are allowances for special services performed by certain officials.(75) Laurence Stansfield, the coroner, is allowed £2 for his diligent work both for putting pressure on the collectors to render their accounts, and for riding to make distraint on various free farms. John Raket is given an annuity of £1.6.8d. to be taken from the meadow in Framwellgate called 'Le Bishopmedow' for the term of his life for/

for his faithful service as custodian of the armour of the bishop in the wardrobe of Durham Castle. There is also an allowance of £10 for the fee of Robert Tempest, vicar of Durham, allowed to him by the bishop and allowed in this account by oral order of the bishop. Occasionally in the Darlington ward and frequently in the Chester ward, there are allowances for decayed and decreased rents, and there is a pronounced tendency for these to occur regularly. It would seem to show a certain administrative inertia in not placing these under the earlier heading of decays. At Chester they are prominent at the beginning of the period (76) and remain so throughout it. The remaining allowances seem virtually unclassifiable. There are allowances by the bishop's special command (with no reason being given); (77) for the building of a house by a bill of the steward; for arrears of a former coroner, which have been paid direct to the receiver-general. (78) In the roll of the Chester ward for 1462-63 there can be seen some effects of the war in the north. (79) There are allowances of £1.18.0d. for animals captured by the robbers (fures) of Tynedale and of £3.6.3d. for a vill despoiled by them. There is an allowance of 8s8d. because the herbage of William Raket in Framwellgate was distrained by soldiers of the king. There is a payment (the amount is uncertain owing to damage to the manuscript) to various men for their wages in guarding the tower of the bishop at Gateshead by order of the Earl of Kent and the king's council being at Durham; and there is an allowance of £5.6.8d. on the farm of the mills and fishery at Whikham because they were occupied by the Earl of Kent. Not all entries between the 'et debets' were allowances: there are a few cases of additional charges. For instance, thereis/

there is 6s.8d. charged on the farm of Wolsingham water-mill because it was let to the rector of Wolsingham at this higher rent for three years.(80) When the final 'et debet' is arrived at, this is the figure that the auditors agree that the coroner still owes, and it will be carried forward to the following years under arrears.

Following the final 'et debet' there is a list of respites on the rolls of all four wards. The theory of this procedure is shown in the first entry on the Darlington rolls. Thomas Surtees holds one messuage and a half bovate of land; each year the sum of 2s.6d. is respited out of an alleged total of £9.15.3d. This amount is to be deferred to the next account to be better inquired of from the steward. This is the theory. But the practice is different - nothing is done: the total to be respited grows at 2s.6d. per year so that in 1466-67 it becomes £1.5.0d.(81) Furthermore, in 1476-77, the first year of Dudley's episcopate, the item is still there at 2s.6d.(82) All the entries grow at a steady rate (occasionally there is what appears to be a scribal error and there is a minor difference) and nothing appears to have been done about them. The reasons for the respites are various (the one cited above is the sole example): often it is that it is not known where the land lies, or that the coroner does not know where to distrain. This would seem to indicate either that the same respites have been recurring for many years, or alternatively, that this is merely a formula. When it is stated that in respect of land in Escombe held by William Eure that the coroner does not know where to distrain - we may well suspect that it is just a formula. Other kinds of reasons seem more plausible: an alleged charter/

charter is produced saying that the money is no longer owed; that the land is lying waste; or that it has been let for less. There is one example where it is claimed that the issues of the land in question are answered for by the collector.[83] In the Stockton ward there are two special cases. At Carleton, despite the fact that the nominal rent is only 11s.4d., there is an annual respite of £1 for the fee of the coroner owed him for the vill of Carleton because it has been demised to penny hen (ad penyferm); also at Segefield in 1476-77[84] there is a respite of £4 - part of the free rent of William Beleside in the vill of Burtirwiske charged above under Segefield because Richard Baynbridge now tenant of the free rent claims £4 for his fee, agreed by the lord. A remarkable number of the commuted feudal rents (e.g. for golden spurs or carriage of wine) appear among the respites. No particular reason is evident for this.

The last entries on the rolls, under the heading 'supra', are a list of the principal debtors, in the main the coroners. It seems clear that the theory was that the total of these with the total of respites should be the same figure as the final 'et debet'. A study of the Darlington ward rolls indicates that there are some differences which are not explained but it is thought that the correspondence is sufficiently close to justify the statement.[85] In the Stockton ward the only entries under this heading are for the present coroner and his predecessors in the current episcopate. In the Easington ward the entries are of the coroners and also the farmers of Durham, Sunderland and (in 1477-78 only) Querrington, when they get in arrears. This tendency for the important debts or debtors to be enumerated/

enumerated is most extreme in the Darlington ward in 1466-67 when there are 15 separate entries, only 4 of which concern past or present coroners. Some of the debtors were important men: the Earl of Westmorland, Henry Gillow, Robert Eure, Henry Preston. The coroner may have intended to bring these to the notice of the auditors, and possibly the bishop, who would be in a better position to put on pressure to secure payment of the debts. In the Chester ward also the debts of the Earl of Westmorland were carefully enumerated. These at first are mentioned in the year 1466-67 when it is said he owes £24; by 1475-76 this debt has increased to £220.6.0d. But by 1476-77 this has been reduced to £1.13.4d. In 1466-67 the Earl of Westmorland is also in arrears for land held in the Darlington ward to the extent of £7.6.2d. There is, however, no mention of this in the next surviving roll: that of 1476-77. It is perhaps not too fanciful to see the results of these enumerations in the entry in the foreign receipts of the receiver-general's main account for 1470-71 where the Earl is said to have made a warrant of 400 marks to pay off his debts. (86)

In conclusion, the coroners were men of some social standing, and formed at least a semi-professional administrative class. Their payments to the receiver-general formed a relatively small part of their total charge and they inevitably ran into debt, which was allowed to accumulate through an episcopate. There is no evidence of any strong measures being taken to ensure payment of the debts. While they render money to the receiver-general and, in this sense, are under him, it would seem from the form of the account that no great degree of subjection was involved. The receiver-general merely/

merely notes the money they have passed to him and he is not held responsible for their arrears. In this the position of the coroners is markedly different from that of the collectors. To enable a clearer picture of the financial position of the coroners to be gained, this section concludes with summaries of the accounts for the coroners of the four wards for years in the middle of the study. Since for no year do all four accounts survive, years in the later 1460's have been chosen.

SUMMARY OF ENTRIES ON CORONERS' ACCOUNTS

	DARLINGTON 1466-67	CHESTER 1467-68	EASINGTON 1466-67	STOCKTON 1468-69
Arrears	765.0.11¾	1357.17.2¾	139.4.11¼	53.3.9¾
Current Charges	285.9. 1½	323. 9.10	122.6. 5½	25.13.10
Total	1040.10.1¼	1681. 7.0¾	261.11.4¾	78.17.7¾
Decayed Rents	6.13.4	12.18. 6	1.17.4	1.10.11
Arrears Payments	40.17.1	67.19.5½	27.15.11¼	2. 7. 0
Current Payments	127. 7.1	147. 8. 3	71.10. 2¾	11.17.2¾
Total Payments	174.17.6	228. 6.2½	101. 3. 5¾	15.15.1¾
Et debet	865.12.7¼	1453.0.10¼	160. 7.10¾	63. 2.6
Allowances	16.10.8	30.2. 6	11. 9. 1½	4
Et debet	849.1.11¼	1422.18.4¼	148.18. 9¼	62.18.6

LIST OF CORONERS

	DARLINGTON	CHESTER	EASINGTON	STOCKTON
1457-58	T.Popley(2)	T.Asklakby(1)		
1458-59	W.Claxton(2)	R.Lewyn(2)		J.Sayer(3)
1459-60	"(1)	"(2)	R.Preston(1)	"(1)
1460-61	"(1)	"(1)	"(5)	"(1)
1461-62	"(2)	"(1)	"(2)	"(1)
1462-63	"(2)	"(1)	R.Asklakby(8)	"(1)
1463-64	"(2)	"(2)	"(8)	"(5)
1464-65	W.Parish(2)	"(2)	R.Claxton(3)	"(1)
1465-66	"(1,10,2)	"(2)	"(1)	"(5)
1466-67	R.Thirlfield	J.Blenkinsop(1)	"(1)	"(5)
1467-68		"(1)	"(5)	"(5)
1468-69		"(1)	"(5)	"(1)
1469-70		"(1)	"(1)	"(5)
1470-71		"(1)	"(1)	"(1)
1471-72		"(2)	"(5)	"(1)
1472-73		"(2)	"(5)	"(1)
1473-74			"(5)	"(2)
1474-75		L.Stansfield(4)	"(1)	N.Sayer(1)
1475-76		"(1,9)		"(1)
1476-77	J.Parkinson(1)	"(2)		T.Sayer(1)
1477-78		"?(6)	R.Booth(1)	"(1)
1478-79		?(1)		

NOTES

(1) Roll in existence for this year.
(2) Obtained from entries in section remaining beyond respites for later years.
(3) Presumed because arrears in following year under remaining beyond respites.
(4) Presumed from size of 'ipsum computantem'.
(5) Presumed from lack of other names in section remaining beyond respites for later years.
(6) Either L.Stansfield or W. Merley. Problem is due to roll 190176 being headed on dorse 1 Dudley and on recto 1-2 Dudley. The 'liberationes' are 8d. greater than the receiver-general acknowledges for 1 Dudley. But 190211 under heading remaining beyond respites states that Stansfield was coroner for 1 Dudley and Merley for 2 Dudley.
(7) Gaps indicate that no information is available.
(8) Appointed by Edward IV while he held the temporalities owing to the death of Preston. (D.K.R. Vol.35 p76.)
(9) Grant to him of coroner of ward in D.K.R. Vol. 35 p.106)
(10) Recognisance by him and others for the due execution of his office in D.K.R. Vol. 35 p.39.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COLLECTORS

In the discussion of the coroners, it has been seen that they have the appearance almost of a section of the civil service: they are professionals, expecting to hold office for a number of years, and responsible for the collection of revenue in wide areas of the county. Turning to the collectors the position is nowhere as clear. Most collectors are responsible for the revenues of one vill, but a few are responsible for two, three or even four vills simultaneously, and yet no vills are regularly combined in this way. Through the period under consideration most men hold the office once, twice or thrice, usually at carefully spaced intervals, but some hold the office for a number of consecutive years - in one case certainly ten, and possibly thirteen years.(1) Some accounts mention that the collectors receive fees - often, but not always, those holding two or more offices simultaneously. Reference to the documents themselves does not, with certainty, resolve these problems, but it does suggest a reasonable explanation.

The collectors' accounts that survive - 57 out of a total of 88 for the period under study do survive(2) - are written on parchment bound up in exchequer fashion, each ward separately. Entries are by vills, in a set sequence - only broken by the displacement of Redworth in the Darlington ward/

ward to a later position. The heading for each vill is a set formula:

"CHESTRE: Compotus Johannis Walker, Leonardi Bell et Marie Blakburn collectoris (sic) ibidem a festo sancti Micaelis Archiangeli anno pontificatus domini Laurencii Episcopi Dunelm. tertio usque idem festum anno eiusdem Episcopi quarto videlicet, per unum annum integrum."

The dating of subsequent entries on the roll is abbreviated to 'per idem tempus'. Then follows a list of charges, a total, a list of decays and allowances, payments to the receiver-general and a final 'et debet' followed by 'qui oneratur super dictum receptorem in compoto suo huius anno'.(3) Thus, on any particular account the collector has no arrears brought forward from the previous year, and none are carried forward to the following year. This, of course, is a complete contrast to the coroners' accounts. The collectors answer each year for the full amount they are charged with. It can be seen that the receiver-general took this seriously, from allowances made on the receiver-general's main or arrears account for money (usually 10s.) paid to the gaoler of Durham Castle 'for his diligent labour and attention both for the safe keeping of the collectors and other ministers, as for the clerks of that county being in that gaol.'(4) It may be assumed that for most, this would be a mere formality: they would be held until they could make adequate surety for the payment of outstanding sums. The receiver-general was hardly likely to run up large liabilities in his name, and, year in, year out, put defaulting collectors into gaol with no hope/

hope of their paying.

This would presuppose that the men who served as collectors were men of standing in the vill: men, not of a hard and fast social group, but men acknowledged as pre-eminent in the locality. The government of England has been likened to self-government at the king's command. It may not be fanciful to see the collectors as an instance of self-government at the bishop's command. The financial responsibilities of the office of collector were heavy. The bishop's central government would not want these responsibilities to pass to incompetent hands, or to hands of those against whom they could take no adequate remedy. This would mean it would be confined to a handful, the leading men of the vills. Cassop provides an example of this. The names of the collectors are known for eleven years, and the office is held by only four men. One of these, Richard Byrden, holds the office for one year only. A Robert Byrden - presumably a relative - serves for four years, but never, so far as is known, two consecutively. He shares the office with a Robert Barton who also holds it for four years and never, as far is known, two consecutively. For the two remaining years (well separated) the office is held by a William Smith, chaplain. This is a particularly clear example, but it is possible to see this as a pattern underlying the position in most vills. Such men might regard the office as part of their social duties.

Some men, however, must have regarded it as part of their social rights: they must have developed a taste for the work itself - or its rewards. It is difficult to explain otherwise the career of William Dove. In 1457-58 he was collector/

collector at Cokerton. The roll for 1458-59 is missing, and in 1459-60 he held no office. In 1460-61 he was collector of Whessowe and Cokerton. In 1461-62 he added Halghton to the other two. The roll of 1462-63 is missing. In 1463-64 he was still collector in these three vills. In 1466-67 he added Heghington. He continued to hold all four until Michaelmas 1474 with the sole exception of Cokerton in 1469-70. After Michaelmas 1474 he held no office. The Darlington ward provides most examples of this phenomenon. Less extreme examples are Robert Juskyr at North Auckland, Coundon and Byres; and John Hogeson at Lynesake and South Bedburn. In the Stockton ward there is John Torkington at Stockton and Hertburn, and William Mylner at Midelham and Cornforth. In the Easington ward there is John Radson at Revehop and Wearmouth; and Agnes Preston at Moreton and Wardon. Chester ward, possibly because of the smaller number of vills, lacks noticeable examples. It is possible that there are two examples of men serving in vills in different wards simultaneously. William Clerk was collector at West Auckland in 1461-62; and in the same year at Lanchester there was a man of the same name holding an office of collector. Neither at West Auckland nor at Lanchester did he (or they) serve again as far as is known. At Whikham William Smith was collector from Michaelmas 1468 to 1471, and a man of the same name , at Cassop in 1467-70 and again 1477-78. The wards, after all, were all convenient administrative units only, and landholding was quite likely to pay no regard to ward boundries. This slight evidence is buttressed to a certain extent by evidence of eight men who appear to have held the office of collector in different vills, in different wards, but not simultaneously.(5)

The rewards/

The rewards must, also, have whetted the appetite of those with a natural bent to financial administration. The evidence for the paying of fees is scattered, and from the present state of the evidence, fees seem to have been very much a matter of the bishop's grace: though there is a tendency for it to be more normal when offices are held in plurality.[6] William Dove's payment varied between £1 and 10s.[7] per annum. John Parkinson received 6s.8d. at West Auckland.[8] Robert Juskyr received £1 at North Auckland.[9] The rate at other vills, however, could be lower: for instance 3s. at Byres.[10] It is not clear from the rolls whether the collectors received compensation at local level in the form of a traditional payment: certainly there is no evidence of this. It is clear that the office of collector was in some ways comparable to the Duchy of Lancaster office of reeve - which was filled either by election or attached to bondage tenure and a small money payment might be made.[11]

The position of the collectors is complicated by the fact that a few men who held the office were also holding other offices from the bishop. In many cases it is not clear whether they were acting as collectors on account of their obligations as land holders, or whether they were accumulating offices. John Blenkinsop was coroner of the Chester ward from 1466-73; in 1466 he also became collector of Chester and held office to at least 1473. John Parkinson was coroner of Darlington ward in 1476-77 while he was collector of Whessowe in 1477-78, of Auckland in 1475-77 and of Coundon in 1476-77. In 1475-76 John Raket a member of that family distinguished by service to the bishopric at the central level, was one of the two collectors of Chester. Whether he held any central offices/

offices at the time is uncertain, but in the following year he was clerk of the justices of the peace, and clerk of the great receipt.(12) Henry Preston in 1461-62 was collector at Moreton and constable at Durham Castle. William Nodder, five times collector at Neutoncap, was also parker of Evenwood. In 1473-74 James Tipping was collector of North Auckland while being parker of Auckland and custodian of the manor of Auckland.

From this body of evidence it seems reasonable to think of the collectors as men of social standing in the locality. They would be called on to fill the role of collector, in one or possibly more vills, at least once and usually several times in their lives. Whether they regarded this as a duty or a right probably depended on their personalities, interests, administrative capabilities, and, equally important, their financial state. It also seems probable that men, anxious to acquire offices, would seek to add important (and renumerative) collectorships to their other offices.

Attention will now be turned to the revenues which the collectors handled. The form of the account for all the various collectors throughout the four wards was essentially the same. Following the heading there is a series of sub-headings of the various kinds of income. The entries opposite the sub-heading are in the form of a paragraph, and the total is given underneath each. Then there is the total of receipts. This is followed by the allowances, listing decayed and decreased rents, and all allowances for any repairs is included here. Then there is an 'et debet' followed by payments of money, principally to the receiver-general, but occasionally to other episcopal officers, and sometimes for repairs or other work/

work done by the villagers. The final 'et debet' and the amount charged to the receiver-general (not always identical, as occasionally there are respites) close the account.

R.L.Storey has drawn attention to the essential nature of the collectors' duties: "to collect the rents and farms of demesne lands, some held in free tenure and others in bondage, from the tenants in various episcopal manors."(13) It should be noted in passing, that nowhere do the accounts state that the collectors obtain their revenue from manors. As has been seen, the heading on the collectors' rolls refer to neither vill nor manor, while the form of the entry on the receiver-general's account makes no mention of manors: for example 'et de £25.12.11d. de exitibus ville de Blakwell per idem tempus currentibus in onere collectoris.'(14) The term manor is found rarely on the accounts; James Tipping was custodian of the manor of Auckland.(15) On the collectors' accounts the only reference to manors is the farm of the manors at Wardon and Moreton to Robert Preston and his successors.(16)

It remains, therefore, to examine in more detail the nature of the entries on the charge side. Looking at the wards as a whole, there is no uniformity in the grouping of items into sub-headings. Court profits are often given with new rents. The proceeds from mills, works, forges, common ovens, woodland, the office of pinder, the carriage of wine, and similar small dues are combined in various ways. From the point of view of an analysis , this, however, is less serious than the combination of farm of the demesne and the farm of bondage tenures, or the farm of cot-lands and exchequer land. It would seem that no uniformity was imposed/

imposed from the top but that the accounts for the individual vills were developed to meet the local situation. In which case, any too rigid analysis will be unreal. An attempt, however, must be made to illustrate the nature of the revenues, and to estimate the relative importance of different items. First, then, the free rents and farms: two headings are noted on the rolls which come under this generalisation - 'terre dominici' and 'libera firma'. These are not alternative terms for they both occur in some vills.(17) But it is difficult to see the difference between them. The heading of exchequer land also occurs in the collectors' rolls as it did in those of the coroners', but on this occasion it is possible to gain no more impression of its essential characteristics than previously. Under the general heading of bond lands there are two main items: the farm of bondage tenures and the farm of cot-lands - the former as might have been guessed far more important than the latter. There is a curiosity, one lone surviver from the Danelaw: at Redworth in the Darlington ward there is an entry of £2.2.3d. for land held by drengage tenure. There are headings for new rents, and on two cases, revenue from waste land - of curiosity value rather than financially significant since the entries combined total 6s.10d. The proceeds taken together from the mills, works, forges and woodlands etc. do form an important source of income, but due to the form of the accounts it is difficult to form an assessment of the importance of these items individually. From comparison with the coroners' accounts it would be expected that the mills would form a major part of the income. Considering the size/

the size of the income from the farm of bondage tenures it would be expected that the works would be important. In the more important vills the tolls or levies should have provided a steady income, as should that of the woodlands. More difficult to estimate is the financial importance of the office of pinder, and that of the scot-rents paid in oats, and of rent paid for grazing rights. As there is no information on the state of iron working, it is virtually impossible to assess the importance of the levy on forges. Equally impossible to assess is that of the one on common ovens. The render, or rather commutation of render, of hens and eggs would appear to be a survival from early feudal times Other items are of more obscure and local nature, usually known only in relation to Durham, or occasionally Durham and Scotland. 'Yolewatyng' appears to be a variant of yule-waiting, a due paid by bondsmen at Christmas, connected with either "some service of watching or more probably derived from waytinga, an old Scots form of conveth (i.e. progresses)."(18) 'Yaresilver'was paid for the repair of weirs or dams,(19) while 'methrich' or milch cow was a regular part of the cornage payment.(20) 'Maleman' was land held by "rendering certain clearly customary services - but the heaviest duty was the payment of money rent."(21) The remaining heading is the profits of the halmote courts - these are liable to large annual variations in each vill.

The following table seeks to give an indication of the approximate importance of the various items of revenue, by wards. The figures for each ward are taken from one account roll: the variation in revenue under most headings is nil or negligeable, excepting that from the profits of the courts.

SUMMARY OF THE CHARGE SIDE OF THE COLLECTORS' ACCOUNTS

	DARLINGTON 1457-58	CHESTER 1457-58	EASINGTON 1458-59	STOCKTON 1458-59	TOTAL
Demesne	51	47	135	3	236
Free farm	26	4	3	23	56
Bondage tenure	117	62	155	99	433
Cot-land	12	17	5	6	40
Exchequer land	109	39	23	28	199
Total of land	333+18	251+82	390+69	159	1183+169
New rents	17	3	11	2	33
Works,mills etc.	60	31	58	39	188
Courts	11	4	2	2	19
Total	434+13	289	461	224+22	1408+35

NOTES

1. The figures are given to the nearest £.
2. The plus signs in the lines Total of Land, and Total, are the amounts added on at these points to include entries which it is not possible to include in particular lines.

The table serves well to bring out the overall predominance of demesne, of bondage tenure, of exchequer and of revenue from works, mills etc. Overall, cot-land, free farm, new rents and profits from courts pale into insignificance. This, of course, is merely the general picture and at the level of individual vills this picture can be upset in certain instances: for example the prominence of the farm of the demesne overall is clearly due to the exceptional position in the Easington ward.

The discharge side of the accounts can be similarly briefly summarised in a number of categories. First the allowances. These are of various kinds: for decayed or decreased rents; for repairs, often of mills while standing empty;/

empty; for fees, usually of the collector; and sometimes for the price of grain or animals for the lord's use, though this is often more properly regarded as coming under the next heading. Second, the payments principally to the receiver-general, but also to other episcopal officials - for instance the clerk of the works, the steward of the household and various bailiffs of episcopal manors. The clerk of the works normally receives this in money, but the steward of the household and the bailiffs, usually in services, grain or animals. The end of the account is usually an 'et debet' which is said to be charged to the receiver-general in his account for the same year. For some vills the last entry is a respite, and just as no arrears are carried forward, the respites are only entered for the year of the account.

In the detailed discussion of this side of the accounts, attention will be turned first to the payments, especially to the receiver-general, and then the other items will be discussed in relation to this. On the accounts the payments to the receiver-general are divided into two classes: money paid to the receiver-general by indenture, which remains among the memoranda; and money paid without bill, and this often said to be at the time of the accounting. In almost all cases a much larger proportion of the money is paid over in the latter way. Taking the year 1466-67 as an example (there seems to be no reason for it to be atypical; though for other years the figures may vary the approximate proportions should hold true) the following table compares by wards the amounts, which the receiver-general received by indenture, which the receiver-general received without bills, and what he was charged with. It has been thought useful to provide/

to provide the final totals of the previous table, which give typical total charges, as a comparison.

REVENUE COLLECTED BY RECEIVER-GENERAL AND AMOUNTS CHARGED TO HIM IN 1466-67

(to nearest £)

	DARLINGTON	CHESTER	EASINGTON	STOCKTON	TOTAL
By indenture	56	15	26	42	139
Without bill	158	100	146	96	500
Total paid to R.G.	214	115	172	138	639
Charged to him	148	154	158	57	517
TOTAL	362	269	330	195	1156
TOTAL CHARGE	434	289	461	224	1408

The entries on the receiver-general's accounts for the collectors are not just the total of what has been paid to the receiver-general by indenture and without bill, but includes the amounts given on the collectors' accounts as being charged to the receiver-general. In other words, the figures on the receiver-general's accounts concerning the collectors do not relate to actual money received. Once again, there is illustrated the statement that medieval accounting was not income-expenditure accounting, but charge-discharge expenditure. Supporting evidence for this statement can be found in the allowances at the end of both the receiver-general's main accounts and his arrears accounts. For instance, in the receiver-general's main account for 1460-61[22] there is found the entry "from which is allowed to him 2s.11d. of part of the arrears of Richard Midelton, collector/

collector of Cornfield." It would appear from the context that "arrears" was being loosely used to mean what was owed to the receiver-general by the collector of the vill for the year. It has not been possible to discover whether the receiver-general could obtain the money from the vills with which he was charged. It seems, however, that it must be assumed that he was able to collect a fair proportion of this money, for the collectors were, after all, committed to prison, presumably to obtain sureties from them.(23) Further, there is no evidence of the growth in the indebtedness of the receiver-general in the arrears account being adequate to comprise what was owed by the collectors. For instance, the amount charged to the receiver-general from the collectors in 1468-69 is approximately £647, yet the indebtedness of the receiver-general on his arrears account for that year rises from the previous year by £266. In other words, there must be supposed either a large drop in his holding of cash in the year (which is possible in one year but not over a period), or that he was able to collect a good proportion of the money outstanding in the vills.

The financial position of the collectors, therefore, was vastly different from that of the coroners. In the year selected for examination, 1466-67, 45% of the total charge of the collectors in the four wards was paid over to the receiver-general. If there is included with this, the amount with which he was charged, there is obtained a figure of 82% of the total charge going to the receiver-general. In 1466-67 it happens that there are very few payments by the collectors to any except the receiver-general. It can be assumed, therefore,/

therefore, that the allowances are 18% of the total charge, and that this figure is approximately correct for all the years of the study. The difference between this figure and the one for the coroners becomes less surprising when it is remembered that the demesne was leased in the period round 1400, and that, presumably, land values had fallen, to a certain extent, from their high point before the nominal value of the collectors' accounts was assessed.

The fluctuation between what was paid by indenture to the receiver-general, what was paid to him without bill and what was charged to him, seems no wider than what could be expected allowing for the normal exigencies of running a large estate. This is, except for the two occasions which seem to be a special case. The first is the year 1475-76 when only two sums are paid over to the receiver-general: £1.13.4d. by indenture from Lanchester and 10s. without bill from Blackwell. It is true that this is the last full year of Booth's episcopate but this seems no reason why the money should not have reached the receiver-general as in other years. In 1461-62 the payments to the receiver-general total less than £70 for all four wards. It would seem that there is possibly a connection with the seizure of the temporalities by Edward IV in December of the same year. It has been seen that the accounting procedure lasted into January and February and, therefore, it seems plausible there should be some administrative confusion at this time. Certainly by the following year when the head of the accounts states that the temporalities are in the king's hands, the normal relation between the money owed and paid to the receiver-general seems/

seems to have been restored. For some curious reason the roll for the Darlington ward for 1463-64 is dated by the regnal year only, there being no reference to Booth at all, while the temporalities had been restored on April 17th 1464.

The prominance of payments to officers other than the receiver-general is considerably more marked in the southern wards of Darlington and Stockton. The Chester ward appears to have no examples of this and the Easington ward only one. Attention will be turned first to payments made to the clerk of the works: nine instances of such payments have been traced, seven of which are in 1461-62. Since the payments to the receiver-general were especially low that year (as has been noted above) it would seem probable that the receiver-general was short of funds that year and authorised levying the sums locally. The other two instances are in 1464-65 and in 1465-66 and it would be dangerous, it is suggested, to attempt to read too much into such isolated cases. In 1461-62 the total of such payments is £49.10.2d., which is made up largely from over £21 from North Auckland and over £11 from Escombe. The steward of the household was paid in grain, the value of which was counted as a payment on the collectors' accounts. The pattern here again is reasonably clear: most of them are in the period 1463-65 and the others at the end of the episcopate. In 1463-64 there are six cases and in 1464-65, eight cases. West Auckland sent some in 1473-74; North Auckland from 1474 onwards; Coundon in 1476-77; while Blackwell sent grain in most years. It is noticeable that all the examples but four come from the Darlington ward. In 1463-64 the purchases amount to £14.2.7d. and in the following year to £17.17.4d. These are not extremely significant/

significant figures but, presumably as they occur after the restoration of the temporalities, they were to build up the bishop's grain store, which could well have run down during the confiscation. Confined to the Stockton ward are nine examples of payments to the bailiffs of the episcopal manors of Stockton and Midelham. These tend to be small amounts, matters of shillings, presumably made to keep up stock in the manor when required. Lastly among the payments to other officers are those to the master forester, for fees of parkers or foresters. At West Auckland appearing in 1475-76 there is a payment of £4.11.3d.; this would appear to be to the forester in the high forest of Weardale. At Neutoncap appearing in 1467-68 there is a payment of £1.10.4d. In comparison to the money paid over to the receiver-general these items are not fully of great financial significance, but they do give a useful insight into the actual administration of the bishopric., showing the system to be still sufficiently flexible to adapt to the changing or temporary circumstances.

Unlike the more extreme fluctuations in the coroners' accounts, some at least of those in the collectors' accounts can be explained. Midelham in the Stockton ward provides an extreme example of the fluctuations in the total paid and owed to the receiver-general. Within the period of the study, such payments vary betweem £18.0.11½d. in 1478-79 and nothing in 1468-69. By using both the collectors' accounts and the receiver-general's accounts the figures for 20 of the years can be arrived at.

REVENUE BOTH PAID AND OWED BY THE COLLECTORS OF MIDELHAM TO THE RECEIVER-GENERAL

Year	Amount	Year	Amount
1457-58		1468-69	Nil
1458-59	16. 7. 3	1469-70	6. 1. 3½
1459-60	17. 0. 9½	1470-71	7.10. 5½
1460-61	17. 9. 0½	1471-72	
1461-62	12. 9. 6½	1472-73	17. 6. 6
1462-63	16.13. 9½	1473-74	16. 5.10
1463-64		1474-75	16.15. 5½
1464-65	5.10. 8½	1475-76	16.18. 1½
1465-66	3.15. 1	1476-77	17.10 1½
1466-67	9. 6. 3	1477-78	17. 9. 9½
1467-68	8. 8. 9½	1478-79	18. 0.11½

The sharp decline in payments to the receiver-general in the period 1464-71 is due not to any decline in the profitability of Midelham, but to the money going to another receiver: the bailiff of Midelham. The figures represent efforts to keep the 'books' straight, for it seems that money transactions were not involved. The men of Midelham, instead of paying money, performed works on the land which the bishop had retained in his hand and put under the bailiff. For example, in 1468-69 the collector is allowed £18.4.5½d, the price of the work done on the bailiff's lands; as might be supposed from the table above, the figure is less considerable in other years.

At the beginning of this section, it was said that the entries on the rolls for Bedlington and Sadberge would be considered apart from the main discussion. The items of revenue are similar to those elsewhere in the collectors' accounts: free rents and farms, farms of meadows, bondage tenures, cot-lands, towns, new rents, income from ovens, mills and hens/

and hens, and perquisites of the courts. The difference is rather in the position of the officers; in both cases they can be charged with arrears and can carry forward to the next year. At Bedlington, the official is the collector, but at Sadberge he is styled bailiff. Sadberge was also, of course, outside the county of Durham. It was entered under a separate heading on the receiver-general's account. Bedlingtonshire was also something of a special case although it was part of the county of Durham - it lay north of the River Tyne, and was surrounded by parts of Northumberland. Moreover, the collector was allowed £1 for John Weredale's fee as bailiff, and £2.13.4d. for the fee of the steward. It is not clear from the accounts whether this was to a steward with just jurisdiction over Bedlington, or whether it was paid to the steward at Durham for his visit there. Both the bailiff of Sadberge and the collector of Bedlington regularly receive a fee of £1.6.8d.,[24] the size of which would seem to indicate a difference of position and status from the other collectors. It would seem that their status was closer to that of the coroner. This supposition is reinforced when the tenure of office is examined. From 1457 to 1461 it would seem that the collector of Bedlington was John Eland. The rolls for 1461-63 are left incomplete for Bedlington: the collector is not named, the arrears are left blank and many of the entries are incomplete.[25] In 1464 Richard Kyghley was in office and he retained it until 1473. At Sadberge in 1460-62 Seth Gyllowe was bailiff - presumably he was a relative of Henry Gyllowe, who was to become receiver-general. But in 1462 John Bland took over and held the office until 1465. In 1465 he was replaced by Seth Gyllowe. This is possibly an illustration/

illustration of Booth reasserting his grip on the administration after the return of the temporalities. In 1474-75 at Bedlington there is a note in the lists of amounts owing from Richard Kyghley that they include £1 for the making of a new rental at Heighington. In 1470-71 the collector of Bedlington is made an allowance for fees: for 10s. to James Batys for the increasing of the coal; and £10 to John Wyherington, esq., retained with the lord at £5 p.a. The former entry does not recur, but the latter does in the following year, but it appears to be crossed through. In the succeeding year it makes a last appearance at £10. At Sadberge in the account for 1463-64 there is a note that £25.11.6d. of the arrears of Seth Gyllowe and John Bland were assigned by the lord bishop to the Earl of Northumberland in part payment of £600 to the said Earl conceded for the sustaining of the war of the lord king in the northern parts this year and the previous year; and that the Earl has received it.

In conclusion then, the collectors were men of property; they did not form an administrative class by their tenure of office; rather tenure of office depended on their social position determined by their land holding. To this general rule the collector of Bedlington, the bailiff of Sadberge and those few careerist collectors, some of whom have been noted above, form exceptions and are closer to the group of coroners. Their payments to the receiver-general formed a large part of their total charge and they were accountable to the receiver-general yearly for money owing. Imprisonment was used to secure payment of what was owed, and even if

kept/

kept in office for several years there is no evidence of debts building up. The receiver-general was thus able to exert far more pressure to control the collectors than he could the coroners.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BAILIFFS

The accounts that have been discussed, those of the coroners and collectors, were organised by wards; and, as has been seen, were entered together on the receiver-general's account by wards. But the accounts that attention is now turned to, those of the bailiffs, were not organised by wards. These accounts were divided into two classes[1] in the organisation of the bishopric and it will be convenient to follow the contemporary usage. First, then, a class of documents called the accounts of the 'bailiffs of the bailiwick', this being the title on the face of the rolls. They consist of the accounts of the bailiff of the manor of Darlington, the bailiff of the manor of Stockton and the borough of Stockton (the two were always held by the same person), the bailiff of Midelham, and the reeve of Evenwood. Of these accounts, seven have been preserved complete; there is one membrane with the accounts of Midelham for another year; and two membranes with the accounts of Darlington and both the manor and borough of Stockton for another year. The second class of documents is the accounts of the bailiff of Hart and Hartlepool, both held by the same man for the period of the study. The first account surviving, for 1464-65, contains/

contains on the face of the account the entries for Hart and on the dorse those for Hartlepool. In subsequent years these were separated, those accounting for the survival in some years of the account for Hart and not for Hartlepool, and vice versa. For both Hart and Hartlepool there survive accounts for seven years. As has been said, the first account surviving for Hart and Hartlepool is for 1464-65. It would seem that this is more than mere chance for the accounts of the receiver-general for 1458-61 make no mention of Hart or Hartlepool. The entry first appears on the next account surviving, that of 1464-65. The source of income can be predated to 1463-64, for an entry for Hart and Hartlepool occurs on the valor for that year (though it should be noted that although there is a figure for allowances nothing was paid over to the receiver-general.) The only information for the source of this revenue occurs on the heading to the rolls:-

> "HERTE: Compotus Thome Morely ballivi domini ibidem existentis in manus domini Episcopi tamquam escaet. juris. ecclesie sue cath. Dunelm. ratione forisfacture Robertis Bruys tam de omnimodis receptis quam de omnimodis custodiis et expensis per ipsum in officio suo factis a festo sancti michaelis anno pontificatus domini Laurencii Dunelm. Episcopi 7 usque idem festum extunc proximo sequente anno pontificatus eiusdem Episcopi 8."

The heading in fact only serves to obscure the issue. G.T. Lapsley (2) says that the Robert Brus mentioned here is in fact the Robert Brus, King of Scotland, who forfeited his English/

English lands to Edward I. He held Hart and Hartlepool and these one might have expected him to forfeit to the bishop of Durham. However, Antony Bek, the bishop, had lost the favour of Edward I and the temporalities were seized to the king's hands. The king granted the manor of Hart and Hartnesse to Robert de Clifford to be held of himself and not of the bishop.(3) On the return of the temporalities, Bek accepted the position; but both Richard Kellaw and Louis de Beaumont, the succeeding bishops, claimed the lands. The claim was admitted but seisin was never the less withheld. This was confirmed by Henry V to Thomas Langley, but in 1433 Langley had not obtained seisin of the estates nor did he ever obtain it.(4) Lapsley(5) does quote a letter from Edward IV to Booth acknowledging his right to forfeitures and to Barnard Castle (forfeited by John Balliol but taken by Edward I) in particular. But as this is dated 10 Edward IV it is too late to account for the appearance of issues from Hart and Hartlepool on the receiver-general's roll. Most likely, these lands fell to the Crown after the Battle of Wakefield, and were handed over to the bishop with the return of the temporalities. If it is viewed as an attempt to bind an influential magnate - one who was known for his services to the Lancastrians - to Edward IV, it seems to have been a small price to pay.

Turning now to the personnel, they are found to resemble the coroners rather more than the collectors. When found satisfactory, they seem to hold office for a number of years. Thomas Morley at Hart and Hartlepool in fact held the office of bailiff from 1464-65 to the end of the period under consideration. At Darlington it would seem that William Blande held office from at least 1459-60 to at least 1470-71;(6) /

1470-71;(6) and at Stockton, John Corkyngton held office from at least 1470-71 to 1475-76. The view that these men were at least semi-professional administrators is strengthened by the evidence of their holding other offices, or relatives, apparently, of them holding other offices. Whether the Thomas Popley who was bailiff of Darlington in 1457-58, is the same man as the Thomas Popeley who was bailiff there in 1475-76 is not clear; but if they were different men it would seem clear that the former is the same man as the Thomas Popley who was coroner of Darlington ward in 1457-58 only. But it seems likely that the Benjamin Worsley, bailiff of Darlington in 1472-73, was also bailiff of Sadberge in 1469-70 and 1472-73; also Henry Sayle, bailiff of Darlington in 1474-75, appears to be the same man as Henry Sale, bailiff of Sadberge in 1475-76 and 1477-78; with this connection between Darlington and Sadberge it seems reasonable that William Blande, bailiff of Darlington from 1459-60 to 1470-71 should be a relative of John Blande, bailiff of Sadberge 1462-65.

Bailiffs in the other bailiwicks have less exalted offices and connections. For instance, John Corkyngton, bailiff of Stockton manor and town 1470-71 to 1475-76, was also collector of Stockton and Hertburn in 1466-67, 1468-70 and 1472-73. At Midelham, William Mylner, bailiff in 1470-71, was also collector of Midelham and Cornforth in 1466-67 and 1468-70; Thomas Hall, bailiff of Midelham in 1472-76, was collector of Cornforth in 1472-73; and William Juskyp, bailiff of Midelham 1459-64, may be a relative of Robert Juskyp, the pluralist collector noted above. At Evenwood, Robert Stevenson, reeve 1459-60, was collector of Bishoply in 1469-70, and Neutoncap/

and Neutoncap in 1465-66; John Alanson reeve in 1470-71, was collector of West Auckland 1466-73; John Bagley succeeded him at Evenwood in 1472 and at West Auckland in 1473. It would seem, therefore, that there is a difference in status between the bailiff of Darlington and the other bailiffs. The connection between Darlington and Sadberge seems at least semi-permanent. The connections of the other bailiwicks with vills charged to collectors seems haphazard and makeshift. Perhaps the bailiff felt that he could take on more responsibilities; perhaps the central administration was pleased to have known, trusted and experienced men as collectors.

Turning now to the accounts themselves, we should first consider the form. The charge side is once again sub-divided into paragraphs with sub-headings in the margin. The accounts we are considering now start with a statement of arrears brought forward from the previous year. Once again this amount is nil for the first year of the pontificate with the formula 'nulla quia hic primo'. It should be noted in passing in connection with the question of when the bishop obtained Hart and Hartlepool that in 1464-65 the arrears are already large, but they are no more than one year's charge less decays and fees. At Evenwood there is a heading for arrears in the first three accounts surviving, but the amount is stated to be nil; and for the last four there is no mention of arrears. As we might suspect, the last 'et debet' at Evenwood is stated to be charged to the receiver-general. From the evidence surviving there appears to be no reason for this difference from the other bailiffs; but this fact might explain why the accountant at Evenwood is called reeve (prepositus) and all the other accountants, bailiffs (balivus) /

(balivus). The nature of the remaining entries on the charge side can be divided into two: those for the boroughs and those for the manors. In broad terms the manors' main source of income is from agriculture, while the boroughs' is from dues of an urban nature. This is, of course, doing little more than stating the obvious, but any further statements have to descend from the general to the particular as the entries for one borough or manor differ quite significantly from the others.

THE BAILIWICKS: INCOME FROM THE MANORS 1474-75.(1)

	DARLINGTON	STOCKTON	MIDELHAM	EVENWOOD	HART
Free rents	4.10.11			4.14. 4	4.9½
Free farm and demesne		32.10.0	9.17.5		
Exchequer land				7.16.11¼	
Moors		6. 6.8		2.12. 9	
Rent of Husbandmen				14.13. 4	76.14.6½
Cotlands& ovens(2)					15. 1.3
Mills				2.10. 0	
Works of customary tenants	7. 9		10. 1.9		
Pasture & meadow	38.10. 4	10. 5.0	5. 7.8		
Park		6. 6.8	6.15.4		
Manor	6. 6. 8(3)	8. 3.2(4)	14.4(4)		3.13.0(3)
New rent				6. 8	Left blank
Courts	Nil			1. 7. 2	
Foreign receipts			14. 6.4½(5)		
TOTAL	49.15. 8	63.11.6	47. 2.10½	34.1.2¼	95.13.7

Notes
(1) This year was chosen as it is the only one when accounts for all five manors survive.
(2) These are combined, because for the manor of Thorsten within Hart, they are given together.
(3) Farmed.
(4) Issues of the manor.
(5) The price of works from the vill of Cornforth.

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This table, it is hoped, serves to show the variety of the sources of revenue in the manors. At Darlington the rents from pasture/

pasture and meadow are clearly the most important source of income, overshadowing all the others. At Hart, the rents from husbandmen similarly predominate. At Stockton, the free farms and demesne have a strong position (though less strong than the previous two.) But at Midelham and Evenwood no single source of income dominates the others. Among the entries there is the same remarkable stability as has been witnessed in previous sections: the issues of the manor and the courts naturally vary, otherwise the few other changes are attempts to increase the revenue by raising the farms. Most of the entries are familiar from the study of the coroners' and collectors' accounts. The foreign receipts at Midelham are the other side of the coin to the allowances to the collectors of Midelham and Cornforth: as has been pointed out in the section on collectors, these 'payments' were not in money but in works - the entries are book-keeping ones. It should be remembered that the bailiff at Midelham was often also the collector of Midelham and of Cornforth.

Turning now to the charge side of the borough accounts, it is found both that the totals are much smaller than for the manors, and that the amounts of the sub-headings vary considerably more. The totals for the boroughs of Stockton are between £5.10.0d. and £6, and for Hartlepool between £19.10.0d. and £22.10.0d. (neither of these figures, of course, include arrears). At Stockton the largest individual entry is for 'stallage customs and certain other farms' which accounts for amounts ranging from £3.0.8d. to £3.17.8d. At Hartlepool the largest entry is of £9.17.3½d., which remains constant for all years, for free rents. This is followed by £4, again remaining constant, for rents called 'landmale', the meaning of which is unknown. The rents/

rents of the town of Stockton amount to £1.6.8d. each year, and the other entries concern the profits of the court. At Hartlepool there is a large number of other entries mostly totalling a few shillings, and occasionally only pence. There is the 'medietates maioritatis'; rents called 'aletoll' presumably connected with brewing; goods seized in distress; the 'small customs'; the 'tolneta brasiatric', again presumably connected with brewing; stallage; fines for fishing; fines called 'sprerdils', the meaning of which is unknown; payment for the taking of fish; the farm of the mills; and the profits of the courts. Except for the mills, none of the other entries appear to be farms, and the amounts rarely are the same for two years.

The items on the discharge side are of an already familiar nature: of decays, of repairs, of foreign payments - to the receiver-general, but also to the steward of the household, the lord himself and, on occasions, to others. The bailiff of Darlington receives a fee of, at first, £1.4.0d., then it is raised to £1.4.4d., then, in 1475-76, with no explanation, to £2.13.4d. At the manor of Stockton the bailiff gets £1.6.8d. This is presumably for the borough as well, since there is no entry there. At Midelham, there is no entry until 1465-66 when the bailiff gets £1.2.0d. At Evenwood, the reeve receives 6s.8d. At Hart, Thomas Morley, presumably for Hartlepool as well, receives the considerable sum of £6.13.4d. At Darlington, the manor of Stockton, Midelham, Evenwood and Hart there is an allowance for the scribe writing the account - of 2s. (except at Hart where it is 6s.8d.) An allowance is made for the money paid to the auditors, at Darlington of 8s.4d., at Midelham of 3s.4d. and at Evenwood of 6s.8d. At Hart, Hartlepool/

Hartlepool and the borough of Stockton, there are allowances to the steward for holding the courts. The other entries are of a more individual nature: at Darlington for the fee of two chaplains; at the manor of Stockton for the keeper of a subordinate manor; at Hartlepool ,the fee of a sergeant; at Hart, the fee of a custodian of the rabbit warren, and also the expense of the bailiff in riding to consult the bishop. The foreign payments are of a more varied nature than was the case for the collectors, and the position is made clear in a tabular form. (see the following page)

An analysis of these figures in comparable terms to the one attempted for the collectors presents virtually insuperable difficulties. The purpose of collectorships was to extract revenue from the vills: this is clearly not the case in the bailiwicks, especially Stockton and Midelham. Considerable foreign payments are made from Hart, but since the bailiff here brings forward and carries over his arrears, it is very hazardous to compare the profitability of individual years; the scattered nature of the surviving records makes it impossible to see if the low figure for one year is compensated for by a high one for the following. The figures for the six years for which records survive, show that Hart was a very worth while addition to the bishop's lands.

In conclusion, the bailiffs were at the least a semi-professional class expecting to hold office for a number of years. They might also hold other offices but only the bailiff of Darlington held, in addition, an office of approximately equal importance; collectorships would not considerably increase the stature of bailiffs.

THE BAILIWICKS: TABLES OF FOREIGN PAYMENTS

		DARLINGTON	STOCKTON (Manor)	STOCKTON (Borough)	MIDELHAM	EVENWOOD
1457-58	R.G.	17.12.0½	18. 0.1		----------	
1459-60	R.G.		32.11.9		2. 0.5	6.11.5
	S.H.		8.18.5			15. 7.3¼
1463-64	R.G.	9. 0.0	14. 6.2		14.10.8	12. 1.8
	S.H.				1. 6.5	9.12.0¼
	E.N.		31. 9.7½	8.13.11		
1464-65	R.G.	----------			2. 4.1	----------
1465-66	R.G.	6. 6.8			2. 2.0	7.18.6
	Lord	15. 0.0	27.13.4			14.10.6½
1470-71	R.G.	26.13.7	16. 0.0	4. 1. 4		9. 6.8
	T.H.			9. 6.10	1.17.0	7. 9.10¾
1472-73	R.G.	20. 0.0	17. 3.7	3.13. 4	1.19.2	6. 6.8
	Lord		31.13.4		4. 0.0	12.15.0¼
	S.H.				1. 6.5	
	T.H.		7.12.8½			
1474-75	R.G.	19. 8.7	14. 3.0½	3. 9. 0		4. 7.8
	Lord	3. 2.3	31.13.4		4 . 0.0	14. 0.10¼
	S.H.		5.18.7½		6.10.4	
	M.F.					1.10.4
1475-76	R.G.	2. 0.0		10. 7		Nil
	Lord	7.10	31.13.4			22.17.2¼
	S.H.	2. 0.0	3.12.3¾		5. 5.4	

		HART	HARTLEPOOL
1464-65	R.G.	37.16. 8	7. 0. 0
	Lord	48.19.10	
1465-66	T.H.		13. 2. 2
1466-67	R.G.	43.11. 0	
	T.H.	10.16.11	
1467-68	R.G.	36. 0. 0	
	S.H.	51.13. 1	3. 3. 5
1471-72	R.G.	64.10. 0	8.17.10
	S.H.		
1474-75	R.G.	37. 8. 0	
	Lord	12. 0. 0	
	S.H.	18. 0. 9	4. 0. 0
1476-77	R.G.	67. 1. 5	
1477-78	Lord		2. 4. 4
	R.G.		18. 0

NOTES

1. Abbreviations R.G. =receiver-general; S.H. = steward of the household; T.H. = treasurer of the household; E.N. = Earl of Northumberland; M.R. = master forester.
2. The payments to the receiver-general from Evenwood are bracketed together since the first represents the amounts actually paid over, and the second, the final 'et debet' which is charged to the receiver-general's account.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SHERIFFS AND ESCHEATORS

When attention is turned from the accounts of the coroners, collectors and bailiffs to those of the other officers who render account to the receiver-general there is immediately a major problem. Although for the former a complete run of accounts have not survived, enough have survived to attempt an analysis of the accounts; this is no longer true for the latter. For instance, for the sheriffs and escheators for this period there survives the account of 1463-64; what appears to be the draft account for 1477-78, written on paper with the account of the sheriff on one side and the escheator on the other; and the account of the sheriff only for 1477-78 - presumably the finished version of that part of the draft. From the receiver-general's accounts, the payments made to the receiver-general can be obtained, but in the absence of the sheriff and escheator's own accounts it is not possible to tell whether these represent all the foreign payments. The Durham evidence, such as it is, serves to illustrate W.A. Morris's summary of the duties of the royal sheriff:

> 'He was the executive officer of the central and local courts who issued summons as directed, performed the vast number of acts required by judicial process and was amerceable for dereliction in the duties and for other failures.' (1)

E.R. Stevenson's summary of the office of royal escheator is similarly applicable:

> 'The/

'The duties of the escheator were to take into the king's hands (i.e. for Durham, the bishop's) the lands which may be generally described as escheats, to discover their true value by inquisition and to collect the revenues arising from the lands until he was commanded to deliver them.' (2)

From a variety of sources it is possible despite the lack of sheriff and escheator's rolls to discover who held these offices during the period of this study.

SHERIFFS AND ESCHEATORS

1457-58	Geoffrey Middleton - appointed for life by Robert Nevil (1)	
1458-59	"	
1459-60	"	
1460-61	"	
1461-62	John de Arthirton (2)	
1462-63	Geoffrey Middleton	During the confiscation of the temporalities.
1463-64	"	
1464-65	John de Arthirton (4)	
1465-66	"	
1466-67	William Claxton (5)	
1467-68	"	
1468-69	Henry Radcliff (6)	
1469-70	"	
1470-71	George Lumley (7)	
1471-72	"	
1472-73	"	
1473-74	"	
1474-75	"	
1475-76	"	
1476-77	Robert Tempest (8)	
1477-78	"	Sheriff & William Lambton-Escheator (9)
1478-79		

Notes

(1) Storey North of England p 139
(2) D.K.R. XXXV p76
(3) " " p87 & 86 and 189629
(4) Durham 3/4 f 14d & 15
(5) D.K.R. XXXV p76 & 79
(6) " " p 103 & 109
(7) " " p 103 & 101

George Lumleymarried the heiress of Roger Thornton, the great Newcastle merchant. It seems he was involved in the Readeption since he lost the shrievalty of Northumberland and for a time the constableship of Scarborough which he regained in 1474. (Wegwood p562-3) In 1480 he bore the title Lord Lumley and was made a knight banneret the same year. (Surtees ii 163)

(8) D.K.R. XXXV p144
(9) Durham 3/4 of 36 and 189720

As a result of the evidence from the period, it is necessary to modify Lapsley's statement that "the sheriff was also the bishop's escheator."(3) It appears that in 1477-78 the two offices were held separately. Both R.L. Storey and Lapsley refer to sub-sheriffs and escheators but for the period under consideration these have left no trace on the financial records.

When both offices were held by one man the account shows that arrears were carried forward, and when the offices were held separately the sheriff certainly carried forward his arrears.(4) But from the documents surviving it is not clear what happened concerning the escheator: the heading of arrears is followed by the formula 'nulla quia hic primo computat', the end of the roll is damaged, but in any case appears incomplete and nothing is decipherable whether arrears are carried forward or not.(5)

The section of the accounts relating to the sheriff are divided into two: one for the county of Durham, and the other for the wapentake of Sadberge. It would seem that the sub-headings in each section should have been the same but there are one or two discrepancies, which will be noted below in the detailed description. Totals for the two sections are given separately: in the accounts for 1477-78 the total for the county of Durham includes the arrears, in the account for 1463-64 the arrears are only added into the total of receipts. In 1463-64 combined issues of the sheriff's office are not given: the total of receipts in this year includes the issues from escheats; in 1477-78, of course, the total of receipts consists merely of the combined issues of the sheriff's office.

The items in the sheriff's account relate not merely to/

to the sheriff's own jurisdiction but also to that of the commissions of justices. Not only are there entries of fines and amercements for absence from the county court, for the profits of the county courts, and for fines and amercements from the sheriff's tourn; but also fines and amercements before the keepers of the peace, before the justices of assize, and before the justices of the statutes. There are also entries of 'waifs and strays'. There is an entry for the ulnage of cloth and the prise of wine, but there is never any profit from these. On the 1463-64 account, and at Sadberge on the draft account of 1477-78, there is an entry 'marescali', possibly the marshalsea court, and it produced no profit.

The size of the total charge in the accounts surviving is hardly impressive, and it should be compared with the figures for Langley's time when the charge for the sheriff and escheator was nearly £100.(6) In 1463-64 there is a charge of £11.5.0d. for Durham and £1.2.4d. for Sadberge; and in 1477-78, £6.18.4½d for Durham(7) and either nothing or 5s. from Sadberge.(8) In comparison, the profits from the hall-moots courts in 1457-58 in the Darlington ward was approximately £11.(9) The major part of the charge side was made up of fines for non attendance at the county court. In 1463-64 this accounted for £6.4.8d of the Durham total, and £1.2.4d which is all the Sadberge total; and in 1477-78 accounted for £4.1.4d of the Durham total.

Consideration will now be given to the entries of escheats on the charge side, before turning to the discharge side of the accounts. Like the sheriff's account, that of the escheator/

escheator is divided first into sections of the county of Durham and the wapentake of Sadberge; then each of these sections is divided into old escheats, new escheats and the profits from the sale of goods and chattels of felons and outlaws.

SUMMARY OF CHARGE SIDE OF ESCHEATORS' ACCOUNTS

		1463-64	1477-78
DURHAM	Old escheats	18.10. 9¾	44. 0.10
	New escheats	nil	nil
	Goods & chattels	2.18. 4	2. 1. 4
	Total	20.19. 1¾	46. 2. 2
SADBERGE			
	Old escheats	14. 9	8. 0
	New escheats	nil	nil
	Goods & chattels	nil	nil
	Total	14. 9	8. 0
	TOTAL	21.13.10¾	46.10. 2

This table serves to illustrate again the difficulty caused by lack of surviving evidence: it is impossible to tell whether the figures for either years are normal, or whether the average lies in between. Also, the table serves to illustrate once again the negligeable size of income from the wapentake. Under the heading of old escheats there are a list of entries naming the land, its holder (or former holder) and the cause of its escheat. The causes are the normal feudal ones: for instance, the death of the holder without an heir; alienating land (especially to mortmain) without the bishop's license; and heir being a minor. The effect of the seizing of the temporalities can be seen when it is stated that nothing is returned from a piece of land because it was granted to a custodian who has a writ of 3 Edward IV of 'non molestando'. It is unfortunate that there are no entries under new escheats because/

because the dividing line between old and new is not apparent from the evidence surviving.

Turning now to the discharge side of the accounts, these can be conveniently divided into three: fees and necessary expenses; payments to the receiver-general; and allowances. The fee is that of the sheriff, or sheriff and escheator - in either case the fee appears to be the same - £10. What the escheator received when the office was held separately is not known, as the one relevant document is defective at this point.(10) The other part of this section comprises what is called 'parchment, paper, red wax, ink and other necessaries' and amounts in each case to 13s.4d. From the rolls, the only instances of foreign payments are those to the receiver-general but it is not known, of course, whether this was so in the years when the rolls have not survived.

PAYMENTS FROM THE SHERIFF AND ESCHEATOR TO THE RECEIVER-GENERAL

1458-59	12. 1. 2	1472-73	nil
1459-60	3. 0.10		2.12. 2
1460-61	7.16. 8	1473-74	0. 3. 0
1463-64	1. 2. 2		1. 0. 0
1464-65	blank	1474-75	0. 7. 6
1465-66	0. 1. 6		17.17. 4
1466-67	0. 1. 6	1476-77	0. 1. 6
1467-68	0. 6. 8	1477-78	10.11. 6
1468-69	0. 2. 0		missing
1469-70	0. 1. 6	1478-79	nil
1470-71	0. 1. 6		4. 8. 1

NOTE Where two figures are bracketed together the upper refers to the sheriff and the lower to the escheator.

An impression of the size of the payments can be obtained by using these figures from the rolls in conjunction with the figures taken from the receiver-general's rolls. The table serves to show how accidental was the nature of the payments: in one year £1.3.0d./

£1.3.0d., in itself considerably higher than the figures for the middle years of the episcopate; but in the succeeding year there were payments of £18.4.10d. Without the rolls, however, it seems impossible to account for the succession of amounts from 1465 to 1471.

The allowances seem to be of two kinds: those pertaining to the office of sheriff, and those to the office of escheator. Of the former there are good examples on the roll for 1477-78:[11] 13s.4d. was allowed for the making of irons for chaining the thieves and £1.0.11d, consisting of four items where amercements have been relaxed. It is interesting to note that the draft[12] had further allowances of £7.17.11½d, which no longer appear on the final roll. The draft roll is incomplete and damaged, and it is impossible to tell whether there were allowances to the escheator. In 1463-64 there were allowances for the escheator and sheriff of £5.15.11½d, and among the reasons for the former were that the land was wasted, that it had been let for less, and that the accountant did not know where the land lay. The accounts end with a final 'et debet' and in 1463-64 a list of respites, and in 1477-78, the heading of 'supra' with a list of outstanding debtors. The size of the final 'et debet' when contrasted with the foreign payments show the extreme difficulty of the officers in collecting the money with which they were charged:[13] in 1463-64 this is £183,18.6d. i.e. a failure to collect on average £27 p.a.; in 1477-78 the sheriff alone owes £22.0.7d., that is, at the end of the second year of the episcopate.

It should have become apparent from the discussion that the sheriff and escheator's importance was not primarily/

primarily financial, but rather that finance was almost a by-product of the officer's other duties: law and order had to be maintained whether it was financially profitable or not. Only the financial is relevant to this study, and the evidence, sparse as it is, is sufficient to show that the sheriff and escheator was incapable of raising the revenue with which he was charged: compared to the allowances, the foreign payments are small but they are dwarfed by the accumulation of arrears.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MASTER FORESTER

In the preceeding survey of the accounts and accountants of the bishopric, at least one account to be presented to the auditors has survived. However, in the case of the office of master forester this is not so: all that has survived is a damaged view of account. The damage is, regretably, at the heading and all that survives is:

> "----compoti omnium tenentium in alta Foresta de Ward -- --16th regis Edwardi quarti et -----domini Laurencii nuper-----translat. fuit ad archiepiscopum Eborensi usque finem ----- scilicet per duos annos et dimidia et tres dies que quidem firme ----- quorum ---- predictorum nominum ----"(1)

Despite the two and a half years and three days, in the account itself, the amounts charged are for three years - at so much per year payable at the six terms (i.e. Michaelmas and Easter of each year,) - then the total. The evidence for foreign payments can be partly made up from the receiver-general's account; but if the view of account is typical then information on payments to the instaurer is of greater importance, but the instaurer's accounts are difficult to use for this.(2)

In the period under study, the master forester was Thomas Lumley. He was made Governor of Scarborough Castle for life in 33 Henry VI, an office which he was able to hand on to his son./

his son. On Edward IV's succession he successfully petitioned for the attainder on his father's father to be reversed.(3) In the last year of Booth's pontificate he secured the grant of the office of master forester to himself and his son, George, for the life of either of them(4) but there is no mention of George on the accounts. Thomas held no other office within the bishopric in this period, which is hardly surprising since this was one of the major offices within it, although probably the labour pertaining to the office could be carried out by subordinates.(5) From this position of seniority he naturally was a member of the commissions for array in the Chester and Easington wards, and also one of the commission of justices,(6) and in view of his office he was a member of the commission to survey the bishop's forests in the first year of Booth's pontificate.(7) He was not, surprisingly, on the commission for the reform of Weardale in Dudley's first year (or at least he is not among those allowed his expenses in connection with it.)(8) George, in contrast, was clearly working his way to the top. In this period he served for some years as sheriff.(9) Born in 1445, in 1461 he was elected a member of parliament for Northumberland; he was constable of Scarborough and sheriff of Northumberland 1461-63, being knighted in 1462. From 1461 to 1507 he was justice of the peace for Northumberland and was to be created a banneret of Gloucester on Hooton Field, 1481. The Lumley family were among the leading tenants-in-chief of the bishop. It should not be supposed that in such politically troubled times they were by any means 'over-mighty subjects'. In fact, rather the opposite.

M. James/

M. James[10] draws attention to their dependence on the bishop for much of their political influence. The Lumleys as master foresters led the men of Weardale just as the Nevils as stewards were captains of the bishopric. The withdrawal of these offices in Tudor times helped in the eclipse of the families.

In the summary of the account of Weardale, we learn of the existence of a clerk of the master forester, who receives a fee of £4.16.8d and £2.1.8d, paid from the Stanhope Park's accounts. There is no information on his duties and status, but it seems possible that he performed the routine administrative and financial duties appertaining to the master-forestership. Such a task may have been beyond the ability and, very likely, the taste, of a man such as Lumley. As well as the clerk of the master forester, there are four foresters - again, nothing is known of the tasks they performed, but it may be that they carried out the duties in the field, as it were.

For the High Forest there is a total charge of £121, made up from money due from 26 tenantries. At the end of the account £44.12.3d remains. Of the discharge, £28.19.8d is for the fees of the officers. This includes only £6 of the master forester's fee for the three years. £7.8.6d. is paid to the receiver-general and 2.8d worth of iron is also transferred. £21.1.3d is allowed as the price of animals transferred to the instaurers. 13s.4d is allowed by order of the lord for the farm of Bromhill, because of the robbers from Scotland; and £1.13.4d is allowed for works and repairs. It is not clear why an amount of £16.7.10d should be allowed; unfortunately/

unfortunately the manuscript is damaged at this point and all that remains is 'pro termino michaelis in ---- intratus domini.'

A similar analysis of the figures for the park of Stanhope presents greater difficulties: in part, because there is no summary, but also because of the unsatisfactory state of the document. The figures that follow represent an attempt to reconstruct the overall picture rather than a precise analysis of it. The charge side totals £227, while the discharge entries plus the 'et debets' amount to £225.1.8d. Again the major payment is to the instaurer: of £56.10.3d. That to the receiver-general totals only £14.5.8d.; and William Smith, the receiver, received £2.1.8d. Fees come to £21.10.1d while various allowances total £30.16.0d. (The major part of this - £27.0.0d. - is for land which it seems had not been let, the entries being merely marked 'Quia extra' or 'Respic. extra' - presumably 'tenuriam' being understood.) It seems that £33.7.8d. is being claimed in allowance for Michaelmas of the first year - this figure represents almost exactly one sixth of the total charge for the land in cultivation:£200; i.e. the Michaelmas accounting day was outside the period of this account. Beyond this figure £64.1.0d. remains.

In view of the nature of the evidence concerning the master forestership, an analysis of the office comparable with that attempted for the other offices has been impossible to carry out - an impressionistic picture is all that can be attempted. However, from this has emerged the greater financial importance of Stanhope Park compared with the High Forest; that considerably greater payments were made to the instaurer (in the form of animals) than to the receiver-general;/

general; and the importance of fees in comparison to these. Allowances for repairs are small, but there are larger ones for land out of use. Finally, despite the longer run of this documents compared to the annual accounts, the importance of the 'et debets' has also emerged: £44.12.3d from a charge of £121, in the High Forest; and £64.1.0d from a charge of £227, for Stanhope Park.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE COAL, LEAD AND IRON MINES

I. The coal mines

The analysis of the part played by the coal mines, and the officials concerned with them, both administratively and financially is hampered by the inadequate nature of the evidence. For the period under study, only six rolls survive, dealing with seven mines. Two of these rolls are damaged on the first membrane, with the result that no date can be firmly attributed to them.(1) The evidence of these rolls is supplemented by that from the receiver-general's main and arrears accounts, but regretably the interpretation to be laid on this is not unambiguous.

In the discussion the mines may be grouped broadly under three headings: first, the east and west mines at Whikham - on the receiver-general's account these make up only one entry, although two rolls for the east mine alone have survived; second, a complex based on Raley, including, always, it seems, one at Tofts, usually one at Caldhirst, and sometimes ones at Hathirclough and Hartgill; and the third group is a miscellaneous one of mines which were either new or had just opened up again, - these first occur in the account for 1472-73 and entries persist on the remaining rolls - for instance one at Gateshead in 1474-75 is responsible for an entry/

entry of £30, while in the last two receiver-general's accounts, there are mines at Broom, Camehill, Tollawepot, Midelwod, Hemylmorehilly, and Cleveburn in Weardale, and Woodfield.(2) No accounts of this latter group survive, nothing is known of their organisation and only at Gateshead are the names of any officials known.

Even the organisation at the coal mines is not beyond doubt. With the help of the receiver-general's accounts it is possible sometimes to discover the names of the local accountant, but the exact title seems to be in question. The terms 'farmer', 'approver' and 'bankman' are used, it seems, indiscriminately; in the account of 1465-66, John Mullor is described as the former approver of the Whikham east mine, while in 1467-68, Nicholas Hanyng is described as the farmer of the same mine. Often an official is called 'approver and bankman', yet in 1458-59 Thomas Buke is described once as the approver of the mines at Raley and Tofts, but elsewhere as the bankman at Tofts. A further complication is that in one of the Whikham rolls(3) William Askeby is called clerk of the mines, and approver of the coal mine called Eastgrove. Whether this office is similar to one at Raley called supervisor of mines(4) it seems impossible to say. From the form of the account at Whikham there seems to be no difference between that and the other accounts for Whikham. The following list is,then, of the accountants at the mines who are responsible to the receiver-general, with no reference to the title of the office held.

LISTS OF OFFICIALS /

COAL MINES: LISTS OF OFFICIALS

	Whikham-west	Whikham-east	Hardkeld	Raley,Tofts,etc.	Gateshead
1457-58				W.Eure	
1458-59	J.Cok W.Bacon	W.Askeby	C.Buttery	W.Eure/ R.Stevenson T.Buke	
1459-60		J.Mullok		R.Stevenson J.Baker T.Buke W.Bacon	
1460-61		J.Mullok	C.Preston		
1461-62		J.Mullok			
1462-63				R.Wotton	
1463-64					
1464-65		W.Hanyng			
1465-66				R.Wotton	
1466-67		W.Caunce T.Wakefield		R.Wotton	
1467-68	J.Cok	W.Caunce T.Wakefield W.Hanyng		R.Wotton	
1468-69				R.Wotton	
1469-70	J.Cok	W.Caunce T.Wakefield		R.Wotton	
1470-71	J.Cok	W.Hanyng		R.Wotton	
1471-72					
1472-73	J.Cok	W.Caunce W.Hanyng		J.Mullok	
1473-74	J.Cok	W.Caunce W.Hanyng		J.Mullok	
1474-75				R.Moreton	E.Hall J.Horne
1475-76				J.Kelyng	
1476-77	J.Cok			T.Buke	J.Cok
1477-78				T.Buke	J.Cok
1478-79					J.Cok

The majority of these men were, it seems, specialists: Caunce, Cok, Hanyng, Wakefield and Wotton, for example, hold no other office in the bishopric. If their positions required skill and knowledge of mining it is hardly surprising that they should form a distinct group among the officials. An examination of the other men, those who held different types of office, supports this construction. William Askeby's other/

other office was that of clerk of the lead mines, held in the same year that he was looking after a mine at Whikham. John Baker was custodian of the aqueduct of Durham Castle and cathedral - again a technical position. All else that is known about Moreton is that he was paid expenses in 1471 for riding to London and back to see the chancellor on divers matters concerning the bishop. Buke was one of a large commission collecting arrears from collectors in 1477 and 1478. Two men did hold other positions: Roger Stevenson was reeve of Evenwood in 1459-60; and Mullok was clerk of the works from 1467 to 1470. Two men stand head and shoulders above the other officials: Kelyng, the receiver-general, was approver of the Raley complex in 1476-77 (the same year that he was clerk of the works), but he held the position for just one year. Sir William Eure, the second outstanding man,(5) was farmer at Raley for part of the first, and part ofthe second year of Booth's pontificate, but promptly ended up in trouble with a writ of scire facias against him. This was probably due to his infringing the restrictive clauses of the farm: daily output was to be restricted to 340 corves at Raley, 300 at Tofts, 600 at Hardkeld, and 20 at any other mines - in total equal to perhaps 100 tons a day.(6) H. Preston, chancellor; H. Gyllowe, clerk; G. Midelton, sheriff; and W. Raket, were assigned to make enquiry touching damages and wastes said to be committed by William Eure and his servants and workmen in the coal mines at Raley etc., leased to him for one year.(7) The result of this enquiry is not known except that there is no evidence of Eure holding any office for the rest of Booth's episcopate. On 12th August 1461 Eure was released from an obligation of £2000 to the bishop of Durham (the result of his threatening/

threatening the bishop with 'death and maiming') but only on a bond to pay the same to the king before Whitsuntide (in fact a heavy fine for being on the wrong side during the war.) He had also been feed by Robert Nevil, the previous bishop, for £20 for life.(8) In contrast to men of such standing, it seems that those who could be called the professionals could hope for a number of years in office, as Wotton and Cok for instance seem to have done, Even at the east mine of Whikham, in the middle years of the period, the chopping and changing seems to be among three men.

The accounts are in the usual form of charge and discharge. From the evidence available there are three kinds of entry on the charge side: arrears, receipts for the selling of coal, and receipts from the receiver-general. The danger of extrapolating from such a small amount of information is great, but some indication of both the importance of the mines, and also the constituents in the charge side, can be gained from the information available.

COAL MINES: CHARGE SIDE

	Whikham E. 1459	Whikham E. 1461-62	Hardkeld 1459	Raley Part 1460	Raley Part 1460	Tofts ?
Arrears	Nil	240.9. 7	Nil	Nil	Nil	Missing
Sale of coal	96.18. 0	60.2.10	20.16.4¼	17.13.7	78.16.5	
From R.G.	50. 0.10	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
TOTAL	146.18.10	300.12.5	20.16.4½	17.13.7	78.16.5.	21.8.5.

Note
The two totals from Raley when taken together represent the charge from 2nd April until Christmas 1460.
The exact duration of the other accounts may be obtained from note (1) page 82.

The dangers alluded to above, may be seen in a comparison of the two Whikham totals: the second is for a period of one year, the first's duration is not known for certain due to damage to the manuscript, but it is possibly for the same length of time as that for Hardkeld, since they both finish in the week of St Peter ad Vincula. It which case it is from 14th April.

A more accurate measure of the mines' importance may be gathered from the entries on the charge side of the receiver-general's accounts. Unfortunately, the mines are grouped - the Whikham ones together, and also the Raley complex.

COAL MINES: THE RECEIVER-GENERAL'S ACCOUNTS. CHARGESIDE

	Whikham	Raley etc.(1)	Others
1457-58			
1458-59	21. 3.4	55.13.4	
1459-60		42. 8.1	
1460-61		122.16.8	
1461-62			
1462-63			
1463-64			
1464-65	66.13.4	120. 0.0	
1465-66	39.15.0	120. 0.0	
1466-67	6. 0.0	120. 0.0	
1467-68	66.13.4	120. 0.0	
1468-69	Nil	120. 0.0	Selling of coal £2.0.0d
1469-70	6. 6.0	120. 0.0	Paid to Lord, owed at Whikham, 1467-68, £50.14.6d.
1470-71	Nil	120. 0.0	
		45. 2.9 arrears	
1471-72			
1472-73	66.13.4	209.11.0	6.13.4
1473-74	66.13.4	152.10.0	6.13.4
1474-75	Nil	160. 0.0	36.13.4 (Gateshead £30) (2) Selling of coal £54.0.0d.
1475-76			
1476-77	20. 0.0	140. 0.0	43.11.8
1477-78			
1478-79	28. 0.0	150. 0.0	59.13.4

Notes
(1) This complex had been farmed to Sir Robert Eure in 1424 for nine years at £112.13.4d per year. (V.C.H. II p323)
(2) In 1-2 Nevil the Gateshead mine produced £66.13.4d (V.C.H. II p323.)

These figures tell us what the mines should have been worth, and therefore, the relative importance one against the other. It can be gathered that the proceeds from Whikham were erratic, while those from Raley show a definite tendency to rise. And further, that the demand for coal must have risen in the period under study - there are not just the charges at Raley but there are also the new mines being brought into production. This is clearly what the central administration thought should have happened, but it is not certain, unfortunately, whether this did happen. That the charge from Raley remained the same from 1464-65 to 1470-71 raises the question whether these figures represent payments in money from the official at the mine to the receiver-general or whether it is a book-keeping entry and that it was the responsibility, not necessarily the money, that was changing hands. It would be a remarkable coincidence if the profit remained constant for seven consecutive years, unless it was being farmed. Further there is the question of why there should be arrears in 1470-71 owed from two years and four years before. Without the accounts from the coal mines to enable us to look behind the receiver-general's accounts, the problem remains elusive. Only in one case can a coal mine account be compared to the entry in a receiver-general's account: for Raley in 1459-60.(9) In the first of the accounts of the mine there are no payments to the receiver-general, but in the second, it is stated that the receiver-general is paid £41.14.2d. and 13s.11d; while on the charge side of the receiver-general's account there is an entry for £42.8.1d. In other words, in this case the entry in the receiver-general's account means that money has changed hands. There is a similar problem at Whikham: at first sight, from the erratic nature/

nature of the figures one might suppose that this did represent what was happening, that money was changing hands. However, in the entry for 1469-70 it is stated that arrears are paid of £50.14.6d. due from the year 1467-68 - but for that year there is an entry of £66.13.4d. If the figures did represent profit paid to the receiver-general, it would mean that in the year 1467-68 profits were almost double that of any other year; and makes one suspect that the full story is not known.

On the discharge side of the coal mines' accounts is the actual cost of mining the coal, drawn up week by week, giving the number of miners at work, the number of days they work and the quantity of coal mined. The mines at Whikham eastgrove, for instance, employed four miners and possibly their families, and usually four of them together would mine a 'kele' of coal per working day, and would receive in payment six pence each per kele.(10) At the other mines there were allowances for candles, cordage and other 'neccessaries'. At Whikham there occur allowances for repairs; for instance, the remaking of a 'watergate' at a cost of £20.10.0d.(11) It would seem from this that the officials of the coal mines were responsible for repairs to their mines. It certainly does not seem to be the responsibility of the clerk of the works - and one would have thought, therefore, that the officials would have paid for the repairs from the money in their own accounts. This does not seem to have been true in all cases. An examination of the receiver-general's accounts, both main and arrears, reveal the following allowances:-

RECEIVER-GENERAL'S ACCOUNTS: ALLOWANCES FOR COAL MINES

	Whikham	Raley etc.
1458-59		20.18.1½
1459-60	15. 0.5½	
1461-62		48.14.7
1466-67	1. 0.0	19. 5.9
1471-72	6. 7.5¾	
1477-78	17.14.3	
1478-79		2. 0.0 + ?*

* £2.0.0d + unknown ammount because an entry for this was combined with another of a different nature in the account.

A possible explanation for this, is that repairs had to be carried out before the mining could get under way in the new year - or at least, that the repairs had to be done before ~~before~~ sufficient money was at hand: but, of course, there is not the evidence to prove this. More puzzling is why there should be an entry of £50.0.10d. received from the receiver-general at Whikham (10) while neither in his main or his arrears accounts is there any mention of a sum being paid to the official at Whikham.

In conclusion it must now be stated that a series of question marks must be left against the part the coal mines played in the financial organisation of the bishopric, and against the officials at the mines. All that can be said with certainty, is that the mines should, in the eyes of the central administration, have played a quite noticeable role already in the bishopric's finances; and that the officials at the mines show some sign of being specialists in that field. It is clear, however, that the coal mines did not occupy the position they were later to obtain. It would appear that demand was relatively inelastic and there was fear/

fear of over-production.[12] J.B. Blake lists the uses of coal- for lime burning, for smiths, for the provision of Northern Castles, and for domestic purposes by north-east monastic houses. He continues "the domestic demand for coal was probably restricted because of the ready supply of timber in most areas of England and not, apparently, until the 16th century was there any shortage of wood. The industrial demand for coal was still restricted."[13]

II. The Lead Mines

If the outline and information on the organisation and finances of the coal mines were sketchy, the position with regard to the lead mines is worse. For the period under consideration only one account of the clerk of the lead mines has survived, for only four years can the holder of the office be named; and reference to the lead mines in the receiver-general's account is scanty.

The account[14] that has survived names William Askeby as clerk of the lead mines, that is, for the year 1458-59. The receiver-general's main account for the following year states that Askeby is still in office. Nothing further is heard of the office or its holder until 1477-78, when Christopher More holds it,[15] as he does in the following year.[16] More is not known to have held any other office, but Askeby was approver of the coal mines at Whikham in 1458-59.

The account which has survived largely follows the form of the coal mines' accounts: on the charge side there are entries for arrears, receipt of money from the receiver-general/

general, selling of lead and selling of wood.

CLERK OF LEAD MINES ACCOUNT FOR 1458-59: CHARGE SIDE

Arrears	29. 4. 1
Receipt of money from receiver-general	50. 2. 4
Selling of lead (none sold)	Nil
Selling of wood	3. 6. 8
Total of receipts with arrears	82.13. 1d

On the discharge side there is a list of seven mines: Wester Fedling, Hardrak, Ester Blankernclough, Wester Blankernclough, Ester Sedling, Bershawmede, Roukehope and Herthope. For each of these there is the name of the man responsible, the weight of the ore mined with the appropriate allowance, and an allowance for carrying it to Wolsingham to be weighed. Then there are allowances for boiling and smelting the lead; for the buying of wood (the same figure as in the charge side - presumably a book-keeping entry); the carriage of this, and for making it into charcoal; and then 'necessary expenses'. This is followed by a list of fees and wages - though in this account nothing is allowed - which is explained under the heading of respites. Askeby had not shown the letter patent of Bishop Nevil for the appointment and fee - then it is stated that he should receive £5 p.a. A Thomas Stobbes also should have received his fee, of £1, as 'supervisor of works of the lord in Weardale'; and a wage of 5s.0d. for the man weighing the lead. In the dorse there is the statement of the stock of lead he held.

The evidence from the receiver-general's accounts consists/

consists solely of two entries in his allowances for money paid to the clerk of the lead mines. In 1458-59, he paid over £207.12.3¼d, and in the following year, £78.4.2¼d. The former year is that, of course, for which the clerk's accounts survive, but his figures for money received in no way tallies with that of the receiver-general. With the paucity of evidence there seems no means to discover the reason for this. There are no entries in the receiver-general's accounts for the years 1477-78 and 1478-79 when it is known that there was a clerk of the lead mines. For the period in between the only evidence is that of the valor for 1463-64[17] which states that there are no proceeds from the lead mines because they are unoccupied. On the other two valors the lead mines are not referred to at all. J. Hatcher has drawn attention to the highly speculative nature of lead mining,"for sulphide ores, of which silver and lead are two, never occur in surface 'placer' deposits and even in the lode they usually occur in small scattered deposits."[18] The Victoria County History draws attention to the variation in profit from the lead mines: that in 1457-58 there was a considerable decrease compared to 30 years before. There was also a decline in 1497-98 but it claims the mine was not exhausted, for there is an increase in 1523-24.[19]

III. The Iron Mines

For this subject there are merely scraps of information to show that they existed, but little more. A John Hegeson (or Hoggeson) is paid 'pro supervisu fabri ferri' in 1477-78 and 1478-79[20] - but nothing more is known of the office.

Also/

Also, in 1458 William Eure was granted the office of farmer of the sea-coal and iron ore beneath the said coal at Raley, Caldhirst, Hertkeld and Hethireclough.[21] Lastly, in the valor of 1463-64[17] there are no proceeds from the iron mines because they are lying unoccupied - on the other two valors there is no mention of the iron mines.

A final cautionary note affecting all sections of this chapter is that under Bishop Langley, lead sales produced £858 in the years 1428-31, but these receipts were not recorded on the contemporary roll of the Durham receiver.[22]

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CLERK OF THE WORKS

In contrast to the officers discussed above, the clerkship of the works entailed the spending of money rather than its collection. The nature and extent of the office can perhaps be gauged best from the heading of one of the account rolls:-

> 'Compotus Ricardi Lewyn clerici operum maneriorum molendinum et parcorum venerabilis in Christo patris et domini Laurencii Dunelm. Episcopi tam de omnibus denariis causa officii sui receptis quam de custibus et expensis per ipsum in eodem officio factis et solutis -----'. (1)

From the evidence of the rolls in existence for the period under study, it seems that the clerk of the works' sphere of activity was limited to County Durham: among the individual entries no place outside the county is mentioned. Further, for the Allerton estate we hear that they have their own clerk of the works. (2)

For this period, four (3) of the accounts survive: for part of the second year of Booth's episcopate; for a year in the latter half of the episcopate, c. 1469-70; (4) for 1475-76; and for 1477-78. Sufficient, that is, for some indication of the work being done, although of course, it cannot be shown from this that these years possessed the normal level of expenditure. But this information can to some extent be eked out from the receiver-general's main and arrears/

arrears accounts. These sources can, in particular, supplement our knowledge of the holders of the office.

LIST OF CLERKS OF THE WORKS

1457-58		1468-69	J. Mullok
1458-59	R. Lewyn	1469-70	J. Mullok
1459-60	J. Tipping	1470-71	
1460-61		1471-72	
1461-62	J. Tipping	1472-73	J. Stathome
1462-63		1473-74	
1463-64		1474-75	
1464-65	J. Tipping	1475-76	J. Stathome
1465-66		1476-77	J. Kelyng
1466-67	N. Kelchitch ? (4)	1477-78	J. Kelyng
1467-68	J. Mullok	1478-79	W. Cawod

Of all these men there is further information of their activities except for Walter Cawod: it is possible that he was a 'new man' brought in by the new bishop. John Kelyng is the same person as the receiver-general, but the rest of the men were minor office holders. James Tipping, for instance, was janitor of the gate and itinerant bailiff of the Durham Exchequer in 1459-60 and 1460-61;(5) and at times through the period of the study glimpses of him can be caught holding a variety of offices at Auckland - keeper of the park, custodian of the manor, approver of the town and collector. John Mullok's other offices were as approver of coal mines, first at Whikham then at the Raley complex. John Stathome was granted by Booth in his last year before translation, along with John Torkington, the office of bailiff of Stockton during their lives and the life of either of them.(6) In the same year Stathome was also granted custody of the park of Brilley(6) and in the valor for the following year he was forester at Birtloe.(7) Despite the fact that the receiver-general's arrears account for 1472-73 states that he is the clerk/

clerk of the works, his appointment in the chancery records dates from 19 Booth.(6) Richard Lewyn can perhaps be placed between these men and Kelyng, since he was the coroner of Chester ward from 1458-59 to 1465-66. There seems little that is homogeneous about these men as a class, except that they seem to belong (with only the possible exception of Cawod) to that group possessing general administrative ability. Otherwise there was clearly a gulf between the men at the top, like Kelyng, and, say, Mullok. Among the lesser men there seems to be a tendency - but it is difficult to be more dogmatic than this - that the other offices they hold involve care of property, rather than being purely financial.

From the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it is impossible to be certain of the pattern of office holding. The longest run when the clerks of the works are known is four years (1466-67 to 1469-70 and 1475-76 to 1478-79). But this is enough to suggest that the office was not usually held for just one year, as for example the collectorships were. This impression is reinforced by the fact that John Stathome in 1475-76 is charged in his account with arrears. All this suggests that James Tipping held office continuously from 1459-60 to at least 1464-65; and John Stathome from 1472-73 (and possibly earlier) to 1475-76; but there is not the evidence to demonstrate this.

Of the charge side of the clerks of the works' accounts the size is mainly known through the receiver-general's account as this appears on the discharge side of his account, either main or arrears. However the clerk of the works' roll for 1475-76 shows this is not the whole story:

CLERK OF THE WORKS ACCOUNT: CHARGE SIDE 1475-76

Arrears		12.15.10¾
Received from the receiver-general		136. 1.11
Received from rents at Walworth		16. 4. 6
Received from land and tenements in Helmeden and Auckland, being in the lord's hands as heirs are minors		5.11. 5
Foreign receipts:		
Farm of close at Escombe	3. 6.8	
Issues of land of J. Boys in 18 & 19 Booth	7. 0.0	
From Wolsingham, price of iron	2.17.4	
From steward of Kepier for divers works	37. 0.0	50. 4. 0
Money received from Lord for divers haulage work		22.10. 0
Total of all receipts with arrears		243. 7. 8¾

In contrast, in the rolls for 1458-59 and 1478-79, the only item on the charge side is the receipt from the receiver-general. But if the other roll belongs to c. 1469-70, then in that there must have been receipts from sources other than the receiver-general. The receipts from the receiver-general appear to be real, and average around £100, despite comparatively wide fluctuations.

CLERK OF THE WORKS ACCOUNT: RECEIPTS FROM THE RECEIVER-GENERAL, AND TOTAL CHARGE

	R.G.	TOTAL		R.G.	TOTAL
1457-58			1468-69	115. 7. 1¾	
1458-59	184.1.0 (1) 90.0.7 (2)	90.0.7	1469-70	93. 0. 5	138.6.5¾ ?
1459-60	87.2.1½		1470-71	120. 5.11½	
1460-61			1471-72	125. 5. 5	
1461-62			1472-73	82. 2. 9½	
1462-63			1473-74	159. 2. 2	
1463-64			1474-75		
1464-65			1475-76	136. 1.11	243.7.8¾
1465-66			1476-77	91. 9. 5½	
1466-67			1477-78	184. 6. 4½	184.6.4½
1467-68	117.7.2		1478-79	25.16. 9	

Notes
(1) Amount on the receiver-general's main account.
(2) Amount on clerk of works' account.

The gaps in the receipts from the receiver-general may, in general, be due to the fact that either the receiver-general's main account or his arrears account has not survived for that year. However, this does not account for the lack of information for the year 1460-61, when both the accounts survive.

When attention is turned to the discharge side of the account, it becomes clear that these accounts have not become formalised and rigid: there is no set order for the entries and entries are only made if money has been expended. If the year 1458-59 is taken to illustrate a year when expenses have been low, of a final charge of £90.0.7d, £5 is allowed for his fee and he has a final 'et debet' of £13.14.2d. Of the remaining £71.6.5d., £3.9.9d. was spent on the manors, £41.0.2½d on the mills and ponds, and £10,4.9½d. on the parks and wood - the amount is made up of purchases of iron and the cost of working it, of 'trindels' and an allowance for a repair made by William Tongue. No single item comes to £10. In contrast, in 1475-76, there are allowances totalling £225.3.0d., but the bulk of this is made up of three items. If these are subtracted, £69.10.7d. is left. Making allowances for possible 'et debets' this figure of approximately £70 is in accordance with the lower level of receipts fromthe receiver-general. In 1475-76 there were, what must have been, major repairs to one of the Durham mills, totalling £105.16.1½d, concerned mainly with the pond - both making its banks and dredging it. The other large allowances were in the manor of Auckland - £27.6.3½d - and carriage for the lord - £22.10.0d.

Considering the nature of the accounts, it is hardly surprising that arrears are not a major problem as compared to some other accounts examined. But, they do exist. In some cases/

cases it may be that the clerk of the works had some cash left over at the end of the year. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that he was paid a fixed sum at the beginning of the year. His receipts from the receiver-general are not even simply in pounds: in 1468-69, for instance, the amount is £115.7.1¾d., which seems to suggest that he had to indent for the money he needed. But there is no proof of this, and if it was so, it is surprising that there should be a balance left at the end of the account. In the account for 1475-76, it is possible to get behind the 'et debet' and see what it consists of, since a list has been made under the heading of 'supra'. Of a balance of £18.4.8¾d, £11.2.7½d is due to the tenants of lands being in arrears (see above under charge side). It is possible that some of the remaining amount represents materials bought for repairs but as yet remaining in stock. On the dorse of the account of 1458-59, there is a list of the materials bought and where they were used and whether any were left over. For instance, six pairs and a single millstone were bought: the single one was used at Wydopping, and the pairs at Darlington, Houghton, West Auckland, Sedgefield and Wearmouth, with one pair remaining in store. This explanation cannot solve the problem entirely, for in the roll of uncertain date, it is stated that Nicholas Kelchitch, clerk of the works in the year 10, still owes £8.14.0d. However, it was possible for an officer to receive his quietus at the end of the year: John Kelyng did so in 1477-78; but perhaps we should not be too surprised at this considering that in his role as receiver-general and chancellor, he would have the whole weight of the administration behind him when executing this lesser office.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE INSTAURERS

This group of accounts is different once again from the accounts previously discussed. The nature of the office is expressed in the heading of the rolls. For example:-

> 'Compotus Johanis Harper instaurationis animalium multonorum et omnium stauri ------- tam de omnimodis denariis summis per ipsum receptis quam de misis custodis et expensis per ipsum factis.' (1)

In other words, the instaurer is the officer charged with maintaining the stocks of animals available for the bishop's use. During the period under study, six accounts have survived: for the years 1469-70, 1473-74. 1474-75, 1476-77, and for the half year of Easter to Michaelmas 1458, and from the feast of St. John the Baptist to Michaelmas, 1459. This means that no firm conclusions can be arrived at concerning the normal state of the accounts, although the existence of the accounts of two successive years means that any tentative conclusions are less subject to error on account of variation year by year. The evidence from the surviving accounts can also again be eked out with the use of the receiver-general's main and arrears accounts.

Our knowledge of the men who held the office of instaurer can be filled in where the instaurers' accounts do not survive by use of the receiver-general's accounts and other such documents.

HOLDERS OF THE OFFICE OF INSTAURER

1457-58	/J.Harpour(1)	1468-69	W.Milner
1458-59	J.Harpour/R.Symson (1)	1469-70	W.Milner
1459-60	R.Symson	1470-71	
1460-61	R.Symson	1471-72	
1461-62	/W.Tong & W.Bland (2)	1472-73	T.Hall
1462-63	" "	1473-74	T.Hall
1463-64	" " /	1474-75	T.Hall
1464-65	T.Bowebank	1475-76	
1465-66		1476-77	W.Broune
1466-67		1477-78	W.Broune
1467-68	W.Milner	1478-79	T.Hall

Notes
(1) Each man held the office for part of the year only.
(2) These man were appointed by Edward IV, when the temporalities were in his hands.

This evidence is far from complete. But the longest period of office that is known of here is three years, and in the 22 years of the study there are seven different holders of the office, which again suggests that no man held the office for a long period. This is not to say, however, that the holders of the office resembled the collectors.(2) William Milner, for instance, instaurer for 1467-70 at least, was coroner of the ward of Darlington in 1467-68 and 1468-69; bailiff of Midelham in 1470-71; collector of Midelham and Cornforth in 1466-67, 1468-69 and 1469-70. Thomas Bowebank, instaurer in 1464-65, was bailiff of the manor and town of Stockton in 1459-60 and 1463-64; and farmer of the manor of Tunstall in 1472-73, 1473-74 and 1474-75. Thomas Hall, instaurer in 1472-75 and 1478-79, was bailiff of Midelham in 1472-73, 1474-75 and 1475-76; and also collector of Cornforth in 1472-73. Robert Symson's other appointments differed from those above. He was steward of the household for part of 1459-60 and for 1460-61; for the former year he was one of those collecting arrears in the Darlington and Stockton/

Stockton wards. He was collector of Lanchester in 1468-69 and 1472-73. Further, he - or a man of the same name - was receiver of Allerton in 1476-77, 1477-78 and 1478-79. Of the others, less is known. All that is known of William Broune is that he was a clerk and was a member of the commission for letting land in 1476-77. William Bland was bailiff of the manor of Darlington in 1459=60, 1463-64, 1465-66 and 1470-71; all this despite the fact that he was made instaurer while the temporalities were in the king's hands. The joint instaurer at the time was William Tong, of whom nothing is known. In this case it is possible that Tong was there to represent the king's interests and Bland there to represent Booth's. Lastly, nothing further is known of John Harpour. There is, then, a tendency - although not a very strong one - for instaurers to hold other offices in the bishopric. Such offices were sometimes that of bailiff, but equally could be as high as steward of the household, or, merely, a collector.

The ordering of the account is less settled than most of the accounts which have been considered so far. The form, of course, is the same: that of charge and discharge. After the heading of the roll, the first entry is for arrears. The account for the first year of Dudley shows no arrears, while the accounts surviving from Booth's episcopate show that the responsibility for the arrears of an outgoing instaurer were transferred to the new appointee. While this is clear, the fluctuation in the levels of arrears seems to indicate that the instaurer was not allowed to build up arrears fairly regularly from year to year, as, say, the coroner did.

THE INSTAURERS ACCOUNTS: ARREARS

1457-58	(half year)	Nil
1458-59	(part year)	Nil (2)
1458-59	(part year)	Nil
1459-60		9. 8. 2 (2)
1469-70		19.14.10½
1470-71		11. 1. 1 (2)
1473-74		142. 4. 3
1474-75		112.19. 7 (1)
1475-76		124.18. 6¼ (2)
1476-77		Nil
1477-78		23. 9. 9 (2)

Notes

(1) The figure for 1474-75 can be obtained either from the arrears entry for the roll of that year, or from the final 'et debet' of the roll of the preceeding year.

(2) The figures followed by (2) have been obtained from the preceeding year's 'et debet', since rolls for these years do not exist.

Perhaps the relative importance of the arrears can be shown most clearly by giving the total amount of the charge side.

INSTAURERS ACCOUNT: TOTAL CHARGE

1457-58	(half year)	105.12. 5
1458-59	(part year)	106. 1. 8
1469-70		267.15. 7½
1473-74		637.19. 8
1474-75		500.15. 4½
1476-77		198.15. 0

In other words, in 1473-74, when the arrears are at their highest, they amount to only approximately 22% of the total charge.

In each case where the roll has survived, the single most important item on the charge side of the account (including even the arrears) are the receipts from the receiver-general. The sum is different each year, and it is never rounded off to a convenient whole number. However, there is nothing to show/

show that he presented evidence to show the receiver-general that he needed that specific sum, and, as we shall see, he rarely received his quietus at the annual audit. There are three sources by which we know the amount of money he received from the receiver-general: the instaurer's own accounts, the receiver-general's main account, and his arrears account.

INSTAURERS ACCOUNTS: PAYMENTS FROM THE RECEIVER-GENERAL AS RECORDED ON RECEIVER-GENERAL'S AND INSTAURER'S ACCOUNTS

	R.G. Main	R.G. Arrears	Instaurer
1457-58			95.12. 6 (2)
1458-59	24.14. 2 (2)		
	121.19. 0 (2)		63. 6. 8 (2)
1459-60	84.12. 4½		
1460-61	(1)	53.17. 5	
1461-62			
1462-63		(1)	
1463-64	(1)		
1464-65	(1)		
1465-66	(1)		
1466-67	(1)		
1467-68	(1)	45.16.10	
1468-69	(1)	136. 2. 9	
1469-70	(1)	217.19. 6	136. 2. 9
1470-71	(1)	245.10. 6	
1471-72		256. 5. 1	
1472-73	(1)	276. 2. 2	
1473-74	(1)	239.14. 1¼	276. 2. 2
1474-75	(1)		239.14. 1¼
1475-76			
1476-77	116. 4. 8	205. 2. 6	116. 4. 8
1477-78		1.14. 8	
1478-79	242. 9. 6	236. 6. 6	

Notes
(1) No amount is recorded in the account.
(2) In 1457-58 and 1458-59 the appointment of the office of instaurer was changed in the course of the year and the table records the amounts paid to each instaurer where known.
(3) Where there is no entry on the above table, the documents have not survived.

It can be seen from the table that there is only one year in which all three types of documents have survived, namely

1476-77./

1476-77. Here, the amount that is recorded on the receiver-general's main account as having been paid to the instaurer, tallies with the amount recorded by the instaurer as having been received by the instaurer. But there is no mention of the sum recorded by the receiver-general's arrears account as having been paid to the instaurer, in the instaurer's account for that year. Further, in the other two years when both the receiver-general's arrears account and the instaurer's account survive, the totals paid by the former and received by the latter do not agree. However, the amounts recorded by the instaurer's accounts in 1469-70 and in 1474-75 as having been received from the receiver-general are precisely the same as the amounts in the receiver-general's arrears accounts for 1468-69 and 1473-74, paid to the instaurer. It is presumed that the explanation lies in the fact that the receiver-general's arrears accounts were drawn up during the auditing after the other accounts had been closed at the end of the financial year. It is known that the audit went on sometimes into January and February,(3) and the instaurer may well have needed money for his purchases between Michaelmas and February. More troublesome is the clash of evidence for the year 1458-59. The receiver-general's main account clearly states that John Harpour, instaurer from Michaelmas to the Nativity of John the Baptist, was paid £24.14. 2d.; and Robert Symson, is paid £121.19.0d. for holding the office from the Nativity of John the Baptist to Michaelmas. Only Robert Symson's instaurer's account survives, but this equally clearly states that he received only £63.6.8d. from the receiver-general. For this anomaly there appears to be no plausible explanation./

explanation.

If attention is turned from the technical problems of the relationship between the receiver-general's accounts and the instaurer's to the size of the payments from the receiver-general, it can be seen that this was quite considerable: the highest figure that is known is for 1473-74 - £276.2.2d. It cannot be assumed that this is a freak high figure compensating for abnormally low ones, since the average payment recorded in the receiver-general's arrears accounts for the year 1469-70 to 1473-74 is £247. There is, however, considerable variation in the yearly amount paid to the instaurer. It has been noted already that the highest amount was £276.2.2d., paid in 1473-74; the lowest appears in 1468-69 when only £45.16.10d. was paid over.(4) Since the instaurer's account does not exist it is impossible to say whether the instaurer was compensated by money from other sources or whether the total charge was also very low. Instaurer's accounts do, however, survive for 1469-70 when the payment was £136.2.9d and for 1476-77, when it was £116.4.8d. and in these years the total charge was also low: £267.15.7½d in 1469-70 and £198.15.0d in 1476-77. The variation here is so great that it is impossible to predict from these, the level of other sources of money available to the instaurer in other years.

When attention is turned to the other entries on the charge side of the account, the flexibility becomes apparent. For no other item is there an entry in every account which has survived. Broadly the charge can be divided into two: first, money received from selling either animals or their products, or food; second, money received from officials or other men. The receipts from the sale of animals or their products/

products vary considerably from account to account: that is, even excepting the two accounts for parts of the year.

INSTAURERS ACCOUNTS: MONEY RECEIVED FROM THE SALE OF ANIMALS AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

1457-58	3. 3
1458-59	37. 3. 4
1469-70	23.19. 4
1473-74	119. 8.11
1574-75	43. 3. 0½
1476-77	31. 1. 4

The greatest part of each of these totals is made up from the sale of animals: in 1473-74 this accounts for £117.3.5d. of the £119.8.11d.; the animals comprising bulls, bullocks, cows and sheep. The remainder of the total is made up of skins and wool. From the limited evidence that has survived it is difficult to see how a-typical the sales of 1473-74 were, but what evidence there is suggests a more typical range of £20 to £50. There is no evidence surviving to suggest why the figure for 1473-74 should be of that magnitude - certainly Booth was bishop of Durham for two more years before being translated.

The entries on the charge side of the account relating to the sale of grazing rights (herbagium) have been kept for special discussion.

INSTAURERS ACCOUNTS: 'HERBAGIUM'

1457-58	(half year)	(1)
1458-59	(part year)	5.11. 8
1469-70		69. 6. 8
1473-74		76.13. 4
1474-75		76.13. 4
1476-77		26.19. 4

Note
(1) No entry on the roll.

These entries have been kept aside not for any particular financial importance but rather because, on the discharge side/

side for the four accounts for complete years there are entries for allowances for grazing, parks and pastures reserved in the lord's hands, for the identical amounts as exist in the charge side under the selling of grazing. This seems to be a good example of how the charge-discharge system of accounting works. On the charge side the instaurer has the responsibility to account for the value of the grazing which is to be sold. On the discharge side the responsibility is removed because the grazing was reserved for the lord's use. No money changes hands, but a responsibility is laid on the officer and this is then removed. So much is clear, but what is less clear is why the instaurer should have been charged with it in the first place. The value put on the grazing varies considerably, and it is impossible to tell if the area of grazing changed or whether the valuation of the worth changed.

The second aspect of the charge side is the part concerned with receipts from other officials or men. Once again, no one item recurs every year. Perhaps the best way of examining these is for them first to be tabulated.

INSTAURERS ACCOUNTS: RECEIPTS FROM OTHER OFFICIALS & MEN

	1457-58	1458-59	1469-70	1473-74	1474-75	1476-77
From Allerton			18.12.0	11. 0.0	6. 2.8	
Divers receipts				12.11.0	21.19.8	2.0.0
Foreign receipts						
From bailiff of Midelham						1.6.8 (2)
From collector of Sedgefield						2.0.0 (3)
'Agist'						19.3.0

Notes
(1) Where there is no entry, there is no entry on the rolls.
(2) The roll says that it is occupied by the accountant.
(3) The roll says that the money is received from the receiver-general by the hand of the collector.

From the form of the account it is impossible to tell whether or not it was money that was received from Allerton. If it was money, it is strange that it was the instaurer who received it, especially when he was receiving large payments from the receiver-general. It might make more sense if it were animals being moved from Allerton to the responsibility of the instaurer, and evidence from the Allerton accounts confirms this hypothesis.(5) As the name suggests, 'divers receipts' are a rag-bag impossible to classify otherwise.

When attention is turned to the discharge side of the instaurer's accounts, the purchase of animals for the bishop's manors of Stockton, Evenwood amd Midelham overshadow all other entries.

INSTAURERS ACCOUNTS: DISCHARGE SIDE

	Cattle	Sheep	Horses	Others
1457-58	88. 0.5	9.10.3		8. 1.4
1458-59	27. 6.8	25.19.8		44. 7.6 (7. 1.10)
1469-70	140. 4.8	30.12.5	6. 0. 0	10.10.9½
1473-74	323.14.7	48. 3.6		76. 8.8 (23. 2. 0)
1474-75	256.15.7	19. 1.4		23. 6.7½
1476-77		120. 9.3	3. 6. 8	24.16.1 (12. 4. 9)

This becomes even more clear when various payments are excluded - as is shown in the bracketed figures. The cost of performing the office, with any other expenses, never amounts to 10% of the amounts discharged in the instaurer's account. In these calculations the allowances for grazing, shown above to be mere book-keeping entries, have been discounted.

Many of the costs of the office are grouped, as would seem natural, under the heading of necessary expenses. Sometimes, however, they are placed between the first and final 'et debets'. Every year there is an entry for payment to the clerk for writing the account: curiously for the first three accounts it is/

it is 3s.4d. and for the last three, it is 6s.8d. No reason is apparent for the change. In every year there are allowances for the instaurer's riding expenses, and in most years, for the expenses of driving animals. When the scale of the sale and purchase of animals is remembered, it is not surprising that in 1474-75 together these amount to £4.9.2d. In 1473-74 and in 1474-75 there are allowances of £9.18.11d. and £11.13.1½d. for the driving of cattle from Stockton and Midelham to London. Given the wages and prices of the fifteenth century, this would suggest a large number of cattle being moved, but the accounts give no details. In 1473-74, alone, is there an allowance of £1. for looking after the bishop's horses. On the first and last accounts only are there allowances for fees. John Harpour is allowed £1. for his fee as instaurer from Easter to Michaelmas, 1458. In 1476-77, William Broune receives his fee of £2. for the whole year. In the intervening years there is no mention at all of fees. But also in 1476-77 there are allowances for the custodians of the animals in the three parks: to John Lighe, at Evenwood, 13s.4d.; to Thomas Lowere, at Stockton, £1.6.8d.; to William Hoplar and William Juskyr, at Auckland, 13s.4d. Nothing is known of these men except the last one. A William Juskyr was paid in 1459-60 with others for collecting the arrears of the Stockton ward. He received letters patent from Edward IV appointing him bailiff of the manor of Midelham while the temporalities were in the kings hands. From the bailiff's accounts he held office at Midelham in 1459-60 and 1463-64. In 1469-70, 1473-74 and 1474-75 there are allowances of £5.14.1d, £5.10.8d. and£5.18.8d. for the stipend of shepherd. It is not clear whether this included the stipend of the custodians of animals in the parks. In the first two accounts/

accounts there are entries of allowances of £3.3.4d. and £4.6.8d. for 'agist' but such entries do not recur.

Lastly to be discussed on the discharge side are the three foreign payments. Of £37.5.8d. in money to John Kelyng, steward of the household in 1458-59; of £53.6.8d. paid to the lord's hands in 1473-74; and of £12.10.4d. to the receiver-general both in money (£6.13.4d.) and in 'agist' 'animalium', in 1476-77. Clearly there is no regularity or pattern in these and no reasons are given for the transfer. It would be rash from this evidence to conclude that this was a period of financial difficulty; but there does seem to be a willingness to cast around for money to an officer who might have it.

When attention is turned to the final 'et debet' of each account, it remains to reiterate what has been said above about arrears: there is no evidence of a regularly increasing burden on the instaurer. In fact, as already has been noted, in the account of 1457-58 John Harpour gets his quietus. Further, on the accounts for 1473-74 and 1474-75, there is a list of respites. Thomas Hall asks respites for himself for £6.15.3d. and £18.14.2¼d - this, remembering, that the total charge is very small. So too is the respite asked for William Milner former instaurer for the year 1469-70 of £4.11.0d. The rest in each case is made up of one entry for named burgesses of the city of Newcastle for the price of wool sold to them in 1472-73. The amount is £101.13.4d. This is a startling amount when compared with the entries on the accounts for wool, which in each case amount to shillings. From the instaurer's accounts there is no information to suggest why the value of wool from the bishopric should be over £100.

On the dorse of the rolls there is an account of the stocking of the parks, for which the instaurer is responsible.

When/

When compared to the writing on the face of the documents, the dorse appears to be more like rough notes: the writing is much smaller, the lines slope across the parchment and the writing is exceedingly difficult to decipher. There are marginal headings for the different types of animals, then statements of animals coming in and leaving this account. There seems little that can be gained from these figures to aid an understanding of the financial organisation of the bishopric, but it is thought worthwhile to give an example of this type of account.

INSTAURERS ACCOUNTS: BULLS

	1457-58	1458-59	1469-70	1473-74	1474-75	1476-77
Bought	20	32	89	242	151	82
Received from last account of former instaurer.		114	102	151	269	
From bullocks			112	124	148	
TOTAL	20	146	303	517	568	
To steward of household	?(20)					
To Norham			40			
To treasurer of household			147			
To steward of Kepier			3			
Sold			3			

Where the table has been left blank, there are no details on the accounts. It can be seen that the bishopric maintained sizeable herds of cattle, but it is unfortunate that there are so few details of the disposal of them. It is interesting to note such a large quantity being moved to Norham - presumably to restore the stocks to normal numbers after disturbances. It is not surprising that so many should be disposed of to the treasurer of the household.

In conclusion, then, the instaurer was the man who was responsible for the stocking of the bishop's manor of Midelham/

Midelham, Stockton and Evenwood. For this he received quite considerable sums of money from the receiver-general, and from the sale of stock surplus to the requirements. This money was very largely spent on re-stocking the manors, and comparatively little on expenses connected with the office. The few foreign payments that are known appear to conform to no pattern. The instaurers were little troubled by the building up of arrears - if the proceeds due from the sale of wool to Newcastle burgesses is excluded. The instaurers held office, as far as can be discerned, for relatively few years - the longest continuous length of service that is known is of three years. Only one case is known of an instaurer holding a major office - Robert Symson, who while he was instaurer also held the office of steward of the household. More typical were instaurers who also held the office of bailiff.

CHAPTER TEN

ALLERTON

Allerton, along with Howden and Crayke, belonged to the bishopric of Durham although they were outside the county boundary. Allerton was organised independently of Durham: the Allerton officials were not responsible to the receiver-general. For this reason, and on account of the fact that only one roll has survived for the period under study, while it is possible to reconstruct the organisation of Allerton and Allertonshire, it is not possible to reconstruct its financial state.

Similarly, while it is possible to reconstruct the administrative organisation, it is not possible to determine the pattern of office holding. The document which has survived[1] is headed 'the account of Robert Symson, clerk, receiver.'[2] In the list of fees, there is one for £10. to James Strangeways, knight; the size of the fee is explained in the valor[3] for the previous year when he is stated to be steward of the court. There is a chaplain receiving a fee of £4. p.a. There is a John Heperson receiving a fee of 4s. 0d.; the valor states that he is the bailiff, and the account states that he is forester of Clak and Cotclyff. There is a clerk of the works receiving a fee of £1. and the valor gives his name as Robert Godson. Later in the document there are onuses for the reeves of Osmundreley, Boroughby, Soureby, Romanby and Brompton. From all this, it seems clear that in Allerton there/

there existed an organisation capable of running the estate independently of Durham.

The document surviving consists of four membranes of paper tied in exchequer fashion. As with other paper documents in this study, it is far less finished than the parchment ones: the writing is smaller, uneven, sloping across the paper and at times barely legible. This document is more than its heading suggests. The first two membranes consist of the account, broadly similar to others in the bishopric. However, after the final 'et debet', respites and 'supra', there is the heading 'Memo', for the accountant's fee not allowed for the previous year. Then there is the heading 'Onus', for the year, less decayed rents and the remainder. On membrane three, there is nothing on the face, but on the dorse at one end there is an onus, and at the other end details of the profits of the courts. Again on membrane four, there is nothing on the face while on the dorse there is an onus for the bailiff and then for the five reeves, individually. It is proposed to examine in detail the account of the receiver, and to use the information on membranes three and four to illuminate and expand this.

First, however, the officials of the estate will be examined in more detail. Sir James Strangeways was M.P. for Yorkshire in 1449, 1460 and 1461-62. In the latter parliament he was Speaker, being rewarded with £83.6.8d. He was also an administrator of the estates of the Earl of Salisbury. Pace Wedgwood there is no evidence on the Durham rolls of his being Chief Justice of Durham 1461-71. In 1462 he was busy helping Warwick deal with Lancastrian disaffection in the north-east. In 1464, 1465 and 1466 he, with others, negotiated with the Scots. In February 1465, he became deputy steward in the/

in the lordship of Pickering. In 1468 he was made sheriff of Yorkshire receiving in advance a royal 'reward' of £340. From 1471 to 1474 he was again involved in negotiations with the Scots.(4) For a person of his rank, he could be expected to be appointed one of the justices(5) and also to be on the commission to enquire into the value of all the bishop's possessions in 1477.(6) Of Robert Symson, it is known that he was receiver from 1476-77 to 1478-79.(7) Also, a Robert Symson was instaurer from 1458-59 to 1460-61,(8) and steward of the household from 1459-60 to 1460-61. In 1459-60 he was one of the men collecting arrears from the Stockton ward and he held various collectorships. It is not certain if these offices were held by the same man, but, on the other hand, there is no reference to the death of a Robert Symson in the period of the study. Little is known of other holders of the office of receiver. A John Radclyf received letters patent of the bishop in 1458, appointing him to the office.(9) The other name that is known is rather surprising - that of John Stanford, appointed by letters patent in 1460.(10) The appointment is surprising because this man, the previous year, had been appointed an auditor of all the bishop's officers within the bishopric, Norham, Allerton, Howden, Crayke and elsewhere in the kingdom of England - and he served as auditor for at least the next two years.(11) Nothing further is known of other holders of the offices of bailiff or of clerk of the works, nor of John Heperton or Robert Godson. Such, then, is all that is known of the personnel of the offices in Allerton.

The form of the account is similar to those of the officers responsible to the receiver-general. The system is one of charge and discharge. The charge side has sub-headings of arrears/

arrears; rents and farms; mills; perquisites of the courts; and then the total charge. The discharge side has sub-headings for fees; decayed or decreased rents; pensions; works; payments; and then the 'et debet'. Following the 'et debet' there is the usual list of further allowances and then the final 'et debet'.

First, the charge side. Considering that the account is for only the second year of the episcopate, the amount of arrears is large: £138.2.1d. The total charge for the account is £478.3.1½d. It should be noted, however, that the final 'et debet' i.e. what would appear as arrears in the next account, is only £136.4.4d. In other words, there is no evidence that there was a considerable amount of money that the receiver of Allerton could not collect.

The charge relating to rents and farms is the largest one of the account - £266.0.10d. drawn from a variety of sources.

ALLERTON ACCOUNT: RENTS AND FARMS I

Rents of demesne tenants	30. 0. 0
Farm of the town	26.13. 4
Farm of demesne land	27.15. 4
Free rents of demesne tenants	27. 2. 4
Free rents of Abbey of Eagleston	3. 6. 8
Town of Wynton	8. 7. 4
Bondage farms	123.13. 6
Farm of free tenants	19. 1. 4
Farm of 'thoralm' in Osmonderley	6
Farm of Pottergarth in Boroughby	6

It is interesting to compare this table with a similar one drawn up for the collectors of the four wards.(12) Once again the bondage tenures and the demesne predominates. In fact, the bondage farms at Allerton completely over-shadow all other entries. Equally the absence of cot-lands and exchequer lands should/

should be noted. Other charges are relatively small. Still under the heading of rents and farms but of a different volume we have the following entries.

ALLERTON ACCOUNTS: RENTS AND FARMS II

Farm of parks		1. 5.11¼
Farm of forge and Burgage		9. 0
'de redditus mobil.'		2. 6. 6
Customary works		5. 9. 6
Farm of Wodlade		1.11. 0
	Total	11. 1.11¼
Farm of meadow at Cotclyff		11. 0. 0
Farm of 10 acres of meadow in Les Helms		1.13. 4
Of Turfkerre		1. 6. 8
Farm of meadow next to the bridge		1. 2
Foxtunynge		18. 0
	Total	14.19. 2

When considering this second part of the rents and farms at Allerton, it is not possible to compare it to the collectors' accounts, as was done with the first part. This is because the collectors' accounts do not have such headings. Considering the independence of the receiver of Allerton all these entries are such as would be expected from an estate. The meaning of some of the terms used in this section remain obscure.

Under the next heading - the farm of the mills - there is a charge of £22.5.0d. for the mills at Allerton, Braworth, Boroughby, Knayton, Osmunderly and Urlowe. Rather oddly, under the same heading is included £22. of the tenth part of the church of Legh. It is not at all clear why the revenue from a church should appear on the roll of a secular officer, especially under the heading 'Farm of Mills.'

Concluding/

Concluding what could be expected on the charge side of an account for an estate like Allerton is the profits from the courts. As in the other accounts where there are such entries the total is small: £4.8.1d. There is £2.3.9d. from seventeen courts, including £1.15.7d. from the fines of free tenants; 7s.11d. from two views of frankpledge; 12s.2d. from the holding of two hallmoots; 10d., the price of 'Metrith'; 3s4d. the value of goods and chattels of criminals; and £1.0.1d. from the holding of a forest court. Again, these entries are much as one would expect from the study of other accounts. But this is the first occasion on which the profits from a view of frankpledge have occured.

Matching in strangeness the tenth part of the church of Legh, is the final item on the charge side of the Allerton account: £1.6.0d. of St. Peter's pence. Again it is unclear why the receiver of Allerton should have the responsibility for collecting what clearly is ecclesiastical revenue. The sum in question is small but it seems strange that there should be the confusion of two quite distinct types of revenue.

The total charge for the year, excluding arrears, was £340.1.0½d. The document departs from others of a similar nature by stating this below the total charge. This is a comparatively large sum of money for an estate independent of the receiver-general and it can be presumed that the bishop would want an efficient, trust-worthy official for the post. Without the existence of other accounts it is impossible to be quite certain of how stable these gross rents were. But, after the stability shown by the collectors' accounts it is highly probable that this is the approximate level of the rents and farms during the period under study.

Turning/

Turning to the discharge side of the accounts, and first, to the fees. These are much as would be expected from the organisation of the estate that has been discussed earlier in this section. However, in this list there is no mention of any payment to the reeves. Whether there was no such payment, or whether it was deducted locally by the reeves is not known.

ALLERTON ACCOUNT: FEES

To James Strangeways, knight	10. 0. 0
The chaplain's salary	4. 0. 0
Paid for consecrated bread	3. 4
To John Heperson	4. 0
Paid for his expenses	14. 7
To the same John as forester of Clak and Cotcliffe	1. 1. 8
Stipend of clerk for writing this account	10. 0
Parchment and paper	2. 8
Fee of the clerk of the works	1. 0. 0
Fee of accountant	5. 0. 0
Expenses of steward holding fairs	13. 4
Total	23. 9. 7d.

The status, as much as the duties, sets the steward way above the other officials - even the receiver. The chaplain, of course, is not part of the administration organisation of Allerton, and the payment to him is on the same level as that of chaplains within the county of Durham.(13) It is interesting to note that John Heperson's services as forester were rewarded more highly than his services as bailiff. The size of the payment to the clerk for writing the accounts when compared to the one paid to the instaurer's clerk(14) (of 3s.4d. or 6s.8d.) must be taken to indicate that the full documents for Allerton are more comprehensive and more impressive than the one that has been studied.

The next heading is the one for decayed or decreased rents/

rents and farms. Since these are given by vills and not by type of tenure it is not possible to contrast them with the gross rents in the charge side.

ALLERTON ACCOUNT: DECAYED AND DECREASED RENTS & FARMS

Allerton	23.12. 2
Osmunderley	3.10. 0¾
Thymleby	3. 0. 0
Thornton	8.13. 0
Boroughby	2. 7.10¾
Brumpton	11. 3.11½
Romanby	3.14. 7½
Knayton	3.15. 2½
Soureby	2.17. 1
Total	39. 1.10d

It is impossible to tell whether the decays were significantly different for different vills or for different types of tenure. But the decayed rents are 15% of the gross. Between the 'et debets' there are further allowances for decays which total £2.6.9d. No reason is apparent in the document why these should not have been placed in the main list. But it may be that they are not of such long standing as the main group - certainly one of the entries is justified by the reason 'as in the account of 16 Booth'. Within the same headings as the is an allowance of 40 shillings for pensions (no further details is given) and of £1.6.8d. paid to the prior of Durham, part of the tenth of the king, granted by the clergy of the province of York. This, like the items of ecclesiastical revenue on the charge side, seems like a fish out of water amidst the details of income from land.

The remaining allowances are placed in no particular sequence before and between the 'et debets', but some attempt has been made to order them. First, then, repairs to the estate: there/

there is an allowance of £15.1.0½d for repairs; of 13s.4d. for the making of a fence and ditch; of £2 for the making of 400 stakes; of 10s. for the repairs of fences; of £4.17.2d. part of the arrears of the previous year for the mills at Allerton standing empty. There is an allowance of £4.14.8d. expenses of the lord, and carriage of goods to Allerton. But the largest amounts involved are the foreign payments.

ALLERTON ACCOUNT: FOREIGN PAYMENTS

To John Kelyng, receiver-general, part of his arrears	1.18. 1
To Alex. Lee, clerk, part of his arrears	48. 0. 0
To William Broune, clerk, instaurer, price of animals	10.10. 0
To John Kelyng, receiver-general	160. 0. 0
Total	220. 8. 1d.

It is here that the lack of other rolls is unfortunate. The theory was that the estates at Allerton, Crayke and Howden were independent of the receiver-general at Durham city. But here, of the four foreign payments, two were to the receiver-general, and a third to the instaurer of the bishop's manors of Evenwood, Stockton and Auckland. The only entry on the charge side of the receiver-general's accounts (main) relating to Allerton, is made in the account of 1478-79 (15) (the year following the Allerton document) where nothing is shown at this accounting as having been received from Allerton's receiver. While on the receiver-general's arrears account there are no references.

Turning to the payments to the instaurer, more evidence of this practice can be obtained by collating the charge side of the instaurer's account with the Allerton account:

ALLERTON AND INSTAURERS ACCOUNTS: PAYMENTS IN ANIMALS FROM RECEIVER TO INSTAURER

1457-58		(1)
1458-59		(1)
1469-70	18.12. 0	(1)
1473-74	11. 0. 0	(1)
1474-75	6. 2. 8	(1)
1476-77		(1)
1477-78	10. 0. 0	(2)

Notes
(1) Instaurer's accounts.
(2) Allerton receiver's account.

In four out of seven years where records are available, there are payments in animals from the receiver at Allerton to the instaurer. This, after all, seems a reasonable arrangment. The Allerton estate was not a great distance from the bishop's manors, and it probably made more economic sense than buying them from elsewhere. With this evidence, incomplete as it is, great care must be taken in generalising about the relations between the estates outside the county of Durham and the central administration in Durham.

In the financial year 1477-78, the receiver at Allerton was able to hand over from both the arrears and current revenue a quite considerable sum - £220.8.1d. out of a total charge of £478.3.1½d. This activity may not have been entirely self-induced. For,the final entry on the discharge side of the account to be discussed is an allowance of £2.8.1d. for the expenses of the auditors, the receiver, the bailiff, the sub-steward and all ministers of the lord at the hearing of the account for four days in November. The arrears brought forward to this account are £138, while the charge for the current year is £340, and it would have been approximately the same/

same for the previous year. In other words, in the first year of the new episcopate there was an 'et debet' of 40% of the total charge, and the evidence we possess from the account shows that the officials could do much better - and the auditors would presumably make the same point. Certainly, after the expenses of the audit are allowed, there is the entry of £160 paid to John Kelyng, the receiver-general.

Attention must be turned briefly to the information on the membranes following those of the account. Most interesting,perhaps, is the brief evidence that there was an attempt to look at the finances of Allerton for an individual year. Mention has already been made of the entry under the total charge on the account 'unde de firm. et redd. hoc anno £340.1.0½d' i.e. this is the total charge less the arrears brought forward. At the end of the account there is the information that the Onus for this year, with £4.3.11d from the perquisites of the courts, is £339.16.10d. (it has not been possible to discover the source of the discrepancy between this figure and that in the account); for decayed rents, £65.8.4d.; and there remains £274.8.6d. Again this figure for decayed rents is not derived direct from the account. Despite these technical difficulties it does appear to be an attempt to look at the finances of the estate of Allerton in one year, and possibly to see what is happening to the money.

On membrane three there is another onus, this time more detailed. But this too presents problems. This is because although certain of the items correspond to those on the account- for instance the payments to William Broune, instaurer, and to Alexander Lee - the name at the top of the document is given as John Cok, and the arrears do not correspond to those on the account./

on the account. It has not been possible to arrive at an explanation of the function of this onus, nor of the relationship it bears to the account.

On the same side of the membrane, but written the other way up, there is a list of the courts held and the profits from them. It is presumed that this was a first list prepared before the writing of the account: certainly the details on it correspond exactly to those on the account.

Finally on membrane four, there is an onus for the bailiff and the reeves of Osmunderley, Boroughby, Sourby, Romanby, Brompton, Knayton and Thornton. The bailiff's account consists of the details of the profits of the court and the farm of two pieces of land. The total is £5.2.5d., from which there is taken £2.0.3d. for his fee, as in the receiver's account. He asks respite for the rest. The sum corresponds to the three items relating to John Heperson in the fee section of the receiver's account. The reeves' onuses are all of the same type: statement of the amount from the vill, plus the profits from the court, then the total, then payment to the receiver, and sometimes the clerk of works, then the final amount he owes. The charge for the seven vills is £102.5.11d including the profits from the courts; of which £42.14.8d. was paid to the receiver, and 13s. to the clerk of the works; and the total owed is (from the account) £58.12.9d. When compared to the list of decays on the discharge side of the account, it is not clear why there are only seven entries of vills on the onus compared to nine entries on the account. This is clearly one of the major sources of the arrears on the receiver's account. Following this, there is an onus for the receiver.

On the/

On the charge side the total is the same as for his account without the arrears. But on the discharge side, there is only £57.1.4d. in allowances, whereas on the account the allowances total £67.14.1½d - £10.12.9½d more. The existence of an account in this form makes it comparatively simple to examine the financial success of an official - according to the onus, the receiver of Allerton is responsible for £221.2.5½d in clear value. And we know that the receiver paid to John Kelyng, receiver-general, £160 of that year's revenues - over 72% of the clear value of the estate. If, however, the account figures are used as a base, the proportion of revenue paid to the receiver-general to the clear value of the estate, rises to over 75%.

In conclusion, remarks on the Allerton receiver have to be carefully circumscribed owing to the lack of evidence. At the start of the section it was assumed that the receiver was independent from the receiver-general at Durham. This, however, is even in question when the Allerton receiver pays over money to Durham's receiver-general. The evidence that has survived from the period under study shows that the organisation of Allerton was well developed with all the necessary officials. But little can be said of their usual length of service. From the one surviving account it seems that Allerton was able to produce a quite substantial sum of money for use by the bishop, but in the absence of receipts from Allerton on the receiver-general's accounts, there is no way of establishing whether this sum was in any sense normal.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

HOWDEN

Howden, the second of the Yorkshire estates to be discussed, is even more important financially than Allerton, and its organisation shows many similarities to that of Allerton. Like Allerton, the Howden account runs in the name of receiver, and in his account he takes forward arrears. Since, at no time, is there any reference made to payments being made to the receiver-general at Durham, it has been impossible to find more details of the length of service of receivers or their names. Nicholas Leventhorp is receiver on the account that has survived,[1] and from the valor of 1476-77[2] it is known that he was in office then. The only other thing that is known about him within the bishopric is that he was a member of the commission of 1477 to enquire into the value of all the bishop's possessions.[3]

The Howden estate had its own steward[1][2] John Vavasour. However a John Pilkington, knight, had letters patent of Edward IV appointing him steward and bailiff of Howden[3] and in the account he receives an annuity of £8.12.0d. for the term of the lord's life. It is very striking that these three men were also officials within the Duchy of Lancaster. Leventhorp was a major figure there: 1467-1506 he was receiver of Knaresborough; 1473-1506, he was receiver of Pontefract; and from 1477-1485 he was receiver-general.[4] Vavasour was Second Justice 1485-95; chief Justice 1495-1506 and/

and a Justice of Common Pleas in the Kingdom 1490.[5] Pilkington served as sheriff and escheator and clerk of the Crown at Lancaster then became steward of Rochdale Manor, 1462-1504, and steward of Bradford in 1471. Later he became Chamberlain of the Royal Exchequer, 1477-79.[6] Also feed was the chaplain of the bishop's chantry at Howden. The account allows fees to three sub-bailiffs, while on the valor there is mention also of a bailiff and three sub-bailiffs. There are also fees to a janitor and custodian of the park; to an approver; to a forester; to a custodian of the manor of Welehall; and expenses are allowed to the deputy of the receiver. It is remarkable that there is no mention of a clerk of the works; otherwise the list is similar to that of Allerton.

When attention is turned to the entries on the account, there is immediately a serious problem of dating. The heading on the roll is quite clear but appears to be contradictory. The dating is of the period from Michaelmas of Edward IV's 17th year and Dudley's second to Michaelmas of Edward IV's 18th year and Dudley's third. Booth was translated to York three days before Michaelmas on his nineteenth year. The only series of documents which is complete across the transition period is the accounts of the collectors of the Darlington ward. And here it is explicit that one account runs from the time of Booth's translation for a year and three days to Michaelmas of Dudley's first year. In this case there must be a contradiction in the dating of the Howden account. It can either be for 17-18 EdwardIV, or for 2-3 Dudley, but not for both. The only internal evidence for the dating of the account comes from an entry between the 'et debets' where there is an allowance for £105, for money paid to the lord on 21st March/

21st March 19 Edward IV. Since there is no evidence that the auditors ever worked as late in the year as the middle of March, it seems that the entry must relate to the middle of the period of the account, which would make the account run from 18 to 19 Edward IV, or 1478-79.

The first entry on the account is for the arrears brought forward. These amount to over £127 in a period of two years, when the charge for the year (that is, without arrears) is £527. The increase in arrears during the year of the account is £39.4.6½d. It is quite probable that the major part of the £127 was built up in the first year of the pontificate as took place at Allerton. In which case, an annual increase in arrears of approximately £40 may well have been normal. This of course, cannot compare with the Allerton account where an actual decline occurred between the arrears and the final 'et debet'.

HOWDEN ACCOUNT: CHARGE SIDE

Rents and farms both free and bondage	364. 1. 5
Tenants paying at Martinmas and Whit	27. 0.10
New rents	2.16. 3
Works	4 . 8. 9
Hens	3.14. 7
Rents of fishing	12.19. 8½
Farm of demesne lands and sale of grazing	20.19. 4
Sale of grain	18. 9
Rent of 'dodd'.	33.14. 2
Farm of shops on Howden	1.11. 8
Annual increment	8. 1½
Tolls on merchants and fairs	2.13. 4
Profits of the courts	23. 7. 7
Goods and chattels of felens	4. 0. 9½
Divers parts of meadows	23. 4. 9
Total	527. 2. 9½

The items on the charge side are much as might have been expected. Dominating everything else is the bond and free rents and farms, on this account grouped together in this way, but/

but this reflects the picture on other accounts of similar nature. A different type of entry is that for the tenants paying at Martinmas and Whit. Why this should have an entry to itself and the way it differs from the other rents and farms is not known. The rents of fishing rights are relatively an important source of income, but it is strange that there is no mention of rents of mills[7] which in other accounts are a lucrative source of income. Of a surprising size is the figure for the profits from the courts - often this is a relatively nominal amount.

The discharge side of the account begins with a very unusual entry: an entry for rent paid to Robert Constable, high sheriff of York, for the fee of John de Ball, as appears by the acquittal of the sheriff - £3.10.0d. Nothing further is known of John de Ball nor of Robert Constable, nor why the receiver at Howden was allowed this sum on the account. The discharge side then proceeds to more usual entries. First for decayed rents - £12.16.3½d, which, considering the charge's size, seems a very small amount. At Allerton, where the total charge was much smaller, the allowances for decays amounted to £39.1.0d. Next there is an allowance for decays and decreased rents of the mills - £8.13.0d. This means that the mills must have been subsumed under a more general heading on the charge side of the account. Then there is £5.9.4d. for decays and decreased rents of the fishing. This is quite considerable - an allowance of over 40% of the charge side.

The group of fees and wages makes a large entry on the discharge side of the account, as could have been expected when the organisation of the estate was discussed. So it merely remains to draw attention to the more unusual elements in/

in this group of entries. Contrary to what would have been expected, the receiver had a higher fee than the steward of the estate. This is in contrast, for example, to the situation at Allerton.(8)

HOWDEN: FEES AND WAGES

John Vavasour, steward of the lord	6.13. 4	
The receiver	10. 0. 0	
William Stywarde, captain of the lord's chantry at Howden, at £4.4.4d p.a.	3. 2. 6	
Richard Richardson, gardener of the lord	~~1.10.-4~~	(1)
Richard Richardson, janitor and custodian of the park	~~4.-9~~	(1)
The three sub-sheriffs	1. 0. 0	
William Ellyson, approver of the moor	3. 4	
Expenses of the steward holding the fairs	13. 4	
Fee of the forester	1. 0. 0	
James Charleton, Esq., custody of the manor of Welehall	6. 1. 4	
	28.13.10d.	

Later on the account

Thomas Wystowe & J. Ortefall for taking goods & chattels of felons	7. 6	
Sir J. Pilkington, for the term of the lord's life	8.12. 0	
	37.13. 4d.	

Note

(1) Crossed through thus on the manuscript.

There is a considerable allowance for repairs to the manor of Howden and Welehall and to the lord's mills - £55.0.9d. But it is impossible to go behind this figure to find out what the work was, since the detailed figures are not available. The size, however, of the allowance for repairs makes it even more surprising that there is no mention in the account, or on the valor, of a clerk of the works. Some official must have been placed in charge of work of this magnitude/

magnitude, which is greater than the annual charge at Crayke. There is, however, nothing to say which official was responsible.

Following the repairs there is a group of entries all relating to the custody of land.

HOWDEN ACCOUNT: 'CUSTODIES'

Custus ripe nove exparte austr. vergulti infra les Grothes	1. 3. 4
Custus statharum et silvarum	66. 7.11½
Custus focalis	17. 7½
	£68. 8.11d.

It has not been possible to discover precisely what these allowances are. This is of especial concern given the size of the second of these.

There is, of course, the heading of necessary expenses - as usual, a fairly small amount - £3.1.2d. This is for the expenses of holding the courts and for the writing of the accounts. To this it is convenient to add £3.9.10d for the expenses of the audit at Howden. Also, there is an allowance of £1.3.4d. paid to Robert Hertop, valet of the Earl of Northumberland, for the carriage of goods from York to Durham. Quite why the valet of the Earl of Northumberland should be used for this is not clear, unless, merely, that it was convenient.

The foreign payments from the estates can only be examined for one year, for there is no reference on the receiver-general's accounts to the Howden estates, nor on any documents from Durham county,

HOWDEN ACCOUNT: FOREIGN PAYMENTS

To the lord at London, part of arrears	29. 4. 8
To the lord, by the hand of Master Alexander Lye, clerk	77. 9. 2
To the lord, for the fee of Guy Fairfax, Richard Pygot, serjeant at law, & Thomas Middleton	3. 6. 6
To the lord, by the hand of Alexander Lye	72. 0. 0
	181.10. 4
To the lord, 21 March, 19 Edward IV	105. 0. 0
	£ 286.10. 4d

Note
In connection with the last entry there is an allowance of 10s., the expenses of John Barker, the receiver's deputy, riding from Howden to London carrying the said money.

Unlike the foreign payments at Crayke and Allerton, the evidence that exists shows that they were made, at Howden, only to the bishop. The payment for the fees was for the two justiciars and the bishop's steward at Durham.(9) According to the receiver-general's account for this year, they received then the same fee as in the previous year. It is not known, of course, whether the entry on the Howden account is an extraordinary payment or not. It could be fees for their services at Howden, but this is not known.

It is now possible to see what has happened to the total of £653.13.9d. on the charge side of the account.

HOWDEN ACCOUNT: SUMMARY OF DISCHARGE SIDE

Allowances	199.17.11	
Foreign payments	287. 0. 4	(1)
Still outstanding	166.15. 6	
	653.13. 9d	

Note
(1) This includes the 10s. allowed for carriage of money to London.

In other words, almost 44% of the total charge went to the bishop in foreign payments. Of the foreign payments only £29.4.8d. is marked as arrears. If this is correct, then foreign payments for the year of the account total £257, while the charge is £527 - i.e. foreign payments are approximately 50% of current charge. Such figures are closely comparable with those arrived at for the Allerton estate.(10)

Remarks in conclusion to this section must be quite similar to those made concerning the Allerton Estate. It has been possible to find out little of the office holding at Howden, but the holders remain quite separate from those of Durham county. The organisation of the Howden estate parallels quite closely that of Allerton, as do the entries on the account. In contrast to both Allerton and Crayke, there are no entries of ecclesiastical revenue on the accounts. On the charge side, there is little that is remarkable about Howden, except its size. On the discharge side, the decays are noticeably little, while the repairs are quite considerable. For both Allerton and Howden the foreign payments are a large proportion of the discharge side, and at Howden all foreign payments go to the bishop. Unlike Allerton, there is no connection with the receiver-general.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CRAYKE

Of the group of three Yorkshire estates, the one at Crayke is by far the least significant, financially. At Allerton and Howden, the official responsible for the financial account is titled receiver. At Crayke, he is merely a reeve. A glance at the extent of the financial responsibilities of the reeve at Crayke - items on the current charge amounting to £41.11.2½d[1] in the account surviving for the period of study and of £48.18.3½d for one just outside it[2] - when compared to figures known for Allerton (£340.1.0d)[3] and for Howden (£427.2.9½d)[3] lend justification to this distinction.

Given these facts it is not surprising that the organisation of the Crayke estate was less highly developed than at Allerton and Howden. The accounts which survive run in the name of the reeve. From the list of fees on the valor for 1476-77[4] it is known that there was a steward of the estate - Thomas Wytheram. On the reeve's account there is no mention of his office, merely a statement that the fee was granted by Bishop Nevil for life. Also on the valor there are fees for two parkers and for the custodian of the manor, but there is no mention of a reeve. Neither on the reeve's account is there mention of either expenses or fee to be paid to himself. From the account it seems as if the title, custodian/

custodian of the manor, was interchangeable with that of custodian of the castle and that the holder of that was also the master forester. These are all the offices mentioned in any of the documents surviving.

Despite the fact that only one account for the period of the study has survived, and one for 1479-80, it has been possible to obtain a fairly full list of the holders of the office of reeve, due to the fact that most reeves left office owing arrears. It has not proved possible to complete this list from information in other accounts, for instance the receiver-general's.

CRAYKE: REEVES

1457-58	William Whithode	1468-69	
1458-59	John Sawer	1469-70	John Patten
1459-60		1470-71	
1460-61	William Horncy	1471-72	Richard Thomson
1461-62		1472-73	W.Horncy & T.Tipping
1462-63	Agnes Brandesby	1473-74	
1463-64		1474-75	Thomas Brandesby
1464-65	Thomas Creyk	1475-76	
1465-66		1476-77	John Smythson
1466-67		1477-78	
1467-68	John Brandesby	1478-79	Thomas Creyk

There seems to be no continuity of office holding, with the normal situation of a reeve holding office for one or two years. It is noticeable though that it appears that three members of the same family held office: Agnes, John and Thomas Brandesby. But nothing further is known of this family, nor of any of the other reeves.

Even a number of collectors held other offices. This parallel to the collectors is perhaps the most appropriate; for most men who held that office did so for only one year and held no other office.(5) Again, there is no evidence in the rolls/

rolls that the majority of the collectors were paid. It was postulated that many served as collectors as part of their social duties, and this may be the case with the reeves of Crayke.

Turning to the entries on the account, one major difference between those of the reeve of Crayke and those of the collector, is that the former start with the statement of arrears. These arrears seem to rise steadily. On the account for 1472-73, they total £48.0.10½d while the 'et debet' is £52.14.4½d. By comparison, on the account for 1479-80 (6) the arrears are £15.10.5d and the 'et debet' has risen to £32.9.2½d. For the period of Booth's pontificate (excluding the time when the temporalities were in the king's hands) the arrears are approximately £4 p.a. In contrast, it is possible that 1479-80 was just a bad year and the following account saw a large payment of arrears.

Other entries on the charge side of the accounts consist of the usual rents and farms from land (e.g. free rent, bondage tenures, cot-land, grazing rights, the profits from the courts, and an entry common to that on Allerton account for St. Peter's Pence.) The charge for the year 1472-73 - excluding arrears - is £41.11.2½d, while that for 1479-80 is £48.18.3½d This variation is due to two factors: the sale of meadow, and profits from the mills increased in 1479-80, more than compensating for a fall in the profits of justice. Entries for the farms and rents of the land remain stable.

The discharge side of the account is more complicated. The first entry is for wages and fees. On the account of 1472-73 these comprise £3.0.8d. for the 'other' parker; £1.10.8d/

£1.10.8d. for the custodian of the manor (the same person.); and £4.13.4d., the annuity to Thomas Wytham, the steward. A total of £9.4.4d. The account for 1479-80 is greater by £3.0.8d. for the 'first parker'. There are necessary expenses allowed - for the steward holding the court, the auditors, and for the writing of the accounts: amounting to £1.11.10d, and in 1479-80, to £1.4.10d. There are major expenses for looking after the meadows - £10.4.11d. In 1479-80 this is £4.10.0d. There are also smaller expenses for the repairs to the mills. In the account of 1479-80 there are a large number of entries between the 'et debets' - allowances for land being in the lord's hands for the lack of heirs; for a former reeve riding to Durham with money, and taking goods to Allerton from York; for the wages of a former parker; and a charge for the issues of one messuage, one croft and 27 acres.

Lastly to be considered is the question of foreign payments. In the Allerton accounts it was noted that the receiver there, at times made payments to the receiver-general at Durham and sent animals to the instaurer. The position at Crayke was similar. Once again the evidence from the reeve's account has to be eked out by reference to the receiver-general's account

CRAYKE ACCOUNT:/

CRAYKE ACCOUNT: FOREIGN PAYMENTS

1468-69	To receiver-general, part of the reeve's arrears	13.16. 8
1470-71	In receiver-general: as collected by auditors as in the book of the Great Receipt	15.17. 1½
1472-73	To the lord's hands	10.14. 0
1473-74	As in the 1470-71 entry	17. 2.10
1474-75	" " " "	21.19. 4
1476-77	In receiver-general: as received from the reeve	12. 0. 0
1478-79	As in 1476-77 entry	10.13. 0
1479-80	To John Kelyng, receiver-general	12.12. 5

This variety in the manner of the foreign payments suggests that no procedure has been settled on as standard practice: this is reinforced by the fact that in the accounts of the receiver-general there is no mention of Crayke. It also shows that in at least two years the auditors had seen the Crayke accounts before the receiver-general's. Otherwise the entries for 1473-74 and 1474-75 could not have been made in the receiver-general's main account. Whether or not there were foreign payments in other years is not known, as evidence has not survived. But they cannot have been made to the receiver-general in the years when his accounts survive.

In conclusion, then, Crayke played a quite small part in the finances of the bishopric - the largest foreign payment we know of is for less than £22. In keeping with this, the administration of the estate was quite simple, but still the cost of fees was close to the smaller foreign payments. While the steward held office throughout this period, the reeves seem to have changed very frequently; a fact which is less surprising when there is no evidence of their being paid any fee. With the shortage of evidence it is difficult to compare the level of arrears with the other accounts, but there is a surprising lack of decayed rents when compared with other accounts.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE RECEIVER-GENERAL

Tout has described the receiver-general as having 'overwhelming position in the subordinate royal and baronial households.'[1] For the bishopric of Durham it seems that Tout's remarks hold true only for the county of Durham: there are only occasional references on the receiver-general's accounts to Allerton, Crayke, Norham, Holy Island and Bedlingham - and none at all to Howden.[2] Within the county, however, there is no mistaking the position - all financial officials are responsible to him. It is clear there had been an administrative reorganisation within the bishopric since Langley's time. Langley had both a receiver at Durham and a receiver-general: "the receiver made an annual account at Michaelmas which showed the totals paid to him by the coroners and the collectors in the wards, the forester and the sheriff."[3] While the receiver-general "appears to have taken an interest in every branch of secular government of Durham, in the appointment of officials and administration of justice no less than in the control of the bishop's finances; the care and distribution of the bishop's beds at Auckland, the livery of cloth and distribution of hay were domestic arrangements that had probably been the responsibility of the treasurer of the household in previous years, but the other business presumably once belonged to the province of steward or chancellor."[4]

chancellor"[4]

By Booth's time the offices had been combined - and there is no mention of a 'receiver of Durham.' The official called the receiver-general makes an annual account which in Langley's time was made by the receiver, while there is no evidence that the receiver-general concerned himself with either domestic arrangements or those pertaining to a steward or chancellor. But the Durham receiver-general was not as remote a figure as the one for the Duchy of Lancaster - and on the Duchy model, the Durham receiver-general combined the offices of receiver and receiver-general.[6]

In the view of the position of the receiver-general, it is possible to obtain a virtually complete table of the holders of the office, for, where the receiver-general's rolls do not survive, the receiver-general is usually named on the foreign payments of the other accounts for the same year.

HOLDERS OF THE OFFICE OF RECEIVER-GENERAL

Vacancy	W.Swift; R.Raket; R.Barnby		
1457-58	H.Preston	1468-69	H.Gillowe
1458-59	"	1469-70	"
1459-60	(1)	1470-71	"
1460-61	(1)	1471-72	"
1461-62	(2)	1472-73	"
1462-63	J.Sturgeon	1473-74	"
1463-64	J.Lound	1474-75	"
1464-65	H.Gillowe	1475-76	"
1465-66	"	1476-77	"/J.Kelyng
1466-67	"	1477-78	"
1467-68	"	1478-79	"

Notes
(1) On documents surviving for this year, the name of the receiver-general is left blank.
(2) On the Easington collectors' accounts Henry Preston is named; while on the Stockton coroner and collectors' accounts Henry Gillowe is named.

It seems clear that after the temporalities had been restored to him/

to him, Booth found a man who was satisfactory as receiver-general and left him in office undisturbed. Gillowe might be satisfactory to Booth, but the fact remains that Dudley put in office a new man - the letters patent for the appointment are dated 18th November in Dudley's first year as bishop.(6) John Kelyng had been Booth's steward of the household in 1458-59 and part of 1459-60 but he is not known to have held any other offices until Dudley's appointment. In that year, however, he is dean of Auckland. In 1476-77 as well as becoming receiver-general he was also approver of the coal mines at Raley, Caldhirst, Tofts and Hathirclough; clerk of the works (and for the following year); on the commission to enquire into the value of all the bishop's possessions. While these latter two positions would be expected of the receiver-general, it is by no means clear why he held the other offices - unless the new bishop wanted someone there whom he knew he could trust.

Henry Gillowe who held the office for twelve years under Bishop Booth was also a clerk, but as far as is known he pursued his career exclusively in the financial administration of the bishopric. Before coming receiver-general he was - in 1458-61 - clerk of the bishop's receipt and was receiving large payments from the receiver-general.(7) In 1459-60 he was one of those appointed to hold the manor courts at Gaynford, Barnard Castle, Midelton in Teesdale, and Long Newson. In 1457-58 he was one of a commission appointed to investigate the delapidation taking place during Robert Nevil's pontificate. In the following year he was on the commission to investigate the damage alleged against William Eure at the coal mines at Raley. During his period of office as receiver-general and chancellor/

chancellor he served in his latter capacity as one of the justices of goal delivery, of conserving the peace, and of assize.

Henry Preston held office as receiver-general for the first year of Booth's pontificate and for the second. For these two years and for the rest of the time under study, he was constable of Durham Castle.(8) Further, in 1459-60 and in 1460-61, the name of the receiver-general is left blank on the rolls, while in 1461-62 the account of the Easington collectors name him as receiver-general still. On the Stockton coroner's and collectors' accounts the receiver-general is named as Henry Gillowe. In the study of the documents nothing has shed any light on the grounds for this confusion, or on the solution of it. This is, of course, a disturbed period in history, but it would be rash to give this as reason for the confusion as otherwise it seems to have had remarkably little effect as far as the finances and administration are concerned.(9) Preston, like Gillowe, was a member of the commission to investigate the alleged damage of William Eure at Raley coal mines; of the commission to investigate the delapidations during Nevil's pontificate; and of the justices. In 1457-58 he was one of the commission to survey the bishop's forests; and on 17th December, 1457 he was assigned (by the king during the vacancy) for the exhibition of archers. Finally, in Booth's last year as bishop, he secured the grant to himself and to Henry Radcliff, and to either surviving the office of constable of Durham, and the grant to him alone was cancelled.

The position for the years 1462-64 has complications. The surviving financial documents are quite clear: in the former/

former year John Sturgeon[10] was receiver-general, and in the latter year, John Lound was. But when attention is turned to the chancery records this reduces the clarity.[11] John Lound received letters patent of Edward IV (the temporalities being in his hands) appointing him chancellor of Durham while the temporalities are in the king's hands. This is dated the second year of Edward IV. Robert Nevil had appointed Lound chancellor of Durham. Lound was a person of some standing, accumulating ecclesiastical benefices. Educated at Oxford he obtained a papal dispensation to enter orders, on grounds of illegitimacy. In 1428 he became rector of Dacre, Cumberland; 1429, rector of Burghfield, Berkshire; 1432-5, rector of Great Rollright, Oxfordshire; 1435 onwards, rector of Wellbourn, Lincolnshire; 1438-45, canon and prebendary of Salisbury; 1445, rector of St. John the Babtist, Wallbrook, London. From 1439 he was warden of St. Giles Hospital, Durham; 1448, canon and prebendary of Howden, Yorkshire. He was also a supervisor of Robert Nevil's will.[12] Later, in the fourth year of EdwardIV, John Lound, clerk, chancellor of Durham, with other officers, is to give up lands etc. as the temporalities are being restored. Then, in the same year, he receives a letter under the signet from the king telling him to levy immediately all sums due to the bishopric, so that the king may be paid what is due to him.[13] John Sturgeon is addressed as late receiver-general of the temporalities of the bishopric. With others he receives letters under the king's signet directing them to surcease from such offices and have no more to do with any debts or duties/

duties owing to the Lord Bishop there, who had excused his non-payment of certain monies by alleging the action of letters to them commanding the levying of all the arrears of the temporalities of the bishopric - these letters being dated 4 Edward IV.(14) While, in 2 Edward IV, with Stephen Preston, he received letters patent giving them authority to sell coal belonging to Booth.(15) It is curious that the chancery records while giving such details, do not give details of John Sturgeon becoming receiver-general, or of the precise relationship between Sturgeon and Lound. For the purpose of this study it is of more use to follow the lead of the accounts. What is of interest is to whom the lesser officials paid their money, and fortunately, here there is no confusion: John Sturgeon in 1462-63 and John Lound in 1463-64.

Last to be considered are the three men who occupied the office of receiver-general during the vacancy between Nevil and Booth. William Swift, Richard Barnby and Richard Raket receive letters patent dated 21st February, 1458, appointing them during pleasure as receiver-general of all issues of the temporalities of the bishopric of Durham belonging to the king, by the death of Robert, the late bishop, to hold office themselves, or by deputies, taking the usual wages, fees and profits.(16) William Swift was also appointed one of the auditors during the same vacancy, but otherwise nothing further is known of him, or of Richard Barnby. In contrast, Richard Raket was one of the officials of the central administration: he was clerk of the justices of the peace and of the coroners from 1458-59 to 1470-71; clerk/

clerk of the exchequer in 1458-61 and also 1463-64; he was custodian of the harness in the wardrobe of the castle for life; clerk of the Great Receipt from 1464-65 to 1470-71. Clearly he was a professional administrator, and, equally clearly, during the period of the vacancy it was he who had the expert knowledge of Durham financial administration. Between the pontificates of Booth and Dudley there was no vacancy and, as has been seen, Dudley soon appointed John Kelyng as his chancellor and receiver-general.

Unlike other officials, the receiver-general has two account rolls, serving a complementary purpose. The first has been called his 'main' account and consists of the charges and discharges of the current year. The second is his arrears account and is concerned with arrears both for the year just ending and from previous years. It is here that the coroners payments of arrears are entered under the heading 'foreign receipts' and on the discharge side there are various allowances and foreign payments.

The relationship of these series of documents can best be seen in a tabulated form:

RECEIVER-GENERAL: MAIN AND ARREARS ACCOUNTS /

RECEIVER-GENERAL: RELATIONSHIP OF MAIN AND ARREARS ACCOUNT

	MAIN		ARREARS			
	Et debet	Previous years	Current	Foreign receipts	Total	Et debet
1457-58	(673.16. 8)	None	673.16. 8	60. 8.10½	734. 5. 7½	191. 1.11½
1458-59	748.19. 5¾	(191. 1.11½)	(748.19. 5¾)			
1459-60	938. 2. 0½		(938. 2. 0½)			(1250.17. 2¾)
1460-61	703.10. 3¾	1250.17. 2¾	703.10. 3¾	107. 6.11¾	2071.14. 6¾	1691. 8. 3¾
1461-62		(1691. 8. 3¾)				(2133.10. 3¼)
1462-63	(889. 3. 4)	2133.10. 3¼	889. 3. 4	66. 6. 1¼	3088.19. 8½	2601. 7. 6½
1463-64		(2601. 7. 6½)				
1464-65	724.15. 4½		(724.15. 4½)			
1465-66	760.19. 6½		(760.19.6½)			
1466-67	666.15. 5¾		(666.15. 5¾)			(652. 8. 5½)
1467-68	800. 1. 2½	652. 8. 5½	800. 1. 2½	119.11.11½	1572. 1. 9¼	1024.16. 3¾
1468-69	887.14. 7¾	1024.16. 3¾	887.14. 7¾	163.14. 7¾	2076. 5. 7¼	1290.17. 7
1469-70	734. 6. 7	1290.17. 7	734. 6. 7	210. 6. 2½	2235.10. 4½	1293.12. 0¼
1470-71	566.15. 9½	1293.12. 0¼	566.15. 9½	123.11. 3¾	1983. 9. 1½	1359.16. 6
1471-72	(576.14.10½)	1359.16. 6	576.14.10½	68.18. 8½	2005.10. 1	1495. 6. 9¼
1472-73	596.13. 6½	1495. 6. 9¼	596.13. 6½	115. 5. 7	2207. 5.10¾	1565.12. 0¼
1473-74	742. 5. 6½	1565.12. 0¼	742. 5. 6½	87. 4. 8½	2305. 2. 3¼	1813. 8. 2¾
1474-75	851. 7. 6½	(1813. 8. 2¾)	(851. 7. 6½)			
1475-76						
1476-77	786. 7.10½	None	786. 7.10½	149.18. 1¼	936. 5.11¾	186.14. 4¼
1477-78	(501. 9. 8)	186.14. 4¼	501. 9. 8	100.11. 2	788.15. 2¼	260. 3. 9
1478-79	452.13. 1½	260. 3. 9	452.13. 1½	95.18. 8	808.15. 6½	498.13.11½

Note

Figures in brackets are derived, since the account for these years are missing.

In other words, the final 'et debet' of the receiver-general's main account is transferred to his arrears account under the heading of current arrears. Also, the final 'et debet' of the arrears account for one year is transferred to the previous arrears heading of the next year's arrears account. To obtain the complete picture for any year it is necessary for both the main and arrears accounts to have survived. This system of accounting records the liability of the official. So, when the main account is closed it is quite possible - in fact likely - that he is still holding a sum in ready money. But even with the closing of the arrears account there is no guarantee that the final 'et debet' represents solely sums of money that he has failed to collect. It is quite likely, that unless pressed by the bishop, he would keep some liquid resources to meet expenses in running the estate. Therefore, it is desirable for there to be a complete run of accounts for a number of years so that this may be offset. In this respect the period under study is fairly satisfactory.

A full discussion of the arrears on the receiver-general's accounts will be left until much later in this section. This is perhaps the place to mention that there ia a great variation in the increase of arrears of one year compared to the previous.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: ANNUAL INCREASE IN ARREARS /

RECEIVER-GENERAL: ANNUAL INCREASE IN ARREARS

(to nearest £)

1457-58	191	1468-69	266
1458-59		1469-70	3
1459-60		1470-71	66
1460-61	440	1471-72	136
1461-62	442	1472-73	70
1462-63	468	1473-74	248
1463-64		1474-75	
1464-65		1475-76	
1465-66		1476-77	186
1466-67		1477-78	73
1467-68	372	1478-79	239

Note

Each figure is dependent on the final 'et debet' on the arrears account being available for two consecutive years, except for the first years of a pontificate.

Explanations for these variations as well as being financial could be political, or due to factors relating to the bishop rather than the financial administration. For this reason it has been thought best to leave further discussion of this problem until the remainder of the receiver-general's accounts have been examined.

CHARGE SIDE

The charge side of the receiver-general's main account is extremely lengthy. Fortunately the entries are well ordered and the same ordering is maintained for the most part for all the period under study. First entered are the charges from the wards, in the order Darlington, Chester, Easington, Stockton and the wapentake of Sadberge; these are followed by the bailiffs of the manors; the master forester, including the coal mines; pensions from churches; fines from writs and fees for charters; and, finally, foreign receipts.

Entries for the wards are town by town, and vill by vill/

vill. For each town or vill the charge resulting from the coroner and the charge resulting from the collector are always shown separately. But the amount for the ward is totalled, and there are no separate totals for the coroners or for the collectors.

The precise relationship of the coroners' accounts to those of the receiver-general is not clear. The coroners' accounts cannot have been used for the drawing up of the receiver-general's accounts.(17) The first four entries under the Darlington ward, relating to the coroners, have been examined for the year 1460-61. These entries relate to Darlington, Oxenhall, Halghton, and Blackwell. All allowances decays and respites in the coroner's account have been subtracted from the charge and then this total is compared to the entry in the receiver-general's account.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: DARLINGTON WARD, COMPARISON OF SOME ENTRIES WITH CORONER'S ACCOUNT FOR 1460-61

	CHARGE	ALLOWANCES	NET TOTAL	R.G. TOTAL
Darlington	49.15.3½	8.6¼	49. 6.9¼	32.14. 1
Oxenhall	3. 6.8	0	3. 6.8	Nothing
Halghton	15.4	1.3½	14.0½	Nothing
Blackwell	1. 6.6	3.4½	1. 3.1½	1. 5. 6

The only method for which there is reference in the sources by which the receiver-general could learn the individual totals for the vills paid by the coroners is from the 'quatirnus papyri' referred to by the coroner in his account under the heading of payments of money.(18) No such 'quatirnus papyri' has survived for the period under study, so this hypothesis cannot be tested. On the coroners' accounts the totals for the money paid to the receiver-general/

general correspond with the totals derived from the receiver-general's accounts:(19) thus demonstrating that the receiver-general did not receive merely the liability but also the money from the coroners.

The foreign payments on the receiver-general's arrears accounts are in fact arrears paid by the coroners to the receiver-general.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: ARREARS PAID BY CORONERS

	Darlington	Chester	Easington	Stockton	Total
1457-58	32.11.1½	27. 6. 6	4. 0	7. 3	60. 8.10½
1458-59	42. 9.4½		2.14. 6	2. 3. 2	
1459-60	111. 2.5½	62. 7. 5		5.10. 7½	
1460-61	46.11.2¼	46.16.10½	19. 9.11	4. 9. 0	107. 6.11¾
1461-62		123.18. 2½		19. 5. 6½	
1462-63	22. 2.2¼	25. 0.11	15.16. 8	3. 6. 4	66. 6. 1¼
1463-64				3. 6. 6	
1464-65			12.11		
1465-66	40.17.1	56.13.10	27.15.11¼		
1466-67		67.19. 5½	3. 3. 5		
1467-68	68.16.4½	45.14. 9½	12.13. 9¼	2. 7. 0	119.11.11¼
1468-69	74. 7.2¼	71.18. 7½*	17. 3. 6	1.10. 4	163.14. 7¾
1469-70	85.10. 4	58. 5. 3¼	37. 4. 7¼	29. 6. 0	210. 6. 2½
1470-71	35.11.0	69.12.10	17.11. 3¾	16. 2	123.11. 3¾
1471-72	14. 6.8	38.14. 6	15. 3.11¾	13. 7	68.18. 8¾
1472-73	30. 3.7	69. 3. 6½	7.11.11¼	8. 6. 6¼	115. 5. 7
1473-74	84.13.3	1.14. 3½	11. 0	6. 2	87. 4. 8½
1474-75		83.17. 3		13. 0	
1475-76	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
1476-77	73. 2.3¾	60.14.11½	16. 0. 9	Nil	149.18. 1¼
1477-78	26. 5. 9	47. 7. 9	17.18. 9	16. 5	100.11. 2
1478-79	21. 1. 6	48.18. 1	25.13. 5	5. 8	95.18. 8

Note

* Coroner's account gives £71.13.7½d - this is the only divergence between the coroner's accounts and the receiver-general's arrears when these both exist.

It should be noted that the dating system used for the arrears account - writing, for instance, of the arrears account of 1460-61 - is used in the sense that the current arrears are the final 'et debet' from the main account of that year: that, in the instance given, the arrears account for 1460-61/

1460-61 opens in fact at Michaelmas 1461 when the receiver-general's main account closes, and is closed sometime in the year 1461-62 before the final closing of the audit, often in December or January or even later in the year. Therefore, the foreign payments which appear in the arrears account in one year appear in the coroner's account for the following year.

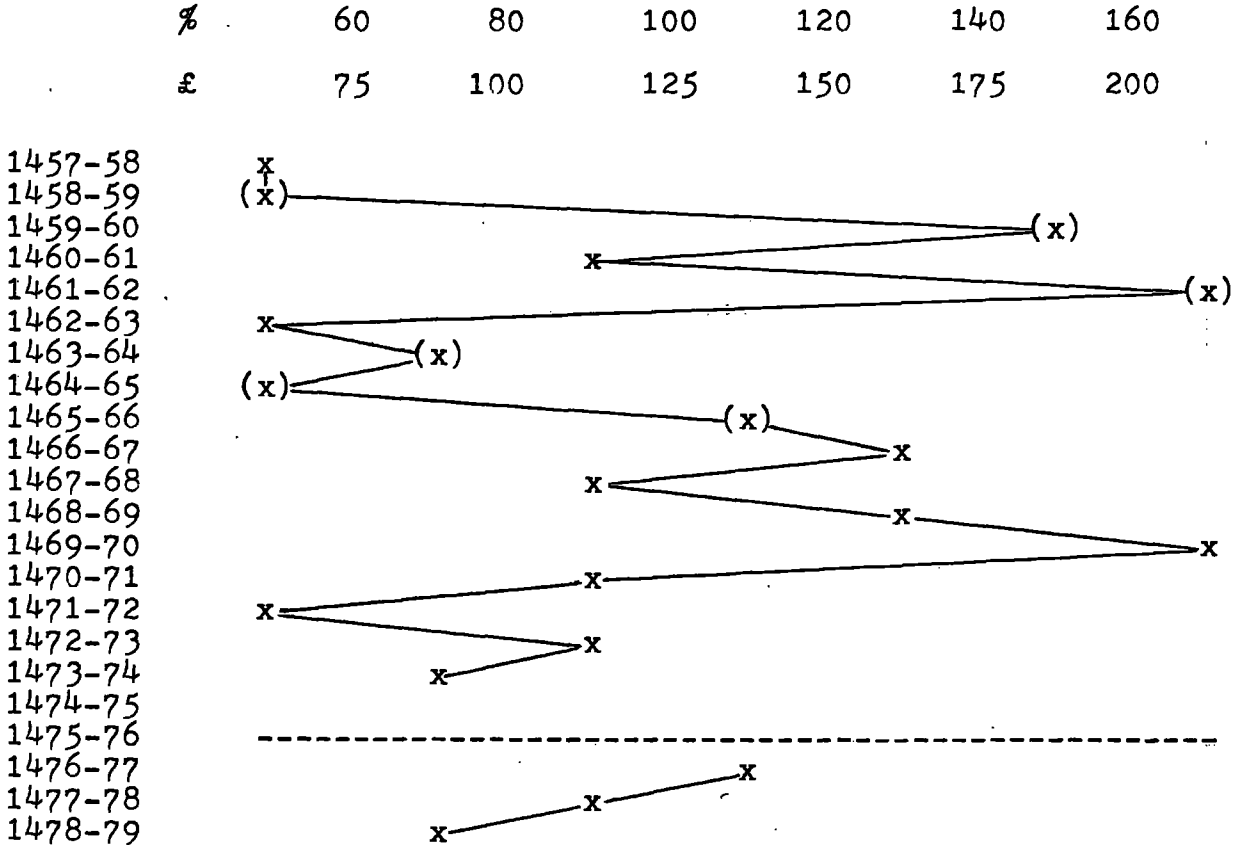
The table for arrears paid by coroners shows that these coroners were quite successful in levying arrears. From the figures available an average total of arrears paid in one year has been calculated - £125.8.0d. This comprises £50.12.0d. for the Darlington ward, £55.10.4d for the Chester ward, £14.12.11d for the Easington ward, and £4.12.9d for the Stockton ward. Such averages are of little predictive use in an attempt to fill in the gaps in the table, for it takes no account of external factors which might affect the level of arrears. The best that can be done for any year where all the figures are not available, is to examine the figures for that year which do exist and where these are substantially above or below the ward averages, to estimate that the missing figure or figures would follow the same trend. For instance, the figure for the Easington ward is missing in 1459-60 but figures for the other three wards exist and are all substantially above average: Darlington, £111.2.5½d; Stockton, £5.10.7½d; Chester, £62.7.5d. The averages for these wards as has been stated are, respectively, £50.12.0d, £4.12.9d, and £55.10.4d. It, therefore, seems likely that the figure for the Easington ward would also be substantially higher than average.

Perhaps the clearest way of demonstrating the variation in arrears paid to the receiver-general is by means of a/

of a diagram, placing the totals within groups.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: ARREARS FROM THE CORONERS

DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION TO SHOW VARIATION IN TOTALS IN DIFFERENT YEARS



No. of cases 5 3 5 2 2 1 2

Total of cases = 20

Where the four ward totals are not available, the total has been placed within a group by finding the percentage for figures for the wards of the average for the wards and averaging the percentages. No figures for 1475-76 is given since no arrears were paid (the coroners accounts record it as the first year of Dudley's pontificate). There is also no figure given for 1474-75 because, of the two figures which do exist/

exist, one is considerably higher than average, and the other is considerably lower. It seemed, therefore, extremely rash to base a prediction on these figures.

The extremely high figures are clearly associated with the political crises of this period. It is also clear that at the time when the temporalities were seized to the king's hands the arrears are at a low level. More detailed investigations of these phenomenon will be left until later when more evidence can be placed alongside this.

When attention is turned to the relationship between the receiver-general's account and the collector's accounts, the position is quite different from that of the receiver-general and the coroner's accounts. As we have seen, the charge on the receiver-general's account relating to the coroners represents payments of money by the coroner to the receiver-general, and not merely the transfer of responsibility. The charge on the receiver-general's account relating to the collectors represents the transfer of responsibility, and only an element of this is money.(20) The entry on the receiver-general's account for a vill is the total charge for the vill less allowances and respites. Only from the collectors' accounts is it possible to see how much of this was paid in money and how much was still to be raised. It seems, therefore, that much of the arrears of the receiver-general represents money due from that part of the vill under the collectors' charge. However, as has been previously shown, in the collectors' accounts, the receiver-general must have been successful in raising some of this, because, in 1468-69, the amount/

amount of the transfer in responsibility (i.e. not in cash) for ~~for~~ the collectors for the four wards was £647, while the final 'et debet' on the arrears account rises from £1024.16.3¾d in the year 1467-68 to £1290.17.7d in 1468-69 - only a rise of £266. That is, at least £400 of the amount due on the collectors' accounts was raised in money, or alternatively, there was a large drop in the cash held by the receiver-general (which is possible in one year but cannot be sustained over a period).

All attempts, therefore, at a precise comparison of the financial importance of issues from the coroners and from the collectors are impossible unless the amounts paid over by the collectors can be determined accurately, and there are no documents that enable this to be done. Also, it is not just necessary to know the current issues of the coroners paid to the receiver-general, but also what proportion of the arrears paid over in future years relate to the year under study - which again cannot be determined. It is possible to examine the documents surviving for 1466-67 (this year has been chosen because all four collectors' accounts survive, and three of the four coroners' accounts - only Stockton is missing, and this can be obtained from the receiver-general's accounts) to try to obtain some more general impression.

Receiver-general /

RECEIVER-GENERAL: CHARGES ON HIS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1466-67 COMING FROM THE CORONERS AND THE COLLECTORS

	DARLINGTON	CHESTER	EASINGTON	STOCKTON	TOTAL
CORONERS					
Cash paid to R.G. for current year	127	147	72	14	360
For arrears	41	57	28	5*	131
(Average arrears)	50	55	15	5	125
TOTAL	168	204	98	19	491
COLLECTORS					
Paid by indenture	56	15	26	42	139
Paid without bill	158	100	146	96	500
Total paid	214	115	172	138	639
Charged to R.G.	148	154	158	57	517
Total	362	269	330	195	1156

*Average figure used, since arrears not available.

From this it is quite clear that the collectors were substantially more important in paying money to the receiver-general than the coroners were. If simply the figures on the collectors' accounts for actual payments of money are accepted, then it is clear that by paying £639 to the receiver-general compared to £491 from the coroners, the collectors paid over a sum which is 30% greater than that of the coroners. If, as seems likely, the actual total is closer to the total charge of £1156, the collectors may well have paid over twice as large a sum as the coroners. This then is the general pattern, but the pattern for individual wards is somewhat different. The position of the Darlington ward is closest to that of the overall position. But in the Chester ward the coroner is more important than overall. It is possible in fact/

fact that the coroner's total for the year and the collector's actual payments were quite close. The position at Easington is the reverse: the collectors were clearly more financially important than the coroners. This position is taken even further in Stockton where the coroner's total payment is very small.

From the table above, some impression of the financial importance of one ward compared to another can be obtained. Once again the position is complicated by not knowing how much of the collectors' charge the receiver-general managed to obtain in cash. This uncertainty however does not affect the overall position.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: FINANCIAL COMPARISON OF THE WARDS IN 1466-67

	Coroners payments & known payments by collectors.	Coroners payments & receiver-general's charge from collectors.
Darlington	382	530
Chester	319	473
Easington	270	428
Stockton	159	216
Total	1130	1647

The relative financial importance is quite clear from this table: the Darlington ward is clearly the most important, and the Stockton ward the least important, with the Chester and Easington wards in between.

On the receiver-general's main accounts following the headings of the four wards, there is one for the wapentake of Sadberge. The profits from the wapentake are not large, certainly when compared to any of the wards, and it seems curious that it deserves an entry to itself. This is even stranger/

stranger because the bailiff of the wapentake (the accounting officer) does not present his account on his own roll, but as the last entry on the account of the collectors of Stockton ward. The main discussion of the position and status of this officer has been presented in the section on the collectors,(21) but the main conclusions may be reiterated here. Unlike the collectors, the bailiff of Sadberge is charged with arrears and carries them forward to the next year. The bailiff was allowed a fee of £1.6.8d p.a. and his pattern of tenure was closer to that of a coroner. From the fact that the bailiff carries forward arrears and from the heading's wording, it seems evident that payments were made to the receiver-general, not merely a transfer of responsibility.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: PAYMENTS FROM THE WAPENTAKE OF SADBERGE

	Current	Arrears		Current	Arrears
1457-58			1468-69	21. 4. 2	
1458-59	30.13.0		1469-70	16.13. 4	12. 1. 8
1459-60	3. 0.1		1470-71	31.19.10	
1460-61	13.14.7	13.13.5	1471-72		
1461-62	6.15.0		1472-73	3. 0. 0	
1462-63	15. 6.8	40.16.4	1473-74	32.13. 4	
1463-64	13. 0.0	(1)	1474-75	27. 0. 0	
1464-65	39. 0.0		1475-76	7. 2. 8	
1465-66	7. 6.8		1476-77	17.16. 8	
1466-67	23.18.4		1477-78	40. 6. 8	
1467-68	24. 3.4		1478-79	33. 4. 1	

Note
(1) Entry in allowances of bailiff's account: "£25.11.4d arrears of Gillowe (£8.2.5d) and himself (Blande) (£17.8.11d.) because the lord bishop assigned the said sum to the Earl of Northumberland in part payment of £600 to the said Earl conceeded for the sustaining of the war of the lord king in the northern parts, this year and the preceeding year, and it was paid." (188800)

None of the payments of arrears is noted on the arrears accounts and the arrears for 1460-61 and 1469-70 are included on the main account - in the later case, being combined with current issues./

issues. The extremely large payment of arrears in 1462-63 may reflect one effect of the king's holding the temporalities. The variation of the annual payments to the receiver-general is wide - from £3 in 1472-73 and 1459-60 to £40 in 1477-78, and considerably more than this for 1462-63 if the arrears are included. The average of current payments is £20. In other words it is in the same range as the payments by the coroners of the Stockton ward.

While the wapentake of Sadberge makes a regular entry on the charge side of the receiver-general's main account after the wards, Bedlington is included in the Chester accounts, but there is also one entry among the bailiffs' accounts - in 1478-79 - for the manor of Bedlington. In the Chester ward there are entries for Bedlington both from the coroner and the collectors. But the collectors of Bedlington differ from all other collectors in that for some years at least, they carry forward arrears. Moreover, a glance at the receiver-general's accounts show how erratic are the entries from the collectors of Bedlington compared to other collectors. From the collectors' accounts it is clear that the entries on the receiver-general's accounts represent cash payments; but also that the collectors made other payments: to the instaurer; to the steward of the household; to the lord;- the price of goods. Further, his payments to the steward and the bailiff for their fees are allowed. This mention of the bailiff must account for the entry on the receiver-general's accounts for 1478-79, in profit from the manor of Bedlington. The heading under which this occurs is 'The Bailiff' but if this is the case it is by no means clear why this should be the only

entry/

entry on the receiver-general's accounts for the manor of Bedlington.

The next grouping of the accounts is that of the bailiffs. Although placed under one heading they are in fact quite varied. The manors of Darlington, Stockton and Midelham form a similar group, with charges coming from free farms, meadows and works. The bailiffs at these manors carry forward their arrears and make foreign payments - only some of these are to the receiver-general. Others are to such officials as the instaurer, steward of the household or the bishop. This is one source of the variation in payments to the receiver-general: for example in 1465-66 when the bailiff of Darlington manor paid only £6.6.8d to the receiver-general and paid £15 to the bishop. The other main source of the variation in payments can be seen in Midelham when land was held in the lord's hands e.g. 1465-66, 1470-71, 1472-73, 1474-75, and 1475-76.

The manor of Evenwood falls into a class by itself for, although the entries on the charge side of the account are much the same as for the three manors discussed in the preceeding paragraph, the account is in the name of a reeve, who does not carry forward his arrears, and who transfers liability to the receiver-general of the amount clear at the end of his account and this includes payments made to the receiver-general and amounts still owing.

The town of Stockton was in the hands of an approver, who carried forward arrears but did not make payments to the receiver-general within the period under study until 1467-68/

1467-68. The entries on the charge side of his account are purely of urban nature.

Last to be considered are Hart and Hartlepool. These make no appearance on the accounts until 1464-65 and result from the Attainder of Clifford after the battle of Wakefield. Except for 1464-65 no payments are made from Hartlepool to the receiver-general, such foreign payments as were made were to the steward of the household or the treasurer of the household; sometimes it takes the form of the price of fish. Hart, in contrast, makes a large contribution to this section of the receiver-general's accounts. This presumably reflects a difference in role. The other items in this section had been integrated into the financial system of the bishopric. They are there because it is convenient to retain some manors for the bishop's use. Whereas Hart, having been part of a different estate could not easily be integrated into the ward system where by the nature of its charges and discharges it more properly belonged.

The precise extent of the profitability of the bailiffs' accounts to the bishopric of Durham is difficult to assess, for the same reason as pertained to the collectors. This, of course, is less serious when it is considered that these estates (except Hart) do not demonstrate their true value through payments to the receiver-general. These may have been regarded as a useful bonus to their principal role as being available for the bishop's use. All the same, the money from the bailiffs was not inconsiderate as the following table shows:

RECEIVER-GENERAL: PAYMENTS FROM BAILIFFS

	DARLINGTON	STOCKTON (Manor)	STOCKTON (Town)	MIDELHAM	EVENWOOD	HART	TOTAL
1457-58	17.12.0½	18. 0. 1					
1458-59	29.15.1	28. 7. 2		12. 0. 1	22. 1. 2¼		92. 3. 6¼
1459-60	18. 6.8 (1)	32.11. 9		9.10. 3	21.18. 8¼		82. 7. 4¼
					(6.11. 5)		(67. 0. 1)
1460-61	18. 0.0	35.15.11		14.12. 0	21.15. 2¼		90. 3. 1¼
1461-62							
1462-63							
1463-64	9. 0.0	14. 6. 2		14.10. 8	21.13. 8½		59.10. 6½
					(12. 1. 8)		(49.18. 6)
1464-65	Blank	17. 4. 7		2. 4. 1	21.13. 8¼	44.16. 8	85.19. 0¼
1465-66	6. 6.8	6. 0. 0		2. 2. 0	22. 9. 0¼	22. 3.10	58.19. 8¼
					(7.18. 6)		(44. 9. 2)
1466-67	6. 4.2	12. 4.11 (2)		4.11. 8	14. 1.11¾	43.11. 0	80.13. 8¾
1467-68	4. 8.0	24.11. 2	5. 9. 4	Nil	18. 0. 1½	36. 0. 0	88.17. 8½
1468-69	2. 0.0	14. 4. 0	4. 0. 0	Nil	17. 5. 2	91. 9.11	128.19. 1
1469-70	34. 6.9	10.10. 4	3. 3. 8	10. 3	16. 9. 0¼	6. 0. 0	71. 0. 0¼
1470-71	26.13.7	16. 0. 0	4. 1. 4	Nil	16.16. 6¼	36.17. 6	100. 8.11¼
					(9. 6. 8)		(92.19. 1)
1471-72						64.10. 0	
1472-73	20. 0.0	17. 3. 7	3.13. 4	1.19. 2	19. 1. 8¼	83.13. 4	145.11. 1¼
					(6. 6. 8)		(132.16. 1)
1473-74	12. 4.0	13.16. 4	3.15. 8	Nil	15.19. 1½	75.13.10	121. 8.11½
1474-75	19. 8.7	14. 3. 0½	3. 9. 0	Nil	17.18. 8¾	37. 8. 0	92. 7. 3¾
					(4. 7. 8)		(78. 8. 2½)
1475-76	20. 0. 0	Nil	10. 7	Nil	23. 7. 2¼		
1476-77	23. 3. 4	14.10. 0	3. 0. 0	19. 9. 0	21.16. 5	69.16. 1	151.14.10
1477-78							
1478-79	31. 5. 4	15. 2.10	3. 0. 0	19.13.10	21. 9. 4	65. 3. 7	164. 7. 7

Notes - See overleaf

NOTES

(1) On the bailiff's account no amount is entered.
(2) Up to this year there are no separate payments from Stockton town.
(3) For Evenwood, the figures in brackets represent cash payments. Other figures for Evenwood represent the amount of the transfer of the liability (which includes the cash payments.)
(4) The entry for 1464-65 for Hart includes £7 arrears from Hartlepool.
(5) The entry of the 1476-77 payment for Hart includes payment in fish by the bailiff.

Following the heading of the bailiffs in the receiver-general's accounts, there is one for the master foresters. Entries in this section are of two types. Firstly, there is the forest of Weardale and the park of Stanhope; and secondly, there are the coal mines. The only document which survives for the master forester is a view of his account, discussed in the section on the master forester. The document consists of a list of tenants and who they paid their rent to - often the instaurer, often in animals - and it is not at all clear from the totals in the receiver-general's accounts how the figures were arrived at. For, the totals in the receiver-general's account seem large compared to the annual charge which can be derived from the view of the account. The view is in poor condition but the annual charge appears to be approximately £100 - certainly it is greater than £87. While, in 1470-71 the issues are £85. However, of greater importance than this is the issues of the coal mines which in 1472-73 are over £282. If attention is limited to the section on the master forester this underestimates the issues of the coal mines. Under the heading of foreign receipts there are some entries for money received from the selling of coal, and in 1474-75/

in 1474-75 this amounts to £54.0.0d.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: ISSUES OF THE COAL MINES AND THE SALE OF COAL

1457-58		1468-69	122. 0. 0
1458-59	90. 1. 8	1469-70	131. 4. 2
1459-60	42. 8. 1	1470-71	120. 0. 0
1460-61	122.16. 8	1471-72	
1461-62		1472-73	282.17. 8
1462-63		1473-74	225.16. 8
1463-64		1474-75	250.13. 4
1464-65	186.13. 4	1475-76	
1465-66	159.15. 0	1476-77	203.11. 8
1466-67	126. 0. 0	1477-78	
1467-68	192.13. 4	1478-79	237.13. 4

From the wording of the receiver-general's accounts (and of -------- received from the coal mines at -----) and from the one roll of the coal mines existing for this period with foreign payments, it seems as if these amounts represent money transferred to the receiver-general. In this case the coal mines were already making a noteable contribution to the revenues of the bishopric. It has to be remembered that against this has to be offset the payments by the receiver-general to the officials at the coal mines for works, which in some years is considerable.

The next group of entries on the receiver-general's main account charge side is headed 'Pensiones' and consists of revenue from churches paid at Martinmas and Whit. This was paid each year by the bishop of Carlisle and a number of monasteries for fourteen appropriated churches in Northumberland and one in Durham; the receiver-general received the money from the sequestrators of the arch-

(22)

deaconries.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: PENSIONES

Of the prior of Carlisle for churches of Corbridge and Whitingham	8. 0. 0
Of the prior of Hexham for church of Wardon	1. 0. 0
Of the abbot of Alnwick for the church of Bolom	13. 4
For the church of Symondburn	2. 0. 0
For the church of Ovingham	1. 0. 0
For the church of Embleton	13. 4
Of the bishop of Carlisle for ½ church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle	20. 0. 0
Of the prior of Carlisle for ½ church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle	20. 0. 0
For the church of Stanfordham	33. 6. 8
Of the abbot of Alnwick for the church of Wooller	8. 4
Of the prior of Tynemouth for the church of Haltwhistle	13. 4
Of the prior of Hexham for the church of Aldston	6. 8
For the church of Benton	1. 0. 0
Of the prior of Brenkburn for the church of Horsley	6. 8
Of the master and fellows of collegiate church of Staindrop	2. 0. 0
Of the chaplain of Fernacres for the hospital of Freresyd	3. 4
Of the prioress of St Bartholemew at Newcastle for the hospital of St Edmund at Gateshead (1)	6. 8
	£ 94. 3. 4d

Notes
(1) In 1458-59 included in foreign receipts at rate of 13s4d.
(2) In 1476-77 the total is £133.3.4d; some churches were entered for a year and a half.
(3) In 1478-79 the total is £87.13.4d. This is due to Standfordham being reduced to £26,13.4d;and an entry from the abbot of Cor'ham for the church of Seham.

/ver

The entry on the charge side of the account called Fines for Writs with Fees for Charters represemts the profits of the chancery resulting from this. The entries are almost always small but fluctuate widely. One entry, for example, - that for 1467-68 - is over four times greater than the next largest, and no reason is given for this on the account. When compared with the expenses of the chancery, the financial profits from it become negligeable. But it is irrelevant to attempt/

attempt to cost it in modern terms: the bishop of Durham ruled over a palatinate, writs ran in his name, and, therefore, it was necessary for him to have a chancery.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: FINES FOR WRITS & FEES FOR CHARTERS

1457-58		1468-69	10. 4
1458-59	2.12. 4	1469-70	1. 9. 4
1459-60	1.19. 4	1470-71	17. 4
1460-61	1. 9. 0	1471-72	
1461-62		1472-73	12. 4
1462-63		1473-74	4.16. 0
1463-64		1474-75	1. 2. 4
1464-65	1.12. 0	1475-76	
1465-66	1. 0. 8	1476-77	2. 5. 4
1466-67	5.18.10	1477-78	
1467-68	28. 8. 6	1478-79	4. 7. 0

The figure for 1467-68 seems quite unusual when compared to the other figures for this period, and there seems no discernable reason for such a remarkable figure.

On the charge side of the accounts there only remains to be discussed the foreign receipts. For the most part entries are in the nature of what would be expected from the title of the heading - all the occasional sources of charge which could not be entered conveniently under any other heading. The only items which are entered regularly are the payments from the sheriff and escheator, receipts from the farms of meadows and profits of the mint.

The profits from the offices of sheriff and escheator are rather like those from the chancery: in only three years in the period under study do the profits from the office exceed the £10 in fee to the holders of the office.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: ISSUES FROM THE SHERIFF AND ESCHEATOR

	Sheriff	Escheator		Sheriff	Escheator
1457-58			1468-69		2. 0
1458-59	12. 1. 2		1469-70		1. 6
1459-60	3. 0.10		1470-71		1. 6
1460-61	7.16. 8		1471-72		
1461-62			1472-73	Nothing	2.12. 2
1462-63			1473-74	3. 0	1. 0. 0
1463-64	1. 2. 2		1474-75	7. 6	17.17. 4
1464-65	Blank		1475-76		
1465-66	1. 6		1476-77		1. 6
1466-67	1. 6		1477-78	10.11. 6	
1467-68	6. 8		1478-79	Nothing	4. 8. 1

Again the figures here seem to fluctuate widely with no cause being discoverable from the accounts. The account surviving for 1477-78 includes payments to the receiver-general, but since it atates that these are of the sheriff's arrears, it is not possible to tell what the other large payments consist of.

The entries concerning the meadows remain constant at £9.3.4d except in the years 1470-71 and 1472-73, when the entries are of £4.3.4d; and in 1476-77 and 1478-79 when they are £7.3.4d. The reduction in the amount is due to some of the meadows being retained for the lord's use.

The profits from the mint varies too - some years there is no amount at all. The formula in the foreign receipts remain the same, e.g. 'Et de receptis de Johanne Norwell. firmio cunie monete apud Dunelm. sic per dominum sibi dimisse per annum.' (23)

RECEIVER-GENERAL: RECEIPTS FROM THE MINT

1457-58		1468-69	No entry
1458-59	2. 0. 0	1469-70	20. 0. 0
1459-60	4. 0. 6½	1470-71	10. 0. 0
1460-61	6.13. 4	1471-72	
1461-62		1472-73	26.13. 4
1462-63		1473-74	33. 6. 8
1463-64		1474-75	Crossed out
1464-65	14. 4.11¼	1475-76	
1465-66	10. 0. 0	1476-77	13. 6. 8
1466-67	Paid to the lord	1477-78	
1467-68	No entry	1478-79	13. 6. 8

No accounts of the moneyer survive for the period under study, and it is not known whether he presented a finished account like other subordinate officials. With two exceptions, these payments are rounded off neatly (24) as if the moneyer agreed to pay a fixed amount for the office, and made profit above this if he could. There is some evidence to support this: in the chancery records (25) there is an entry in 1460 that John Norwell of Durham will pay the sum agreed and will deliver the dies etc. when required to. Also, in 1470, there is an entry that John Norwell of Durham, 'conyour'; Robert Brancepeth of Willington; Thomas Melbet of Durham, yeoman; and Thomas Goldsmith of Durham, goldsmith to the bishop, make recognisance for the due performance of the coining of money by the said John, and for payment by him to the bishop.

The names of some of the coiners are known.

COINERS

1457-58		1468-69	
1458-59	John Arscot	1469-70	John Norwell
1459-60	John Arscot/John Norwell	1470-71	John Norwell
1460-61	John Norwell	1471-72	
1461-62		1472-73	Robert Dixson
1462-63		1473-74	Robert Dixson
1463-64		1474-75	Robert Dixson
1464-65	John Norwell	1475-76	
1465-66	John Norwell	1476-77	Robert Bagot
1466-67		1477-78	
1467-68		1478-79	Robert Bagot

This office clearly required particular skills of its holder and it is, therefore, not surprising that the coiners are not heard of otherwise.

Of Arscot, Dixson and Bagot nothing further is known. But Norwell with John Hartlepool (one of the auditors) renewed the rentals in 1465-66. More in his line of business though, he was paid by the receiver-general in his arrears account for 1468-69 for buying/

buying a silver cup for the bishop.

Apart, then, from the sheriff and escheator's accounts, the profits from the meadows and the mint, other entries in the foreign receipts are of an exceptional nature. Some of these have been dealt with in an earlier part of this section: the pension from the prioress in 1458-59; the receipts for the sale of coal in 1458-59, 1467-70, and 1474-75; and the arrears from Sadberge in 1460-61. Some entries are purely of a book-keeping nature: when there is a charge for the receiver-general obtaining goods from another official in 1458-59 of 13s.4d. including iron from Weardale; in 1459-60 of 8s.2d; in 1464-65 of 2s.10d and in 1478-79 of £7.10.0d from William Brown the former instaurer, in grain. There are entries from the profits of land in Wardship: £3.5.10d in 1464-65; £3.0.0d in 1467-68; and £4.0.0d in 1474-75. In 1469-70 there is an entry of £2.0.0d for the enclosure of land. In 1472-73, £8.16.0d; in 1473-74, £4.0.0d. and in 1474-75, nothing, - from the farm of the manor of Tunstall. There are some receipts from other officials of a very various nature - in 1459-60, £1 from Henry Gillowe (clerk of the receipt) for the payment of half the fee of Guy Fairfax, one of the justiciars of the lord that year without bill. In 1466-67, £3.3.5d paid by Henry Preston, executor to Robert Preston, former coroner of Easington, part of his arrears. In 1468-69, £1.3.4d, the major part of the debts of the farmer of Wolsingham. In 1470-71, rather similarly, £1.18.0d from the collector of Greenwelside from the year 2 Booth paid by himself into the exchequer, as he was charged with the arrears of the said year, as is shown in the foot of the account of 9 Booth and of such arrears he is now exonerated. In the same year,/

same year there is £33.6.8d from the Earl of Westmorland by the hand of Willaim Overton, receiver of the same earl, from the profits of Kirkbymoreside, in part payment of a warrant of the earl containing 400 marks diversely assigned for the paying within four years of diverse free farms and rents of the earl in the county of Durham, being in arrears for divers years, not paid until the 11th year of the lord as appears in the book of the receipt of Durham exchequer. Nothing further is heard of the remainder of the 400 marks during the period under study. Next there is a series of receipts from men compounding for their misdeeds. In 1474-75, £13.6.8d received from William Raket for his pardon in the previous year, and not charged. It is particularly unfortunate that this statement is quite bald, for William Raket had considerable experience as one of the central officials - he was clerk of the chancery and custodian of the rolls of the chancery from 1458-59 to 1478-79, and he was one of the auditors for the same period. Whatever the nature of his offence it was not sufficient for the bishop to remove him from office. Lastly, in this section, is the entry of £10 in 1476-77 received from John Watson - of whom nothing further is known - as a fine made between him and the bishop for his past misdeeds.

In 1476-77 there is an entry of £12.2.2d received from John Rawson and James Gallamit, chaplains, in part payment of the subsidy from the clergy in the county of Northumberland allowed to the lord at divers times as appears in particular in the book of the Great Receipt shown at this accounting. Of the rest of this subsidy granted to the lord by the clergy in the bishopric of Durham, they do not render because William Broune, clerk, will answer in the account of the next/

next year as he could not raise it at the same time. The William Broune mentioned here is probably the same as the William Broune who was the instaurer in that same year. Also, there is an entry in 1476-77 of £12.11.3d received from the instaurer's account - part of the issues of the office. The instaurer's account for this year survives and it states that this sum, £6.13.4d was paid over in money and the rest in 'agist.'

Appearing for the first time, in the account of 1473-74 are the profits of the office of sequestrator of Durham. In 1473-74 he pays £19.3.0d; in 1474-75, £11.0.0d; in 1476-77, £16.2.0d; and in 1478-79, nothing. The holder of the office during all these years is John Rudd, of whom nothing further is known, except that he was paid his expenses for being on the bishop's business in 1465-66.

Lastly under the foreign receipts are entries concerning the bishop's estates beyond the county of Durham. In the discussion of the Yorkshire estates it became clear that while most of the profits were paid to the bishop himself, on occasions, payments were made to the receiver-general at Durham. There is no evidence of payments by the receiver of Howden to the receiver-general's accounts. At Allerton, payment was made to the receiver-general in 1477-78 (the only year for which the Allerton account survives) while the only entry on the receiver-general's accounts is for 1478-79, where it is stated that nothing was paid as in his (i.e. Allerton's receiver) account shown at this accounting. For Crayke, there is more evidence of payment to the receiver-general/

general, possibly because the official at Crayke was just styled reeve. In 1468-69, £13.16.8d was paid, part of the reeve's arrears; in 1470-71, £15.17.1½d was paid to the auditors; in 1473-74, £17.2.10d was collected by the auditors; in 1474-75, £21.19.4d was collected by the auditors; in 1476-77, £12.0.0d was paid direct to the receiver-general; and in 1478-79, £10.13.2d was paid to the receiver-general. Certainly there seems a tendency by the end of the period under for the reeve to send his issues to the receiver-general. A more difficult problem concerns Norham and Holy Island for which there are entries on the receiver-general's accounts in 1458-59, 1459-60 and 1460-61, but afterwards there are no entries at all. On account of the unsettled nature of Northumberland it could be expected that the issues from Norham and Holy Island might fluctuate widely, but this would not account for their total disappearance from the accounts. In 1458-59, the receiver of Norham paid £71 to the receiver-general; in 1459-60, he paid £15; but in 1460-61 he did not pay anything. From what evidence there is it seems that Norham has a separate administrative organisation. There are references to a constable, steward, sheriff and escheator (combined in one person). Roger Heron holds this four-combined post in 1475-76; in 1463-64, Robert Ogle is called just sheriff and escheator; in 1465-66, Robert Swynde is called coroner. Under Langley the four offices had been granted to the Ogle family, who were to receive all local revenue and in addition £200 p.a. in time of war.[26] This was again resorted to by Dudley in 21 and 22 Edward IV.[27] Robert Ogle was clearly an important figure in the borders. In August/

In August 1461, he was granted for life the lands of the Earl of Northumberland, and was made Warden of the East March. (28) A little more is known of the receivers: William Yorke held the office from 1457 to 1461; Thomas Hagerston in 1465-66 and Richard de Barrowe in 1474-75. In 1458-60 and 1460-61, £9.6.8d is received from the farm of the rabbits of Holy island, but after this there is no further mention.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: TOTALS OF FOREIGN RECEIPTS

1457-58		1468-69	26. 5. 4
1458-59	118. 7. 2	1469-70	36. 3. 0
1459-60	42. 0. 6½	1470-71	49. 9. 6
1460-61	46.13. 5	1471-72	
1461-62		1472-73	42. 4.10
1462-63		1473-74	83.18.10
1463-64		1474-75	132. 4. 2
1464-65	26.16.11¼	1475-76	
1465-66	19. 4.10	1476-77	83. 6.11
1466-67	12. 5. 1	1477-78	
1467-68	18.10. 0	1478-79	43. 2. 3

Given the fact that the foreign receipts are of a varied and fluctuating nature it is not surprising that the total charge resulting from them fluctuates widely and little general significance can be derived from this. Confirmation of the hazardous position of the finances of Norham comes from the evidence of the Durham Chapter: "only if the truces between the two kingdoms were observed could the proctor of Norham dispatch his debts of £80 to the Durham Bursar." (29)

To conclude the discussion of the charge side of the receiver-general's accounts it remains to discuss the relative proportions of each type of entry. To this end a summary of the complete charge will now be drawn up.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: CHARGE SIDE OF MAIN & ARREARS ACCOUNTS. SUMMARY I

	WARDS				SADBERGE
	Darlington	Chester	Easington	Stockton	
1457-58					
1458-59	502.11. 1¼	441.12. 0¼	438.12. 0½	197.15.11¼	30.13. 0
1459-60	433. 5. 1½	399.12. 9¼	412. 3. 3¾	217.19. 0	3. 0. 1
1460-61	486.19. 3¼	386. 1. 0¼	408. 4. 9	212. 1. 7	13. 4. 7
1461-62					
1462-63					
1463-64					
1464-65	479.17.10¾	389.12. 0	421.14. 1¾	188. 7.10	39. 0. 0
1465-66	523.15. 8¾	4 03. 0. 3¾	406. 8. 3¼	194. 7. 8½	7. 6. 8
1466-67	479. 9. 2	416. 7. 0	403.15.11½	209. 9. 2¼	23.18. 4
1467-68	445. 2.11	411. 6.10¼	413.12. 2¾	181.14. 7¼	24. 3. 4
1468-69	466. 6.10¾	381. 4. 8½	398. 3. 4¼	192. 1. 0¾	21. 4. 2
1469-70	4 87.7. 1	404.10. 7½	416.18. 3	186. 5. 1	28.15. 0
1470-71	481.17. 4½	428. 0. 2¾	421. 6.11	208. 8. 1½	31.19.10
1471-72					
1472-73	504. 2. 9	400.16. 4¾	418.16. 0	183. 3. 2½	3. 0. 0
1473-74	460. 2. 1¾	408. 6.11	430. 6. 4½	193. 4. 6¼	32.13. 4
1474-75	469. 9. 2½	316.11. 0½	425.15. 8¼	203.13. 7¾	27. 0. 0
1475-76					
1476-77	525.14. 2	438. 1. 0¾	437.15. 8½	221.10. 7½	17.16. 8
1477-78					
1478-79	574. 2. 6	442.10.10	413.19.10	212. 1. 2¾	33. 4. 1

RECEIVER-GENERAL: CHARGE SIDE OF MAIN & ARREARS ACCOUNTS SUMMARY II

	Bailiffs	Master Forester	Pensions from churches	Chancery	Foreign receipts	Current Total
1457-58						
1458-59	92. 3. 6¼	155. 5. 5	93.16. 8	2.12. 4	118. 7. 2	2073.10. 0½
1459-60	82. 7. 4¾	74.18. 2	94. 3. 4	1. 19.4	42. 0. 6½	1761. 9. 0¼
1460-61	90. 3. 1¼	179. 5. 5	94. 3. 4	1. 9. 0	46.13.5	1918. 5. 5¾
1461-62						
1462-63						
1463-64						
1464-65	85.19. 0¼	193. 6. 8	94. 3. 4	1.12. 0	26.16.11¼	1820. 9.10
1465-66	58.19. 8¼	149.15. 0	94. 3. 4	1. 0. 8	19. 4.10	1858. 2. 2½
1466-67	80.13. 8¾	144.13. 8	94. 3. 4	5.18.10	12. 5. 1	1870.14. 3½
1467-68	88.18. 7½	222.15. 4	94. 3. 4	28. 8. 6	18.10. 0	1928.15. 8¾
1468-69	128.19. 1	122. 6. 8	94. 3. 4	10. 4	26. 5. 4	1831. 4.11¼
1469-70	71. 0. 0¼	148.18. 0	94. 3. 4	1. 9. 4	36. 3. 0	1875. 9. 8¾
1470-71	100. 8.11¼	205.11. 2	94. 3. 4	17. 4	65. 6. 7½	2037.19.10½
1471-72						
1472-73	145.11. 1¼	334.17. 6	94. 3. 4	12. 4	42. 4.10	2125.14. 1½
1473-74	121. 8.11¼	277.19. 2	94. 3. 4	4.16. 0	83.18.10	2090. 1. 0¾
1474-75	92. 7. 3¾	212. 7.10	94. 3. 4	1. 2. 4	132. 4. 2	1970.14. 6½
1475-76						
1476-77	151.14.10	223.14. 2	133.3. 4	2. 5. 4	83. 6.11	2235. 1. 9¾
1477-78						
1478-79	164. 7. 7	271. 9. 1	87.13.4	4. 7. 0	43. 2. 3	2246.12. 0½

RECEIVER-GENERAL: CHARGE SIDE OF MAIN & ARREARS ACCOUNTS SUMMARY III

	ARREARS				MAIN TOTAL + FOREIGN RECEIPTS FROM ARREARS	PREVIOUS COLUMN+ PREVIOUS ARREARS
	Previous	Current	Foreign receipts	Total		
1457-58	None	673.16. 8	60. 5.10¼	734. 5. 7¼		
1458-59						
1459-60						
1460-61	1250.17. 3	703.10. 3¾	107. 6.11¾	2071.14. 6½	2025.12. 5¾	3276.19. 8¾
1461-62						
1462-63	2133.10. 3	889. 3. 4	66. 6. 1¼	3088.19. 8¼		
1463-64						
1464-65						
1465-66						
1466-67						
1467-68	652. 8. 5¾	800. 1. 2½	119.11.11½	1572. 1. 7¾	2048. 7. 8¼	2700.16. 2
1468-69	1024.16. 3¾	887.14. 7¾	163.14. 7¾	2076. 5. 7¼	1994.19. 7	3019.15.10¾
1469-70	1290.17. 7	734. 6. 7	210. 6. 2½	2235.10. 4½	2085.15.11¼	3376.13. 6¼
1470-71	1293.12. 0¼	566.15. 9½	123.11. 3¾	1983. 9. 1½	2161.11. 2¼	3455. 3. 2½
1471-72	1359.16. 6	576.14.10½	68.18. 8¾	2005.10. 1		
1472-73	1495. 6. 9¼	596.13. 6½	115. 5. 7	2207. 5.10¾	2240.19. 8½	3736. 6. 5¾
1473-74	1565.12. 0¾	742. 5. 6½	87. 4. 8½	2305. 2. 3¾	2177. 5. 9¼	3742.17.10
1474-75						
1475-76						
1476-77	None	786. 7.10½	149.18. 1¼	936. 5.11¾	2384.19.11	2384.19.11
1477-78	186.14. 4¼	501. 9. 8	100.11. 2	788.15. 2¼		
1478-79	260. 3. 9	352.13. 1½	95.18. 8	808.15. 6½	2342.10. 8½	2602.14. 5½

It is clear from the merest glance at these tables that totals for the four wards dominate the charge side of the receiver-general's main accounts. Taken together they amount to approximately three quarters of the total charge. Of the rest, the only ones of any importance are the entries for the bailiffs, master foresters and the pensions from churches - only these usually exceed 5% of the total charge.

It is also clear that the total charge tended to increase in the period of t the study. The mean charge on the account is £1975. Before 1470 this is exceeded only once - in 1458-59 - but after 1470 it is exceeded in all years except 1474-75 when the charge from the Chester ward is extremely low.(30) Also, if the foreign receipts from the arrears account are added to the total charge of the main account, a similar pattern emerges. In this case the mean is £2160, and all years up to 1472 are lower than this figure, and all years after this year are higher.(31) It should be remembered that the evidence demonstrates an increase during the period of this study of the amount of money with which the receiver-general is charged: it does not necessarily point to the receiver-general obtaining more money. A considerable amount of the receiver-general's charge results from the collectors, and there is no evidence to show that the proportion of this which was paid in money remained constant. However, some of the charges were money payments and some of these did increase: the profits from the coal mines increased, as did the payments by the bailiffs although this was due to the addition of Hart and Hartlepool offsetting the decline of some manors. But the tendency for the totals for the wards to increase/

increase must be due to an improvement in the money paid over by the coroners, since the charge from the collectors tends to remain fairly constant. Discussion of the financial position in full will be delayed until the discharge side of the receiver-general's accounts has been examined.

Discharge side

When attention is turned to the discharge side of the receiver-general's accounts, the importance of the survival of both the main and the arrears accounts becomes most clear. In the twenty-two years of this study both accounts survive for only nine years: 1460-61, 1467-68, 1468-69, 1469-70, 1470-71, 1472-73, 1473-74, 1476-77 and 1478-79. If the amount of money paid to the bishop is compared for 1468-69 and 1478-79 the total amounts are fairly close: £1144.10.2d in the former year, and £1095.13.6d in the latter. But in the former, £306.9.10¼d is allowed as paid in the arrears account, and in the latter year, there is no such allowance in the arrears account. Discussion of the scale of foreign payments then has to be limited to the nine years when both accounts survive.

The first heading on the discharge side of the account is allowances for the fees and rewards of the officers of the bishopric. It might be thought that the totals for such payments would be relatively stable, but this is in fact not so:

RECEIVER-GENERAL: REWARDS AND FEES

	Main	Arrears	Total
1457-58		Nil	
1458-59	86.17. 0		
1459-60	66. 6. 8		
1460-61	50.10. 0	31.16. 8	82. 6. 8
1461-62			
1462-63		Nil	
1463-64			
1464-65	83. 2. 0		
1465-66	47.17. 8		
1466-67	53.13. 4		
1467-68	87.13. 4	13.10. 0	101. 3. 4
1468-69	95. 0. 0	5. 0. 0	100. 0. 0
1469-70	89.13. 4	5. 0. 0	94. 13.4
1470-71	61. 0. 0	6. 6. 8	67. 6. 8
1471-72		43.16. 0	
1472-73	72. 0. 8	21. 2. 0	93. 2. 8
1473-74	53. 7. 4	21.14.11	75. 2. 3
1474-75	65.13. 6		
1475-76			
1476-77	109.15. 0	48.10.11	158. 5.11
1477-78		54.12. 7	
1478-79	123.13. 4	29. 0. 6	153. 3.10

Not only does the amount allowed in fees and rewards vary widely, but so do the figures in the arrears accounts and in the main accounts. The two types of accounts did not have completely distinct officers to be allowed fees.

The list of officers allowed fees is, of course, not a complete list of feed officers for the bishopric. Firstly, the officers named perform their duties within the county of Durham: officers for Norham and the Yorkshire estates are paid from these accounts. Secondly, officers who present accounts are usually allowed their fees on their own accounts - for instance, the coroners.

Heading the list of officers on the receiver-general's main account is the chancellor and the receiver-general; and in the first account it continues with the constable since the same man held the three offices. In 1458-59, Henry Preston/

Preston receives £40 for these offices. In subsequent years the entry refers to the receiver-general and chancellor, and the fee is £26.13.4d, but this figure is crossed through, not allowed because it was not paid until 1476-77 and 1478-79 when John Kelyng is allowed £26.13.4d. No reason has been discovered to account for why no fees was paid to the receiver-general and chancellor in these years. It seems quite remarkable that such a key official should receive no financial reward for his office - but the fact remains that there is no evidence in any account to suggest that he received any reward at all. Although Henry Preston ceased to be receiver-general and coroner after 1458-59, he remained as constable until the end of the period under study, at a fee of £13.6.8d which was paid irregularly. In 1460-61, he was paid £23.6.8d; in 1465-66, 1466-67, 1470-71, 1472-73 and 1473-74 nothing was paid; in 1467-68, £11.13.4d was paid; in 1468-69 and 1476-77 he was paid £10; in 1474-75 he was paid £8. All these were on the main account, but, on the arrears account in 1477-78 he was allowed £5.6.8d.

The second entry on the main account is the allowance of the chief steward of the bishopric, whose usual fee is £20. On the first three accounts - 1458-61 - there is no mention of the office. But in the next account - that for 1464-65 - John Nevil, Earl of Northumberland, holds the office and the account states that nothing is allowed because he has been paid by the bishop. In the following year no amount is allowed; and for the year after, there is just a gap on the account for the amount. In 1467-68, Thomas Moreslawe is named as chief steward, and the receiver-general is allowed £20 for the payment for the fee. The same entry remains/

remains until 1473-74 when the £20 is crossed through and marked because it has not been paid. The following year, Henry Radcliff is steward and receives £20. In 1476-77 Thomas Midelton is steward and retains the office in 1478-79, and in both years he receives £20. On the arrears account there is no mention of the chief steward. John Nevil received letters patent from Edward IV appointing him to the office while the temporalities were in the king's hands. He was clearly not merely a king's man because he retained the office after the temporalities were restored, and in 1460, he was appointed constable and master forester of Barnard Castle and the forest of Teesdale.(32) Although there is no record of any fee being paid, another of the Nevils held the office earlier. Sir Thomas Nevil of Brancepeth received letters patent of the bishop in 1457.(32) Thomas Moreslawe, as well as being steward was also the bishop's attorney-general from 1464-65 to 1473-74, when he stopped being the steward. Henry Radcliff, who held the office 1474-75, had been appointed sheriff and escheator in 1469, and was styled steward of the household in 1466-67, and treasurer of the household in the three years which followed. In 1476, he was granted, with Henry Preston, for the life of each, the office of constable of Durham Castle. Thomas Midelton, who became Dudley's steward, was not a new man. He had been retained of Booth's council from 1466-67, but he did not enjoy the office long since his inquisition post mortem was taken on 27th September 1480.(33) Another type of officer who had fees allowed was the sub-steward holding the hallmoots. £3.6.8d is allowed for his fee in 1473-74, 1474-75, 1476-77 and 1478-79.

As if to demonstrate the bishop's important right to do justice/

justice, the next group of entries on the accounts in the section for fees are for the justices. The bishopric of Durham had two justices: the chief justice was retained for a fee of £10, and the second justice for £6.13.4d. The holders of these offices were clearly regarded as specialists. Sir Robert Danby is chief justice until 1465; Guy Fairfax is second justice until 1465 when he becomes chief justice, and holds the office for the remainder of the period; and in 1465, Richard Pygot became second justice and also held it for the remainder of the period. Danby became a Justice of Common Pleas in 1452 and chief justice in 1461 - immediately on the accession of Edward IV. He held this position during the Readeption but on the return of Edward IV he was not re-appointed - whether this was due to his death or removal is not known.(34) Guy Fairfax was similarly one of the king's judges. In 1476 he was made Recorder of York; in 1477, one of the Justices of the Bench; in 1483, chief justice of Lancaster, retaining the offices until his death in 1495.(35) Richard Pygot is described as being of the lord's council in 1460-61, and sergeant of the bishop in 1464-65 and 1465-66. These officers receive their fees quite regularly, but in 1459-60 the second justice only received his fee for half the year and in 1464-65, both justices are paid arrears - the chief justice receiving £13.6.8d and the second, £14.0.0d. In 1465-66, the amounts allowed are reduced because the new justices have not held office for the full year. In 1470-71, they are not paid; but in the arrears roll of 1471-72 they are paid each for the two years. The justices had their own clerk who was feed as £4 p.a. - clearly he was no mere scribe.

Robert/

Robert Forester[36] held the office until 1465 when William Haliwell succeeded him. But Haliwell died in 1471 (the account says he was paid only £2 because he died at half year) and he was succeeded by Leo Knight. The only further detail of these that is known is that they were named on the various judicial commissions.[37] Like his superior, the clerk of the justices received his fee quite regularly - only in 1460-61 does it drop to £3, and in 1464-65 to £2 - but this drop may be due to the change of holder of the office - and, of course, in 1470-71 Haliwell died. The only relevant entry in the arrears account is for 1471-72, when he is paid £2.

As well as the justices, the bishop retained men for his council and it would seem that they had legal training. There was an attorney-general retained for £2 p.a. Nicholas Taverner[38] held the office in 1459-60 and in 1460-61, but he was only paid £1 each year. In 1464-65, Thomas Moreslawe held the office and continued to hold it till 1473-74 when he was named but not paid. In the following year no one is named, and in 1478-79 Ronald Ludworth is named.[38] Others retained for their counsel were Richard Pygot[39] at £1p.a. in 1460-61; Thomas Urswick at £2,[40] from 1464-65 to 1474-75 (though not paid in 1469-70); Miles Metcalf, at £1.6.8d p.a. until 1478-79; and Thomas Midelton, from 1466-67 until 1474-75.[40, 41] A man Richard Pygot is named as sergeant of the lord in 1464-65 and 1465-66 but he is paid £2 p.a. in 1464-65 only. In 1478-79 William Claxton is retained and paid £4. William Nottingham[42] is called the other learned man of the lord's council from 1464-65 until 1474-75 and is paid £3.6.8d except in 1469-70. It is not known for what/

what reason Willaim Conyers was retained for life at £10p.a. - but the first entry appears in 1468-69 and is continued whilst Booth is bishop. There is no entry, however, in the rolls for the years of Dudley's pontificate. But, in 1478-79, William Tunstall is retained at £5 p.a. and is paid £2.10.0d for the half year. Both these fees are for a quite considerate amount - more than seems likely to retain lawyers. A personal or military connection seems more likely, but there is not the evidence to prove this.

In the arrears account there is an occasional reference to Sir Robert Claxton,(43) retained by the bishop at £5 p.a. He is paid £5 in 1467-68; £14 in 1473-74; £15 in 1477-78; and £5 in 1478-79. An Alexander Fedirstanehaugh was retained at £3.6.8d p.a., but no reason is given. He appears solely on the arrears accounts and only in two years: in 1472-73, the receiver-general is allowed £2.18.3d for him; and in 1477-78, £16.2.0d. Richard Tunstall(44) is retained by Dudley at a fee of £10 p.a. and the entries are made in the three arrears accounts of Dudley.

Following the officers with legal training, there is a group of financial and administrative officials. First mentioned is the clerk of the chancery and custodian of the rolls, receiving a fee of £2 on all the main accounts which survive. The office is held throughout the period of the study by William Raket. William Raket is one of the family of Rakets which is at the heart of the administration of the bishopric in this period. He serves on the commissions of justices for goal delivery, conserving the peace, and the statutes, for the assizes.(45) In 1458-59, he was one of the commission/

commission to view the coal mines. He was assigned by Henry VI during the vacancy for the exhibition of archers dated December 17th 1457. He was appointed one of the commission to survey the bishop's forests in Booth's first year as bishop, and in Dudley's first year he was on the commission to enquire into the value of all the bishop's possessions. Lastly, for all the years of this study, he was one of the bishop's auditors.(46) To ensure family continuity in office he surrendered his letters patent of appointment as clerk of the chancery and custodian of the rolls just before Booth was translated, in favour of letters patent to him and John Raket, granting them the office during the life of either of them. In the arrears account for 1460-61, the receiver-general is allowed £14.6.0d, paid to William Raket and his household,(47) clerk of the chancery, keeper of the rolls at £4.15.4d p.a. This is the sole entry of this particular amount, and no detailed explanation is given of it.

The second member of the Raket family - Richard Raket - held the office of clerk of the justices of the peace, and clerk of the coroners from the beginning of the study until 1470-71, at a fee of £3.p.a. He was also, for the same period, clerk of the receipt of the exchequer at a fee of £4, increasing to £5 p.a.,(48) and custodian of the harness in the wardrobe of the castle (for life) until 1471, at 13s.4d p.a. In the vacancy before Booth became bishop he had been one of the joint receiver-generals. The receiver-general is allowed varied sums for the expenses of Richard Raket collecting the arrears of collectors and for distraining them; and for riding to the bishop and handing over money to him.(49) /

to him.[49] Like William Raket in the arrears account of 1460-61, he gets expenses for himself and his household at the rate of £4.15.4d p.a., but just for two years. Also, in the main account of 1464-65 he gets £8.15.4d. The only reference to any duties outside this field was his assignment as one of the commission for the view of archers dated December 17th, 1457. Presumably this was in connection with his office as clerk of the justices of the peace and of the coroners.

The third member of the Raket family is John Raket, who was younger than the other two (in 19 Booth William Raket obtains the grant of the clerk of the chancery and custodian of the rolls jointly for himself and John, instead of himself alone). Nothing is heard of John until 1470-71 when he is paid for writing the rentals of the coroners.[50] But in the following year he is feed as clerk of the receipt of the exchequer - replacing Richard; and as clerk of the justices of the peace and of the coroners. In 1475, he obtained Richard Raket's office as keeper of the bishop's arms within the wardrobe - but there is no mention of any fee for this. He received expenses for extracting money from the collectors who were in arrears in 1476-77. In the same year, he was one of the commission for letting land and was paid expenses with others for being at Durham to 'reform' the High Forest of Weardale. In 1478-79 he served as coroner of the Chester ward, having been collector of Chester in 1476-77.

These three men must have known everything that was worth knowing about the Durham administration, both legal and financial. While clearly not of the same rank as the chancellor and receiver-general or the steward, they must have provided/

provided the core of the day to day administration without which the greater officers could not have functioned. Given this position it is perhaps not surprising to find Richard Raket complaining that he has been threatened by William Claxton who is ordered to give security - unfortunately this is not dated nor are any details given.(51) More surprising is to learn that William Raket was in trouble with the bishop - for in 1474 he was pardoned, but again no details are given but we do know that he continued to hold office.

The receiver-general is allowed money for the payment of clerks writing up the accounts: £1.6.8d for the writing of the receiver-general's accounts and those of other ministers; and of £1.6.8d also, for writing the extracts of the hallmoots, and the rolls of the justices. These sums are allowed on all the main accounts that have survived. In some accounts there is reference to the janitor of the inner gate and itinerant bailiff of the Durham exchequer. In 1458-59 William Nodder held the office for a fee of £1.10.4d, while in the two subsequent years the holder was James Tipping but he was not paid. Then there are no entries until 1472-73 when Henry Worsley held the office for three years at the same fees. Despite these gaps in the receiver-general's accounts it is known from other accounts that there was such an officer: from 1464-65 to 1474-75 William Smith held the office. It seems that the officer had the task of visiting the officials who had not paid up their money to the receiver-general and encouraging them to do so.

Last of the regular entries to be discussed is the office of auditor. Two men held the office. The first was retained at £10 p.a., and the other at £5 p.a. As has been mentioned/

mentioned above William Raket served as auditor throughout this period at the lower rate. Although he held office within the bishopric, it was not primarily of a financial nature although members of his family did hold such offices. Despite this he was obviously trusted by Booth and Dudley to judge by his tenure of the office of auditor. The other auditor was always an outsider. John Stanford was holder in 1458-59, 1459-60, and called so on the account of 1460-61 but his fee was not allowed. In 1463-64 he has been replaced by John Hertilpole who serves until at least 1475. But by 1476-77 he has been replaced by Thomas Metcalf who serves for the next two years. At least one of them lived well outside the bishopric - John Hertilpole is paid expenses for riding from Northampton.(52) Quite apart from their fees, the auditors were paid their expenses at the time of the audit, and this will be discussed more fully below.

Other entries in the section on fees are of a transient nature. For example, the custodian of parks. The Frankyeyn custodian is allowed £1.0.4d in 1473-74 and £1.19.0d in 1477-78, (both in the arrears accounts). The custodian at Gateshead is allowed £2.14.6d in the arrears account of 1476-77 and £1.1.8d in that year's main account. In 1477-78, in the arrears account, the parker at Bedburn is allowed £1.0.8d and also on the following year's account. In the same year the parker of Wolsingham is allowed £2.1.0d on the arrears account. The custodian of the garden in the manor of Auckland is allowed, on the main account, £1.10.4d in 1472-73, 1473-74 and 1474-75 although the entry is crossed through in previous years.

A few of the bailiffs also received fees: the bailiff of Durham/

Durham is in 1474-75; the bailiff of Midelham in the arrears account of 1476-77 and 1477-78 is allowed 13s.4d; and the bailiff of the manor of Auckland in fact is feed at £2 in all the main accounts, except 1460-61 where it is £1, and 1478-79 where the amount is left blank.

The custodian of the aqueduct of the castle and abbey is allowed 6s.8d in 1458-59 and 1459-60; and 3s.4d in 1460-61, after which there are no entries. In 1478-79, Christopher More, in charge of the lead working, is allowed £2, and in 1476-77, £2.10s. The supervisors of the coal mines in 1476-77 are allowed £2; in 1477-78, £4.12.8d; and in 1478-79, £2. The supervisor of the making of iron is allowed £1 in 1477-78 and also in 1478-79.

Collectors' fees are allowed occasionally, with the statement that they were not allowed at the previous accounting: in 1467-68, £3.10s.; in 1473-74, £1.10.7d; and in 1476-77, £2.16.0d. In 1476-77, the custodian of Durham gaol within the castle is allowed £3.6.8d.

This increase in allowances with the new bishop would seem to point to a stiffening of attitudes by the auditors - they were not allowed fees until they were shown evidence that they were due, and hence they have to be allowed later, on the receiver-general's accounts. To this extent, the increase in the total of fees allowed on the receiver-general's accounts in the last three years of this study is unreal: for it represents merely their being allowed on different accounts, while the total for the bishopric taken as a whole would remain the same.

But there was a real increase in fees in these years of Dudley's pontificate; in 1476-77 John Dudley, the bishop's brother/

brother was allowed £20, which later appears among the annuities. This would appear to be generosity to a brother rather than being in return for service. John Dudley was the second son of John, Lord Dudley. His interests lay in the south of England - in Hampshire and Sussex. He was sheriff of Hampshire, Surrey and Sussex in 1483-84; M.P. for Sussex 1478 and for Arundell, 1491 and 1492 and probably dates in between. He adhered to Richard III but changed sides in time to get a grant of forfeited lands in 13th May 1486.(53) In 1478-79 the suffragan bishop was allowed £4. To gain a more complete picture it is necessary to attempt to reconstruct the amount of fees for a current year which the receiver-general would be allowed. This matter is fraught with difficulties and dangers. Apart from occasional entries there is the problem of what is to be done about fees which begin part the way through Booth's pontificate, as, for example, men retained of the council. Despite the difficulties it has been thought that such an attempt should be made in view of the extremely confusing position regarding fees year by year.

RECEIVER-GENERAL /

RECEIVER-GENERAL: LIST OF FEES MOST COMMONLY ALLOWED

Chief steward	20. 0. 0	
Chief justice	10. 0. 0	
Second justice	6.13. 4	
Clerk of the justices	4. 0. 0	
Clerk of the chancery etc.	2. 0. 0	
Clerk of the coroners & J.P.s	3. 0. 0	
Clerk of the receipt of the exchequer	5. 0. 0	
Clerk writing accounts	1. 6. 8	
Clerk writing hallmoot records	1. 6. 8	
First auditor	10. 0. 0	
Second auditor	5. 0. 0	
Constable	13. 6. 8	
Bailiff of Auckland	2. 0. 0	
Custodian of harness	13. 4	until 1471
Attorney-general	2. 0. 0	
Council	2. 0. 0	from 1461
	3. 6. 8	1464-75
	1. 6. 8	
	1. 6. 8	1466-75
Total	94. 6. 8	

OTHERS

Receiver-general	26.13. 4	1457-58 and 1476 onwards.
Itinerant bailiff	1.10. 4	Occasional
Ralph Conyers	10. 0. 0	1468-75
Richard Tunstall	10. 0. 0	1476 onwards
Robert Claxton	5. 0. 0	Occasional then 1476 onwards
John Dudley	20. 0. 0	1476-77 then into annuities

There is little evidence, therefore, that a large expansion of fees took place in the period of this study - at least from an examination of the receiver-general's accounts.

Following the section on the receiver-general's accounts on fees and rewards, there is one on annuities. Entries in this section are much simpler. On all the main accounts surviving for this period there is an allowance of £4/

of £4 for two chaplains of the chantries of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Cuthbert in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Galilee of Durham for the soul of Thomas Langley, former bishop of Durham. Langley surrendered to his successors land to the value of £8.p.a. at Ryton, Whikham, Whitburn, Boldon, Cassop and Hardwick juxta Stockton, so that the chaplains would be paid out of the exchequer. Robert Sotheron received his annuity for all the period of this study, but other men came and went. Robert Grene is mentioned in 1458-59, 1459-60 and 1460-61; John Spicer in 1464-65 and 1465-66; Nicholas Kelchitch in 1466-67; then Hugh Forster for the remaining years. Nothing further is known of these men except Nicholas Kelchitch who was clerk of the works in 1466-67, and in 1468-69, with John Weardale, was paid expenses of £4 for riding to Norham to receive the castle there. Ralph, Lord Nevil, obtained an annuity of £20 for life, dated 22nd November, 16th year of Edward IV - (1476 - i.e. very shortly after Dudley became bishop). In the account of 1478-79, John Dudley, brother of the bishop, has an annuity of £20 for the life of the bishop - in the arrears account of 1476-77 he was paid £20 by order of the bishop. Lastly, Thomas Metcalf obtained an annuity of £3.6.8d for the life of William Raket, dated 12th February, 16 Edward IV. In such matters it is clear that Dudley was different from Booth. In 19 years Booth made no such large grants as Dudley made in three. Such annuities were given for life, therefore it is not surprising that all entries on the receiver-general's accounts of this nature are on the main accounts not on the arrears. In comparison, it should be noted/

noted that Thomas Langley paid out £120-£130 p.a. in fees and R.L.Storey remarks on his parsimony.(54)

After the annuities, the next heading on the main account is called Expenses Necessary and Minute in the Chancery. The entries match the rather vague title. Entries can be grouped under supplies for the chancery; expenses of commissioners holding courts; expenses of the audit; expenses of men riding to the bishop; expenses of buying goods and carrying them. Many of the entries between the 'et debets' belong logically to this section as do some of the entries on the arrears accounts, and for this reason it is proposed to discuss them in this section. By their very nature such entries are unlikely to be very similar year by year. But these do not form any major part of the discharge of the receiver-general's main or arrears accounts.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: NECESSARY EXPENSES
(including entries between 'et debets')

	Main	Arrears	Total
1457-58		14. 7. 0	
1458-59	18. 9. 1½		
1459-60	15.11. 4		
1460-61	12. 8. 2½	1. 6. 8	
1461-62			
1462-63		Nil	
1463-64			
1464-65	6.11. 8		
1465-66	11.18. 4		
1466-67	7.11. 4½		
1467-68	6.17.11	2.10. 0½	9. 7.11½
1468-69	6. 6. 6	14.16. 8	20.18. 2
1469-70	4.12. 8	1.10. 0	6. 2. 8
1470-71	5.16.10	3. 0.11	8.17. 9
1471-72		3. 4.11½	
1472-73	12. 5. 3	4. 7. 3	16.12. 6
1473-74	6. 6. 1	4. 6. 2½	10.12. 3½
1474-75	9.15. 8		
1475-76			
1476-77	61.19. 4	30. 5. 1	92. 4. 5
1477-78		56.16.11	
1478-79	13. 2. 9	36.18. 4	

It is clear from an examination of this table that there is a qualitative difference in the nature of the entries once Dudley became bishop. During Booth's pontificate the range is from under £10 to over £20, but very different from the £92.4.5d for 1476-77. This will be discussed later.

The nature of the entries can be seen from the examination of the rolls for 1460-61.

RECEIVER-GENERAL: MAIN ACCOUNT -NECESSARY EXPENSES 1460-61

Wax, ink, paper parchment and candles	2. 0. 1¼
Cost of collecting arrears	16. 8
Buying arrows	1. 5. 2
Driving cattle (seized by courts)	2. 1
Buying hay	2.12. 6
Oil for harness	5
Coal	8. 4
Court expenses	3.12. 2
Riding to lord	8
Expenses of keeing collectors & other officers	10. 0
TOTAL	11. 8. 1¼
MANUSCRIPT	12. 8. 2¼

In the arrears account for this year there is another entry of an allowance of £1.6.8d to William Raket for his expenses at the audit.

It would seem that the purchasing of substantial quantities of arrows for Durham Castle reflects the troubled times, and so too does the small amount allowed for officers at the time of the audit. The costs of the audit are not limited to the fees of the auditors, which have been noted above. Beyond these there are the costs of the auditors in performing their office, plus the payments of expenses of other officers helping them.

RECEIVER-GENERAL:

RECEIVER-GENERAL: COSTS OF THE AUDIT

	Main	Arrears	Total
1457-58		14. 6. 7	
1458-59	4. 7. 6		
1459-60	17.10½		
1460-61	10. 8	1. 6. 8	1.17. 4
1461-62			
1462-63		2.11. 5½	
1463-64			
1464-65	1. 7. 8		
1465-66	1.19.10		
1466-67	1.10. 8		
1467-68	2.12. 4	2. 2. 8½	4.15. 0½
1468-69	1.17. 8	1.10. 0	3. 7. 8
1469-70	19. 4	1. 6. 8	2. 6. 0
1470-71	2. 7. 7	3. 0.11	5. 8. 6
1471-72		4. 0.11½	
1472-73	1. 6. 4	4. 3.11	5.10. 3
1473-74	2. 0. 8	4. 6. 2½	6. 6.10½
1474-75	2. 6. 8		
1475-76			
1476-77	18.19. 9	30. 5. 1	49. 4. 10
1477-78		34. 9. 2	
1478-79	4.11. 4	29.15. 2	34. 6. 6

Despite the non-survival of the main account for 1457-58, it is clear that the cost of the audit was abnormally high for Booth's first year as bishop and for Dudley's three years. In these years special efforts were made, it seems, to increase the revenue from the bishopric. For 1457-58 no details are given. The roll states simply that £1316.7d is allowed for the expenses of the auditors and other officials being at Durham for the audit for seven weeks. In 1476-77, £5 is allowed to Thomas Metcalf, auditor, for making a valor of the estates of the bishopric because of a controversy between Booth and Dudley; and £1.6.8d to Metcalf for going to Norham, overseeing the repairs to the castle there and making a valor of Norhamshire; of £1 for riding on the king's and Dudley's business; of £11.13.1d for the auditors and other officials being at Durham for six weeks; of £23.13.4d paid to officials/

officials for helping and supporting various collections in the four wards, for levying the rents and farms, and for distraining for failure to pay; of £5.18.5d paid to officials for being at Durham for a fortnight in May for the 'reforming' of the High Forest of Weardale. It must be suspected that allowances of this scale were exceptional and despite the large amount for the next two years of Dudley's pontificate the amounts after this would decline.

The receiver-general was allowed on his accounts the cost of various repairs or work done to the castle and also some on the estates (presumably too late to be entered on the subordinate accounts); the arrears of certain officials; allowances for subordinate officials paying fees to other officials; money paid to supervisors of coal or lead mines; and for the buying of iron. The entry for local officials paying fees can be dealt with readily. In the arrears account for 1473-74, the receiver-general is allowed £9 charged to the reeve of Easington for the year 17 Booth for it was paid to Robert Claxton in part payment of his fee. £5 is similarly allowed, charged to the collector of Shotton; and £1.6.8d of the charge of the collector of Stanhope in the preceeding year for his fee which had not been allowed. In 1476-77, there is an allowance on the main account for £2.15.7½d for the buying of irons called 'conyngiren'. Little detail is given for the money paid to farmers or supervisors of the coal mines and lead mines - for the coal mines it is the cost of sinking new pits. That over £200 should be spent on the lead mines in one year seems remarkable - the only other entry is in 1459-60 for £78. No mention is made on the receiver-general's accounts of money from the lead mines. (55)

RECEIVER-GENERAL: ALLOWANCES FOR ARREARS, WORK DONE, ETC.

	Arrears	Work done & selling of goods (1)	Local Official paying fees (1)	Repairs	Coal mines (2)	Lead mines (2)	Buying iron (2)
1457-58	3. 5. 5½						
1458-59				1.14. 0	19.18. 1½	207.12. 3¼	
1459-60				1. 5. 4	15. 0. 5½	78. 4. 2¼	
1460-61	1.19. 7½	Nil	Nil	2. 4. 9	Nil	Nil	Nil
1461-62							
1462-63		48.14. 7					
1463-64							
1464-65	2. 7. 0			1.18. 5			
1465-66	3. 4			3.16. 9			
1466-67				2.11. 6	19. 5. 9		
1467-68	14. 7¾	1. 4. 0	Nil	1. 0. 4½	Nil	Nil	Nil
1468-69	Nil	9. 7. 5¾	"	8. 6	"	"	"
1469-70	5.10. 3	Nil	"	Nil	"	"	"
1470-71	12.18. 0¼	66.11. 0	"	"	"	"	"
1471-72	18.10	10. 5. 3¾					
1472-73	2. 8. 0	2. 1. 3	"	2. 3. 8½	"	"	"
1473-74	7. 8	1.10. 2	15. 6. 8	15.10	"	"	"
1474-75				23.18. 1			
1475-76							
1476-77	3. 6. 0	19.14.11	Nil	Nil	"	"	2.15. 7½
1477-78	3.14. 9	18. 5. 0					
1478-79	3.16. 3	6. 1.10	"	2.18. 4	"	"	Nil

Notes (1) Entries occur only on arrears accounts.
(2) Entries occur only on main accounts.

The last section on the discharge side of the receiver-general's accounts is also the most important: that of money paid out to officials or to the bishop himself. These payments may be grouped under four headings: first, and most important, to the bishop himself or, up to 1460-61, to the clerk of his receipt; second, to the clerk of the works; third, to the instaurer, the man responsible for stocking the bishop's manors with animals, and to the 'granarius', the man responsible for the bishop's grain supplies; fourth, to the household officials, variously styled steward of the household, treasurer of the household, or clerk of the household. Within this period our knowledge of the full scale of these payments is limited to the years when both the arrears account and main account of the receiver-general have survived. There is a tendency, especially after the restoration of the temporalities to Booth, for virtually all payments to the instaurer, granarius, clerk of the works and household officials to be entered on the arrears account, and for the greater part of the payments to the bishop to occur on the main account. This, however, is only a tendency, and, for instance, the proportion of money paid to the bishop on each of the types of accounts varies year by year, (56)

TOTAL PAYMENTS /

THE RECEIVER-GENERAL'S TOTAL CHARGE (1) AND TOTAL PAYMENTS BY THE RECEIVER-GENERAL TO THE LORD BISHOP AND OTHER OFFICERS.

	Payments	Total charge
1457-58	(524.11. 2½)	
1458-59	985. 0. 0¼ *	
1459-60	653. 9. 0 *	
1460-61	1433.13. 6½	2025.12. 5½
1461-62		
1462-63	(Nil)	
1463-64		
1464-65	1098.16. 0¾ *	
1465-66	1029. 1. 7 *	
1466-67	1126.17. 5½ *	
1467-68	1528.13. 9½	2048. 7. 8¼
1468-69	1557.11. 2¼	1994.19. 7¼
1469-70	1755.18. 3¼	2085.15.11¼
1470-71	1915.10. 3¾	2161.11. 2½
1471-72	(437. 3. 8¼)	
1472-73	2019.15. 3¾	2230.19. 8½
1473-74	1817.17. 0¾	2177. 5. 9½
1474-75	1008. 4. 5¼ *	
1475-76		
1476-77	1583.10. 9	2384.19.11
1477-78	(345.18. 9)	
1478-79	1358.14. 5	2342.10. 8½

Notes

(1) This includes the 'foreign receipts' on the receiver-general's arrears account and therefore this figure only can be given where both arrears and main accounts are in existence.

(2) The figures within brackets show the existence of the arrears accounts only.

(3) The figures followed by an asterisk show the existence of the main accounts only.

(4) All other figures are for occasions when both main and arrears accounts exist.

(5) The blanks on the table signify that no accounts have survived.

PAYMENTS BY THE RECEIVER-GENERAL TO THE BISHOP OR THE CLERK OF HIS RECEIPT

	Main account	Arrears account	Total
1457-58		493. 7. 0½	
1458-59	464.10. 2¼		
1459-60	473. 2. 1		
1460-61	848. 5.11½	236. 3. 8	1084. 9. 7½
1461-62			
1462-63		Nil	
1463-64			
1464-65	1098.15.11¾		
1465-66	1029. 1. 7		
1466-67	1126.17. 5½		
1467-68	1029. 1. 7	136.18.11½	1166. 0. 1½
1468-69	838. 0. 3¾	306. 9.10¼	1144.10. 2
1469-70	1040. 7. 1¾	267. 0. 3½	1307. 7. 5¼
1470-71	1394.13.11¼	113.19. 8	1508.13. 7¼
1471-72		5.10¼	
1472-73	1423.15.10¾	236.16. 0¾	1660.11.11½
1473-74	1274.12.11½	133.19. 3¾	1480.12. 3¼
1474-75	1008. 4. 5¼		
1475-76			
1476-77	1040. 7. 2	60. 0. 0	1100. 7. 2
1477-78		26.17. 2	
1478-79	1095.13. 6	Nil	1095.13. 6

PAYMENTS BY THE RECEIVER-GENERAL TO THE CLERK OF THE WORKS

	Main account	Arrears account	Total
1457-58		Nil	
1458-59	184. 1. 0		
1459-60	87. 2. 1½		
1460-61	46. 0. 8 *	Nil	46. 0. 8
1461-62			
1462-63		Nil	
1463-64			
1464-65	Nil		
1465-66	Nil		
1466-67	Nil		
1467-68	Nil	117. 7. 2	117. 7. 2
1468-69	Nil	115. 7. 1¾	115. 7. 1¾
1469-70	Nil	93. 0. 5	93. 0. 5
1470-71	Nil	120. 5.11½	120. 5.11½
1471-72		125. 6. 5	
1472-73	Nil	82. 2. 9½	82. 2. 9½
1473-74	Nil	159. 2. 2	159. 2. 2
1474-75	Nil		
1475-76			
1476-77	91. 9. 5½	184. 6. 4½	275.15.10
1477-78		Nil	
1478-79	25.16. 9	Nil	25.16. 9

Note * This figure was paid to the custodian of the manor of Auckland, James Tipping, who was the clerk of the works in the previous year.

PAYMENTS BY THE RECEIVER-GENERAL TO THE INSTAURER AND THE GRANARIUS

	INSTAURER			GRANARIUS			
	Main	Arrears	Total	Main	Arrears	Total	Total of both
1457-58		Nil			31. 4. 2		
1458-59	146.13. 2			Nil			
1459-60	84.12. 4½			Nil			
1460-61	Nil	53.17. 5	53.17. 5	Nil	Nil	Nil	53.17. 5
1461-62							
1462-63		Nil			Nil		
1463-64							
1464-65	Nil			Nil			
1465-66	Nil			Nil			
1466-67	Nil			Nil			
1467=68	Nil	45.16.10	45.16.10	Nil	Nil	Nil	45.16.10
1468-69	Nil	136. 2. 9	136. 2. 9	Nil	Nil	Nil	136. 2. 9
1469-70	Nil	217.19. 6	217. 19. 6	Nil	49. 4. 6	49. 4. 6	267. 4. 0
1470-71	Nil	245.10. 6	245.10. 6	Nil	32. 0. 2	32. 0. 2	277.10. 8
1471-72		256. 5. 1			6.12. 0		
1472-73	18. 5½	276. 2. 2	277. 0. 7½	Nil	Nil	Nil	277. 0. 7½
1473-74	Nil	239.14. 1¼	239.14. 1¼	Nil	9. 0. 0	9. 0. 0	248.14. 1¼
1474-75	Nil			Nil			
1475-76							
1476-77	2. 0. 0	205. 2. 6	207. 2. 6	Nil	Nil	Nil	207. 2. 6
1477-78		1.14. 8			Nil		
1478-79	Nil	236. 6. 6	236. 6. 6	Nil	9. 8	9. 8	236.16. 2

PAYMENTS BY THE RECEIVER-GENERAL TO HOUSEHOLD OFFICIALS AND TO HOUSEHOLD, INSTAURER AND GRANARIUS COMBINED

	HOUSEHOLD OFFICIALS			COMBINED TOTAL
	Main	Arrears	Total	
1457-58		Nil		
1458-59	189.15. 8			
1459-60	8.12. 5			
1460-61	249. 5.10	Nil	249. 5.10	303. 3. 3
1461-62				
1462-63		Nil		
1463-64				
1464-65	Nil			
1465-66	Nil			
1466-67	Nil			
1467-68	Nil	202. 9. 3	202. 9. 3	248. 6. 1
1468-69	Nil	161.14. 1½	161.14. 1½	297.16.10½
1469-70	Nil	88. 6. 5	88. 6. 5	355.10. 5
1470-71	Nil	9. 0. 0	9. 0. 0	286.10. 9
1471-72		48.14. 5		
1472-73	Nil	Nil	Nil	277. 0. 7½
1473-74	Nil	1. 8. 6	1. 8. 6	250. 2. 7¼
1474-75	Nil			
1475-76				
1476-77	Nil	6. 5. 3	6. 5. 3	213.11. 9
1477-78		317. 6.11		
1478-79	Nil	8. 0	8. 0	237. 4. 2

The payments by the receiver-general to the clerk of the works fall into rather a different category to the other payments made by the receiver-general. In this case, the money is being used for the regular expenses of maintaining the bishop's property within the bishopric, and thus represents a necessary charge on the income from the bishopric.(57) As might be expected in the nature of the case, the payments to the clerks of the works vary quite widely, according to the nature of the necessary repairs. The annual payments usually appear to be within the range of £80 to £160. This level is exceeded, for instance, in Dudley's first year - possibly Booth had been less exacting before his translation; - a parallel case being perhaps 1458-59, Booth's second year in office. It is not clear why the figure for 1478-79 should be so low.

The second group of payments by the receiver-general are those to the instaurer and the granarius.(58) These officers were responsible for maintaining meat and grain stocks in the bishop's manors within the bishopric. It might be expected that the level of payments to these officers would fluctuate widely, dependent on how long the bishop expected to be in the bishopric. In view of the fragmented state of the evidence it is difficult to be certain, but there definitely seems to be little fluctuation. There does seem, however, to be a trend - of a considerable rise in payments to the instaurer in the 1470's. From 1469-70 to 1473-74 an annual sum of in excess of £200 was paid to the instaurer, and this level is maintained in 1476-77 and 1478-79. The intervening year of 1477-78 does see a large drop in the payments, (despite the absense of the main account for that year, since the larger payments since 1467-68 has been on the arrears account),/

arrears account), though this may be caused by different arrangements being made for Dudley's installation.

Payments to the granarius are much more erratic - which may represent a need to buy grain in large quantities only in the event of a bad harvest. The level of payments to the instaurer, however, represents a continuing need to buy a large number of cattle, to meet the needs of the bishop's household.(59)

The next category of payments by the receiver-general is those made to officials of the bishop's household.(60) During Booth's pontificate the money is paid either to the steward of the household or to the treasurer of the household. Under Dudley, the official is simply called clerk of the household. In 1458-59 and 1460-61 the stewadr is paid a considerable sum; £189.15.8d and £249.5.10d respectively. In other years, however, if a payment is made to him at all it never exceeds £11. Later it is the treasurer who receives the money - £192 in 1467-68; £161 in 1468-69; and £87 in 1469-70. These payments of considerable sums of money represents only part of the picture as in 1470-71, 1473-74, 1476-77 and 1478-79 the sum paid did not exceed £10, while in 1472-73 nothing was paid. There is nothing in the evidence to account for these variations. It cannot even be discovered if the household officials were within the bishopric when the money was paid to them. If they were not, it would have been simpler to obtain the money from the bishop, if he had sufficient funds.

Lastly, there is the money paid by the receiver-general to the bishop, or, from 1457-58 to 1460-61 to the clerk of his receipt. This represented a considerable sum each year - the average for the years when both accounts have survived is £1275.(61) This money represents the greater/

greater part of the profit from the bishop's estates and is a considerable sum for him to dispose of each year. It does not comprise all the clear revenue from his estates - for within this should be included, first, the money paid to the household officials and the instaurer and granarius, and , second, the profits from the Yorkshire estates, only occasionally entered on the receiver-general's accounts. It is proposed to delay consideration of the level of these payments to the section on the financial position of the bishops.

The surviving rolls exhibit clearly the central role of the receiver-general in the financial administration of the bishopric. All other officials within the county of Durham either pay money to him or go to him for money to carry out their office. As befits such an important official, he was trusted by the bishop - in Henry Gillowe's case holding office within Booth's household before being made receiver-general - and retained the position for a number of years.

The accounts of the receiver-general comprise two separate series: the main accounts and the arrears accounts. The former records the various charges and discharges for a year from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. The corresponding arrears account only opened when the main account closed; it carried forward the remaining charge from the main account, and the one from the preceeding arrears account, late payments from the coroners were included, and then there was a series of payments and allowances reducing the total charge. The existence of both rolls are necessary to have full knowledge of the bishop's financial position as seen by the receiver-general.

The/

The greatest proportion of the charge was made up of the vills in the four wards of the bishopric which were the responsibility of the coroners and the collectors. The position of these classes of officials differed in the manner of their accounting: the entries of the coroners represent actual money paid over to the receiver-general, and the coroners built up arrears. The entries of the collectors represent the net liability of each vill, and this liability was transferred to the receiver-general and thus the collectors did not build up arrears.

Other sources of revenue appear relatively minor in contrast to the four wards. Bailiffs of various manors paid over money to the receiver-general, but this did not represent the entire monetary profit since they also paid money to other officials and also direct to the bishop. They, therefore, were less dependent on the receiver-general than other officials. The master forester accounted for the profit of the High Forest of Weardale and for some of the coal mines within the bishopric. Already, by this period, coal was making a noticeable addition to the bishop's revenues. The last of the sources of revenue worth individual mention is that of the pensions paid for various churches within the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop of Durham. Lastly, there is the category of foreign receipts, which, as its title suggests is a miscellaneous rag-bag of entries: included in this section are the payments from the Yorkshire and Northumberland estates.

The discharge side of the accounts are both simpler and shorter. The first classification is the payment of the fees of the various officials and men retained for the council. The list is far from stable year by year, and further,/

further, does not provide a complete list of the men feed by the bishop, since some of them received their fees from other officials and so were entered on their accounts not on the receiver-general's. The list of fees is followed by one of annuities: shorter, sometimes merely comprising the two chaplains established by Langley within the Galilee chapel in the cathedral. Of a different nature are the allowances for the expenses of the chancery, usually quite small, but often not exceeding the profits of justice recorded on these accounts. These are followed by various allowances - for instance, the arrears of collectors or the cost of minor repairs to the castle. Overshadowing, however, all these entries on the discharge side are the foreign payments - money paid to the clerk of the works, to the instaurer and granarius, to household officials, to the bishop himself. Under normal circumstances it is the last of these which is the greatest: the annual average payment for the years when both accounts survive is £1275. It should be stressed, however, that the receiver-general was not the only source of money for these officials or for the bishop himself, but he was the most important.

The office of receiver-general, then, can be seen as being crucial for the bishop, if he was to be able to live in the state in which bishops of Durham had been accustomed to keeping. If the bishop was one of the dozen wealthiest men in England, his receiver-general was one of the dozen most responsible financial administrators outside the royal service.(62)

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSION - THE FINANCIAL POSITION

In the previous chapters the structure of the financial administration of the bishopric has been studied by examining the surviving evidence from the various officials connected with the bishopric's finances. When attention is turned from the structure of the financial administration to the overall financial position of the bishopric this approach is no longer satisfactory. The accounting system of the bishopric of Durham, as has been stressed throughout this thesis, was not one of profit and loss, or of income and expenditure, but of charge and discharge - that is, it was designed to ensure that the liability of the official was clear, not to demonstrate the profitability of the office. It is by no means easy to establish for any one year what profit was derived from the estates of the bishopric of Durham, nor even to establish how much money was paid over in any one year to the bishop himself or to his household officials. Such difficulties as there are to discern the position for any one year are compounded when it comes to assessing any change in the level of profits over a number of years.

Despite the difficulties some attempt has to be made to do this, and also to answer the other questions which relate to the financial position of the bishopric. These are, first, the question of to what extent, if any, were the newly appointed/

appointed bishops concerned that they could ensure that they were receiving all the revenue to which they were entitled; second, the financial effects of the political disturbances of the times - the Wars of the Roses; and, lastly, the comparative financial position of the bishop of Durham in England - where he ranked among the leading men, lay and spiritual, of the time.

I. Financial effects of incoming bishops

Evidence of an incoming bishop's concern that the value of his estates should be known and should be realised could be expected to occur in changes in the levels of receipts by the officials; in commissions of officials set up in the early years of an episcopate, the record of which would be preserved in the chancery rolls; and, lastly, the expenses of such commissions should be allowed on the discharge side of the receiver-general's accounts. Evidence of the latter two is straight forward to handle - either it survives or it does not. But any attempt to draw similar conclusions from the changes in level of receipts is not so straight forward, since it is by no means self-evident that any change in receipt at that time is due solely, or even primarily, to changes made by the new bishop rather than changes in the political or economic climate of the country.

First, then, the evidence for Booth's concern for his temporalities. In the first year of his episcopate, Booth assigned a commission to treat with the heirs of Robert Nevil (the former bishop) concerning the delapidations of the temporalities. The commission comprised John Lylford, the bishop's/

bishop's vicar-general; Henry Preston, chancellor; George Midelton, sheriff; Henry Gillowe, clerk of the receipt; and John Staunford, one of the auditors. The precise terms of the commission were

> 'to communicate and treat with the administrators of the goods, etc., of the late Robert Nevil, bishop of Durham, and executors of Sir Thomas Nevil, supervisor of the will of the said bishop, touching the dilapidations, wastes, and defaults committed in the bishop's castles, manors, mills, mansions, and other edifices, lands, etc. in the county of Durham, Sadberge, Norham and Alvertonshire, and Hoveden and Hovedenshire in the county of York, and the bishop's mansion in London during the pontificate of the said Thomas (sic) Nevil.'(1)

In the same year Booth assigned a commission to

> 'survey the bishop's forests, chases and parks, to amend and correct all defects of 'vert and savagin' therein and to account of the deer and other wild beasts etc.'(2)

The men assigned were Sir Thomas Lumley, the bishop's master forester; Henry Preston, chancellor; Geoffrey Midelton, sheriff; and William Raket, probably already clerk of the chancellor and custodian of the rolls of the chancery, and one of the auditors of the bishopric. He certainly held the offices the following year.(3) This then would seem sufficient evidence to suggest that Booth was concerned for his estates. He seemed determined to secure recompense from his predecessor's heirs for the running down of the temporalities, and more specifically, he is concerned over the state of the Great Forest at Weardale. In conclusion, it may be noted that his attention/

attention was also drawn to the coal mines. In his first year as bishop the mine complex at Raley had been leased to a member of one of the influential county families - Sir William Eure - for one year.(4) All does not appear to have gone well for, the following year, a commission was assigned:

> 'to make enquiry touching the damages and wastes said to be committed by Sir William Eure and his servants and workmen.'

This commission comprised Henry Preston, chancellor; Henry Gillowe, clerk of the receipt; Geoffrey Midelton, sheriff; and William Raket, one of the auditors.(5)

In spite of the impressive list of the officials in these commissions, nothing is heard of their findings either in the chancery records or in the financial records, except for the proceedings against Sir William Eure. In 1461, a writ of scire facias was issued against him to appear in the chancery to answer questions concerning intrusions on the bishop's lands.(6) Whether he was taking advantage of the political disturbances to revenge himself on the bishop is not known, and in the circumstances it would be doubtful if the matter was cleared up before his death in 1464.(7) Whatever the details of the quarrel no member of the Eure family held office, or obtained farm of lands or mines while Booth remained bishop. However, when Dudley became bishop, William Eure (probably Sir William Eure's grandson)(8) obtained the lease for eleven years of coal and iron mines at Raley.(9)

When attention is turned from Booth to Dudley, the pattern becomes even clearer. On the first membrane of the first roll of chancery records for Dudley's pontificate, there is the establishment of a commission to

> 'survey/

'survey all the bishop's castles, manors and possessions within the bishopric and County Palatine of Durham, and to make enquiry concerning their value and concerning all trespasses and offences committed there.'(10)

Just as the terms of the commission were more wide ranging than any of Booth's, so too was the membership of the commission. It consisted of:

John Kelyng, Dean of Auckland, chancellor and receiver-general of the bishopric;

Richard Fowler, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster;

Sir William Parre;(11)

John Dudley, Esq., brother of the bishop;

Sir James Strangeways, steward of Allerton;

Guy Fairfax, sergeant at law, chief justice of the bishopric;

Richard Pygot, sergeant at law, second justice;

Thomas Wyeham, steward at Crayke;

John Seymour, clerk;

John Eber, Esq.;

Thomas Midelton, later to be chief steward of the bishopric;

William Claxton, former sheriff and coroner, one of the council;

Thomas Metcalf, auditor, of the bishopric;

Robert Tempest, Esq., sheriff and escheator;

Nicholas Leventhorp, receiver of Howden;

John Askby, secretary of the bishop;

Richard Baynbridge, in receipt of an annuity;

William Raket, clerk of the chancellor, custodian of the rolls, of the chancery, and auditor;

John Hertipole, a former auditor.

Directly comparable to Booth's commission concerning the forest/

forest of Weardale, is the one by Dudley. This took place in the first year of Dudley's episcopate but reference is made to it on the receiver-general's arrears account, where he is allowed the expenses of Alexander Lee, Thomas Metcalf and John Raket and 'divers others' involved in a commission to reform the forest of Weardale.(12)

What does appear to be a new departure by Dudley is the establishment, in each of the first three years of his pontificate, of commissions for extracting from the collectors the arrears of the previous year. Reference to these is always made in the receiver-general's arrears accounts(13) and from this it would seem that the commission was established after Michaelmas with the object of bringing in the arrears before the completion of the audit. Membership of these commissions is usually made up of someone from the central administration and then lesser officials or men not otherwise known. The commission for Dudley's first year, for instance, is made up of

John Raket, clerk of the Great Receipt, clerk to the justices of the peace and to the coroners;
John Parkinson, coroner of Darlington ward, collector for Whessoe, West Auckland and Coundon;
John Stathome, a former clerk of the works, forester of Birtloe;
William Nodder, formerly itinerant bailiff, then bailiff of Midelham, a sub-forester of Weardale;
John Hoggeston, later to be supervisor of the making of iron;
John Melot, not otherwise known;
Robert Johnson, not otherwise known.

Membership of the commission varies from year to year, some men being members of all three commissions, some only of one.(14) /

only of one.[14]

It is suggested that from this discussion there has emerged enough evidence to show that both Booth and Dudley were concerned that the value of their temporalities should be known and that their value should be realised. With the political upheavals soon after Booth's accession to the bishopric, it is suggested that the evidence from the level of receipts on the officials' accounts would not be conclusive. The evidence from Dudley's early years does point to an increase in receipts but this is not the place to discuss whether it was the continuation of the trend in Booth's later years, or whether it marked a new departure.

II. The financial effects of the confiscation of the temporalities

As has already been seen Edward IV confiscated the temporalities on 7th December 1462, and they were not returned until 17th April 1464.[15] During this time officials of the royal household were appointed to run the bishopric, including the levying of money - both current and arrears. Before the temporalities were restored the officials were sent a letter under the signet ordering them to levy immediately all sums due to the bishopric so that the king might be paid what was due to him.[16]

During the period of the confiscation, then, the administration was to function normally - but instead of sending money to the bishop or his household, it was to be sent instead to the king's household. Arrears were to be sought for in the usual way, and these were to go to the king's use. In the receiver-general's arrears account for 1462-63 foreign receipts, i.e. payments from the coroners, are present but/

but at £66.6.1¼d, an unusually low level. Equally, current arrears, i.e. the 'et debet' from the main account, is £889.3. 4d., the highest figure of all those that have survived except for 1459-60. In other words it would seem that the administration coped with the changeover, but there was more difficulty than usual in levying the money. As has already been seen most of the officials with the exception of the receiver-general were kept in office - they were, after all, professionals.

Any attempts to be more precise about the effects of the confiscation of the temporalities is rendered difficult by the lack of the necessary documents, for the years 1462-63 and 1463-64. For these years neither receiver-general's main accounts survive, only one of the arrears accounts, one sheriff and escheator's account, only two out of eight coroners' accounts, six out of eight collectors' accounts, one bailiwick account and no other accounts. Particularly serious is the lack of the receiver-general's accounts and the coroners' accounts. This naturally enough, impedes discussion also of the financial state of the bishopric when the temporalities were restored. The problem can be approached from the other end: what revenues from Durham were received at Westminster. The enrolled household accounts[17] in fact show no receipt from Durham. But the account book for 3-4 Edward IV[18] shows that £1104.6.10d was received. It would also appear that the revenues from Durham were assigned - in at least one case: the convent of Tynemouth failed to get £100 which was assigned to them from the Durham revenues.[19] There is no sign, however, that the royal household received the whole of the £3000, or even the bulk of it, ordered to be levied from/

from the Durham estates.(20)

It will be remembered that when discussing the restoration of the temporalities, it was noted that the king ordered all money to be levied immediately to his use. This naturally made for some confusion over the position of arrears. In the Stockton coroner's account for 1464-65, in the entry 'Remaining beyond Respites' there is an entry for Richard Baynbridge owing money for just that year and the previous one.(21) But, on the bailiwick account for 1463-64 there is an entry for arrears.(22) In the first receiver-general's account to have survived after the restoration - that for 1467-68 - the figure for arrears for previous years is £652, compared to £1024 for the following year.(23) All this makes it probable that even after the restoration, the money owed for the time up to Michaelmas 1463 was the concern of the royal officials; that for the period Michaelmas 1463 to April 17th 1464, men could claim that they had paid money to royal officials; but that all unpaid money was the concern of the episcopal officials answering to Booth. An indication, perhaps, of the seriousness with which Booth turned to the financial side of the bishopric, once the temporalities were restored, can be seen in the existence of a valor of the estates of the bishopric drawn up in 1464.(24) This valor is the only one to survive from Booth's pontificate, and in none of the other surviving accounts is reference made, or allowances made, to any other valor.

III. Changing trends in the financial state of the bishopric and the financial effects of the political disturbances

Any assessments in the long term changes in the financial/

financial position must be limited to the estates of the bishop within the county of Durham, on account of the paucity of surviving evidence from the Yorkshire estates and Norham.(25) It has been thought appropriate to include within this section the financial effects of the political disturbances, because specific references to these are sparse, and in some cases fail to be financially significant.(26)

It was considered that various indicators could be used to discover any such changes or effects. One obvious indicator was the money or goods recorded on the receiver-general's main accounts or arrears accounts which were passed to the bishop or his receipt, his household officials, instaurer or granarius, or paid to great men - i.e. the profit from the estates within the county of Durham. Another was the total charge on the receiver-general's main account; and that with the foreign receipts off the arrears account. Another, was the increase of the final 'et debet' of the arrears account; and, to complement this, the yearly increase in the arrears account recorded on the accounts of the coroners of the four wards of the county. It was considered that these figures would, if they led to similar conclusions, demonstrate adequately any changes in the trend and also the financial effects of the political disturbances. These figures have, therefore, been arranged in tabular form.

THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE BISHOPRIC

(to nearest £)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1457-58	525 A	191						
1458-59	801 M	500 *	2074			117 *	13*	4*
1459-60	565 M	500 *	1761			117 *	13 *	4 *
1460-61	1422	500 *	1918	2026	150	117 *		6
1461-62		455 *				329		7
1462-63	423 A	455 *				241		18
1463-64		205 *						
1464-65	1099 M	205 *	1820					
1465-66	1029 M	205 *	1858					6 *
1466-67	1127 M	205 *	1871				43	6 *
1467-68	1426	205 *	1929	2048		89	21 *	6 *
1468-69	1475	266	1831	1995		54	21 *	6 *
1469-70	1663	3	1875	2086		126	21 *	9 *
1470-71	1795	66	2034	2146		78	21	9 *
1471-72	312 A	136				100 *	18 *	-20
1472-73	1937	70	2126	2241		100 *	18 *	11
1473-74	1658	248	2090	2177		100 *	18 *	5 *
1474-75	1008 M		1971			100 *	18 *	5 *
1475-76						100 *		2
1476-77	1502	187	2235	2385				
1477-78	408 A	73				104 *		6
1478-79	1333	239	2247	2343		104 *		

Notes

(1) Column 1. Payments by receiver-general to bishop, clerk of his receipt, his household, instaurer, granarius, or to great men; including expenses of the installation. Numbers followed by A indicate that only the arrears account has survived. Numbers followed by M show that only the main account has survived.

(2) Column 2 Increase in final 'et debet' on the receiver-general's arrears account over the figure for the previous year. Where *appears after a figure, the average for the years concerned has been used as the accounts have not survived.

(3) Column 3 Total charge - receiver-general's main account.

(4) Column 4 Total charge - receiver-general's main account plus foreign receipts from the arrears account.

(5) Column 5 to Column 8 Coroners' accounts - increase in arrears over the figure for previous year. Where * appears after a figure, the average for these years has been taken.

(6) Column 5 = Darlington ward.
Column 6 = Chester ward.
Column 7 = Easington ward.
Column 8 = Stockton ward.

From this table there are no self-evident long term trends, and the figures will have to be examined more carefully. However, the financial effects of the political disturbances do seem clear. First, it seems that the Readeption caused no significant effect on the finances of the bishopric. In fact, in 1470-71 the payments by the receiver-general are at their second highest figure known. But the earlier part of the struggle which culminated in Edward IV becoming king does reveal significant drops in the income of the bishopric - or put the other way - an increase in the indebtedness of the various officials. 1460-61 sees the second lowest figure of payments by the receiver-general; the years 1458-59 to 1462-63, abnormally high annual increases in the final 'et debet' on the receiver-general's arrears accounts; 1459-60 is the year of the lowest total charge on the receiver-general's main account; and the following year the second lowest figure for the total charge on the main account plus the foreign receipts from the arrears account. For 1461-62 and 1462-63 the increase in indebtedness is most marked: this is supported by the figure from the Stockton ward for 1462-63. Taken in conjunction with this evidence, the figure of payments from the receiver-general's main account for 1459-60 is probably significant. It is usually dangerous to interpret much from the payments where both the main and arrears accounts do not survive, since the proportion of payments from each account is not constant. However, the figure for the main account for 1459-60 is abnormally low, at £565, since the next lowest known figure is £838.(27) All this evidence, then, points to a quite considerable effect of the political disturbances/

disturbances in the final years of Henry VI and the first year or two of Edward IV. It is difficult to separate the effects of Queen Margaret's campaign from Scotland from any dislocation caused by the confiscation of the temporalities, especially with the gaps between the surviving account rolls.

As has already been said, the evidence for any trend - whether rise or fall - in the level of income is not easily determined. From the table, the information which seems to suggest an improving financial position is the receiver-general's main account total charge. This rises from £1761 in 1459-60 to £2247 in 1478-79. Even after the restoration of Booth's temporalities, the trend is upwards with only the occasional set back. This evidence is, however, not very satisfactory by itself. Obviously it takes no account of what is happening on the discharge side of the main account or of what happens on either side of the arrears account. Simply by including the foreign receipts from the arrears account the rising curve is flattened - the trend is from £2045 in 1467-68 to £2343 in 1478-79. If instead, attention is paid to column 2 of the table - that of the increase in the final 'et debet' on the receiver-general's arrears account over the figure for the previous year, the trend will appear to be further diminished. The average for the last four entries in the column is £192 - hardly a significant improvement on the average for 1463-64 to 1467-68. In fact, the average for 1468-69 to 1472-73 is £108.

This clash in evidence might be explained by the officials finding new sources of revenue - for instance the development of new coal mines,(28) or the taking in of waste,(29) which would increase the charge side of the main account without/

without necessarily affecting the final 'et debet' on the arrears account. This, however, is basically unlikely since, if there were such developments, it is highly unlikely that existing lands which had been allowed to go to waste, would not be reclaimed. Any such decrease in the allowances would be detected in the subordinate ministers' accounts, and, as we already have seen there is not the evidence for this.

The evidence from the arrears on the coroners' rolls does not help - if anything, there is a slight increase in the rate of growth of arrears.

Lastly, then, we must turn to the payments made by the receiver-general. This, after all, is the matter of most concern - what would interest the bishop was the disposable surplus income. Once again the gaps in the evidence must be remarked on, since the survival of both main and arrears accounts is necessary. What evidence there is does not support a rising economic trend. The money paid over by the receiver-general in Dudley's first and third years in fact is quite considerably lower than the sums paid over in Booth's later years.

The findings, therefore, on the changing financial trends are largely negative. Once the county had recovered from the financial effects of the accession of Edward IV, the state of the evidence does not enable any support to be given to the theory of an upturn in the economy. What evidence there is suggests, in fact, the contrary: a slight peak from 1468-73 and then a slight decline. But the incompleteness of the evidence does not enable much weight to be put on this.(30) It does enable the point to be made that Dudley's commissions by Michaelmas 1479, had not met with/

with any noticeable success.

IV. The revenues of the bishopric of Durham

During virtually the whole of this discussion of the financial administration and revenues of the bishopric of Durham reference has been made to the accounts of the receiver-general at Durham, his subordinate ministers and to the ministers of the Yorkshire estates, while little in the way of reference has been made to the valors, three of which have survived for the period of the study.(31)

This neglect of the valors will seem all the more remarkable when Ross and Pugh's estimation of valors is taken into account.(32)

> "Despite differences of form and arrangement, most private valors which have come to our notice share with the valors of the Duchy of Lancaster the inestimable advantage of providing the reader with a full guide to the sources and characters of private income from land."(33)

Part of the problem of using the three valors that survive is that they are not drawn up according to the same form. This suggests that it was not usual for the officials at the audit to draw up a valor. This impression is reinforced by the lack of reference, except in 1463-64, 1476-77 and 1478-79 (the years for which valors survive), to valors and expenses in making them on the officials' accounts. Certainly none of the Durham valors can compare with that of 1447-48 for the Duke of Buckingham's estate, which was 56 feet in length.(34) Only the first of the surviving valors of Durham - that of 1463-64 - is even comparable in quality of writing and presentation to the receiver-general's accounts. The others are comparatively/

comparatively rough and ready, and they are all short , concise documents. The Durham documents seem closer to the conclusive valors of the Duchy of Lancaster[35] or that of the Lady of Abergavenny for 1425-26 which consists of a statement of the land's clear value, a list of the retainers and their annuities, and note of sums in cash paid to the Lady by her two principal receivers. This being the case, the Durham valors cannot be used to confirm Ross and Pugh's concluding remarks:

> "Complete information as to the gross and net annual value of each manor and lordship, and of the whole estate to its owner, the cost of administration, and the drain upon the landed income caused by the retainers and dependents of the lord, can be obtained only from the valor where it exists, although much useful information on the financial condition of the private estates is to be discovered from the accounts of the receiver-general. The greater usefulness of the valor derives from the administrative necessities of enormous and scattered estates: the information which the landowners sought coincides with the facts needed by the modern student."[36]

In the Durham situation it is more important to stand this statement on its head - that the receiver-general's accounts can be made to provide some of the information the modern student wants.

The valor of 1463-64 starts with the headings of the four wards and for each, the following information is provided: the gross value; allowances; the clear value (gross value less allowances); money paid to the receiver-general; and to the steward of the household; and lastly, the arrears (that is, the gross value less all the deductions). Since these/

these headings are followed by the 'Offices of the four coroners' it is clear that the ward entries refer to the collectors. The entries for the coroners takes the same form as those for the four wards. It is followed by the offices of the four bailiffs, the master forester, the sheriff. Then for Hart and Hartlepool; the coal mines at Raley; those at Whikham. Entries for the mining of lead and iron are marked 'nothing' since they are unoccupied. The entries for the mint; then three meadows; the pensions from churches; fees for writs; fees for charters; and foreign receipts. The Lordship of Bedlington is marked 'nothing' since it did not account; and the receiver at Norham marked simply 'nothing'. These entries are then totalled under the heading 'Summa Totalis Clari Valoris' within the bishopric of Durham, and the payments to the receiver-general, the steward of the household, then the arrears are also totalled. The three Yorkshire estates follow, and totals for the combined Yorkshire estates. The Yorkshire and Durham estates are totalled. Then the total of other allowances and fees in the account of the receiver-general are entered, and money allowed because collectors are unable to raise it, and finally, there is the figure for the clear value.

The valor for 1476-77 is quite different from this. There is simply the statement of the value of the four wards; of the four bailiffs together; of Sadberge; of the office of master forester; of sheriff and escheator; pensions from churches; 'divers' coal mines; Hart; the three meadows; the mint; fees for writs and charters; the office of sequestrator. In the margin there is a total for this. Then there are the headings of Howden, Allerton, Crayke and (presumably because/

because the manuscript is damaged) Norham. This is totalled, and allowances for fees, and allowances for repairs are made. Then the final heading 'There remains -----'. On the dorse side there is a list of officials receiving fees or wages.

The valor of 1478-79 is fairly similar to that of 1476-77. The entries for County Durham are the same except that Hart is now combined with the entry for the four bailiffs. The total value is given for County Durham, then the total of fees, and then 'There remains---'. This same process is followed for each of the Yorkshire estates and Norham. Finally there is the total value for the bishopric, the total of fees and the remaining value.(37)

SUMMARY OF VALORS
(to nearest £)

	1463-64	1476-77	1478-79
Gross value	3857	3642	3743
Allowances	1105		
Fees		349	394
Repairs		142	
Clear value	2752	3151	3349

It was thought that this table summarising the valors might clarify the position.

Perhaps the first point of note to emerge from the table is the dramatic rise in clear value, especially when in the previous section it was maintained that the state of the evidence did not enable the view of a rising economic trend to be maintained. It must be remembered, however, that the valors do not contain the same information and it is not possible to compare directly the clear values. The valor for 1463-64 contains no amount for Norham which is in the other two valors. Norham is valued at £194.0.2d gross with £50.19.4d/

£50.19.4d and £52.19.4d in fees - a clear value of £143 and £141. On the other hand, the valor for 1478-79 has no entry for repairs - which in the valor for 1476-77 come to a total of £142. The figures for the clear value in the last table, if they are to be compared, need to be corrected, to take account of these factors.

CORRECTED CLEAR VALUES FOR THE VALORS

	1463-64	1476-77	1478-79
Clear value	2752	3151	3349
Correction value	+141	0	-142
Corrected clear value	2893	3151	3207

It should next be noted that the gross values do not move in the same direction as the movements in clear values - especially when the gross value of Norham is added in 1463-64's valor.

CORRECTED GROSS VALUES FOR THE VALORS

1463-64	1476-77	1478-79
4051	3642	3743

Bearing in mind the difference in form of the valor of 1463-64 from the other two, it seems far from safe to conclude that the gross values of each valor are measuring the same variables. And if this is the case, it must, therefore, seem possible that even the corrected clear values do not measure the same variables.

These problems do not necessarily make these valors of no use to the modern student. But it is now suggested that these valors cannot provide the answer to how much money the bishop/

bishop of Durham might expect to obtain from his estates, once the charges of running the estates were met. What was of relevance to him was not a theoretical clear value from the valor, but how much money the receiver-general and the other officials could pay to him, or to other men to whom the bishop ordered payment. Pugh notes the failure of valors to answer this type of question. He claims the defects of valors are:

"1. We cannot learn how much in cash the receiver.....
...had received from local ministers,
2. nor can we tell how much was delivered to the lord.
3. The valor ignores the question of arrears." (38)

But the accounts of the receiver-general and the other ministers - provided there is a good run of accounts - do provide answers to these questions.

Before a precise figure of the revenue available to the bishop can be arrived at, there needs to be in existence not only the receiver-general's rolls - both main and arrears - and the accounts of the Yorkshire estates, but also the account for Norham, for the bishop's manors near London, (39) and for the Warwick estate. (40) Moreover, since the bailiffs of the bailiwick, and of Hart and Hartlepool, and the master forester, on occasions make payments or transfer goods and animals to officials other than the receiver-general, these accounts too are needed. Despite the survival of a fairly large number of accounts, sufficient do not survive to enable one specific year to be chosen to discover the bishop's revenue for that year, let alone a run of years.

However, it has been decided to attempt a composite picture, despite the pitfalls. This has been done by averaging the payments on the account rolls which do survive, for each type/

type of account. Inevitably this means that the final figure must be treated with caution.

Furthermore, it is inevitably a somewhat incomplete picture - as there are no accounts for the Warwick estate, or for the manors near London, or for the Northumberland estates.

REVENUE OF THE BISHOP OF DURHAM ABOVE THE ORDINARY COSTS OF RUNNING THE ESTATES.

DURHAM	
Foreign payments by receiver-general (average of nine years)	1695
Foreign payments by bailiffs; not including to the receiver-general (average of nine years)	27
Foreign payments of bailiffs of Hart and Hartlepool (average of seven years)	28
Foreign payments by master forester (average of three years)	28
TOTAL FOR DURHAM	1778
YORKSHIRE	
Foreign payments by receiver of Allerton (one account + valors)	c.225
Foreign payments by receiver of Howden (one account + valors)	c.300
(Crayke usually accounted to the receiver-general)	
TOTAL FOR YORKSHIRE	c.525
REVENUE OF BISHOP	c. £2300

In view of the gaps in the evidence, and lack of documents for specific estates, it may be generalised that in normal times at this period the bishop had a clear income of from £2000 to £2500, and possibly in excess of £2500. Since the clerk of the works account was considered as part of the ordinary expenses of running the estates, it should be noted that the bishop's residences within the bishopric were being maintained/

maintained out of the ordinary expenditure of the estates, not out of his clear income. It should be noted further that the ordinary costs of the estates included all known fees and annuities. Unless there were some men who obtained their fees directly from the bishop or his household, they were not a drain on the bishop's clear income.

This figure of approximately £2300 clear income does not correspond closely with the clear value from the valors - which ranged from £2893 to £3207. The bishop might expect to pass through his hands something like 75% of the clear value of the valors, if the calculations are correct.

V. The bishop's comparative position in England

The difficulties encountered so far in this study have been caused in the main by the absence of documents, or the necessity to discover what the fifteenth century financial officials meant, or implied, in their set formulae. In this section, however, the difficulties are of a different nature. If the income of the bishop of Durham is to be compared with other major landowners in the fifteenth century, the figures used for the comparison must express the wealth in the same way. For instance, a comparison of the financial positions taken from valors, from receiver-general's total charge, or payments to the lord, would be, as has been seen, meaningless.

The evidence to be used for this comparison will be drawn from the income tax of 1436;[41] from the records of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick;[42] and from the records of the Percy family.[43] In view of the range of dates that this will involve, it is perhaps necessary to make some preliminary/

preliminary remarks about the economic trends of the century. But this is fraught with difficulty. Adequate materials do not exist to make a precise study of the movements of prices and wages, and, therefore, it is scarcely surprising that there should be a variety of views on what did happen. In this study what really is of concern is what happened to incomes from land. But even here the same controversy persists.[44] It would seem that the Durham evidence leans towards the position of economic decline. The total charge on the surviving receiver-general's accounts of the pontificate of Thomas Langley[45] give an annual average charge of £2970[46] while the corresponding figure for the period of this study is £2160 - representing a decline of 23%. Because of the nature of the evidence precise comparisons will not be possible, and, therefore, the precise decline in income is not so critical. It will be assumed, however, that there was a significant decline in the income of the bishopric of Durham in the course of the first half of the fifteenth century. This should be contrasted with the state of the revenues of the Durham Chapter:

> "Long term stability rather than serious and universal decline is indeed the lesson to be learned from a study of the fluctuations in the bursar's receipts from his farmed manors during the later medieval period."[47]

R.B.Dobson attributes this to

> "Durham priory's thoroughgoing adoption of a policy of short term renewable leaseholds.....undoubtedly different from the system usually practised by the bishops of Durham, most of whose tenants apparently held from him for life."[48]

At the end/

At the end of Gray's paper he tabulates the assessed income of the peerage:

ASSESSED INCOME FOR THE TAX OF 1436

Duke of York and Countess of Cambridge	3430
Earl of Warwick	3116
Countess and Earl of Stafford	2813
Duke of Gloucester	2243
Earl of Suffolk	1667
Duke and Duchess of Norfolk	1947
Earl and Countess of Arundel	1366
Duchess of Clarence	1333
Earl of Salisbury	1238
Earl of Northumberland	1210

Storey notes that only two laymen were assessed at over £3000, while the bishop of Durham had gross receipts of the order of £4000 when Yorkshire estates were added to the Durham receiver's total. Storey further draws attention to the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, where the wealth of the bishop of Durham is only exceeded by that of the bishop of Winchester and archbishop of Canterbury. He is able to conclude that Langley was one of the five richest landowners in England, and probably inferior only to the bishop of Winchester in the order of financial precedence.(49)

This section cannot, however, be concluded at this point, in view of T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross's critique of Gray's paper. They point out that instead of having baronial lands in each county assessed before local commissions, barons were required to make a sworn statement before the chancellor and treasurer. They further note that Gray, in testing the assessment, relied on baronial incomes corresponding with the values of estates given on fifteenth century inquisitions.

The essential question here is what is meant by 'income'./

'income'. Was this to be the total charge from the receiver's account; or clear value from a valor; or the total of foreign payments, made by the estates' officials? When examining the case of the Earl and Countess of Stafford, Pugh and Ross come to this point. They note that the assessed income was £2813 in 1436, but that in 1448-49 the clear value was £3477, that is, a tax based on approximately 80% of clear value. This estimate of 80% of the clear value corresponds reasonably closely to the figure of 75% of the clear value of the Durham valor being passed to the bishop or his officials.

If, then, an attempt is made to generalise from Pugh and Ross's conclusion on the Stafford estates, it will be necessary to revise the order of financial precedence. If the standard of comparison is not £4000 but £2300, the bishop of Durham is then overtopped by the Stafford lands and possibly those of the Duke of Gloucester. Among the prelates his position would remain the same.

This calculation is based on the assumption of the peers being assessed on c.75-80% of the clear value of their valors. But this, of course, is based on only one study. Pugh and Ross then examine the assessment of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and conclude that he was worth double his assessment. Since J.M.W. Bean has studied the estates of the Percy family the relationship between the Percy lands and the bishopric of Durham can be examined more closely. In his section on the financial resources he quotes from the valor of 1489 that the total value of the Percy lands was £2825 - which is comparable to the figures on the/

on the Durham valors. It should not be concluded that there were probably eleven laymen as well off, or better off, than the bishop of Durham; for in the case of the Earl of Northumberland special factors operated. In 1416 the Earl did not receive the whole inheritance on account of the political position, and several large estates were recovered between 1416 and 1455. Moreover, the Earl was far removed from the political centre - if he could not manage to under-assess himself, nobody could.

Another case study is that of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Pugh draws attention to Dugdale's statement, based on a subsequently lost valor, that the annual value of all the Warwick lands in 1432-33 was £5471. Since he was assessed at £3116 in 1436, his assessment is only 56% of the value from the valor. This figure, of course, is closer to that of the Percy estates than that for the Stafford estates.

Despite the shortcomings of the tax assessment of 1436, it does represent a basis from which further calculations, correction factors, etc. can be made. No comparable assessment survives for the period of this study, and in view of the political changes involving financial gains and losses for the leading families, it would be of more limited value. It would be safer to conclude that for the fifteenth century the bishop of Durham, for the time being, ranked among the twelve richest landowners in England; and that in the latter part of this study probably ranked among the richest six.

NOTES

Chapter One

(1) These terms are explained below under receiver-general.

(2) His date of birth is not known. For the details of his career (except where otherwise stated) see A.B.Emden Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge p.78-9. The reference to his birth is in Cal. Papal Registers X p.338. But in contrast A. Hamilton Thompson says Laurence Booth is more credibly reckoned to have been the son of Sir John Booth by his first marriage, in The English Clergy and Their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages p.25. n.2.

(3) C.P.R. 1452-61 p.356.

(4) C.P.R. 1452-61 p.359.

(5) A. Hamilton Thompson.See above, p.25.

(6) See below.

(7) C.C.R. 1454-61 p.459.

(8) C.C.R. 1454-61 p.282.

(9) C.C.R. 1454-61 p.410-11.

(10) 24th November 1460. C.C.R. 1454-61 p.479

(11) C.P.R. 1452-61 p.599.

(12) C.P.R. 1461-67 p.73

(13) C.P.R. 1461-67 p.113

(14) C.P.R. 1461-67 p.115.

(15) E.F. Jacob The Fifteenth Century p.528.

(16) R.L. Storey 'The North of England' in Fifteenth Century England p.141.

(17) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p.112

(18) /

(18) C.P.R. 1461-67 p.215 and 347.

(19) Storey ibid.

(20) J.C. Wedgewood History of Parliament - Biographies p. 750-2 gives the following details of Scott's career:
1459 Deputy Butler of Sandwich
1460-70 Lieutenant of Dover
1461-71 Controller of the Household
1470-76 Marshal of Calais.

(21) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p.83.

(22) See below, this chapter, and the final chapter.

(23) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 90 and Surtees History of Durham I p CXXXIV.

(24) C.P.R. 1461-67 p.325.

(25) C.P.R. 1461-67 p.347.

(26) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p.86

(27) ibid.

(28) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 93 and P.R.O. Durham 3/48 mm15/16

(29) A.B. Emden Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge p.79-80.

(30) See below.

(31) Dated 10 Edward IV. D.K.R. Vol XXXV p.97.

(32) C.P.R. 1467-77 p.276.

(33) C.P.R. 1467-77 p.283.

(34) C.P.R. 1467-77 p.92. On March 14th 1475 he obtained a pardon for the manufacture by himself of money not of true alloy or weight, since it was declared that this was done without his knowledge. C.P.R. 1467-77 p.511.

(35) Rot. Parl. VIp.98.

(36) D.N.B. VolIII p.850.

(37) 28th June 1476. C.P.R. 1467-77 p.588.

(38) /

(38) In the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 the revenues of the bishop of Durham are given as £3128, that of the archbishop of York as less than £2000. Langley p.68.

(39) C.P.R. 1467-77 p. 604.

(40) Emden op.cit. p.80.

(41) C.C.R. 1476-85 p.108.

(42) Cal. Papal Registers XIII p.583-4.

(43) C.C.R. 1476-85 p.114-5.

(44) C.C.R. 1476-85 p.115.

(45) But note R.L. Storey's verdict 'the correspondance of the contemporary priors of Durham suggests that Booth was a polished courtier who could hide hostility under a fair mask.' in Fifteenth Century England p.140.

(46) The details of his career (unless otherwise stated) are derived from A.B. Emden Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, Vol I p599-600 and D.N.B. Vol VI p124-5.

(47) D.N.B. Vol. VI p. 107.

(48) C. Scofield Vol I p. 571 and P.R.O. E404/74/partIII/29; E404/75/part I/35.

(49) C.P.R. 1467-77 p.539, 540, 543.

(50) 'The Episcopate in the Wars of the Roses.' in Birmingham Historical Journal 1958 p.125.

Chapter Two

(1) Langley. p.62.

(2) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 121.

(3) See below.

(4) Langley p.69.

(5) ibid p.87.

(6) D.K.R. Vol XXXV.

(7) ibid p. 76.

(8) ibid p. 104.

(9) ibid p. 129.

(10) See table of documents.

(11) See below for details.

(12) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 129.

(13) 188790.

(14) See below.

(15) 190211.

(16) That is, of course, excepting the first year of a pontificate when no arrears are brought forward.

(17) See 188654.

(18) See 188655.

(19) 188788.

(20) 188790.

(21) 188658.

(22) 190176.

(23) 188727.

(24) 188730.

(25) 188884.

(26) 188894.

(27) 188789.

(28)/

(28) 190199.

(29) 188727.

(30) 188627.

(31) 188728.

(32) 188729.

(33) 189697.

(34) 188730.

(35) 188731.

(36) Except in 1476-77 where it is £2.3.0d. owing to the cornage being reduced 6d.

(37) 188788.

(38) 188789.

(39) 188790.

(40) 190199.

(41) 190211.

(42) 188660 and 190176.

(43) Lapsley p.88 and Note 5. 189697 is the Easington ward coroner's account for 1465-66.

(44) And only exceptionally indirectly, see below.

(45) 188883.

(46) P.69.

(47) e.g. Darlington.

(48) e.g. Rickenhall.

(49) e.g. Scocacly and Coundon.

(50) e.g. Darlington and Walsingham.

(51) e.g. Broom and Gateshead.

(52) From the coroner of Darlington ward's account.

(53) See Chester ward passim e.g. 188654.

(54) 188893.

(55)/

(55) 188788. 188789, 188790, 190199.

(56) See Chester ward's accounts.

(57) See above.

(58) 188654 and 188885.

(59) 188655 and 188886.

(60) 188660.

(61) 188893.

(62) 188661.

(63) 189821.

(64) 188730.

(65) 189829.

(66) In particular in the Chester ward the final 'et debets' were checked against the following years' arrears for 11,12,13 and 14 Booth i.e. in 188661, 188656, 188657, 188658, and reveal no differences.

(67) For instance, the arrears (£46.16.10½d) of the Chester ward's coroner for 1461-62 (188654) appear in the R.G.'s arrears account for 1460-61 (189756). See section on receiver-general.

(68) 189755.

(69) Darlington 188788; Easington 188727; Stockton 188883.

(70) The current arrears had to be taken from the final 'et debet' of the receiver-general's main accounts; and before the final 'et debet' in the arrears accounts there are payments to the auditors.

(71) e.g. see Darlington 188789 and Chester 188656.

(72) 188790.

(73) e.g. Darlington 188790, 190199.

(74) 190199.

(75)/

(75) 188660.

(76) 188652.

(77) e.g. 190297.

(78) 188661.

(79) 188755.

(80) 190199.

(81) 188790.

(82) 190191.

(83) This is at the Boldons.

(84) 188897.

(85)

	Final 'et debet'	Total respites and 'supra'.
188788	369.15. 3	369. 0.11
188789	386. 2.10¾	386. 2.10¾
188790	849. 1.11	849. 0.11
190199	122.13. 5¾	122.12. 5¾

(86) 189824/5 and under foreign receipts:

"£33.6.8d from the Earl of Westmorland by the hands of William Overton, receiver of the same Earl, from the profits of Kirkbymoreside, in part payment of a warrant of the same Earl containing 400marks diversely assigned for the paying within four years of divers free farms and rents of the same Earl in the county of Durham, being in arrears for divers years."

Chapter Three

(1) William Dove at Whessowe.

(2) 17 for Darlington ward; 14 for Chester; 13 for Easington; 13 for Stockton; further, 2 of the gaps in the Darlington sequence can be filled by reference to two documents headed 'Onus' (for detailed discussion of these see later.)

(3) I am leaving until later discussion of Bedlington in the Chester ward's account and Sadberge in the Stockton ward's account: the organisation of these two being quite different from the other entries on the rolls.

(4) e.g. 189761.

(5)

Thomas Ward	Darlington	1458-59
	Byrden	1466-67; 1476-77
John Chamber	Blackwell	1467-68
	Boldons	1457-58; 1460-61; 1461-62; 1462-63; 1466-67; 1468-69;
John Thomson	Lynsake	1460-62
	Escombe	1461-62; 1474-75
	Lanchester	1471-72
John Walker	Midridge	1463-64
	Chester	1460-61
Richard Ayre	Whitburn and Cleveden	1471-73
	Tunstall	1469-70; 1476-77
Thomas Robinson	Boldons	1475-76
	Hertburn	1463-64
William Hochonson	Heringdon	1461-62; 1463-65; 1466-67; 1472-73; 1476-77
	Cornforth	1462-63
John Hochonson	North Shirburn	1461-62; 1472-73
	Cornforth	1464-65; 1477-78

(6) 188759.

(7) 188814.

(8) 188762.

(9) 188762.

(10)/

(10) 188757.

(11) R. Somerville History of the Duchy of Lancaster p.96-7.

(12) 189510.

(13) Langley p.69.

(14) 189816.

(15) 189510.

(16) e.g. 188689.

(17) e.g. Halghton.

(18) N. Neilson Customary Rents p.31.

(19) ibid p.59.

(20) ibid p.122-3.

(21) ibid p.9.

(22) 189816.

(23) See above.

(24) And at Sadberge an allowance of 2s. to a scribe for writing the account.

(25) The only information that survives on what happened in the period is a note on the 1464 -65 roll that he does not account for years 5 and 6 Booth as it was occupied by J. Barre.

Chapter Four

(1) With the sole exception of one account of "the approver of the borough of Darlington " dated 1477-78. Since this account presents some difficulties it was thought better to consider it separately, see below.

(2) P.42.

(3) ibid p. 42-43.

(4) ibid p. 44.

(5) p. 46. n.3.

(6) The basis for this and subsequent illustrations is the absence of other names in the list of debtors in rolls in following years where the roll is missing.

Chapter Five

(1) In W.A. Morris and J.R. Strayer English Government at Work Vol. II p.72.

(2) ibid p. 120.

(3) p. 85.

(4) 189720 and P.R.O. Durham 20/6.

(5) 189720.

(6) Langley p.72.

(7) Calculated from the subtraction of arrears from the total. Addition of the individual items gives a figure of 2¼d less.

(8) There are no individual entries, and total of the Wapentake is given as nil. yet the total receipts are given in both rolls as being 5s. more than Durham alone.

(9) See table above 'Summary of Charge Side of Collectors' Accounts'.

(10) 189720.

(11) P.R.O. Durham 20/6.

(12) 189720.

(13) This was no new phenomenon - see Langley p. 85.

Chapter Six

(1) 189722.

(2) See the instaurers' accounts.

(3) Surtees History of Durham Vol II p. 163.

(4) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p.101.

(5) See below.

(6) D.K.R. Vol XXXV passim.

(7) D.K.R. Vol. XXXV p.85 and see below.

(8) 189761 and see below.

(9) For details see under the sheriffs and also Hunter Blair from which much of the following information is taken.

(10) In Family, Lineage and Civil War p. 43.

Chapter Seven

(1)	190022	Whikham East mine	?	-1st August 1459
		Hardkeld	14th April	-1st August 1459
	190318	Whikham East mine	Michaelmas 1461	- 1462
	190025	Raley	2nd April	- 14th June 1460
	190024	Raley	14th June	- Christmas 1460
	190029	Toftes		?
	190306	?		?

(2) 189830 and 189831.

(3) 190022.

(4) 189761 and 189762.

(5) M.P. for Yorkshire 1422, 1431, 1442, 1449(1);
Sheriff of Northumberland 1436-37;
One of the Keepers of the Seas June 1442;
Delegated to receive the oaths of the Marches to keep the peace with Scotland December 1442;
(Wedgewood p.306.)

(6) L.F. Salzmann English Industries of the Middle Ages p. 17-18 and V.C.H. Vol II p. 324, citing Durham Cursitor 48m2.

(7) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 90.

(8) Wedgewood p.306.

(9) 189815, 190025 and 190024.

(10) 190022.

(11) 190306.

(12) See also Dobson p.278.

(13) 'Medieval Coal Trade of the North East' in Northern History Vol II 1967 p.21.

(14) 190016.

(15) 189761.

(16) 189831.

(170 189817.

(18) English Tin Production and Trade Before 1550 p. 43

(19) V.C.H. Vol II p. 348.

(20) /

(20) 189762.

(21) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 81.

(22) Langley p. 71.

Chapter Eight

(1) 190044.

(2) 189510.

(3) 190044, 190103, 190045, 190047.

(4) This roll is damaged, but the heading and the receipts side are not extant: but from the mention of James Tipping, Nicholas Kelchitch, and William Nodder it would seem to belong to this period; further, there is reference to repairs at the New College of Auckland in the year 13 (if of Booth then 1469-70) which is either the year immediately following the account or some preceeding year.

(5) R.G. main accounts for these years.

(6) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 104.

(7) 189510.

Chapter Nine

(1) 190239.

(2) See above under collectors.

(3) See section on receiver-general's accounts.

(4) Although the instaurer's account for that year does not exist, the receiver-general's main account does, and so does his arrears account for the preceeding year. No amount is given in the main account while in the arrears account the figure is £45.16.10d.

(5) See below, section on Allerton accounts.

Chapter Ten

(1) 190174 dated 'anno secundo' - from internal evidence, i.e. that John Kelyng is named as receiver-general, this is the second year of Dudley's episcopate - 1477-8.

(2) It is, in fact, more than this, see below.

(3) 189510.

(4) Wedgewood p. 820-21 and J.S. Roskell The Commons and Their Speakers in English Parliaments p. 364-5.

(5) D.K.R.Vol XXXV passim e.g. p.80 and p.86.

(6) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p.140.

(7) 190174, 189510, 189676.

(8) See instaurers' accounts.

(9) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 91.

(10) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 93.

(11) 189815 and 189816.

(12) See above, under collectors.

(13) See receiver-general main account passim.

(14) See instaurers' accounts passim.

(15) 189831.

Chapter Eleven

(1) 190240.

(2) 189510.

(3) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 140.

(4) Somerville pp 400, 517, 526.

(5) ibid p.469.

(6) ibid pp 462, 466, 486, 506 and Wedgewood p. 684-5.

(7) But see the next paragraph.

(8) See above under Allerton.

(9) 189831.

(10) See above under Allerton.

Chapter Twelve

(1) 189883.

(2) 189885.

(3) See above under appropriate sections.

(4) 189510.

(5) See above under collectors.

(6) Use will be made of this document as a source for comparison to that of 1472-73.

Chapter Thirteen

(1) T.F. Tout Chapters in Medieval Administrative History Vol IV p. 260.

(2) Receiver-general's accounts passim.

(3) Langley p. 73.

(4) ibid p.78.

(5) See Somerville p.102ff.

(6) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p.140.

(7) See below.

(8) He had received a life grant of the constableship from bishop Nevil. Storey 'North of England' p.139.

(9) See below.

(10) A lawyer; he was a king's servant from 1459; master of ordnance 1477-82; and a squire of the body 1481-5. (Wedgewood p. 825-6)

(11) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p.86.

(12) Biographical Register of the University of Oxford Vol II p.1164-5.

(13) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 86.

(14) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 93.

(15) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 90.

(16) C.P.R. 1452-61 p. 416

(17) And see above, section on coroners.

(18) e.g. 188883.

(19) See above, under coroners.

(20) For all this paragraph see also the section on the collectors' accounts.

(21) See above.

(22) Langley p. 71.

(23) /

(23) 189816.

(24) It is not clear why there should be these exceptions, unless they represent, in part, arrears, though there is no evidence for this.

(25) D.K.R. Vol XXXV .

(26) Langley p. 145.

(27) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 152-3.

(28) Wedgewood p. 645-7.

(29) Dobson p. 275.

(30) There seems to be an error since, when the entries for the ward are totalled, the figure is considerably greater than £316.

(31) To calculate this for any year it is necessary for both the main account and the arrears account to survive.

(32) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 88-9

(33) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 142-52.

(34) Foss Vol IV p.305 and 426-8.

(35) Foss Vol IV p. 430; Vol V p. 48-50.

(36) He was king's stationer 1461-83; and one of the executors of Booth. (Wedgewood p.347)

(37) D.K.R. Vol XXXV passim e.g. pp 80, 89, 101, 102.

(38) Nothing further is known of him.

(39) See above.

(40) Recorder of London 1455- but a strong Yorkist partisan - he retained the office through the Readeption - putting Henry VI and the archbishop of York in ward, for which he was knighted and made chief baron of the exchequer, holding the office for eight years but playing no prominent part there. (Foss Vol IV p 458-60)

(41)/

(41) Both these men receive their fee for one year in the arrears account of 1471-2.

(42) King's attorney 1452-60. In 7 and 13 Edward IV called "oone of our counseilleurs" and exempted from resumptions until a place found. From 1479 until 1483 he was chief baron of the exchequer.(Foss Vol IV p. 472.)

(43) This would seem to be Sir Robert Claxton, Lord of Horden and Claxton, who died in 1484. (Surtees History of Durham Vol I p. 28.)

(44) This may be Sir Richard Tunstall K.G., high steward of Chester, and an ambassador to France. He held Harlech Castle for Henry VI, later than any other fortress in England. In Surtees' pedigree he is not related to William Tunstall mentioned above. (Surtees History of Durham Vol I p. lxvi.)

(45) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 80, 88, 89, 101, 102.

(46) See below.

(47) 'Commensalibus suis'.

(48) Arrears accounts.

(49) e.g. 1460-61 189816.

(50) Arrears account 189758.

(51) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 110.

(52) Receiver-general main account and arrears passim.

(53) Wedgewood. p. 286.

(54) Langley p. 88.

(55) See section on the lead mines.

(56) See table below 'Receiver-general's Payments to the Bishop'

(57) See adjoining table and also section on clerk of the works.

(58)/

(58) See adjoining table.

(59) See, for instance, Langley p. 92ff.

(60) See adjoining table.

(61) ibid.

(62) See below, and Langley and also Ross and Pugh.

Chapter Fourteen

(1) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 85.

(2) ibid.

(3) 189814.

(4) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 81.

(5) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 90.

(6) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 144.

(7) Writ of Diem Clausit Extremum issued 2 Booth (D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 113)

(8) An Inquisition Post Mortem was taken on 10th June 1473 for Thomas Eure, in which it was stated that William was son and heir. (D.K.R. Vol XXXXIV p. 379)

(9) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 379.

(10) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 140.

(11) Controller of the King's Household 1471-6, 1481-3 (Wedgewood p. 663)

(12) 189761.

(13) 189761, 189762.

(14) See receiver-general's accounts for 1476-77 to 1478-79 and above, under receiver-general's accounts and coal mines.

(15) See above, chapter one.

(16) ibid.

(17) P.R.O. E 361/7.

(18) P.R.O. E 101/411/13f2d.

(19) P.R.O. E 404/73/1/8.

(20) D.K.R. Vol XXXV p. 83.

(21) 188887.

(22)/

(22) 188867.

(23) P.R.O. arrears account for 1467-68.

(24) 189817.

(25) See table of surviving documents.

(26) See, for instance, above p. 34.

(27) See section on receiver-general (discharge side).

(28) See section on coal mines and also on receiver-general.

(29) See sections on coroners and collectors.

(30) See also R.B. Dobson's Cautionary Statements: -

"The lack of any satisfactory collection of price data for Northern England in the late middle ages... makes generalisation hazardous." p. 265.

and

"It is only in the last two decades of the fifteenth century that we have evidence, as yet completely unassessed, for the beginning of sustained and long term inflation." p. 267.

(31) 189817 dated 1463-64
189510 dated 1476-77
189676 dated 1478-79.

(32) 'Materials for the Study of Baronial Income' in Economic History Review Vol VI.

(33) P. 193.

(34) T.B. Pugh Marcher Lordships in South Wales p. 154

(35) Somerville p. 108.

(36) Pugh op. cit. p. 193 n.1.

(37) The Valor for 1463-64 in its organisation approximates to the Grey of Ruthin Valor - but unlike the Ruthin Valor, the 'clear values' of the Durham valor do not "bear a closer relation to liveries of money than to any/

any other feature of the accounts." (R.I. Jack Grey of Ruthin Valor p. 8 and 17.)

(38) Pugh op.cit. p. 157.

(39) See introduction for accounts of these.

(40) On the proscription of the Earl of Warwick in the Coventry Parliament (1459) his possessions within the Palatinate fell by right of forfeiture to the bishop, who appointed John Nevil of Raby as constable of Barnard Castle, and Geoffrey Midelton, the sheriff, as keeper of Barnard Castle Park. (Surtees History of Durham Vol I p. lix) On the Yorkist victory, Booth must have lost these lands, but after the failure of the Readeption, Warwick's lands were once more forfeit. (Surtees ibid) There is no reference to the revenues from these estates on the Durham accounts.

(41) H.L. Gray 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436.' E.H.R. 1934, and the critique by T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436'. B.I.H.R. 1963.

(42) See Ross The Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Dugdale Papers XII.

(43) J.M.W. Bean Estates of the Percy Family.

(44) See for instance the controversy between Postan and others in Past and Present.

(45) For 1416-17, 1419-20, 1424-25, 1428-29 and 1435-36.

(46) Langley p. 68.

(47) Dobson p. 273.

(48) Dobson p. 283.

(49) Langley p. 68.

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1476-77	189510
1478-79	189676

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1458-59	189814
1459-60	189815
1460-61	189816
1464-65	189818
1465-66	189819
1466-67	189820
1467-68	189821
1468-69	189822
1469-70	189823
1470-71	189824/5
1472-73	189826/7
1473-74	189828
1474-75	189829
1476-77	189830
1478-79	189831

c) Receiver-general: arrears accounts

1457-58	189755
1460-61	189756
1462-63	190258
1468-69	189757
1470-71	189758
1471-72	189760
1473-74	189759
1476-77	189761
1477-78	189762

d) Coroners accounts /

d) Coroners' accounts

	Darlington	Chester	Easington	Stockton
1457-58		188652		
1459-60	188788		188727	188883
1460-61	188789	188653		188884
1461-62		188654		188885
1462-63		188655		188886
1464-65				188887
1465-66			189697	
1466-67	188790	190297	188627	
1467-68		188661		
1468-69		188656		188888
1469-70		188657	188728	
1470-71		188658	188729	188889
1471-72				188890
1472-73				188891
1474-75			188730	188892
1475-76		188660		188893
1476-77	190199	190176		188897
1477-78			188731	188894
1478-79		190211		

e) Collectors' accounts

	Darlington	Chester	Easington	Stockton
1457-58		190320		
1458-59			188689	188827
1459-60	188752	188719		
1460-61	188753	188588		188828
1461-62	188754	188589	188624	188829
1462-63		188590	188625	188830
1463-64	188755		188690	188800
1464-65	188756	188591	188626	188801
1465-66	188757			188831
1466-67	188758	188592	188691	188832
1467-68	188759			
1468-69	188814	188594	188628	188833
1469-70		188593	188629	188834
1470-71	188760	188595	188692	
1471-72	188864	190305		
1472-73		188596	188693	188802
1473-74	188787			
1474-75	188761	188659		
1475-76	188762	188597	188630	188836
1476-77	188765		188631	
1477-78	190186		188632	188837
1478-79	188598			

f) Bailiffs' accounts /

f) Bailiffs' accounts

	Bailiwick	Hart	Hartlepool
1457-58	188865 & 188940		
1459-60	188866		
1463-64	188867		
1464-65		188942	188942
1465-66	188868		
1466-67		188929	188928
1467-68		188931 & 189882	188930
1470-71	188869		
1471-72		188932	188933
1472-73	188870		
1474-75	188815	188935	188934
1475-76	188871		188936
1476-77		188937	
1477-78	188916		188943

G) Master forester's accounts

14 76-77 to 1478-79	189722

h) Coal mines

	- 1st August	1459	Whikham east	190022
14th April	- 1st August	1459	Hardkeld	"
Michaelmas 1461	- Michaelmas	1462	Whikham east	190318
2nd April	- 14th June	1460	Raley	190025
14th June	- Christmas	1460	Raley	190024
	?		Toftes	190029
	?		?	190306

i) Lead mines

1458-59	190016

j) Sheriff and escheator

1463-64	189629
1477-78	189720

k) Clerk of the works /

k) Clerk of the works

1458-59	190044
1469-70	190103
1475-76	190045
1477-78	190047

l) Instaurer

1457-58	190239
1458-59	190256
1469-70	190108
1473-74	190109
1474-75	190110
1476-77	190257

m) Allerton

1477-78	190174

n) Howden

1478-79	190240

o) Crayke

1472-73	189883

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a) Receiver-general: Arrears accounts

1467-68	Durham 20/114/4
1469-70	" 5
1472-73	" 1
1478-79	" 2

b) Sheriff's account /

b) Sheriff's account

1477-78 Durham 20/6

c) Chancery

Durham 3/4

d) Royal accounts

E 101/411/13
E 361/7
E 404/2/108
E 404/73/1/8
E 404/74/partiii/29
E 404/75/part i/ 35

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