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" STUDIES IN THE FINANCES AND ORGANISATION OF THE
DURHAM PRIORY IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY."

BY

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REFERENCES.

- D.A.R. 1., 11., 111. - "Durham Account Rolls", Surtees Society,
Vols. 99, 100, 103. ed. Fowler.
- F.D.P. - "Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis", Surtees Society,
Vol. 58. ed. Greenwell.
- Rites. - "Rites of Durham", Surtees Society,
Vol. 15. ed. Raine.
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Vol. 11.
- "Monastic Orders in England".

Other references will be quoted in full in footnotes.

SECTION ONE.

INTRODUCTION.

According to the Rule of St. Benedict, the provisioning of a monastery was the responsibility of the Cellarer who alone, apart from the Abbot, was to have contact with the outside world. This injunction was repeated by St. Dunstan in the Regularis Concordia and, according to Professor Knowles,⁽ⁱ⁾ this represented the reality of the situation in English monasteries until the Conquest, although a process of administrative devolution had begun in many continental houses. After 1066 two developments made it necessary for English houses to follow European example. The first was the feudalisation of many of the larger monasteries which led to the division of estates between Abbot and monks. The second was the rapid growth in the size of monastic estates together with the tendency for properties to be scattered and at a distance from monasteries. These reasons combined to force on many houses a more sophisticated system of administration. The result was that by 1200, in larger abbeys at least, a system had been created in which a number of officials managed parts of the estate of the house using the resulting income in the discharge of their functions, the residue of the estate not apportioned in this manner being attached to the office of Cellarer.

The organisation of the Durham convent conformed to this basic pattern in that by 1300 (that is, when the Account Rolls begin) there was a devolved system of management and administration in which no single official had overall control. However, the principal financial officer

i. "Monastic Orders", 431-439.

was not the Cellarer but the Bursar, the origin of whose office is rather obscure. Professor Knowles⁽²⁾ suggests that it was created by Prior Hugh of Darlington (1258 - 1272) since it is not mentioned in any of the Constitutions before those of 1265. The situation is complicated by the existence of the Terrar whose title suggests that he was in charge of the estates while the Bursar dealt with the money. This was not so, however, since the Bursar controlled both land and revenue, at least from the end of the 13th. century. The other officers were very much as we should expect, with the exception of the Feretrar, who was a necessary extra because of the importance of the shrine of St. Cuthbert.

This dissertation will be divided into two parts, the first being devoted to a study of the Bursar's office. There are two sets of documents basic to such a study, the more important being the annual Account Rolls of which there are twelve in a complete sequence from 1504 to 1516 plus isolated examples for 1519 - 20, 1523 - 24 and 1536 - 37. All of them begin with a statement of the name of the Bursar and the period of the account which always ran from Whitsuntide in one year to the same feast in the following. This is followed by a statement of arrears from past years and any deficit or profit carried forward from the previous account. Next comes the income received which consisted of rents from properties in ninety - seven villages listed under village names, tithes from ten parishes, pensions from nine sources, sales of produce, " foreign receipts " and the profits of justice of lay and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. This section ends with a

2. "Religious Orders 11", 314-315.

statement of total income for the current year followed by the total when combined with the profit or deficit from the previous account. The Bursar's expenses are listed under twenty - four headings - Special Wardrobe, Purchase of Wine, Purchase of Horses, Purchase of Wheat, Purchase of oats, Purchase of Barley, Purchase of Peas and Beans, Purchase of Iron, Gifts, Expenses of the Prior's Ludi, Customary Alms, Expenses of the Bursar, Necessary Expenses, Repairs, Fuel, Soulsilver, Pensions, New Stipends, Rents, Contributions, Allowances and Tally and Indenture. The account is brought to a close by a total of expenditure which is subtracted from the revenue total to give a surplus or deficit to be carried forward to the next year's account. In addition to these accounts, there are the Rental Rolls which seem to have been working documents used during the actual collection of revenue. Under the heading of each village a list of persons from whom money was due was written out before collecting began. A space was left blank on the left of the names and this was filled by the clerk when the money was paid to him. With the aid of this document the clerk was able to prepare the account roll for the year. We shall see later that important facts about the administration of the Bursar's estate can be demonstrated by a comparison of these two sets of records. Finally, we can augment our knowledge of the estate by reference to two 15th. century documents, the "Feodarium" of 1430 which was a record of free tenancies and the "Inventarium" of 1464 which was a survey of the convent's estates. Although neither was contemporary the information they contain is largely valid for the 16th. century.

The second half of the dissertation will deal with the other obedientiaries and will be divided into three sections.

The first will be devoted to three officials, the Terrar (the records extant are those for 1504 - 5, 1505 - 6, 1507 - 8, 1508 - 9, 1509 - 10 and 1512 - 13), the Granator and the Instaurator, whose offices were closely associated with the Bursar's estate although they were not his subordinates. The main section will consist of descriptions of the work of the eight other officers, namely, the Cellarer (the records extant are those for 1500 - 1, 1502 - 3, 1505 - 6, 1507 - 8, 1509 - 10, 1512 - 13, 1516 - 17, 1525 - 26, 1534 - 35.), the Chamberlain (1504 - 5, 1509 - 10, 1521 - 22, 1525 - 26, 1527 - 28, 1532 - 33.), the Hostillar (1505- 6, 1508 - 9, 1509 - 10, 1512 - 13, 1513 - 14, 1523 - 24, 1528 - 29.), the Commoner (1500 - 1, 1505 - 6, 1508 - 9, 1510 - 11, 1511 - 12, 1513 - 14, 1516 - 17, 1517 - 18, 1524 - 25.), the Almoner (1501 - 2, 1504 - 5, 1505-6, 1506 - 7, 1507 - 8, 1508 - 9, 1511 - 12, 1513 - 14, 1515 - 16, 1516 - 17, 1518 - 19, 1522 - 23, 1523 - 24, 1524 - 25, 1526 - 27.), the Master of the Infirmary (1526 - 27, 1534 -5.), the Sacrist (1535 - 36.), and the Feretrar (1501 - 2, 1513-14, 1525 - 26, 1536 - 37, 1537 - 38.) who between them accounted for the revenue of the convent not assigned to the Bursar. Finally, there will be a short section describing the position of the Prior, his subordinates and other non - financial officers in order to complete the picture of the life of the convent. The accounts of all the other officers are very similar in form to those of the Bursar although considerably shorter in length. Extracts from all those printed above have been published in three volumes of the Surtees Society by Canon Fowler.

Finally, I should explain that I have chosen to base my dissertation on a study of the later period in order to construct a picture of the Durham administration in its final form and also because the dissolution of the house in 1540 provides a logical end to the

story. A further factor is that, although the 14th century may be a more interesting period in economic history, the 16th century evidence is more complete and contains greater detail thus permitting of more definite statements.

SECTION TWO.

THE BURSAR.

A. SECULAR ESTATE.

1. SURVEY.

As has already been mentioned the lands possessed by the convent for which the Bursar was responsible were contained in ninety-seven villages spread over the counties of Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire (originally the monks had possessed lands in the lowlands of Scotland but they lost control of them during the border warfare of the 14th. century). The vast bulk of the estate, however, lay " infra aquas", that is, between Tyne and Tees; consequently most of our attention will be devoted to it.

These properties may be divided into two categories, the more important of which was composed of villages completely under the convent's control. For the most part these villages were part of the pre - Conquest patrimony of St. Cuthbert which was divided between bishop and monks sometime during the reigns of William of St. Calais and Ralph Flambard. We know exactly which villages came to the monks by this division because they named them in legal titles which they forged during the 12th. century. (F.D.P. xxxviii-xliii and lii-lvi) The two centuries following the foundation of the house were a period of population growth and so we find that many of these villages produced offshoots which were created out of their waste lands.

Most of these villages formed themselves into distinct geographical groups. We can start this survey with a notable group situated along the south bank of the river Tyne which belonged to the ancient monastery of Jarrow which became a cell of the convent after its monks had been transferred to Durham by the first Norman bishop, Walcher. In addition to Jarrow itself

this group included the villages of Monkton, Hedworth, Hebburn, Heworth, Harton, Westoe and Preston (Simonside) plus two villages on the north bank of the river, Willington and Wallsend. This group was augmented by three offshoots: the village of Felling and the manor of Wardley were created out of the waste land of Heworth while Shields was an offshoot of Westoe.

To the south of this group along the north bank of the Wear lay a smaller group which had originally belonged to the monastery of Monkwearmouth which had suffered the same fate as its twin Jarrow. Apart from the village of Monkwearmouth, there was Southwick and its offshoot, Fulwell. Originally it appears that the bishop reserved to himself all the Wearmouth estate south of the river but he excepted Dalton because it had been given specifically to the monks by its Saxon donor, Witmaer (F.D.P. 121). Between Monkwearmouth and Durham lay two more small groups, namely East and West Rainton with their offshoot Moorsley and North and South Pittington which had produced Warknoll.

In the southern part of the county three groups of major importance were located. Merrington was originally a single settlement but by the 16th. century it had proliferated into the three villages of East, Middle and West Merrington. Also in the group was Ferryhill and its two offshoots Hett and Spennymoor. Further south was the large village of Aycliffe and its two associates, Newton Ketton and Ketton Manor. Finally, along the north bank of the Tees lay the largest and wealthiest of these groups of villages that centred on Billingham. Of the others in the group Wolviston was a pre - Conquest settlement but Cowpen Bewley, Newton Bewley, Bewley Manor and Bellasis Manor were of post - Conquest origin.

In addition to these groups there were two geographically isolated villages which the monks possessed from the very beginning, Monk Hesleden on the coast north of Hartlepool, and Blakiston. Four more villages can also be mentioned at this point, Staindrop, Burdon, Bernton and Skirningham. Although they were not listed by the monks in their forged charters these villages were probably in the convent's possession from the earliest date. All four have two things in common: they were abstracted from the convent's possession (the first two by Bishop Ralph Flambard and the others by Nigel de Albini) and they were created into free tenancies as soon as the monks regained control (F.D.P. 156, 146& 150-3). Finally, the convent possessed ten villages completely which came to it after the foundation period - Follenby, Summerhouse, Coatsay Moor, Edmundbyers, Muggleswick, Woodham, Newhouse, Houghall, Bearpark and Aldin Grange. These villages came into the possession of the monks either from the bishops, as with Bearpark and Muggleswick, or from lay landlords, for example Summerhouse, which was given by William Benett in 1207 (F.D.P. 55).

The remaining property in the Bursar's charge was composed of holdings in twenty villages which the monks did not possess in their entirety. Apart from those in Eden and Silksworth, all of these properties were small, usually being less than one hundred acres. They came into the convent's possession mainly during the 12th. and 13th. centuries - the Statute of Mortmain (1279) seems to have been an

effective deterrent to land transactions since the convent acquired property in only five villages (Fishburn, Newhouse, Cocken, Edmundbyers and Muggleswick) after that date. One example should serve to illustrate the sort of property that the convent secured and the mode of transference. "Henry de Hoton-----to God, St. Mary and St. Cuthbert, and the Prior and Convent of Durham----that part of my land in the village of Hoton (Hutton Henry), that is the thirty acres which were sold to me by Hugh, the son of Huctred, together with one toft which Meruimus once held of the said Hugh, with all liberties." (F. D. P. 22.) .

Then follows a list of witnesses headed by Aimery, the Archdeacon of Durham. His name enables us to date the grant approximately since he was a relation of Bishop Philip de Poitou's who held office in the early decades of the thirteenth century. Charters such as this are extant for most of the properties that monks acquired after their original endowment and like this one have been printed as footnotes to the "Inventarium" and the "Feodarium". Apart from the ~~three~~ villages already mentioned, the convent had small estates in Hawthorne, Ludworth, Holm, Claxton, Pounteys(Middleton St. George), Neasham, Osmondcroft, Cleatlam, Berford, Goatham, Mundeville, Nun Stanton, Chilton, Auckland, Hunwick, Broom, Cocken, and Woodyfield.

About the Bursar's lands in Northumberland and Yorkshire little need be said since they were insubstantial. At the head of the rent section of the Account Rplls came a sum of nearly £100 for rents of Norhamshire and Islandshire

A study of the Rental Rolls, however, reveals that apart from £8 : 8 : 0 which was the rent of a property near Norham called Shoreswood, the remaining income was derived from tithes and as such will be dealt

with in a later section. Apart from this the Bursar derived small rents from small properties in Harbottle, Prudhoe, Warkworth and Cramlington. The Yorkshire ^{estate} was also minute, consisting of small holdings in Northallerton, Brompton, Ottrington and Woodhall.

Finally, it should be noted that the Bursar drew a small portion of his income from tenements possessed by the convent in several local boroughs. In Newcastle there was a tenement in Pilgrim Street and across the river several tenements in both Hillgate and Pipewellgate in Gateshead. Only one tenement is mentioned in Sunderland but several in Hartlepool. In Durham itself the Bursar had tenements in Silver Street, the Bailey and in the Market Place and also outside the walls in South Street and Framwellgate and in the nearby boroughs of Elvet and St. Giles.

2. ADMINISTRATION.

We must now consider how these properties were managed and what income the Bursar derived from them. As we do this, however, we must bear in mind that we are concerned with an estate situated in a part of England that was never fully feudalised so consequently we must expect to find relics of a pre - feudal organisation. Basically the Bursar in the 16th. century was a rent collector receiving money from two categories of holding, free tenancies and leases. However, behind this simple statement lie certain complications.

The Account Rolls tell us that certain lands were held by payment of a free rent. In some instances (Follensby, Felling, Blakiston, Skirningham, Summerhouse, Staindrop and Woodham) a whole village constituted a single free tenancy. All villages which the

the monks possessed entire contained some free tenancies with the exception of Harton, while the small estates in villages not completely owned by ^{the} convent were nearly all administered in this manner.

The

Account Rolls tell us no more about these tenancies but extra information is supplied by the "Feodarium" and the charters of grant printed with it by Canon Greenwell, which make it clear that all such tenancies were, by the 16th. century, of ancient origin, being creations of the 12th. and 13th. centuries. The most interesting facts revealed by the "Feodarium" concern the burdens incumbent on the holders of free tenancies. The vast majority bore the obligation of "servicium militare". What this implied is not explained but it does not seem likely that it was the conventional knight service since the holdings are ^{not} termed knight's fees and the charters of grant do not define the military obligations. Moreover, there are very few instances where the term scutage is used. In all probability the service referred to is the more ancient "utware" which, according to the tenants of the Dean and Chapter who were claiming it as an obligation as late as 1577, consisted of service against the Scots for a period of fifty days without pay. ^③ Unfortunately, the term was not used generally by the writer of the charters and the "Feodarium" although it does occur among the obligations of one tenant of Aycliffe (F.D.P. 59). In addition to "servicium militare", some tenancies (in Cleatlam, Berford, Summerhouse, Coatham Mundeville, Neasham, Pounteys and Osmondcroft) were held by

3. F.W. Maitland, "Northumbrian Tenures", Collected Papers, Vol. 11 96 - 109.

socage, but here again we are not told what this term implied.

In addition

to this military service all tenants had to pay a money rent which was small (in most cases no more than a few shillings) and bore no relation to the size of the holding. For instance, the Bursar's land in Ludworth amounted to one messuage and forty-six acres for which the annual rent was £1:6:8 (F.D.P. 21) whereas a similar tenement in Monkton of a messuage and forty acres carried a charge of only 1:6 (F.D.P. 13). Moreover, the charters of grant show that the rents due in the 16th. century were the same as those agreed between the convent and the original grantee. This can be seen in the case of the village of Follensby for which William Hylton paid 10:0 in 1536-7 (D.A.R.111 669) exactly the same sum as was agreed between Bartholomew de Marisco and Prior William(1209-1219) when the tenancy was first created (F.D.P. 9)

In addition to the money rent some tenants also had to present certain articles. One such tenant at Hedworth had to render a pound of pepper, a pound of cummin and a pair of gloves in addition to 5:8 although by the time with which we are dealing the gifts in kind had been commuted for money (D.A.R.111 670). Finally, all tenants owed suit at the Free Court of the Prior at Durham, although for some this was three times a year, while for others it was a fortnightly burden. A possible explanation of this difference is provided by two lists at the end of the Foedarium (F.D.P. 81-3). These show that the obligation of frequent attendance was placed on the more powerful and wealthy tenants such as the Neville/s, the Bulmer/s and the Eure/s, whereas tenants of lower social status had to appear less frequently. It may be that the

convent simply demanded frequent attendance only from those capable of bearing such a burden.

All the above obligations were compatible with free status but this picture is completely distorted in many cases by the addition of another category of obligation which consisted of burdens normally associated with servile tenure. These included the repairing of mills, the grinding of corn at them, week work at specified manors and the payment of such dues as merchet, heriot, metred and common aid.

This mixture of free and servile obligations is completely non - feudal but it is characteristic of the institutions of thegnage and drengage which have been discussed by several historians. ⁽⁴⁾⁽⁵⁾⁽⁶⁾ Although the convent's clerks did not use these terms specifically, I think we are justified in applying them to the convent's free tenants, who were a varied group of men ranging from the Earls of Westmoreland to virtual peasants.

The remainder of the Bursar's estate rent was drawn from the leases of the villages which were completely owned by the convent. Here we come across some difficulty since the two sets of accounts tell different stories. The Rental Rolls show that the bulk of the income from each village consisted of a number of equal sums paid in by named individuals. The Account Rolls, however, record a variety of rents from a variety of properties most of which were paid to the

4. J.E.A.Jolliffe, "Northumbrian Institutions", E.H.R.Vol. XLI 1 - 42.

5. F.W.Maitland, "Northumbrian Tenures", Collected Papers Vol.11 96 - 109.

6. G.F.Lapsley, "Baldon Book", V.C.H. Durham Vol 1. 285 - 291.

Bursar by an official called the Collector, who was a tenant elected by his fellows in the Halmote Court. The most notable of these rents were the "redditus assisae" of the bondmen and cotmen, that is, the rent for their holdings in the great arable fields. The same men also paid money in commutation of labour services and customary rents such as renthens, pennyhens, massingpennies, woodladepennies and candlewicksilver. In addition, there were rents for domain land, woodland, meadows and separate enclosures all of which were leased. The explanation of this confusion is that the convent had adopted a policy of leasing the bulk of the properties in each village to a group of tenants each of whom took an equal portion of the lease. With the exception of Harton, it was impossible to bring all the land in each village into such an arrangement because of the existence of free tenancies. Also we find that mills and other appurtenances were excluded as were certain pieces of land presumably because their leases were in mid-career when this system was introduced. When an Account Roll was composed, however, the money was broken down and recorded according to its original sources. So we find in the 1539 Rental Roll three tenants in Hedworth paying £2-4-5¹/₂ each, a total of £6-13-4¹/₂. In addition, a fourth tenant paid 9-0 for a cottage, a croft and some land, the body of the ^{tenants} gave 16-8 for the rent of the mill and Anthony Hedworth paid 5-9 for his free tenancy. (F.D.P. 308) Turning to the Account Roll of 1536-37 we find that the assessed rents amounted to £7-2-6¹/₂, presumably the equivalent of the three equal leases and the 9-0 tenancy of 1539. The mill was again worth 16-8 and the Hedworth tenancy produced 5-8 plus 1d for a pound of cummin and a pair of gloves and 6d for a pound of pepper which was not paid in 1539. (D.A.R.111 670) This leasing policy, it

seems, was adopted by the convent in the last decades of the 15th. century as an answer to the shortage of tenants and the unquiet times.^⑦

Another problem is that of the term "manor". J.E.A. Jolliffe^⑧ has demonstrated that in Northumbria the term did not refer to a village or sub-village unit with an internal demesne, but to a group of villages dependent on an external property to which tenants owed service. This, he explains, is the remains of the Old English "shire" system which managed to survive in a mutilated form the imposition of feudalism after 1066. All this seems to have been true of the convent's estate on which villages with their own demesne as in normal feudalised areas but also villages whose tenants owed service at an external manor. What this consisted of can be illustrated by reference to the manor of Fulwell which, in 1464, was composed of several plots of land amounting to sixty-six acres, several buildings, stock and implements, (F.D.P. 120). Labour services at this manor were owed by tenants of Monkwearmouth and Southwick. The records mention sixteen manors at Jarrow, Wallsend, Fulwell, Pitlington, Bellasis, Westoe, Dalton, Hesleden, Bewley, Claxton, Ketton, Aycliffe, Ferryhill, Merrington, Relley, Aldin Grange and Houghall, and although the manor of Westoe was similar to that at Fulwell (F.D.P. 118) we do not have enough information to say if these were typical or if the term had the same meaning in all instances. One thing is clear, however, and that is that by this date all manors had been leased.

7. F. Bradshaw, V.C.H. Durham Vol. 11 218

8. J.E.A. Jolliffe, "Northumbrian Institutions", E.H.R. Vol. XLI, 1 - 42.

The same fate had befallen the domainal appurtenances. The most important of these were the fifteen mills in the villages of Shields, Willington, Hedworth, Southwick, East Rainton, North Pittington, Hesleden, Newton Bewley, Wolviston, Billingham, Burdon, Ketton Manor, Aycliffe, Ferryhill and Merrington. In addition, there were sixteen fish runs in the Tyneside villages of Wallsend (5), Nether Heworth (5), Jarrow (3), Hebburn (2) and Shields (1), salt pans at Shields (9), Jarrow (7) and Southwick (1), coal mines at West Rainton and Broom, stone quarries at the two Heworths and North Pittington and a malt house at Shields. In all, the secular estate produced between £950 and £1050 a year, that is, between two - thirds and three - quarters of the Bursar's total income.

B. ECCLESIASTICAL ESTATE.

The Bursar's ecclesiastical estate, like his landed property, was scattered over the three counties of Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire. It contained three separate sources of revenue, namely tithes, which were the most fruitful, pensions and jurisdictional rights.

1. TITHES.

The major portion of the Bursar's tithe income was derived from eight appropriated parishes between Tyne and Tees. Before discussing the method by which they were administered and the income they produced we need to survey their contents.

The churches of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were both cells of the convent and as such had been in the possession of the monks since 1083. Jarrow was the larger parish containing the villages of Jarrow, Over Heworth, Nether Heworth, Follensby, Hebburn, Hedworth, Monkton, Westoe with Shields and Harton south of the Tyne, Wallsend and Willington to the north of the river and the manor of Wardley. Monkwearmouth parish, however, contained only four villages, Monkwearmouth, Southwick, Fulwelland Hylton. Five other parishes also came into the convent's possession at the time of its foundation- Pittington, Hesleden, Aycliffe, Merrington and Billingham (F.D.P. xlvi-xlix and lii-lvi) Pittington included the villages of Shadforth, North and South Sherburn, Warknoll, High Hetton with Ludworth in addition to the two Pittingtons and also Haswell Grange and a property called " Conyngarth". Hesleden parish, situated on the coast to the north of Hartlepool, consisted of the villages of Monk Hesleden, Hardwick, Hutton Henry with Holm, Castle Eden and Sheraton. In the south of the county lay Aycliffe with its villages of Newton Ketton, Brafferton, Preston le Skerne, Grindon, Little

Ricknall, Heworth, Nun Stanton and Aycliffe plus the manors of Ketton and Ricknall. Nearby was the parish of Merrington which was composed of East, Mid- and West Merrington plus Great Chilton, Little Chilton and Ferryhill. Finally, Billingham which was the most valuable of the eight, included Cowpen Bewley, Newton Bewley, Wolviston and the manors of Bewley and Bellasis. The last parish, Heighington, did not come into the possession of the monks until the time of Bishop Kirkham (1249-1260) who gave it to them and allowed them to appropriate it in 1262.^④ It included the villages of Heighington, Walworth, Newbiggin and Middridge, West Thickley, Killerby, Coatsay Moor, Redworth, Newhouse and School Aycliffe. In all, these eight parishes contained sixty - eight villages or properties of which all but twenty - eight were completely owned by the convent, being part of the Bursar's estate.

Turning to the questions of revenue and administration, it must first be pointed out that the income consisted of the garb tithe, that is, the tithe of grain which included peas and beans in addition to wheat, rye, barley and oats. Generally, it can be said that these tithes were leased, either to named individuals or to the tenants of the village as a group. However, there were exceptions to this arrangement. From certain villages the Bursar took produce instead of cash and where this was so, we find the Account Rolls recording quantities of grain at stated prices per quarter, together with total value. If we examine the Bursar's expenses we find payments being made of identical sums of money for identical quantities of produce to the same villages. We also find the

Bursar bearing the expense of threshing, winnowing and carting the same produce. Obviously all this was an elaborate book-keeping device used to satisfy the requirements of the accounting system. During the 16th century this practice of having tithes rendered in kind seems to have grown. The accounts of the years 1504 to 1516 show ~~that~~ only the parish of Billingham being treated in this way, but in 1536-37 the system had been extended to Harton, Westoe and Shields (Jarrow), High Hetton and North Sherburn (Pittington), East Merrington and Ferryhill (Merrington) and Heworth (Aycliffe) (D.A.R. 111 687-90). Finally, we must note that during this period the tithes of Jarrow and Heworth were alienated to the Master of Jarrow and those of Wearmouth, Fulwell and Hylton were assigned to the Master of Monkwearmouth. Income from these eight parishes fluctuated between £315 and £281, the difference being almost entirely due to Billingham, the value of whose tithes varied between £47 in 1510-11 and £81 in 1515-16.

The Northumberland tithes came from three parishes, one of which may be dismissed briefly. Ellingham was given to the monks during the first half of the 12th century and was appropriated sometime between 1239 and 1273. ⁽¹⁰⁾ It consisted of the villages of Ellingham, Doxford, Preston, North Charlton and South Charlton from which the Bursar received tithes plus the rent of the glebe land. The remaining parishes were those of Norham and Holy Island which had been in the convent's possession since its inception (F.D.P. xli and lv). In dealing with these parishes the Account Rolls are imprecise in that

income from them is placed with the land revenue. The Rental Roll however, shows that apart from a rent of £8-8-0 for a property called Shoreswood near Norham, the total (which was usually over £90) was made up of tithes (F.D.P. 302-3). This roll also names the properties from which income was derived. The Bursar received the garb tithes of Orde, Spittal, Tweedmouth, Morton, Edmondhill, Horncliffe, Longrigg, Thorton, Ancroft, Allerton, Bolsdon, Gaderwick, Barmoor, Dudhoe, Cornhill, Hetton, Tillmouth, Twizell, Newbiggin, Shoreswood, Felkington, Grindon, Grindonrigg, Tundalhouse, Castlfield, and Upsetlington. In all cases the tithes were leased but for noticeably lower sums than in Durham. In addition Hetton, Ancroft, Cornhill, Tweedmouth, Lowick, Barmoor, Holburn, Dudhoe, Twizell, Tillmouth and Horncliffe had their mills tithed while Scremerston, Cheswick, Goswick, Beal, Haggerstone, Lowlin, Ancroft, Berrington, Bolsdon, Barmoor, Lowick, Holburn, Buckton, Fenwick and Kyloe had to render a tithe of lambs. Also certain other villages, which are not named, had their wool crops tithed. It will be noticed that some villages occur in all three lists while others do not. The obvious explanation is that certain parts of the tithe revenues for certain villages were not collected by the Bursar but assigned to the incumbents of the two parishes.

The ecclesiastical estate in Yorkshire was the smallest of the three. In size it consisted of two churches, the vicarage of Northallerton in Allertonshire and the chapelry of Eastington in Howdonshire. The revenue of Northallerton consisted of the garb tithes of the villages of Northallerton, Brompton, Deighton and Romandby which were leased for the sum of £35-3-4. The revenue of Eastington included the tithes of lamb and wool in addition to those of grain,

the annual value being £22. In total, therefore, the Yorkshire tithes were worth £57-3-4.

11. PENSIONS.

The pensions, of which there were nine, invariably produced an income of £32-18-4. At the head of the list was the sum of £1-5-0 from the Yorkshire rectory of Holtby. Payment of such a pension by a rector was a normal practice but I can find no evidence as to the date when it was fixed or **how** the monks acquired the patronage of the church. A much larger sum, ~~£7~~, came from the Hostillar out of the profits of his parish of St. Oswald's Elvet. Five other pensions have two things in common: they came from other regular institutions and were imposed when those institutions appropriated the rectories in question. The list comprised £1 from the Abbot of Newminster for the church of Kirk Whelpington in Northumberland (appropriated in 1334)⁽¹¹⁾, sums of 10-6 and 3-4 from the Prior of Hexham for the churches of Ovingham in Northumberland (appropriated in 1378)⁽¹²⁾ and Alston in Cumberland (appropriated in 1376)⁽¹³⁾, 10-0 from the Master of Balliol College, Oxford for the church of Little Benton near Newcastle (appropriated in 1340)⁽¹⁴⁾ and 6-8 from the Prior of Tynemouth for the Northumberland church of Haltwhistle which was certainly appropriated although I am unable to find evidence as to the date. The Bursar

11. J.Hodgson, "Northumberland", Part 11 Vol. 1, 204-8.

12. A History of Northumberland, Vol.XII, 53.

13. T.F.Bulmer, "History and Directory of East Cumberland", 503.

14. A History of Northumberland, Vol.XIII, 399.

never received the pension from Balliol College as it was diverted to Durham College for the maintenance of the students.⁽¹⁵⁾ This was also the fate of the pension due from the Vicar of Northallerton which was worth £20.

The two remaining pensions were received from fellow obedientiaries. From the Hostillar came £20, a traditional payment for hay and fodder for cart horses. The arrangement with the Sacrist was more complicated. The Bursar had to account for a pension of £2-13-4 from the Vicar of Heighington. However, this had been diverted to the Prior's Exchequer, the Bursar receiving the Sacrist's rents in Framwellgate and Crossgate as compensation. As a result of this arrangement the Sacrist was excused payment of an identical sum which came from certain domain lands in the village of Belton.

111. JURISDICTIONS.

It would not be appropriate in this dissertation to give a long explanation of the struggle the monks had with the Archbishops of York and the Bishops of Durham over the question of episcopal and archidiaconal rights.⁽¹⁶⁾ All we need say is that eventually the Prior of Durham secured the right to be Archdeacon of his own churches. This, in effect, meant that he collected procurations from the incumbents. The Account Rolls speak of such money coming from the churches of Durham (which included Elvet, Muggleswick and Dalton le Dale in addition to the ones mentioned in this section,) Allertonshire (Kirkby Sigston, Roughton, Osmotherley and Northallerton) and Howdenshire

¹⁵W.Hutchinson, "Northumberland", Vol.L, 34.

¹⁶F.Barlow, "Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars".

(Howden, Barnaby, Thorpe, Skelton, Linton, Eastrington, Blacktoft, Welton, Walkington, Brantingham, Ellerker, Holtby, Skipwith and Hemingburgh). No mention, however, is made of the Northumberland churches. The income from this source was slight, amounting to £7-10-10 at most (1513-14) which was over twice the normal sum.

The total income from the three ecclesiastical sources varied between £403 in 1510 - 11 and £440 in 1515 - 16, tithes accounting for all but £40 at the most of this total.

C. OTHER INCOME.

The Bursar also received income from three other minor sources.

1. SALES.

The Account Rolls always included four small entries recording the sale of produce which produced a sum varying from £36 in 1505-6 to £77 in 1513-14. Always the most important item was wool which invariably amounted to 200 stones although the price it fetched varied from £18 in 1505-6 to £33 in 1536-7. The rolls do not mention the source of this wool but we may guess that it was mainly the result of the shearings at Muggleswick and "Le Holm" which the Bursar had to pay for (D.A.R.111. 695). Second in value were clothes which were sold by the Sacrist, the Hostillar, the Almoner and the Chamberlain. Perhaps these garments were those surplus to their requirements or ones made redundant by renewal. The sum the Bursar obtained from these sales varied between £8-4-5 in 1508-9 and £13-10-6 in 1513-14. Thirdly, the Bursar received between £6-2-2 (1514-15) and £13-10-6 (1513-14) from the Cellarer for the sale of dripping and tallow produced in the kitchen. The final entry concerned the profits of the sale of hides and skins of animals consumed in the Lardar and in the Prior's Hospice. However, the Bursar received no money from these sales although they were part of his "onus" since it was accounted for by the Cellarer and the Prior's Steward.

11. " FOREIGN RECEIPTS".

The Bursar also received a sum which varied between £9 in 1511-12 and £24 in 1519-20 composed of the profits of

the sale of small quantities of such things as straw, iron, manure and pasturage. They were recorded separately because they were occasional profits which were not part of the "onus" and were therefore incidental to his main account.

III. JUSTICE.

The medieval dictum "justice is great profit" was no longer true by the 16th century if we are to judge by the sums the Bursar received from this source. At the most during this period judicial income amounted to £4-12-4 (1513-14) and by 1536-37 it had dropped to £1-5-10. These petty sums were derived from three courts the most important being the Halmote Court which alone in 1292 produced £39-5-2 (D.A.R.11 491). The probable reason for this catastrophic decline is that the petty criminal cases which the Priors dealt with in the high days of manorial feudalism had been transferred to the Palatine judicial system leaving the Halmote to deal with purely administrative offences such as failure to repair tenements, failure to attend court meetings and the non - performance of communal duties. The other courts were the Prior's Free Court, which we have already mentioned, and the Bishop's Court which forwarded half of the fines and amercements it levied against the Prior's men.

The income from these last three sources varied between £37 in 1505 - 6 and £81 in 1513 - 14.

D. EXPENDITURE.

Each year the Bursar usually spent between £1400 and £1500 although the total did rise as high as £1700 in 1504 - 5 and fall as low as £1259 in 1515 - 16. As we have already stated these expenses were recorded under twenty - four headings but by reducing these sub-divisions to three a clearer picture of his function will emerge.

1. PURCHASES.

The main function of the Bursar's office was to supply the basic needs of the house, to which end he spent on average seventy per cent of his income. The sum varied from year to year, being as high as £1150 in 1504 - 5 and descending to £858 in 1510 - 11. These figures are the extremes, usually the sum was just under or just over the £1000 mark. In breaking this total down we can dispose of one item which amounted to about half of the total very briefly. This was a lump sum paid by tally to the Cellarer which was normally between £400 and £500 although it occasionally rose above the latter figure and in 1515 - 16 reached £611.

Most of the remaining money was spent in the purchase of large quantities of wheat, rye, barley and peas and beans and also oats. Normally the total cost of these five foodstuffs was in the region of £400 but there were exceptional years such as 1504 - 5 when the figure rose to £564 and 1510 - 11 when it dropped to £258. If we examine the items individually we find that barley headed the list at a cost of about £200 although there were extreme figures of £284 and £153. Next came wheat and rye which were classed together and cost between £100 and £200. Much smaller quantities of oats were bought and the cost was almost invariably between £25 and £40. Even less was

spent on peas and beans, £22 being the maximum and frequently the figure was below £10. As we would expect the quantities bought were in the same order as the amount spent but the price per quarter showed variation, wheat and rye being more expensive than barley while oats and peas and beans were by far the cheapest.

The Bursar obtained his grains from three different sources. Firstly, there were corn merchants who came from such places as Newcastle, Hull, Hartlepool and Durham and to whom the Bursar had to pay the highest price per quarter. Secondly, the Bursar bought from the tenants of his villages and when he did so prices were lower. The final source was the garb tithes of his Durham parishes but, as we have already noted, this was not a real purchase but a disguised render in kind. This practice seems to have increased during this period; in 1504 - 5 only Billingham, Cowpen Bewley and Bewley Manor rendered their tithes in kind but by 1536 - 37 Westoe and Shields, Southwick, Hetton Hill, North Sherburn, Wolviston, Newton Bewley, Heworth, East Merrington and Ferryhill had been added. Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that the price per quarter in all cases was the lowest of all.

The next item was cloth on the purchases of which between £38 and £53 was expended annually. There were various types and qualities but none of the material was destined for the brethren since they were clothed, as we shall see, by a special officer, the Chamberlain. The Bursar's purchases were used to provide garments for the Prior, his Steward and his Chaplain and the Bursar, his fellow officers plus the servants, both lay and cleric, who

were under the Bursar's command.

Finally, the Bursar bought anything up to a thousand gallons of wine of various sorts, Red being the most popular, although Claret, Sack, Malmsey and Rumney are mentioned. The total cost of this wine was usually between £40 and £50 although it was as high as £60 in 1514 - 16.

Compared with these major items other purchases were less significant and were mainly for the Bursar's use in the execution of his duties. Articles and commodities mentioned most frequently are salt, coal, wax and candles, fat, salmon, honey, soap and stationary. This is not an exhaustive list but many of the Bursar's purchases were raw materials needed in the repairing of his estate so they will be considered in due course.

2. WAGES, PENSIONS AND GIFTS.

The second category of expense consisted of money payments made to individuals as either stipends or alms. The list includes over one hundred persons, both lay and cleric, important and menial.

The wages list is long and it reveals the complicated nature of the convent's administration. Some of the men paid by the Bursar were not part of his organisation but belonged to the Prior's household. They included the Marshall, the Attourney (who presided over the Free Court), and four lawyers plus less exalted servants such as the Gardener, the Valet and Groom of the Stables and the Washer of the Linen. Next came a long list of men who made the life of the monks possible - the Keeper of the Granary, the Brewer, the Maltster, the Miller, the Baker, the Plumber, the Builder, the "Wanemañ" the "Bagman", the Fireman, the Carver, the Server, the Cupbearer, the Washer of the Refectory Linen,

the Barber, the Janitor, the Keeper of the Cloisters and the Cowper who was employed in buying and selling operations. In addition there were five valets, the Valet Usher, the Valet Cook, and the valets attached to the Bursary, the Storeroom and the Refectory. Of slightly lower status were the seven grooms who served in the Chamber, the Bursary, the Hall, the Storeroom, the Kitchen and the Brewery(2). All of these servants performed their tasks in or about the abbey precincts but there were others who worked on the estates. At Bearpark there was a Park Keeper, a Forester and two Carters, at Relley four Animal Keepers, at Muggleswick two Foresters and the Bailiffs of Billingham and Shields. In addition to their wages, twenty unspecified servants within the abbey, the Foresters of Bearpark and Muggleswick and a Carter received Soulsilver which was probably a food allowance. Here we may conveniently point out that the Bursar's allowances are somewhat misleading. Normally we would expect the term to mean pieces of income which he had been unable to collect but in fact most of them were money payments made to certain servants in lieu of gifts of grain.

The second category of payment consisted of money given to several groups of clerics. The first group consisted of the Sub-Prior, the Refector, the Precentor, the Master of the Infirmary and the Granator. Each of these men, who were fellow officers, received a present, and as we shall see, this custom was practised by most of the obedientiaries. Secondly, there was a group of extra-conventual clerks who were in receipt of pensions. The group consisted of the Archdeacon of the East Riding, the Master of Farne, the Rector of South Bailey and Chaplains at Darlington, Herrington and Haverton,

Dinsdale and Muggleswick. Thirdly, there were four secular priests employed to celebrate mass in the chantry chapels of the cathedral and to these the Bursar paid stipends.

The final category was composed of small payments paid to a wide variety of people. To the Prior the Bursar made gifts of fish, meat, spices, salt and clothes on the occasions of the Ludi, at Easter and on other occasions. Presents were given to servants and officials from other establishments who visited Durham on business. The Bursar gave alms on behalf of the Prior and also on his own account to the inmates of Witton Hospital, the Magdalene Hospital and the Infirmary. Finally, the Bursar paid the taxes levied on the house by the king and the pope. The total cost of all payments made by the Bursar was in the region of £170 a year.

3. ESTATE.

The last major category of expense which absorbed the remainder of the Bursar's income was the cost of maintaining and running the estates from which he drew his income.

The evidence of the receipt section of the Account Rolls suggests that the Bursar had leased all of his properties but a study of the expenditure sections reveals a certain amount of direct exploitation. Places mentioned include the animal rearing stations at Muggleswick and "Le Holm", the Prior's estate at Bearpark together with the neighbouring lands at Aldin Grange and Relley and at Billingham and Aycliffe. Since the era of labour services was long since past these farming activities implied expense for the Bursar and so we find him paying for the shearing of sheep at Muggleswick and at "Le Holm", the scything of hay at Bearpark and a number of

enclosures near the city and the carting of it to Durham and the collection, threshing, winnowing and carting of corn at those villages which still rendered their tithes in kind.

The Bursar also had a heavy repair bill to meet. Places most frequently mentioned are the conventual buildings including the Prior's apartments and the mills and tithe barns scattered around his estate. The repair work was carried out by craftsmen employed on day wages using materials obtained for them by the Bursar. Some of these were obtainable from the estate, for example, stone slates were quarried at Esh and Brasside, while other materials had to be purchased from merchants. One material which received special attention in the rolls was iron, the best quality being imported from Spain while the rest was smelted locally in the Weardale villages of Muggleswick and Edmundbyers. Other materials mentioned in the rolls include wood, clay, stone, straw, lime, sand, tar and nails.

Transport was obviously important in the running of such a large and scattered estate. Consequently the Bursar employed three full - time carters for whom he provided horses, carts, harness and all other necessary equipment including medicine. It seems, however, that these men could not cope with all the carting work the estate created and so we find many transport jobs being performed by groups of tenants from nearby villages under the direction of one of the Bursar's full - time servants. Here we can mention the fact that the Bursar himself travelled personally in connection with the meetings of the Halmote Court and had to pay deputies to collect rents and tithes.

Finally, it must be noted that the Bursar was himself a tenant and so had a rent bill to foot. To the Bishop he owed "landmale" which was a token of feudal overlordship connected with tenements in the boroughs of Durham, Sunderland, Gateshead, Hartlepool and Northallerton, payments in recognition of the obligation of suit of court from the convent's lands owed at the same five boroughs and the sum of $3\frac{1}{2}d$ for "woodhire" in Relley and Aldin Grange. Tenements were rented from the Sacrist, the Almoner and the Commoner and from certain external clergy - the Priors of Finchale and Kirkham, the Masters of Jarrow, Kepier Hospital and the Galilee and the priests of St. Nicholas in Durham and St. Nicholas in Ferryhill. In all these rents cost the Bursar about £30 each year.

SECTION THREE.

OTHER OBEDIENTIARIES.

A. OFFICERS CONNECTED WITH THE BURSAR.

1. TERRAR.

As we have already indicated the position of the Terrar is something of an enigma. His accounts are not extant for the years prior to 1401, and when they do appear they reveal him as a very minor official. In the Rites⁽¹⁷⁾ he is mentioned as a guest master but the author must have been confusing him with the Hostillar whom he does not mention. All in all his accounts give the impression that he performed no important function which in itself is perhaps evidence that his office was once of importance but that it had been downgraded.

His income during this period almost invariably amounted to £31 nearly all of which came from five categories of rent paid by the tenants of the major villages of the Bursar's estate. The most important of these rents, Cornage and Metred, must be taken together. Both terms occur in Boldon Book and G. T. Lapsley⁽¹⁸⁾ explains that they were associated with the pastoral villages of the episcopal estate. Cornage, he says, was a rent paid by the tenants for the right to pasture their animals on the lord's pasture land and Metred (Vacca de Metride) was a communal render of a cow also made as an acknowledgment of lordship. There is no reason to suppose that the terms had different meanings on the Prior's estates. In all eighteen villages - Over Heworth, Nether Heworth, Monkton, Harton, Fulwell, Monkwearmouth, Southwick, West Rainton, South Pittington, Monk Hesleden, Wolviston, Cowpen Bewley, Billingham, West Merrington, Mid Merrington, Shelom (in East Merrington

¹⁷Rites, 83.

¹⁸G.T.Lapsley, V.C.H. Vol.1, 273-77.

and Ferryhill - paid both rents while Wallsend and Dalton paid only Cornage and Hedworth, Westoe and East Rainton rendered only Metred.

The next rent, which was due from Wallsend, Willington, Nether Heworth, Monkton, Westoe, Harton, Fulwell, Monkwearmouth, Southwick, Dalton, West Rainton, East Rainton, North Pittington, Billingham, Aycliffe, East Merrington, and Ferryhill, was known as Brasinagium and was a payment made for the right to run a malt-kiln. We might expect this rent to be associated with villages which had a big interest in corn growing but the villages making this render were almost coincident with those paying Cornage and Metred which suggests that in the days of direct exploitation there was not much specialisation on the convent's estates. One further noteworthy fact about this rent is that only £2 of a possible £4-0-8 was ever paid, most villages completely defaulting.

Averpennies⁽¹⁹⁾ were payments made for the non-performance of carting services and werē rendered by the tenants Over Heworth, Monkton, Harton, Southwick, Dalton, West Rainton, South Pittington, Monk Hesleden, Wolviston, Cowpen Bewley, Billingham, Mid Merrington and Ferryhill. Finally, tenants of Wallsend, Over Heworth, Monkton, Harton, Southwick, West Rainton, South Pittington, Monk Hesleden, Cowpen Bewley, Billingham, Mid Merrington and Ferryhill paid Elsilver which was probably a rent for eel runs,

This close connection with the major villages of the convent's estate reinforces the idea that the Terrar was once an important officer in the administration of the lands of the house.

This idea is further supported by the fact that the Terrar's only real function at this date was the co-chairmanship of the Halmote Court with the Bursar and the Prior's Steward.

The Terrar's expenses never amounted to more than three-quarters of his income. The cost of holding the Halmote Court was borne by his office and amounted to about £2 including the cost of spices. His only other function was the curious one of supervising the planting, cultivation and harvesting mustard seed "throughout the dioceses (archdeaconries ?) of Durham and Cleveland, " which cost £2 -7-8. In the performance of these duties the Terrar was aided by a Valet, a Groom and an Accountant to whom he paid money amounting to £3-14-8 for wages and clothing. He also had a stable and he spent a further £3-10-0 on the purchase of hay, oats, peas and beans and other necessary equipment and medicine for his horses. This establishment was obviously essential in view of his connection with the perambulating Halmote Court. The remaining expenses consisted of gifts to the Sacrist (imposed by the Prior in 1477), the Feretrar (to compensate him for oblations he did not receive), the Granator and five boys of the cathedral (Christmas presents) and the wage of the Keeper of Ferrycliffe. In all these amounted to about £8.

2. GRANATOR.

We must briefly mention this official although he was not in charge of any part of the estate and did not handle any revenue (he was, however, a monk). His function was to take charge of the grains for the convent's use which came from those villages whose tithes had

not been leased and the purchases made by the Bursar. His Account Rolls are divided into five sections dealing with wheat, malting barley, barley, oats (for provender) and peas and beans (for provender). His expenses consisted of monthly outgoings, presumably to such places as the mill, the malt - kiln, the brewery and the stables. He also made allowances of wheat to a group of estate servants - the Park Keepers at Rainton, Bearpark, and Muggleswick plus three Sergeants at Bearpark and four at Muggleswick. Under his command were the Miller, the Brewer and Kiln Master plus other servants but their remuneration was in the hands of the Bursar and the Cellarer.

3. INSTAURATOR

About this officer, who was not one of the monks, little can be said with certainty since the latest extant account is for 1483. At that date he was the overseer of the convent's stock which was scattered over the estate in such centres as "Le Holm", Muggleswick, Edmundbyers and Bearpark. In all of these places there were subordinate officers who rendered annual accounts of their purchase and sale of stock and other expenses to the Instaurator whose headquarters were at "Le Holm".

This officer certainly existed in the 16th. century since we find that the leases of Edmundbyers and Muggleswick, although part of the Bursar's onus, were paid to him. In all probability his administration was similar to that of 1483 since we find references to servants working at Edmundbyers, Muggleswick, Bearpark and "Le Holm" in many of the accounts of the obedientiaries.

B. OTHER OBEDIENTIARIES.

1. CELLARER.

The Cellarer's income came from two different sources, one controlled by himself and the other not. This latter, which was by far the larger part of the total, was a payment made to him by the Bursar and it fluctuated from year to year, being as high as £611 in 1515 - 16 while only £447 in 1505 - 6.

The income which was under his personal control and which formed part of his onus was about £52 at the beginning of the century but it rose to £59 by 1534 - 5. The smaller part of it was drawn from fourteen tenements in and around the city and, if all rents were paid, amounted to about £6. The remainder was earned by the sale of by-products of the activities of his establishment. The most valuable were skins from the Slaughterhouse, especially those of oxen and cattle which in 1534 -35 numbered 245 and brought in £25 -7-10. A further £15-14-4 was produced by the sale of 244 calfskins, 343 shearling skins, 405 woolfells, 343 lamb skins and 6 may skins. Finally, the Cellarer sold 112 stones of tallow and 54 stones of dripping for £7-17-10 and surplus food to the value of £5 bringing the total cash obtained from sales to £54-5-6. (D.A.R.1 109).

The Cellarer's job was to purchase most of the food needed by convent and to supervise its preparation. The cost of these purchases was met by the lump sum received from the Bursar but there are no records of the 16th. century to show exactly what food was bought. However, we can get a good idea from earlier rolls which reveal the purchase of large quantities of meat, fish, fowl, groceries, and

spices plus numerous occasional articles.

The income that the Cellarer derived from his estate was devoted to the cost of overheads, the most important of which consisted of a large staff of servants whose wages amounted to £12-10-0. Those mentioned include the Food Buyer, the Keeper of the Meat Larder, the Keeper of the Fish Larder, the Keeper of the Pigs, the Keeper of the Cattle (who was also the Slaughterman), the Fishman, the Seether and Pistoller and the Keeper of the Pewter Vessels plus more menial servants such as the Turnspit, the Bellows Blower and two Cleaners. These people were employed in the various departments over which the Cellarer ruled. Apart from the Kitchen itself we find a Slaughterhouse, a Seethinghouse (for boiling), a Henhouse, a Caponhouse, a Goosehouse, a Salthouse, a Storehouse and a Verjuicehouse (which was probably used in the making of vinegar). All of these buildings and the tenements from which income was drawn had to be kept in repair and for this purpose the Cellarer purchased stone, slate, lime, sand, timber and nails and paid day wages to the men who carried out the repairs.

The Cellarer also had to buy many articles needed in the performance of his job. Heading the list were vessels made of pewter and electrum which were expensive and required, as we have seen, the care of a special servant. No doubt these were reserved for special occasions but for daily use the Cellarer bought wooden platters and cups (470 and 220 respectively in 1534 - 35 D.A.R.1.111) which were made by a Turner. Cloth was also bought for making curtains for the kitchen and clothes for some of the servants. In addition, he purchased such things as knives, hammers (for tenderising stockfish),

baskets, strainer cloths, hay and straw, wax and candles and stationary.

Miscellaneous expenses included Soulsilver paid to a builder and the Master of the Novices, Eggsilver paid to four women inmates of Witton Hospital, gifts to the Messenger of the Bursar's Exchequer, the Abbey Miller, the Reeve of the Granary and the Church Groom and allowances which amounted to about £12. In all the expenses usually coincided with the amount of income the Cellarer had at his disposal.

2. CHAMBERLAIN.

During this period the Chamberlain's income was usually between £90 and £100 a year although it rose to £103 in 1504 - 5 and fell to £87 in 1532 - 33 (D.A.R.l. 196). Nearly three - quarters of it was derived from possessions in Yorkshire, the most important of which was a manor composed of land in the villages of Hemingburgh and Brakenholm which had been given to the convent by William I. This estate produced £42 a year assessed rents plus £1-16-6 for autumn works and renthens. A further sum of about £13 came from assessed and free rents in the villages of Drewton and Hundersley. The remaining Yorkshire income was ecclesiastical in origin consisting of pensions from the churches of Hemingburgh, Brantingham and Welton with an annual value of £10-6-8 (there should have been a pension from the rectory of Walkington but this was assigned to the Sacrist). Hemingburgh and Brantingham were both appropriated to the convent but Welton rectory belonged to the chantry of Katherine , duchess of Lancaster in Lincoln Cathedral. It was given by the Neville family in

1439 and the pension was a recognition of the fact that the convent had been the original patron.⁽²⁰⁾ All four churches are mentioned in the forged charters.

The size of these properties and their distance from Durham necessitated the employment of officers to manage them. The manor of Hemingburgh was in the charge of a Steward who presided over the manor court and visited Durham each year for the audit of his accounts. These facts, together with the presence of a Bailiff, suggest that the manor was still being worked directly. In addition there was a Receiver and a Collector of Farms who presumably handled the remainder of the revenue.

In Durham the Chamberlain drew rent from a few small properties in Hett, Dalton, Murton and Over Heworth, the most interesting being Barnby Ferry over the river Derwent and money paid in lieu of an ancient render of oats known as "scalthaver" from four bondlands in Over Heworth. Finally, he received £15-8-4 from the leases of the garb tithes of the parish of Dalton le Dale which was one of the foundation churches of the convent. The parish included the four villages of Dalton, Murton, Cold Hesleden and Dalden.

The Chamberlain's function was to provide clothes for the members of the convent. Over half of this obligation was discharged under the heading of "rebus ordinatiis", that is, a clothing allowance of £1 per head made to each monk. Professor Knowles⁽²¹⁾ explains that this practice was contrary to

20. W. Hutcinson, "History of Durham", Vol. III, 476-77.

21. "Religious Orders", 240-1.

the rule but that the authorities had been driven to approve it because of its universal adoption. The sum expended in this way varied between £38 and £42 a year, that is, according to the number of the brethren. In addition to this the Chamberlain expended a further sum of between £18 and £31 on other clothing purchases which included black worsted for the novices, stramine or lindsey - woolsey for sheets and shirts, boots, drawers, thread and cloth for unspecified purposes.

The Chamberlain was also responsible for the fitting out of the novices with their full quota of garments on the occasion of their " Nova Rastura ", or first tonsure, when they were admitted to full brotherhood. The normal issue **consisted** of two pairs of shirts, socks, drawers, boots and blankets and one cope, ordinary cowl, special cowl for the ludi, black tunic, white tunic, pilitch, comb and knife plus laces, points and " other necessaries ".

To help him in his work the Chamberlain had a staff consisting of a companion (**socius**) who was perhaps a fellow monk, a tailor, and a washerman plus a servant, all of whom received wages from his hand. His office inside the abbey and his estate had to ^{be} kept in repair and to this end he bought the usual materials. He also bought fodder for his horses and necessary articles for heating, lighting and clerical work. Small presents were made by him to the Succentor, the Precentor, the Master of the Infirmary and his own Vicar Choral plus gifts of money and wine at the ludi. Finally, he had the usual allowances on account of ruined tenements. In all, his annual expenditure approximated to his income.

3. HOSTILLAR.

The income of the Hostillar ranged from £180 in 1505 - 6 to £206 in 1523 - 24 and was drawn from both secular and ecclesiastical sources. The secular revenue was the produce of two large estates, the more important being the manor of Elvet. This property was still being worked directly and the profits, which were paid over to the Hostillar by the Reeve, ranged from £36 to £64 a year during this period. Unfortunately, the Reeve's accounts are not extant so we are unable to know exactly how this sum was produced. In addition, a sum of about £30 was drawn from a large number of tenements in the borough of Elvet, in the barony of Elvet, and in the streets known as Old and New Elvet. The second estate was also near the abbey, at Shincliffe. The annual value was about £35 of which £27 consisted of the assessed rents of the tenants, the remainder being small sums for rents, fuel, the Newland and the leases of small parcels of land.

The ecclesiastical revenue, which amounted to about £60, was drawn entirely from the large parish of St. Oswald's, Elvet which completely surrounded the city. By this date the parish, which was an original possession of the convent's, had been divided into two sections, one based on the parish church and the other on the chapel of St. Margaret in Crossgate. Both were large enough to warrant the employment of a Procurator to collect the rectorial dues. The income of St. Oswald's was composed of a sum which varied between £14 and £22 for alterage and quadragesimals and a constant sum of about £21 for tithes. These latter were drawn from Aldin Grange, Broom, Shincliffe, Croxdale (where there was another chapel), Browney, Houghall, "Hordehouse" and Elvet. The sum represented the small

tithes of hay, corn and flax in addition to the garb tithe. The income attached to St. Margaret's varied between £18 and £24; no details are given about it except that it included the tithes of Newton, Crookhall, Harbourhouse and North Waste.

The Hostillar's responsibility was the running of the Hospice or Guest Hall which consisted of two halls and five adjoining rooms known as the King's Chamber, the Knight's Chamber, the Clerk's Chamber, the Water Chamber and the Barry. Meals for the guests were the responsibility of the Cellarer but the Hostillar provided all other necessaries and luxuries. The most expensive item was wine (Red, Claret, Malmsey, Rumnay are mentioned) which was bought at Newcastle. In 1528 - 29, ten hogsheads were bought at a cost of over £16 (D.A.R.1 162.) in addition, several kinds of cloth were purchased, presumably for such things as bedding, and occasionally articles of furniture. By way of luxury spices were obtained and also the more mundane necessities such as coal, candles and rushes. In the running of this establishment the Hostillar was aided by a companion, two servants, who were called the Keeper of the Linen and the Groom of the Hall to whom he gave wages and clothes money.

Attached to the Hospice were large stables. In 1528 - 29, the Hostillar bought 108 quarters of oats and two quarters of peas and beans from the market, Elvet manor and elsewhere at a cost of £11-3-8 and paid the Bursar a further £20 for provender for carthorses. (D.A.R. L. 164.). The running of these stables required the work of two servants, the Stabularius and the Avenarius, who were paid and provided with the necessary articles for their work.

The cost of running the estate

was considerable and the largest single item consisted of the expenses of Elvet manor. In 1528 - 29, these amounted to £33-14-7 $\frac{1}{2}$ which was paid by tally to the Reeve to cover the costs of husbandry, harvesting, autumn works, the wages of himself and his servants and the price of eight oxen. Wages were also paid to two other officers, the Forester (who collected rents) and the Steward of the Tenants Court. In addition, the Hostillar had to pay for the cost of hay making at ten named properties near the city and also for the cost of agistment for his horses and for those of the Clerk of the Prior's Exchequer and the Cursor of the Exchequer. (D.A.R.1. 163 - 4). Repairs were also carried out, the places most frequently mentioned being the Hospice Apartments and the mill at Shincliffe. Finally, he paid a number of small rents to the Abbot of Blanchland, the Bishop, the Feretrar, the Almoner and the chantry priests of the Blessed Mary in St. Nicholas's and the Blessed Mary in St. Oswald's and to the Chaplain of the Chapel of St. Andrew on the Bridge. The expenses of the ecclesiastical estate were simpler although large in amount. The Vicar of St. Oswald's received an annual pension of £16 and the Chaplain of St. Margaret's one of £5-8-0 while their Procurators were paid £2-8-0 and £1-5-0 respectively.

The final category of expense consisted of various gifts and pensions. Two fellow officers, the Bursar and the Master of the Infirmary, received £7 and £3-2-0 respectively while the latter's clerk got 3-4. The Rector of South Bailey received 5-0 but I have been unable to discover the reason for it. The usual gifts of money and wine were made at Christmas and at the ludi. Finally, the Hostillar had to pay on the orders of the Prior £10 to the Sacrist and £1 to the Feretrar " for the relief of

their offices ". In all, the Hostillar's expenses were always similar in total to his income.

4. COMMONER.

The income of the Commoner varied between £111 and £114 during this period. The bulk of it, £70-16-9 $\frac{3}{4}$, is described in the rolls as " redd. ass. praeter redd. cantarii ut patet in Rentale " which suggests a group of properties in a separate account of which we have no knowledge. A further sum of about £14 was produced by the leases of tenements in South Street, Claypath, North Bailey, Crossgate and Framwellgate Bridge in the city and Cleatlam, Hebburn and Hett (including the perquisites of the court there) in the county. The remainder of the revenue was ecclesiastical in origin. The largest single sum was £7 which represented half the fruits of the church of Bywell St. Peter in Northumberland which the monks had secured in 1174 as compensation for relinquishing to St. Alban's abbey all claims to the priory of Tynemouth. ⁽²²⁾ A further £2-6-0 came from the village of Hett as the price of the garb tithe while the coal mine of Thomas Blakiston rendered a tithe of 6d. The Commoner also received four pensions. Walkington, in Yorkshire, which was worth £1, was part of the Chamberlain's estate but the revenue had been assigned to the Commoner. A much larger sum, £6-13-4, was paid by the church of Sacriston but I can find no reference to it in any of the surveys of the churches of the county. The last two pensions were of 6-8 and 3-4 from the abbey of Blanchland and St. Bartholomew's nunnery in Newcastle " pro indempnitate " the parish church of Bolam and

22.A History of Northumberland, Vol.VI, 103-4.

the chapel of St. Edmund in Gateshead. Concerning the latter, it appears that the chapel and the associated hospital were appropriated by Bishop Neville to the nunnery in 1448 on condition that this pension was paid to the Prior and convent.⁽²³⁾ Presumably the first pension must have resulted from a similar arrangement but I have found no evidence of it except that Blanchland secured the rectorial rights in 1359. The Commoner's income was completed by the sum of £12-3-0 he received in rent for the properties attached to the chantries of John Fossor, Walter Skirlaw and John Bude.

The Commoner's function may be described as that of providing comforts and luxuries for the brethren. About a third of his income was spent in making a gift of £1 to each monk in four instalments on the feasts of St. Peter ad Vincula, All Saints, the Purification and the Discovery of the Holy Cross. This seems to be another example of the wage system described by Professor Knowles⁽²⁴⁾ although it is not clear whether the payments were spice money or pocket money. A more continuous and equally important duty was the running of the Common House which was in the crypt beneath the dormitory. Here he was expected to keep a good fire going⁽²⁵⁾ which presumably accounts for the coal and wood brought from Finchale and Hett by the tenants of Shincliffe and Hett. In addition, candles were bought to lighten what must have been a dark building. The Commoner also provided spices worth about £4 which term included confection, "sugar plate", liquorice, pepper, aniseed, saffron, "zinzarbi", mace, cloves, nutmegs, raisons, figs and onions. The purpose of these was to ease the monks over the

23. R. Surtees, "History of Durham", Vol.11, 126.

24. "Religious Orders", 241-42.

25. Rites, 84.

Lenten fast and perhaps to provide warm drinks on winter nights.

The

Commoner does not seem to have had any staff to help him except for the Keeper of the Monk's "Cimbe" to whom he paid 6-8 a year. However, he did pay small pensions to himself, the Succentor, the Precentor and the Master of the Infirmary and to the priests who celebrated in the chantries of John Rudde, John Fossor and Walter Skirlaw on whose anniversary he distributed alms to the poor. Finally, he made payments of wine and money to the Prior, the brethren and the singers on the occasions of the ludi.

The upkeep of his estate was fairly expensive. At Hett he had two officers, the Keeper of the Woods and the Steward of the Tenant's Court, who received 6-8 and 3-4 respectively. The existence of these officers suggests that the lump sum of £70-16-9 $\frac{3}{4}$ came from tenements in Hett, but this is merely conjecture. In repairs the Commoner expended a fairly large sum in the purchase of stone, clay, lime, sand, straw and timber plus the costs of carting and using these materials. Finally, rents totalling more than £6 had to be paid. In total, the Commoner's expenses were less than his income, usually by about £10.

5. ALMONER.

The Almoner's income was usually £161 although it did drop to £89 in 1506 - 7 and rise to £103 in 1533 - 34. The great bulk of this, about £76, was produced by a large number of tenements in the city and the county. Those in the city were in Allergate, South Street, Crossgate, Milburngate, Sidegate, Owengate, North Bailey, Elvet Bridge (Sowter Peth),

Old and New Elvet and Court Lane (Raton Rawe). Outside the city he had tenements in Hartlepool, Bromptoft, Sunderland, Pallion, Barnes, Follensby, Houghton - le - Spring, East Rainton, Ferryhill, Hardwick, Bradbury, Aycliffe, Denton, Hetton, Wakerfield, Hutton Henry, Stanhope, Burnhope, Edmundbyers, Heley, Consett, Knitsley, Greencroft, Iveston, Rowlands Gill, Burnhouse, North Lintz, South Lintz, Petthouse, Esh, Fulforth, Broom and Relley plus " Shepley ", " Wysyll ", " Wygsyd ", " Thryske ", " Kyhorp " and " Underside ". All these rents were assessed. A further sum of about £17 came from the leases of enclosures near the city while the lease of the Almoner's manor at Witton Gilbert produced £5-13-4.

A small but interesting part of the Almoner's revenue was a sum of about £3 which represented the commutation of a customary rent called " Blado St. Egidii ", known colloquially as "Gilly-Corn". Miss C.M.Fraser,⁽²⁶⁾ who has investigated this rent, says that it was levied at a rate of a "thrave" (24 sheaves) on each tenement or ploughland. However, not all holdings were liable; indeed, it seems that the rent was not imposed on any land that came into the convent's possession or into cultivation after 1200. Its origin probably lies in pre-Conquest times as a render made to the community of St. Cuthbert to enable it to give alms. Miss Fraser suggests that at the division of the lands of St. Cuthbert between Bishop and Convent, Ralph Flambard assigned this rent from the episcopal estates to the Hospital of St. Giles, hence the name. Sometime later, when the monks established the obedientiary system they assigned the rent from their lands to the Almoner's office.

The Almoner was also entitled to a tithe of the produce of the coal mines of Findon, " Damehughe " and Fulforth but for most of this period they were unoccupied. Finally, the oblations made in the Infirmary Chapel were his as were the goods of any of the inmates who died.

The Almoner's function was to execute the charity of the house which he did by running three hospitals. That of Witton Gilbert was founded in the reign of Bishop Hugh du Puiset for the accommodation of five lepers. This number was later increased to eight but in 1522-23 there were only two men and two women in residence. (D.A.R.1. 255). The annual cost of this establishment was always between £3 and £4 which was expended on corn, wood, coal and Christmas necessaries. Nothing is known of the Magdalene Hospital in Gilesgate but at this time it housed twenty inmates the cost of whose upkeep was invariably between £6 and £7 including donations known as Soulsilver, Groatsilver and Metcorn. The largest of the three hospitals was the Infirmary outside the abbey gates at the junction of North and South Bailey. It contained twenty-eight out-patients and six in-patients plus a number of poor boys who were kept by the convent under the Almoner's care and educated by one of his subordinates called the Master of the Grammar School. Attached to the Infirmary were the Almoner's stables which were looked after by the Keeper. His wages plus the cost of fodder, horse medicine and equipment were part of the Almoner's burden.

The Almoner also had to pay for the repair of several buildings, in particular, the three hospitals, the manor at Witton, the tenements he controlled and a water mill in Framwellgate. He also paid rent for several small properties, the largest being

"Loundisplace" in the South Bailey. Finally, he made gifts of money and

wine to the Prior, the Prior's Steward, the brethren, the novices and his own servants and workmen on the occasions of the ludi. His total expenses varied between £70 and £74, that is, about three-quarters of his income, which suggests that his duties had been heavier at an earlier date.

6. MASTER of the INFIRMARY.

Only two rolls of this officer have survived for this period and they show the Master receiving £5-11-4 in 1526-27 and £5-6-6 in 1534-35 (D.A.R.1. 283-4) although in 1496-97 his income amounted to £6-7-11 (D.A.R.1. 283). Over half the income, £3-2-10, was supplied by the Hostillar who paid to the Master the rents he received from certain tenements in Old and New Elvet and the barony of Elvet. These transfers were the work of Priors Washington (1416-46) and Robert Ebchester (1478-84). An earlier Prior, Bertram (1189-1209) was responsible for a further £1-6-8 paid to the Master by the Bursar. A further 10-0 was paid by four unnamed officers on the feast of St. Andrew. Finally, 11-4 was received from tenements under the Master's own jurisdiction.

The Infirmary was not only the convent's hospital but also served as a barber's shop and a prison. As a result we find that there was a Bloodhouse where bleedings took place and a Lyinghouse or prison, access to which was through a trap - door in the Master's Chamber. The Master also had a coal store and a herb garden, in which no doubt, he grew the ingredients of his medicines. Lastly, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Andrew attached to the Infirmary for use at funerals.

To help him in his work the Master had a staff consisting of the Clerk of the Infirmary, a Washerman and a boy to whom he paid wages and made gifts at Christmas. He bought the usual necessities such as coal, wood, candles, rushes, cloth, soap and stationary plus the essential tools of his trade like razors, knives and basins. Finally, he made payments to the Feretrar " for the relief of his office " and the Master of the Boys plus pittances on the vigil of St. Aidan. In all, he slightly over-spent in both years that are recorded.

7. SACRIST.

Unfortunately there is only one surviving account roll of the Sacrist's office for this period, that of 1535 - 36 (D.A.R.11. 417-19); consequently all figures and examples below are quoted from it. Although it is an isolated example, the roll is probably typical, if we are to judge by the evidence of the accounts of the other officers. The total income of the year was £131-13-1 most of which (about £70) was derived from small tenements scattered over the north - east. In the city he had property in Allergate, Crossgate, South Street, Framwellgate, the Market Place, Sidegate, Claypath, Saddler Street, Elvet, North Bailey and South Bailey. Elsewhere, he had tenements in Pittington, Wolviston, Iveston, Newton near Jarrow, East Merrington and Edmundbyers in Durham, Norham, Holy Island, Thornton and Edlingham in Northumberland and in Gullane in Scotland. He also received £20-19-0 for unspecified lands in the " county of York and Holtby " which was paid in by a Receiver who rendered an annual account. The final pieces of income from secular sources were £1 from a mill at Warkworth and £6 from another mill

called "Jhi".

His income from ecclesiastical sources amounted to £26-1-4. The largest single item was £13-10-0 received from four men for the lease of the lands attached to the chantry of Isabella Lawson which was in the cathedral. Next came the sum of £9 representing the tithes of the parish of Edlingham in Northumberland. The remainder of the money was made up of pensions from the Rector of Dinsdale and the Vicar of Middleham, lights at the Chapel of Our Lady of Bolton in the cathedral and the proceeds, which amounted to a mere 1-6, of the shrines of St. Saviour, Holy Cross in the Galilee, St. Bede, Blessed Mary of Bethlehem and St. Sythe about which I can find no information.

Finally, the Sacrist had an income of £15-2-1 from the sale of wool, hides and stock. The roll does not tell us where the Sacrist obtained these commodities but we may guess that it was from his manor at Sacriston which is not mentioned anywhere in the receipts.

The Sacrist's main job was to look after the church and to provide the necessary articles for the services held in it. The most expensive item was 608lbs. of wax purchased at various prices from merchants at Durham and Newcastle at a cost of over £20. It was turned into candles in a special room called the Waxhouse. For the celebration of mass he bought nearly £4 worth of wine and, although it is not mentioned in the roll, he must have baked communion bread in the special oven in the south transept. For the lighting of the church he bought 71 stones of fat and for the cleaning a firkin of soap. To help him in his work he had a companion and five valets and five grooms, all of whom were paid by him.

The running of his estate was also expensive. Over £8 was paid in wages to the Steward of Holtby, the Keeper of the Horses, the Wainman, the Keeper of the Animals at Sacriston, the Supervisor of the Stock, the Keeper of the Animals at Hayhopesields and the Carpenter. Repairs costing nearly £14 were carried out at Sacriston, Holtby and York in addition to those done to the church, the boy's school and the Carpenter's house. Finally, stock amounting to sixty - three animals was bought at the cost of £8-5-3. At this point we may note that there is much evidence for the direct working of land at Sacriston and Hayhopesields; in addition to the purchase of stock and the employment of stockmen, the roll mentions ploughing, haymaking, the washing and shearing of sheep and the repair of carts and wagons.

Lastly, there is a miscellaneous list of payments including pensions to the Prior of Kirkham, the convent's Exchequer, the Master of the Infirmary, the Precentor and the Succentor, gifts of wine and money to the Prior and the novices at the ludi and on the feast of St. Aidan, the payment of rents, the purchase of thirteen dozen pairs of gloves and the cost of the tenants' court at Old Durham. In all, the expenses for the year amounted to £104-5-4.

8. FERETRAR.

The income of the Feretrar was small and decreased towards the close of the convent's existence - in 1525 - 26 it was £24-16-6 but by 1536-37 it had dropped to £15-18-6 $\frac{1}{2}$. (D.A.R. 11. 482-83). Of this money, about £6 represented rents from six tenements in South Street, Claypath,

South Bailey and Framwellgate, all of which were controlled by the Hostillar, the Sacrist or the Almoner. Another £4 came from four unnamed officials and the Boy Bishop presented a gift of 16-0. Finally, there were the receipts of the shrines of St. Cuthbert in the cathedral and John Warton, a local saint, in St. Oswalds. The drop in the Feretrar income was due in fact to the decline in the charity of the pious at these two shrines; for example, over £11 was received in 1525 - 26 at St. Cuthbert's but only about £4 in 1536 - 37.

The Feretrar's office

existed simply to keep St. Cuthbert's shrine, to supervise its use and to care for the many relics that had accumulated during the centuries (a list of them made in 1383 covers fifteen pages in D.A.R.11. 415-40). However, the main charge on his income consisted of payments made to the Prior and the brethren totalling £20 at the feasts of St. Peter ad Vincula, the Purification, All Saints and the Discovery of the Holy Cross. These occasions are the same as those on which the Commoner gave his spice money and the Feretrar's gifts may well be another example of the working of the wage system. Professor Knowles ⁽²⁷⁾ vouches for the sharing of profits in many houses and the Feretrar's gifts may well represent the division of the receipts of the shrines. The remaining expenses were small. He paid wages to himself, his assistant, a clerk, two brethren for collecting rents and the bearer of St. Cuthbert's Banner. He also paid alms for the Prior and a rent to the Bishop. Finally, there was the expense of cleaning and repairing the shrine and its contents. The total expenses during this period were approximately the same as income.

C. NON - FINANCIAL OFFICIALS.

Reviewing the organisation of the convent from the financial angle entails a distortion of the proper arrangement of the hierarchy since we have to concentrate on the officials connected with getting and spending to the detriment of those who did not have such responsibilities and yet were very important in other connections. To restore some sort of balance we must briefly note the existence of these other officers:

1. PRIOR.

Durham was one of the largest and wealthiest monastic houses in the country and, since it was attached to the cathedral, the Prior was de facto head of the community. As Miss E.M. Halcrow⁽²⁸⁾ has shown, this made the Prior one of the leading figures in local society on a par with such families as the Percies and the Nevilles and enabled him to act as an intermediary between the local gentry and the Bishop. As regards the life the convent the Prior had long since ceased to live with his monks, having a residence of his own which is now the Deanery. Here he was attended by his own household which consisted of his Chaplain, his Steward, his Marshal, several esquires and many servants of menial status. The fact that members of local Palatine families such as the Tempests, the Eures and the Bulmers were honoured to serve in the office of Steward gives some indication of the importance and status of this organisation.

Although in feudal terms the lord of the convent's

28. E.M.Halcrow, "The Social Position of the Priors of Durham", *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Vol.XXXIII, 70-86.

lands and in control of a separate household, the Prior was not maintained by a separate estate as were the heads of many other large abbeys. Instead of a permanent estate attached to his office, the Prior took temporary control of certain revenues which were part of the Bursar's onus. In addition, the Bursar also supplied food, clothing and spices at Easter and on the occasions of the ludi while the Cellarer fed him and his household when they were resident in Durham. However, the Prior's existence seems to have been fairly peripatetic since he spent much time at the various manor houses of the estate. His principal country residence was at Bearpark where he had a stud farm which was run by the Keeper of the Horses. This was a profitable enterprise, the surplus animals being sold at local fairs and markets. Bearpark was also the scene of the ludi which were periods of recreation attended in turn by the brethren. There were three such occasions during the year at the feasts of the Birth of St. John the Baptist, All Saints and the Purification; in addition, the Prior seems to have spent Easter there. On these occasions the Prior, the brethren in attendance and the senior members of the Prior's household were supplied with presents of money and wine to the value of about £15 by the Hostillar, the Chamberlain, the Almoner, the Commoner and the Sacrist.

2. OTHERS.

The fact that the Prior's existence was largely separated from that of the monks necessitated a deputy. This was the Sub - Prior who exercised general discipline over the brethren, presided over the Chapter meetings and generally seems to have acted the part of a Prior in a

non - cathedral house. Beneath him was a Third or Deece Prior who acted in the Sub - Prior's absence and was also, according to the Rites, the Feretrar. In addition, there was a Precentor and a Succentor who received annual presents, as did the Sub - Prior, from several of their fellow officers. They presumably were connected with the work in the choir and had no financial responsibilities. Finally, there was the Master of the Novices who was a senior monk who was responsible for the training of the six novices. He took his meals with them in the Frater and obtained their clothing for them from the Chamberlain. The necessities being thus provided, he needed no income, in fact the only money he received was presents from other officers.

SECTION FOUR

CONCLUSION.

To conclude this dissertation, I should like to attempt to describe the financial and administrative condition of the convent as a whole.

With regard to finance the greatest attention must be paid to the Bursar since he controlled the greater part of the convent's finances. During this period his income varied from year to year within a range of £1381 (1501 - 2) and £1472 (1513 - 14). Although this range is not large, the available totals indicate a gradual if irregular rise in income : for the period prior to 1509, five years show a total below £1400, whereas only one of the six years after that date for which records are available, is not above that figure. Unfortunately, except for a fragment for 1523 - 24 on which there is no total, all records for the years between 1520 and 1536 are missing, so we have no means of knowing whether the trend continued, although the figure of £1462 for 1536 - 37 suggests that it did.

The remainder of the income, which was shared between nine other officials, amounted about £750 each year, giving a grand total of over £2000 in any one year. Again it is impossible to make a positive claim that the income was on the increase although the accounts of the Cellarer, the Hostillar and the Almoner show higher totals at the end of the period than at the beginning. However, this was not true of the Chamberlain or the Feretrar whose incomes decreased, or the Commoner and the Terrar whose incomes remained static.

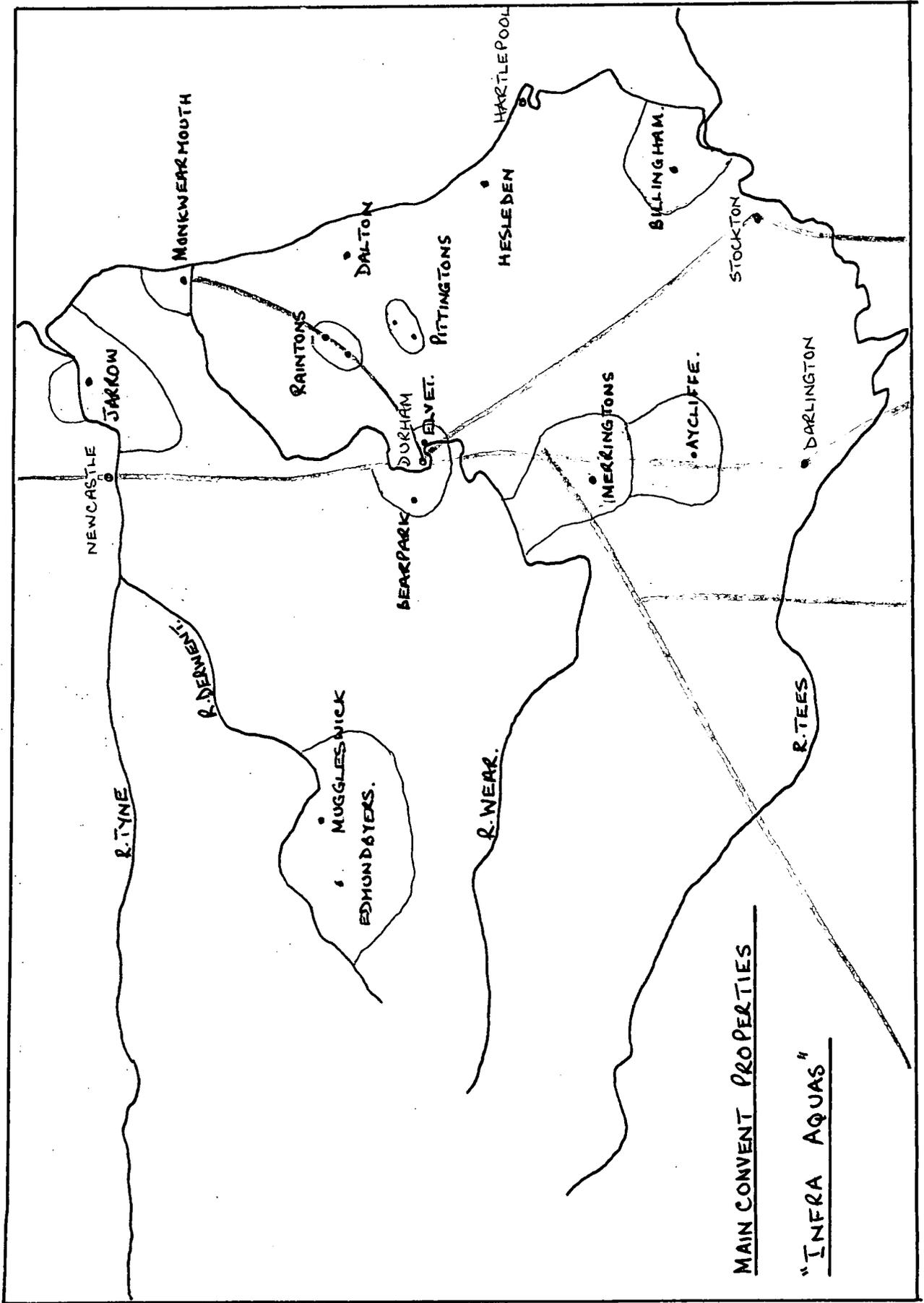
In considering expenditure it is noticeable that six of the ten officers (Bursar,

Cellarer, Chamberlain, Hostillar, Master of the Infirmary and Feretrar) spent each year approximately the same amount as they collected and when there was a difference, it was insufficient to create a serious profit or deficit. The remaining officers (Commoner, Almoner, Sacrist and Terrar) normally spent less than they received, making an aggregate profit of about £74 a year. Consequently, we can conclude that, unlike many houses, the Durham convent was solvent.

Turning to the question of organisation, we must note that the obedientiary system seems to have retained its basic shape throughout its history. This, however, should not be taken as evidence of stagnation; indeed as late as 1513 we find the Prior ordering wage increases for a number of servants. Externally changes had taken place in the administration of the estate so that by the end of its existence the convent had adopted a policy of leasing, although, as we have already noted, certain officers still administered parts of their estates directly, especially those situated near the abbey. This, and the decline of the Halmote Court would no doubt destroy the more intimate connection between the monks and the inhabitants of their estate.

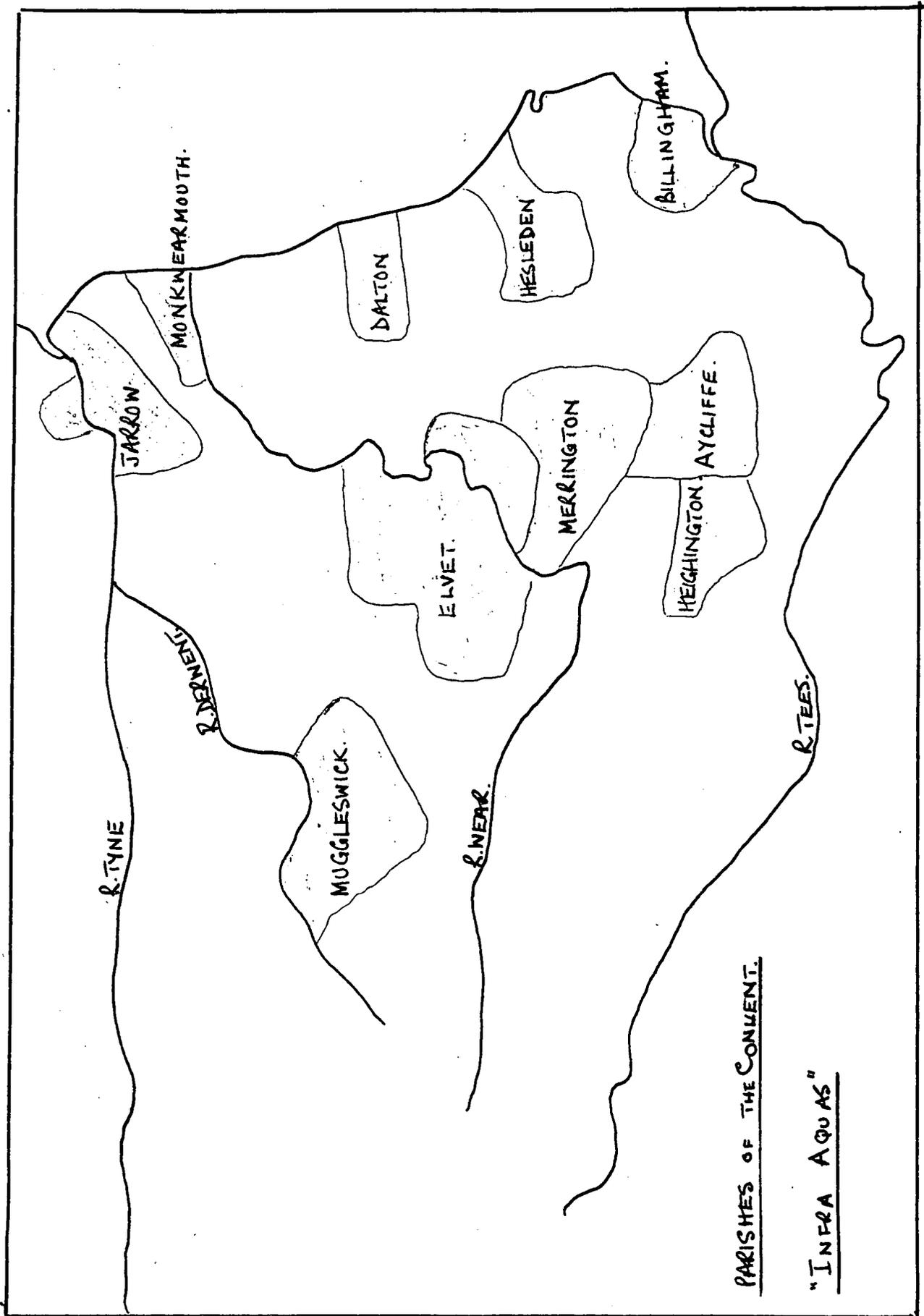
Finally, an attempt must be made to assess the quality of the life led by the monks at this period. The " wage system " indicated in the Account Rolls suggests that the population of the convent was between 35 and 40 monks at this time. Of this total, ten were obedientiaries in control of portions of the estate and five of them (Bursar, Sacrist, Cellarer, Hostillar and Chamberlain) had duties so time - consuming that they had to absent themselves from church services, employing Vicars Choral as substitutes. This practice had been in use since the early 14th. century. In addition, the more important officers had monk -

companions to help them with their work which means that over a third of the brethren were employed in administration. Here we may note that the convent was a considerable employer of labour since nearly a hundred servants were at work in and around the abbey in addition to those used in the working of those parts of the estate which had not been leased. All this suggests a rather unspiritual atmosphere which is confirmed by the existence of such things as the Ludi, the payment of "wages", the giving of presents and the rich living evidenced in the Account Rolls of the Cellarer and the Commoner. However, all this should not be taken to imply excessive laxity or scandal; in fact evidence points away from this. No untoward incidents or bad characters appear in the rolls although this is hardly to be expected in financial accounts. However, the fact that the convent maintained its own college at Oxford suggests a fair degree of education and the evidence of the Rites indicates a full and traditional programme of ceremonial observance. All in all, the impression is created of the convent as a community of well - educated gentlemen living a conventionally pious existence but devoting considerable time to the administration of their territorial possessions.



MAIN CONVENT PROPERTIES

"INFRA AQUAS"



PARISHES OF THE CONVENT.

"INFRA AQUAS"