

The University of Leeds (Department of History)

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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FISHER (E.J.)  
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"SOME YORKSHIRE ESTATES OF THE PERCIES 1450 - 1650"

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October, 1954.

Eric J. Fisher, M.A.

**VOLUME 3**  
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## Bibliography (and abbreviations used in Notes)

### A. Original Sources

#### 1. Petworth MSS. All references preceded by (Pet.MS.)

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MS. Estate Surveys 1577 and 1614.  
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## ERRATA

### Leconfield

- p.36 line 17 for 'not' read 'now'.  
p.82 footnote 1; reference is to 'Agrarian Problems of the  
16th.Century' R.H.Tawney.  
p.87 footnote 2; read 'O.S.D.Dom. 3 Hen.VII'  
p.94 footnote 1; insert '10 Hen.VIII'

### Spefforth

- p.86 footnote 2 line2; read "estate plan 1611 No.5"  
p.99 footnote 1 ; after 1577 read "p.95"

### Wressell

- p.82 line 11; for "not" read "now"

### Conclusions

- p.6 Table A Column 3 ; for 17% read 10%, and in same column  
insert 16.5% opposite 'Totals'.  
p.10 line 13; for Table B read Table D.

INTRODUCTION

The aims of this dissertation are, first, to place on record, so far as is possible, the history of four Yorkshire villages, and second, to consider their social and economic development with a view to adding some particles of new evidence - however few - to the steadily growing store of information on such problems in so far as the period 1450 - 1650 is concerned.

Though much has been written on the subject of the Percy family and the great share which they have taken in the weaving of the complicated pattern of English history, their estates - especially their Yorkshire estates - seem to have been all but entirely neglected, even by de Fonblanque and Brenan, the chief Percy annalists.

Historical interest, combined with a desire to bring one stage nearer the completion of Yorkshire local records, led the writer to attempt a history of Spofforth in the West Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>1</sup> The present thesis is the sequel to that preliminary work. Partly through family connections with one village and wartime associations with several villages in which R.A.F. Stations are or were located, the choice of Percy Yorkshire estates to be examined fell on Spofforth, Leconfield, Topcliffe and Wressel. These were by far the most important - and in the cases of Spofforth and Topcliffe - the oldest of the Percy

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1 "The Manor of Spofforth" - E. J. Fisher. 1933 M.A., Thesis, University of Leeds.

possessions in the country. Moreover, from the standpoint of breadth of survey, the choice was further recommended by the fact that all three divisions of the county would thus be represented - the West Riding by Spofforth, the East by Leconfield and Wressel, and the North by Topcliffe.

Earlier work, from 1934 to 1938 had familiarised the writer with the chief repository of unpublished material bearing on Spofforth - Petworth House, Sussex - where study during four summer vacations was made possible by the kind permission of the late Lord Leconfield and the co-operation of his secretary, Mr. J. H. S. Bennett. During those years complete transcripts were made of the records of some 1,100 courts, besides innumerable court papers, covering a period 1444 - 1815, together with such sections of the Ministers' Accounts as referred to Spofforth. These were then translated and calendared, the whole work covering about 1,800 foolscap sheets of manuscript. Whilst this was in process, material referring to other Yorkshire properties was encountered and noted, so that when the contents of the Spofforth documents proved to be mainly of unexceptional character, the extension of the scope of the survey to these other estates was made less difficult. Extracts from the other manuscripts were compiled during the summer and Christmas vacations of 1951, 1952 and 1953 with the above-mentioned object of presenting as full an

account as possible of these four principal Yorkshire estates.

The material consulted at Petworth consists of three main categories - (1) court rolls, court books and court papers, (2) accounts of such ministers as reeves, bailiffs and feodaries, and (3) estate maps and plans.

When first seen in the pre-war years, the manuscripts were in a deplorable state of preservation and the cataloguing simple but uninspired. Thanks to the efforts of the fourth - and present - Lord Leconfield, the laudable task of repairing the manuscripts has done much to atone for past neglect. A certain amount of renumbering of the membranes has been carried out, but as this was not entirely completed at the writer's last visit, references have been made to the general class numbering to which the new classification is supplementary. The process of calendaring the MSS. is being continued by Miss G. Beck, the full-time archivist, whose appointment has ensured the capable handling of a labour long overdue. To her, too, the thanks of the writer are to be expressed for her gracious and sympathetic help.

The maps and estate plans are of two distinct types. The maps, nine of which are early 17th century and six 18th century, are in most cases of parchment and mounted on wooden rollers, but several have been damaged by damp so badly that in one case the map is in about a dozen pieces.



Most should respond quite well to the repair and restoration which is contemplated. The estate plans for many of the Yorkshire properties are drawn on parchment but bound in with large folios in red morocco leather and recording early 17th century surveys. Unfortunately the volumes for Spofforth and Topcliffe are missing.

A short summary of the Yorkshire contents of the Petworth muniment room was contributed by the writer to the Journal of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.<sup>1</sup> The accompanying list is a slight amplification of that article. All the large Yorkshire maps were photographed, and the Y.A.S. now has a print of each of the maps in the list. In the folder accompanying this thesis reproductions of such maps<sup>2</sup> as concern the four lordships are mounted in an indexed album which also includes copies of the relevant sheets of the 2½" Ordnance Survey. In all cases these sheets have been provided with overlays illustrating the coincidences with or variations from the Percy survey of 1577. It is suggested that these maps be consulted along with the text.

Also in the folder are a volume of photographs referring to Leconfield and Spofforth - those of the former regrettably inadequate - and another volume referring to Topcliffe and Wressel. Amongst the most interesting of

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1 Y.A.S. Journal Vol. XXXVIII Part 150. 1953.

2 The maps of Leconfield (1616) and Wressel (1624) are additional to the items listed in the summary contributed to the Y.A.S. Journal.

Documentation of the Four Yorkshire Manors (Petworth MSS.)

Manor and Type of MS.	Hen. V	Hen. VI	Edw. IV	Ric. III	Henry VII	Henry VIII	Edw. VI	Phil. & Mary	Elizabeth	James I	Charles I
<u>Leconfield</u> Court Rolls			13		3,6,7,11 14,16,23	2,6,7,8, 10,11, 13,25, 37,38		4,5,6	2,3,6-9, 20-27,29, 31-35,41- 44	1-12,14	11-14,17, 19-24
Accounts		22	21			8,9,11			16-18,21		
Surveys									1577	1614	
<u>Spofforth</u> Court Rolls			11-15, 19-20	2,3	1-6,15, 23	5-8, 10-12			2,6-11,20 -29,31-38, 41-45	1-21	12-24
Accounts		20,22, 23	11,19			8,11,14			16-18, 21,43	5,7	
Surveys									1577		
<u>Topcliffe</u> Court Rolls		3,14-15 29-30	12-16 19-22		4-7,10- 19,22	4-7,9, 13,26-28	5-6	2-5	2,3,5-11, 18,19,23, 28-30,33- 37,40,41, 43-45	1-17	11-24
Accounts	1	22	11,12, 19		8,11,14- 18,33				20	5-7	
Surveys									1577		

Documentation of the Four Yorkshire Manors (Petworth MSS.) (Cont'd.)

Manor and Type of MS.	Hen. V	Hen. VI	Edw. IV	Ric. III	Henry VII	Henry VIII	Edw. VI	Phil. & Mary	Elizabeth	James I	Charles I
<u>Wressel</u>											
Court Rolls			12,14, 16,17		20	25,27			4,7,9,10, 28,29,31- 38,41, 42-44	1-18	11,15-24
Accounts			11			8,9,11, 14,15			16-18,21	5-7	
Surveys									1577	1613	

of the reproductions is the set - or rather two sets - of early plans of Wressel Castle of which the writer made tracings as long ago as 1937, but photostats of which are now available from the Public Record Office.<sup>1</sup>

At first the MSS seem to present a good coverage from at least 1473 to 1650. Of the four manors the Topcliffe records are the best distributed, only the reigns of Edward V and Richard III not being represented by at least one document in a period 1400 to 1650. It is perhaps surprising that so large a number of MSS. should have survived when the troubled history of the Percies during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries is remembered, with the subsequent frequent changes of estate ownership as a result of which the 'casualty rate' of documents must have been high. Although the rolls and books thus listed are the records of approximately 1000 courts, their contents are largely commonplace. The paucity of the Ministers' Accounts is to be deplored, since in the main, such documents are full of interesting and valuable information.

The one MS. which is a common factor to all the four manors and whose information is of the utmost value, and which can be regarded as a firm standpoint from which the observer can look back and forward, is the Percy Survey of 1577. This large leather-bound volume includes all the Yorkshire estates and is remarkable for its attractively-

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1 PRO. Maps and Plans ref. 22/43.

executed colophons at the head of each section, some of which have been reproduced by contact print and are to be found in the "Maps, Plans and MSS." Volume in the folder. The binding of this handsome book was repaired in 1950 by Mr. A. Hasell of the Public Record Office, and the portions of the illuminated manuscript which at one time formed its front and back end-papers carefully preserved in cellophane.<sup>1</sup>

Mainly from these MSS. thus cursorily described, the histories of the four Percy manors have been constructed. The information gained has been supplemented from entries in the various printed calendars, from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, and from Tithe Commutation Maps and other parish documents. For permission to consult these last sources, the writer wishes to acknowledge the help of the last two Rectors of Spofforth, the Revs. E. O. Butler and A. N. Leese, the late Rector of Kirkby Overblow, Rev. Dr. R. L. Bellamy, and the last Steward of the Rectorial Manor of Spofforth, the late A. Brett, Esq., M.A.

For the bulk of the photographs, thanks are to be expressed to Mr. K. Crowther, B.Sc., M.Ed., and for sometimes helpful and always interesting conversations in fields, churches and village inns, to the scores of local inhabitants who have borne sympathetically with the writer's inquisitive

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1 A similar Survey of the Percy Northumberland Estates at the same date is to be found at Alnwick Castle.

questions and requests for access to private property.

Finally, had it not been for the helpful and patient guidance of Mr. M. W. Beresford of the University of Leeds, with his discouragement of the diffuse and his restraint of enthusiasm for the picturesque at the expense of essentials, this piece of research could not have reached its present form, however imperfect that may still be.

A great part of the second aim of the dissertation can perhaps best be summarised in the words of one who was intimately concerned with its subject-matter - the 9th Earl of Northumberland:-

"The tenures of ther landes and customes would be knowen as well in the generall as of the perticular provinces townes jurisdictions Signoryes; as also in what sortt they receave ther reuenues whether by way of mony or in kind or parte one way part an other; what assurances the Lorde hath from the tenaunt or the tenaunt from the Lorde; whether lett for yeares or for lyves; then agayne whether they take annual rentes or fynes or boethe; then the seruises they owe to ther Lordes would not be forgotten; ther mannors of sales, assurances, morgages you shall doe well not to be ignorant of and what the generall rates of ther landes are solde at; the measuring of ther landes whether by acre or any other common measure perticular to themselves would be looked into; the natures of ther groundes whether sandy, grauells, clayes, black moldes,

heathy, stoney, woddy, drye groundes would allso be obserued; for soe may you, by computacon quantite for quantite consider the yealdings of those states to ours; the quantites of wines, of grass, of graynes, that ther acres doe yeald would allso be noted, as allso to compare the biggeness of ther acres with ours or any other measures..."<sup>1</sup>

The writer is only too well aware that this second aim has not been fully achieved, but ascribes this lack of complete success partly to the lack of consideration shown by Percy clerks and officials in preserving so few fully-detailed records of their activities, though perhaps the more honest confession would be to admit John Norden's gentle reproof that "the mist of partial observation has dazzled his eyes".<sup>2</sup>

At least it is hoped that the collating of so much hitherto unpublished material will fulfil the purposes of clarifying the records of four once-great Percy possessions, of only one of which - Wressel<sup>3</sup> - has any other attempt been made to give a coherent account, and to enable future students to make their own deductions for even wider research.

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1 PET.MS. No.24 The 9th Earl's "Letter of Advice to his Son". Original. folio 6., repaired and bound by D.L.Swain 1952. Reprinted in Grose's Antiquarian Repertory 1809 Vol.IV. p.375, and reprinted 1937, edited by G.B.Harrison.

2 Surveyor's Dialogue 1618 edn. Book 6.

3 "An Historical Account of the Parish of Wressle in the East Riding of the County of York" London 1797 anon. (Savage?) B.Mus. Cat.of Pr.Bks. 291 D.2. A later edition (abbreviated) was produced by J. Savage in 1805 under the title "History of Wressle".

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LECONFIELD

Section 1

The Lordship To-day

The village of Leconfield lies between the 25 and 50 foot contour lines, on almost flat land which slopes gently to the banks of the River Hull two miles away to the east. The Hull is tidal throughout the stretch which lies within the lordship.

The area is drained by (a) Bryan Mills Beck and (b) Scarborough Beck, which unite to form Aik Beck; (c) Ella Dyke whose main source is the Flashwell Spring, which provided the supply for the moat of the Old Manor House, later becoming the Catchwater Drain and finally Arram Beck; (d) Bullock Dyke which provided an outflow for the Manor House moat, and (e) Stork Dyke (now partly South Bullock Dyke) which for much of its length marked the southern boundary of the lordship. All these streams are tributaries of the Hull which forms the eastern boundary of the manor.

The district is damp, with water close to the surface, since the whole of the manor except an inconsiderable portion in the west and south-west lies on the 25-foot contour or below. The drainage streams are sluggish, only one - and then outside the lordship - of sufficient head to drive a corn mill. This is Bryan Mills<sup>1</sup>, which was powered by an undershot wheel rotated by the beck which was dammed for some 300 yards to make this possible.

Until the arrival of mains water supply, the provision of drinking water must have constituted a great problem.

Most of the springs, which lie at or near the foot of the 50 foot contour, present a most forbidding aspect to-day - the appearance of the Flashwell Spring especially belying its name. On the west of the lordship there still exists a large number of water pumps, mostly hand-operated and used for watering stock. These lie mainly between the 75 and 50 foot contours. A short distance north of the second milestone on the Beverley to Leconfield road, a bridge across a small ditch is known as Pump bridge. This is referred to in an account of 1541, when repairs to the fence of the Cottswold as far as "le Pompe" were mentioned.<sup>1</sup> It is just possible that the pump was utilised for drinking water, but more likely that it helped remove excess water from the Manor House moat when the supply from the Flashwell Spring exceeded requirements.

Besides Leconfield village, the lordship also comprised Scarborough, a mile to the north, and Arram about a mile and a half to the east.

Even to-day the whole district is sparsely populated, the majority of the present day farmsteads standing where their seventeenth century predecessors stood. Few newly constructed buildings are to be found. The static population is to be accounted for, no doubt, by the limited productivity of the area, partly due to flooding to which the eastern part of the district is prone, even to-day, in spite of an

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1 PRO.Min.Acc.SC6/4284

elaborate system of drainage dykes, locks, pumping stations and a most impressive series of embankments on the River Hull, Arram Beck and Aik Beck.

In the case of all three members of the lordship, the occupied settlement was well to the west of the appurtenant territory. Of the three, Arram fared worst, situated as it was, and is, close to the high water mark of ordinary tides on Arram Beck, and open to flooding from the north where Aik Beck is tidal to a point almost a mile west of Arram; though this danger has been minimised in more modern times by the construction of the relief waterways such as the Beverley and Barmston Drain.

The whole lordship is served by only one Class A road, running north and south, and one unclassified road, east to west, linking Arram with Leconfield. The fact that there is not one ferry across the Hull between Hull Bridge<sup>1</sup> on the Beverley - Leven road, and Wilfholme,<sup>2</sup> shows both the sparse nature of the population and the lack of demand for east-west transit, as most business is done with Beverley or Hull.

The soil is mainly boulder clay and varies from light gravels to heavy sticky soil, these two extremes being found closely associated, in the haphazard fashion characteristic of this type of deposit. Much of the eastern

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1 O.S. 2½ Sheet 54/04.055416

2 " " " .063471

section of both Leconfield and Scarborough, and almost all the land in Arram is peaty 'carr' land, overlying the boulder clay.

For these reasons it is evident that with the lack of uniformity in geological formation, a standardised general rotation of crops is impracticable. To-day there is much arable farming in both Leconfield and Scarborough, the cropping varying from land unit to land unit. On the heavier lands beans are still grown in considerable quantities as one feature of the rotation, whilst on the lighter soils peas form a common crop. Spring sowing of wheat is the usual practice, in preference to autumn sown seed which is often loosened by frost in the types of soil prevalent. Especially towards the east of the region the land is sour and requires heavy liming to produce maximum fertility; yet there are extensive stretches of permanent pasture of excellent quality.

Once well-wooded, as is witnessed by the 16th century surveys and the 17th century plan, the whole region shows to-day only a scanty stock of trees, the majority of these being located in hedgerows. Many of those once surrounding the old manor house were felled about 1920 - mostly oak, ash and elm. Those which remain are, in the main, softwood of recent growth.

The dearth of large trees or stretches of woodland is partly explained, no doubt, by the presence of the Royal

Air Force Station established there in the mid-1930's, whose buildings, runways and perimeter track occupy what was once the Coursing Park and the Old Park, interrupting the road to Arram.

But for this great addition both to the population and to the built-up area, Leconfield would still consist of the church, the vicarage, school, 18th century manor house, and the few brick cottages which house the majority of the 283 persons with whom Leconfield and Arram were credited in the Census of 1931.

LECONFIELD

Section 2

History of the Lordship

Much of Leconfield and all Scarborough formed part of the extensive post-conquest grant to the Percy family, sharing this distinction with Spofforth, Tadcaster and Topcliffe. As in the case of those three other lordships, Leconfield, too, had shown an increase in value over the pre-Conquest assessment - 33%<sup>1</sup> in this instance. It had obviously escaped the worst effects of the Harrying of the North, perhaps sharing the immunity enjoyed by Beverley whose northern boundaries it adjoined. The Church of St. John of Beverley held property in Cherry Burton, Molescroft and Lockington, whilst the Archbishop of York's possessions included Aik and Eske. The now deserted village of Raventhorpe<sup>2</sup> which also belonged to Beverley completed a ring of ecclesiastical holdings encircling Leconfield lordship - held by a noble who appears to have stood high in the king's confidence.

The development of Leconfield in the following centuries is traceable only from a series of isolated and miscellaneous recorded entries to interpret which frequently requires much imagination.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 Bawdwen's Domesday 1809. pp. 57, 61, 80 and 169
  - 2 Y.A.J. XXXVIII (1952) Lost Villages of Yorkshire II M. W. Beresford. p. 67
  - 3 Many such records are to be found in the Percy Chartulary (Surtees Society Vol. 113) and must be linked where possible with the family history as traced by de Fonblanque and Brenan.



The Percy interest in the lordship passed via the Countess of Warwick and her younger sister Agnes to Henry 6th Baron Percy, whose wife Sybil or Isabel de Brus of Skelton brought as part of her dowry further lands in the Leconfield area.<sup>1</sup>

In the lengthy dispute between Richard 7th Baron and his nephew William, Leconfield remained in the hands of the former,<sup>2</sup> who seems to have resumed the policy of estate development, acquiring land in Arram from the family of Agellum<sup>3</sup> and in Raventhorpe from the family of that name.<sup>4</sup> The 10th Baron and 1st Lord Percy of Alnwick gained royal licence, in 1308, to crenellate his manor houses at Leconfield, Spofforth and Petworth - an indication that Leconfield was regarded by the Baron as at least his second most important Yorkshire seat.<sup>5</sup>

After the transfer of the tenure on which Leconfield was held from fee simple to fee tail - a process which had taken place in 1334<sup>6</sup> - the 2nd Lord granted parts of Scarborough to his younger son Thomas, Bishop of Norwich,<sup>7</sup> who later gained more land in the district from the Middleton family,

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1 Y.A.S. Mss. Md.59.2. and Percy Chartulary No. MCMII

2 Percy Chart. No. VI

3 Percy Chart. Nos. 299, 301, 311, 315, 316, 320, 322, 323, 332, 340 and 360. The Agellum family is referred to also in the Book of Fees (H.M.S.O.) as holding 1 bovate in Catton in 1302/3, and is mentioned in Pedes Finium Ebor. p. 105.

4 Percy Chart. No. CCCLXVII.

5 C.P.R. 4th Oct., 1308.

6 Percy Chart. No. DXXIII.

7 C.P.R. 9.Ed.III.m.12.

whose chief estates were at Middleton and Stockeld in the  
Lordship of Spofforth.<sup>1</sup>

The close of the 14th century saw the Lordship thriving; the Poll Tax Return of 1377 recording 77 persons in Leconfield who paid 67/- in tax, and 25 in Scarborough who paid 25/- tax. Though these returns made no mention of specific tradesmen perhaps craft specialisation in so small a community as Leconfield was rendered less necessary by the nearness of Beverley. The grant of a licence to hold a fair at Leconfield - made in 1383 - is somewhat difficult to justify if the last explanation is accepted.<sup>2</sup>

From the 1st Earl of Northumberland, Leconfield along with other Yorkshire estates, was transferred in 1400 on a sixteen-year lease to the Earl's younger brother, Thomas Earl of Worcester,<sup>3</sup> but in the subsequent military and political misfortunes of the Percies, was declared forfeit to the Crown in 1405.

Amongst a number of crown grants<sup>4</sup> Henry IV granted Leconfield to his son John, Earl of Bedford and his heirs

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1 Percy Chart. No. DXLIV.

In 1343 the first extant example of a lease occurred, when 26 acres of tilled land together with common pasture for two bovates, turbary rights and the privilege of lopping and felling all trees except oaks and pear trees, were leased for life to Richard Buttemount, Rector of Leconfield and John Buttemount, cleric, for 32/8 per year.

Percy Chart. No. 567. Renewed in 1344 (No. 593) and 1349 (No. 631).

2 Cal.Ch.Rolls. May 8, 1383, weekly market on Tuesday, and yearly fair. See also Thoresby Soc.Pub.Vol.XXXIX 1940.

3 C.P.R. 1.Hen.IV.Aug.6.m.31.

4 C.P.R. 5.Hen.IV.Oct.26.m.21 and C.P.R.6.Hen.IV.July 25.m.13.

male.<sup>1</sup> The grantee continued to enjoy the estates until about 1416, since in that year he received a royal award of three thousand marks per year in compensation for the loss of the Percy estates which were then regranted to Henry 2nd Earl of Northumberland, grandson of the first Earl who had been killed at Bramham Moor in 1408.<sup>2</sup>

The second Earl seems to have made Leconfield one of his principal residences, since five of his children were born there between 1421 and 1428.<sup>3</sup> It is stated - though without authority being quoted - that Henry VI stayed at Leconfield in 1448.<sup>4</sup> If this be historically true, the visit may have been one of a disciplinary nature, since no less than 34 of the Earl's tenants figured in a gaol delivery in 1446 - no doubt the result of some fairly large-scale breach of the peace, though no hint can be discovered as to its identity.

After the Earl was killed in 1455 at the First Battle of St. Albans, his widow, Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland gave the advowson of Leconfield Church to the Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Mary the Virgin at Alnwick.<sup>5</sup>

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1 C.P.R. 6.Hen.IV.June 27 m.10.

2 Close Rolls 4.Hen.V.m.17.April 14th 1416.

3 A.H.P. I.p.64.

4 Op.cit. p. 73, and History of Beverley - Oliver quoting Tickell, 'Hull'.

5 Cal.Inq.ad Q.D. 1821. No.21(34-39).

After the 3rd Earl's death at Towton in 1461, Edward IV made a grant for life to Sir Robert Constable of the stewardship of Leconfield, amongst other ex-Percy estates,<sup>1</sup> whilst at about the same time Leconfield and Arram were awarded to Eleanor the widow of the third Earl, to support her for the rest of her life. Then along with Scarborough and other manors the estate was to revert to the king's brother, George, Earl of Clarence.<sup>2</sup>

At some date closely following, the Earl of Northumberland regained his property, though no evidence is available beyond a Court Roll entitled "The Great Court and Sheriff's Tourn of Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland held on Wednesday next after the Feast of St. Wilfred..... 13 Ed.IV."<sup>3</sup>

Shortly afterwards the Earl granted a great proportion of his northern estates, including Leconfield and the advowson of its church to a number of feoffees, Sir Thomas Ursewyke, Ralph Hotham, whose family held land in Scarborough and Cranswick nearby, Sir Guy Fairfax and several clerics. By or from these feoffees the estates must have been leased to William, "Marquess Barkeley als Earl Marshall and Notyngham" since in 1489 the fifth Earl

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1 C.P.R. Aug. 8 1461 m.26.

2 C.P.R. Aug.10. 1462.

3 Pet.MS.MCR.21.D.3.18.

of Northumberland recovered the estates from that nobleman. One of the earlier feoffees was also a party to the recovery as the new Earl was still a minor.<sup>1</sup> His father who had spent much time on his northern manors, was at Leconfield in July, 1488 and in April, 1489 was killed by rioters at Topcliffe. His body was brought with much ceremony to Wressle and thence to Leconfield for final interment in Beverley Minster. The total cost of the funeral was £1,040.<sup>2</sup>

The young Earl was still a minor and his lands still remained in the hands of feoffees. A court roll of 1491 is entitled "of Master William Potteman, Provost of the Collegiate Church of St. John of Beverley".<sup>3</sup> In 1492 the heading reads: "of Sir Guy Fairfax and Master William Potteman"<sup>4</sup>; and in 1496 "of Master William Rylleston and others"<sup>5</sup>. Not until 1499 does the familiar styling "of Henry Percy ....." again appear, and the evidence of ownership is repeated in 1502.

Twenty years later in 1519, the Court is styled "of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir George Neueuell of

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1 Cal. Inq.P.M. No 477.

2 A.H.P. App. XLIV quoting Alnwick MSS.

3 Pet.MCR.22.D.3.18 Oct.6.Hen.VII.

4 Pet.MCR.29 D.3.18.

5 Pet. MCR.33 D.3.18.

Bergavenny, Sir William Blount of Mountjoy and other feoffees and receivers of the lands and tenements of Lord Henry Earl of Northumberland"; a form which continued until 1522.<sup>1</sup>

In these changes of possession can be seen the results of the further political misfortunes of the Percies.<sup>2</sup>

Although there is here a gap in manuscript evidence up to 1534, it seems likely that the 6th Earl had resumed control at an earlier date, since in 1528 he granted the office of Forester of Leconfield to his uncle, Sir William Percy.<sup>3</sup> After the 6th Earl's grant in 1537 the lordship remained Crown Property for the next twenty years.

Crown grants of offices were frequent at this time.<sup>4</sup> In 1550 John then Earl of Warwick was granted by the Crown

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1 Pet.MCR.33. Oct.10 Hen.VIII.

2 The fifth earl, who at the early age of 21 had been among the commanders of the troops sent against Lord Audley's revolt (N.H.B. 1905.p.xviii.), had incurred the disfavour of the new King and in 1510 had been fined £10,000 (A.H.P.Vol.1.p.321). In 1516 he had spent several weeks in the Tower as a result of a quarrel with Wolsey. The alleged dishonesty of some of his executive officers combined with the royal state which he maintained at Wressle and Leconfield resulted in temporary impoverishment. On his death in 1527 his brother-in-law, the Earl of Cumberland, described the heavy expenses of the funeral, and the necessity of pledging the Earl's plate to St. Mary's Abbey at York to raise sufficient money to satisfy creditors. The late Earl's debts were assessed at £17,000, of which £10,000 were arrears to the Crown (A.H.P. Vol.1 p.380.). Little wonder that estates had to be pledged to others under such circumstances.

3 A.H.P. p.411 quoting Syon House MSS.

4 L. & P. XIII Pt.II No.1520,XVII No.1258,XIX No.1036 f.14 b.

the Lordship and Parks of Leconfield along with a large amount of miscellaneous lands once monastic property.<sup>1</sup> Two years later John, now Duke of Northumberland received by Crown grant the manor of Cherry Burton adjacent to Leconfield, and once the property of the late College of St. John of Beverley.<sup>2</sup>

By 1553 the Duke of Northumberland had fallen from power, the new Queen granting for life to Sir Thomas Wharton Q.C., the "lordship or Manor of Leconfield ..... with the office of keeper of the capital house and new lodge .... and the orchards there, bailiff and collector, keeper of Arram Carr, and of ponds there called lez Motes, and lez Borders Spinarum, keeper of the three parks, the herbage and pannage of the same and paler of the same".<sup>3</sup> A few days before this grant, royal pardon was given to John Eglesfeld "Esq. of Leconfield Park" who had been appointed to the above offices in 1542.<sup>4</sup>

Sir Thomas Percy had been created seventh Earl of Northumberland in 1555 and perhaps in recognition of his family's loyalty to Rome and their recent misfortunes, the new Earl received the remainder of his family estates, including "the Castle, Lordship, Manor and Parks of

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1 CPR.20 May 1550

2 CPR.21 Nov.1552

3 CPR.20.Oct.1553

4 CPR.12 Oct.1553

Leconfield" which had been in the hands of the Crown or Crown nominees since 1537.<sup>1</sup>

The lordship remained Percy property for only a short time. Although the Court Roll of 1567 still retained the title "of Thomas Percy Earl of Northumberland,"<sup>2</sup> 1570 saw a royal bailiff established at Leconfield,<sup>3</sup> as a result of the rising of the Northern Earls.

Seven years later the Percy heir, Sir Henry, was created eighth Earl of Northumberland and regained his estates.

In 1615 Leconfield and a great deal of Yorkshire property was leased to Francis Earl of Cumberland and others, presumably for a 21-year lease, since Leconfield was once more in Percy hands in 1636.<sup>4</sup>

From then onwards the manor and lordship descended in the same fashion as the rest of the Percy Yorkshire estates - falling to the Wyndham family about 1749 and thence to the descendants who chose this remote East Riding village as the origin of the newly created Barony. Lord Leconfield sold the last remnants of the estates about 1922. The patronage of the vicarage still remains in his hands.

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1 Pet.MCR.106 25 Sept.4/5P. & M.

2 Pet.MCR 16 Apr. 1567.

3 CSP(Dom)Add.p.325 Nov.1.1570.

4 Pet.MCR.12 March 1636.



LECONFIELD

Section 3

Land Distribution and Utilisation

(a) General Observations

Before commencing a discussion and description of the distribution and utilisation of land in the district it seems appropriate to quote in extenso the Bounder of the lordship as it appears in the 1577 Survey.

'Begining at a place called Bowam Nooke in the Est pte therof and so along the Ryver of Hull to Ake Bekk and so west-warde up the sd Ake Bekk to a place called Est pke nooke & up a diche between Ake feild and Scorburch Est partes to Lockington Est Inges at the north And from thence up a dyke betwen the sd Lockington Est Inges & Est ptes of the sd Brodbek to midle pke nooke And from thence northward up a dyke on the north between Lockington Inges & the Middle Park to Lockington Carr And from thence westward up a ditch between Lockington Carr unto the Broade Bekke And so westward up the sd bekk to turners lodge And so from thence up a bekk betwixt Lockington Carr and turners lodge northwestwards to a place called Wathcarr Nooke And so from thence westwards up a bekk still to Lockington Sleight acres And so from thence up a dyke betwixt the sd Sleight acres and Mylne pkes on the southwest to a place called Blythe Wray And from thence up Scorburch Millne Bekke on the southwest to half an acre of the Lo.landes in the tenure of Thomas Browne lying in Lockington Sleight Acres aforesd And so up an old dich betwixt the sd  $\frac{1}{2}$ acre and Lockington Sleight Acres extending nortwest and after turning southwest

with the aforesd bekk And so west up the sd bekk to a place called Asledones And from thence west up an old dyke between Lockington sleight Acres & Asledones aforesd to a place called Thornie Hill & so north to Bryane Millne Becke And so west to Bryane Millne And from the sd Millne still west up along the sd bekk to Snawe Close Nooke And from thence south to Cleyinge Nooke And so still south between Bondman leeson and Scorburch West Feild to a place called Scorburch Belay And to a balke called Church Balke And so West up the sd balke to the Oxpasture yate called Church Balke yeat And from thence to Westwood Close Nooke And so still west up a dyke betwixt Scorburch Beley & Westwood Close southwest to a lane called Oxpasture Lane or Beverley Street end And so west up the sd lane to a place called the Gravyl pitt & so north to litle beley yeate And from thence west to Lockington Wood Nooke And from thence by Gottwood Nooke west to Chirrie Burton feild & from Chirrie Burton feild to the west side of Colstrobe als Coustrobe Close Nooke and so south to the New Pke pale of Lekenfeild And so along upon the outeside of the sd pale ioyninge upon the feilds of Chirrie Burton & Mousecroft Unto the Highe Street or lane that goeth from Lekenfeild to Beverley adioyninge to the Olde Pke And so along the est side of the sd Olde Pke pale unto the Well Close Nooke upon the est & so from thence to a place called Stork Clow ioyninge est upon the sd River of Hull comonly called Hull Water And so along the water to Arram Clowes And

from Arram Clowes north up the sd water to Bowham als  
Bowam Nooke first named.'

A marginal note added in 1602 remarks:-

'Md. that it shall be very nedeful for the Lo. of the Manour  
to cause the bounder to be gone over by the baliffe & certon  
of the Tenaunts every 3 yeares choosing part of the  
ancientest to instruct and part of the yonger sort to lerne',<sup>1</sup>  
almost the words and certainly the spirit of John Norden's  
instructions.<sup>2</sup>

The 1577 bounder runs almost exactly along the line of  
the modern parish boundary and can be followed with little  
difficulty on the ordnance survey map.

Although the Petworth collection includes court rolls  
for Leconfield only less numerous than those referring to  
Spofforth and Topcliffe, there are singularly few detailed  
references to indicate the utilisation of land at the various  
phases of the period under examination. An occasional  
mention of a field name in the court rolls and the inclusion  
of certain clues in the two estate plans, together with the  
preceding observations on the topography of the district  
form the basis of the following statements.

Leland's remarks on the nature of the countryside are  
not very informative, since they are too generalised:-

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1 Pet.1577 Survey fol.123-6.

2 "Surveyor's Dialogue" Book III. Article 2 of the Charge  
of the Court of Survey.

'And al this way bytwixt York and the Parke of Lekenfeld ys meately fruteful of Corn and Grasse, but it hathe litle wodde.'<sup>1</sup> The district to which he refers is the Wold country through which he would pass via Market Weighton.

Humberston is rather more explicit:- 'The Manour .... ys scituate in a country very plentyfull of goode corne soyle, pasture grounde, medow and woodland.'<sup>2</sup>

The Petworth Survey of 1577, as might be expected, gives the fullest account:-

'The soyle of the sd lordshipe is verie good and fruteful & lyeth in a plentiful parte of the countrie especially for victuals of all kindes both flesh, corne, fishe & foule Howbeit they are many tymes moche trobled with water because the Countrie ther lyeth verie leuell.'<sup>3</sup>

(b) Arram Carr

Approximately one fifth of the lordship was made up by Arram Carr,<sup>4</sup> even to-day a marshy tract penetrated only by footpaths and bridle tracks and containing not a single building. The area lies between Aik Beck and Arram Beck, both of which are still carefully embanked to a height of some twelve feet above normal level, though that does not

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1 Itinerary Vol.I.fol.50

2 Humberston's Survey, Yorks. Arch. Journal Vol. XVII. p. 143.

3 Petworth 1577 Survey fol. 122.

4 The Census acreage is 3,624. The 1616 map quotes the Carr as 565 acres.

prevent periodic flooding to some extent. The River Hull is even more impressively embanked, the crest of the banking being twenty feet above ground level in some places. Impassable areas of reedy marsh, though now limited in size, are still to be seen, especially on the east bank of the Hull opposite the mouth of Arram Beck. These Carrs are frequently mentioned in manuscript and printed sources. This was the area, originally seamed with ditches and stretches of open water which in the Domesday Survey was described as yielding 6,400 eels per year.

Here the inhabitants of Leconfield and Arram had rights of common and fishing, but as the Earl was inclined to preserve this district at certain times for his own pleasure, his custom, first noted in 1517 was to pay the reeve of Leconfield  $13/4$  per year in compensation for the interruption of the tenants' privileges.<sup>1</sup> The 1517 entry noted that the payment was 'for this year as before.' Earlier, in 1485, the Carr had been described as 'the Lord's Waste'.<sup>2</sup> The preservation of the game did not preclude all fishing by the tenants, however, since in 1520 a pain prohibits the using of 'spawne netts in the Carrs'.<sup>3</sup>

There was a swannery in the Carr which yielded 40

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1 Pet.MAC.D.9.13.8/9 Hen.VIII.

2 Pet.MCR.3 Hen.VII.

3 Pet.MCR.33.D.3.18.

cygnets in 1517, each sold at 2/-. This sale however, showed only a narrow margin of profit over the expenditure that year of 75/- on 27½ quarters of corn to feed the swans during frosty weather.<sup>1</sup> Besides this, the Carr supplied the Lord's household with 20 cygnets per year.<sup>2</sup>

When the property was assumed by the Crown in 1537 the appraisers noted:- 'Ther belongs to the Manour of Lekyngfeld ... Arrom Carr wherin are many breeding Swannes and good fishing wch was reserued for thErles plesure and may now be let by the King for £20.'<sup>3</sup> In the same year the number of swans was returned as 129 of which 17 were 'brederers', 85 'avengers' and 27 cygnets.<sup>4</sup>

Henry VIII apparently preferred to maintain the private preserve, as an expenditure noted in 1542 ran:- '..... money laid out by the King's command for fishing and rewards for fishing and fish at Leconfield and Thornton ..... £5.'<sup>5</sup> This was probably an echo of the King's visit to Leconfield in 1540.

The fishing was described in 1537 as being 'in Arrome Carr 2 miles by  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile, wherin is great abundance of pykes, tenches, breames, carpes, roches, and dyvers other kyndes of fyshes wch also hath ben reserued for the Lo.'s

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1 Pet.MAC.D.9.13.

2 N.H.B. p.198.

3 L & P.F&D.XII.II.p.398

4 PRO.R&S.No.959

5 L&P.F&D.XVII.No.1258.

pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

The Carr had its own officers<sup>2</sup> - a keeper and four under-keepers, sometimes known as swanherds. In 1542 John Eglesfeld was appointed by the Crown as keeper of the Carr,<sup>3</sup> whilst in 1553 Sir Thomas Wharton received a life grant from Queen Mary of the keepership of the Carr, the Moats and 'lezBorders Spinarum'.<sup>4</sup> The moats were probably those round the Old Manor house and the New Lodge in the New Park.

In 1570 Humberston recorded:-

'To the sd Manour alsoe belongyth a greate fenne called the Carre wherin therle hath a greate marke of Swannes and alsoe many wylde Swannes bredyng ther yerely and very moche other wylde foule & a very profittable fyshyng wch therles have alwaies reserued to their owne possession for thuse and comodyte of ther Howse, and appoynted foure keepers or overseers as well of the foule as the fyshe & euery of them hath for his travayle or paynes about the same 3/4 And wheras the tenauntes had comen of pasture in the same in dry yeres the dryft of the cattle dyd dysturbe the bredyng of the wyld fowle and especialy of the wyld Swannes, the late Erle compounded with the tenauntes to forbere there comon in that fenne and payeth them yerely in recompense

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1 PRO.R&S No.959

2 Perhaps the demesne messuage and garth in Arram, called Poole Garth or Swan Garth, was part of the perquisites of one of the Keepers. (Pet.MS.1614 Survey.)

3 L&P.F&D.XVII.No.1258.

4 C.P.R. 20.Oct.1 Mary.



therof 13/4<sup>1</sup> And ther are in the carre at this survey by the confession of the swannerdes 47 whyte Swannes & all the sygnettes are to be marked and put out, by cause no man hath warraunte to take them.'<sup>2</sup>

The business of swandealing presented its difficulties. In 1542 John Marche, George Hoton and 12 others were paid a sum of 13/4 "for their labours in catching and pinioning 46 cygnets, over a period of 20 days".<sup>3</sup> This sum was invariable - the same wages being paid for the catching of 60 cygnets in 1543.<sup>4</sup>

The prohibition of pasture did not extend to ducks, a pain of 1567 instructing that all such were to be pastured there rather than near Arram Green and the common fields.<sup>5</sup> Another pain of 1585 ordered that the 'east end of the Carr by the east end of the fishing lade shall be furthed ( i.e. left empty) every year from Lady Day in Lent until the wether grow sur and the grownd firme aboute St. Elyn Day and not be broken but by consent of the Lo.'s officers and the bylawmen of both towns'.<sup>6</sup>

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1 The "recompense" of 13/4 was paid by the Collector for Leconfield to the Churchwardens of Leconfield Church as an annuity (PRO.Min.Acc.SC 6/4286)

2 Survey.Y.A.S.XVII.143.

3 PRO.Min.Acc.SC 6/4285.

4 PRO. SC 6/4286.

5 Pet.MCR.25 Oct. 7 Eliz.

6 Pet.MCR.21 Apr.27 Eliz.

Poaching in the Carr still continued; five defendants in 1581 were presented "quod tremula harundine pisces captaverunt in stagno de Arrome" and were fined 2/- each. One of the defendants was Samuel Culverwell, rector of Cherry Burton.<sup>1</sup>

The Percy Survey of 1577 gives further information. After noting that it had been a recognised fact throughout the 16th century that the possessors of Leconfield had had special fishing rights in Arram Carr, the account continues:- 'Mr. J. Hotham of Scorbrough Esq. hath restrayned the fyshynge in Scorbrough Ynges and occupieth the same to and for himselfe and setteth by daye and nyghte nettes for all Mann' of fyshe, by reason wherof as well the frye as the great fyshe yssueinge from tyme to tyme out of the Lo. Carr ..... are in danger to be destroyed ..... And the fyshe and fyshynge therof ys preserued ... for the plesure and use of the sd Erle wthout that anie other person hath anie ryghte to fyshe in the same. Whych Carr conteyneth in compas two myles and a halfe or therabouts'.<sup>2</sup>

The north east boundary of the Carr, dividing it from Lockington and Aike Carrs was and is still called Boundary Dyke.<sup>3</sup>

The 1577 Survey continues; 'The sd Erle hath allso the

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1 Pet.MCR 20 Oct. 23 Eliz.

2 Pet. Survey 1577 fol.130.

3 See 1616 plan and O.S. 2½" 54/04.

free fyshynge of Hull Watter from Bowgham Nooke to Stork Clowe<sup>1</sup> And the fre fyshynge of Bullock Dyke bothe which are graunted unto certayne his tenauntes for certayne rentes as after apereth'.

In 1557 seven tenants of Arram paid ingress fines for tenures which included "the watter of Hull". Each paid 5d. for this additional item.<sup>2</sup>

"Ther hath ben an aunoyent custom used & continued within the sd Mannor that the tenauntes and inhabitantes of Leconfeld and Arram have had at all tymes as ther necessitye requyred - (coming to the Lo. keepers) lybertye to fyshe with an agar for Eeefyshe And allsoe libertye to sett for eeles in the lade that ledeth into Hull Watter And the sd Tenntes bound in Obligacon not to take anie whyte fyshe nor anie other than Eeles. Which Obligacon or Obligacons Remayne in the handes of Wm. Coxe gent. servaunte unto the sd Erle. The Los. of the sd Manour by hys officers have had and do use to have the fyrste dryfte of the molted fowle in Arram Carre aforesd And the rest of the fowle from and after the fyrste dryfte belongyth to the Tennts. Ther ys also certayne of the sd Tennts of the sd Mann' that doe paye yerely unto the Lo. for generall lycence and lybertye to foule in the aforesd Carr 5s. as after appereth.

Ther are belongyng to the sd Erle within the chardge and accompte of his Carr keepers ther, swannes to the noubre

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1 O.S.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " 54/04.055457 and.054425

2 Pet. MCR.13 Aug.5/6 P.&.M.

of 244 wherof 24 par are brederes at the taking of this p'sent s'vey."<sup>1</sup>

The fishing rights of the Carr continued to be let for 5/- per year until 1602.<sup>2</sup> The swanherds were still receiving their annual fee of 3/4 each in 1579. The lessees of the fishing shared the privileges in much the same way as their fellow townsmen shared rights of common pasture. Peter Robinson was presented in 1587 for putting 'unum rete ultra stintam intra stagnum vocatum Arram Carr'.<sup>3</sup> Other presentments were made for scything grass and hay in the Carr.<sup>4</sup> In eleven cases at the same court defendants were stated to have scythed before sunrise on the day before St. John the Baptist's Day.<sup>5</sup> Thus the dual character of the Carr - a fish-and-fowl preserve and a common pasture is clearly demonstrated.

Another defendant 'sagittavit cum tormento', killing birds in the Carr - an offence for which he was amerced 5/- in 1601.<sup>6</sup>

Ten years before the imprisonment of the 9th Earl in 1605, the sporting rights including fishing in the Carr and Hull water as well as fowling in the Carr were granted on a 21-year lease to Roger Thorpe for an annual sum of £13.<sup>7</sup>

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1 Pet. 1577 Survey fol.133.

2 Pet.MAC.D.9.22 21 Eliz. and note in 1577 Survey fol.138.

3 PetMCR. 1 May 29 Eliz.

4 Pet.MCR 6 Oct.34 Eliz.

5 Pet.MCR. 11 Oct 44 Eliz.

6 Pet.MCR. 25 April 43 Eliz.

7 Pet.MAC.D.9.27 5/6 Jac.I.

A new 21 year lease to Roger Thorpe in 1613, which included fishing rights in all waters except Bullock Dyke, the profits of the swannery and the cutting of "hassocks" on the Carr, cost him £22 per year.<sup>1</sup> This rental was apparently too high, since the fishing and Carr rights were returned as only £13 6s. 8d. in 1634 on the expiry of the lease.<sup>2</sup> Since the book of leases, so often referred to in both court rolls and 1577 survey, is missing, it cannot be stated whether this grant was merely the grant of sporting rights only or whether it carried with it terms which would interfere with the common pasture amenities previously enjoyed by the villagers. Although there is no supporting evidence from the court rolls, it seems likely that such interference took place. It had been customary for the tenants of Arram to serve the Manor House "wth al mannr' of freshe water fische".<sup>3</sup> As the manor house was by this time so seldom the residence of the Earl and his household, the need of provender would cease. The obligation of the Arram tenants would fall into abeyance, and at a time when such past bargains were liable to close scrutiny, the lapse of an obligation could entail the loss of the corresponding privilege.

The villagers of Aike lying north of Arram Carr and beyond Aike Beck used to pay 2/6 per year to the Earl for

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1 Pet.MS.8.D.2. Book of Leases 1625.

2 Pet MS.8.D.2. Brief Accompte of all Rents in Yorkshire 1633/4.

3 N.H.B. p.189.

the privilege of crossing the Carr with and without stock, probably for the purpose of visiting Beverley.<sup>1</sup> They would thus be saved the long detour via Lockington and Scarborough. Inevitably this concession was abused - probably much more often than the single presentment would make it appear - the tenants of Aike being charged with inchase and outchase in Arram fenced fields in 1520. The amercement of the township was fixed at 3/4.<sup>2</sup>

Though Mr. John Hotham of Scarborough, as has been mentioned above, was alleged to have acted dictatorially in the matter of fishing in the Scarborough section of the Carrs, the Earls of Northumberland had earlier shown a neighbourly spirit:-

"The Los. of the Mann' of Lekingfeild have allowed to the sd John Hotham in respect of want of water for his tennantes cattel lybertye daily to dryve the same cattel from the common of Scarborough to Arram Carre And here from Eleaven of the Clock (the accustomed tyme of wateryng of the sd cattel) to continue ontill One of the Clock in the afternoon, whych houre the sd Cattel were accustomed by the herdsmen to be dryven to the pasture againe And further ther was an Auncyent Custom that if the sd Cattel were found by the Byelawemen of Lekenfeild and Arram at 2 of the Clock and after not dryven away to ther accustomed pasture as aforesaid That then the sd byelawemen did use to impounde

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1 Pet.MAC.D.9.22 21 Eliz.

2 Pet. MCR 4 May 11 HEN.VIII.

the sd Cattel And did take for euery beast soe impounded a halfe penie Which sd manner of impounding was used in the sd Erle his grandefather tyme ... and soe continued by all the tyme of Kynge Henrye theight Kyng Edward the VI and in Quene Maries tyme".<sup>1</sup>

The latter part of this "auncyent custom" was challenged on at least one occasion, when "the servants of John Hotham ..... made rescue on the bylawmen at Ellerdike and Gravyll Pytt when they were taking sheep to impound them in the pinfold as they had found them illegally pastured".<sup>2</sup>

The Carr was a source of revenue, as has been shown, but also entailed a good deal of expense.

As early as 1413 severe flooding in the district was experienced, when the Archbishop of York was instructed to raise the tenth from all lands in the wapentake "except from those of the Abbot and Convent of Meaux, wherever they have been destroyed by floods".<sup>3</sup> The Abbey of Meaux was only about three miles away to the south east in surroundings of about the same altitude, whilst the village of Aike was amongst the property of that Abbey. Further serious flooding and damage to crops in these areas were recorded again in 1421.<sup>4</sup>

Subsequently steps had to be taken to improve and then maintain the better system of drainage. Existing water-

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1 Pet. 1577 Survey fol.145.

2 Pet. MCR.13 Oct.31 Eliz.

3 Fine Rolls Nov.17.1 Hen.V.

4 Fine Rolls.Oct.27.9 Hen.V.m.11.

courses were banked up and artificial dykes dug. Presentments for failure to keep these dykes scoured recur with monotonous regularity throughout the whole period. It was perhaps the persistence of tenants in failing to honour their ditching obligations, combined with the desire to enhance the value of the land in use which led the Leconfield jury to lay a pain that the Lord "shall make a Clowe between Hull water and Arram Carr at his own expense on pain of forfeiting 21/-.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the next year a long court memorandum records a decision, that as the inhabitants of Arram had repaired the bank of the Carr and the water of Hull three years before at their own expense, the villagers of Leconfield should pay 2d. for every 40 feet of bank thus made for the use of the Arram villagers.<sup>2</sup> As this stretch is more than a mile, the sum thus payable would be considerable. There is no record of the decision's being implemented. Otherwise one would be able to point to an excellent example of communal sharing of burdens for communal benefits at a fairly late date. Actually the people of Arram would benefit especially as their East Field was bound to suffer first from any flooding of the Hull or backing of water up Arram Beck.

To the south of the Carr but separated from it by the beck now called Catchwater Drain, lay the open fields of Arram, - East, North and South Fields, somewhat peculiarly

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1 Pet.MCR.6 May 26 Eliz.

2 Pet.MCR. 21 April 27 Eliz.



named, since the East Field was well to the South of the South Field. All three fields abutted on the T-shaped village street. The remainder of the land to the south provided meadow, mainly but not exclusively for Arram villagers.

Between Arram village and Scarborough was a section of pasture known variously as Arram Green and Cow Pasture.

North of this were the portions of Scarborough belonging to the Hotham family, and which divided the main body of Leconfield lordship from some Percy demesne land in Scarborough, lying between Scarborough Beck and the Scarborough - Scarborough Gatehouse Road, an area known as Parsons and Lickhams. This Scarborough territory, curiously enough, formed part of the Manor of Topcliffe.<sup>1</sup>

Leconfield had three common fields:- West Field, the Arme or North Field, and the East or Hall Field. References to them are remarkably rare in all the documents consulted - both printed and manuscript.

Meadow and pasture were provided in scattered areas within the three parks, which composed the remainder of the parish and manor of Leconfield. The New Park included a portion of the Manor of Cherry Burton.

The habitation centre of Leconfield was rather differently arranged in the 16th century. Whereas to-day the greater number of the 35 houses stand on either side of the high road, 27 of the 56 houses in 1614 lay on the by-

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1 Pet. 1577 Survey fol.123.

road which leads to Arram.<sup>1</sup> The windmill, all trace of which has now disappeared, stood in the roadway close by the Flashwell Spring. On two occasions - both in 1517 - a quintain is mentioned in fixing the position of a cottage.<sup>2</sup> The most likely site would be in the open space between Church and Vicarage at the elbow of the village street.

(c) Leconfield Parks

Little can be said with certainty about the origin or date of enclosure of Leconfield Park. Whereas it seems likely that such a pleasance would be provided at least as late as 1240 when the lordship became exclusively Percy property, there is no documentary proof of this, despite a statement by the Percy Annalist that free warren on all their estates was granted to the Percies in 1240.<sup>3</sup> Complaints were made in 1365 and 1375 by Lady Idonea and Lord Henry Percy respectively that poachers had breached their warren at Leconfield.<sup>4</sup>

The first mention of the Park, as distinct from the more generalised game rights implied by the term "free warren" occurs in 1403 when Robert Cliderowe was quoted as "parker and warrener of the Park at Leconfield"<sup>5</sup> - a position which traditionally carried with it the annual fee of £3 -s. 8d.<sup>6</sup>

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1 PetMS 1614 Survey.

2 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.13 8/9 H.VIII.

3 A.H.P. I.p.68.

4 C.P.R.38 Ed.III m.20.d. and C.P.R.48 Ed.III m.10.d.

5 C.P.R.5.Hen.VI.26 Oct.m.21.

6 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.3.

In addition to its uses for purposes of sport and provender, the Park possessed a value as leased pasture. As early as 1477 4/- was charged for a year's agist of two cattle<sup>1</sup> whilst Sir John Hotham and James West<sup>2</sup> were farmers of the herbage of the whole Park in 1500 and 1506.<sup>3</sup> The pastoral usage of the Park was not allowed to exclude its original purpose. In 1512 an "ancient inquisition" recorded that there were 249 fallow deer in the Park<sup>4</sup> and of these at almost the same period 3 does and 1 buck were requisitioned each year for the Earl's household.<sup>5</sup>

The more careful superintendence of the game within the manor is shown by the prominence given to a case involving several defendants charged with poaching hares and rabbits in the park and disposing of their spoils inside and outside the lordship. The case involved the taking of special depositions before William Lutton, the Lord's Feodary - a unique procedure in the many presentments at the courts during the period under survey.<sup>6</sup>

The Lord's interest in the Park is shown by the report of the Royal Commissioners of 1517, where it is stated that since Michaelmas 1488 "Henry Earl of Northumberland at

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1 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.9.

2 This James West was a privileged tenant as he was keeper of the Old Park. PRO.Misc.Bks of Exch. T.R. No.226.

3 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.13.

4 N.H.B.p.410.

5 N.H.B.p.203/4

6 Pet.MCR.12 Oct.6 Hen.VIII.

Lekingfeld in the Estriding has enclosed 40 acres of demesne arable and a hundred acres of wood and pasture so as to increase the size of his Park."<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether this enclosure took place on one or several occasions, nor whether any eviction of tenants accompanied the process. The area affected was the extreme south west of the lordship; bounded on the east by the Beverley - Leconfield Road, to the north by a still-existing hedgerow from Pump Bridge to Gill's Charity;<sup>2</sup> to the south by the present parish boundary (Molescroft, Cherry Burton, Leconfield). This area known as the New Park covers some 260 acres and includes the 16th century New Lodge - close to what is now called Park House.<sup>3</sup>

A royal account roll for 1542 throws a little more light on this matter, though the following extract does not make it perfectly clear whether the details refer to the first or a later enclosure.

"Allowances ..... £20 paid to John Cotes of North Burton near Leconfield in redemption of an agreement made with him by William Howlme late prior of Warter; of the messuage in the Riddinges with pastures and closes inside Ayton Flatt and Aller Flatt in Molescroft and North Burton Fields near Leconfield for 35 years at £5 6s. 8d. per year. The agreement was dated 6th March 22 Henry VIII. The messuage

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1 Trans.R.Hist.Soc. 1892 Vol.VI p.177 and 287

2 54/04/019429 x 008426

3 54/04 011418

called the Riddings and the woods thereto belonging, the greater part of the meadow, pasture and closes appertaining to it are enclosed in the Park of Leconfield newly made round the New Lodge, whilst the rest of the land lies outside the park, next to the pale.

£6 6s. 8d. paid to John Cotes of North Burton for the destruction of various acres of land belonging to the said messuage sown with oats and barley and enclosed in Leconfield Park and eaten by the lord King's deer."

It would seem more likely that these are details of an additional enclosure effected at the time when the King divided the Park into its three sections as described in the 1577 Survey (quoted later). This assumption is borne out by the 1543 entry amongst the decreases of rent:-

" $\frac{13}{4}$  the rent of one piece of pasture containing 6 acres, late Laurence Barker and now of Cuthbert Bynks, as these six acres are not enclosed in the New Park to enlarge the said Park. This decrease is for this year and last - in toto  $\frac{26}{8}$ ."<sup>1</sup>

A still more specific reference in 1541 contains the following:- "Allowed the farm of two closes, Symesley and Ridding close in the tenure of Thomas Ryddinges let by Henry Earl of Northumberland on 5th Dec. 25 H.VIII to Thomas and his wife Margaret, Keeper of the New Lodge, together with two closes called Newlaunde for life without any rent -

£4 13s. 4d." <sup>1</sup> A marginal note dated A<sup>o</sup> 35<sup>o</sup> adds "as they are enclosed in the King's Park, but in compensation there were granted to him fifteen bovates of land lately bought by the King from the Earl of Rutland lying outside the gate of the Park."<sup>2</sup>

Though the dates of these entries and that hazarded by the 1517 Commissioners cannot be reconciled, the correspondence between the 140 acres of the Commission and the fifteen bovates cannot be ignored.

The whole of the rest of the Park was now known as the Old Park, the herbage of which was either reserved for the lord or leased to manorial officers. William Worme, the Lord's Auditor, held, in 1517, the herbage of the Park, normally let at £13 6s. 8d. per year at the privileged rate of £8 6s. 8d. A deputy parker, John Pearson, had four cows and two horses pastured there for a year free of charge, though the bailiff claimed to his credit 26/8 as the normal charge for such agist at the rate of 3/4 per cow and 6/8 per horse. Twelve of the Lord's horses were pastured in the Old Park for the summer, the accountant being credited with 20/-. Cattle and sheep were grazed on various closes in the Old Park, whilst faggots were cut and led from wooded parts of the Old Park; other closes in this park were kept empty so as to preserve the young greenwood for the benefit of the deer, whilst Rid Ing Close in the New Park was maintained as a deer frith.<sup>3</sup>

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1 PRO.Min.Acc.SC.6/4285  
2 Pet.MS.D.9.17.33.H.VIII  
3 Pet.MAC D.9.13.

The considerable sum of £2 6s. 5d. was spent in buying "locks and nails and other necessaries for the Park Gate". Four shillings sufficed to pay for the repair of fences round some of the woods in the park. An ancient receipt of 12d. for the farm of the "cokshuttet" was listed among the 'decays of rents' - a further proof of the preservation of the Park for the lord's use.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this spate of activity was in part caused by the presence of the fifth Earl at Leconfield in May, 1517.<sup>2</sup>

The same conditions still prevail in 1522 - "Closes reserued for the Lo. both for the dere in wynter and to se the yonge spryngs saued from bytyng" were valued at £5 7s. -d. William Worme and James West received £3 -s. 8d. per year each as keepers of the New and Old Parks respectively. From woodsales alone in that year the sum of £42 12s. 8d. was realised. This sum represents not only the annual payments of the tenants but also the proceeds of the sale of timber both inside and outside the lordship.<sup>3</sup> Parallel references in the Topcliffe accounts indicate that boughs and brushwood were lopped and felled to provide fodder for the deer. The wood left when the deer had finished browsing could be taken by the tenants as dead wood in part return for their annual customary payment.

That the timber supply was either insufficient for the tenants' needs or that the price asked was beyond that which they were prepared to pay, as well as that the enclosure of

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1 Pet.MAC.D.9.13.

2 A.H.P. Vol.1.p.351

3 PRO.Misc.Bks.Exch. 226

land for hunting only was an unpopular measure is shown by the frequent presentation by the pallister of cases of theft of paleboards in 1519<sup>1</sup> and the barking and felling of elder poles in the Old Park in 1522.<sup>2</sup>

With the succession of the sixth Earl, whose life was made tragic by Wolsey's displeasure, his father's legacy of debt,<sup>3</sup> his own poor physique<sup>4</sup> and his unhappy marriage, the lordship of Leconfield seems to have become neglected. Perhaps the lowlying, dank and fogridden atmosphere of Leconfield was too much of an encouragement to the ague from which the Earl described himself as suffering.

In a survey of the lands acquired by the Crown from the Earl, the Park was described as six miles in circuit, the pale in "meetly good repair", the herbage let to ferm, and containing many springs of good wood:- Kidland (2 acres of 2 years' growth) the Low Spring (20 acres of 'underwood sore decayd') the Hye Spring (9 acres of 5 years' growth) West Hayle (33 acres of 11 years' growth) Syneslay Haggis (28 acres of 4 years' growth) Farwestleys (12 acres of 14 years' growth) and Sandykeld (22 acres of 12 years' growth).

The timber thus specified is stated to consist of great and small oaks suitable for timber and repairs; to number 1269 and to be worth £60. The fallow deer were returned as 620.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Pet.MCR.Oct 10 Hen.VIII  
2 Pet.MCR.28.Nov.13 Hen.VIII  
3 A.H.P. I p.380  
4 A.H.P. I.p.379  
5 P.R.O.R.&S.Roll.959



In June, 1537 a Crown Commissioner reported to one of the King's general Surveyors that Leconfield and Haltemprice would be suitable sources from which to procure timber for the repairs urgently needed by Bridlington Quay if fuel were to be available for the coming winter.<sup>1</sup>

The Crown continued the practice of leasing the Park<sup>2</sup> whose herbage had been let in 1536 for £40 per year - a sum far in excess of those for which other Percy parks were let.<sup>3</sup> Leland in 1538 spoke of the Park as "very fair and lardge and meately well wodded"<sup>4</sup>, but the number of deer which was returned at 429 in 1539 showed a considerable decrease on the figure of two years earlier, perhaps indicating extensive poaching or a much more drastic requisitioning than had been allowed under Percy ownership.

The Crown Bailiff, John Eglysfeld, accounted in 1540/1 for receipts of £45 15s. 8d. from 'enclosures in the Old Park, thus let this year'.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Eglysfeld had won the royal approval of his services, as in 1542 he was made 'keeper of the chief house (at Leconfield) the New Lodge in the park there, bailiff of the lordship, Keeper of the pond of Arram .... and keeper of the three parks there, recently enclosed.'<sup>6</sup>

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1 L.&P.Add.No.1227 22 June 1537.

2 Pet.MS.MCR.26 Hen VIII.

3 C.S.P. No.1274 R.&S.Portf.23/52. Topcliffe Great Park £20, Little Park £13 6s. 8d., Spofforth £18, Catton £4, Newsholme £10.

4 Itinerary fol.49.

5 P.R.O. Min.Acc.No.4283.

6 L&P XVII No.1258 f.60.

The same year Michael Stanhop was made master of the deerhunt in the three parks as from Lady Day 33 Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup>

The lordship remaining Crown property under Edward VI, John Earl of Warwick held the park as part of his awards<sup>2</sup> until his fall, when Sir Thomas Wharton was described, in 1553, as holding the herbage and pannage, the offices of palester and keeper of the three parks as well as the Chief Stewardship of the East Riding Estates recently of the late Duke of Northumberland.<sup>3</sup>

The succession of Mary produced a survey of the royal parks in Holderness Wapentake. The section pertaining to Leconfield reads as follows:-

"Fyrste the sayd Pkes arre in lengthe one myle and a q<sup>a</sup>rt', and in bredth 3 q<sup>a</sup>rts of a myle in the wydest. Item ytt is in bredthn at the Weste ende d<sup>i</sup> myle and att the Este ende 3 q<sup>a</sup>rts of a myle. Item the same ys devydyd into 3 pkes one called the Olde pke and hath in ytt by estymacon iij fallowe dere and rede dere XXti.

Item ther ys in the same pke in medowe Xv acres and ys worthe eu'y acre ijs vjd and yf the yere be wete itt ys moch ou'flowed with watter.

Item ther ys in the same pke XXX acre of pasture thynne set with thornes hasill and oder Broshewode.

Itm ther ys within the same pke iijj acres of carr gronde

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1 L&P.XIX No.1036 f.14b.

2 CPR 20 May 1550.

3 CPR.20 Oct 1553.

sett with Ellers, the pasture therof nothyng worth.

Itm ther ys allso a pke ther called the Newe Pke theryn ys conteyned in spryng wodde CXXXLII acres.

Itm ther ys in the same pke by estymacon fiiij fallowe dere.

Itm one pke called the Coursynge Pke wheryn conteynyng in Carr gronde sette with ellers iiiij acres.

Itm ther ys in the same pke fjlx fallowe dere.

Itm ther ys conteyned wthin the same pke in pasture grunde besyde the Sprynges fyve hundreth acres and moste pte therof hathe ben arrable lande And ys worthe eu'y acre ijs.ivd.

Itm the pales arr verrey Gode and Tymbr enough for the repayre of the same.<sup>1</sup>

The estimated number of deer - 980 - is far in advance of any figure quoted thus far. Perhaps this might be taken as showing a failure by the occupiers to reduce the stock of game, though such failure is in direct contrast to the large discrepancy in the number of deer noted in 1537 and 1539. It is curious to notice that there are no presentations for poaching of deer as might have been expected under such conditions. There are only five presentations for palebreach between 1552 and 1566.<sup>2</sup> It would thus seem that the reigns of Edward VI and Mary had both been periods of quiet and steady development in Leconfield. Humberston in 1570 makes this clear:

'To the sd Manour belonge three parks which were some-  
tyme all in one and deuyded by the late Kyng of famous

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1 P.R.O. R.'S.Portf.19 No.41.

2 Pet.MCR.relevant dates.

memorye, Kyng Henry 8 wherof the fyrst parke ys called ye Coursyng Parke enclosyng the manour place in euery parte and ys well planted with undrewood and tymbre and well replenyshed with fallowe deere; and conteynes in compas ij myles and a halfe and the pale well maynteyned and in good repayre; and hath one keper who hath for his stipend yearly 60/8 and such other fees and comodytes as to his office apperteyneth.

The second is called the Newe Pke and adioyneth to th'other towards the west and ys lykewyse well planted with underwood and tymbre and well replenyshed with fallowe deere, the pale well maynteyned and in good repayre and conteynyng in Compas 2 myles wherof is one keper who hath for his stipend 60/8 yearly and such other fees and comodytes as to his office apperteyneth.

The third ys called the Olde Parke well planted with greate covertes of underwoode and tymbre and large laundes and very well replenyshed with red deere and fallowe deere; the pale in very good repayre and conteynyng in compas 4 myles wherof ys one keper who hath for his stipend yerely 60/8 and such other fees and casual profittes and comodytes as to his office apperteyneth.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the fact that the parks were so plentifully supplied with game, the Crown seemed to value them especially for the returns available from their herbage.

In 1574 the herbage of the New Park was let for £24 18s. 2d., that of the Old Park for £60 15s. 5d., and

<sup>1</sup> Yorks.Arch.Journal.XVII p.143 'Humberston's Survey'.f.249.

that of the Coursing park for £38 10s. 5d. - a total of £124 4s. -d. In the next year the total reached £143 7s. 2d., but the various contributory sums are not specified. By 1576 the item had disappeared from the account.<sup>1</sup>

The Percy Survey, commissioned in 1577 contains a full account of the Parks. The Survey book has served later appraisers and contains marginal notes, attributable mainly to 1602.

'Leconfield Park In the tyme of Henry late Erle of Northumberlande grandefather to the Erle that nowe ys, Ther was within the sd Manor One greate pke called Leconfield Pke which sd pke amongst other things came to the hands of King Henry8 who devyded the sd, greate pke into 3 ptes gyvinge unto them the seuerall names herunder mentioned The Olde Pke, The Coursyng Pke and the Newe Pke all which are discrybed and surveyed as followeth and Fyrst of the Olde Parke. The Olde Parke conteyneth 652 acres and lyeth Southe and by East from the sd Manour house the nearest pte therof half a quarter of a myle from the same And extendeth in length from a place called the High Street to a place called Mawde Car aboute the distance of one myle And in bredth from the Coursing Pke on the North side to a place called Mousecroft Common on the Southe side which is 3 quarters of a myle by estymacon. The

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1 PET.MAC.D.9.19

compass of the sd pke by the ring pale ys 3 myles. The pale of the sd parke is in reasonable good repara. Ther ys allso in the sd. pke of fallowe deare 450 wherof 80 are deare of antler And allso of Reed Deare 96 wherof 27 are staggs and staggards Ther ys in the sd pke a keper's lodge builded wth tymber and covered wth thatch now in convenient repara. Ther is in the sd Olde Parke 2 springs or groves of underwood Hasill Spring and Hey Springe The woods wherin nowe growinge are pryced as followeth The Hasill Springe conteyneth 19 ac.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  roods sett with hazel and stubb ockes valued at  $5\frac{3}{4}$  the acre over and besides six tymber trees and every acre valued at 5/- the tree. The Hey Springe is pcell of the Hesill Springe and included within the sd measure and number of 19 ac  $2\frac{1}{2}$  roods sett with ockes about 16/- per acre every tree valued at 5/-. The Coursing Pke conteyneth  $365\frac{1}{2}$  acres and lyeth for the moste pte in the East side of the sd manour house and extendith eastward from the sd manorhouse to the South Field of Arram in length which ys a myle or therabouts The bredth conteyneth (blank) roods ortherabouts And Lyeth betwixt the pale of the Olde Parke and the East Field of Leckinfield And the Compass or Circute of the same by the pale ys 2 myles or therabouts The sd pke for the poste pte ys plane grounde without anie woods except at the West ende therof certain wood groundes plenished with Ockes for the relief and succour of the deare The sd pke ys a pke of gret plesure for coursyng and as yt semeth deuysed

onellie for that purpose Ther ys belonginge and reputed as pcell of the sd pke One Springe or wood grounde sett with Ockes and underwoods of divers kinds called Sandie Kell whiche ys separated and enclosed with a pale from the sd pke in compasse half a myle or therabouts The sd Springe ys a place of greate plesure devysed for huntinge with houndes and lyeth north west from the sd manor house and adioyneth to the Moate The pale of the sd pke ys nowe in some decaye and needfull to be repaired Ther ys in the sd pke at this present of fallowe deare the nomber of 220 wherof 40 are deare of antler. Ther ys allso in the sd pke a kepers lodge builded with tymber and couered with tyle now in convenient repara.

Ther ys allso in the Coursyng Parke aforesd 3 severall springes or groves herunder mentioned Furwest Lees, Sandie Kell and Kiddlandes the woods therin growing prized as followeth;

The Furwest Lees conteyneth  $40\frac{1}{2}$  acres the underwood in the same ys greatlie spoyled for lack of good fence the last fall which was about 12 yeares sence made by the late Erle and nowe ys of smal value Butt by neue cutting and good keping could revyve again Ther ys in the sd Springe Ockes about 50 in acre which after the rate of akers aforesd amounteth to 2025 trees valued at 4/- the tree - £405  
Sandie Kell conteyneth  $25\frac{1}{2}$  acres; hazel and willow of 12 yeare groweth at 20/- the acre - £25 10s. -d.

Ther ys in the sd Springe in euery of the sd acres 25  
ocketres amounting to 622 valued at 5/- the tree -  
£156 5s. -d.

Kidlandes conteyneth  $7\frac{1}{2}$  acres; hazel and scrubb ockes  
few of them good for timber valued at 1/- the acre. The  
underwoods in the sd Springe ys about 20 yeares groweth -  
£18 7s. -d.

The Newe Pke conteyneth 262 acres and lyeth Southwest from  
the sd manourhouse and the nearest pte therof a quarter of  
a myle from the same yt extendeth in length from a pasture  
of the Lo. now in the tenure of Brian Pattison Estward to  
the way called the High Street And the bredth from  
Mousecroft Feild yt extendeth north to the pasture of the  
Lo. demayne called Coursloppe Close The lengthe of the sd  
pke conteyneth 1 myle The bredth  $\frac{3}{4}$  myle and the compas  
therof about the pale ys 3 myles. The pale ys in decay in  
divers places and needfull to be repaired Ther ys in the sd  
pke of fallowe deare the nombre of 180 wherof 40 are deare  
of antler Ther ys also in the sd pke a verie faire lodge  
(here follows the description of the New Lodge in the Park).  
Ther ys in the sd Newe Pke the seuerall Springes herunder  
mentioned Foxholde, Armitt Hagg. Cotts Wood and West Haile  
the wodds and underwoods wherin nowe standing and growing  
arev pryed as followeth:-

Foxholde conteyneth 33 ac. 2 roods; hazel and willow of  
5 yeres groweth, the last fall made by Maister Gowge;<sup>z</sup>

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<sup>z</sup> Gowge is mentioned as Controller of the Household.  
N.H.B.198



wherof the willow is worth £3 6s. 8d. per acre. Ther ys  
in the sd Springe Ockes about 50 in the acre which amounteth  
to 1437 trees - £302 8s. -d.

West Haile conteyneth  $34\frac{1}{2}$  acres; hazell and scrubb ockes;  
the hazell of about 14 yeares groweth and prysed at  $5\frac{3}{4}$  the  
acre. Ther ys in the sd Springe Ockes to the numbere of 40  
prysed at 5/- the tree - £102 -s. -d.

Cotts Wood conteyneth 26 acres; hazell and scrubb ockes  
growen oute of old Scovens the one half of which is so  
spoyled and so thin sett with undergrowth that it is not  
sufficyent to hedge the sd grounde when it shall be enclosed  
And therfor of no value (the sd scrubb ockes excepted) The  
other halfe is reasonably well furnished sett with long small  
thin hazels with some scrubb ocks of 23 yeares groweth or  
therabouts and euery acre of the same valued at  $3\frac{3}{4}$  which  
amounteth to £15 3s. 4d.<sup>1</sup>

For the first time, acreages are quoted in this Survey,  
although the marginal comments of 1602 raised the acreage  
of the Old Park to 730 and that of the New Park to 300, giving  
encouragement to the impression that the acreages quoted in  
the first case were arrived at 'by estimation' rather than  
by actual measurement. If however one assumes the correct-  
ness of the first set of figures, the annual value of the  
herbage was 2/1 per acre in the Coursing Park,  $1/10\frac{3}{4}$  in the  
New Park and  $1/10\frac{1}{4}$  in the Old Park in 1574. If the wooded

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1 Petworth MSS. 1577 Survey.

areas are subtracted from the whole, the figures are increased to  $2/7\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $2/11\frac{1}{2}$  and  $1/11\frac{3}{4}$  per acre respectively. The number of deer - 946, including 96 red deer - is the only item which corresponds in the accounts of 1553 and 1577, proving that the value of the herbage was not gained at the expense of the more ancient *raison d'etre* of the park.<sup>1</sup>

In 1579 the total receipts for herbage of the park reached £137 19s. 4d. - a figure well within the range of 1574-5. The Old Park value had been enhanced by some 32% to £80 14s. -d., that of the New Park had declined by 24% to £18 10s. -d., and that of the Coursing Park had declined by less than 1.5% to £37 17s. 6d.

These changes would appear to indicate an increase in the owner's interest in maintaining those parts of the park nearest the manor houses for his own uses, and letting off the herbage of wider stretches of the least accessible - the Old Park. All three still had their keepers, each receiving the time-honoured annuity of £3 -s. 8d. The keeper of the New Park, Thomas Binks, held also the office of keeper of the New Lodge there, for which he received an additional fee of 20/- per year.

One pallister served the whole of the park area in 1577, for which duties, Cuthbert Lythe received normally 40/- per year, four 'kyne gates' and a horse for drawing the sled by which wood was brought to repair the pale; for some unstated reason, his fee was reduced, during the Lord's

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1 Petworth 1577 Survey f.144.

pleasure, to 26/8 per year.<sup>1</sup>

In 1579 there appeared for the first time the mention of tithes paid to the Parson of Leconfield in respect of tithes from the Park.<sup>2</sup> This implies that the £3 10s. -d. payment was in compensation for tithes on arable and meadow ground enclosed at some previous time in the Park. It seems that any such enclosure must have taken place shortly before the 1579 mention, since the 1577 survey makes no reference to any such tithe payment - indeed it omits all mention of the church at Leconfield, an omission which is rectified by the 1602 notes, though again without reference to any tithe payment.

That the deer were still regarded as important is shown by the expenses incurred by provision of fodder in both winter and summer. 48 loads of hay were carted into the New Park, 10 into the Coursing Park, 64 into the Old Park, whilst 6 were taken first into the Lord's barn and later carried to such places as it was required during the winter. The total charges for this leading amounted to £1 -s. 8d. , whilst earlier mowing, making, stacking the hay and hedging the haystacks had cost £3 13s.10d.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Pet.1577 Survey f.145.

2 Pet.MAC.D.9.22. A marginal note on an estate plan of 1767 reads:- ".....Note also there is paid yearly to the Proprietor of the Parsonage in Leconfield £3 10s. -d. in lieu of Tithes for the Park grounds and other Inclosures."

3 Pet.MAC.D.9.22.

In spite of these comparatively heavy costs of maintaining the deer, the deerpark as such was outmoded and about to yield place to leased pasture land. This seems to be indicated quite clearly by the account for 1580 which represents the receipts for the herbage of the parks at Leconfield at £110, whilst those for land disparked reached £118.<sup>1</sup> Which lands were now in this second category does not appear, though it seems likely that the process of disparking would commence on the outer fringes, probably the eastern borders of the Old and Coursing parks, which are frequently referred to in the later accounts as 'Arrom Parrocks'.

By 1589 the process was complete. The herbage of the Coursing Park was let for 21 years to John Vavasour and Bartholomew Phillips for £80 per year; that of the Old Park to Roger Thorpe for 21 years for £98 per year; and that of the New Park to Philip Constable for the same term for £50 per year. The total annual sum thus realised is unchanged from that of 1580 - £218 - and was still being paid in 1608.<sup>2</sup>

This change from private pleasure to what might be termed prescribed pasture was encouraged by the position in which the owner of the property had found himself during the two decades ending in 1592. The eighth Earl had been

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1 N.H.B. Vol. II App. VIII p. 582 quoting 'A Breife Collectione of all the Landes Rentes and Yerelie Reuenues of ... the Earl .. 2nd Februarie 1580' Alnwick MSS.

2 Pet. MAC. D. 9. 27.

confined to his Petworth estate on suspicion of sympathy with Mary of Scotland, and some four years before his alleged suicide in the Tower in 1585, he wrote complaining to Lord Cecil that the game on his northern estates was being destroyed to his considerable loss. This, he asserted, was being accomplished in most insolent fashion; his servants were being molested and beaten when they attempted to interfere; the heads of the slain deer were being cut off and fastened to trees as a token of the offenders' contemptuous defiance.<sup>1</sup> Under such circumstances it was not surprising that the authorities should abandon the attempt to preserve so obsolete and indefensible an institution as a deer-park.

Moreover the profit motive was strong, as is clearly shown by the herbage charges made possible as a result of the demand for pasture in a district where the parks were the obvious area for expansion.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout, the Coursing Park continued to command the highest price per acre, partly perhaps through its accessibility both from Leconfield and Arram, its comparative freedom from thickly growing timber, and the fact that some parts of it had been tillage.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, except for 1579-80, the old Park stood lowest in the scale,

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1 Harleian MSS Vol.V.No.6993 fol.5.

2 See Table (Page 53)

3 P.R.O. R&S Portf.19 No.41

Table to show Rise in charges for Herbage of the Parks at Leconfield

NAME	Acres	1577		1536	1553	1574-5		* 1575-6		1579-80		1589	
		£	s.d.			Receipt	Rent per acre	Receipt	Rent per acre	Receipt	Rent per acre	Receipt	Rent per acre
Old Park	652	-	-	-	24 18 2	1/10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	- - -	2/1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	80 14 -	2/2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	98 - -	3/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
New Park	262	-	-	-	60 15 5	1/10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	- - -	2/2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	18 10 -	1/4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	50 - -	3/10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Coursing Park	365	-	-	2/4 per acre	38 10 5	2/1	- - -	2/4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	38 15 4	2/0 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	80 - -	4/4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Total Receipts		13 6 8	£40	-	124 4 -		143 7 2		137 19 4		228 - -		

Acreeges are those of the 1577 Survey.

\* These prices per acre are arrived at by the addition of a flat rate of 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. per acre to the rates obtaining in 1574-5. This is an average figure based on the increased total receipts divided by the accepted acreage. It seems more likely that the increases would be less evenly distributed than this method would suggest.

although it held only few wooded areas, partly owing to its remoteness from both townships and its liability to partial flooding.<sup>1</sup> The New Park, though apparently occupying second place, would really be the most productive when its densely wooded character is considered.

In the same way as the value of the herbage had increased so had that of the timber and underwood in the Parks.

If the estimate in the royal survey of 1537 is accepted as bearing any relation to the real value of the timber, it would seem that a very marked and well-conceived programme of afforestation was followed in the period of royal control. The Percy Survey of 1577 speaks of 'the last fall aboute 12 yeares sence', which would make quite feasible the assumption that saplings planted about 1537 would have reached a reasonable stage of maturity in some thirty years.<sup>2</sup> The tremendous increase in value reflects not only the success of the policy of replantation, but also of the governmental regulations which accompanied their anxiety about the possible scarcity of timber.<sup>3</sup>

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1 P.R.O. R & S Portf.19 No.41.

2 "In 20 years, acorns have yielded fruit already, nearly as high as a steeple of ordinary height."

Norden - Surveyor's Dialogue. Book III p.120.  
3 S.P.Dom.El.VII Oct. 1559 and CXXXVI Jan 1580 etc.  
See also Cunningham Growth of English Industry & Commerce - Modern Times Part 1.pp.64-5.

The huge increase of 66% between 1577 and 1607 seems to have been accounted for mainly by changes in the New Park, where the greatest relative advances were in the woods known as West Haile and Cottswood. The areas which were reported as most valuable in 1577 had suffered considerable recessions, as for example in Foxehold (New Park) and Furwest Leas (Coursing Park). Most of the woods in the earlier survey were composed of hazel, willow, scrub oaks and oaks. In suitable areas, the number of oaks had been greatly increased by 1607, and had been accompanied by ash and beech.<sup>1</sup>

In 1608 a tenant of Arram was presented for taking wood from 'Kydlandes, a wood in the Coursing Park': five others were amerced 5d. each for taking rails from the pale of the Old Park.<sup>2</sup> Henceforward there is no mention of the Parks save for topographic purposes. With the demolition of the manor house and the extensive practice of leasing the Parks for pasture purposes, it would appear that Leconfield ceased to be visited by the Percies, who found its supervision sufficiently convenient from Wressel.

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1 See Table (Page 56)

2 Pet.MCR.218 D.46 No.3 Apr.1608.



Variations in Value of Timber in Parks of Leconfield

Park	Wood	Acres	1537	1577			1607			1616 Plan	
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		
<u>Old</u>	Hasill Spring	} 19.2r.	=	} 130	-	-	-	-	-	+	
	Hey Spring		=		-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	Park Body							30	15	-	-
	Birk Spring							99	4	-	+
	East End							111	-	-	-
	Gallaridings							52	13	-	-
<u>New</u>	Foxeholde	33.2r.			302	8	-	224	2	-	+
	West Haile	34.2r.	=		102	-	-	556	17	-	+
	Cottswood	26.0r.			15	3	4	285	18	-	+
<u>Coursing</u>	Park body							231	4	-	-
	Furwest Lees	40.2r.	=		405	-	-	274	2	-	+
	Sandie Kell	25.0r.	=		181	15	-	-	-	-	+
	Kidlandes	7.2r.	=		18	7	-	15	12	-	+
	Litle Wod							38	8	-	-
<u>Total Value</u>	.. .. .	.. .. .	£60	1,154	13	4	1,919	15	-		

Notes: Wood names are collected from all accounts. Acreages are those available, from the 1577 survey. Those mentioned in the 1537 Ms. are shown thus: (=). Those shown as still wooded on the 1616 Plan are shown thus: (+).

LECONFIELD

Section 4

The Manor Houses

Some four hundred yards to the south-west of where the Leconfield-Arram lane joins the Beverley-HuttonCranswick road, the site of the manorhouse is now marked by a moated enclosure almost square in plan.

About  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres in area, it is now rough pasture, the moat thickly overgrown with rushes, alders and hazels, the open space roughly level, divided now by a hedge, and only broken in the extreme south east corner by a bushy knoll known as Butt Hill.<sup>1</sup> The surrounding countryside is flat and monotonous, the general atmosphere depressing.

Although Henry de Percy received in 1308 licence to crenellate his manor house at Leconfield,<sup>2</sup> there are few direct references to it<sup>3</sup> after that date until 1517 in the account roll for that year, and then only a passing mention. This supplies no additional information, as the Northumberland Household Book has given full accounts of the working of the lord's establishment in 1512.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest description encountered runs as follows:-  
"The Manour Place of Lekynfeld ys a ryghte fayre and plesaunt Howse buylded wth brycke and tymber and moche pte therof couered wt leade and the resydue in tyle Inuyroned wt a quadrante mote of CC yeardes longe and 50 foot broade and

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1 O.S. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " Ref. 54/04/013432

2 CPR. Oct 14 1308

3 (a) "one capital message worth beyond reprises per year 13s. 4d." PRO I.P.M. Chancery enrolment 134/41/1 8 Ed. II 1315.

(b) "one capital message, worthless beyond reprises" PRO. I.P.M. Exchequer enrolment E.152/89. 1353.

4 NHB. 1905 *passim*.

on the Insyde therof standith a bryke wall imbattellyd nere  
adioynyng to the brynke of the mote hauyng at eu'y corner  
a Tower of bryke 2 storyes highe and in the myddle a fayer  
Gatehowse Towre at the comyng into the Howse wherin ben 4  
chambres and in the myddle of the scyte of the sd howse  
stondith a fayre large Halle wth alle other howses of  
offyce correspondent to the same And at the upper ende of  
the saide halle a greet Chambre with a dyneng chambre therto  
adioynyng selyd wth waynescotte and goodly portalls to the  
same, euery one wroughte wth a proper Chaple and 3 other  
fayer Chambres and 3 closetts And ther ys allso a grette  
basecourte Inuyroned wth 48 lodgyngs for s'uaunts wth  
standyng Galaryes and at the Northsyde of the Halle ther  
ys a fayer gardyn well kepte and at the l ende therof  
plesaunte banketyng howses and in the one of them a fayre  
bayne and stewe wch sd Mannor ys somewhat in decaye The  
repacyons wherof wyll amounte by estymacon to the some of  
20 li."<sup>1</sup>

Leland's account, almost contemporary with the  
preceding one, records:

"Lekingfeld is a large Howse and stondesth withyn a  
greate Mote yn one very spacious Courte. Three partes of  
the Howse, saving the Meane Gate that ys made of brike ys

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1 P.R.O. Rentals and Surveys Roll 959. (30 Hen.VIII)

al of tymbere. The fourthe parte ys made of Stone and some brike."<sup>1</sup>

The constructional materials of the manorhouse as described above were such as to require frequent renewal and almost continuous maintenance. This fact is witnessed by expenditure recorded in the Household Accounts, whereby between 12th November and 23rd December 1515 no less than £45 4s. 4d. was spent on repairs at "Lek".<sup>2</sup>

Humberston, reporting in 1570, describes the manor house as "the largest and statelyeste house which th'Erle had in the County of Yorke, builded within a parke and enclosed about with a mote, very fayer buylte and in good ordre, parte of stone and parte of tymbre and ys in good repayre and wellkept."<sup>3</sup>

By far the most comprehensive account of the manorhouse is afforded by the 1577 Survey of the Yorkshire estates,<sup>4</sup> though perhaps even this would be surpassed in detail by the Inventory of 1574 which Bishop Percy mentions<sup>5</sup> as recording the existence of 83 apartments at Leconfield - sufficient to accommodate a household of imposing size. The relevant section of the 1577 Survey reads as follows:-

"The Manor House of Lekyngfeld aforsd ys moted about

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1 Leland - Itinerary Vol.1 f.50.

2 P.R.O. Misc.Books of the Exchequer T.R. No.226

3 Humberston (Survey) f. 249.

4 Petworth MSS.

5 N.H.B. Appendix pp.446/8. Bishop Percy does not further identify the Inventory. I have not been able to trace it at Petworth or elsewhere.

with a Stanke in all partes of the same which mote ys  
fedd & continued with a running water conveyed to the same  
with ditches & sewers from a place called Flashe Well  
distant from the sd Mote IX<sup>XX</sup> roods or therabouts accompting  
seaven yeards to the rood which sd Running water ys a  
continual spring & not dry at anye time The Square of the  
sd. Mote on the utter syde conteyneth VII<sup>XX</sup> yeardes the  
bredth XIII yeards & the depth IV yeards Betwixt the sd  
manorhouse and the sd Mote stondith one brike wall somethinge  
in decay and round about the same ys a quicksett hedge  
betwixt which & the sd wall ys a walk the bredth of 6 feete.

Within the sd brike wall and Mote aforesd ys scituate  
the sd manorhouse buyldyd square and euerie square  
conteyneth CVIII yeards & at euerie corner of the same  
squares standith a Tower 12 yeards in height or theraboutes  
buylded wth brikke & three of them couered wth leade & the  
fourthe wth tyle. The Compase therof conteyneth XL leards  
or therabouts within wch said Towres are dyvers seemelie &  
convenient lodgings but now in some decaye & needfull to be  
repayred.

The North square of the sd House Yn the wch ys the  
Porters Lodge & the gatehouse wth a drawbridge over the  
mote. The sd gatehouse ys lykewise buylded of brikke &  
couered wth leade within wch ys two lodgyngs below & two  
aboue wth 3 brike chymnays wherof 2 are duple chymnays all  
wch ys now in convenient repaire Allso in the sd North square

on the East syde of the sd gatehouse ys one gallerie in wch are nyne lodgyngs usuall for gentilmen attending upon the Lo. And underneath the same are nyne lowe chambres usuall for yeomen with nyne duple brike chymnays belongyng to the sd chambres The sd Gallerie ys buylded of tymber & couered wth tyle & now in convenient repare. Allso in the sd North square upon the West syde of the sd gatehouse. adioyning to the sd gatehouse are 2 stables buylded wth tymber & couered wth tyle now likewise in convenient repare.

In the West square of the sd House ys on other gallerie wth 7 chambres aboue & 7 below buylded wth tymber and couered wth tyle wth 6 duple brike chymnays belongyng to the same now in some decay and needfull to be repared The sd Chambres were belongyng to the gentilmen & yeomen of the horses & other officers of the stable And allso for the bakehouse garners & a horse mill.

In the East square of the sd house ys likewise one other Galarye wth 8 chambres aboue & 8 below builded wth tymbre & couered wth tyle & nowe in convenient repare for the more part therof wth 9 brike chymnays belongyng to the same of which one hath two conduits Which chambres were as well for the Chaplains & Officers of the household as allso for wardropes storehouses and other convenient lodgyngs.

In the South square of the sd House Ys scituate the cheif mansion or manor house vz the halle kitchinge buttries pantries parlours chappell & the great Chaber wth dyvers

other lodgyngs to the numbere of 23 or therabouts All of wch  
sd squares ys buylded wth bricke & couered wth leade And  
dyvers of the sd houses & offices are in greate decaye &  
needfull to be repaired Allso wthin the Compase of the sd  
mote betwixt the aforesd brike wall & the sd house are  
2 gardens conteyning 1 rood apeece or therabouts Ther ys  
allso in the compase of the squares aforesd a Grene Courte  
conteyning 1½ rood by measure."<sup>1</sup>

It would appear either that the Percies came to regard  
this manor house as a cause of excessive expenditure or  
that it failed to please them through some disadvantage of  
site. Admittedly the mansion was situated almost on the  
boundary dividing Leconfield and Cherry Burton: it stood  
within a quarter of a mile of the township in a district  
with a prevailing northeast wind: it stood in a flat low-  
lying area only 30 feet above sea level, the moat being  
valued for its effect of draining the site as much as  
for purposes of defence or privacy.

Steps to improve the position had been taken at least  
as early as 1520. A "New Lodge" was built further to the  
south-west, close to the junction of the boundaries of  
Leconfield, Cherry Burton and Molescroft parishes.<sup>2</sup> Leland  
says:- "Ther ys a fayre Tour of brike for a Lodge yn the  
Park".<sup>3</sup> The 1577 Survey is more revealing:-

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1 Pet.MSS. 1577 Survey ff.147-150.

2 Ref.54/04/011419

3 Itinerary Vol.1 f.50.



"Ther ys also in the sd pke a verie faire lodge builded wth brike & couered wth tyle made for a howse of plesure wth howses of office & divers lodgyngs therin to the numbre of 16 with 8 brike chymnays belongyng to the same. The sd lodge ys moted about wt a mote or stanke fedd and continued wth a standing water. Ther ys allso within the sd mote a garden conveniauntly placed. Ther ys allso ou' the sd mote a drawbridge now greatly decayed And ther ys allso dyvers buildings and such howses belongyng to the sd lodge as stables and other howses nowe in good and convenient repayre."

Such a residence as that just described would represent a real saving, with its 16 rooms only one fifth the number of those in the old manor house. Built with an eye to greater convenience and intimacy, the New Lodge served the Lord as a residence on all but occasions of great state. Here the Percy lord and lady kept their "Secrat House" and were attended by household servants who lived "at Bordewaigies" in the town, notwithstanding the mile and a half separating the New Lodge from the township.<sup>1</sup>

The Old Manor House was not entirely neglected. Expenditure on repairs continued;<sup>2</sup> a skeleton staff was maintained in both residences; fires were to be provided in certain named rooms in both manor houses "from Alhallowtid

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1 N.H.B. p.279

2 Misc.Bks.Excheq.T.R.226.

to Shrafftide" even when his Lordship was away visiting his southern manors. In the older building eleven of the eighty-three rooms were to have fires at a cost of 22/- whilst in the New Lodge seven of the sixteen rooms cost 14/- to heat.<sup>1</sup> Both houses had chapels and both could boast rooms decorated with moral and instructional inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> These are the rooms, no doubt, which in the 1537 account were described as "wrought".<sup>3</sup>

Whereas Bishop Percy's record of 1574 details 83 apartments and the 1577 Survey 82, there are several in the Fuel allowance section of the Household Book which find no place in either account - My Lord's Jewelhouse, My Lord's Library (there were at least two of these), My Lady's Library, The Evidence House (unless this be identical with the Checker).<sup>4</sup> The discrepancy must be ascribed to the differing interpretations of the use of rooms by different surveyors.

The 16th century saw the decay of the old manor house advance progressively. Leland's account is significantly brief. He does not usually limit himself to such terse comments as in this case. The 1538/9 report of the Crown Surveyor speaks guardedly of the property as "somewhat in decay".

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1 N.H.B. pp.364-371

2 N.H.B. pp.444/5

3 See p. 59 ante.

4 No.49 in the N.H.B. list.

In the same year, 1538, the King's Receiver Henry Whiteronson noted the expenditure of £8 3s.11½d. on repairs to Leconfield Manor and New lodge - the items including tilers working on the houses and chambers, and the provision of slaked lime, laths, tiles and wooden pins. In addition, John Burde, styled "keeper of the gardons at the Manor and New Lodge of Leconfield" was paid 20/- for scouring the moat round the manor house. This operation apparently required special care on this occasion as 1/8 was paid to Peter Crake of Beverley "for ropes to construct a contrivance for cleaning the weeds (veddez) out of the moat."<sup>1</sup>

Next year similar repairs to the manor cost £19 19s.<sup>2</sup> In 1540 similar repair costs reached £8 6s. 6d.<sup>3</sup> in 1541 £17 6s. 8d.<sup>4</sup> and in 1542 £21 14s. 8d. This made a total of £76 12s. 5½d. spread over a five year period - more than three times the expenses incurred for repairs to Wressel Castle during the same years. Such figures reflect not only the speedy dilapidation of a timber and plaster building during the absence of its owners, but also that maintenance of such a structure was not a commercial proposition. Bishop Percy comments that the Surveyors of 1574 report "the Decayes of the Howse at Leckingfield to be much greater and of more charge than of that at Wressel; and that the

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- 1 PRO.Min.Acc.SC6/4287
  - 2 PRO.Min.Acc.SC6/4288
  - 3 PRO.Min.Acc.SC6/4289
  - 4 PRO.Min.Acc.SC6/4290

greater part of the said Howse, as well the Lead Cover as Tyle must be taken of, and new tymbered ... We cannot speke of the particuler harmes of the said Howse, the Waste is so universal".<sup>1</sup>

As mentioned above, the Survey of 1577 reported that the West side needed repair whilst the principal range of buildings on the South side was in great decay. Yet in 1579 George Lomas was still keeper of the Lord's house and received an annual fee of 40/- whilst Thomas Binks was keeper of the New Lodge at a fee of 20/-. Firewood was still being delivered to the Manor house at a cost of 3/4.<sup>2</sup>

After this date the details of what happened are vague. In 1608/9 no "keeper of the lord's house" figures in the list of paid officials.<sup>3</sup> That this omission is significant is borne out by an entry in the Account Roll for 7 Jac.I:-

"Received of Mr. Jo. Legge £72 14s. 6d. for the price of parte of the Oulde Manor house of Leckingfeld".<sup>4</sup>

The import of this agrees with the concluding paragraph of the Northumberland Household Book:- "Thenceforward it was probably never repaired, but after some time pulled down and demolished; for I have seen an account sent up to the succeeding Earl of Northumberland in James the First's reign, of the quantity of Timber, Painted Glass and Carved Images in the Ceilings which were removed by

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1 N.H.B. p.448

2 Pet.MAC.D.9.22

3 Pet.MAC D.9.27.

4 Pet.MAC.D.9.28.

his order from Leckenfeild to Wressel Castle."<sup>1</sup> The demolition was completed quickly. In 1609 "the scite of the manorhouse and the mote" was leased by the Earl to Roger Thorpe for 21 years at 40/- per year.<sup>2</sup>

There is no record that during his long lifetime the ninth Earl visited the Yorkshire estates after his alleged education in the North.<sup>3</sup> This is probably one of the most urgent causes of the decay of Leconfield Manor House. When in 1630 his son (who was to be the tenth Earl two years later) visited the Northern estates, he found the Northumbrian Castles and particularly the Yorkshire manor-houses in a state of advanced disrepair.<sup>4</sup> Wressle was the only notable exception. Spofforth had been ruinous since the mid 15th century; Seamer was reported as requiring more than £200 to pay for repairs as early as 1538;<sup>5</sup> Topcliffe had now only a small residence in place of the once spacious manorhouse, and that was reported as needing repair. Presumably de Fonblanque refers to the New Lodge as well as to the Old Manor House at Leconfield when he speaks of the Leconfield manor as being decayed.<sup>6</sup> We have the evidence of the sale of much of the fabric in 1610, quoted above,<sup>7</sup> whilst on the 1616 map there are marked

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1 N.H.B. p.448

2 Pet.MS.8.D.2. Book of Leases 1625.

3 A.H.P. Vol.II p.157.

4 A.H.P. p.357

5 P.R.O.Rentals & Surveys Roll 959.(30.H.VIII)

6 A.H.P. p.363

7 Pet.MAC.D.9.28.

only three small buildings on the site of the Old Manor, arranged in no set order. Even these were omitted from the later plan of 1767.

To-day there is no more sign that the site has once held buildings than a few scattered soft-texture bricks and broken tiles which may be found at the four corners on the inner bank of the moat. Of the New Lodge there seems to be no trace remaining besides the two moated enclosures, the present Park House being almost completely a modern structure.

LECONFIELD

Section 5

The Tenantry

Leconfield boasted one free tenant in 1523.<sup>1</sup> In 1577 there were four noted.<sup>2</sup> They held by socage tenure and enjoyed pasture rights along with, and probably similar to those belonging to, the townsmen of the two townships. Fealty, suit of court, a small money rent formed the other conditions of tenure which were incumbent on the free tenant, although there is no concise statement to this effect anywhere in the available material. In this particular case the insignificance of the annual payment - 6/8 - would have the effect of making the surveyor more negligent in recording with care the details of holdings and obligations, whereas the details of the tenants at will are recorded in full.<sup>3</sup>

The 1577 Survey notes the names of Smayle, Johnson, Sharpe and Bell, who appear to have held in pairs what may have been originally one or perhaps two tenements. Whereas the 1577 Survey noted that Sir Edward Gower held a messuage, a close and one oxgang of land with sufficient common, the 1616 map indicates that Smayle held a toft and croft, the latter about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an acre in extent on the opposite side of the land and slightly to the east of the Church; sharing with Johnson some 36 acres lying between the Bramers and

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1 Pet.MAC.D.9.14.

2 Pet.1577 Survey fol.128

3 cf. Tawney, Agrarian Problems p.29.



the Abbey Field. Sharpe and Bell shared approximately 12 acres. The same annual payment of 6/8 was being paid in 1608/9.<sup>1</sup>

The parsonage land amounted to about 28 acres from which no revenue accrued to the lord of the manor.

The remaining inhabitants were copyholders, always referred to in these MSS. as tenants at will.

These were copyholders of inheritance. On many occasions a tenant surrendered his tenement to the Lord or his bailiff for the use of his (the tenant's) son to be held for life according to the custom of the manor - "secundum consuetudinem manerii istius pro redditu et serviciis inde debitis et de iure consuetis."<sup>2</sup>

Exactly what the custom of the manor was, does not appear. It can be inferred from presentments that certain common pasture rights were customary;<sup>3</sup> that failure to maintain one's tenement in good repair could occasion forfeiture;<sup>2</sup> that pledges should be found to act as guarantors for the payment of dues as well as for the maintenance of property;<sup>4</sup> that it was obligatory to do suit of court;<sup>5</sup> that services were demanded which included the cutting and making of hay in the park, and the carrying of hay and faggots to the Manor House;<sup>6</sup> that dues could be remitted to enable repairs to be effected. On one occasion

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1 Pet.MAC.D.9.27.

2 Pet.MCR.D.3.18.3 Hen.VII

3 Pet.MCR.D.3.18.13 Ed.IV.

4 Pet.MCR. 26 Oct.7 Hen.VIII

5 Pet.MCR.Oct.41 Eliz.

6 Pet.MAC.D.9.22 1579 & D.9.13 8 Hen.VIII.

the payment of 8/10 per year for the three years ending 1502 and the six years ending 1512 were remitted 'by the authority of the Earl's councillors so that the tenants of the lordship may repair their holdings.'<sup>1</sup>

In 1522 there appears for the first time the further specification of the letting of land according to the custom of Cumberland "which ys to make fyne at the death alyenacon or exchange of the Lord or tenaunte".<sup>2</sup>

When on April 30th 1557 the seventh Earl was restored to his ancestral estates by Mary,<sup>3</sup> a lengthy commission instructed Richard Hochenson, Esq., and John Duddeley, gent., "to survey all and singular my honours, manours, lordships, parks, landes and tenements in the realme of England .... and to call before them all and euerie the tennants occupiers farmers baliffs fo'sters kprs of parks & other officers ..... and leuie .... rents fynes contributions ... for and towards the supportacion of the charges and relief of me the said Erle ....."<sup>4</sup>

Under the heading "Dimissio pro termino vitae secundum consuetudinem Cumbrie" there follows a series of admissions,<sup>5</sup> of which the following is a typical example:-

"Thomas Buddell came into court and was admitted to the tenure of one cottage for 2/- per year and 2 bovates for 26/8 in Leconfield, in the Lo's hands through the death of

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1 Pet.MAC.D.9.13.

2 Humberston's Survey fol.249d.

3 C.P.R. Vol.LXXVII 30.April 1557.

4 Pet.MCR.25 Sept.4/5 P&M.Commission dated 31 July 4/5 P&M.

5 Tabulated below - pp. 98-100.

Richard Buddell, late his father, To whom the Lo through his Steward granted by virtue of the warrant directed to him in the aforesaid commission the lands late of his father, to be held, the cottage and 2 bovates of land with appurtenances to the aforesaid Thomas according to the custom and habit of leases of land and tenements of the aforesaid Erle in County Cumbriand and he gives him them for the term of the natural life of the Erle and Thomas Buddell paying yerely to the aforesd Erle his heirs and assigns 28/8 of good and legal money of England at the two usual terms St. Martin in Yeme and Pentecost by equal portions And if it happen that the aforesd Rent of 28/8 be in arrears and unpaid wholly or in part for the space of six weeks immediately following either feast on which it should have been paid if asked for, then the lease shall be null and void, notwithstanding anything to the contrary and the aforesd Thomas Buddell shall repair and maintayn the property during the time at his own cost except for timber. And he pays the Lord as ingress fyne 53/4 wherof 26/8 is paid down and 26/8 is to be paid on St. John the Baptist Day next after the date of this Court And he does fealty and is admitted tenant."

These conditions of leasehold became more widespread in the lordship as the period advanced. By 1558 thirty-one out of the eighty-two tenants held lands on these terms, and the 1577 survey listed seventy-eight tenants in all, all

of whom held on these terms though still referred to as tenants at will.

Such tenures were only slightly less secure than those of the freeholder. Thomas Buddell, quoted above, was only 15 years old. The ingress fine was only twice the annual payment for the land, excluding the cottage. This lenient treatment seems to have been reserved for heirs of existing tenants, and could be even more lenient than the example quoted, as is shown when in 1522 a son's ingress fine was only one year's charge.<sup>1</sup> In all other cases - though in 1558 - the fine was equal to three years' payments, perhaps since the tenants admitted were all to holdings hitherto in the hands of others than relatives.<sup>2</sup>

The lease of the tenement could also be bequeathed by will. John Sharpe succeeded in 1582 to his father's tenement, even though he was the younger son.<sup>3</sup>

Tenants - occasionally according to the instances recorded in these MSS. - sublet their tenements to others. In 1492 a tenant sublet a meadow in Scarborough for two years at 2/2 per year. In 1496 he brought the lessee to court for default of payment of rent. Since the plaintiff's complaint was upheld by the jury, the practice of subletting received local approval, at least.<sup>4</sup>

In 1599 a lease not yet expired was bought from a tenant whose father had willed it to him - though, in this case, with the prior approval of the Bailiff.<sup>5</sup> Yet in

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1 Pet.MCR.Nov.13 Hen.VIII.

2 Pet.MCR.5/6 P&M.

3 Pet.MCR.5 May 24 Eliz.

4 Pet.MCR.33 11 Hen.VII

5 Pet.MCR.Oct 41 Eliz.

contrast to this acknowledged toleration of subletting in principle, in 1603 six tenants were fined  $3/4$  each for having demised their common pasture rights to six other tenants, both lessors and lessees suffering equally by the jury's verdict.<sup>1</sup> The only explanation would seem to be an attempt to limit the activities of those who aimed at becoming grazier capitalists.

On the matter of subletting, a contemporary memorandum in the 1577 Survey notes:-

"Md. that euery oxegang of land which lyeth in the comon arable fields is let now after the rate of  $13/4$  a peece soe as 3 of these oxeganges yields the Lo.2li. and the Tenauntes doe lett them one to another for 4 li. 3 oxeganges of which ther are 36 in the three comon fields so as this must be considered in the next demyse; euery oxegange contains as I gather it 9 acres (erased) which comes to the rate of 3s. or therabouts." A further note of 1602 states:- "An oxgang of land is uncertain for the quantite of the acre, therfor quere."

Presumably the meaning of the memorandum is that the annual charge of 3/- per acre would enable the lord to profit from the competitive rents obtainable in contrast to the low customary rental. Even though the calculation is based upon an incorrect premise - as demonstrated by the

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1 Pet.MCR.Apr. 44 Eliz.

later note - the surveyor shows himself to be well aware of the problem.

The 1577 Survey continues:-

"Note also that the cottagers doe lett ther cottages one to another with that belongyth to them after the rate of 20 years rent for 6 years and the Lo. hath scarce 12 years fyne for 21 years soe as the tenants letts after this computation that for 70 years fyne that the Lo. letts for 12 years fyne, but consideration is here to be had that years in reversion are not soe estimable as the years in possession."<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the mathematics of this statement is not as clear as might be desired, the upshot is clear; that the tenant, by subletting for rentals that others were willing to pay, was in a most advantageous position compared with the lord, who was bound by custom to maintain rents at an uneconomic level.

Perhaps these conditions of security of tenure and the tenants' ability to sublet with a handsome margin of unearned profit account for the complete lack of evidence showing tenant discontent with the situation in this lordship, though it is to be supposed that the Earl viewed the position somewhat differently.

At Spofforth there was trouble over the enclosure of what the village considered was common pasture;<sup>2</sup> on the

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1 Pet. 1577 Survey fol.138.

2 Acts of Privy Council Vol.XXII p.527 1592.

Northumberland estates there was a bitter dispute over the conditions under which certain corn rents were paid;<sup>1</sup> at Petworth the tenantry were destroying pales and enclosures.<sup>2</sup> In Leconfield there is no indication that anything of the sort occurred.

Though the ninth Earl was brought up and educated in the north<sup>3</sup> and although his younger brothers Sir William and Sir Charles were educated by William Tallentyre, Rector of Kirkby Overblow, near Spofforth,<sup>4</sup> he seems never to have visited his Yorkshire estates, but to have stayed in the south. This neglect he explains partly in his later "Instructions to My Son", by saying that his father had kept him in ignorance of family affairs and domestic details - 'I knew not where I was or what I did, till out of my meanes of £3,000 yearlye I had made shifte in one yeare and a halfe to be £15,000 in debte; so as the burden of my songe, muste still conclude ignorance in myne estate to be the mayne cause.'

The same Earl also refers in 1593 to the negligence with which the court rolls and records in the North were kept: "to the great confusion of my poor Tenents estates and to my owne great Loss and Dishonour."<sup>5</sup>

So the friction in some of the Northern lands may be

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- 1 Tawney - Agrarian Problems p.198.
  - 2 Harleian MSS. No.6995 fol.75.
  - 3 A.H.P. Vol.II.p.178
  - 4 Pet.MAC.D.9.22.21 Eliz.
  - 5 A.H.P. Vol.II.p.193

explained by the dishonesty, rapacity or intolerance of officials acting - it appeared to the tenantry - with the authority of a lord who was, in fact, sympathetic and just - qualities which he is proved to have possessed by his intervention on behalf of an evicted woman tenant in Northumberland,<sup>1</sup> and by his willingness to meet the demands of the Petworth villagers.<sup>2</sup>

The sole possible indication of any trouble in the Leconfield estate is the somewhat cryptic mention under the heading of 'Necessary Expenses' in an Account Roll for 1579 of "Courts upon special causes this year £4 13s. -d."<sup>3</sup> The court rolls disclose nothing out of the way. The presentments and court business are of the normal type, though the expenses of the Michaelmas Court are unusually heavy - £4 7s. 8d. There is no direct indication as to the discrepancy between the two sums, but either the November court was a lengthy one - which would not appear to be the case judging by the business transacted, or the officials present must have been unusually numerous. The bill of expenses totalled £2 17s. 10d., of which £2 4s. -d. was for food and drink, and 13/10 for horse fodder.<sup>4</sup>

The absence of trouble at Leconfield - if such may now be assumed to be the case - may thus be explained by the satisfactory conditions of tenure, the plentiful supply of land for husbandry, the close connections maintained between tenants and lord until at least the time of the

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1 A.H.P.Vol.II p.186 quoting Alnwick MSS.

2 Harl.MSS.No.6996 Vol.115 p.1.

3 Pet.MAC.D.9.22 21 Eliz.

4 Pet.MCR.25.Nov.20 Eliz.



seventh Earl, not to mention the profits accruing to the tenantry from the employment attendant upon the lord's presence in their midst during the majority of the period, and the satisfactory treatment of the villagers by the lord's officials.

Leconfield Lordship - Tenant Population 1511 - 1625

Township	1511	1515	1516	1517	1522	1561	1565	1577	1578	1587	1599	1602	1610	1625
Leconfield	64	56	56	56	57	47	50	47	48	50	52	60	55	59
Arram	29	24	28	26	26	24	26	24	22	26	27	26	26	25
Scorborough	6	6	6	6	7	5	6	7	11	7	9	9	7	7
Totals	99	86	90	88	90	76	82	78	81	83	88	95	88	91

The social structure of the lordship of Leconfield approximates closely to that cited by Tawney as typifying the more remote northern districts of the country. The Paucity of freeholders - at the fewest, one, and at the most four, in 1616 - was the minimum required to make possible the holding of the Court Baron.<sup>1</sup>

The single freeholder held a messuage, close and one oxgang of land with appurtenances on the common in return for an annual payment of 6/8. The uneconomic quality of this payment is clearly witnessed by the standard rate obtaining in 1488 when 13/4 is the annual sum charged for a bovate in Leconfield and 12/- per bovate in Arram. When in addition, it is stated that the normal annual rate for a cottage ranged from 3/- to 6/-, the freeholder's advantageous position is still more clearly demonstrated. The same sum of 6/8 appearing as "free rent" in 1523<sup>2</sup> continues to appear in the latest account roll available - for 1608-9.<sup>3</sup> Lancelot Sharpe and Mark Bell were the free tenants in 1605 - the purchasers or inheritors of property once belonging to the St. Quintin family and later to Sir Edward Gower.<sup>4</sup> In 1606 Sharpe was reported 'dead since last court'; he and Bell each held  $\frac{1}{2}$  a messuage and  $\frac{1}{2}$  a bovate.<sup>5</sup>

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1 The Agrarian Problem p.25

2 Pet.MAC.D.9.14 14 Hen.VIII

3 Pet.MAC.D.9.27.5/6 Jac.I

4 Pet.MCR.218.D.46 No.3.

5 Pet.MCR.D.46.No.3 12.Apr. 3 Jac.I.

The remainder of the tenant population remained well-nigh as stable in numbers as did the free tenants. A dozen tenants' lists between 1511 and 1610 show a fluctuation from 99 in 1511 and 78 in 1577, recovering to 95 in 1602 and receding to 88 in 1610. This apparent numerical stability is not entirely borne out by the persistence of tenant family names. Of 67 of those noted in 1517, 30 persisted in 1557 and 1577, whilst in 1599 only 24 remained. It would thus appear that there was some considerable local movement of population and/or change of tenancy during 1517 and 1557. It would not be profitable to press this argument too far, since changes of family names need not necessarily indicate anything more than normal inheritance from the distaff side.<sup>1</sup>

The plentiful supply of land for husbandry has been suggested above as a possible reason for the apparent contentment of the tenantry. The six square miles or so which the lordship occupied was ample for the requirements of the small population which varied perhaps between 240 and 300, even when the wide area comprising the Parks is considered. The 1577 Survey indicates that there were perhaps 300 - 320 acres of arable in the common fields.<sup>2</sup> This assumption is further confirmed by the following inquisitions summarised below. The first was held on the lands of Henry 1st Lord Percy of Alnwick who died in 1315.

"The capital messuage 13/4. Demesne arable 320 ac. @ 10d. per ac. £13 6s. 8d. 26 ac. @ 6d. - 13/-. 148 ac. @ 8d. -

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1 See table on p.81 ante.

2 See earlier p. 76 - memo to 1577 Survey.

£4 18s. 4d. 35 bovates of bond land at 10/- per bovate -  
£17 10s. -d. Demesne Meadow 180 ac. at 2/- per ac. and  
11 ac. at 1/- per ac. - £18 11s. -d. The agist and underwood  
of the Park £1. Agist and herbage in the pasture of the town  
£1 6s. 8d. Turbary 20/-. Windmill 40/-. Free tenants' rents  
£1 4s. 8d. Cottars' Rents £3 8s. -d. A "cultura" held  
from Peter de Mauley for 14/- worth 13/4. Total £66 5s. -d.  
The advowson of Leconfield is worth £10."<sup>1</sup>

The second inquisition was taken at York in 1353, on the  
possessions of Henry 2nd Lord Percy of Alnwick, giving the  
following relevant details:-

"1 close called Feldcrofte, the herbage of which is worth  
6s. 8d. per year. Deerpark worth 120/- beyond the costs of  
deer. Woods in the Park - Cottswood, Foxeholde, Westhill -  
£100. Free tenants' rents 8s. 9d. 44 tenants at will  
£41 13s. 4½d. There used to be a turbary, but no longer.  
Windmill £2 13s. 4d. A rent of 82 hens and chickens @ 1½d. -  
10s. 3d. A rent of eggs as park tithes - 2s. 10d.

Demesne Arable 6 carucates (each 60 ac.) at 20/- each  
£6 -s. -d. in which winter and summer seed was sown by  
Henry de Percy. 6 acres at 4d. per acre - 2s. -d.

Meadow - 40 acres called Bullocks at 1/- per acre - £2 -s. -d.  
38 acres called Cowsker at 8d. per acre - £1 5s. 4d. 14 acres  
called Chisill Hill at 8d. per acre - 9s. 4d. 16 acres  
called Hyndeynges at 8d. per acre - 10s. 8d. 3 acres called  
Milndame at 8d. per acre - 2s. -d. 8 acres called Cracksyde  
at 8d. per acre - 5s. 4d. 7 acres called Whitspott at 8d.

per acre - 4s. 8d. Pasture 53 acres worth 13s. 4d.

Perquisites of Court - 6s. 8d., Total £68 14s. 6½d.<sup>1</sup>

From the mid-fifteenth century the demesne land seems to have been readily available for letting to the villagers. By 1616 demesne arable had been reduced to 81½ acres - 38 in the Bramers and 43½ in Great Marles, north west of the Old Manor House. It seems quite clear that these two areas were two blocks of arable into which the strips of the original demesne arable had been consolidated in the old West and East fields, which by that date had disappeared, though the Great Marles arable had been described as demesne meadow in the 1577 Survey.

The Bramers, easily accessible from Leconfield, Arram and Scarborough, were frequently let to tenants from both Leconfield and Arram; the interposition of the Hotham estate at Scarborough between the Percy section of that village and the lordship of Leconfield would make the Bramers more inconvenient for Percy tenants to reach.

Such grants usually mention 'pairs of Bramers'. In 1474 a tenant from Leconfield - John Donne - was admitted tenant of 'unum croftum cum messuagio, tres bovatas terrae arabilis et unum moram in Errowholme et unum par de Bramers cum pertinenciis suis, nuper tenta Ricardo Byllyngham pro termino vitae suae.'<sup>2</sup> In 1488 six tenants came to court to

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1 PRO.I.P.M. Chancery Enrolment C 135/116/1 } 26 Ed.III.  
Excheque Enrolment E 152/89

2 Pet.MCR.21 D.3.18. 13 Ed.IV.

surrender two pairs, one pair and one-and-a-half pairs of Bramers. Three tenants shared the two pairs, two the one pair and one held the one and a half pairs. Such surrender, without any note of compensatory admissions, would argue that there was more land available for lease at this time than the local demand could absorb. This would certainly seem to be the golden age to which the rebels of 1536 and 1549 referred in their petitions for land reforms.

Later in the same year 1488 the jury reported that the lord's waste known as 'Arrowholme Greene' has been in the lord's hands 'since the day of St. Margaret in Yeme last past through lack of tenants.' The same report was made regarding another piece of waste called Hell Hole in Arram. Two cottages in Leconfield were untenanted, and 28 pairs of Bramers were lacking tenants who should have paid 27/2 per year for them.<sup>1</sup> The annual payment for each pair of these lands was slightly under 1s. both in 1474 and in 1488. If one accepts the acreage which figures on the 1616 Plan at approximately 60 acres, the rent per acre reaches 5d. - about the average for arable at the time.

The Hall Field, 18½ acres of demesne land, was let to villagers, since all 'such as hold the Hall Field are to scour the ditches and make the hedges of the Hall field from the Laund Gate to Adcroftgate.' The pasturing of horses and cattle was prohibited on the 'meadow or ground in le

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1 Pet.MCR.22.D.3.18. 3 Hen.VII.

Hallefeylde'.<sup>1</sup> This unusual turn of phrase would indicate that even as early as this, the open field system at Leconfield was undergoing modification, and that parts of the arable fields were under grass and that therefore no rigid adherence to a common rotation system was being enforced. This would appear to be the case both because of the lack of uniformity in the geological formation which, as has been said, was unfavourable to standard mass cultivation and because of the apparently complaisant attitude of the lord towards this estate. The Earl was resident at Leconfield in July, 1488,<sup>2</sup> so that absenteeism cannot be alleged as an explanation of the letting of demesne land on so large a scale.

With 1491 comes the first series of undoubted leases. On the death of the fourth Earl at the hands of the mob at Topcliffe<sup>3</sup> the estates had been entrusted to feoffees during the minority of the future fifth Earl, who was about thirteen years old at this time. At the October Court 1491 seven tenants took up leases for seven years, in each case of closes, cottages, messuages and bovates, in both Arram and Leconfield. In five cases the names of the previous tenants of the holdings are mentioned, for purposes of identification. One of the lessees, Henry Bounes, surrendered a cottage at 3/- per year and leased a messuage, croft and bovat of land in Arram for 15/4. A second tenant held the lease of a dwelling house, croft, and three bovates for 38/8 per year. The

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1 Pet.MCR.22 D.3.18.3 Hen.VII

2 CSP.Dom. Hen.VIII.

3 Cal.I.P.M. 28.April 4 Hen.VII.



ability to meet an annual financial call of this size and to manage a holding which must have been about thirty acres indicates a measure of prosperity not often exceeded in the lordship. An even more striking example is that of Richard Wylbert who took on Cuthbertleys Close for £8 4s. -d. and Hell Hole Close for £2 -s. -d. per year for seven years. The remarkably large sums entailed, together with the unusually large ingress fine of 15s. makes it likely that Wylbert was a newcomer and possibly a speculative grazier from outside the lordship.<sup>2</sup>

Hitherto ingress fines had been quite nominal sums. There seems to have been no precise method, at this date, of assessing them in proportion to the value of the property concerned. In 1488 an annual rental of 31/8 for property taken for life was accompanied by 1/8 ingress; whilst the next admission, to property worth 28/4 per year on the same terms carried with it a fine of only 1/-.<sup>1</sup> In 1491 a seven year lease of a cottage worth 3/- per year required 4d. ingress as did a tenement worth 21/8, but a 15/- annual rental bore an ingress fine of 6d. A lessee paying 38/8 per year was called upon to pay only 8d. fine.<sup>2</sup>

These moderate sums are in startling contrast with the 6/4 fine on the 31/- rent for Ridding and Bullock Closes, and with the 15/- fine on the £10 4s. -d. for closes in the Old Park.<sup>3</sup> A possible explanation of the lack of

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1 Pet.MCR.D.3.18. 3 Hen.VII.

2 Pet.MCR.D.3.18.6 Hen.VII.

3 Pet.MCR.D.3.18 Oct.6 Hen.VII.

proportion is that the tenants of conventional tenements would be bound by various customary duties and possibly payments tacitly understood in the phrase 'according to the custom of the manor'. This would make it appear that the letting of the closes was a new departure and that the lessees were being made to pay heavily for their enterprise. The payment of the £10 4s. -d. was apparently too heavy a burden for Richard Wylbert, as in 1492 he surrendered his lease, which was then taken up for a further seven years by four local tenants who undertook to maintain the hedges and ditches round the closes at their own costs for the period of their tenure.<sup>1</sup> The fact that both the closes concerned were on the outer perimeter of the lordship gives colour to the suggestion that the letting of the closes was the beginning of a new practice.

Though seven-year leases were usual at this time, a piece of meadow in the field of Scarborough was sublet by one tenant to another for two years in 1492; a holding in Arram for three years in 1492; another holding in Arram 'during the minority of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumbreland' which, in 1496, meant a period of between two and three years; another holding in Arram for four years in 1496.<sup>2</sup> The short lease was the answer of the prudent landlord to the problem of rising costs and fixed income from customary

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1 Pet.MCR.D.3.18 Mar.7 Hen.VII.

2 Pet.MCR. 33.D.3.18. 11 Hen.VII.

land sources. Another answer was the letting of demesne land on a greater scale. Although the number of account rolls at Petworth is small and the contents of several leave much to be desired in the matter of detail, and although they do not altogether bear out the impressions to be gained from the Court Rolls, it is significant that the Collector's account for 1444 showed only Hall Field - a piece of demesne - let to the Rector for £10 13s. 4d.<sup>1</sup> This was the extent of the letting of demesne land. By 1523/4 however, the annual value of demesne let to tenants reached the total of £45 10s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.<sup>2</sup> - a sum which almost equalled the annual receipts from the tenants at will.

The same great change is to be seen in the contrast between the sums realised for such miscellanea as the herbage of certain closes, agist and pannage, fishing and fowling, the lease of the great grange, the letting of the horsemill, the sale of wood, swans, dayworks, increments of rent and perquisites of court. Whilst in 1444 the total was £26 13s. 4d., by 1517 the same sources produced £75 17s. 4d., but during the 1540's these receipts diminished to a nett £58 14s. 2d., a figure which remained almost unchanged for several years.<sup>3</sup>

By 1557 the value of money had declined to an extent which made less real than ever the correspondence between the customary rentals and the true land values, whilst living

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1 Pet. Ms. D.9.3 22 Hen.VI.

2 Pet.MS. D.9.14 14/15 Hen.VIII

3 PRO.Min.Acc.SC 6/4283-6.

costs showed a rise much steeper than that of the preceding period. It was thus desirable from the Earl's point of view to convert copyhold - especially copyhold by inheritance - into leasehold tenure.<sup>1</sup>

The Great Court of 1492 had seen three admissions where cottagers had paid for their property, presumably with the usual accompaniments, rentals between 3s. and 6s. per year, the ingress fine remaining at 4d. irrespective of the annual sum concerned.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast, the Great Court of November 1522 recorded nine admissions to cottages, the rentals ranging from 2s. 2d. to 7s. - an insignificant increase in rental, if the small number of admissions be indicative of the general position at the start and finish of the thirty year period.<sup>3</sup> Yet the ingress fines had increased, so that each fine now represented one year's rental payment - in effect a 4d. ingress fine in 1492 had become 3s. in 1522.

By 1556/7 the Lord's necessity was clearly witnessed by the admission of 46 Leconfield tenants and 12 Arram tenants to leasehold tenements for the life of each tenant and of the Earl.<sup>4</sup> This total of 58 was further swelled by 14 more Arram tenants and 5 from Scarborough in 1557/8.<sup>5</sup>

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1 This point is fully ventilated by Tawney "Agrarian Problems" *passim*, but especially on pages 303-5.

2 Pet.MS.MCR.29 D.3.18.

3 Pet.MS. D.3.18.28 Nov. 13 Hen.VIII.

4 Pet.MS.MCR.33.D.3.18 Sept. 4/5 Ph.& M.

5 Pet.MS.MCR.33 D.3.18 Aug. 5/6 Ph.& M.

How the process was accomplished does not appear, but the upshot was that the majority of the tenants - if not all except the negligible number who held by free socage - became lease-holders and "very fynable".<sup>1</sup> The explanation seems to lie in the tenure "by custom of Cumberland", which would make possible the revision of all contractual arrangements at the accession of a new Earl or on the lordship's changing hands. The grants just mentioned coincided with the restoration to the Percies of their estates which had been in royal hands since 1537.

The process of increasing ingress fines was not new, as has been shown by the quotations from the court rolls of 1492 and 1522. Nor was the change from copyhold to leasehold entirely new. This seems to date from the late 1520s or 1530s, as the Earl was reported in 1537 to have "gressumed his tenants in Yorkshire and Northumberland shortly before his death (in 1537) and had given them leases for 21 years."<sup>2</sup>

Ingress fines now amounted usually to three times the annual payment for the property, and in each case 50% of the fine was payable immediately, the other 50% being due within six months of the granting of the lease. In this way the total of ingress fines from this lordship totalled £166 2s. 4d. on a rent roll whose annual value was £55 2s. 2½d. In 24 out of the 77 admissions in 1556/8 the fine was twice the

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1 The phrase is taken from a letter in which the 9th Earl offered to Viscount Cranborne a manor in Dorset. (Cal. Salisbury MS. Vol. XVI p. 277, 27th Aug., 1604.)

2 L. & P. F. 7. D. No. 548 Southwell to Cromwell, 20 Aug. 1537.

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annual payment or slightly less.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing figure of £166 in fines clearly shows the trend of increased fines when compared with the totals quoted for the whole of the Yorkshire estates during the Auditorship of William Worme whose accounts record the following:-

1518/9	Ingress fines from Yorkshire totalled	£54 6s. 8d.
1519/20	.....	£24 15s. 9½d.
1520/21	.....	£38 4s. 4½d. <sup>2</sup>

It must be pointed out that the comparison is indirect. The total of £166 represented a mass exaction of fines at the change of ownership of Leconfield only, whilst Worme's accounts only record annual ingress fines received from all the Yorkshire estates as casualties rather than a studied policy. These considerations do not however vitiate the general inference.

The necessity for the raising of extra revenue was made abundantly clear in the period of the 5th Earl and the 6th Earl. Worme's accounts showed that the financial position was most unsatisfactory.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1515 and 1527 receipts from all sources totalled sums ranging between £2,378 and £4,299, whilst expenditure during the same period varied between £2,419 and £4,135. In only four of the years was there a credit balance, and then on several occasions this credit was fictitious as it depended upon loans which do not appear in the accounts. Some of the

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1 Pet.MS.MCR.33 D.3.18.  
2 PRO.Misc.Bks. of Exch. T.R.226  
3 L.& P.F.& D.Vol.XIV No.3380.

receipts were also deceptive since they often included unpaid arrears which accumulated but which were unrealised. These arrears for the Yorkshire estates in 1517 were reckoned at £535 19s.10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. - the accumulation of several years - whilst those in Leconfield alone totalled £48 15s. 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d.<sup>2</sup>

Such a position could not continue indefinitely, especially as the Earl continued to live on a scale of magnificence almost amounting to profligacy. "My Lo's costes at Wressle at alibi ... £80" in 1518;<sup>3</sup> "£200 borrowed towards My Lo journey to Guynes"; "11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> yeardes of clothe of golde of tisshewe raised after 7 li. per yearde" in 1519; "annuities to a chauntry prest at Topcliffe and to fyve at Beverley, amounting in all to £30" - are items which corroborate the scale of magnificence portrayed in the Household Book.<sup>4</sup> This mode of life accounted partly for the £17,000 debt with which the Earl's estates were encumbered on his death in 1527, and for the necessity of pledging to St. Mary's Abbey at York of the Earl's plate to raise money for the funeral expenses, which in themselves were on a lavish scale.<sup>5</sup>

In these respects the 5th Earl's plight contains all the ingredients which Mr. L. Stone alleges, made up the recipe

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1 PRO.Misc.Bks.of Exch. 226

2 Pet.MS.MAC d.9.13.

3 as above 9 Hen.VIII

4 PRO.Misc.Bks.of Exch.226.10 H.VIII.

5 AHP.I.380.



for the decline of the Elizabethan aristocrat; whilst the 6th Earl's unhappy life illustrates admirably the allegedly deliberate policy of the Crown to liquidate the old baronage.<sup>1</sup>

The effect on the Percy northern estates wrought by the Earl's political fortunes is described by the Crown Surveyor in a letter dated August 1537, in which he states that he never "saw a finer inheritance more blemished by the folly of the owner and untruth of his servants than those of the late Earl. If by recompence of those who have extraordinary chardges it be reduced to the state it was in in the old Earl's tyme it would be right meet for His Grace who is now owner, for the honours and castles purporten such a Majestie in themselves now being the King's as they are in Manner as Mirours or glasses for the inhabitauntes twenty myles compas every way from them to look in and to direct themselves by."<sup>2</sup>

The Crown administration of Leconfield in the years immediately following the Earl's grant of 1537 did not show any remarkable advance on the figures resulting from the efforts of the Earl's officials. The returns of nett receipts show a numerical decline, but this cannot be taken as clearly conclusive, since so many annuities granted both by Earl and Crown, together with the much-needed repairs to manor house and park pale, had depleted the income from the lordship. In 1541 the fees and supplementary land grants to Leconfield

1 Ec.H.R. 1948 p.1-2 and 5-15 "Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy" L. Stone.

2 L&P.F&D.Vol.XII pt.II No.548.

officials totalled £30 9s. -d. - a sum quite separate from other expenses and doubtless chargeable against the lordship. Annuities for all the estates in Yorkshire - of which Leconfield would have to bear its share - reached the sum of £1,175 1s. 8d. in that same year.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty years earlier the total of receipts from tenants at will had been £51 13s. -d. (1518)<sup>2</sup> - a figure which showed an increase of only 16s. 8d. over the total for 1444.<sup>3</sup>

In the year of the 5th Earl's death and funeral, the shortage of money had apparently impelled the reversal of the normal process of service-money commutation. Arrears of £48 15s. 3½d. in the 1517-18 account are described as "upon the lord's tenants for carrying tasks and other duties connected with the supply of provisions delivered to Robert Percy the Constable of the Household, as recorded in the Household Book under the heading of arrears."<sup>4</sup>

Between 1538 and 1543 the receipts from tenants at will varied slightly between £43 17s.10d. and £51 6s. 4d. These figures cannot be taken as more than indications, as the MSS. for several years are General Yorkshire Estate Accounts, in which individual lordship receipts are entered without information as to whether or not they include arrears.<sup>5</sup>

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1 PRO.Min.Acc.S.C.6.4284.

2 Pet.MS.D.9.13.8/9 Hen.VIII.

3 Pet.MS.D.9.3.MAC 22.Hen.VI.

4 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.13 8-9 Hen.VIII.

5 PRO.Min.Acc.SC 6.4287-4291.

Even under these circumstances, it is clear that receipts from tenants at will had remained static in this lordship for at least a century after 1444.

When in 1556-7 the Earl regained his estates, the new admission list contained the names of 77 tenants whose rents reached the total of £56 11s.10½d., so that rents still remained relatively inelastic, though the ingress fine total - £166 2s. 4d. - was almost treble the rent roll.<sup>1</sup> In 1577 still the same feature is exhibited, when the tenants' total payments were £54 18s. 2½d.<sup>2</sup>

The following tables summarise much of the material which has been treated verbally above.

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1 Pet.MS. D.3.18.MCR 106 Sept.4/5 Ph.&M. and Aug.5/6 Ph.&M.

2 Nett figure. The gross, including Cherry Burton, Hessele and Beverley rentals is £60 14s. 6½d.

## Leconfield - Admission List 1556/7

Tenant	Cot	Property	Rent			Fine		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
J. Johnson	4	3/-, 3/-, 1/6, 1/6, 3 bovates 40/0, part of Brownmore 1/6	2	10	6	7	11	6
Joan Hall vid.	1	3/-, 2 bovates 26/8	1	9	8	4	4	6
John Collin	1	2/6		2	6		7	6
Wm. Kidder	1	3/4		3	4		10	-
Thos. Parker	1	1/6		1	6		4	6
Rich. Pereson	1	6/4, part of Crakesike 3/4		9	8	1	9	-
Henry Buddell	1	4/6, 1 bovate 13/4		17	10	2	13	6
Hugh Wilson	1	8/-, Bramers 7d., Scotemore 2/6		11	1	1	13	-
John Wetwang	1	6/6, 4 bovates 53/4, Westwood 45/-	5	4	10	15	14	6
Jas. Lyngerfeld		1 tenement 3/4, 1 bovate 13/4, Scotemore and Crakesike 10/-	1	6	8	2	6	8
George Buttrie	1	6/10		6	10	1	-	6
Richard Buttrie	1	4/-		4	-		12	-
W. Fulladowne	1	4/-		4	-		12	-
Robt. Brownhill	1	4/-		4	-		12	-
William Knowles	1	4/8		4	8		14	-
Chris. Pereson	1	6/10, Thistle Hills 3/4		10	2	1	8	-
John Harper	1	6/10		6	10		13	8
Isabel Wmson vid.	1	2/2		2	2		6	6
John Lambert	1	2/-		2	-		6	-
Thos. Preston	2	2/4 and 2/2		4	6		13	6
Peter Hall	1	3/-, Scotemore 1/3		4	3		12	9
Jas. Steveson	1	3/-		3	-		6	-
Hen. Hocheson	1	3/-		3	-		9	-
John Burton	1	3/-		3	-		6	-
John Pereson	1	3/-, Scotemore 1/3		4	3		4	-
James Smyth	1	4/-		4	-		8	-
Laurence Lithe	1	4/-		4	-		9	-
Wm. Leckington	1	4/8		4	8		14	-
Rich. Hochenson	1	3/-		3	-		6	-
Robt. Pereson	1	3/-, Oxcargate 2/-		5	-		10	-
Joan Wmson vid.	1	5/-, Scotemore 2/6		7	6	1	2	6
Rich. Bradshaw	1	6/-, Scotemore 2/6		8	6	1	5	6
Edwd. Carnabie	2	5/- and 6/8, Bullock Close 26/8, Twyneham Ing 3/-, Oxcargate 1/8						
John Fisher	1	2 bovates 26/8 3/-, Oxcargate 1/8, Coltp'k 1/8	3	9	8	10	9	-
				6	8		17	9

Leconfield - Admission List 1556/7 (contd.)

Tenant	Cot	Property	Rent			Fine			
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Thomas Hoton	1	2/-, Bullock 2/6, Belse Marsh 2/-	6	6		18	-		
Thomas Fisher	1	4/-, 1 bov. 13/4, Bramers 1/8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> , Arram Park 1/3, Coltpark 1/3, Billingham Moor 6d. fishing in Hull water 5d.	1	2	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	3	7	4	
Peter Jackson	1	2/4, 1 bov. 13/4, Bramers 2/3, Hull water 5d.	18	3		2	15	-	
John Martin	1	1/6, 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> bov. 20/-, Brownale 9/-, Bramers 3/5, Hull 5d.	1	14	4	5	3	-	
Thos. Gilson	1	3/-, Coltpark 1/8		4	8		12	8	
Robert Jackson	1	1/6, 1 bov. 13/4, Oxcargate 1/8, Bramers 1/2, Brownmore 4/6, Hull water 5d.	1	2	7	3	7	-	
Cuthbert Leith	1	1/6, Oxcargate 3/4		4	10		14	6	
Rich. Bilton	1	2/-, 1 bov. 13/4, Bramers 1/2, Coltpark 10d. Billingham Moor 3d. Hull water 5d.	18	-		2	13	4	
Cuthbert Waughe	1	2/-, 1 bov. 13/4, Bramers 3/5, Oxcargate 2/2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> , Coltpark 10d. Billingham Moor 6d. Hull 5d.	1	2	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	3	7	6	
William Sharpe	1	1/6, 1 bov. 13/4, Brown Moor 4/6, Hull water 5d.	19	9		2	9	3	
Ambrose Martin	1	2/-, Oxcargate 3/4		5	4		16	-	
Joan Fisher	1	2/-, Scotemore 1/3		3	3		9	9	
Richd. Gilson	1	2/-, <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> bov. 6/8, Arram Park 1/3		9	11		1	9	9
John Lithe	1	4/-, Oxcargate 4/2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> and Billingham Moor 6d.		8	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>		1	6	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Richd. Fisher	1	6/-		6	-		18	-	
Robert Fisher	1	6/-		6	-		18	-	
George Rippley	1	8/-		8	-	1	4	-	
John Gregory	1	5/-		5	-		15	-	
George Gregory	1	6/-		6	-		18	-	

Leconfield Lordship - Tenant Holdings 1577

Name of Tenant	Cottage	Messuage	Barn	Kilnhouse	Ox(Cow) House	Stable	Dovehouse	Workshop	Close/Garth	Area			Arable			Meadow			Total			Rent						
										a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	£	s.	d.				
<u>Leconfield</u>																												
Beatrice Robson	1								1																			
Thos. Sysson	1								1																			
John Stephenson	1								1											1								
Wm. Terrington	1								1																			
John Smyth	1								1																			
Robert Dawson	1								1											1								
Joan Kirkbye vid.	1								1																			
Richard Williamson	1								1																			
John Carnaby	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	2	1								2	2	1							
John Boulmer	2	1	1						1	2	2	0	18	3	0	2	0	10	21	1	10	1		11	8			
Matthew Spenser	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	0	0	27							1	0	27			7				
John Thomson	1								2	2	16	27	0	10	3	0	34	30	3	3	20	2		5				
Henry Fisher	1								2	3	3								3	3				7				
Richard White	1								2	2	30								2	2	30				3			
John Roughe	1	1	1						2	3	6								3	3	6				5			
Gilbert Bosse	1	1	1			1			1	2	30								2	2	30				4			
Richard Johnson	1	1	1		1				1	1	8	31	3	30	4	0	0	36	0	0	38	2	11	8				
Agnes Preston vid.	1								1	2	38	32	3	30	3	1	0	36	3	3	28	2	11	8				
Robert Cole	1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	6								1	1	6			3				
John Sharpe	1	1	1	1					1	3	2	47	1	20	6	1	23	55	2	2	5	3		6				
John Steare	1	1		1					1	2	36	27	0	0	3	0	12	30	3	3	13	2		5				
										2	20	9	0	0	1	0	10	10	2	2	30	1		16				

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Table 5

Leconfield Lordship - Tenant Holdings 1577 (contd.)

Name of Tenant	Cottage	Message	Barn	Kilnhouse	Ox (Cow) House	Stable	Dovehouse	Workshop	Close/Garth	Area			Arable			Meadow			Total			Rent				
										a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	£	s.	d.		
James Bekarton	1		1		1				1			18	2	20	1	3	24	20	3	0	1	8	8			
Robert Holme	1								1									1	30	-	4	8				
John Pearson	1								1									1	15	-	3	-				
William Coxe gent.	1		1	1		1			1			8	2	10		3	30	9	3	15	-	18	8			
Oliver Kidder	1					1			1											36	-	2	2			
Nicholas Hall	1					1			1										1	0	-	2	4			
Eliz. Williams vid.	1								1									1	14	-	2	2				
John Knowles	1								1									2	4	-	4	8				
Thomas Buttrie	1					1			1									2	32	-	4	-				
Wm. Fallowden	1								1										1	23	-	4	-			
Christopher Fisher	1								1									1	24	-	4	-				
Thomas Browne	1		1			1			2	1	1	17	22	2	20	12	1	20	36	1	17	2	11	6		
Michael Hodgson	1								2	1	1	0	33					1	0	33	-	6	-			
John Clarke	1				1				1			0	33					1	0	33	-	8	-			
Richard Kydder	1								1			1	14					1	14	-	3	4				
John Bynkes	1								2			2	32	17	2	0	3	0	10	21	1	13	4			
William Levett	2					1			1			2	20					2	20	-	6	4				
John Collin	1							1	1			1	14					1	14	-	2	6				
Laurence Carrock	1		1			1			1			1	36	27	1	20	3	3	32	31	3	38	1	9	8	
John Cornefurthe	1								1				28						28	-	1	6				
Richard Knoxe	1								2	1	3	28						1	28	-	6	10				
Hamlet Carrington	3		1	1		1			3			1	1	26	29	2	10	3	0	22	34	0	18	2	7	6
" "	2		1						1			1	1	26	29	2	10	3	0	22	34	0	18	2	7	6
George Lomas	1								3			1	3	0	8	3	20	3	3	10	10	3	12	-	19	4
									1			3	0	8	3	0	3	3	0	11	1	0	1	6	10	

Leconfield Lordship - Tenant Holdings 1577 (Contd.)

Name of Tenant	Cottage	Messuage	Barn	Kilnhouse	Ox (Cow) House	Stable	Dovehouse	Workshop	Close/Garth	Area			Arable			Meadow			Total			Rent		
										a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	£	s.	d.
Jas. Eglesfield	2		1			1			4	5	0	7	8	3	10				13	3	17	1	7	6
Richard Burton	1								2	1	2	30							1	2	30	-	6	10
<b>Arram</b>																								
Anthony Lythe	1								1		8					2	0		3	8	-	4	-	
John Sharpe	1				1				1	1	12								1	12	-	5	-	
John Lee	1				1				1		24									24	-	5	-	
Joan Foxton vid.	1								1		27									27	-	3	-	
William Bilton	1		1						1	1	2								1	27	-	3	-	
Bart. Phillips		1	1						1	1	0	7	2	0		1	2	0	9	1	2	-	15	4
Richard Gillson		1			2				3	3	8			0	1	2	0	9	4	3	10	-	8	7
Thomas Gellson	2								3	1	0				1	2	0	4	1	2	34	-	8	7
Thomas Boulmer		1	1						1	1	16		1	20	1	2	0	2	1	2	36	-	15	4
Richard Martin		1	1						2		34	4	2	0	1	2	0	6	0	0	34	-	16	4
Peter Robinson	1								1		24							6	0	0	24	-	2	-
Ambrose Martin	1								1	2	10								2	10	-	2	-	
Richard Billton		1	1		1				1	1	20	7	3	6	1	0	0	9	0	0	26	-	15	4
Cuthbert Waughe		1	1		1				1	1	24	6	3	6	1	0	12	8	1	1	29	-	5	4
Elizabeth Sharpe	1		1						1	1	16	6	0	20	3	33	7	1	1	1	29	-	13	10
William Weste		1	1						2	2	24	9	0	14	1	2	32	11	1	1	30	-	18	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Cuthbert Lythe	1								1	1	0							1	1	1	0	-	1	6
John Dawson		1	1		1				2	1	36	6	0	36		2	2	8	0	0	34	-	14	10
John Martin		1	1		1	1			1	1	8	11	0	6	1	3	3	13	0	0	17	1	1	6
Philip Jackson		1	1						2	2	20	7	0	19	1	0	5	8	0	3	4	-	15	8



Leconfield Lordship - Tenant Holdings 1577 (Contd.)

101

Name of Tenant	Cottage	Messuage	Barn	Kilnhouse	Ox (Cow) House	Stable	Dovehouse	Workshop	Close/Garth	Area			Arable			Meadow			Total			Rent		
										a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	£	s.	d.
Thomas Fisher	1	1	1						3	1	2	12	8	1	0	1	2	11	11	1	23	-	19	4
Margaret Watson		1	1						1	1	24	5	3	20	1	2	0	6	3	4	-	15	4	
Thomas Hutton	1				1				1	1	0							1	0		-	2	-	
Cuthbert Falloden		1	1		1				2	1	8	8	3	0	1	2	0	10	2	8	-	15	8	
<u>Scorborough</u>																								
William Myles	1	1				1			3	2	2	0	67	1	4	32	0	0	101	3	4	4	13	4
Francis Fisher	1				1				2	1	0							1	1	0	-	6	-	
George Ripley	1								2	3	20				5	0	0	5	3	20	-	8	-	
Robert Fisher	1				1				2	2	20		2	4	4	0	0	5	0	0	24	-	6	-
Gilbert Roughe	1				1				2	2	20			20	2	0	0	5	0	3	0	-	5	-
George Gregory	1				1				2	2	20		1	20	4	0	0	5	0	0	0	-	6	-
John Garthame	1								2		20			20	4	0	0	5	0	0	0	-	6	-
no details																								
<u>Burton</u>																								
Brian Pattison	1								4	23	2	0	128	0	0				151	2	0	4	-	-
<u>Hessle</u>																								
Philip Watman																						-	8	4
<u>Beverley</u>																								
William Coxe																2	2	35				1	8	-

LECONFIELD

Section 6

The Period of Change

The marginal note and textual insertions in the 1577 Survey<sup>1</sup> show that a more accurate examination of the lordship was made about 1602, but no record other than this is to be found in the Muniment Room at Petworth House. Many revised acreages are recorded, most of which represent a considerable increase - presumably the result of survey by measurement instead of "by estimacon". This of course was still another course open to the landlord who wished to gain full profits from his possessions, especially as rents were fixable with reference to acreage. One of the notes reads; "It shall be very nedeful for the Lord of the Manour to cause the Bounder to be gone over by the baliff and certen of the tenaunts every three yeres choosing part of the ancientest to instruct and part of the yonger to lerne."

From these addenda the following points emerge:-

The figure for demesne land in Leconfield increased by over 150 acres to 1,703 ac. 3 r. 16 p. including the Parks and the site of the manor house.

Only 15 ac. 3 r. of demesne meadow, two cottages, two messuages, closes and garths totalling 4 ac. 2 r. 6 p., seven acres of arable and 2½ acres of meadow in occupation in 1577 were not occupied in 1602.

Several tenants now held on lease considerable holdings. A Roger Thorpe, whose background has defied discovery, held

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1 Pet.MS. 1577 Survey passim.

the Old Park (652 acres) for £98 per year, and 280 acres of demesne meadow together with fishing and fowling rights in Arram Carr and on the River Hull for £31 per year. This represented more than one third of the whole manor, most of the property concerned lying in the south and to the east of the Beverley road. Other examples of large holdings were those of William Coxe who held 74 acres of various types of land for £9 2s. -d. per year and Bartholomew Phillips, the bailiff, who held mixed property as well as a share of the herbage of the Coursing Park for £45 per year.

That resentment was felt by the local tenantry at the intrusion of outsiders like Thorpe is witnessed by a plea made by him to the Chancellor in 1617. Thorpe stated that he had paid a half year's rent for the lands above mentioned, and had let certain of them to Richard Williamson, yeoman, of Arram, but that two of the Earl's servants, Fotherley and Stapleton, interfered with his quiet occupation of the property. He had complained to the Earl who thereupon rebuked his servants, but they swore that "they would make the town to hate for them to dwell in"; the result was that no tenant could be found for Thorpe's lands, the right of way to the lands was blocked, he was denied a right of way through the holdings of other tenants, so that he had to pay money to have his hay brought by a roundabout route via the highway. This, he alleged, had caused him a severe loss of profit so that he had been unable to pay his rent with the result that the lease from the Earl was voided. The

two servants had then procured a new lease of the lands for themselves, whilst the complainant had been on His Majesty's service in Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

It seems as though Thorpe was unsuccessful in his complaint as in 1625 Thomas Fotherley, "gent", was tenant of part of the Great Park with a rental of £179 14s. 8d. whilst Thorpe's share of the Park commanded the comparatively small rental of £9 18s. -d.<sup>2</sup> The case thus assumes the appearance of a wrangle between two capitalist farmers, local sympathy being on the side of the more local of the two.

Further points made clear by the notes in the 1577 survey are that the windmill was reported as "ruinous", and commanded a rent of only £2 13s. 4d. as compared with the £4 which had been usual since 1444; and that in spite of the property undemised in 1602 the total of rents and yearly receipts rose from £111 11s. 2¼d. to £356 13s. -d. - much of the increase being due to the more advantageous letting of demesne lands, both meadow and park land.

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1 PRO Chanc.Proc.(2) 6 Oct.1617 C.327/38.

2 Pet.MS. Book of Leases 1625.

Leconfield Lordship - Analysis of Receipts

Income Source	1444	1517	1523	1538	1539	1540	1541	1542
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
<u>Leconfield</u>								
Demesnes	10 13 4		45 10 8 $\frac{3}{4}$			} 52 10 -	53 7 8	53 7 8
Parks		56 1 3						
Windmill			1 6 8			1 6 8		
Fishing and Fowling		- 10 -	- 13 4			- 10 -		
Tenants and Cottagers	49 16 4	51 13 -	45 18 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 14 4	43 17 10	49 19 8	51 6 4	51 6 4
<u>Arram</u>								
Tenants	9 6 8	9 6 8	9 6 8	... Included with Leconfield Tenants .....				
<u>Scorborough</u>								
Tenants	7 15 5		7 16 -			8 16 4	8 16 4	8 16 4
Sundry Rents + Free Rents			4 16 4			4 8 -	4 8 -	4 8 -

109.

**Leconfield Lordship - Analysis of Receipts (Cont'd.)**

Income Source	1543			1566			1577			1602			1618			1622			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
<u>Leconfield</u>																			
Demesnes	53	7	8				45	5	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	50	8	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	96	6	-				
Parks											228	-	-	556	11	-			
Windmill									4	-	-	2	13	4					
Fishing and Fowling							-	10	-	13	-	-							
Tenants and Cottagers	51	6	4	56	11	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	39	15	2	42	5	4	210	12	8	215	2	-	
<u>Arram</u>																			
Tenants							7	16	8 $\frac{1}{2}$				78	12	-				
<u>Scorborough</u>																			
Tenants	8	16	4				6	6	4	6	7	4	74	8	4				
Sundry Rents + Free Rents	4	8	-				5	16	4	4	11	-	42	10	-				

110.

Leconfield Lordship - Analysis of Receipts (Cont'd.)

Income Source	1625	1633	1644	1651
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
<u>Leconfield</u>				
Demesnes	} 639 3 8	76 3 4	} 580 1 4	578 10 8
Parks		512 11 6		
Windmill				
Fishing and Fowling		33 6 8	13 6 8	} 223 18 10
Tenants and Cottagers	199 14 4	} 423 10 10	214 18 10	
<u>Arram</u>				
Tenants	78 12 -		81 10 -	80 10 -
<u>Scorborough</u>				
Tenants	74 5 4	70 14 8	70 14 4	
Sundry Rents + Free Rents	42 10 -		37 10 -	37 10 -

111.

The following nett receipts are available:-  
 1627 - £518 16s. 3d.; 1628 - £647 11s. 8d.;  
 1629 - £577 2s. 1d.; 1630 - £622 17s. 2d.



The dilapidation of the manor house and its consequent abandonment by its owners was probably a leading factor in their adopting the policy of permitting the open fields and demesne lands to be enclosed. The process seems to have been gradual, as the making of closes had been mentioned in the court rolls as early as 1583.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that in 1565 Leconfield still possessed its open common sown fields,<sup>2</sup> although the process of enclosure of meadow land had already started with the division of Bullock Close into sections for meadow and pasture, as is clearly shown by the admission list for 1566/7.<sup>3</sup> This beginning of holding in severalty which had started in the extreme south eastern corner of the lordship extended rapidly over much of the erstwhile demesne meadow south of Arram village, including Oxcardales, Brown Dales, Brown Moor, Colt Park, Billingham Moor, Scotmore and Crakesike; then Arram Green or "Arram Parrock" and much of the one-time demesne arable known as Bramers. The remnant of the old open field system in Arram was still in being in 1581, when a tenant was charged with having ploughed-in the common balk in Arram South Field.<sup>4</sup>

The advance of the new order on the old was not allowed to progress unopposed. William Noble built a "helme" or cowhouse on the East Green on the borders of Scarborough

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- 1 Pet.MS.MCR.D.3.18.4 Oct 25 Eliz.
  - 2 Pet.MS.MCR.D.3.18. 25 Oct. 7 Eliz.
  - 3 Pet.MS.MCR.D.3.18.25 Sept.4/5 Ph.& M. and  
13 Aug.5/6 Ph.& M.
  - 4 Pet.MS.D.3.18 20 Oct.23 Eliz.

and Leconfield, failed to remove it on a court order, was amerced 10/-, 20/- and 30/- (twice) in successive courts for this contempt, and 13/4 for assaulting two officials sent to enforce the order.<sup>1</sup> Leconfield still retained its common fields in 1591 since stint breaches in the fallow field and trespasses of ducks and geese in the sown fields were then reported,<sup>2</sup> and as late as 1605-6 many trespasses by cattle and sheep were presented.<sup>3</sup>

The mentions of stint breaches with sheep and cattle had now been common since at least 1582, when 30 were found "illegally" grazing in the "fyrth field".<sup>4</sup> Offences by cattle, oxen and horses, whilst not so frequent, had started as early as 1535, when eight tenants were charged with surcharging Leconfield common with 30 draught oxen and 40 horses.<sup>5</sup> As many as eight stray sheep were reported by the bailiff in 1585.<sup>6</sup>

These indications of the adoption of grazing on an increasing scale are borne out by the presentment of the earlier offender William Noble, who on one occasion "with eleven others chased cattle and horses out of the pasture with a long goad having an iron prod", and on another, with 35 accomplices, was accused of "slating, bating, chasing and otherwise abusing of the cattle of the tenants

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- 1 Pet.MS.D.3.18 5 May, 13 Oct.24 Eliz. 22 Apr.,4 Oct.25 Eliz.6 May 26 Eliz. and 21 Apr.27 Eliz.
  - 2 Pet.MS.D.3.18.6 Oct.33 Eliz.
  - 3 Pet.MS.MCR.218 11 Oct.3 Jac.I
  - 4 Pet.MS. D.3.18. 13 Oct.24 Eliz.
  - 5 Pet.MS.D.3.18.4 May 26 Hen.VII.
  - 6 Pet.MS.D.3.18.8 Oct.27 Eliz.

of Leconfield and Arram, driving them from their common where they have used to go and ought to go peaceably at all tymes of the year".<sup>1</sup>

The tempo of the change to pastoral farming quickened. The 1577 Survey showed signs of the recession of agriculture. Richard Martin had then held 6 ac. of arable in the common field of Arram, in which  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ac. were now used for meadow. Margaret Watson and Cuthbert Fallowden had each had  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ac. of meadow which were described as "on their land-ends" in the same common field.<sup>2</sup> By 1603 certain parcels of arable in Arram East Field and 14 swathes of meadow nearby were reported as vacant,<sup>3</sup> and in 1614 Arram Fields were surveyed as follows:-

<u>East Field:</u>	<u>Arable</u>	59 ac.	1 r.	5 p.	<u>Meadow</u>	40 ac.	0 r.	13 p.
<u>North Field:</u>	"	32	1	24	"	9	0	25
<u>South Field:</u>	"	39	2	2	"	3	0	0

This conversion of 52 acres to meadow represented the disappearance of one of the old common arable fields.<sup>4</sup>

In 1616 grass was being scythed in Leconfield West Field south of the windmill, whilst in 1614 the windmill was reported as "decayed". If, as seems probable, the undated estate plan may be taken as dating from the second decade of

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1 Pet.MS. D.3.18.4 May 32 Eliz.

2 See table of Tenant Holdings 1577.

3 Pet.MS.Court Book D.46 No.2.MCR 217 15 Oct.1 Jac.I

4 Pet.MS. 1614 Survey.

the 17th century, the enclosure of the greater part of the manor was by then all but complete. Of the old strip cultivation system there remained an insignificant fraction between the old manor house site and the freehold plot to the west of the village. Three parts of Arram Green pasture were still held in common, and the Carr remained in its old state, doubtless through its continued liability to extensive flooding.

It is not possible to draw up in tabular form anything more than approximations to show the land division in this lordship. The survey of 1577 is not always as precise as might be desired, in the case of Leconfield; pasture land is dismissed, in the case of tenants at will in the vague phrase "and sufficient common"; acreages are "by estimacon" as is indicated by the marginal notes; the one free tenant mentioned is described as holding an "oxgang" of land, whilst it is suggested in a note that there may be more than one free tenant, unless their holdings had become amalgamated; there is no mention of the extent of the glebe land; the three members of the manor are not clearly differentiated. For all these reasons accurate tabulation is made difficult.

In the following tables the acreages used are those of 1577; for the pasture land of the tenants at will the acreage of Arram Green has been quoted; Arram Carr has been omitted entirely, as in the Survey; the free tenant's oxgang has been approximated at 10<sup>0</sup> acres; glebe land has been ignored.

With these inaccuracies and approximations, the following results are obtained:-<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See tables overleaf.

Leconfield - Division of Land 1577

Township	Arable				Meadow				Pasture			
	a.	r.	p.	%	a.	r.	p.	%	a.	r.	p.	%
Leconfield Arram Scorborough	569	1	0	23.0	479	3	13	19.3	1,430	0	0	57.7

ARABLE

Total			Demesne				Free				Tenants at will			
a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	%	a.	r.	p.	%	a.	r.	p.	%
569	1	0	37	0	0	6.5	10	0	0	1.7	522	1	0	91.6

MEADOW

Total			Demesne				Free				Tenants at Will			
a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	%	a.	r.	p.	%	a.	r.	p.	%
479	3	13	363	0	36	75.8		Nil			116	2	17	24.2

PASTURE

(includes Parks and Arram Green, but not Arram Carr.)

Total			Demesne				Free				Tenants at Will			
a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	%	a.	r.	p.	%	a.	r.	p.	%
1430	0	0	1290	0	0	90.2		Nil			140	0	0	9.8

Leconfield - Size of Tenant Holdings 1577

Township and Number of Tenants	Under 2½ acres		2½ - 5 "	5 - 10 "	10 - 15 "	15 - 20 "	20 - 25 "	25 - 30 "	30 - 35 "	35 - 40 "	40 - 45 "	45 - 50 "	50 - 55 "	55 - 60 "	60 - 65 "	65 - 70 "	70 - 75 "	75 - 80 "	80 - 85 "	85 - 90 "	90 - 95 "	95 - 100 "	100 - 105 "
	Leconfield and Arram 69	Scorborough 7																					
Percentage of Population	54	2.7	15.9	9.2			4	5.4	4	1.4			1.4										1.4

In the previous table it is to be noted that only arable and pasture are included. Whilst there were 78 tenements, there were 76 tenants, two of whom held two tenements each. Of these, 32 had allocations of both arable and meadow, one had only arable, and one only meadow. The holding of one Scarborough tenant was unspecified, and whilst Hamlett Carrington of Leconfield held nearly 45 acres of land and 5 cottages, and whilst four other tenants held two cottages each, at the other end of the scale there were 40 tenants whose holdings failed to reach  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres.

To express the information in a different way, the following tables are included, to show the relative acreages and proportions of arable and meadow:-

Table 9

ARABLE							
Township	Total		Tenants	Average		Range	
	a.	r. p.		a.	r. p.	Minimum	Maximum
	a.	r. p.		a.	r. p.	a.	r. p.
Leconfield	346	3 5	15	23	0 20	8 2 10	47 1 20
Arram	89	1 27	13	6	3 20	0 1 20	11 0 6
Scarborough	68	1 8	4	17	0 12	0 0 20	67 1 4
MEADOW							
Township	Total		Tenants	Average		Range	
	a.	r. p.		a.	r. p.	Minimum	Maximum
	a.	r. p.		a.	r. p.	a.	r. p.
Leconfield	49	3 37	14	3	2 11	0 3 0	12 1 20
Arram	19	2 20	16	1	0 36	0 2 0	1 3 3
Scarborough	47	0 0	5	9	1 24	2 0 0	32 0 0

By combining the data of these two tables the following results are gained:-



Type of Land	Total Acreage a. r. p.	No. of Tenants	Average Holding a. r. p.
Arable	504 2 0	32	15 3 2
Meadow	116 2 17	35	3 1 13

The generous proportion of  $4\frac{1}{2}:1$  as between arable and meadow in this last table is accounted for by the unusually large meadow holding of the Scorsborough tenant which distorts the whole picture. If the Scorsborough data be ignored, the averages 15 ac. 2 r. 12 p. arable to 2 ac. 1 r. 10 p. are obtained, approximating to a 7 : 1 proportion which comes much closer to the normal.

These results form a remarkable contrast with the description of twenty years earlier, which though not complete in all the details provided by the 1577 survey, indicated:-

- (a) a much greater preponderance of husbandry rather than the pastoral activity indicated in 1577 by the high average proportion of meadow in many holdings;
- (b) a greater spread of prosperity over the community, shown by the fact that though the arable land remains relatively stable in acreage - some 28-29 bovates - this was shared by thirteen Leconfield tenants in 1556,<sup>1</sup> but by sixteen in 1577. Similarly the 14 bovates in Arram, shared in 1556 by 14 tenants had shrunk to 9 bovates shared by 12 tenants. A more precise comparison would be injudicious in view of the bovat's uncertain equivalent,

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<sup>1</sup> Pet.MS.D.3.18. 4/5 Ph. & M. (Admission List p. 98-100 ante)

and the fact that the 1566 terrier is expressed in bovates and the 1577 survey in acres.

The general rise of rental receipts as a result of the letting of demesne and park land - a policy which had characterised the latter 16th century - continued in the 17th century.

From the tables it is clear that the parks showed great profits as from 1602 - perhaps even earlier - and that receipts from tenements and cottages leapt to five times their 1602 figure by 1618. This was almost undoubtedly the fully revealed effect of the granting of leases started in 1611 as a result of which receipts from that source increased by 400%.

With the opening of Arram Green<sup>1</sup> and other previously common land to enclosure and improvement, the Arram rent roll increased by 1000% and the total receipts from the lordship - on the figures available, which omit several items, are almost ten times those of 1577.

A slight recession in receipts from tenants in 1622 persisted in 1625, and arrears which had been mounting since 1611 reached the alarming total of £1,454 8s. 4d. in Leconfield alone.<sup>2</sup> By 1633 however, whilst receipts from the demesnes and parks had declined by some 8% on the 1625 figure, those from the tenants' payments rose by

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1 190 acres were divided amongst 46 Leconfield and Arram tenants (Pet.MS.1614 Survey).

2 Pet.MS.Arrears for Yorkshire 8 D.2.

about 7%. Unfortunately the 1633 record is no more than a summary, and there is no means of detecting whether the apparent decrease and increase of different items are really genuine or whether they are due simply to a variation in the method of tabulation under headings such as "demesnes" and "Rents of Tenants",<sup>1</sup> with the result that payments have been transposed.

Rentals for 1644 and 1651 reveal the same general tendency for receipts of all kinds to decline. The rate of diminution is slow - roughly 4.6% between 1633 and 1644, and 0.7% thence to 1651. The rentals available present no more than the credit side of the account, except in a very few cases, so that there is no certain means of knowing whether the increased yields in the first twenty years of the 17th century were real or apparent. Yet the figures as they stand show clearly that the peak profit year was round 1618-22, and that thenceforward a steady decline commenced, for which no particular source of income can be held responsible.

The general effect on the tenantry of the changes which took place during the 35 years between 1577 and 1614 is made clear by the table overleaf.

Though details are lacking in the 1614 survey to show whether the greater proportion of the land made available was tillage or pasture, there is a marked contrast

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1 Pet.MS. "Brief note of all Rentes etc". 1633 8.D.2.

between the areas held at the two dates.

The almost landless group of 1577 diminished appreciably whilst that with a holding of subsistence size increased even more considerably.

The number of tenants with the large holding remained numerically static at 1, but the size of holding almost trebled.

Perhaps the most telling deduction is that in 1577 over half the population held less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres; in 1614 only slightly more than one third were in that position.

As a further sign of the more widespread measure of prosperity enjoyed by the ordinary tenant of this locality during the early 17th century, the following case may be quoted.

Matthew Steere was returned in 1614 as holding a messuage and some 20 acres of land. In 1629 - when he was described as a yeoman - he was attainted and his goods seized on behalf of the Crown. His possessions included a mare worth £3 13s. 4d., a musket worth 13s. 4d., cash to the value of £9 4s. -d. and a "writ obliging pledges of his good behaviour to the sum of £10."

Further evidence showed him to be something of a capitalist, and that debts due to him from tenants in the neighbourhood totalled £173 17s. -d. Other deponents spoke darkly of Steere's prosperity - of having seen him

counting coins, when there was a great heap of 20s. pieces and bags of silver; of being bribed by him to keep the secret of his wealth; of being assured by Steere that "he was worth at least £500".<sup>1</sup>

Whilst no doubt the accuracy of all the statements is open to question, there can be little doubt that this individual was prosperous to a degree which would have been unusual in one of his standing in 1577.

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1 PRO. Sp.Comm. & Returns in the Exchequer E.178/5751.

## Size of Tenant Holdings - 1577 and 1614 contrasted

1614 %	1577 %	
35.4	53.9	Under 2½ acres
24.6	2.6	2½ - 5 "
9.5	15.8	5 - 10 "
3.1	9.2	10 - 15 "
6.2	-	15 - 20 "
10.8	3.9	20 - 25 "
1.6	-	25 - 30 "
1.6	5.3	30 - 35 "
-	3.9	35 - 40 "
-	1.3	40 - 45 "
3.1	-	45 - 50 "
-	-	50 - 55 "
1.6	1.3	55 - 60 "
-	-	60 - 65 "
-	-	65 - 70 "
1.6	-	70 - 75 "
-	-	75 - 80 "
-	-	80 - 85 "
-	-	85 - 90 "
-	-	90 - 95 "
-	-	95 - 100 "
-	1.3	100 - 105 "
1.6	-	More than 105 "

Size of Tenant Holdings - 1577 and 1614 contrasted

1614 %	1577 %	
35.4	53.9	Under 2½ acres
24.6	2.6	2½ - 5 "
9.5	15.8	5 - 10 "
3.1	9.2	10 - 15 "
6.2	-	15 - 20 "
10.8	3.9	20 - 25 "
1.6	-	25 - 30 "
1.6	5.3	30 - 35 "
-	3.9	35 - 40 "
-	1.3	40 - 45 "
3.1	-	45 - 50 "
-	-	50 - 55 "
1.6	1.3	55 - 60 "
-	-	60 - 65 "
-	-	65 - 70 "
1.6	-	70 - 75 "
-	-	75 - 80 "
-	-	80 - 85 "
-	-	85 - 90 "
-	-	90 - 95 "
-	-	95 - 100 "
-	1.3	100 - 105 "
1.6	-	More than 105 "

Leconfield Leases 1625

Tenant	Cot	Property	Date	Years	Rent				
					£	s.	d.		
<u>Demesnes</u>									
T. Fotherley gent		Part of Great Park .. ..	1611	21	179	14	8		
Allan Percy		Rest of Park .. ..	"	"	101	16	10		
R. Remington		Little Park .. ..	"	"	90	-	-		
Bart. Phillips		Part of Coursing Park .. ..	1609	21	34	-	-		
Mat. Phillips et.al.		" " " " .. ..			50	-	-		
Cuthbert Fallowden		" " " " .. ..			62	-	-		
Allan Knox et.al.		" " " " .. ..			24	1	6		
Richard Willman		Part of park .. ..			5	-	-		
Roger Thorpe gent.		" " " " .. ..			9	18	-		
" " "		Site of Manor and mote .. ..	1609	21	2	-	-		
" " "		Divers pieces of ground ..	1606	21	19	6	8		
Wm. Blakeston		Coursloppe Close .. ..	1610	21	16	-	-		
John Lythe		Bullock, fishing in Dyke ..	1611	21	8	-	-		
William Lee		Bramers .. ..	1610	21	14	16	-		
Roger Thorpe		Pieces of demesne, fishing & fowling in Carr, Hull and Ings except Bullock Dyke; profits of Swans & right to cut 'hassocks' in the Carrs .. ..	1613	21	22	-	-		
Roger Thorpe		Windmill (decayed) .. ..			2	13	4		
Bart. Phillips		Controllers Close .. ..			-	10	-		
<u>Tenants and Cottagers</u>									
Bart. Phillips	1	garth & arable .. ..	1606	21	4	-	-		
	1	an oxgang .. ..			2	6	2		
	1	" " " " .. ..	1609	21	1	-	-		
Arthur Cole	2	3 ac. encl. from Common	1610	21	1	8	-		
John Bell	2	4 ac. " " " "	"	"	-	16	-		
Peter Binks	2	4 ac. pasture .. ..	"	"	2	11	-		

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Table 11.



Leconfield Leases 1625 (Cont'd.)

Tenant	Cot	Property	Date	Years	Rent		
					£	s.	d.
Bart. Mackley	1	2 ac. encl. from Common ..	1611	21	-	18	-
John Carnaby	m	4 ac. " " " .. ..	1610	21	11	12	-
Peter Roughe	1	2 ac. pasture .. ..	"	"	-	17	4
Richard Fenby	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	4	8
Richard Pearson	1	2 ac. encl from Common .. ..	"	"	-	4	8
William Singleton	1	2 ac. pasture .. ..	"	"	1	-	-
Margaret Hall	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	-	8
Allan Knox	2	4 ac. " .. ..	"	"	2	18	-
Widdow Hackeable	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	18	-
George Fisher	1	4 ac. " .. ..	"	"	1	-	-
Anne Cornefurthe	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	1	4
Leonard Siddall	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	18	-
John Fisher	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	1	8	-
John Harte	2	4 ac. " .. ..	"	"	1	4	8
Chris. Gateside	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	18	-
Michael Gilson	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	4	8
Anne Veale	1	- ac. " (blank) .. ..	"	"	-	4	8
William Fenby	1	- ac. " (blank) .. ..	"	"	-	19	4
Edward Makley	m	4 ac. " .. ..	"	"	15	19	-
Richard Wheatley	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	18	-
Peter Binkes	m	4 ac. " .. ..	"	"	11	6	-
Mark Bell	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	1	4	8
William Lee	2	53 ac. " .. ..	"	"	20	17	6
George Fisher	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	1	1	4
John Waugh	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	18	-
John Moore	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	8	-
William Cox	2	4 ac. " .. ..	"	"	6	6	-
John Lythe	1	2 ac. " .. ..	"	"	-	16	-
Bart. Steere	m	4 ac. " .. ..	"	"	5	16	-

Leconfield Leases 1625 (Cont'd.)

Tenant	Cot	Property	Date	Years	Rent		
					£	s.	d.
Mark Bell	2	4 ac. pasture .. .. .	1610	21	14	16	-
James Marshall	1	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	-	4	8
Richard Wheatley	1	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	-	6	8
Robert Nelson	1	4 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	-	10	8
Robert Ververie	1	.. .. .	"	"	-	6	8
William Lee	1	2 ac. pasture .. .. .	"	"	-	18	-
William Aykehead		holdeth the Westfield .. .. .	"	"	58	-	-
Margaret Harman	1	cottage for life .. .. .	"		1	-	-
<u>Arram</u>							
Richard Williamson	m	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. pasture .. .. .	1610	21	2	10	-
Richard Ward	m	4 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	4	2	8
Joan Martin		tenement .. .. .	"	"	5	16	-
Thomas Bulmer	m	4 ac. pasture .. .. .	"	"	4	16	-
Richard Bilton	m	4 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	5	1	-
Michael Waughe	m	4 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	5	6	-
Richard Waughe	m	4 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	4	16	-
Anthony Lythe	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	-	18	-
Michael Waughe	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	1	-	-
John Lee	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	1	3	-
Elizabeth Martin	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	1	-	-
Stephen Robinson	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	-	16	-
Ralph Robinson	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	-	18	-
John Waughe	m c	- ac. " (blank) .. .. .	"	"	6	2	-
Matthew Spencer	m	4 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	5	1	-
Matthew Sharpe	m	4 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	4	12	-
Richard Williamson	m	4 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	5	1	-
John Bilton	m	4 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	5	1	-

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Leconfield Leases 1625 (Cont'd.)

Tenant	Cot	Property	Date	Years	Rent		
					£	s.	d.
John Martine	m	4 ac. pasture .. .. .	1610	21	4	2	-
Richard Gibson	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	-	16	-
Richard Williamson	m	4 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	4	16	-
John Bulmer	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	-	14	8
Cuthbert Gilson	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	1	11	-
John Lythe	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	-	18	-
William Bilton	c	2 ac. " .. .. .	"	"	-	16	-
<u>Scorborough</u>							
Anthony Burd		a tenement .. .. .	1611	21	55	-	-
John Cox		closes (38 ac.) .. .. .	"	"	14	-	-
Elizabeth Clerk	c	3a. 2 r. 19 p. & 2 'gates' ..	"	"	1	4	-
Edmund Giles	c	2 gates .. .. .	"	"	-	13	4
George Browne	c	3 " .. .. .	"	"	1	4	-
Richard Robinson	c	2 " .. .. .	"	"	1	-	-
William Robinson	c	2 " .. .. .	"	"	1	4	-

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**SPOFFORTH**

**Section 1**

**The District To-day**

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Spofforth is a village in the West Riding, some four and a half miles south-east of Harrogate and about three miles north-west of Wetherby, partly bounded to north and south by the Rivers Nidd and Wharfe.

The habitation centre lies on a hillside sloping gently from west and north to a flood plain through which runs the River Crimble. This stream, which has a considerable catchment area and a maximum length of 14 miles, rises on Stainburn Moor and after passing through Pannal and the southern outskirts of Harrogate, during which distance it has received the drainage from some twelve smaller becks, passes through the parish of Spofforth, executing two ninety-degree turns, first to the north and then to the east before joining the Nidd at Black Stones Wath.

Throughout its length the Crimble has provided power for four mills - at Pannal, Fulwith, Crimble and Spofforth - these at Pannal and Spofforth still being active. At most times of year the stream, especially in its lower reaches, is sluggish and unimpressive, but in wet seasons, especially if the Nidd is in spate, widespread but not dangerous flooding is experienced in the low-lying land of Spofforth, Follifoot and Aketon, in spite of flood-banks built on the stretches of the river in those areas.

The whole district has been subjected to much glaciation which has left its effects clearly visible in the baring in many places of the underlying millstone grit

rock formation. Examples of this are to be found in the interior of the ruined manorhouse or "Castle", in the village street itself,<sup>1</sup> in the curious isolated fragment known as "Hell Hole" on the east of the valley near the farmhouse called Cropper - to quote only the more obvious.

The plentiful supply of building stone thus available is reflected in the village, the great majority of whose houses are of stone construction - much of it of local origin. The predominating stone "slates" - so familiar a characteristic of the West Yorkshire landscape - were also readily to be had in certain parts of the parish where the rock is reasonably friable and in laminated form. This "plate stone" is referred to on several occasions in court rolls and accounts.

The houses of the village are distributed on both sides of a long almost straight street running north-west - south-east. Parallel to this runs a subsidiary street joining church and watermill. Three lateral lanes link these two and provide frontages for the majority of the 120 houses and cottages which have been supplemented in recent times by 76 council houses.

To-day the main road from Wetherby to Harrogate avoids the main part of the village, turning east past the church, crossing the Crimple by Point Bridge, and then turning at right angles again to reach Harrogate and Knaresborough via

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1 See photograph No. 16.

Plompton, where is to be seen rock formation similar to those examples quoted earlier.

Associated with Spofforth are the villages of Aketon, Follifoot, Kirkby Overblow, Netherby, Kearby, Sicklinghall, Linton and Little Ribston, though Kirkby Overblow is a separate parish with its own rectory, which, like that of Spofforth, is in the gift of Lord Leconfield.

Aketon is no more than a scattered series of farm buildings, about half-way between Spofforth and Follifoot: the latter a more sizeable cluster of cottages near where the Spofforth road climbs a hill to meet the road leading from Pannal to Plompton. The remains of the village stocks, suitably shielded and railed are to be seen near the cross-roads, on the opposite side of which are the imposing entrance gates of Rudding Park. These two hamlets, with Spofforth, may be regarded as the Crimble valley villages.

Kirkby Overblow stands high on the west of the watershed dividing it from Spofforth some two miles away as the crow flies. The village stands on the upper slopes of a steep hillside, between the 350' and 400' contours. Though only one third the size of Spofforth, its fine church and well-kept buildings, and particularly its position with a magnificent view over the Wharfe valley give it unusual dignity and attraction. In the near neighbourhood of Kirkby Overblow are Swindon, Barrowby, Netherby, Kearby, and Addlethorpe, once separate manors, but now either isolated farmhouses or clusters



of buildings not even large enough to be called hamlets. Netherby is close to the banks of the Wharfe near the 100' contour, whilst the remainder stand well above this altitude, but somewhat lower than Kirkby Overblow.

Sicklinghall, a mile and a half due south of Spofforth, lies fairly high on an undulating site on the secondary road from Wetherby to the Harewood-Harrogate road. South of Sicklinghall and Linton are Woodhall and Whitwell, both now private houses, though once separate manors.

Linton, occupying a picturesque position in a bend of the Wharfe, has now assumed the new character of a "dormitory" village for active and retired business men, and presents an appearance in which the genuine and the pseudo-antique are, on the whole, pleasingly blended.

In the angle between the Wetherby - Sicklinghall and Wetherby - Spofforth roads is Stockeld Park, now a maternity home, but once the seat of the Middleton family and the site - in pre-Conquest days - of the hamlet of Stockeld. This is to-day the most thickly wooded section of the whole area.

Finally, on the north-east of the Crimple valley lie Little Ribston and Braham. The former, whose partner Great Ribston has apparently been engulfed in Ribston Park, stands in the angle formed by the Crimple and the Nidd on the main road linking Knaresborough with Wetherby, and joined to Spofforth by a secondary and partially unfenced road. The

village has no notable feature save the dangerous bends in the road which forms at this point the boundary of Ribston Park.

Braham - again once a manor in its own right - filled the gap between Ribston and Follifoot lands. The site of the original village is lost, but no doubt lay near to the present Braham Hall which faces Aketon and Follifoot on the farther side of the Crimple.

We have thus completed anti-clockwise a rough survey of the various villages and hamlets which associate themselves with the present parish and the ancient manor of Spofforth whose village lies approximately in the centre of the ring of hamlets.

Much of the "annulus" between Spofforth and its members to the west and south is still occupied by Spofforth Park and Spofforth Haggs, a thinly populated district with only about half a dozen farmhouses. The area is undulating, varying in altitude between 400' and 150', and drained by four watercourses which finally merge into two becks which join the Crimple a short distance north of Spofforth Mill. A few clumps of woodland - and some of these conifers of comparatively recent growth - are all that remain to show that this was once a thickly-wooded area.

As in the majority of districts which have been glaciated, Spofforth shows a wide variation in quality and

fertility of soil. Whilst pockets of rich alluvium are to be found here and there, the main characteristic is strong, heavy, clayey soil, interspersed in parts - despite continuous ploughing - with boulders and sometimes even upthrusts of rock.

Perhaps these comparatively difficult agricultural conditions, combined with other social and economic considerations account for the fact that only the minority of the present villagers are occupied in agriculture. The majority travel daily to Harrogate, Wetherby or Leeds as business operatives, or find employment in small local retail shops.

Travel facilities are good both by road and rail. The West Yorkshire Road Car Company Ltd., run regular services which connect with Harrogate, Knaresborough, Boston Spa, and Leeds. Locally organised activities find stern competition from the attractions of cinemas, dances and other entertainments in the larger centres.

The coming of the railway has also played its part in the separation of population and rural area. Originally the Church Fenton - Harrogate line completed in 1848 and joining the main Leeds - Harrogate line at Crimble Viaduct, the railway on which Spofforth stands was owned subsequently by the North Eastern and the London and North Eastern Railway companies before being included in the North East

District of British Railways. Its construction necessitated the building of a high embankment to the west of the manor-house - a feature which has distorted the original appearance of the village through which it passes. A reasonably good passenger service supplements that of the bus company, whilst a daily average of 60 goods trains passes through the station, loading grain, potatoes and garden produce, and unloading fertiliser, agricultural machinery and fodder. Much of this traffic is long-distance between South and North East, routed along this section to relieve pressure on the main line via York.

The population of Spofforth - 890 in 1951 - varied only slightly from the figure of the 1801 census, though in 1851 the population reached a peak figure of 1,113.

To-day, since the break-up of first the Leconfield estate in the 1920's and of the Harewood estate in 1952, the village is largely a series of small holdings. The largest farm in the village consists of 165 acres, some of which are maintained as pasture for a racing stud. The majority of the land is still utilised in the cultivation of barley, oats, wheat and a small acreage of rye, whilst turnips, potatoes, beet and carrots make up the root crops which are introduced into a rotation system which provides for a minimum of fallowing.

Another farm - Glebe Farm - on church land immediately behind the church, consists of some 60 acres mainly utilised for dairy farming, though some arable is set aside for the

production of winter fodder for the stock. A certain amount of pig and sheep-breeding is carried on. Thus the farming may be described as mixed - a reflection of the preponderant character of the terrain.

Apart from the existence of two other hunter and race-horse training establishments, the local garage and filling station - mainly concerned with the maintenance of agricultural machinery and trucks, four or five general shops, the railway station and the three public houses, the local activities of Spofforth in the twentieth century show little change from those of a century ago.

The dominant building of the village is the church, dedicated to All Saints - a late Norman structure with later additions, not improved by a Victorian "restoration" about 1858. Its registers commence in 1599 and have been transcribed for the Yorkshire Parish Register Society whilst the unprinted Church-wardens' Accounts cover a period 1637 to 1714.

A Methodist Chapel founded in 1810 provides accommodation for members of that denomination, but the small number of Roman Catholics hold services in a cottage under the direction of a visiting priest who lives in Sicklinghall.

Of the four Percy Manors under consideration in this survey, Spofforth has shown the greatest change in its way of life with the passage of time. That this is so is

due to a variety of factors, of which the proximity of industry in Leeds and the comparative ease of gaining employment in Harrogate have only asserted themselves in the last two centuries. No doubt one of the influences favouring change and development was the dilapidation in the mid 15th century of the manor house, and the consequent absenteeism of the owners of the lordship in favour of their nearest Yorkshire residence at Topcliffe.

SPOFFORTH

Section 2

Descent and History of the Manor

In surveying the multiple problems of the economic and social development of this Manor, it must be remembered constantly that several factors are to be taken into account which tend to make for special conditions.

The owners were a family the vicissitudes of whose fortunes are notable. During the 15th and 16th centuries their estates, wholly or in part, became for political reasons Crown property twice and were demised to other grantees on two other occasions - a total of some forty years at different times.

Again, although once the original caput of the Percy northern estates, Spofforth found itself, after the acquisition of Alwick in 1308-9, a comparatively minor property in all save an administrative capacity, and no longer enjoyed the special care and interest which its owners clearly devoted to it at an earlier date.

The Scottish raids which took place on a considerable scale in the early 14th century and the constant uncertainty protracted into the 17th century interfered with normal development and took serious toll of life, property and receipts.

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lande ys either washinge lands or a stife colde cleye..."<sup>1</sup>

Though the Tudor and Early Stuart periods are those under special consideration, it would appear to be valuable to trace the general development of the Manor from such scanty incomplete and disconnected records as are available.

The Domesday Survey entry shows that William de Percy acquired more or less what had been the estates of Gamelbar in pre-Conquest times, and that in twenty years between Conquest and the compilation of the Survey, considerable estate improvement had been made. Four carucates of arable and four acres of meadow used and worked by nine villeins and ten bordars, a mill and a square league of woodland pasture represented a value three times that of pre-Conquest days. Moreover Spofforth was the only manor in the near neighbourhood whose value increased. In this particular district, Kearby, Kirkby Overblow, Walton Head, Barrowby, Braham, Spofforth, Stockeld were held personally by William de Percy; Leathley, Rudfarlington, Plompton, Linton and Wetherby were in the hands of sub-tenants. The whole of the lordship thus detailed showed a decline from £15 to £12 4s. 8d. Kearby and Stockeld declined from 20s. each to 1/4 and 5/4 respectively, the latter being described as "not inhabited". Plompton and Wetherby remained at

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1 Pet.MS. 1577 Survey.

the same valuation - 20/-.<sup>1</sup> It can only be supposed, in the absence of all documents relating to the 12th century, that the process of careful development continued.

With the death of William de Percy in 1168, the wide estates were divided equally between his daughters Maud, Countess of Warwick and Agnes, with whose marriage began the Louvain Percies. Richard, Agnes's younger son, who had been left the property held by his late aunt, received Spofforth, ownership of which, amongst other manors, was disputed by his nephew William, a minor, who by all precedents should have succeeded to the entire inheritance.

Next there followed a series of agreements and "fines" between the two disputants<sup>2</sup> which concluded with William's gaining Spofforth formally in 1226, though he had been certainly in actual possession as early as 1223, when he was awarded a licence to hold a market there each Friday,<sup>3</sup> thus anticipating like awards in the district by seventeen years.<sup>4</sup>

A survey of Spofforth, undated but attributable to about 1220, shows at once the fruits of careful estate management and the effects of neglect or political unrest. Although this appears as a continuation of an inquisition of 1258-9, since it has no separate heading, it seems probable that it refers in fact to a date prior to

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1 Domesday - Bawdwen 1809 pp. 165-7.  
2 P.Ch.Nos.6,8,38,100.  
3 C.Cl.R. 8 Hen.III m.20.  
4 C.Cl.R. 25 Hen.III m.19.

William's gaining of Spofforth and his expansion and development of the estate. In no other way can be explained the relative poverty of the property as herein described, unless by some local disaster of which all record has disappeared.<sup>1</sup> The facts summarised are as follows:-

Demesne arable 52 acres @ 4d. per acre	17s. 4d.
Demesne meadow 10 acres @ 4d. per acre	3s. 4d.
6 acres @ 2/- per acre	12s. -d.
2 gardens 11/-, Dovehouse 2/-, Vivary nil,	
5 cottars paid 7/6, Watermill 20/-, 11 bovates, each of 9 acres @ 7/- each, held by 10 bondmen 77/-,	
1 dyehouse 2/8, 5 free tenants 10/7. Total £8	3s. 5d.
Advowson of the Church 100 marks.	2

Though the number of tenants is only ten as compared with the nine of the Domesday Survey, there is abundant evidence of vitality in the community. No mention is made of labour services which would seem therefore to have been commuted. The church, which though still showing characteristic Norman architectural features, was not mentioned in Domesday, had been built. The parson, John, held two bovates and as a free tenant paid an annual rent of 1 lb. of cumin worth 1½d. The advowson of the church was of substantial value. Of the other four free tenants two held three bovates, the rent for one of which was 1 lb. of cumin, for the other 1/4 per year. A toft and croft commanded a rent of 3/- - rather a high figure in comparison with that of the bovate which was stated to be nine acres.

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1 Perhaps during King John's punitive campaigns in the North 1215/16.

2 Cal.I.P.M. No.452,43 Hen.III & reprint in Y.A.S. XII p.66.

The rents of the cottars and bondsmen were also high in comparison with those of the free tenants - perhaps a proof that even at this fairly early date free rents were not really economic.

The demesne had reached a total of 68 acres, 52 of which were arable, though the value of 4d. per acre for arable and for some of the meadow seems unusually low.

The mention of a dyehouse implies that the community was thriving, whilst the dovehouse and vivary argue the presence of the owner in the vicinity, if not in the manor itself. Though the vivary was valued as worthless, this might easily have been the result of its being newly constructed.

The next survey of 1258 showed a slight increase in the size of demesne arable and meadow. The survey reads as follows:-

"There are in demesne 54 acres of arable at 4d. per acre; 16 acres 3 r. of meadow at 3/- per acre. The rent of free tenants is 44/1 per year; the villenage of the manor pay by year for merchet and tallage 103/2; cottages are worth by year 15/6 and the court is extended at half a mark; the dovehouse at half a mark; the vivary 40/-; an oven 2/-; a plot which was taken to make a garden is extended at 3/-; two forges in the foreign wood yield to the king 16 marks per year. The underwood of the park, with

dead wood but not greenwood, is extended to maintain two forges which yield to the king 24 marks. Pannage and herbage in the wood are worth 100/- per year. The pastures called Wetcroft and Tidoverker which used to be enclosed are worth by year  $8/10\frac{3}{4}$ ; the mill 50/-; a plot near the mill 4d. There are due in the manor 3 lbs. of cummin of rent of assize yearly. The parson's men owe to the king  $3/2$  yearly for four carucates and 26 reaping works. The villeins and cotters owe haymaking tasks and carrying tasks from 6 acres of meadow; they have also to make the millpond and they shall have from the lord's purse 12d. The work of every acre is worth 8d. if they do not mow the said meadow. Total £22 11s.  $8\frac{3}{4}$ d. (plus £26 13s. 4d. to the king.)"<sup>1</sup>

Besides the slight increase in the amount of demesne arable and meadow, the values of the dovecote, vivary and mill had advanced considerably, and a common oven had been provided. Four forges were at work in the common wood and were profitable investments as they provided some 45% of the value of the manor. The rise in value of the mill was particularly noticeable. Though there is no mention of the number of tenants, this account gives the clear impression that the community was thriving. The villeins paid a sum which showed an increase on their earlier total of

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1 Cal. I.P.M. No. 452 and Y.A.S.J. XII p.66.

30%; the increase for the cottagers was over 100%. From the evidence offered it would appear that most labour services had been commuted save in the case of the tenants of the rectorial manor, the extent of whose services to the lay lord had been the subject of a lengthy plea in the Curia Regis in 1242, quoted elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> It seems too, that there had been an attempt by the lay lord or his agents to claim more than the customary dues from the rectorial tenants, who sturdily rejected more than half the demands, on the grounds that they were contrary to custom.

Pasture and pannage in the woodland figured for the first time amongst the assets, whilst two acres of pasture, newly thrown open, perhaps from the woodland, were presumably let to tenants.

All the development activities thus indicated, are supported by evidence from other sources. Between 1230 and 1250 William de Percy gained by exchange exclusive rights in lands lying close to the Park pale - notably in the Hags - which became enclosed within the Park,<sup>2</sup> whilst Sicklinghall and Woodhall were secured in 1240.<sup>3</sup>

The same policy of consolidation and extension continued throughout the 13th century. The large area south of the Park, known as Addlethorpe - a royal manor

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1 See below p. 100

2 P.Ch.XXXIX

3 P.Ch. LVIII.

in the Domesday Survey - passed to Henry de Percy from Sir John Huddleston at the turn of the century, though its enclosure was not licensed until 1332.<sup>1</sup> A royal licence to crenellate the manor house was granted in 1308.<sup>2</sup>

Three inquisitions give information of the values of the manor in the first half of the 14th century. They imply a period of recession in the fortunes of the community, partly to be accounted for by the minority of the heir between 1272 and 1289, partly by the acquisition of the much more highly prized estate at Alwick in 1309, and partly by Scottish troubles.

The two earlier inquisitions are so similar in detail that they may be regarded as identical, a not surprising fact since they refer to 1314 and 1315:-

"There is there a certain capital messuage containing two acres of land and it is not extended as it is in great need of reprises and repair of buildings; 86 acres of demesne arable at 8d. per acre (57/4); 18 acres meadow at 3/- per acre (54/-); the water mill £4; Two parks and the agistment is worth 13/4 only as the pale needs extensive repair; the common bakehouse 6/8; woodsales 40/-. Total £12 11s. 4d.

Six free tenants with different holdings pay 30/8; eleven free foreign tenants pay 106/4. Total £6 16s. 9d.

Sixteen tenants at will holding 10 tofts and 10 bovates, each toft and bovate worth 6/8; twenty one

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1 P.Ch.CCCCLXIV.

2 CPR.2 Ed.II m.19 & P.Ch.CDIX.



cotters pay 40/-; court perquisites £2 13s. 4d. Total value £27 8s. 1d."<sup>1</sup>

At the same time Leathley was valued at £21 3s. 7½d., Linton at £14 13s. 8d. and Addlethorpe at £9 2s. 2d.

The general impression of neglect is borne out by the presentment of eight tenants for pasturing swine in the Park, and of four tenants for cutting wood from the "haya".<sup>2</sup> At about the same time the bailiff, John de Donecastre, reported (Easter 1315) the receipt of 25/7 from the mill, and 10/1 perquisites of court. Amongst his expenses he claimed the wages of two foresters at 1d. per day 14/10; the wages of a page or servant (pagectus) to the foresters at ½d. per day (7/5); his own expenses 3/4; making a close round a wood and supplying fences, together with repairs to the manorhouse "ad tascham" 4/-. Total 29/7.<sup>3</sup>

Whilst demesne meadow was slightly increased, the acreage of demesne arable had risen by 63%, the value per acre doubling. Both mill and bakehouse showed a marked increase in value. Whilst the total rent roll was approximately 50% greater than that of 1258, no precise deduction can be made as the number of tenants is stated so vaguely, beyond the fact that the number of tenants had increased from 20 to at least 43 - or 54, if the free foreign tenants are included - in the century since the

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1 Cal.I.P.M.No.536 File 41/1 Oct.8.Ed.II

2 PRO Court Roll SC 2/211/128 8 Ed.II

3 PRO Min.Acc.SC 6/1088/5 8 Ed.II.

first record.

Four years later, in 1319, another inquisition reported that the capital messuage was not to be assessed "as it lacks in reprises more than the issues are worth". The mill was worth 100/-; there were 56 acres of demesne arable at 4d. per acre (18/8); 19 acres of meadow at 1/4 per acre (25/4). Free foreign tenants paid 41/9 and twenty horse-shoes with nails worth 12d. The tenants at will paid 14/7 $\frac{3}{4}$ . There were two parks and a foreign wood, in which there was no agist because of the destruction caused by the Scots. Pleas and perquisites of court were only 12/- since the services of most of the tenants were assigned to Countess Eleanor as dower. Sales of underwood realised 13/4. The total receipts were £11 6s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.<sup>1</sup>

Demesne arable had decreased by 35% and its value per acre was once more what it had been in 1258. Though the acreage of demesne meadow remained the same, its value was less than 50% of that in 1315. Whereas the bakehouse does not even appear in the survey, the corn mill had increased in value by 25% - perhaps an indication that more grain was being milled by reason of a recession in pastoral farming consequent upon the Scottish raids. That these raids were really serious is shown by the following extract:- "On Tuesday before the Ascension 11 Ed.II. the Scots damaged Spofferth, Follifoot, Kirkby Overblow,

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1 Cal.I.P.M. File 41/1 13 Ed.II

Walton, Castley, and Ilkley, killing some tenants and carrying off others as prisoners causing losses to the countess amounting to £49 15s.11d."<sup>1</sup> As a result of this damage, the Countess was given special exemption from the collection of the eighteenth in Spofforth and district.<sup>2</sup> Whilst no doubt the most serious damage was caused in the neighbourhood, that Spofforth suffered severely is proved by the decline in the pre- and post-raid assessments of Spofforth Church - from £80 to £60.<sup>3</sup>

The Earl whose minority ended in 1319 resumed as soon as possible the policy of reconstruction and development, but on different lines from those followed by his 13th century ancestors.

Addlethorpe Wood was enclosed in the Park.<sup>4</sup> A free tenant's holding of 2 tofts, 2 bovates and 3 acres of meadow escheated to the lord in 1327.<sup>5</sup> The inquest held at York in March 1353 gives the following account of the Spofforth property of the late 2nd Lord of Alnwick:-

"One capital messuage worth nothing beyond reprises; no lands in demesne cultivated by the Lord; demesne meadow - 9 acres - called Mill Ing, at 1/6 per acre 13/6; 9 acres of meadow in Hobkin Ing at 1/- per acre 9/-; a water mill and a wind mill together worth 26/8; the old Park stocked with deer and the New Park with deer too, and both having

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1 Cal.I.P.M. No.453.28 Oct.14 Ed.II

2 Cal.Cl.R.13 Ed.II m.13 Nov.25 1319.

3 Taxatio Ecclesiastica Vol.I p.323 (Spofforth p.299)

4 P.Ch.No.CCCCLXIV

5 P.Ch. No. CCCCLXXIX.

many oak trees but no underwood and thus worth nothing beyond the upkeep of the deer; a common wood called Spofforth Hagg worth nothing as it is common to all the tenants of the lordship; free rents 30/1; five villeins each paying 10/-; tenants at will and cotters 75/-; perquisites of court 40/-. Total £12 4s. 3d."<sup>1</sup>

Demesne meadow is shown to have remained constant in area, but its value per acre had diminished. For the first time this demesne meadow is identified - Mill Ing close to the Manor House precincts, and Hopkin Ing<sup>2</sup> in the south side of the South Field. Perhaps the most striking development is the absence of demesne arable in the lord's occupation. Eight years earlier, in 1345, the whole of the demesne arable had been leased for thirty years at 24/- per year to four tenants. Each allotment consisted of 24 acres of demesne arable, meadow and pasture, and moreover, all three grants lay next to one another.<sup>3</sup> The lord's ability to grant four such contiguous holdings in the common fields suggests that he had managed by exchange or some other means to concentrate his arable furlongs at an earlier date. Two of the lessees were local men, from Aketon and Sicklinghall; the other two were strangers - John Whit and Hugh of Wintringham - whose names do not recur. The grants included as much common pasture and

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1 Cal.I.P.M. Exchequer Series No.89. 22 March 26 Ed.III.

2 Hopkin Ing takes its name from Hopkin, a cleric, son of Robert Camerarius of Linton. The Ing was quitclaimed to Earl Henry. P.Ch.CLXXV n.d.

3 P.Ch.DLXXIX, DLXXX, DLXXV.

such other privileges as were enjoyed by other free tenants. They were to have freedom in making assarts and in building. For any such buildings the lord undertook to provide sawn timber. Each tenant guaranteed to maintain such buildings in good repair.

These leases are the first to be encountered in Spofforth although in the 1315 inquisition a life lease of Addlethorpe property had been granted.

The Hags or outwoods were stated to be common to all tenants of the lordship. Although the manorhouse was still in disrepair - as indeed it had been reported since 1315 - an indenture of 1354<sup>2</sup> and the lord's will, made in September 1349<sup>1</sup> were both dated from Spofforth.

The watermill had been supplemented by a windmill, but both together were worth only 27% of the value of the watermill alone in 1315. The unfree tenants, amongst whom are mentioned for the first and last time five villeins, paid a rent closely comparable to that paid in 1319. The omission from the records of more specific information on the numbers of tenants is to be regretted. Tenants at will are bracketed together with cotters but paid little more rent than the 16 tenants at will had paid in 1315.

Of a much depleted total estate value, rents formed a much larger proportion henceforward. Perquisites of court had risen from 6/8 in 1258 to 40/- in 1353. Yet there were

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1 P.Ch. DCX.

2 P.Ch. DCCGXXXII.

evidences of activity. The bailiff, William Newport, who was also Parson of Scarborough reported in his account, which covered only a short time, the receipt of £2 18s. 4½d. from a "blomforgio and a naylforgio" in the foreign wood - a reminder of the iron forges mentioned in the 1258 inquisition; a profit of 5/-<sup>3</sup> from the water mill which was stated to be in the lord's hands; receipts from Leathley and Addlethorpe of 2/- and 2/8 respectively; but that no rents or farms or other profits had accrued during his period of office.<sup>1</sup> At this time Spofforth was the least profitable of the great Percy estates in Yorkshire.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after the holding of this inquisition, Linton and Leathley, which had been Percy demesne since the 11th century grant, were - by royal licence - passed by the Earl to his son Henry when the latter married Lady Margaret Neville of Raby.<sup>3</sup>

An inquisition taken in 1368 shows that the process of decline continued unchecked:- "There is in Spofforth a capital messuage which is worth nothing per year after deductions have been made. And there are no lands in

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1 PRO.Min.Acc.SC 6 1121/10 26 Ed.III

2 Spofforth and members £17 4s. -d., Topcliffe £62 16s. 6d., Leconfield £68 6s. 8½d., Seamer £47 11s. 5d., Nafferton £94 1s. -½d. ....  
A.H.P. I. p.493 and Cal.I.P.M. No. 43 March 26 Ed.III.  
The Spofforth figure must have been nett. Actual receipts were £21 19s.11d.

3 P.Ch.DCCCXXXV and DCCCXXXVI 1358-9.

demesne in the cultivation of the lord. There are in demesne 9 acres of meadow called Milneheng each of which is worth 1/6 per year. And there are 9 acres of meadow called Hobkynhenge each of which acres is worth 6d. per year. There is a neglected watermill which is worth 16/- per year and a broken down windmill worth nothing. There is a certain park called the Old Park with deer, and another Park called the Neupark with deer, and there is no underwood from the oaktrees and they are worth nothing per year in herbage beyond the feed of the deer. There is a certain common wood called Spoffordhagh and it is worth nothing as it is common to all the tenants of the lordship of Spofford. In rents of free tenants there are per year 37/- at St. Martin and Pentecost. And the rents of tenants in villeinage, at will, and cotters 110/- per year at the same times."<sup>1</sup>

The accounts for Walton Head and Addlethorpe convey the same impression of decline.

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1 P.R.O. Chancery I.P.M. File 202 No.48 42 Ed.III.

**Spofforth and Members - Valuation according to Inquisitions 1220-1368**

Source	1220			1258			1315			1319			1353			1368		
	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.
<b>Spofforth</b>																		
Manor House			Nil						Nil									Nil
Demesne Arable	52	- 17	4	54	- 18	-	86	2 17	4	56	- 18	8			Nil			None
Demesne Meadow	16	- 15	4	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 10	-	18	2 14	-	19	1 5	4	18	1 2	6	18	- 18	-
Gardens		- 11	-		- 3	-												
Vivary			Nil		2	-												
Dovehouse		- 2	-		- 6	8												
Water Mill		1	-		2 10	4		4	-		5	-		}	1 6	8		- 16
Wind Mill																		
Dyehouse		- 2	8															
Oven					- 2	-		- 6	8									
Parks												Nil			Nil			Nil
Pannage and Herbage					5	-						Nil						
Pasture					- 8	10 $\frac{3}{4}$		- 13	4									
Woodsales								2	-		- 13	4						
Free Tenants	5	- 10	7		2 4	1	11	5 6	4		2 2	9			1 10	1		1 17
Villeins	10	3 17	-		5 3	2		1 10	5				5	2 10	-			5 10
Tenants at Will							16	3 6	8		- 14	7 $\frac{3}{4}$			3 15	-		
Cottagers		- 7	6		- 15	6	21	2	-									
Iron Forges					(26 13	4)												
Rector's Tenants					- 3	2												
Advowson *		66 13	4					100	-									13 1
Court Perquisites					- 6	8		2 13	4		- 12	-		2	-			2
Walton Head																		2
<b>TOTALS</b>		<b>8 3</b>	<b>5</b>		<b>49 5</b>	<b>-<math>\frac{3}{4}</math></b>		<b>27 8</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>11 6</b>	<b>8<math>\frac{3}{4}</math></b>		<b>12 4</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>13 1</b>	<b>-</b>

\* figures are not included in the total.



**Spofforth and Members - Valuation according to Inquisitions 1220-1368 (Cont'd.)**

Source	1220			1258			1315			1319			1353			1368			
	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	
<b><u>Leathley</u></b>																			
Capital Message								1	-	-									Nil
Arable 160 ac.								8	-	-									1 - -
Meadow 8 ac.								1	4	-									- 5 -
Fulling Mill								1	-	-									
Free Tenants								1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$									1 1 -
Bondsmen							11	3	16	8									1 17 -
Cotters							10	1	1	11									
Hall Moot								-	3	4									
<b>TOTALS</b>								17	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$									4 3 -
<b><u>Linton</u></b>																			
Capital Message								1	-	-									Nil (ruins)
Dovehouse								-	3	4									
Arable 200 ac.								6	13	4	123	3	1	9					
Meadow 9 ac.								1	7	-	10	1	-	-					
Windmill								2	-	-		1	4	-					Nil (ruins)
Bondsmen							11	3	-	-		1	2	8					
												(pepper 10)							
Cotters								-	6	8		5	7	9					} 3 - -
Hallmoot								-	3	4									
<b>TOTALS</b>								14	13	8		11	17	-					3 - -

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**Spofforth and Members - Valuation according to Inquisitions 1220-1368 (Cont'd.)**

Source	1220			1258			1315			1319			1353			1368		
	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.	ac.	£	s. d.
<u>Addlethorpe</u>																		
Capital Messuage																		
Arable 130 ac.																		
Meadow 20 ac.																		
Pasture 16½ ac. lease																		
Woodsales																		
Unploughed land 30 ac.																		
<b>TOTALS</b>																		
<b>Authorities</b>	<b>Cal.I.P.M. No.452 43 H.III</b>	<b>Cal.I.P.M. No.452 43 H.III</b>	<b>PRO.I.P.M. 8 Ed.II</b>	<b>Cal.I.P.M. Ed.II File 41/1 13 Ed.II</b>	<b>Cal.I.P.M. No.43 26 Ed.III</b>	<b>Chanc.I.P.M. File 202/48 42 Ed.III.</b>												

Whilst free rents had certainly increased by 22% and those of tenants at will and cotters by 47%, the other sources of manorial income had shown a sad deficiency. By this time rents amounted to 66% of the total estate value compared with 13% in 1258, 52% in 1320 and 63% in 1353.

The Poll Tax returns of 1379-80 list 41 tenants in Spofforth, among whom were two weavers, a smith, a brewer, a cobbler and a farmer. One other was a famulus or labourer. The farmer and one other paid 12d. each in tax, eight paid 6d. each and the remainder 4d. each.

As the 14th century closed Spofforth figured amongst property leased to the Earl's younger brother, the Earl of Worcester, for a term of sixteen years,<sup>1</sup> though on Worcester's attainder in 1403 the manor reverted to the lessor, before being declared forfeit to the Crown in 1405 on the defection of the Earl of Northumberland.<sup>2</sup>

No further documents have been discovered to throw any light on the development of this manor until the commencement of the Petworth Account Rolls, the first of which dates from 1442.

It is now possible to review the period covered so far. The 13th Century was a period of vigour and prosperity. All the available evidence points to a stage of rising production, the provision of communal amenities necessitating

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1 Cal.P.R. Rot.Viag.1 Hen.IV m.31

2 PRO.R. & S. No. 86(7) 8 Hen.IV.

capital investment by the lord with a view to the reaping of greater profits in the future. The growth of the amount of land in demesne is also clearly shown, the commutation of labour services has been completed - permanently so far as can be told. Unless the complaint of the tenants of the rectorial manor can be taken as an isolated instance, it seems that the lord of the lay manor had tried to exploit his village population and to extend their labour services or their monetary equivalents to intolerable lengths. This attempt seems to have failed against the rector's tenants, though the same cannot be said conclusively in regard to the tenants of the lay manor.

To this age of vigour there succeeded an era of decline, the watershed date being somewhere in the first twenty years of the 14th century, for which possible explanations have already been advanced, and may be summarised in the phrases "family neglect" and "Scottish raids". These factors however probably only hastened a process which had been under way for some time already in the more progressive southern parts of the country. Thus the first recorded leases in Spofforth date from 1345,<sup>1</sup> whereas further south the letting of demesne land had been common at least half a century earlier. The terms of the Spofforth leases which gave so much freedom of action to

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1 P.Ch. DLXXVIII.

the lessees may be taken to imply that the lord had little intention of resuming the demesne for his own cultivation. The rents asked, which work out at an average of 1/- per acre irrespective of the type of land, are perhaps rather high considering that the demesne arable of 1319 was assessed at 4d. per acre and the meadow at 1/4, and from the acreage of demesne available for lease the proportion of arable to meadow in each leasehold must have been large.

Along with those for Spofforth, separate returns were made at this time for three other hamlets in the neighbourhood and in the same ownership. The information here quoted is mainly from the inquisitions of 1315 and 1353.

That Leathley was regarded as valuable by its owners is shown by the Earl's complaint in 1301 that the royal bailiffs of the Forest of Knaresborough had been interfering with his franchise there, in preventing his officers from selling wood on the pretext that Leathley was part of the Forest.<sup>1</sup>

There had been a capital messuage there in 1315 worth 20/-. In 1353 its value was returned as nil. 160 acres of demesne arable worth £8 had shrunk to 100 acres worth 20/-; 8 acres of demesne meadow worth 24/- in 1315 had become 12 acres worth 3/-. The fulling mill worth 20/- in 1315 was not even included in the later inquisition. The rents of free

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1 Cal. of Chancery Warrants Oct.1.1301.  
PRO.R.& S.No.86(7) "Leathley ... a manor independent of the manor of Spofforth, worth £16 nett." 8 Hen.IV.

tenants, bondsmen and cotters totalled nearly £6 in 1315; the 1353 total was less than half that sum.

At Linton during the same period details are afforded by three inquisitions - 1315, 1319 and 1353.

In 1315 the manorhouse was worth 20/-, the dovehouse 3/4, 200 acres of demesne arable were worth £6 13s. 4d.; 9 acres of demesne meadow 27/-; a windmill £2. With the perquisites of a "Halmote" the total receipts reached the sum of £14 13s. 8d.

In 1319 demesne arable had decreased by 36%; demesne meadow increased by 11% in acreage but decreased by 33% in value per acre. The total receipts from demesne property declined by 52%. By 1353 the valuation of demesne is nil. Bondsmen and cotters who had paid £3 6s. 8d. rent in 1315 paid only £3 in 1353 and held all the demesne land. Total receipts fell from £14 13s. 8d. in 1315 to £11 17s. -d. in 1319 and to £3 in 1353.

At Addlethorpe the 1315 total of £9 9s. 6d. had declined to £2 12s. 8d. in 1353.

With the attainder of Sir Thomas Percy and the flight of the Earl of Northumberland in 1405 and 1408 respectively, Spofforth escheated to the Crown. Its value was assessed at £40 - a figure which included the hamlet of Linton and the advowson of Spofforth Church.<sup>1</sup> Spofforth had last

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1 PRO.R. & S. Ancient Extents of the Exchequer No.86(7) the Thursday after St. Mathew 8 Hen.IV.

been valued in 1368 at £13 ls. -d., Linton in 1353 at £3; the advowson was last reckoned in 1319 at £60.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly the process of decline had continued into the 15th century. The Compoti of the 15th century - four of which cover the period 1441-1480 - show a gradually sinking estate value. A digest of their contents reveals that during the fifty years ending 1480, the old rental value originally drafted in 1432, but unfortunately only referred to in passing, had dropped from £40 5s. 6d. to £34 10s. 7½d. a decrease of 14%. The most abrupt decline appears to have occurred in the few years between 1432 and 1441 when the new rental value of the latter year was £36 15s. 1½d. - a decrease of 8.5%.

When the property came to the Crown, various crown grants of offices were made.<sup>2</sup> The victor of Bramham Moor, Sir Thomas Rokeby, gained the manor of Spofforth as his reward, though his annual gain therefrom was restricted to

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1. Taxatio Ecclesiastica Vol.I.p.299.

2. John Robinson was appointed parker and keeper of Spofforth outwoods - vice two recent traitors, (Cal.P.R.6 Hen.IV m.13) and received a grant of revenue from Addlethorpe. (Cal.P.R. 6 Hen.IV. m.9.) He was assured of 73/4 per year from Addlethorpe. (PRO.Min.Acc.SC 6/1087/9 Hen.IV.) John Wakefield was awarded revenue from the issues of the manor, (Cal.P.R. 6 Hen.IV m.8.) Robert de Waterton was made steward and master-forester, (Cal.P.R. 6 Hen.IV m.15.) Richard Nutehaw porter and bailiff. (Cal.P.R. 7 Hen.IV. m.41.)

£80 per year.<sup>1</sup> According to his own accounting Spofforth, Linton and Leathley together only realised £73 6s. 8d. in 9-10 Henry IV.<sup>2</sup> Rokeby sublet his interest in the manor in 1410,<sup>3</sup> but by 1416 Spofforth had returned to its rightful owners.<sup>4</sup>

For some thirty years thereafter there comes a complete lack of documentary references to Spofforth. In 1446, in a gaol delivery of York Castle, 34 men all of whom were Percy tenants and ten of them from Spofforth, were released.<sup>5</sup> No reason is given either for their release or the charge upon which they had been committed, but it seems possible, at least, that they had been concerned in the Percy-Neville quarrel which brought a state of war to the north of England in the next four years, and accounts for the presence of Lord Poynings, the Earl of Egremont and Master Richard Percy at Spofforth in 1454.<sup>6</sup> Here they stayed during the four weeks September 15th to October 14th, 1454 "for the safe-keeping and defence of the Township and lordship at the time of the quarrel between the Lord and the Earl of Salisbury". Their living expenses during this period amounted to £30 14. 2. whilst there was an account for thongs, leather and tallow.

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1 Rymer Foedera VIII p. 529 and Cal.P.R. 9 Hen.IV.m.19.

2 PRO.Min.Acc.SC 6/1087 10 Hen.IV.

3 Cal.P.R.April 1410.

4 Cal.P.R. 4 Hen.IV. m.17.

5 Cal.P.R. May 1446 m.5d.

6 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.6.



The inference to be drawn is that there was a considerable retinue of men at arms acting as garrison. The Earl of Egremont was at Spofforth in June of 1455 too - the last recorded occasion on which the owners inhabited the manor house.<sup>1</sup>

With the death of the second Earl at the first Battle of St. Albans and the death of the third Earl at Towton, Spofforth again reverted to the Crown. It seems likely that the Manor house which Leland described as damaged by the victorious Yorkist soldiery, was allowed to remain derelict from here on, as there is no evidence that Spofforth was ever again available as a Percy residence.

The crown resumed its policy of grants of offices.<sup>2</sup> The whole manor and the advowson of the Church formed part of a grant to the king's brother, George D. of Clarence,<sup>3</sup> which was twice renewed three years later.<sup>4</sup> Linton and Leathley were an especial grant to the Duke of Clarence.<sup>5</sup> But by 1472 - if not before - the property was once more in Percy hands, as is shown by the earliest extant Spofforth Court Roll at Petworth.<sup>6</sup> It remained in Percy hands until the fourth Earl was killed at Topcliffe in 1489, and his

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1 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.6. (Linton Section)

2 Cal.P.R. 1 Ed.IV m.26, 8 Aug.1461 and 1 Ed.IV m.22  
24 Feb.1462.

3 Cal.P.R. 2 Ed.IV m.21 20 Sept. 1462.

4 Cal.P.R. 5 Ed.IV 25 March 1465 and Cal.P.R. 5 Ed.IV.  
m.32. 2 July 1465.

5 Cal.P.R. 10 Aug. 1462 m.3.

6 Pet.MS.MCR.D.2.8. 5 Nov.11 Ed.IV.

heir became a crown ward.<sup>1</sup> The Crown without delay sublet Spofforth to a number of lessees, the chief of whom was Sir Thomas Burgh,<sup>2</sup> but in 1499 the fifth Earl reached his majority and the court rolls resume their styling as "of Lord Henry de Percy".

After a gap of nineteen years during which no mention of Spofforth is to be found, the court of 1518 was entitled "of William Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir George Neville of Abergavenny, Sir William Blount of Mountjoy and other feoffees and receivers of the lands of Lord Henry Earl of Northumberland."<sup>3</sup> In the absence of positive evidence, it can only be suggested that the reason for this alienation was the financial position resulting from the extravagance of the 5th Earl, the dishonesty of William Worme, his auditor, together with the £10,000 fine levied on the Earl for his presuming to bestow in marriage a lady over whom the crown claimed the rights of wardship and marriage.<sup>4</sup> A further gap in the sequence of court rolls - from 1521 to 1560 - may thus indicate not only the period of enforced sub-letting but also that - from 1537 - when the 6th Earl handed on his estates to the crown as trustee for his nephew.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Pet.MS.MCR.D.2.8. 2nd July 1489

2 Pet.MS.D.2.8. 6th Oct. 1489

3 Pet.MS.D.2.8. 15th Oct. 1518

4 AHP.I p.321 quoting L.& P. Hen.VIII.

5 Pedes Finium Hilary 28 Hen.VIII.

Though the new Earl attained his majority in 1549, the Crown showed no signs of passing on to him his ancestral estates. Spofforth, amongst other wide lands both in Yorkshire and in Northumberland was bestowed on John, Earl of Warwick. Considerable lands in Spofforth were sold by the Crown to Silvester Leigh of Pontefract and Leonard Bate of Lupsett;<sup>1</sup> two years later Wetherby, "late of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem" was also part of a grant to John, Duke of Northumberland;<sup>2</sup> the manor of Leathley was granted to Henry Johnson, son and heir of Sir Thomas Johnson,<sup>3</sup> and the grantee was appointed "keeper bowbearer and palaster of the Parke of Spofforth".<sup>4</sup> Addlethorpe was granted to Thomas Reve and Giles Isham after the attainder of the Duke of Northumberland.<sup>5</sup>

At last after nearly twenty years the Crown returned the estates to the 7th Earl,<sup>6</sup> and shortly afterwards Spofforth figured in the list of lands granted for life to the dowager Countess Mary, the 7th Earl's<sup>7</sup> aunt. On her death it reverted to the Earl, who however forfeited all his estates to the Crown as a result of his ill-considered participation in the 1569 rising of the Northern Earls.

Circumstances compelled the 8th Earl to reside in his southern estates; the 9th Earl, perhaps in an attempt to

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1 Cal.P.R. 4 Ed.VI m.12 & 13.

2 Cal.P.R. Vol.IV.p.117 Jan. 1552.

3 Cal.Fine Rolls 5 Ed.VI

4 Y.A.S.MS.Md.59/21 No.17.

5 Cal.P.R. 23 July 1554.

6 Cal.P.R. April 2/3 P. & M. LXXVII (IX)

7 Cal.P.R. 31 Dec. 1555.

make amends for his own early ignorance and his ancestors' previous neglect of their northern estates seems to have set about his task in businesslike fashion and to have made a considerable difference in the condition of his estates during the twenty years 1585-1605. His activities aroused opposition in both south and north - at Petworth in 1592,<sup>1</sup> at Cockermonth in 1588<sup>2</sup> and at Spofforth in 1592, where the tenants rose in violent fashion and destroyed the enclosure made round Parson Hagg.<sup>3</sup>

The 9th Earl's protracted imprisonment in the Tower, and his subsequent rustication to his southern estates, gave his tenants perhaps more freedom of action than would otherwise have been the case. The Earl complained in 1609 to the judges of assize in the north that the country people had contrived to withhold his rents "by colour of tenant right", and in 1613 he retained Serjeant Hutton as his standing counsel in actions relating to disputes with the tenantry. The Serjeant's annual fee was to be "one piece of gold issuing out of my Manor of Spofforth".<sup>4</sup>

It would seem that the Serjeant's services were very necessary, as the arrears of payments in 1607/8 were £150 in Spofforth lordship alone,<sup>5</sup> whilst in 1610 the position was not particularly satisfactory - the arrears for

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1 AHP. II.p.197 Quoting Harl.MS.No.6995 fol.75.

2 Acts of P.C. XVI p.116.

3 Acts of P.C. XXII p.527.

4 AHP.II p.336.

5 Pet.MS.MAC D.9.27.

Yorkshire reaching £264.<sup>1</sup>

The great Civil Wars passed with but little notice in the manorial documents of Spofforth - a rather surprising fact when the nearness of Knaresborough, York and the Great North Road is considered. The general relaxation of estate control is witnessed by the widespread failure by tenants to perform suit of court during the period 1643-6 especially;<sup>2</sup> a plaintiff complains that the deforciant hired him as a soldier to serve with his arms and has not kept his promise;<sup>3</sup> expenses are claimed for going to Pontefract to gain the release of the draught oxen requisitioned by the Earl of Newcastle.<sup>4</sup> Troops - which side does not appear - were billeted in Spofforth in September, 1641;<sup>5</sup> 52 Scottish horse were entertained there in February, 1645,<sup>6</sup> and troops were quartered there again in 1647 and 1648.<sup>7</sup>

The Church Wardens' accounts carry a small number of similar items of evidence - in 1643 five shillings was paid to soldiers in reward for their pulling down the iron cross from the top of the Steeple;<sup>8</sup> in 1650 one shilling for taking down the king's arms from the church;<sup>9</sup> in August, 1652, 20/4 for drawing and setting up the State's arms in the church,<sup>10</sup> and in 1660 23/6 for painting and hanging the King's arms again.<sup>11</sup>

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1 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.28

2 Pet.MS.MCR passim.

3 Pet.MS.MCR 17 Oct.1642.

4 Pet.MS.MCR 18 March 1644.

5 ibid.18 Sept.1641.

6 Ibid.6 Apr.1646

7 Ibid. 23 Oct.1648

8. MS.Churchwardens' Accts.f.13.

9. Ibid.f.30

10. Ibid. f.71.

11. Ibid. f.73.

With the death of the 11th Earl in 1670, the male Percy line failed for the second time since the Conquest, and the Percy estates descended, through the Earl's daughter Elizabeth, to Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset. At his death in 1749, as had been arranged by a special marriage settlement, the Percy lands in Yorkshire, including Spofforth, were inherited by the late Countess's nearest male heir, Charles Wyndham, 2nd Earl of Egremont. Forty years earlier Spofforth had figured as part security for a loan of £10,000 raised to furnish a marriage portion for Katherine Percy, mother of the Earl of Egremont.

Ownership of Spofforth continued in the Wyndham family - the new Barony of Leconfield being created in 1859 - until 1920, when the estate was sold piecemeal. The manor house was transferred to the care of H. M. Office of Works, and to-day the sole link between past and present is Lord Leconfield's right to present the Rectors of Spofforth and Kirkby Overblow churches.

SPOFFORTH

Section 3

The Manor House

On the western edge of the village, and slightly higher than the rest of the dwellinghouses, stand the remains of the manor house, inevitably referred to as the "castle". The essential dignity of the building and the suitability of its site are the more difficult to appreciate to-day because of the high railway embankment which runs so close as almost to touch the south west corner of the structure and thus destroys the whole perspective in which the components of the scene should be viewed.

The present remains offer a series of problems not all of which can be resolved satisfactorily.<sup>1</sup> The ruins form a parallelogram whose length runs roughly north and south, with a small projection at the northern end. Their overall measurements are 45 by 16 yards. One of the many peculiarities is that the building occupies the western extremity of a natural rock formation whose crudely dressed face forms the lower section of much of the east wall of the house.

The building is of two storeys whose ground floor is divided into four unequal areas separated by parallel walls running east and west. One of these walls still stands to its full height. All floors have disappeared, except for a modern concrete flooring dividing the storeys in the northern projection (F).

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<sup>1</sup> It will be helpful to consult photographs Nos. 19 and 26 in following the conjectural development.



The present entrance - a converted window - leads into chamber A whose special features are the remains of some fine vaulting which has covered three bays;<sup>1</sup> an unusual twin-arched fireplace and window, a small door leading into the northern projection and the entry to the tower stair.<sup>2</sup> A doorway gives access to chamber B which displays traces of a single barrel vault running east and west, and of a corbel table, the natural rock in its east wall and a garderobe shaft in its south-east corner.<sup>3</sup> In line with the doorway from A to B is another which leads up one step through a much thicker wall into chamber C beyond which can be seen a further small chamber D separated by the footings of a dividing wall. Chamber C has been divided into two aisles and has had a vaulted roof supported by three octagonal columns, made in vertical and not horizontal sections, whose bases still remain to a height of about two feet.<sup>4</sup> The corbels and, in two cases, the beginning of the spring of the vaulting ribs indicate that the roof had eight bays of quadripartite vaulting. Two of the eastern corbels are grouted into the natural rock which here forms three quarters of the east wall of the lower storey of Chambers C and D.<sup>5</sup> In two places - G and K - the rock is pierced

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1 see photos. 40 and 41.

2 see photos. 40 and 37.

3 see photos. 41 and 43.

4 see photo. 33.

5 see photos. 33 and 35.

by openings. At G two archways separated by a space open to the sky, lead to a flight of fourteen steps cut in the rock. These lead eastwards to the ground surface some 25 feet from the east wall. A stone kerb, one foot high, runs across the lower entrance to the archways.<sup>1</sup>

At K an opening in the natural rock leads to a flight of ten carefully hewn stone stairs which terminate suddenly in masonry.<sup>2</sup> The top of the flight may be seen outside the east wall and close to it. A peculiar feature of this stair is a small "squint" about six inches square, which slants from the right into the "vestibule" at the foot of the stairway. Along the lower west wall of chambers C and D are small and externally rectangular windows which splay internally to trefoil headed openings.<sup>3</sup>

Above Chambers C and D, which together covered a space of about 45 feet by 36 feet, some 15 feet high, was the Great Hall, well lit by at least six large windows, the differing details of whose tracery and mouldings indicate changing architectural styles over a period of at least two centuries.

The northern projection F consists of two storeys of identical area - 25 feet by 12 feet - the lower of which has a barrel vaulted roof, and houses a number of fragments of carved stone and other miscellaneous objects

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1 Photos.45 and 46.

2 Photo.34.

3 e.g. photo.30.

discovered during renovations by the Office of Works about 1927. The upper chamber was entered from the upper floor of Chamber A, and has a shaft which projects from the outer wall and is large enough to have contained a stair, though it is much more probably a garderobe shaft.<sup>1</sup>

So much for the general description of the present ruined fabric. These were undoubtedly the most important sections of the manorhouse, but it seems more than likely, both from the general Percy practice, from the cartographer's representation of the manor,<sup>2</sup> and from the irregular surface of what is still called Manor Garth, that the present building is only one side of an original four-square enclosure. In 1441 there was certainly a granary used to store hay and timber;<sup>3</sup> the gates of the manor - implying the existence of a gatehouse - were repaired in 1452.<sup>4</sup>

Little information from documentary sources is available regarding this once important residence.

The inquisition of 1258 dismissed the manorhouse laconically as "the lord's house", those of 1315 and 1319 as "a certain capital messuage containing two acres" - in all cases the terse phrases being qualified by the statement that it was "worth nothing beyond reprises". This same condition is indicated by the inquisitions of 1353 and 1368, in spite of the royal licence to crenellate

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1 Photo.21.

2 See enlarged section of 1611 map, showing Spofforth village.

3 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.2.

4 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.6.

which had been granted in 1308.

Such is the early documentary evidence, which affords very little positive information.

The following possible development may be advanced, though it is by no means completely defensible at all points.<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that in a place of such importance to the Percies as Spofforth there was a residence much earlier than 1258, the date of the earliest encountered mention. It seems likely that the first building would occupy the crest of the rock outcrop, and might have been of timber construction. The plentiful supply of building stone in the neighbourhood would permit at an early date the reconstruction of the fabric in more durable materials, and so, probably in the early 12th century, the walls of chambers C and D were pushed out from the rock face and supplied with the five trefoil headed windows which, with the crude masonry, are the only clues permitting the approximate dating of this work. The upper storey may have been either of stone or of timber. The wall dividing C and D did not extend above the basement. Both these chambers were reached by two rock stairs at M and K. This perhaps argues the presence of another room at L. Entry to this upper floor was probably at G where the corbels at two heights suggest that there was a forebuilding with a

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<sup>1</sup> All references are to photos.19 and 26.

penthouse roof, the landing being over the two archways admitting to the undercroft.

This seems to be the most likely suggestion for the positions of the undercroft, Great Hall and Solar, the essentials of a medieval residence. Domestic offices such as kitchen, brewhouse and bakehouse could be housed either on the north front or around the possible courtyard.

This simple plan was maintained until the 14th century when the Scottish destruction - whose extent is indicated only by the Close Roll and other entries - would simplify the major structural alterations which were now commenced.

Whilst chambers C and D were left intact as far as the ground floor was concerned, the whole west wall was remodelled and the east wall on the rock crest rebuilt to match. The similarity in the reeding in the rebates of the door and window openings at the south end of the east and west walls suggests this.<sup>1</sup> The vaulting, corbels, and pillars were constructed, the corbel in the northern wall being built into the masonry now used to fill what had been a north window. It seems that both rock stairs were blocked, the lower entry to the larger stair being filled with a conglomeration of loose masonry, held at its foot by the stone kerb mentioned above, but sufficiently homogeneous to support one of the vaulting corbels which was imbedded in this masonry.

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<sup>1</sup> See photographs Nos.27 and 29.

The original north wall was pierced and the chambers B, A, and F constructed. It would seem by the similarity of the vaulting in B and F that they were contemporary. The octagonal tower with its conical cap and crude finial would seem to have been built at this time.

It is suggested that Room F was a store room connecting with the kitchen A, whilst B had an entry at the west end large enough to admit a cart, so as to allow stores to be brought to kitchen and undercroft and to permit the garderobe to be cleared; that the chapel was above F, and communicated with the lord's chamber over the kitchen, whilst over B was the solar, with its centrally placed door leading directly into the Great Hall above C and D. The lord's chamber was entered by a door facing south in the projection of chamber A, and an external flight of steps at H gave access to the hall - a precarious and dangerous entrance over the rough untrimmed rock surface.

Although the 14th century alterations had doubled the size of the building, the resultant arrangements must have been makeshift and comfortless. Moreover, even if the present remains were - as it is suggested - supplemented by other buildings, it is doubtful whether satisfactory accommodation could be given to retinues of the proportions described in the Household Book, and which taxed the resources of the much larger residences at Wressell and Leconfield.

Apart from a passing reference in 1315<sup>1</sup> and another in 1442 when planks were delivered for repairs to the manor house,<sup>2</sup> the only mention of repairs to the main fabric of the building appears in the Bailiff's account for 1454, when, in preparation for the visit of the Percies, the manorhouse roof was soldered in various damaged places, a carpenter, Geoffrey Thurescrosse, spent three days in reroofing the great kitchen and William Sclater four days in reroofing above the great kitchen. Other repairs were effected to the grange and the manor gates.<sup>3</sup>

No record remains of what happened to the manorhouse during the Wars of the Roses save for Leland's remark:- "the mannour place was sore defacyd in th tyme of the Civile Warre betwixt Henry the 6 and Edward the 4 by thErle of Warwicke and Marquis Monteaacute his brother ....."<sup>4</sup>

A rent roll of 1536, including an incomplete survey of Spofforth, mentioned:- "the walls of the Mannor Howse are manye of them as yet standinge without rooife or tymber, haveing one Corte Howse which ys newly coverid with leid. The Mannor Garthe with a greate leithe or barne in the same coverid with slaitte ...."<sup>5</sup>

The recent repairs thus mentioned are perhaps those of 1524, which the bailiff included amongst his expenses: -

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1 PRO.Min.Acc.SC.6.1088/5. 8 Ed.II.

2 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.2.20 Hen.VI.

3 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.6. 32/33 Hen.VI.

4 Itin. I fol.104.

5 YAS.MS. Md.59 21.

"various repairs to the structure of two roofs in Spofforde manorhouse caused by a sudden fire last year £6 9s. 9d!"<sup>1</sup>

It seems that some repairs were carried out during the next thirty years, since Humberston in 1570 speaks of the Earl's "mansion house, buylded all of stone and coverid with leade, which was partely spoyled and defaced in this late rebellyoun and parte of the leade stollen by the souldyours comyng out of the Southe partes....."<sup>2</sup> Since the manor house is not even mentioned in the list of castles and manorhouses acquired by the king from the Earl of Northumberland in 1537,<sup>3</sup> and since no repair to the manor house appears in the royal accounts which are available up to 1543/4,<sup>4</sup> such repairs were probably effected during the years 1557-1559 when the estates had returned to the Percies. Local historical writers state categorically - but without quoting their authority - that repairs were in hand in 1560.<sup>5</sup> The only part of the present remains which shows any 16th century characteristic - and then not conclusively - is the door arch in the turret opening on to the leads at the north-west corner.<sup>6</sup>

A part of the ruins was in use in 1576, as the bailiff mentions the spending of £8 6s. 6d. on repairs to

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1 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.14. 15 Hen.VIII.

2 PRO.Misc.Bks. of Exch.Vol.37.ff.208-242.

3 PRO.R.&S. No.959.30 Hen.VIII.

4 PRO.Min.Acc.4283-4291 29/34 Hen.VIII.

5 e.g. Eden Vale to Plains of York Edmund Bogg. n.d. p.84.

6 see photo.No.38.



"le Cortehowse",<sup>1</sup> and this condition is mentioned again in the survey of 1577:-

"The Manor House ys allmost utterlie ruinated The same ys embateled and buylded wth Stone The utter walls and inner walls therof (beinge sixe in nombre) are for the moste parte whole and unbroken And all the stone of the said howse by estimacon ys worth XX li. The said Howse Remaynes nowe uncoverid in all partes therof (except one chambre now used for the Courte Howse) The leades wherof beinge fourtie six fete in length and nyntene in bredth ys worth by estimacon XXIIII li. And the said Manor howse ys scituated and builded upon a parcell of ground called the Mannor Garth ioyninge est to the Streete southe to certen of the Lo. Cotages and Webster Lane west upon the demaines called the Carr and north upon a house and garth parcell of the tenants belongyng to the parsonage."

The one chamber used as the court house was that above chamber B. At its west end was a window opening with fine plate tracery in excellent stone, and on its south wall there are still signs that the chamber was once plastered. Manorial courts were held here until the middle of the 19th century.

To-day the ruins present a well-kept appearance under the care of the Office of Works. It is somewhat ironic that the only great Yorkshire manor house which the Percies considered not worthy of preservation into the 16th century should be the best cared for in the 20th century.

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1 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.19 18 Eliz.

**SPOFFORTH**

**Section 4**

**The Barony and Manor of Spofforth**

Spofforth was more than just an ordinary manor of the conventional type. Quite apart from possessing a rectorial manor existing side by side with the Percy lay manor, this village was the administrative head of a wide area, with offshoots in all three ridings of Yorkshire and, allegedly, even in Lincolnshire.<sup>1</sup> In 1577 over 80 "free foreign tenants" held property in 84 external villages by suit of court at Spofforth.<sup>2</sup>

The 1577 survey recorded the following account of the boundary of the lordship:-

"Imprimis begining at a Stone Bridge East from the Manor House called Dighton Bridge, and soe from ye sd Bridge south upp ye sd River or Becke called Crimple as ye Midstreame runeth to a certaine meadow of Mr. Willm Middeltons called Bagwith and ther on ye said Crimple southward along the East side of ye Demaines of Stokell grounde as the Long Inge goeth and ye river cometh downe unto a place called Bairarse Ing and soe south along ye east side of ye said Bairarse Ing alias Bairarse Lease, Parcell of ye said Lordshipp of Stockell as ye sd Bairarse Lease and soe along as ye Hye Streete lyeth unto a small Baulke having Thorne Bushes upon the same lying betwixt ye lordshipp of Linton upon the West and ye Lordshipp of Kirkdighton and soe along ye sd Baulke as it lyeth turning somewhat upon the North unto a place where ye said two Lordshippis doe

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1 "The manor of Somerby near Bygby in Lincolnshire held by Richard Roceter of Henry de Percy as of his manor of Spofforth. PRO. Originalia Rolls 15 Eliz. Rot.XX.

2 See first map in "Maps, Plans and MSS." volume in the folder

meet and bounder with ye Lordshipp of Weatherby at the North End of ye sd Draill Baulke turning upon ye south from thence southward as ye sd Baulke lyeth betwixt ye sd Lordshipp of Linton and ye sd Lordshipp of Weatherby unto a meare stone on the south side of ye Quenes high Streete lying upon a hill called Draincall Hill and from thence south unto ye Midle Streame of ye Ryver of Wharffe and soe southwest as the sd Streame cometh downe unto ye Head and Westend of ye Cow Pasture of Linton and from thence still West as ye Midle Streame of ye sd River betwixt ye Lordshipp of Woodhall and Keswicke untill a place called the Awste Holme and soe still up ye Streame of ye sd River unto a place called ye Cow Holme as ye sd Streame runneth unto Natherby and still up ye sd River unto a place called Gilkecrofte at ye south corner of ye same whereat a sike called Ebb sike runneth into the sd river of Warffe and from thence northwest upp ye sd Ebb sike untill it turne plaine North and soe along the sd sike untill ye west Nowke of Gilnaker and soe along the West hedge of ye sd Gilnaker unto ye west Corner of one Ing Close of Thomas Gelstroppe<sup>1</sup> called the Becke Inge and soe upp along the West Hedge of the sd Inge untill a little Becke unto a yate called the Bawghill Yate there adioyning upon Swindon and soe upp ye sd Blacke Becke unto Stringfellowes House and so upp ye

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1. CPR. 22 May.1553 V.p.269 Licence to Sir Arthur Darcie to grant manor and capital messuage of Barrowby Grange to Thomas and Robert Gelstroppe.

becke to Swindon Gate and from thence upp ye West side of Skailber and soe along the West side of ye said Skailber as ye river runneth unto a place called the Waire Hoyll and from ye sd Waire Hoyll unto the South West of ye uttermost closes of ye Wynd Mill at Walton Head still adioyning upon ye Comon of Swindon unto ye South West corner of ye Browe Close where ye Wind Milne standeth and under ye sd Milne and soe North as ye Hedge of ye sd Browe Close goeth towards ye head house of Walton Head unto ye end of one old tarne of a ditch on ye west side of ye sd River or Sike and from thence full West as ye sd Tarne goeth unto ye fyve stones in the Head of Buttersike and from the sd fyve stones North as ye sd Butter Sike runneth into ye Milne Dame and soe straight over ye sd Dame unto a small river or Becke called Cremple and there turning full upon ye Easte downe ye Midle Streame of ye sd Cremple as ye water runneth betwixt the sd Lordshipp of Spofford and ye Forrest of Knaisborrow down to a ford called Almsford and from thence still as ye sd Streame runneth unto the Breek Hill and from thence still as ye streame runneth unto the Ducke Nest House and from thence still along the Streame as it runneth unto the head of Aickton Moore and soe over ye sd Ryver or Becke called Cremple unto the South West Corner of ye West Hedge of Breame Barress and soe North East as ye sd hedge goeth up the Craggy Hill unto a gate called Lolly Gate and soe

East over the Hyghe Street and on the sd hedge south east as the hedge goeth betwixt the Breame groundes and ye Lordshipp of Plumpton unto ye south west Corner of ye Wood called Loxley and soe south east on ye south side of ye sd wood and thorough the wood unto a Pasture Close called Firbary Lease and soe along ye North Hedge of ye sd Firbary Leases and there turning North along the Hedge unto ye gate in ye Quenes High Streete going towarde Knaisborrow and soe streighte over ye Streete and downe the Hedge to ye River of Nidd and soe downe ye Midle Streame south east as the sd River runneth and south to the mouth of the Cremples whereas ye sd River or Becke called Cremples runneth into ye sd River Nidd and soe up ye sd Cremples west unto ye Blacke Stones at the foot of Ribstone Moore and soe up the Midle Streame of ye sd Becke unto North Dighton Water Mill and soe up still along ye sd Streame unto a stone Bridge called Ribston Bridge and soe on up to ye North east corner of a close called ye Hollyn Close untill the North West corner of North Dighton Pke and soe West along ye sd Becke unto ye South West Corner of ye sd Parke and soe still up ye sd Becke to ye first named Stone Bridge where wee first began Within the precincte of whiche aforesaid Bounder are conteyned the Townes Villages Hamlettes demaines and pkes herewth specified viz

Spofourth towne and the Parke, Stokeld with the demaines and Parke The Towne of Lynton wth demaines, Woodhal wth

the demaines and Pke., Sicklinghall, Keirbye, Netherbye Townes, Baraby Graunge, Hanley Graunge alias Nether Graunge, Follyfaite Towne, The towne of Litle Ribstone, Newsome Closes, Skyrocke Graunge, The demaines or Closes of Adlethorpe, Kirkbye Ov'blowes Towne, Waltonhed with the demaynes, Pannell End, Houses on the More syde, Aickton Towne, Braham Hall with demaynes."<sup>1</sup>

In the local government area of the manor itself, constables appeared at court to represent Spofforth, Linton, Sicklinghall, Ribston, Kearby cum Netherby, Follifoot cum Aikton, Kirkby Overblow, Askwith and Middleton cum Stockeld. Occasionally Castley and Ilkley were represented too. Two separate juries made presentments and tried the various pleas, one for the liberty of Spofforth, a second for Linton and - after 1560 - a third for the whole lordship, and known as "jurati inter Partes". Whilst the normal number empanelled in each jury was thirteen, there were on occasion as few as eleven and as many as sixteen. The ameracements were subject to rescrutiny and adjustment by three or four "afferatores" or "affeerors" - a practice which began in the early 17th century. Prior to this date, ameracements were recorded as "affeered by the whole homage", or sometimes "by the juries".

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<sup>1</sup> Petworth MS. 1577 Survey. This extract was also printed in the "Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal". VolXIII p. 318-9.

The Court Baron was held regularly each three weeks, the procedure usually being suspended during August and perhaps September. At Lady Day and Michaelmas the Great Court was held - known variously as the "Great Court and Sheriff's Tourn" (1471), Tourn and Capital Court (1508-1516), Sheriff's Tourn and View of Frankpledge (1519-21), and Court Leet (1651). At these more important assemblies byelaws or "pains" were enacted to correct some abuse or irregularity.

Whilst the business of the Spofforth courts was presided over by the Steward or his deputy, in the presence of the Clerk of the Court and various subsidiary officials, there existed also the office of Feodary of Spofforth whose holder was responsible for the collection of suit-fines, reliefs and the procedure connected with wardship and marriage incident upon Percy sub-tenants inside the Barony of Spofforth. This distinction of Spofforth's was shared in Yorkshire only by Topcliffe which too had a Feodary, though both offices were sometimes held by the same person.

Much of the court's business was concerned with the regulation of agricultural and pastoral matters as well as of relations between tenants and the lord of the manor. Separate annual accounts were presented by the bailiff and the collector - or reeve, as he was often called. This double accounting occurred only at Topcliffe, Leconfield and Seamer besides at Spofforth.



Arable land lay in the three great fields, East Field, Crag Field and South Field. The first two of these lay on the high ground to the north east of the Crimble valley. The East Field of about 125 acres, divided into a series of named Butts, Flatts, Driffings, Lands and Ranes, was bounded on the east by the present parish boundary, to the north by York Lane and York Hill, to the south-east by the Ribston Road, and on the south-west by Crag Field. The latter lay unequally divided by the present Plompton Road and contained about the same acreage as the East Field - about 122 acres. Its north-west corner was at Crosper and its south-west extremity at the junction of the three roads and Point Bridge, a natural frontier being formed by the swampy land near the Crimble which then followed a much more meandering and easterly course than now. The South Field lay on both sides of the village street as it led to Wetherby, bounded to the north by the Crimble, to the south by the Toad Hole Beck and Stockeld ground. Its north-west limit was approximately where the subsidiary level crossing stands to-day. Some of the strips can still be seen in the pasture to the south of the railway line between the station and the manorhouse. This field contained about 115 acres.

The following details are included - sparse though they are - of the names of the common arable fields of

villages in the manor of Spofforth. The list is constructed from scattered information gleaned partly from the Court Rolls and Account Rolls and partly from the Tithe Commutation Plans in the possession of the Rectors of Spofforth and Kirkby Overblow.

<u>Spofforth</u>	East, Cragg, South.
<u>Kirkby Overblow</u>	Kirk, Tether (Tydder), Carr, Hall.
<u>Kearby cum Netherby</u>	Cross, Carleshead, Low.
<u>Sicklinghall</u>	North, Quarry.
<u>Ribston</u>	West, Stoop.
<u>Linton</u>	Drail, Cross, Holme (Ing or Nether).
<u>Follifoot and Aketon</u>	Toft, Town End.

An attempt has been made to build a crop rotation table (page 62) for the Spofforth arable fields. The results are not entirely satisfactory, since references in the Court Rolls are so infrequent - the 34 asterisked items in an 82-year cycle.

Meadow land lay in the Crimble valley - the Leays and Mill Ing on the outskirts of the Crag Field, but by far the greatest proportion north of the South Field in Hopkin Ing, Richard Ing, and especially Bond Ing. All these were on the right bank of the Crimble which ran from the mill via what is now marked as a backwater, then along the hedgerow, and finally turned south to join the present

Table 2.

Crop Rotation in the Common Fields			
Date	Crag Field	East Field	South Field
1568	+ <u>Spring Corn</u>	Winter Corn	Fallow
9	corn	fallow	corn
70	f	c	+ Spring Corn
1	c	c	f
2	c	f	c
3	f	c	c
4	c	c	f
5	c	f	c
6	f	c	e
7	c	f	f
8	c	c	c
9	f	c	+ Spring Corn
1580	c	c	f
1	c	f	c
2	f	c	c
3	c	f	c
4	c	c	c
5	f	c	f
6	c	f	c
7	c	c	c
8	f	c	f
9	c	f	c
1590	+ Winter Corn	f	c
1	f	c	f
2	c	f	c
3	c	c	c
4	f	c	f
5	+ Spring Corn	c	+ Rye & Wheat
6	c	f	c
7	f	c	f
8	e	c	c
9	+ Beans & Barley	f	c
1600	f	+ Winter Corn	c
1	c	+ Spring Corn	f
2	c	f	c
3	f	c	f
4	+ Winter Corn	+ Spring Corn	+ Barley & Oats
5	+ Winter Corn	fallow	c
6	f	c	f
7	c	f	c
8	c	c	c
9	f	c	f
1610	+ Spring Corn	c	c
1	+ Winter Corn	f	+ Spring Corn
2	f	e	f
3	c	+ Winter Corn	

**Crop Rotation in the Common Fields (Cont'd.)**

Date	Crag Field	East Field	South Field
1614	+ Corn	+ Fallow	c
5	f	c	f
6	c	+ Corn	+ Corn
7	+ Corn	+ Fallow	c
8	f	c	f
9	c	c	c
1620	c	f	c
1	f	c	f
2	c	c	c
3	c	f	c
4	f	c	f
5	c	c	c
6	c	f	c
7	f	c	f
8	c	c	c
9	c	f	c
1630	f	c	f
1	c	c	c
2	c	f	c
3	f	c	f
4	c	c	c
5	c	f	c
6	f	+ Spring Corn	+ Wheat
7	+ Winter Corn	+ Spring Corn	f
8	+ Oats & Peas	f	c
9	+ Fallow	c	f
1640	+ Rye & Wheat	+ Oats	c
1	c	f	f
2	f	c	c
3	c	f	c
4	+ Barley	c	f
5	f	c	c
6	c	f	c
7	c	c	c
8	f	f	f
9	c	c	c
1650	+ Oats & Peas	f	c

course to the south-east of Bond Ing. The present channel is shown, only partly completed, on a plan made in 1767.<sup>1</sup>

Pasture ground was for long limited to the Shaw, Havercroft and Crosper, on the boundaries of Spofforth with Braham and Aketon.

Of all this land, demesne arable had all been let by the middle of the 14th century and as there is no further mention of it, it must have been merged imperceptibly with either the free or copyhold land or reverted to pasture. Whereas the areas mentioned as demesne meadow in 1441 were Mill Ing, Hopkin Ing and the two Hall Ings, Hopkin Ing ceased to be quoted as demesne land after 1480.

By 1577 the Great Carr, Little Carr and Kid Carr were all demesne meadow - probably as a result of careful improvement - so that the original meadow acreage of about 18 acres had now quadrupled to 72 ac. 2 r. 26 p.

Demesne pasture was made up mainly of the Park and its outwoods, which with some small acreages in Kid Carr and the Manor Garth, totalled over 2,250 acres. More pasture was available on the northern boundary of the manor - in the area known as Swynthornes, beyond the East Field.

The freeholders and tenants of the rectorial manor held their lands scattered amongst those of the demesne and the tenants at will. Of the freeholders the Rector was the most

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1 No. 7 in "Maps, Plans and MSS." in the folder.

important - returned as holding a carucate of land in 1577, though the acreage equivalent is thus uncertain. The only identifiable portions are the Rectory and its grounds, together with the churchyard, the garth and pasture land known as Pawnt Garth or Emperskew (nearly 13 acres) between the church and the Crimple, and a piece of meadow - Parson's Ing - in the South Field. This would account for perhaps 24 acres. In 1577 the Rector had six tenants, four of whom were cottagers. If their holdings were to average ten acres each, the local carucate would thus approximate to 80+ acres. This conjecture is supported by the information from an undated terrier of about 1580 which returned the Parson's holding as 67 ac. 3 r. 10 p. of arable, 17 ac. 0 r. 12 p. of meadow and twelve beast gaits in Crosper and twelve in the Shaw.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of the rectorial manor is obscure. The first proof that such a franchise existed is the record of a case brought before the Curia Regis in 1242 to determine the obligations of the tenants of the Church of Spofforth to William de Percy and his ancestors.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be a possibility that the endowment of the church with lands sufficiently extensive to merit the term of "manor" may be attributable to either or both the Percy heiresses, the Countess of Warwick and Agnes the ancestress of the Louvain

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1 YAS.MS. Md.59.21

2 PRO.Curia Regis Rolls No.123 m.1. 26 Hen.III.

Percies, as both ladies enjoyed reputations for pious generosity. The necessity of defining the relationship between rectorial tenants and lay lord may be taken to imply that the rectorial manor was a comparatively recent creation, and that it was held of the Crown. The second inference is strengthened by the mention in the 1258 inquisition that "the parson's men owe to the King 3s. 2d. yearly for four carucates and 26 reaping works".<sup>1</sup> In the same extent occurs the item of the two forges in the foreign wood which were Crown property. The crown interest in this connection is as difficult to explain as is the necessity for holding an inquisition in 1258 - nine years after the Percy heir had attained his majority.<sup>2</sup>

The rectorial manor held its own courts, though only one court roll - for 1491 - has been encountered, besides those records for 18th century courts.<sup>3</sup> On that solitary occasion the only business transacted was the conveyancing of land in Ribston.<sup>4</sup> The Rector, Alan Percy, in 1532 received on behalf of the church a legacy from Thomas Saxton. Most of the property seems to have been chantry land, as it included the Staneloft, six acres of arable land in "Swyntornesfeld" - on the northern edge of the East

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1 PRO.Cal.I.p.m. No.452 43 Hen.III

2 Cal.Cl.R. 33 Hen.III m.14

3 Transcripts of several of these rolls were made in 1932 and appeared as an Appendix to the writer's thesis for the degree of M.A. - "The Manor of Spofforth".

4 YAS(Rec) LXXVI Yorks.Deeds 393 Dent.MSS.No.25.

Field - some meadow in Hopkin Ing and Bond Ing in the South Field.<sup>1</sup> The 1577 Survey noted that the Rector's tenants owed 1s. 6d. for boon silver to the lord of the lay manor. Thenceforward there is no information on the rectorial manor until its court rolls recommence in 1752 and continue in almost unbroken sequence until 1900 when the last court was held. Their transactions contained nothing more than (a) a recital of the customary services, failure to perform which would be a valid cause of forfeiture, (b) the surrender or admittance of tenants - in 1752 there were twenty tenants - and (c) the recording of wills.<sup>2</sup>

The present Rectory is a dignified stone building which stands west of the church in its own grounds which are about one acre in extent. It is entered through the remains of a gatehouse and has outbuildings in one of which is a fine stone arched fireplace.<sup>3</sup> North of the rectory on the other side of the lane were two tithe barns in 1777, each about 100 ft. by 30 ft.<sup>4</sup> Both have now disappeared, one being burnt down in 1927.

Closely connected in character with the ecclesiastical manor was the chantry land.

There were two chantries, both dedicated to Our Lady and both in the parish church. The earlier - presumably in the north aisle - seems to have been endowed, if not founded, in 1450 by the Plompton family of Plompton village near by. The other was founded in 1503 by the Middleton

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1 YAS(Rec) LXIII No.388 p.134/5.

2 Consulted when they were in the hands of the late A. Brett, Esq., Steward of The Rectorial Manor; now penes Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

3 Photos. 47, 48, 50 and 51.

4 1777 Terrier, Parish Chest, Spofforth.



family of Middleton near Ilkley and of Stockeld, part of Spofforth.<sup>1</sup>

The earlier of the two was perhaps referred to in 1441 when a note was made of the increase of rent of the "penhouse" with its appurtenant five acres of land "once in the tenure of the Rector of Spofforth".<sup>2</sup> Thirty years later the "Feoffees of the Stonelofte" figure regularly in the list of free tenants at the head of the Great Courts.<sup>3</sup> The "Stanelofte" also formed part of a grant by Saxton to the Rector in 1532.<sup>4</sup> In an undated and incomplete rental, possibly of 1536, the "Chantrye Prest of the Stoyne Lofte" paid 10s. per year.<sup>5</sup>

At the earlier survey of the chantries the following account was presented:- "The chaunterye of Our Ladye within the sayde Church: John Eyer incumbent. Founded by the parson, with other landes given by others To thentente that the sayd incombent shulde dayly be assistant to the seyde parson in tyme of dyvyne servyce and for the mynystracon of othes sacramentes and sacramentalls Having within the seyde parysse the nombre of howslyng people 900 and above And charged nether with fyrst frutes nor tenthes. The same chauntrye is within the parysse Church The necessitye therof is to do dyvyne servyce and to be assistaunt to the

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1 Surtees Soc.Vol.92 Yorks.Chantry Surveys p.235.

2 Pet.MS.D.9.2.MAC 20 Hen.VI.

3 Pet.MS.D.2.8 MCR.

4 YAS(Rec.) LXIII No.388 p.134/5.

5 YAS MS.Md.51.17.

seyd persone in tyme of nede There is no landes solde ne  
alyenated sithin the 4 Feb Hen.VIII 27. Goodes ornamentes  
and plate as appereth by the inventory; goodes valued  
at 13/4 Plate none.

Firste certen landes and tenementes in Spofford in the  
tenure of divers persones viz 2 cottages in Spofford - John  
Cowper and William Deighton 6/8; 3 ac. 3 r. arrable -  
Richard Paver 4/-; 5 r. meadow - Alice Woodborne 5/-;  
1½ r. meadow - Thomas Mowbrey 1/4; 1 ac. meadow - Robert  
Jackson senior 2/8; a close - James Mylbroke 1/8; 6 ac.  
arrable - James Smyth 6/8; pasture ground John Paver 1/4;  
1 house in tholdynge of the sd incumbent with certen landes  
13/- In all 42/4 Payable yerely to the kinges Maiestie for  
free rente 10/- and for sute of courte to the sd lordshipe  
of Spofford 4d. And so remaneth 32/-."

The later survey of 1548 adds a little to the earlier  
document's contents:- "The chantrye of Our Ladye in the  
South side of the sayd parishe churche John Eyre incumbent,  
53 yeres of age, hath none other lyving than the procedes  
of the sd chantrye Goods 8/3 Plate 8¾ oz parcell gilt.  
Yerely value of freeholde lande 48/8. Copyhold nil.  
Resolutes and deductions by yere 10/- And so 38/8."<sup>1</sup>

In 1550 "a cottage called Stonelofte and a garden and  
a little close of pasture upon the Southe Feild" figured

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1 Surtees Soc. Vol.91-2 Yorkshire Chantry Surveys.

in a Crown grant to Silvester Leigh and Leonard Bate, two speculators from Pontefract and Lissett respectively.<sup>1</sup> A memorandum in the 1577 survey notes: "a messuage in Spofford called the Stone Lofte sometime parcell of the Chauntrye of Our Lady, then of the yerelie value of 36/8 was granted by the sd King Ed. the VI to one John Paver the wch sd messuage before the same came into the kinges handes yielded to Lo of this Mannor Xs free rente by yere and synce the same hath bene deteyned and not paid by reason the sd kinge solde the premises with the sd free rent."<sup>2</sup> The property is mentioned at various times until 1621.<sup>3</sup>

The other chantry, also dedicated to Our Lady, was described in the earlier survey as follows:- "William Rumbold incumbent therof. Founded of the executors of Nicholas Middleton dated the yeare of Our Lord God MDIII and the yere of Kyng Henry the VII XIX by reason of a feoffment therof made to thentente to pray for the soule of the sayd founder and all Cristen soules at thalter of Our Ladie of Pittye there and to helpe to sing in the quere in tyme of dyvine servyce and helpe the curate in tyme of nede ... charged neyther with first frutes nor tenthes The same chantrye is within the paryshe church The necessityes therof is to do dyvyne servyce and mynister sacraments as afore is mensioned Ther is no landes

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1 CPR 4 Ed.VI m.12 and 13.

2 Pet.MS.1577 Survey.

3 Pet.MS.Court Books 1604-12 and YAS MS.Md.51 1600(c)

tenementes solde ne alyenatyd sythe the iijj day of Feb  
anno regni regis Henrici VIII XXVII<sup>mo</sup> Goodes, ornamentes  
and playte perteyninge to the sd chauntreie as apperyth  
by the inventory that is to say goods valued at xjs iijd  
Plate viijd. Firste certen landes and tenementes  
lyeng and beyng in dyvers places in the tenure of divers  
persones viz j tenement in Weton in the tenure of John  
Knyghtsone and John Suttell Xliiij<sup>s</sup>; j tenement in Newbye  
... Anthony Smythe xxx<sup>s</sup>;<sup>1</sup> j tenement in Lethelaye ...  
Thomas Dunwelle xs.viijd; j cottage there in the tenure of  
Richard Thomling vjs in all ciijs. Payable yerely to the  
kinges Maiestie for free rent iij<sup>s</sup>.iijd; Item to the  
house of Seynte Leonarde late dyssolved ijs. In all iijjs  
and so remaneth xcvs.xjs."

The survey of 1548 mentioned first that the parson,  
Alan Percy, was non-resident; the yearly value of his  
parsonage was £66 13s. 4d. out of which he paid the stipend  
of a curate who ministered to a "wyde paryshe of 1200 hows-  
lyng people". The chantry details were:- "William Rombald  
incumbent, 54 years of age, unlearned, hath none other  
lyvyng than the profitts of the seyde chantry wherof  
resolutes and deductions by yere are vijs.jd. And so  
remaneth clere to the Kinges Maiestie per yere xcvs.viijd."<sup>2</sup>

Certain lands in Ribston belonging to this chantry

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- 1 Detailed as a tenement, a close of 4 ac. arable, and closes of pasture called Bawke and West Closes late of the Chantry of Spofforth, in a crown grant to Lovell of Skelton and Foster of Tadcaster (Cal.PR. 4th March 1553).  
2 Surtees Soc. op.cit.

formed part of a grant to Thomas Reve and Ralph Sherman in 1563.<sup>1</sup>

From the available evidence it seems at least possible that the earlier chantry house known as the Stoneloft was situated on the other side of the road opposite to and on the south side of the Church - indeed the chantry survey's words "on the south side of the Church" seem to apply to an exterior rather than to an interior situation. Torre places the Plompton coat of arms in a window in the North Choir and that of Middleton on the South side.<sup>2</sup> Moreover the Plompton recumbent effigy is on the north side of the chancel.<sup>3</sup>

Directly opposite the church stands a large dwelling house called Massey Garth in the occupation of Mrs. Cooke. At one time it was the old school and schoolhouse, endowed by the Earl of Egremont, and still contains the schoolroom with dormitory above. In its construction are two well-preserved, pointed-arched doorways attributable to the mid-15th century. Local tradition has nothing to say of the building's history prior to its use as a school, nor are there any informative title deeds in the owner's possession.

Whilst the identification of the Plompton Chantry Priest's house and the present Massey Garth seems at least

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1 Cal.P.R. 24 July 1563.

2 B.M. Torre MS. and Dodsworth MS.

3 See photo. No. 9.

likely, there is no evidence to show that the Middleton Chantry priest had a separate dwelling, or, if he had, that any fragment has survived. The only possible exception to this is the existence of pieces of 15th - 16th century window tracery in the west wall of the Georgian Rectory,<sup>1</sup> but even this is inconclusive and may be no more than a relic of an earlier rectory.

One of the most frequently mentioned village officials was the Pinder. The pinfold stood at the north end of the wide village street, on the right hand corner after passing the front of the manor house. Traces of it were visible until about 1933, since when they have disappeared through the construction of a new footpath and a boundary wall. The stocks probably stood in the same neighbourhood, at a convenient distance from the gates of the manorhouse.

To the west and north of the manorhouse is a stretch of low-lying pasture land locally known as "t'Bivvers", bounded on the east and west by two streams. The whole perspective is altered radically by the railway embankment which strikes diagonally across the south-west corner of the pasture, which was the old vivary or fishpond or "stank" or milldam, as it was variously called. Later the dam was used solely for the last named purpose, since after

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1 See photo.No.49. During recent restoration work the present lay owner of the Rectory has uncovered further evidence of early 14th century construction in the cellar and the lower west wall.

the abandonment of the manorhouse as a residence, the primary purpose for which the dam was constructed would be unnecessary. Into this dam ran the Park Beck, then known as Coney Garth Beck, with its northern unnamed tributary, as well as the Toad Hole Beck which rises near Sicklinghall. Both these streams converged to enter the dam near Manor Bridge which gave access to the Park from the Manor Gärth.

The tinctura or dyehouse of the 1220 inquisition was probably situated at the outfall of the dam, and almost certainly too the fulling mill of 1442,<sup>1</sup> since in 1450 it was let "with Hall Ing" for 24/-.<sup>2</sup> The presence of these, together with the query in 1242 as to whether the rectorial tenants should or should not have their cloth woven by the lord's weavers indicates the existence in Spofforth of a textile occupation, other mentions of which are rare.<sup>3</sup>

The north end of this seven-acre dam was formed of a solidly built earth, stone and clay banking, steeper on the south than on the north side. Midway across there was a "clow" or contrivance for controlling the water level, the ends of the arched stone tunnel being still visible on both sides. The natural slope of the ground necessitated the building of a bank along the east side of the dam.<sup>4</sup> The two feeders of medieval days have now been diverted into separate artificial channels on both sides of the now-dry dam.

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1 Pet.MS.D.9.2.MAC.

2 Pet.MS.D.9.8.MAC.

3 Curia Regis Rolls 123 m.1.

4 See photo.No.3.

As recently as 1767, according to the estate plans, the tail of the dam was at the extreme north-east corner and was used to drive a mill which straddled the road leading to Aketon and Follifoot.<sup>1</sup> That the fulling mill occupied this site is made well-nigh certain by the presentment in 1480 of the lessee of the fulling mill for obstructing the public footway along the side of the Vivary.<sup>2</sup> Presumably the main outflow ran almost due north down the present channel, whilst when the mill required power, the current could be diverted across or under the road and along the otherwise inexplicable dry channel on the east side of the present road, until it rejoined the present stream bed further north. A spillway permitted floodwater to reach the Crimple near the present mill, well south of where the main stream now joins the Crimple. The dam was still used for water storage until 1797, and probably later. In that year the surveyor put forward the suggestion that the Park streams be drained into a smaller dam, making most of the vivary dry so that it could be converted into a meadow. This, plus the making of a new drain from the barrier bank to the lower mill would cost an estimated £300, which was thought reasonable, as the whole scheme was prompted by a design to work coal, which was believed to exist in profitable quantities in the Parks.<sup>3</sup>

The present mill, known in the 16th century as the "Feld Mylne", while that at the outfall was called the

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1 See photo.No.15.

2 Pet.MS.D.2.8.MCR.

3 Pet.MS.1797 Survey.



"Nethermylne", is still in working order (though marked on the O.S. map as "disused"), but produces only cattle- and poultry-food. Powered by a breast wheel, which was once an undershot wheel, it stands on the right bank of the Crimble which is artificially dammed by a small weir to give sufficient fall to drive the two pairs of stones.<sup>1</sup> The mill is reached from the village by a side road which once crossed the Crimble by a ford a short distance downstream from the mill and continued north-east up a now disused lane to join the Plompton Road. Since the road from the village reached the mill where the spillway from the mill dam crossed Heckle Garth, an interesting single-arch stone bridge spans the spillway from a raised causeway to the mill door. In construction this bridge resembles closely several 14th century packhorse bridges in the neighbourhood - notably that at Thornthwaite in Nidderdale.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the watermills, there was a windmill in Spofforth in 1353, though it was ruinous in 1368. On the estate plans of 1611 and 1767 a windmill is marked in Crag Field to the north of the Plompton Road. Also in the lordship were a fulling mill at Leathley in 1315, a windmill at Linton in 1315 and 1319, but ruinous by 1353; a water mill at Pannal and a wind mill at Kirkby Overblow in 1611.<sup>3</sup>

Still another windmill stood on the hill overlooking the

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1 See photos. No. 12 and 13.

2 See photo. No. 14.

3 See appropriate inquiries in table on p. 27 antea.

Wharfe valley - Walton Head - but by 1577, though its site was a boundary marker, the fabric had disappeared.<sup>1</sup> The table overleaf summarises the rentals and expenses of the Spofforth mills of various types during the period under examination, but lack of data prevents the table from being taken as a "balance sheet". The data are derived both from inquisitions and from ministers' accounts. The first mention that there was more than one watermill at Spofforth occurs in 1479. In 1797 there were two watermills in use, a third in ruins and a windmill, all let for £141 10s. -d. per year. The windmill was "in the Field", the Lower Mill on the Crimple, the High Mill "at the top of the Viver" and a short distance from the Castle "a stone and tile building formerly used as a Cornmill, now almost in ruins".<sup>2</sup>

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1 See 1577 "Boulder" of Spofforth on p. 56 antea.

2 Pet.MS. 1797 Survey.

Annual rentals and expenses of Mills at Spofforth

Year	Watermill	Repairs	Windmill	Repairs	Fulling Mill	Repairs
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1086	2 -					
1220	20 -					
1258	50 -					
1315	80 -					
1319	100 -					
1353	Windmill and Watermill together worth 26 7					
1368	16 -		Nil			
1408	146 8				26 8	
1441	133 4	16 11			13 4	148 11½
1445	133 4	73 -			Nil	3 -
1472	106 8	1 8			26 8	
1479	93 4				24 -	
1509	130 -				Nil	4 -
1514	Nil					
1517	106 8					
1532	134 2					
1543		128 8				
1574	86 8					
1577	133 4					
1622	133 4					
1650	480 -					

No separate items available

**SPOFFORTH**

**Section 5**

**The Parks**

By far the largest part of the area occupied by the true manor of Spofforth, excluding its subsidiary members, was the Park and the outwoods called the Haggs, though this latter name was applied to certain parts of the Park too. The area to-day is still only traversed by footpaths and rough lanes and can have changed little in the last few centuries, apart from the felling of extensive stretches of woodland and the conversion to arable of what was once no more than rough pasture land.

The earliest account of the Parks dates from shortly after the Crown gained the estates, in a survey dated 30 Henry VIII:-

"Also ther ys another parke wthin the Mannor of Spofford conteyning VIII myles Aboute and ys wel paled and therbage therof letten to Ferme and Charged above emongst the Rentes and Fermes and in the same Parke ben iiij Fayer Sprynges wherof one called Dunstall Hagge conteyning A myle aboute of xiiij yeres groweth Another GreenHagge conteyning a myle and a qtr aboute of xxx yeres growth and the thirde Thackwith Hagge conteyning A myle aboute wherof the underwodes ben veraye Fayer And ther ys also veiwed to be at the tyme of the Survey over and besydes the sd iiij Sprynges and other undrewodes and olde tres growyng in the same parke - in Okes and Fayer Syplynges MCCCC valued at LX li Falowe Dere LX Also ther ys a greate Wode in the

manner of Spofford conteyning V myles aboute wch ys  
devyded into iiij haggas wherof one called P'sone Hagge  
Another Esshe Hagge Another Bramley Hagge and the iij Shyer  
Hagge the Undrewodes wherof ben of sundry yeres growith the  
leste of xiiij yeres and in the same wode ys veiwed to be  
open this Survey over and besydes the undrewodes and other  
olde and rotten tres - in Okes being fayer tyMBER wth  
syplynges and short Okes good for Waynescotte to the value  
of D li. The p'sonage of Spofford ys of the yerely value  
of C m'es."<sup>1</sup>

According to the survey of 1577 the Park proper covered  
1,236 acres and consisted of the Body of the Park, Tunstall  
Hagg, Green Hagg, Thackwith Hagg, Addlethorpe Park and  
Colt Carr. The outwoods were made up of the Parson Hagg,  
Ash Haggas, Bramley Hagg, Hollin Hagg to the west and  
Horsehouse Wood to the south of the Park. These covered an  
additional 1,132 acres. The rest of the manor west and  
north of these areas, excluding the lands of Walton Head,  
Kirkby Overblow, Follifoot, Aketon and Braham was known as  
Spofforth Common and was bounded by the Crimple. The area  
of the common according to the return of 1611 was rather  
more than 1,600 acres.

Except for Coldbed on the extreme west and Horsehouse  
Woods in the south, the Haggas and Park were surrounded by

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<sup>1</sup> PRO.Min.Acc.8C.11/959.

the pale, - about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles in perimeter. A further pale separated the Park from the outwoods. The line of the ring pale can be distinguished most easily in that section between the north-west corner of the old vivary and Hags road, where a low ledge now crowns a high bank. Other less clearly marked stretches are to be found near the south end of Whins Lane leading to Sicklinghall.

The main entry to the Park was at Manor Bridge, now separated from the Manor Garth by the railway embankment. Inside the Park, approximately in its centre, was the Laund or deer enclosure. Close by were three buildings in 1611, on or near to the site of Lodge Farm,<sup>1</sup> though in 1577 there had been no less than six keepers' lodges and one for the pallister. Halfway along its course the Park Beck widened into a sheet of water known as the Stank,<sup>2</sup> before continuing to join the Coney Garth Beck south of the manorhouse. To-day this pool is drained and partly covered by a plantation, so that there is no sign to show whether the two-acre area was natural or not. The distance from the manorhouse would surely preclude the possibility of its having been a fish pond or a mill, but despite the plentiful supply of water from the streams, a special watering-place for deer might have been desirable, as in 1577 it was stated that there were 340 fallow deer, 75 of which were "deare

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1 O.S.Map.2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. Sheet 44/35 347508.

2 See enlarged section of Spofforth Map. No.6.

of Antlere", in the Park. By 1602 all the deer had "gone".

Whilst the original *raison d'etre* of the Park was its value as a private hunting ground and a source of a supply of fresh meat, its value - particularly after the disuse of the manorhouse perhaps in the mid-15th century - lay in its timber and the charges which could be made for agist there.

The 1577 survey records that there were well over 7,000 trees worth £1,040 in the Park, and 1,400 in the Haggas worth nearly £1,600. For pasture purposes the park was assessed at 1/8 per acre, but by 1602 a marginal note says "most of the ground is worth 5s. the acre, only the Old Park wch is worth but 2s. the acre, all over groen with furses", whilst Bramley Hagg, which had held over 3,000 trees was "worth 2s. the acre being a very rocky ground, the wood taken away". In Horsehouse Wood where 1,500 trees had been valued at £196 in 1577, it was reported in 1602 that all had been felled.

It cannot be said with certainty whether this extensive disafforestation was a policy of the Earl or of the Crown. That it was the Earl who was responsible seems more likely, in view of the widespread leasing, at this time, of demesne lands in other lordships; yet a note on Addlethorpe Park says: "This was then cauled of a village hard by which was sould whiles it was in the kinges handes".

The following table makes clear the need for the change in the treatment of the Park as a source of income.



Sources of Revenue from Spofforth Park and Outwoods

	1442	1444	1479	1517	1524	1540	1541
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Agist	8 - -	8 6 8	16 - -	27 1 8	22 6 10	16 6 10	16 6 10
Sale of Timber, 'Derefall' Bark and Charcoal	14 1 6	nil	16 18 6	nil	11 10 8	7 - 10	1 - -
<b>TOTAL</b>	22 1 6	8 6 8	32 18 6	27 1 8	33 17 6	23 7 8	17 6 10
Expenses, e.g. pale, hedges, deerhouses, lodges, hay etc.	5 10 6	3 19 -	4 2 10	1 15 10	1 11 9½	1 2 -	1 2 -
Balance	16 11 -	4 7 8	28 16 8	25 5 10	32 5 8½	22 5 8	16 4 10

	1542	1543	1576	1579	1608	1618	1622
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Agist	16 6 10	16 6 10	49 15 7	89 8 8	138 - -		
Sale of Timber, 'Derefall', Bark and Charcoal	- 13 10	- 15 2	27 14 -	26 10 3	2 - -		
<b>TOTAL</b>	17 - 8	17 2 -	77 9 7	115 18 11	140 - -	259 17 -	271 17 6½
Expenses, e.g. pale, hedges, deerhouses, lodges, hay etc.	1 2 -	1 2 -	8 17 11	6 14 1			
Balance	15 18 8	16 - -	68 11 8	99 4 10	140 - -	259 17 -	271 17 6½

The foregoing table excludes the receipts from Addlethorpe and Walton Head, both of which were closely associated with the Park. On the expense side, no allowance is made for the fees of the Park officials.

The increase of 100% in the value of the agist in 1479 over that of 40 years earlier perhaps reflects the more casual owner-interest in the estate after the political troubles which had resulted in the abandonment of the manorhouse as a residence. Forty years later the further increase of 70% for agist was accounted for partly by the pasture of "foreign cattle" there. That this was an unreliable source of income is shown by the dwindling returns which had receded almost to their total of 1480, through the leasing of the Park to Sir Thomas Johnson and his son Henry in 1538 for an eighty year term at £10 per year. The latter's complicity in the troubles of 1569/70 led to an enquiry into the terms of his lease of the Park. This enquiry seems to establish that Johnson sublet the herbage for £40 per year, yet the Earl of Northumberland retained some interest, since both he and the Earl of Sussex "late Lord President" hunted in the Park after the grant of the lease, the Earl's livery was worn by the park officers who still fulfilled the warrants for deer which are mentioned in the Household Book.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See PRO.Special Commissions and Returns in the Exchequer, E.178/2576 15 Eliz. Evidence of Lady Margaret Johnson.

That the Earl appreciated the poorness of the 1538 bargain is shown by the new income from agist in 1576. Whilst the 1577 survey valued the Park at £92 14s. -d., the 1579 agist receipts fell short of that sum by more than £3, but thirty years later, in 1608, a further increase of 55% showed the wisdom of the administrators' policy; if further confirmation were required, the yield from this source in 1608 was almost doubled in 1622.

The receipts from agist were supplemented by miscellaneous sales of timber, 'derefall', 'toppes and croppes' and - in 1444 and 1479 only - of charcoal, for which there would be a ready demand from the iron forges in the district. Two such forges were dismantled in 1524 at a cost of £2 10s. -d.,<sup>1</sup> though two are still marked on the 1611 estate plan.<sup>2</sup>

The supplementary sources of income were largest when the Percies held the property. The period of Crown occupation, represented here by the accounts of 1540-1543, was the least productive in all particulars, and also the least expensive in repairs and maintenance.

Expenses, excluding the annual fees of the parker and

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1 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.14.

2 O.S. Sheet 44/35, 311523 and 325535.  
and see Spofforth Estate plan 1611 No.  
The connotation of iron working in the district with the derivation of Kirkby "Overblows" from "Oreblowers" - a common rendering of the 14th and 15th centuries - is further strengthened by the alternative form Kirkby "Ferrers", encountered in the 15th and 16th centuries.

his fellows, consisted of repairs to the pale, planting of hedges round the copses, digging of ditches, felling timber for house and other repairs, moving and stacking hay, ralling off the stacks when complete, cutting 'derefall' as fodder for the deer, repairing the keepers' lodges and the deerhouses.

Extensive repairs to the pales and hedges were undertaken in 1442 when 300 rods were reconstructed at a cost of nearly £5; in 1444 another 300 rods cost just short of £4. By 1479 the Hags had all been separated from one another by hedges or fences. No mention of repairs to the pale occurs after 1524.

It seems probable that the deer were confined to the east and south central part of the park. Hay for their winter fodder was mowed mainly in Colts Carr, which lay on the southern edge of the Park between Addlethorpe and Horsehouse Woods. Hence the 'Stank' on the Park Beck may have been contrived as a special watering place, since the largest parts of the stream courses were no longer available.

Now that the greater part of the park was used for pasturing cattle of various kinds, the reduction of other overhead costs was made possible. In 1575 the second parker's wages were withheld "until the Lord's wishes be knowen", though the full wages were eventually paid during the next two years. In 1580 there was only one parker who

received his customary fee, but no such official appears in the list for 1608.

The Earl's position was further consolidated in 1593 by a sixty-year surrender of the tithes of the Parks to him by the Rector of Spofforth, Robert Ramsden.<sup>1</sup>

The 1611 estate plan shows the Park after the disappearance of the deer enclosures, when the tenants, according to the terms of their tenure had parts of the park allotted to them. The 1577 survey noted:- "Ther ys an Auncyent Custome that the Tenants and Inhabitaunts should have in the Bodye of the Park ther kyne after the rate of xijd a beaste and ther horses, mares or coltes after the rate of ijs a piece, which custome contynueth at this daye."<sup>2</sup>

The Earl finally gained complete legal control of the Parks when in 1618, in return for a payment of £50, he secured any rights which the Goldesborough family, as relations of the Johnsons, might still retain under the lease of 1538.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Pet. MS. E.11.H. 35 Eliz.

2 Pet. MS. 1577 Survey Memoranda.

3 Pet. MS. E.11.G. Jan.15 Jac.I.

**SPOFFORTH**

**Section 6**

**The Tenantry - their Holdings and Customs**

It is disappointing that no really satisfactory attempt can be made at tracing the changes in the size of tenant population during the whole period. The first available full list of tenants dates only from 1561; in early Views of Frankpledge, only defaulters and those offering essoin were noted; the lists of those presented for taking green and dry wood are unreliable since they vary considerably in total number even between consecutive views; not the least difficulty is the fact that the tenants are not always listed by villages but also by tithings (1620) and on some occasions the only records are to be found in the form of rolls of leaseholders which are not necessarily representative of the members of the whole community. (1618, 1621, 1650). Another point which makes for confusion is that the villages which were associated with the lordship were often separated from Spofforth for varying lengths of time. Even in the 1577 survey, which is by far the most detailed manuscript available for Spofforth, only Spofforth and Linton are treated in detail, though all the other 'members' were included in the 'Bounder'.

Again, unfortunately, this Survey is the only one extant. No doubt another was prepared about 1611, as a parallel to those of about that date for Wressel and Leconfield, but it is not to be found either at Petworth or at Alnwick.

The scanty results revealed from an examination of population returns shows the following variation over a period of sixty years.

Table 5.

<u>Population Changes - Spofforth Tenants at Will</u>						
Township	1561	1577	1600	1602	1612	1620
Spofforth	56	46	69	49	74	93
Follifoot and Aketon	45		67		58	60
Kirkby Overblow	23		23		19	28
Sicklinghall	15		22		24	25
Linton	16	10	16		24	23
TOTAL	155		197		199	229.

The above table includes Tenants at Will only.

In 1600 there were 47 free tenants listed, as follows:-  
 Spofforth 10, Follifoot 18, Kirkby Overblow 12, Linton 7.  
 In the other lists the free tenants are so intermingled with the free 'foreign' tenants as to defy extrication.

According to a manuscript which is undated<sup>1</sup> but can be attributed to about 1580 through the similarity of names and allotments to those of the 1577 survey, the 27 tenants at will held 28 tenements. The property thus let

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<sup>1</sup> YAS.MS.Md.59.21 "The totall collection which My Lordes Tennantes holdeth asswell arable land as medow and pasture wth Bease Yaits and al a foloweth".



amounted to 223 acres 2 r. 27 p. of arable, 4 ac. 0 r. 25 p. of arable converted to meadow, 60 ac. 3 r. 15 p. of meadow and 2 ac. 3 r. 13 p. of pasture besides 42 beast gaits in Crosper and the Shaw, whose acreages were not specified. The eight free tenants held 102 ac. 3 r. 11 p. of arable, 6 ac. 1 r. 10 p. of converted arable, 28 ac. 2 r. 5 p. of meadow, 3 ac. of pasture and 22 beast gaits in the same pastures.

There is only a small degree of correspondence - four cases - between the holdings thus specified and those of the crown grants of leases in 1555/6, but a much greater similarity to the details of the 1577 survey. A note in the 1577 survey, made in 1602 by the auditor, Stockdale, reads:- "Note that there ys of the tenants at Will 49 and possesseth of land 269 akers wherof 55½ of meddow, 6½ of pasture and 207 of arrable and besyd cottages. Best yaites in the Shawe 18, in Crosbarre 24".

These non-corresponding records thus show that the amount of land let to tenants was decreasing. The total acreage in 1555/6 was 371 (340 of arable and 31 of meadow). In 1580 (e) the total was 291 ac. 3 r. 0 p. (228 ac. of arable and 61 ac. of meadow with a small allotment of pasture). These are the only records which include acreages. Since these figures refer to tenants at will, and since the first total is roughly that of the three common fields with their appendant meadow land, the only

"The Totall Collection which My Lordes Tennants Holdeth asswell Arrable Land as Medow and Pasture wth bease gaits and al as foloweth." YAS.MS.Md.59,21. (circa 1580).

Tenant	Arable			Late Arable			Meadow			Pasture			Beast Gaits		Total Area		
	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	Crosp	Shaw	a.	r.	p.
Wm. Woodborne	34	1	18	1	1	5	7	-	4				6	4	42	2	27
James Nussaye	34	-	36				7	-	10	2	3	8			44	-	14
Leonard Lowtye	24	1	1	2	-	-	6	2	30				6		32	3	31
John Tailer	34	2	1	-	3	20	6	1	-					6	41	2	21
George Payver	21	3	25	1	-	20	5	1	16				6		28	2	21
John Dightton	13	-	27				4	-	16					4	17	1	3
Richard Wrighte	2	1	10				-	2	33				½		3	-	13
Do.late Exilbye	7	1	5				2	1	22					2	9	3	27
William Dobson	8	3	20				1	1	5				2		10	1	25
John Exilbye	5	3	17	2	1	10	1	1	35					2	9	2	22
John Mymyng	9	-	20				-	2	-				2		9	2	20
Thomas Helme	9	-	5				1	1	4				1½		10	1	9
John Foster							5	-	-						5	-	-
Agnes Nawte	3	1	14				1	-	-						4	1	14
Thomas Browne	2	-	-												2	-	-
Izabell Parke	1	-	-												1	-	-
Nycholas Gell	-	3	-												-	3	-
Chris. Wrighte	-	2	-												-	2	-
Leonarde Helme	-	2	-												-	2	-
Robert Cottom	-	2	-												-	2	-
Alice Canbye	-	1	-				2	2	24						2	3	24
John Browne	4	-	-												4	-	-
William Hopwood	2	-	-												2	-	-
John Nottingham	1	2	-												1	2	-
John Mydlebrook	1	-	8				1	2	-						2	2	8
John Walker	-	2	-												-	2	-
Nicholas Wood	-	1	10												-	1	10
Robert Parker										-	-	5			-	-	5
TOTALS	223	-	27	7	2	15	54	-	19	2	3	13	24	18	287	2	34

"Free Holders in Spofford."

Tenants	Arable a. r. p.	Late Arable a. r. p.	Meadow a. r. p.	Pasture a. r. p.	Beast Gaits		Total Area a. r. p.
					Cropper	Shawe	
The Persone	63 3 10	4 - -	17 - 12	3 - -	12	4	87 3 22
Mr. Midleton	9 1 20		1 1 -		2		10 2 20
Greg. Bikerton	9 2 10	2 - -	1 - -		2		12 1 10
John Payver	- 3 -						- 3 -
George Payvor (Braham)	8 2 11				2		8 2 11
Do. (Swynthornes)	4 3 -						4 3 -
Mr. Goodrig	- 3 20						- 3 20
J. Mawbarn (part of Stone Loft)		- 1 10	- 1 15				- 2 25
Thomas Exilbye	5 - 20		- 2 -				5 2 20
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>102 3 11</b>	<b>6 1 10</b>	<b>20 - 27</b>	<b>3 - -</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>132 1 8</b>

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Table 7.



conclusion which can be drawn is that it was freehold and leasehold which were assuming greater proportions in the latter half of the 16th century, since by that time the owners seem to have lost all but a financial interest in the lordship.

Free rents remained practically stable between 1442 and 1608, though there was a rise of nearly 18s. -d. (£5 12s. 2d. to £6 10s. -d.) when the Crown acquired the property in 1537. By 1579 the total had dropped once more to £5 18s.10d. plus the rents of assize, which in this case were 3 lbs. of cumin, 1 lb. of pepper and a pair of gilt spurs.

The first mention of leaseholders, as such, appeared in the account for 1608, but may have no special significance, since the accounts are kept in different ways, and different items are amalgamated in one account which were returned separately in others. Such vagaries make deductions difficult and unreliable.

It would appear that the receipts from cottagers, crofters, tenants in bondage and tenants at will, returned separately from 1442 to 1480, remained more or less unchanged at £16 5s. 6d. until 1542. The next detailed account, - in 1579 - listed only the tenants at will, but their payments showed a slight increase - to £19 8s. 8½d.

An unsatisfactory point is that this account makes no entry regarding the leaseholders, whose leases should just have fallen in, unless they were renewed, the total receipts from which had been £33 8s. 2½d. in 1555/6.

At the same time the receipts from the letting of the demesne reappeared at ten times their figure when last included in 1480, and far in advance of the receipts from the tenants at will - as they continued to be for the rest of the period. The contrast is so well marked that it seems worth while to extract the figures. The demesne - particularly the Hags and parts of the Park - seem to have been in demand by leaseholders, some of whom were from outside the lordship - if the unfamiliarity of their names is to be taken as a guide.

In lieu of performing customary tasks the tenants paid boonsilver throughout the period. The first account - of 1442 - lists a total of 3s. 2d. for 19 corn-leading tasks due from the tenants of Follifoot, 17s.10d. for 95½ harvesting tasks, of which 22 were due from Spofforth tenants at 2d. each, 11½ from the men of Spofforth rectory at 4d. each (because twice per year), 19 from Kirkby Overblow at 2d. each, and 43 from Follifoot and Aketon at 2d. each. Additionally 4d. was paid for four harvesting tasks due from certain tenants in Follifoot and Aketon who occupied pieces of waste, and 8d. from the eight bovates in the tenure of the Rector of Spofforth.

**Spefforth - Receipts from Demesne Letting contrasted with other sources**

Source	1442 - 1542	1579	1608	1618	1622	1633	1650
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Rents of all but Free Tenants	16 5 6	19 8 8½	29 11 4½	93 18 7	94 16 11	94 3 6	} 522 10 4
Demesne Letting	2 8 -	30 2 8	37 - 10	157 13 4½	424 7 4½	428 13 8	

This practice continued. In 1577 the survey recorded a total of 35s.11½d. for "Addlethorpe Boones", "Boone Silver" and "Hall Hey Silver". The 28 tenants of Spofforth in the list paid sums varying between 3s. -½d. and 2d. per year. The Follifoot men still paid 3s. 2d. for their 19 corn-leading tasks, the Kirkby payment was unchanged, whilst Follifoot and Aketon were now charged with 46 carrying tasks at 2d. each. Of the six tenants of the Rectory, four paid 1s. 6d. - i.e. 4½ tasks at 4d. each - whilst the other two paid nothing.<sup>1</sup>

The situation was well-nigh unchanged in 1608, when the boonsilver was reckoned at £1 16s. -½d. After that date no detailed accounts have been found to indicate whether the payments were continued.

The number of harvesting tasks may perhaps be taken as showing the large proportion of villein tenements in Spofforth lordship throughout the period. Manorial custom would therefore be a matter of especial moment in a community with so many customary tenants; although no 'custumal' of the manor has been found, it is possible to make certain deductions as to a number of the customs, the evidence bearing on the matter being found in the Court Rolls, the later Court Rolls of the Rectorial Manor and

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<sup>1</sup> See table of tenant holdings 1577 p.  
In the case of tenants of the rectorial manor, boons or their monetary equivalent were still legally payable to the Rector until the extinction of copyhold tenure, effective in 1933.



especially a plea in the Curia Regis Tolls of 1242. The last-named reads as follows:-

"The Jury by the consent of those concerned came to enquire through William de Plumpton (and 14 others) whether the tenants of the Church of Spofforth, in the time of Peter de Ros and Nigel de Luvetot were each wont to find one man for the chace of William de Percy and his ancestors; and for the making of his deer enclosure in his wood; and to carry the hay of the said William and his ancestors for one day and his corn for one day; and to harrow his land once at Lent; and to give pannage for their swine as if they were his own men. And whether each of them should give one bushel of nuts worth two pence, when they did not gather them in his wood. And whether they were accustomed to weave their cloth by his weavers, and bake their bread at the bakehouse of the said William and his ancestors; and if they have baked elsewhere whether they should nevertheless pay the baking fee. And whether the said Peter and Nigel, parsons of Spofforth and their tenants were accustomed to have haybote and husebote and reasonable estover for fuel, fencing and building in the wood of the aforesaid William and his ancestors without payment, but by view of the forester; and to take dry wood in the same wood without view of the forester; and whether the aforesaid tenants of the church ought each of them to

reap William's corn in Autumn for two days by one man fed at William's expense. And whether each of the same tenants who has a yoked plough ought to plough for William for one day at winter sowing and for another day at spring sowing, fed at William's expense; and whether they should do suit at William's mill, and whether they should house his guests and their horses whether they wish to or not.

And they say on oath that the aforesaid tenants ought not to come to the deer enclosure nor ought each to find a man for this purpose nor to carry the hay nor the corn of William aforesaid, nor to harrow his land according to any custom whatsoever, unless they wish to do so of their own accord. And that none owes pannage for his swine in the aforesaid wood of Spofford, but that the Parson and his tenants ought to have their swine in the same woods free from the payment by them of any pannage. And if the aforesaid tenants gather nuts in William's wood, then he shall have from the house of each of them a bushel of nuts, but if they gather no nuts there, they will pay nothing. And that they ought not to bake their bread at William's bakehouse unless they so wish, and if they have their bread baked elsewhere they will pay him nothing in baking fees. They say also that the aforesaid Peter and Nigel, parsons of Spofford and all

the tenants of the same church have always had husebote and haybote and reasonable estover for fuel, fencing and building, in William's wood by view of his foresters and without charge; and whatever the parson and his tenants had there they ought to have the same there now; and that they have the right to take dry wood throughout William's wood without view of the forester. They say also that each of the tenants of the aforesaid Church ought to reap William's corn for two days in Autumn by one man fed once per day by William, and that each tenant who has a yoked plough shall plough for him for one day at winter sowing and for another day at spring sowing and be fed once per day by William. And as regards the doing of suit at the mill, they say that as long as William's mill can grind they will grind their corn there, but if it cannot, then they will grind their corn wherever they wish, without interference from William or his heirs. They say also that in the time of Peter and Nigel, the tenants of the church used to entertain the guests of William and his ancestors, along with their horses, in return for a consideration which they received from the guests. But they say decidedly that none of them is bound to house them nor provide bedding for them unless he wishes to do so."<sup>1</sup>

It seems probable therefore that whilst all the duties

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1 Curia Regis Rolls No.123 m.1. 26 Hen.III.

to which the tenants of the rectorial manor agreed were leviable upon the lay tenants, those which the parson's men rejected were nevertheless due from the others.

In the 18th century court rolls, the rectorial tenants placed on record that "if any copyholder within this manor doe pass or grant his copyhold lande holden at this Manor by Deed or other Instrument and not by surrender, commit felony, or refuse to do service at the Court; deny to pay his rent or his boon days due to the lord of this Manor, suffer his Housing to decay, lease his Copyhold lande for longer than three years without Courting, or felling timber therupon growing, except Hedgeboot, Houseboot and Ploughboot or any of them, it is a cause of forfeiture of his Copyhold estate by the Customs of this Manor."<sup>1</sup>

To these customs may be added the duties of "driving the Lord's drift" i.e. the checking of all cattle in the Park, Haggs and common (1600), the riding of the bounds of the manor (1615) and the repair of roads (1618), all of which are reported as "customary tasks", failure to discharge which is presented in the court rolls of the lay manor in the years indicated.

In the last quarter of the 15th century there came marked activity in the leasing of land. Twenty-three admissions were recorded covering the period 1473 - 1490.

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1 MS.Court Rolls of the Manor of the Rectory of Spofforth.

The absence of earlier court rolls makes it impossible to say whether the activity referred to was a new factor or a continuation of a tendency of some duration, but the latter would seem to be probable, as only two such admissions are recorded in the years between 1490 and 1555, though it must be admitted that the rolls for 1520 to 1560 are not to be found.

Robert Southwell reported in 1537 that the Earl had "gressumed" his tenants shortly before his death, and given them leases for 21 years.<sup>1</sup> The Marian list of 1556 would thus represent the regrant on the expiry of the earlier set of about 1534/5. Judging by the admissions of 1473 - 1490, the process of leasing for a term of years was not then in vogue. Of the 23 cases mentioned above, 19 were simply admissions of customary tenants who agreed to hold their tenements according to the custom of the manor; three more in 1480 were admitted as tenants for life;<sup>2</sup> the tenant who leased the fulling mill did so for one year only;<sup>3</sup> and Richard Mylner leased the water mill - already in his tenure - for a further three years.<sup>4</sup>

Whereas responsibility for maintaining the property in good repair rested with the lessee under usual circumstances, the cottages were let without admission fines, where the tenant agreed to do initial repairs. A typical illustrative entry reads:- "Robertus Folyfait venit in curiam

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1 L. & P. F. & D. Vol. XII pt. II No. 548.

2 Pet. MS. MCR. D. 2. 8. 19 Ed. IV.

3 Pet. MS. D. 2. 8. 19 Oct. 19 Ed. IV.

4 *ibid.* 12 Ed. IV.

et cepit de domino unum cotagium cum pertinentiis prius in tenura Iohannis Hunton tenendum et habendum dictum cotagium a festo Sancti Martini in Yeme ultimo praeterito secundum consuetudinem manerii Reddendum inde domino annuatim firmam consuetam ad duos annuales terminos ibidem usuales per aequales porciones ac omnia alia singula inde domino debita Et dictus Robertus faciet murum luteum circum dictum cotagium at de novo faciet unam cameram ad finem australem eiusdem cotagii et similiter faciet tecto tegei(sic) idem cotagium ad suas proprias custas et expensa neve ingressum suum Et fecit fidelitatem domino et admissus est inde tenens. Plegii Johannes Newton et Gregorius Broune."<sup>1</sup>

Admission fines were occasionally the equivalent of the annual rent but varied in both directions. A rental of 2/- required a fine of 3/4 in 1474; yet a 4/- rental was coupled with a fine of 1/8 in 1480.

Each of four tenants admitted in 1481, besides guaranteeing the maintenance of his holding undertook "venire in propria persona cum uno equo et uno Jakke et uno Salett ad intendentiam de domino tociens quociens vocari contigit super debita praemonicione sub pena forisficiendi dictam tenuram". He also paid an ingress fine.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Pet.MS.MCR.Easter 12 Ed.IV.

2 Pet.MCR.20.Oct.20 Ed.IV.

Such admissions of the period 1473-1480 indicate some active competition among the tenants. Robert Follifoot whose 1473 admission was quoted above, leased the common bakehouse in 1490, undertaking to repair it and build a smaller oven to supplement the existing one.<sup>1</sup> When he died in 1517, his son Thomas was admitted to his father's late tenement, but Robert Parker took over the bakehouse.<sup>2</sup> Two tenants, William Pety and James Helme exchanged holdings.<sup>3</sup> Richard Lethome, admitted as tenant of a cottage in 1418, took over another messuage in 1490.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Pet.MS.MCR. April 5 Hen.VII.

2 Pet.MS.MCR. May 8 Hen.VII.

3 Pet.MS.MCR. Oct. 20 Ed. IV.

4 Pet.MS.MCR. April 5 Hen.VII.

**SPOFFORTH**

**Section 7.**

**Land Speculation and the Growth of Grazing**



By the mid 15th century it is clear that local farmers were active in renting demesne land.

In 1442 Richard Galway held 3 bovates and 3 acres of land in the "Northall", a parcel of meadow in Well Ing in the Seaves, and a parcel of meadow in Greetham Hill for 28/4 per year.<sup>1</sup> William Galway shared with Henry Coke six acres of meadow in Hopkin Ing by a lease for life, though from 1438 he was the sole lessee. With Robert Bickerton he shared the herbage of a close in Dunstall Hagg for 2/-.<sup>2</sup> William also leased the dovecote at Linton for 1/- per year and is described as "bercarius".<sup>3</sup> Thomas Galway held a cottage for 3/- per year and his son a tenement and six acres for 9/2 per year. The former also held a close called Eller Carr near the Vivary for 2/6 per year.<sup>4</sup> Whilst this Linton family was not remarkable for especially wide lands or heavy annual sums as rents, it seems to have been unusually active in assuming extra commitments in the way of demesne land leases.

Perhaps the most impressive example of a family's rapid rise to affluence is furnished by the Pavers. Though they are not mentioned before 1442, and although lack of

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1 Pet.MS.D.9.2.1442.

2 Pet.MS.D.9.6. 1454 referring to 1438.

3 Pet.MS.D.9.6.1454.

4 Pet.MS.D.9.2.1442.

continuity in the manuscript sources impedes accurate deduction, the family seems well rooted in Spofforth in 1473 - a humble branch headed by Robert who, a labourer employed in felling oaks and making or repairing fences for the Park,<sup>1</sup> yet played his part in communal life by serving on the Spofforth jury and acting as an affeeror in 1474.<sup>2</sup> His wife sold ale and was amerced for breaking the assize. By 1489 Robert was fined in court for allowing his house to fall into disrepair, and although amerced for selling meat at excessive price, yet served as Constable of Spofforth in the same year.<sup>3</sup> In 1500 - the last time his name appears - he was accused of harbouring vagrants.<sup>4</sup> These meagre details furnish the outlines of the uneventful fortunes of the average cottager family.

Perhaps Richard and John Paver were Robert's brother and son respectively. Richard was also a butcher and suffered the familiar ameracements in 1509. Twenty years earlier, when fined 1/10 for assault, Richard had no goods by which could be distrained to pay the money fine. John was employed in repairs to the Park pale and the fence round the Haggs - his "father's" occupation to which he had apparently succeeded.

The second branch of the family was of greater respectability. Henry Paver held a garth for an annual

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- 1 Pet.MS.D.9.2.1442.
  - 2 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.7.1473/4.
  - 3 Pet.MS.MCR.Oct.5.Hen.VII.
  - 4 Pet.MS.MCR.March 15 Hen.VII.

payment of 3/-, and acted as pledge for an incoming tenant in 1473, was a juryman and also one of the overseers of bread and ale in the same year. Between 1474 and 1481 he was overseer of houses, juryman and an affeemor. In 1474 he acted as guarantor for William, the head of the third and most prosperous branch of the Pavars, when William leased from the Earl of Northumberland the Manor of Addlethorpe for life for £4 per year. This William was Parker of Spofforth from 1472-80 at an annual fee of £3 -s. 8d.,<sup>1</sup> but by 1480 was in a position to employ labour, since his servant, Henry Lynton, was presented for breaking the pinfold gate in that year. Though in arrears in 1499 for his rent of Addlethorpe, in 1508 William shared the lease with his son William, for the period of the life of the survivor at the old rent.<sup>2</sup> Presumably, but not certainly, this same branch was continued in the persons of Richard Paver and his son John. In 1533 Richard leased for thirty years at 10/- per year "the Barkehouse, the Barke Mill and Killnes" at Fountains Abbey.<sup>3</sup> John was Reeve of Spofforth in 1542, and two years later, with his father, leased land in Walshford from Sir Robert Tyrerwhytt. In 1545 Richard purchased from Richard Richardson and his wife one third of the Manor of Braham and four messuages with lands in Braham, Spofforth, Over Dunsforth, Nether Dunsforth and Grafton, and one third share of ten messuages

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1 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.7.1473/4.

2 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.9.

3 Surtees Soc. Vol.XLII p.309.

and eight cottages with lands in Barrowby, Kirkby Overblow, Linton, Collingham, Follifoot, Aketon, Braham and Spofforth. Two years later, the father and son bought from Christopher Kelk one third share in the manor of Braham and a capital messuage, 16 cottages and 12 messuages in Braham, Barrowby, Spofforth, Kearby, Kirkby Overblow and Linton.<sup>1</sup> So when Richard died in 1549, he left two branches of his family by his two marriages - the elder represented by Bernard Paver of Micklethwaite Grange and Brampton near Boroughbridge, who apparently held the Dunsforth and Grafton lands - and the younger under John Paver to whom descended the Braham lands.<sup>2</sup> The latter, and another Richard who was possibly his younger brother, held pieces of land belonging to the late chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Spofforth Church, also known as the Stoneloft. Richard held closes in Braham too, as he was presented for the decay of his fences between these and Crag Hill Closes. John held the lease of Horsehouse wood in 1574/6 at 10/- per year, besides three messuages in Follifoot.<sup>3</sup>

When John died in 1579 his son William "aged 28 and more" according to the court roll entry,<sup>4</sup> had already entered the field of speculation in land. Along with Sir William Fairfax, John Vavasour and others he leased

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1 YAS.Rec. Yorkshire Fines Vol.1.

2 Surtees Soc. XLII n.p.309.

3 YAS.Rec. Yorks. Fines Vol.II 1576.

4 Pet.MS.MCR.21 Eliz.

from Ingram Clifford the manor of Bickerton, and 60 messuages, 40 cottages and two watermills, the manors of Steeton, Idle, Nesfield and Studley, 220 messuages, 100 cottages, 4 watermills and 6 mills with their appurtenant lands, together with the advowson of Cowthorpe Church.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of this William in 1601, his elder son William moved to York, whilst the younger son Richard stayed at Braham, where he added to the lands which he had inherited.<sup>2</sup> By 1620 he was distinguished by the special title of "Gent.", in the Fine Roll entry. Again, the licence of "Richard Paver, Gent.", was cited by two offenders who were presented for having built their cottages in Aketon without the requisite four acres of land attached to them.<sup>3</sup>

Richard also held land in free socage from James I - lands which were all "late the Prior of Newburgh" - as of the Manor of East Greenwich. These lands were in Follifoot, Aketon and Pannal, their rents totalling £7 5s. 2d. The consideration paid for the lease amounted to £140 3s. 4d.<sup>4</sup>

In 1615 and 1617 certain Follifoot and Braham lands were sold,<sup>5</sup> and Richard Paver died probably about 1622.

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1 Yorks. Fines 1572.

2 Yorks. Fines 1602.

3 Pet.MS.Court Book Nov.1620.

4 Surtees Soc.Vol.XLII p.309.n.

5 YAS.Rec.Yorks.Fines II 1615 and 1617.

No further information is afforded by the documents consulted, but this brief account shows the possibilities which in the late 16th century were open to the ambitious and fortunate speculative investor with capital to spare.

Another local family exemplifying a less extreme measure of good fortune was that of Bickerton.

John Bickerton was deputy bailiff for Spofforth in 1441, when he held a messuage and 2 bovates of land for 20/- per year, and another 4 bovates for 30/- per year. He also leased the herbage of a close within the manorhouse precincts for a further 4/-.<sup>1</sup> The ability to pay such a rental of £2 14s. -d. proves that John was a man of some substance, though his financial liability was lessened by the lord's grant to him of £2 per year for life from the farms of Woodhall, and pasture rights for four cattle in Spofforth Park.

A second branch, headed by Richard Bickerton, shared the lease of Eller Carr, between the park pale and the vivary - first with one of the Galways, later held it alone, and finally demised it to his son John about 1473, though the rent then increased from 1/8 to 3/4 during the process.<sup>2</sup> This last-named John was also reeve and rent collector for Spofforth in 1524. Later members of the family whose connections with the other Bickertons cannot be traced,

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1 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.2.

2 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.2.

figured as cottagers in 1517, though a Thomas Bickerton was returned as a freeholder in 1577, and Gregory leased the late "chauntrie house called Stonlofte" and certain lands which had brought in 10/- per year. These were described as "late John Paver", from whom presumably they were taken over shortly before Paver's death.<sup>1</sup>

Two of the Bickertons had held public office in the township. Whether this fact was cause or effect is doubtful, but the frequency with which demesne lands were leased to local officials is well-marked.

The following is a typical but not exhaustive list. Thomas Pinchbeck, bailiff and forester of the outwoods, was granted the lease of the herbage of the Vivary Carr for life in 1440 for 18/- per year, though by 1453 it was calculated that the true rent should have been £2.<sup>2</sup> In that same year he farmed the herbage of the Park for £6 13.4., Mill Ing for 10/-, Horse Close for 33/4, whilst in 1445 he had taken a ten-year lease of the Manor of Addlethorpe for £4 6s. 8d. immediately prior to its lease to the Pavers.<sup>3</sup>

Richard Saxton, bailiff in 1453, had a rent liability of £3 7s. -d. for the herbage of the close in the Manor precincts, the manor grange, Vivary Close, nine acres of meadow in Mickle Hall Ing, and in Mill Ing.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Pet.MS.1577 Survey.

2 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.2.

3 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.7.

4 In 1504 the lord bought the Saxton lands in Linton for 58/8 - a possible proof that the Saxtons were affluent, if they could thus afford to dispose of part of their holding.

Robert Forster, the Lord's Receiver in 1453, held free of charge a tenement opposite the church, worth 6/- per year, the herbage of Horse House Ing, Mill Ing and the Park on a twenty-year lease which had started in 1448. To offset these rentals, which totalled £9 2s. 8d., Forster received a fee of £3 6s. 8d. to be taken from the farm of the herbage and pasturage of Addlethorpe.<sup>1</sup>

It would thus seem that the Percies were making Spofforth as near self-supporting as possible. The frequent leasing of Addlethorpe to an official for a rent out of which the fees of other officials were to be taken was a most satisfactory device.

The tenement opposite the church seems to have been a perquisite of office. First described as in the tenancy of Robert Rutte who was the lord's collector of rents in 1440, it became - as just mentioned - the property of Robert Forster, receiver in 1453. In 1524 it was held by John Woodburne, the Bailiff, and is then referred to as belonging earlier to Rutte and two Forsters.<sup>2</sup> In 1542 it was in the tenure of William Woodburne who was collector for both Spofforth and Linton, until at least 1574.<sup>3</sup>

The century 1450 - 1550 has thus been shown to be a period when land was changing hands on a leasehold basis with much ease and frequency. Money was more plentiful,

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1 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.7.

2 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.14.

3 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.19 16 Eliz.



and therefore - one would assume - profits greater. With the second half of the 16th century the process is even more clearly marked, though with a different class of speculator.

As early as 1535 Sir Thomas Johnson had bought from the Earl of Northumberland the manor of Arras on Wold and six messuages there and in Walton Head in Spofforth. Four years later he bought two messuages with land in Linton and Whitwell from Thomas Saxton.<sup>1</sup> At just this period the King gained the custody of the bulk of the Earl's Yorkshire estates. The bailiff's account for 1543 stated that Walton Head was worth £16 13s. 4d. per year, but that it was granted in perpetuity to Sir Thomas Johnson and his heirs.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, Sir Thomas is stated to have been granted by royal indenture an eighty-year lease of the herbage and pannage of the Park for £10 per year, and that of Topcliffe Little Park for £5 6s. 8d. When Sir Thomas should die,<sup>3</sup> his son Henry was to hold the same lands for the remainder of the term but for £20 per year.<sup>4</sup> The manor of Leathley was granted in 1551 to this same Henry Johnson "in socage, by the rent of a red rose". About the same time he was appointed bowbearer, keeper and pallister of Spofforth

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1 Pet.MS.D.9.17.33 Hen.VIII

2 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.17. 33 Hen.VIII

3 Fine Roll 5 Ed.VI and CPR. 1 Dec. 1551.

4 Pet.MS.D.9.17 as above.

Park<sup>1</sup>, an indenture agreement being made on the office, between Johnson and John Middleton of Stockeld.<sup>2</sup>

In 1550 two obvious property speculators, Silvester Leigh of Pontefract and Leonard Bate of Lupsett, bought for £1,392 carefully specified pieces of property in Spofforth, some of which had been chantry land.<sup>3</sup>

Some idea of how far this extensive leasing of property was carried by the Crown is to be gained from the table of leases overleaf.

The impression of the 16th century received from the sources consulted is one of activity and enterprise - not always entirely laudable in character. The parker John Lewyns, lessee of demesne land, was charged with having made an illegal close near his lodge, and misusing Thackwith Hagg in 1517. Other manorial officials in 1562 - including Henry Johnson, the king's nominee as parker - illegally pastured cattle in the Hags, presumably beyond his stint. The deputy bailiff was assaulted as a sequel to this offence. The park pale was reported as being constantly broken down and carted off for firewood, whilst the unlicensed cutting of wood followed as a natural consequence. In 1566 many tenants were fined for encroachments on the lord's waste. Poaching offences by an ex-bailiff were

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1 Cal.Fine Rolls 5 Ed. VI.

2 YAS.MS. Md.59.21/17.

3 CPR.4 Ed.VI m.12 & 13.

Spofforth Leases 1555/6

Tenant	Cottage	Tenement	Message	Other Bldgs. +	Arable			Meadow			Years of Lease	Rental		
					a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.		£	s.	d.
John Taylor	1		1	+	2	-	-	6	-	-	21	2	8	-
John Paver			1		24	-	-				21	1	6	-
Wm. Parke, T. Exilbye, } J. Myming, T. Browne }	1	1			19	2	-	7	2	-	"	1	19	8½
J. Dighton, J. Woodborne, } Eliz. Bradford }	1		2	+	21	-	-	-	3	-	"	1	19	9
Jas. Smith, J. Paver, } J. Woodborne, Leo. } Lowtye, J. Tayler, } J. Dighton, T. Helm, } J. Myming, Elen } Exilby, T. Exilbye }	Two closes, Kiddcarr and petty Close										"	2	8	-
Edmund Dobson		1		+	10	-	-				"	-	10	8½
John Woodburne					40	-	-				"	2	-	-
Joan Exilbye vid.								1	2	-	"	-	10	3½
Thomas Helme		1			8	-	-	1	-	-	"	-	10	8½
John Stede		2		+	4	-	-				"	-	7	11
Peter Whincop					2	-	-	3	-	-	"	1	5	4
Wm. Hopwood		1		+	2	-	-				"	-	6	-
Wm. Dawson, Wm. Ashburner		1		+							"	-	6	-
Janet Browne		1		+	7	-	-				"	-	2	5
Robert Jakson		1						-	1	-	"	-	8	5
T. Midlebroke		1		+							"	-	4	-
Nicholas Mills		1									"	-	2	-
George Wrey		1		+							"	-	3	5
Thos. Dycson		1		+							"	-	3	4
John Emyngway		1		+							"	-	3	-
Ed. Staxton, George Lobley		1		+							"	-	3	-
Robert Langton					32	-	-				"	2	-	-
John, Kath. Paver		1			Manor Site, Grange, Hall Garth						"	1	18	-
John & Kath. Paver, Robt. Jarman, John Jarman, N. Baxter		3			15	-	-				"	-	15	-
					herbage of Viver Carr, Hall Ing						"	1	-	-
Robert Langton		1	1	+	40	-	-				"	1	13	-
Robert Cottam		1		+	-	2	-				"	-	3	5
Wm. Lyster		1		+							"	-	3	5
James Wylson		1	1		16	-	-	& dovecote			"	1	16	4
Robert Parke		1	1								"	-	1	3
Richard Wright		1									"	-	2	-
Robert Barker					32	-	-				"	2	-	-
Leonard Lowtye		1	1	+	24	-	-	4	-	-	"	1	12	5½
John Sumpster		1		+							"	-	5	-
Edward Parke		1		+	and land called le Garth						"	-	2	6
Robert Barker		1			32	-	-	& Hall Garth			"	1	11	4
Robert Bradford			1	+	6	-	-				"	-	8	6

reported, for which he was smartly fined. The new cottages built in 1578 on Ribston moor failed to comply with legal requirements as to the amount of land attached to them and fines of almost impossible proportions were imposed on those responsible. Defaults of suit of court were more than ever noticeable in 1586. The Rector figured repeatedly amongst those presented for surcharging the common. He seems to have been prominent amongst those who found profitable speculation in pastoral and agricultural undertakings.

Clearly the old system was showing unmistakeable signs of disruption. Admittedly in 1520 the cornfield was still being worked as a unit, since all tenants were ordered to complete their fences round it by Easter. Yet, at almost the same date, the process of enclosure had commenced, as mentioned above.

Though the common bakehouse had been let in 1517, a tenant was presented in 1565 for removing stones from it. In 1574 it was reported as being in ruins and valueless.

By 1599 the presentments for the keeping of inmates or "undersettles" had grown out of all proportion, and special pains were laid against the practice. In the same year many presentments followed for the failure of tenants to come to the common dayworks. In 1542 several tenements were reported as being in ruins - a story which was repeated

in 1574, when the decrease in cottage rents amounted to 14/2. Inspection of the variations in the totals of perquisites of court throughout the period shows a general tendency to rise, though the court rolls disclose only minor increases in the size of fines for the most frequently recurring offences. It would appear that the courts baron were the most actively functioning relic of the old system.

Thus far the general inference is one of comparative prosperity. In 1560 John Mymyng gave his own surety of £10 and found two pledges of £5 each to guarantee his good conduct as keeper of an alehouse. He promised to prohibit the playing of illegal games, to sell ale legally and to maintain two beds, stabling and fodder for horses, besides setting up a signboard over his door.<sup>1</sup>

In 1565 John Wright died in possession of the capital messuage of Linton Hall, a messuage and 80 acres of arable, meadow and pasture worth £4 per year. In the same year Elena Wright, perhaps John's widow, died seized of two messuages and appurtenances to the same value. The estate of John's grandson, John Smith was later appraised in 1567, when it was described as seven tenements and cottages with lands in Linton, Follifoot and Follifoot Moorside worth £6 13s. 4d. per year.

As a last example of the comfortable financial position of tenants may be quoted William Rowley who died in 1581.

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1 Pet.MS.MCR. Oct.2 Eliz.

As a free tenant he held a messuage, granary, dovehouse, a toft and croft and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  bovates of land and meadow in Linton worth  $33\frac{3}{4}$  per year. This property was held by military service, an annual payment of  $1/8$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. of pepper - an excellent example of the inadequacy of rents of assize as well as of the fortunate position of the freeholder at this period of rising land values.

These signs of general prosperity must have been as evident to 16th century contemporaries as they are to the 20th century observer. The result was a tendency for rentals to show an upward trend. Whereas in 1480 the unfree tenants had paid a total of £16 5s. 6d. in rent, in 1577 they paid £27 7s.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. - a rise of 68.5%.

Unfortunately after 1480 the earlier type of Collector's account, which showed New Rents as a separate item, was discontinued. The later accounts do however include decreases of rent, which, after 1517 became insignificant - in no case exceeding  $15/6$  in the year. It appears therefore that existing tenants were called upon to pay larger sums - rents of a more competitive type - though there is no conclusive proof of this in the manuscripts examined. Certainly the letting of demesne land was a much more productive source of income - the receipts rising from £2 8s. -d. (1480) to £30 2s. 8d. (1578).

These facts indicate a tightening-up of vigilance in the conduct of the estate. Officials must have busied themselves in the more careful surveying of the demesne lands. The last quarter of the 16th century showed the detailed specification of debatable lands on the borders of Linton (1578), the reporting of the construction of illegal buildings on the lord's waste on Ribston moor (1578), unlawful intakes on the borders of Kirkby Overblow (1592). To these marks of official activity the community reacted. Hunting offences in the Park became more frequent (1586) - perhaps a sign of lawlessness, but more probably one indicating want on the part of some of the poorer tenants. These poaching offences appear to have been general on the northern estates during the Earl's rustication to Petworth.

In 1591 certain receivers of stolen goods were ordered to leave the lordship within a fortnight - another sign that there was a proportion of needy villagers. The manor was troubled by its inevitable immigrants, and nine villagers were presented for giving them lodging. Special byelaws of 1599 prohibited this practice on pain of 10/- fine - the reason being less hostility to strangers than a fear of the upsetting of the town's economy by parasites in a community where land was artificially in short supply, and where rents were ever on the increase. The resultant influx of semi-skilled labour would have interfered considerably with the activities of some of the local

cotters who must have depended largely by this time on employment on others' holdings. The truth of this is shown by a byelaw passed before the problem was really acute, whereby all migrants save "men of good character" were to be sent on their way. "Good character" was defined as "skilled craftsmen or workmen".

The process of enclosure was also under way. The first mention of a close - in the sense of an enclosure in the tenancy of a villager - had been reported in 1598, some six years after the report of intakes in the common fields of Kirkby Overblow.<sup>1</sup> From this time forward, mention of closes becomes increasingly frequent in Spofforth, Kirkby Overblow, Ribston, Stockeld and Sicklinghall.

In Spofforth the order of occurrence in which closes are mentioned is significant. The earliest were made on the fringes of or inside the common fields - the South Field being the first to be affected, perhaps since much of this was, and is, inclined to be wet, heavy land. Richard Ing and Hopkin Ing, only divided from one another by the road leading to Wetherby, were amongst the first areas in 1603. Next appears in 1604 a close in the East Field, on the outer fringe of the manor in the area known as Swinthornes. By 1606 part of the Bond Ing, one of the

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1 Pet.MS.MCR.March 21 Eliz.



main sections of demesne meadow in earlier times, had been enclosed, whilst both in that year and again in 1610 the Course, the original nucleus of the Park was affected. As the 1611 Estate Plan shows clearly, the majority of the Old Park between Addlethorpe and Dunstall Hagg had been allotted to the different types of tenants - the freeholders, cottagers, husbandmen, and gressemen - by 1611.

The Park whose herbage had been leased to various lessees for differing terms since 1441 affords a remarkable illustration both of decreased money values and increased rentals demanded - assuming that the acreage concerned remained constant. This topic has already been treated in more detail.

Some of the enclosed lands were certainly used for pasture purposes, but not all nor all the time, since court cases mention corn growing in a close in Dunstall Hagg in 1611, and in 1617 a plaintiff alleged the destruction of corn, hay and underwood in his close in the Park.

From the Petworth MSS. there is no indication that the extension of land thus made available to the villagers was either motivated or accompanied by any unpleasantness. It is somewhat disconcerting therefore to find, under these circumstances that Edmund Hall of Humberston's survey gave an opinion which is so utterly lacking in corroboration

from the original sources consulted. After reporting that at Tadcaster, Spofforth and Topcliffe practically all the lands are let except the Parks which have been redeemed, he says:- "The tenants of Spofforth and Topcliffe are much dearer rented than those with us, and the groundes are not fruitful. They have great commons for the summer time for storing cattle upon the moors. In Spofforth and Topcliffe there is much great timber, spoiled with snaithing, and the underwoods destroyed ... The country people have been sore taken on what by their Lordes in taking great fines for their landes, the spoil lately made by the armies and compositions made by men for their lives not before the Quenes Commissioners but others without Commission, so the people seem to be in much obedience though they talk of some of their countrymen somewhat at large for their hard dealing with them."<sup>1</sup> The same correspondent adds later:- "the lands are let for years to come for great fines and so that no ground in our country is dearer; if we value what was in their hands according to the rate of what they let, the values would so exceed as no honest man may live of the rent."<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Spofforth the lease and ingress fines referred to were presumably those of 1555/6, where the fine

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1 GSP.(D).Add. p.288 Edmund Hall to Sir William Cecil.

2 Op.cit. p.308.

was, in most cases, equal to three years' rent - not an excessive proportion in comparison with that in other areas - and indeed quite moderate when compared with fines demanded for Crown leases under James I. In this case, Hall's remarks may be explained by a natural desire to represent the rebel Earls as local oppressors. If, on the other hand, the fines had been recently extracted from lessees on the declaration of the 7th Earl's forfeiture, Hall is generalising, since the custom of Cumberland did not obtain in Spofforth.

The history of this particular period is closely bound up with the misfortunes of the Percy family. The 7th Earl was captured and executed at York in 1572, and in 1570 Henry, created 8th Earl in 1576 had been indicted on a charge of complicity in the 1569 rising in the North, and was sentenced to pay a fine of 5,000 marks. Later he was allowed to live at Petworth and even to visit London, but was carefully prevented from visiting his northern estates. Subsequently he was suspected of participation in the Throgmorton Plot, was sent to the Tower and died there in most suspicious circumstances in 1585.

His son, the 9th Earl, extravagant and improvident at first, came to realise his responsibilities as a landowner, and complains bitterly in 1593 of the maladministration of his northern estates and the confusion of their records.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHP.II p.186 - letter to Fenwick, Chief Constable of Alnwick 24 Nov. 1593.

Between 1598 and 1603 he did much to treat his estates in businesslike fashion - both in London and Yorkshire. In Spofforth a survey of waste lands was carried out, the report running:- "the following lands are concealed and no rents are being paid to the Lord therfor; a parcell in Gawholme, in Sandwith Flatt, in Hall Ing, Home Nooke, Broad Driffeld, the hilltop above MaryCross, in Fawcett Raynes, in Swynthorne Raynes. Mill Pasture is also part of the lordes waste, but the townspeople are using it as part of their common and use a right of way to it to reach their pasture lands in Crosper and the Lays."<sup>1</sup>

All the lands thus specified were in the Crag or the East Fields.

The care with which these enquiries were made had been necessary, as the northern estates were being treated with scant respect by the public. The 8th Earl had pleaded with Lord Burghley to be allowed to revisit his estates in the north because:- "My parkes and chasys be contenually huntyd as well in the nyghte as in the daye almost distroynge all the game I have, and yet not so contentyd, but beatte my servauntes and setting up the heades of the deare where they have kylled them in despite of me and my offissors".<sup>2</sup> The accuracy of these statements is supported by court roll entries both for Spofforth and Topcliffe. The Auditor,

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1 Pet.MS.MCR.Oct.44 Eliz.

2 AHP.II p.157/8 quoting Harl.MSS.V.6993/5.

Mr. Stockdale, in his report for 1583 referred to the devastated and depopulated condition of Northumberland and said that he was able to find only two men in Prudhoe, Newburn and Shilbottle able to escort the lord's rent convoy to Topcliffe.<sup>1</sup>

The Earl's relations with his Sussex tenantry were not of the best. Writing in 1592 to Sir John Pickering, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, the Earl refers to a petition from his tenants "for Reformacon of Injuries offered by me", and alleges that "they have oftsoones renewed their secrett and riotious pulling doune in the night season, by themselves and accomplices my Pales and Inclosures . . . .they have over and besides in violent maner broken and entered those Conduit howses and hedds apperteynyng and by mere charge belongyng to my Howse, stopped and restrayned the water for my necessarye use, supposing the same their lewde Behavior not to come to lighte, and themselves by their unwise exclamacons to receive Favor."<sup>2</sup>

In a second letter two years later to the same Lord Keeper, the Earl thanked him for his mediation and stated his readiness to "agree unto your order for the Comon and the two yeares fyne (albeit I cold content myself with lesse), yet for that I wold not alter it to the Preiudice of my selfe & Successores I leave it to your Consideracon. For the other mattere of theyre complainte I am willinge

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1 AHP, II p.157.

2 AHP, II p.196 quoting Harl.MSS.No.6995 fol.75.

to deale better with them (reserving alwaies the Propertie of my Righte) than theyre Usage towards me doth anie waie deserve."<sup>1</sup>

This second and more informative extract illustrates at least one clear point - that the Earl was agreeing to the widespread tenant demand for more land and more certain tenure, and was, moreover, taking a moderate profit from new admissions by demanding only a two-year ingress fine - a comparatively conservative composition. The cryptic mention of "the comon" implies that this refers to enclosure of common land in the Honour of Petworth. Whatever was "the other mattere of theyre Complaint" is not clear, but could be construed to mean the freeing for tenancy of waste and certain sections of demesne land, though demesne land would seem to be meant by the "propertie of my Righte."

In view of the evidence from the Spofforth court rolls which contain no hint of similar troubles in this area, it is surprising to find that in fact there was a disturbance in the lordship in 1592. The relevant entry is as follows:-

' "To the Lo. President and Council in the Northe We are enformed by .... the Erle of Northumbrelande that wheras his Lordeshipes father did encloze about 30 yeares sithence a parcell of grounde in Spofforde within the countie of York conteyninge 100 acres or therabouts called Parsonns

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<sup>1</sup> AHP.II.p.197 quoting Harl.MSS.Vol.XV, No.6996,fol.1.

Hagge at which tyme the sd enclosure was not in anie waie impugned or hinderyd by the tenantes and so descended to the nowe Erle who hath enjoyed the same quietlie ever sithence untill nowe withine these few daies the tenantes pretending commons in the sd enclosure in a verie riotous and disorderlie mannour in the nyghte tyme have plucked up a great parcell of the enclosure and continew still this disorder by nyghte in verie riotous and intollerable manour" in which ther unlawfull and riotous proceedings his Lship doth meane both in the High Courte of Star Chamber and at the comon lawe to comence suite againste them.<sup>1</sup>

Four years earlier there had been similar troubles at Cockermouth, the centre of the Earl's Cumberland estates.<sup>2</sup>

Further north, Scottish incursions had devastated parts of Northumberland, whilst enclosure for pasture purposes had created havoc in those areas not militarily affected. "Five thousand ploughs have been laid down within 25 years and a number of good men ready to serve the Queen have been converted to a few men's benefit" reported the Bishop of Dunbar to Lord Burghley in 1597, sketching a dismal picture of the increase of pauperism and of depressed standard of life in the far north.<sup>3</sup> About the same date the 9th Earl adds to the general picture by his remarks:-

"The country is ruinous and very weak, especially my

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1 Acts of the Privy Council 1891 Vol.XXII p.527 1592.

2 Acts of P.C. Vol.XVI p.116 1588.

3 CSP(Dom) May 1597. and see also Northumberland County History passim.

poor tenants; myself can witness it no otherwise than by report and their poverty which partly I taste of."<sup>1</sup> This argument he used to explain his reluctance to take charge of affairs in the North as had been requested. In addition he remarked:- "First my living is not much Whosoever pleaseth but to look into what portion my mother is invested withal shall verie well understand that the remainder is no moer than will suffice the maintaining of a familys expense befitting me; which care I must rather take than be forced to beg a dinner ... Secondly where most mens livyngs affords them a great overplus out of fines, mine are so wasted for the most part lying upon the borders both out of myne owne absence the Scots incursions my officers knaveries and the small redress the poor people have had of their wrongs as not only I make no further benefit than the rentes but allso the rentes themselves are unanswered and they greatly in my debt. Thirdly my woods are already wasted my fines in like sorte gone for the satisfying of debtes so as all profits that way is altogether void and exempt Fourthly my lands are so entailed that I can neither help myself by sale mortgage or pawn to give security to any. Lastly my debts are so great and for want of payments my credit for money matters so shaken that I know not which way to satisfy my desire to do Her Maiestie this

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1 Cal.Salisbury MSS.Vol.IV.p.449.



service."<sup>1</sup>

Yet a summary of the Earl's revenues in 1580 gives evidence of a contrary nature. The Yorkshire estates were still more valuable than those in any other county. Of these estates Spofforth ranked fourth to Nun Monkton, Craven and Topcliffe. At Spofforth Leconfield and Topcliffe the Parks had been largely disparked - i.e. thrown open for tenant occupancy - and realised a rental value of over £386, as compared with £230 total for the income derived from parks still retained. By contrast, in Northumberland the only disparking recorded was at Warkworth, and there the annual value was only £8.<sup>2</sup>

This process of freeing territory for tenant occupation was accompanied by the converse procedure of enclosure, though on a far smaller scale. About 1580 the Earl carried out the second instance of enclosure effected by his family. The first of these two had been as long as a century before, where land was enclosed in the New Park at Leconfield. This second example was the enclosure of the town of Gristhwaite, part of Topcliffe.<sup>3</sup> Since there is no discontent evident from the court roll entries, it may be that some, at least, of the enclosure was being carried through in accordance with the suggestions of Fitzherbert and Hales.

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1 Cal.Salisbury MSS.VolVI p.260/1.

2 AHP.II Appendix VIII p.582 Revenues of 8th Earl.

3 North Riding Quarter Sessions Records 1607.

It has been stated many times that manorial custom was the sole protection which the unprivileged might invoke in a dispute with an unsympathetic landlord.

In 1578 custom was referred to in Linton in connection with a dispute over the use of certain waste land called Thrusmyre, amongst other areas, which abutted on the Holme Field. The report was that this waste was divided by lot among the twelve husbandries of the village who then used it for various purposes according to the use of the arable field. This custom had been infringed by one tenant who had acquired two of the original holdings and was now interfering with the communal activities of the remainder. The jury appointed to enquire into the situation made a report which not only safeguarded the community but at the same time guaranteed the proprietor's possession of the waste ground in question.<sup>1</sup> This is no attempt of the Lord to over-ride manorial custom, but an example of the equitable functioning of manorial machinery.

An interesting report was made in 1602 on the subject of the glebe land of Kirkby Overblow Rectory, the advowson of which lay with the Earl. A detailed terrier of the lands with areas and position gives a total of 36 acres 3 roods - comparable in size with the holdings of the more affluent customary tenants in Spofforth in 1577, but much less than that of the Rector of Spofforth. But it is

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<sup>1</sup> Pet.MS.MCR. April 1578.

clearly stated that "these several lands ... were in the occupation of the now parson ... before the recent exchange and redivision arranged among the tenants of Kyrkbye. Then they were scattered and on the common and in the common fields. But now after the said exchange they lie in separate closes in the private occupation of Richard Dodshon (the Rector) allotted to him in exchange for those other lands which he held by reason of his position ... The other lands formerly the glebe scattered throughout the private closes of the other free tenants are enjoyed by them in exchange for these other lands. Thus care must be taken by the successor of the said rector that he suffer no disadvantage by the partition aforesaid."<sup>1</sup>

At just about the same time the Spofforth jury was reporting the existence in the lordship of certain pieces of waste land which were producing no income. In other words there seems to have been full co-operation between lord and tenants - tenants had been given agricultural and pastoral opportunities which would help to safeguard them from the competitive activities of the greater capitalistic estate owners who held larger units of property in the neighbourhood, yet the lord's interests were not neglected.

Of some 60 tenants in the 1561 list about 40 are still to be found in that for 1620, though by that time more than 50 new names had appeared, the new tenant population of

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1 Pet.MS.MCR. 1st Oct.44 Eliz.

Spofforth then totalling 97. This would argue a reasonable security of tenure in this area, as well as a great influx of population in the early 17th century.

Peculiarly enough - in an area so close to one of the most active woollen producing areas - and contrary to the conventional story of the 16th century enclosure movement, there seems little evidence of the presence in Spofforth of large numbers of sheep. Not that sheep were unknown, but references to them are seldom more than the reporting of strays and the occasional sale of various tups, ewes and lambe - the ordinary business of normal village life. Perhaps this was due in part to the wet clay of which much of the district consisted and which still accounts for the small number of sheep in the neighbourhood.

Although from the middle of the 16th century there are frequent presentments for surcharging the common, when this bare charge is made more specific, invariably the offending stock are cattle, horses, ducks or geese. That these were plentiful and in numbers almost amounting to those of a modern dairy herd or brood farm is witnessed by the 1591 case when the rector was charged with "oppressing the common with 96 beasts and horses"<sup>1</sup> on one occasion, and "with 26 oxen, 16 cows, 1 bull, 9 horses and 80 ducks and geese" on another.<sup>2</sup> Thirty years earlier, Henry Johnson, the farmer of Walton Head, who was to be attainted for his

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1 Pet.MS.MCR.Oct.32 Eliz.

2 Pet.MS.MCR.12 Oct.33 Eliz.

part in the 1569 rising, was charged with having 65 cattle in Bramley Hagg where he had pasture rights, and 25 in Green Hagg.<sup>1</sup>

A Linton pain of 1604 forbade any farmer to put more than three sheep per acre in the fallow field, nor more than four per acre anywhere else under pain of forfeiting 6d. per sheep.<sup>2</sup>

In 1610 a Spofforth pain prohibited tenants in the Broad Park from keeping sheep there after 16th April, 1610. Moreover, no sheep were to be kept there for the next two years under pain of a fine of 30/- per sheep.<sup>3</sup> This kind of byelaw would show that the close grazing of the flocks was detrimental to the more important local cattle grazing industry, to encourage which the parks had recently been opened to the tenantry.

The frequently recurring cases touching the agist of cattle underlines the trend of pastoral farming in this lordship, where the Park and Hagg were available as well-watered grazing ground admirably suited to the maintenance of cattle of various kinds. These had been used in the 15th century to accommodate the lord's vaccary,<sup>4</sup> whilst at various times during the 16th century, the lord appears to

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1 Pet.MS.MCR.16 April. 3 Eliz.

2 Pet.MS.MCR. 14 Ap. 2 Jac.I.

3 Pet.MS.MCR.Apr. 8 Jac.I.

4 Pet.MS.MAC.D.9.2.1442.

have kept a stud of horses there, judging by the sale of mares and foals which were reported.<sup>1</sup> The disappearance of the deer from the Park between 1577 and 1602 gives an indication as to the period at which the lord abandoned personal interests in the remainder of Spofforth demesne lands. This was accompanied by signs of a break-up of the old community before the pressure of new economic needs. The enclosure of common land on Ribston moor had been reported;<sup>2</sup> there were repeated hunting offences with dogs, ferrets and nets;<sup>3</sup> more and more tenants failed to perform suit of court of "did unlawful suite" at the courts of the lords of other villages;<sup>4</sup> unlicensed intakes in the common fields of Kirkby Overblow were recorded.<sup>5</sup> This was the atmosphere in which occurred the riotous behaviour about which the Earl complained in 1592. The Parson's Hagg of 100 acres or more was certainly a prize to be desired by a pastorally-minded tenantry whose original pastures of Cresper and the Shaw must have been overloaded and who must have seen with growing anger the leasing to capitalists of agist rights in the majority of the Park.<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of any record showing the verdict of the Star Chamber proceedings, it seems as though the Earl's

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- 1 MAC.D.9.22. 1579/80.
  - 2 MCR. 3 Apr. 11 Eliz.
  - 3 MCR. Apr.28 Eliz.
  - 4 MCR.28 Eliz.
  - 5 MCR.May 34 Eliz.

rights were upheld. A marginal note in the 1577 survey says:-  
"Parsons Hagg lett to one William Cheney gent., 39 Eliz. for  
21 years for £16 per year." Whether Cheney, who came from  
Thorngumbald, near Patrington in the East Riding, continued  
his lease is uncertain, but the next list of leases shows  
that in 1617 the disputed area was held by four tenants,  
all of local origin. The first of these, John Woodburne,  
had also held since 1607 Cold Bed Lodge, land in Great Ash  
Hagg and the stone quarry there. For all his lands he  
paid £31 13s. 2d. His father had held Addlethorpe and  
Coltcarr - 185 acres in all - since 1609 for £110 per year.  
George Burgoyne, the second of the Parson Hagg tenants,  
was either the son or brother of the Rector of Spofforth.  
The third, William Lawson, possibly the descendant of John  
Lawson, a cottager in the 1577 list, had held the mills,  
the manor garth, Hall Inge and a cottage since 1603 for  
£19 19s.10d., and Bramley Hagg and Great Ash Hagg since  
1604 for a further £22. Clearly, successful speculation  
in land was not confined to outsiders only.

Sampson Ingleby had been farmer of the Park, and on  
his death in 1606, his brother Sir William Ingleby of  
Ripley acting as his executor, claimed arrears of agist  
from various tenants in Spofforth. The cases thus brought  
establish a scale of annual agist charges as follows:-

1/- per 'bestia', 1/8 per calf, 3/- per foal, 5/- per  
horse and 9/- per mare and foal.

Court cases on the same subject occurred frequently during the next few years, though the charges do not necessarily always conform to the scale just quoted. In 1612 as much as 5/- was asked for the year's agist of a foal, 10/- for that of a 'bestia'. This cannot be taken as a clear case of rack-renting, since on the one hand the original scale established by Ingleby's claims may have rested on special concessions whilst on the other hand excessive claims by court plaintiffs are of familiar occurrence. That such agist charges did increase seems inevitable, as the receipts from demesne land-leases increased from £424 7s. 4½d. in 1622 to £427 8s. 9½d. in 1625 and to £522 10s. 4d. in 1650.

At the October Court of 1615 the bounds of the manor were beaten. It would seem that this was the first occasion for some time, as amongst the encroachments reported one is described as "about thirteen years ago." Nine such cases were presented, one of which was now on the other side of the Crimple as the stream had changed its course. At the same court it was presented by the jury that since the previous April, a number of persons unnamed, save that they were "claimants under the King" - i.e. they were inhabitants of the Forest of Knaresborough - had enclosed more than twenty acres of the Earl's waste in Swindon, next to Walton Head grounds. Six other tenants



in Kearby (2) and Kirkby Overblow (4) had built cottages without the statutory four acres of land appurtenant and were fined £10 each. Eight more cases in Follifoot were presented in April 1621 and fines totalling £104 were imposed though whether in fact they were ever actually raised is doubtful since the cases have no sequel in the next great courts.

Two of the accused appeared and pleaded that they were poor labourers and had built their houses with the permission of Richard Paver "gent!", on whose land they stood, and with the goodwill of the townsmen of Follifoot and Aketon.

Another development on a large scale was the growing and processing of hemp. The extent of this occupation is to be gauged by the 56 offenders presented in 1615 for "retting" hemp in running water. The offence continues to be a regular item in the lists of presentments for the rest of the period.

It is thus clearly established that by the beginning of the 17th century there had developed in Spofforth that form of village economy which was to persist for the remainder of the 17th century; i.e. a growing preponderance of grazing - especially of cattle - in the hands of the richer proprietors, and a static or even slightly declining arable industry in the hands of the poorer tenants who sought to supplement their less profitable occupation by

subsidiary means such as the production of hemp and the keeping of ducks and geese.<sup>1</sup>

For much of the time the subsidiary members of the manor - although their inhabitants still owed suit of court to Spofforth - were let to various sub-tenants. The following list is not exhaustive in its contents, but would be true in its application to the period 1575 - 1650. Dates are not to be taken as limiting tenure, but only to indicate entries recording the connection between the families and the properties concerned.

<u>Addlethorpe</u>	Vavasour - Hungate 1580. Plumpton 1620.
<u>Aketon</u>	Plumpton 1580 Middleton 1616.
<u>Askwith</u>	Vavasour, Fairfax 1620 Middleton.
<u>Braham</u>	Paver 1620 Cholmeley 1652.
<u>Follifoot</u>	Prior of Newburgh 1536. Paver & Plumpton 1578, Middleton 1616.
<u>Kearby cum Netherby</u>	Stapleton 1577.
<u>Kirkby Overblow</u>	Stapleton 1577.
<u>Leathley</u>	Johnson 1577.
<u>Middleton</u>	Middleton.
<u>Plompton</u>	Plompton 1568-1616.
<u>Ribston</u>	Middleton 1577, Goodrick 1569-1668, Plumpton 1616.
<u>Sicklinghall</u>	Vavasour 1500-1637.
<u>Stockeld</u>	Middleton 1577.
<u>Woodhall</u>	Vavasour 1500-1637.
<u>Walton Head</u>	Johnson 1577.

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1 For these last there was accommodation in the swampy tract north of Point Bridge. The 19th century Tithe Commutation Maps mark that area as "Goose Land", adjacent to the Seaves.

In the controlling centre - Spofforth - agriculture still continued in the three common fields, with indications that arable farming had also spread to closes in what had hitherto been pasture land, whilst meadow and pasture land was to be encountered in the old arable fields in addition to leys on the northern fringes of the Crag Field. All demesne land was leased either to local tenants or to grazier speculators. Of the demesne, the Parks and Hagsgs were enclosed mainly for pastoral purposes, though the ancient custom was safeguarded in that "the tenants and inhabitantes of Spofforde should have in the Bodye of the Parke there ther kyne and oxen after the rate of 12d. a beaste And ther horses mares or coltes after the rate of 2d. a peice wch custome contynueth at this daye."<sup>1</sup>

The Great Court in March 1611 presented for unsatisfactory fences "the inhabitants of Spofforde called 'gressemen' - i.e. John Myming, Thomas Helme, John Exilbye, Henry Foster, Thomas Dighton, Robert Wright, Robert Bowman and Henry Foster junior; all Spofforth farmers i.e. Robert Bowman, James Tayley, Richard Munckton and Thomas Bentham; all Spofforth cottagers who are tenants in the Park, 33 in number; all Spofforth copyholders, 16 in number, who are tenants in the Park."<sup>2</sup>

The 1611 Estate Map notes all but one of these sections of the Park. Each group of tenants held a section of 'whins' in addition to its allotment of pasture as the

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1 Pet.MS.1577 survey, inter Memoranda.

2 Pet.MS.MCR.25th March 9 Jac.I.

accompanying table shows:-

Table 11.

Certain Tenants' Allotments in Spofforth  
Park 1611

Class	No.	Park Body			Whins			Total			Each		
		a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.	a.	r.	p.
Gressemen	8	54	-	27	16	3	13	71	-	-	8	3	20
Cottagers	33	116	-	12	33	3	28	150	-	-	4	2	7½
Farmers	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Husbandmen	16	61	3	25	15	-	15	77	-	-	4	3	10
Freeholders	17	92	3	18	27	-	22	120	-	-	7	-	9

The date at which these extensive leases were granted cannot be fixed with certainty, through the lack of rentals of similar type. The survey of 1577, as has been seen, refers only to the normal mixed holdings of tenants at will. The marginal notes in the survey record the following leases in chronological order:-

1585 for 21 years to John Lawson (bailiff) Manor Garth, 6 acres @ 10d. p.ac., though it is worth 6/8 p. ac.  
 1591 " " " to Wm. Stockdale (auditor) Little Ash Hagg 20/-.  
 1594 " " " to Sampson Ingleby (Steward) Horsehouse Woods for 100/-.  
 1597 " " " to William Cheney, Parson's Hagg £16.  
 1599 " " " to eleven tenants (unnamed) Kidcarr 229/7½  
 1607 " " " to William Woodburne (underbailiff) Lodge at Colebedd 16/8.

Thenceforward the next record - a negative one - as it is a list of arrears<sup>1</sup> - proves only that on the expiry

1 Pet.MS. 8.D.2. List of Arrears of Yorkshire Estates. 1618.

of Sampson Ingleby's lease on his death in 1606, William Allenson held it, and was in arrears £31 for the six years 1615 - 1621. Twelve tenants of the Park were also in similar case. The total arrears for the lordship were about £60. Allenson must have paid up his arrears, since he is returned as the lessee of the same property in 1622 for £24, by a 21-year lease from 1609.<sup>1</sup>

The policy of demising the demesnes at the end of the 16th century was extended to apply to the holdings of the cottagers and tenement holders early in the 17th. Of the 49 leases of this kind, 42 were contracted in 1609, two in 1612, two in 1614 and one each in 1616, 1618 and 1615. All these leases were timed to expire in the years 1627 - 1630. All were for 21-year periods except for two in 1614 which were for 14 and 16 year terms, and one in 1615 which was for 15 years. Whilst the 16th and 17th century reckoning of 21 years as the equivalent of three lives and therefore of 14 years for two lives can be understood, the 15-year lease can only be explained as motivated by convenience in mass renewal.

The 1622 list of leases generally gives no detail of the cottagers' property save the differentiation between "messuage" and "cottage", but the rise in rental is most marked in comparison with that of the 1577 terrier - from £36 1s. - $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to £89 17s.11d. The uncertainty of whether tenants in the 1622 list are the holders of the same lands

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1 Pet.MS. 8.D.2 Yorkshire Rents 1622.

as in the 1577 list makes it necessary to treat the following deductions with a degree of caution, especially as acreages are an unknown factor, nor is it certain whether any transfer of holdings had taken place.

The following ten names are taken from the lists of 1577 and 1622 and are selected mainly on the basis of their agreeing with the rough roll order which seems to have been the rule-of-thumb method followed. So as to minimise any exaggeration the boon payments have been included; since no separate mention of these occurs in the 1622 list, it seems probable that the payments would be inclusive of these.

Table 12.

Rent Advances 1577-1622 (Tenants and Cottagers only)

Name	1577			1622			Index
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Dighton	1	4	-	6	10	-	541
Taylor	1	19	2½	7	-	-	359
Exilby	-	12	1	3	16	-	633
Wright	-	17	3	3	10	-	406
Allenson	-	8	6	2	10	-	588
Gill	-	2	11	-	16	8	555
Cotton	-	3	5	-	12	-	343
Godfrey	-	3	5	-	12	-	343
Hopwood	-	6	-	1	6	8	444
Midlebroke	-	7	5	1	15	-	466

From these isolated instances it would appear that the average index representing the increase in rents was

467.8, though the relative index for the total rent receipts amounts only to 249.<sup>1</sup> A factor which may help to account for the discrepancy between the index for the totals and that for the sample is that Dighton, Exilby and Wright, whose rents are amongst the largest advances, were amongst the eight "gressemen" who each received an additional  $8\frac{3}{4}$  acres in the Park - always presuming that they shared the acreage equally. It should be noted in addition that the ability to pay these 'inflated' rentals is not entirely a fair index of the prosperity of individuals. Allenson, as has been said, was able to pay £24 per year in addition to his rent for his cottage and allotment. Taylor also rented the Viver Carr and Eller Carr for £2 per year.

By 1622 the demesnes were also leased at considerable profit. The earliest lease dated from 1603 and the latest from 1617. All were for 21 years, and all except three were timed to expire in 1630. The total yield from this source was £411 14s. - $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The final list of leases for 1650 is perhaps the least satisfactory in that the coincidence of names with those of the earlier list is but slight. Of the 49 names in the 1622 list, only 20 can be linked with those of that for 1650, whilst there are 38 more newcomers. Some of these - judging by their annual payments - were tenants of large holdings in the Park and Haggs, though the list is drawn up in an apparently haphazard fashion with only

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1. 1577 figures taken as base (100).

five cases where the property held is specified.

This final list must refer to a new series of leases almost on the point of expiry if the 21-year term was adhered to - i.e. 1630-1651.

Of the ten tenants chosen above, it is possible, on the same somewhat precarious ground, to infer a further considerable rise in the rentals paid by five.

Table 13.

Rent Advances 1622-1650 (Tenants and Cottagers only)

Name	1622			1650			Index
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Dighton	6	10	-	9	11	8	148
Taylor	7	-	-	13	13	4	148
Exilby	3	16	-	5	10	8	145
Cottam	-	12	-	1	11	-	258
Godfrey	-	12	-	2	2	6	334

The index representing the average advance during this period is 206, though the last two examples, especially, distort the figure. If these two are ignored, the average advance index would be 147.<sup>1</sup>

Yet when the full figures of the rentals are compared, the results obtained are rather different.

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<sup>1</sup> 1622 figures taken as base (100).



Advances in Total Receipts (Rents and Farms)

Source	1577			1622			Col. 3.	1650			Col. 5.	Col. 6.
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
Demesne Farms	29	10	8	411	14	-½	1395					
Tenants & Cottagers	36	1	-½	89	17	11	249					
TOTAL	65	11	8½	501	11	11½	765	522	10	4	102	797

Column 3 index of advance on 1577 base 1577 - 1622  
 " 5 " " " " 1622 " 1622 - 1650  
 " 6 " " " " 1577 " 1577 - 1650

The figures and indices both point to the same conclusion. The bulk of the owner's profit was derived from the speculative farmer or from the prosperous and enterprising villager who wished to compete in the land market. Whilst the total receipts from the smallholders certainly increased considerably in the 45 years separating the first two rentals, there is no indication that the increase strained their resources. Moreover, if the total returns for 1650 represent an even advance in the two component sources, the smallholder had had a respite from further significant increases for nearly twenty years.

Three cases only have been encountered which throw light on the measure of prosperity of tenants of the lordship in this later period. All three are reports of the goods of felons.

The first - in 1601 - recorded that George Bramley

of Kirkby Overblow held goods in his house to the value of £5 18s. 4d.<sup>1</sup> At the corresponding court in the following year his tenement was returned as consisting of a messuage, 5 acres of arable and 3½ acres of meadow which now escheated to the lord.<sup>2</sup>

The second - in 1604 - concerned William Nusseye who had an interest for 18 months in the reversion of a six-year lease of a messuage, 40 acres of arable, meadow and pasture. The value of these was £4. His movable goods were worth £10, of which £7 was allotted for his sustenance during the fourteen weeks of his imprisonment. Two of his cattle worth £4 and a quarter of rye worth 16/- were given to Jane Ingham the widow of the man whom Nusseye had killed. The balance of 44/- became the lord's property.<sup>3</sup>

In 1612 Peter Johnson fled to avoid a charge of manslaughter. He owned "a dishbench, a counter, a kymling, a reckon, and an old Frying pan ... 10/- Item ij bedstokes, ij chestes and one doughtroughe worth 1/4 Item a lease of his dwelling house, garthe and crofte with thappurtenances for a yeare from Ladyday next and another lease in revercon for xiiij yeares after of thinheritaunce of William Steade- rente 4/1 Item another lease of six acres in the Parke for ij yeares from Michaelmas last of my lordes inheritaunce- rente 40/- per annum wch bothe

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1 Pet.MS.MCR.Sept. 43 Eliz.

2 Pet.MS.MCR.Oct.44 Eliz.

3 Pet.MS.MCR. April 2 Jac.I.

Spofforth - 16th Century Changes in Size of Tenant Holdings

	1555		1577		1580	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 2½ ac.	14	42.5	29	63.0	11	40.8
2½ - 5 ac.	3	9.1	4	8.7	4	14.9
5 - 10 ac.	4	12.1	4	8.7	3	11.1
10 - 15 ac.	1	3.0	3	6.4	3	11.1
15 - 20 ac.	2	6.0	1	2.2	1	3.3
20 - 25 ac.	1	3.0	-	-	-	-
25 - 30 ac.	2	6.0	2	4.4	1	3.3
30 - 35 ac.	4	12.1	-	-	1	3.3
35 - 40 ac.	1	3.0	-	-	-	-
40 - 45 ac.	1	3.0	2	4.4	3	11.1
45 - 50 ac.	-	-	1	2.2	-	-
<b>Total No.</b>	<b>33</b>		<b>46</b>		<b>27</b>	

are valued at £3 6s. 8½d. Total £3 18s. -d.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the total figures of the assets of these three may not seem impressive, they do indicate a comfortable standard of living enjoyed by two smallholders and - in the case of Nussey - comparative affluence.

In conclusion therefore, all evidence points to a position in 1650 where lord and tenants in Spofforth were sharing the advantages of a greatly extended pastoral industry which operated alongside the more conventional husbandry. The Park and the demesnes generally had been thrown open - for a consideration - to local and outside competition. The lord's interests were now limited to approving the handsome receipts which were further enhanced by the decreased overhead charges for administration and supervision required under the changed conditions.

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1 Pet.MS.MCR.Oct.10 Jac.I.

SPOFFORTH

Section 8

Appendices

- (a) Woodgraves' Report 1475.
- (b) Ministers' Accounts 1442.
- (c) " " 1541.
- (d) " " 1608.

(a) Woodgraves' Report 1475

"Itm delyv'd to John Guysbryght p'son iij stubbes for his fewell to burne. Itm ..to the Baly and to Thomas Fost' ij stubbes. Itm to the wodgraves ij stubbes Itm deliv'd to the sd p'son tymbr to beyld his bakows of x postes Itm .. to the sd p'son tymbyr to beyld a new layth of viij postes in the tenur of Ric Lawson. Itm .. to John Bekyrton tymbyr to mende his oxenhowse. Itm to Ric Typlyng ellere to mak a chaumer fluyer to his kylne howse Itm delyv'd to Wylyam Yrebe elleres to beyld a chaumer ende. Itm to Wylyam Thorneton tymbyr to the amendyng of his howse and to the beyldyng of a swyn koute Itm to Wylyam Lange iij flanges of hoke to mak a helme wt. Itm to Robert Folyfate a pan and a threugyste to amende his laythe Itm to the p'son elleres four cuppylles for a howse of viij postes Itm to Thos Meddilton v treys be the vertue of a warrand."

"Memorandum that Thomas Iven the reparacon mayd by Ric. Saxton ye Baly of Spoforde in ye yer of ye Reigne of Kynge Edward iij was yt aperys in thes p'sentes as foloweth Imp'mis the sayd Ric payd to Thos Taylyer and to Ryc Chylton of Folyfaytt for gyttyng of playte ston for ye manner of Topclyf xijs. Itm the sayde Ryc. payd for  
XX  
makyng the hage of Brandleye Hage for xvj rode and x takyng for a rode ob' S'ma xiijs ixd.  
XX  
Itm payd for makyng of viij rode and ij of hage betwyn the p'son Hage and Brandlaye Hage takyng a rode jd S'ma

xiijs vjd.

Itm payd forthupholdyng of the p'son hage iijs iiijd.

Itm payd for removyng of a gayt and for setting upp of the saym in the seyd Hage viijjd.

Itm for the haspe stapyll and the loke for the sayde gaytte vjd

Itm for ye reparacon of ye comon mold' payd be sayd Ryc to Ryc Dycson for fellyng of tymbr and of carryng it to the sayde mold' xijd.

Itm payd to Gregor Bron for ladyng ye sayd tymbr iij layd for ev'y layd ijd. S'ma viijjd

Itm payd for Bred Hayll and those yt helpyd to wayn ye sayde tymbr vjd.

Itm payd to Ryc Dycson for makyng of a newe wall to ye sayde mold' xs.

Itm ..to ye sayde Ryc for ij dayes warke at ye saydd mold' takyng a daye vd S'ma xd.

Itm payd to Robert Payver for <sup>xx</sup> iiiij thack burds ijs viijjd

Itm payd for CC nalys viijjd

Itm payd to Ryc Dycson for thekkyng of ye sayde mold' xs.

Itm payd to Ryc Holynhawe for yryn brays to ye sayd mold' viijjd

Itm payd to ye sayd Ryc for makyng of the mold' spyndyll and ye hyngys xiiij<sup>1</sup>

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1 Two long sheets bound in with the Court Rolls for 14 Ed.IV. They represent the woodgraves' report of liveries of timber, and the bailiff's reckoning of his current repairs.

(b) Example of Ministers' Accounts - Pet.MS.Spofforth D.9.2 1442

Spofforde

Comptus Roberti Rote Collectoris redditorum ac  
firmarum ibidem a festo Sancti Michaelis Anno regni Regis  
Henrici Sexti xxmo usque idem festum Sancti Michaelis  
extunc sequens Anno eiusdem Regis xxjmo per unum annum  
integrum

Arreragia Idem respondet de xli.xs.pro arreragiis compoti  
anni proxime precedentis prout patet in pede  
eiusdem etc. totum super Henricum Chambre pro reddito suo  
in Brame diversorum annorum precedentium de xs.per annum  
Summa xli.xs.

Redditi et Firmas

Et de cxijs.ijd.recepta pro redditis et firmis liberorum  
tenentium in Spoford cum membris ad terminos Martini et  
Pentecoste ultra xjs.vjd.de libero reddito pertinente  
manerio de Spoford onerato in Craven in villa de Thresfeld

Et de ijs.ijd. pro xiiij operibus cariagio bladi de  
tenentibus de Folyfayt ad festum Michaelis in fine compoti

Et de xijd pro vj operibus cariagio bladi de tenentibus  
in Folyfayt ad festum Michaelis pro opere ijd

xx

Et de xvijs.xd. pro iiijxv operibus et dimidietate  
messibus unde de tenentibus de Spofford xxiij, pretium  
cuiusque operis ijd, de tenentibus rectoris de Spofford  
xj et dimidia, pro quolibet opere iiijd quia bis per annum,  
de tenentibus de Kirkeby xix pretium operis positum in  
certo per Rentale, de tenentibus in Folyfayt at Ayketon  
xliiij, pretium operis ijd ad festum Sancti Michaelis

Et de iiijd pro iiij operibus messionum in Ayketon  
et Folyfayt eodem anno, videlicet pro qualibet placia  
vasti quae reddere solet per annum nisi jd

Et de viijd pro operibus viij bovatarum terrae in  
tenura Rectoris de Spofford, pro quolibet opere jd  
Summa vj li.xiiijs.ijd



## Redditi ad Voluntatem

Et de iijli.xvjs pro firma tenentium ad voluntatem in Spofford pro termino Martini et Pentecoste

Et de xlvijs pro lxlviij acris terrae et prati diversis in le Riddynge ultra xlvijs in decremento

Et nichil pro tolneto de Panall hoc anno quia nullum accidit

Et de vij li. vjs.viijd.pro firma molendini aquatici ibidem sic dimissi

Et de xxs. pro firma communis furni ibidem sic dimissi hoc anno

Summa xv li.xs.viijd.

## Redditi bovatarum et Cotagiorum

Et de ix li.xs.ijd.pro firmis tenentium in bondagio ad terminos Martini et Pentecoste infra comptum

Et de ijs.iijd.pro operibus carucagii et herciaturae ad festum Michaelis in fine compoti ut patet per Rentale in titulo tenentium de bondagio ultra xvjd.de operibus oneratis supra infra summam de xvjs.xd.

Et de xxxixs.iiijd.pro firmis tenentium cotagiorum et croftorum ad terminos Martini et Pentecoste

Summa xj li.xjs.ixd.

## Novi Redditi

Et nichil pro incremento firmae unius weblome quod Thomas Browne tenuit Set de xijd.pro nova firma Johannis Lylly pro j flesshamells super vastum domini. Et de ijd. pro incremento firme dimidiae rodæ terrae in vasto domini assartatae per Robertum Alyson, sic dimissae Willelmo del Wod ut patet per rotulum curiae ad tempus. Et de iijd.pro nova firma Ricardi Barnard pro j placea terrae de vasto domini continentis in longitudine xiiij pedes et in latitudine xvj pedes. Et nichil hic de novo reddito Ricardi Fouller in Ayketon pro j messuagio etiiij acris terrae quondam in tenura Johannis Kyghlay ad terminos Martini et Pentecoste quod quedem messuagium et terrae devenerunt ad manus domini causa reversionis dicti Johannis ex sursumreddicione cok camerariae per concordiam factam

inter dictum dominum at ipsum quia modo dimittitur Nicholao de Halle in escambium cum aliis terris et tenementis in Alnewyke et solet reddere per annum viijs. Set redditus de xjs.vjd. pro novo reddito Thomae Shephirde de Folyfate pro j messuagio et j cotagio et j bovatae terre ratione concordiae pro vs. de firma j tofti et ij acrarum terrae nuper in tenura Willelmi Raggyll in Ayckton et j tofto et j crofto et ij acris de forlande ibidem in tenura Alani Galway nichil pro termino Martini et Pentecoste et reddi solet per annum viijs. quia conceditur dicto Nicholao in excambium. Set respondet de xxxijs. iiijd. pro novo reddito Johannis del Boure pro capitali messuagio et xxx acris terrae et ij acris prati modo Roberti White ratione dicte concordiae ad terminos Martini et Pentecoste. Pro xxxijs. iiijd. pro firma terrarum et tenementorum in Whitewell in manibus domini causa reversionis dicti Johannis non respondet quia responsum est domino in compoto ballivi et feodarii. Set respondet de ijd. pro novo reddito Johannis filii Roberti Barker pro ij parcellis domus suae edificatae super vastum domini vocatum Aldetemple de novo arentatae ad terminum vitae suae terminis Martini et Pentecoste. Et de ijd. pro novo reddito Thomae Boure pro j placea terrae de vasto domini continenti in longitudine ducentos pedes et in latitudine vj pedes quae quondam fuit venella versus stagnum iuxta stablinum sic dimissa ad terminum vitae suae, terminis Martini et Pentecoste. Et de ijd. pro novo reddito Johannis filii Roberti Barker pro ij parcellis domus suae edificatae in vasto domini.

Summa xlvjs.xjd.

### Incrementa Redditi

Et de jd. pro incremento redditi j placeae vasti vocatae Bensyke sic dimissae Thomae Kighlay per annum ultra xxiij. de antiquo reddito hoc anno. Et de vjd.....j acrae prati vocatae Millynge et j acrae prati apud Seves dimissae de novo Ricardo Galway ultra xd. de antiquo reddito. Et de vjd....j acrae prati dimissae Johanni Boure ultra vjd. de antiquo reddito. Et de viijs. pro firma viij acrarum prati vocati Havercroft de terris Prioris de Newbroughe in Campo de Spofforde de novo existentibus in manu domini de excambio pro j messuagio et j bovata terrae in Folyfate quae reddere solebant per annum nisi vs. et sic de incremento per annum iijs. Et de viijs ....del penhouse cum pertinentiis, videlicet v acris terrae quae quondam fuerunt in tenura Rectoris de Spofforde pro xvs. per annum et modo dimittuntur pro xxiijs. per annum. Et de xxd.... Willelmi Kelds pro j cotagio cum pertinentiis ibidem nuper Ricardi Nuthalles eo quod reddi solebat nisi iijs. et modo redditur iijjs.viijd. per rotulum curiae. Et de xijd. .. Thomae Galwey pro j

tenemento et vj acris terrae nuper in tenura Thomae Galwey patris sui eo quod reddi solebant viijs.ijd, modo dimittitur pro ixs.ijd. Et de iiijd. ... j cotagio nuper in tenura Thomae Mering pro iijs. et modo dimittitur Johanni Collyer pro iijs.iiijd. per annum.

Summa xxs.jd.

### Nova Incrementa Redditi

Et de xijd. ...j cotagii nuper in tenura Aliciae Mason pro ijs. per annum, modo dimittitur Rogero filio Rogeri Sparkes pro iijs. per annum et sic incrementum xijd. Et de xijd. pro incremento firmae Isabellae relictæ Adæ Stedeman pro uno cotagio ad eosdem terminos. Et de xijd. pro incremento firmae Johannis filii Alani pro j cotagio in tenura Thomae Galwey. Et de xijd. .. Thomae Galwey pro j cotagio nuper in tenura Willelmi Tailor. Et de xijd. ...Willelmi Collynge pro j cotagio nuper in tenura sua. Et de xxd. ...Johannis Grenesett clerici pro j cotagio nuper in tenura Ricardi Brenand eo quod reddi solebat iijs.iiijd. et modo dimittitur pro vs. Et de ijs... Willelmi del Camera pro j perticata terrae et prati quæ quondam fuerunt in tenura Aliciae relictæ Roberti Clerke eo quod dimittitur pro ijs.ultra xjs.de antiquo reddito. Et de xvjd.pro incremento firmæ Willelmi Northwod pro ij peciis prati vocati le Newfeld modo in tenura Ricardi Brenand ad eosdem terminos ultra iijs. de antiquo reddito. Et de xijd...Johannis Bekarton pro j messuagio et ij bovatis terrae eo quod solebat reddi nisi xixs.et modo xxs. Et de xd. pro incremento firmæ dicti Johannis pro j messuagio et iiij bovatis terrae in tenura Gilberti del Wodde ad eosdem terminos eo quod reddi solebat xxixs ijd.et modo dimittuntur pro xxxs. Et de iijd pro incremento firmæ Ricardi Galwey per annum ad eosdem terminos pro ij bovatis et ij acris terrae del Northall et j parcelle prati in Milynge in les Seves pro una parcella prati apud Greteham Hill ultra xxvijs.jd. de antiquo reddito. Et de xs. pro quodam annuali reddito de omnibus redditis et firmis Willelmi de Camera in Brame per concordiam factam inter dominum et ipsum et heredes suos in perpetuum. Et de vjd. pro incrementum redditu Ricardi Newsom pro j cotagio nuper in tenura Isolde Sprotley pro ijs. per annum modo dimittitur eidem pro ijs.vjd. ad terminum vitæ suæ. Et de xvjd.pro incremento redditu Nicholai Fuyster pro j parcella terrae nuper in tenura Willelmi Kelde superius oneratae ad ijs.et modo dimittitur pro iijs.iiijd. Et de iijs. pro parcella terrae vocatae Frereyngæ ad terminos Martini et Pentecoste sic dimissa Thome Browne secundum consuetudinem manerii. Et de iijs.

pro una parcella gardini Roberti Paver ad eosdem terminos. Et de vjd. pro quodam spacio vasti in longitudine centum pedes ad eosdem terminos, sic dimisso Roberto Bekarton ad terminum xxti annorum, hoc anno xvijmo. pro parte Et de ijd. pro firma j parcellae vasti iuxta tenementum Willelmi Cokle ad terminos eosdem. Et de xijd. pro novo reddito super le Smythehill continentem in longitudine xxiiij pedes et in latitudine xvj pedes, sic dimissum Thome Mershall. Et de vjd. pro incremento redditi Johannis Raby pro j cotagio nuper in tenura Willelmi Thomlynson ut patet per rotulum curiae quinti anni precedentis. Et de jd. pro incremento redditi Thome Tayler pro j poste positae super solum dominum, ut per eosdem rotulos. Et de iijs. pro incremento redditi Roberti Collier pro j cotagio sibi dimisso per rotulos curiae.

Summa xxxvs. iijd.

#### Firma Molendini Fullonici

Et de xxvjd. viijd. pro firma unius molendini fullonici edificati in le Fysshouse, sic dimissi ibidem hoc anno.

Summa xxvjs. viijd.

Summa Totalis cum arreragiis L li. xvs. vjd.

#### Decasus Redditi

E quibus computat in decasu redditi diversarum terrarum et tenementorum in manu domini existentium ibidem per defectum tenentium eo quod onerantur superius in diversis parcellis ad xl li. vs. vjd. et modo dimittuntur tenentibus ibidem pro xxxvj li. xvs. jd. ob. prout patet per unum rentale de novo renovatum anno xjm. Regis Henrici Sexti, super hunc comptum exhibitum et examinatum, et sic in decasu lxxs. iiijd. ob. Et in decasu redditi j tenementi in Folyfayt nuper in tenura Thome Exilby pro vjs. per annum et modo in tenura Henrici Brereton pro vs. per annum ad voluntatem domini, et sic in decasu xijd. Et in decasu firmae j forgiae infra villam ibidem nuper in tenura Roberti Todd prout superius oneratae per rentale pro terminis Martini et Pentecoste huius anni xijd. Et in decasu firme j cotagii nuper in tenura Thomae Roper prout onerati superius pro eisdem terminis, in manu domini causa praedicta cum ijd. de bonesilver - iijs. ijd. de cetero in tenura pro iijs. Et in decasu firmae j cotagii nuper in tenura Margaretae Radclyffe pro iijs. per annum, modo in tenura Thomae Cottom pro termino Pentecoste pro xviijd. et sic in decasu ijs. vjd. Et in decasu firmae molendini

aquatici ad bladum ibidem superius onerati ad vij li.vjs. viijd. et modo dimittitur Thomae Lytton pro vj li.xiij. s. Et in allocacione facta eidem computanti de firma cuiusdam tenementi et j clausi nuper in tenura Thomae Browne pro vjs. per annum eo quod conceditur dicto Thomae Lytton unacum firma molendini praedicti sine aliquo reddito durante termino suo, et sic in decasu vjs. Et in decasu firme molendini fullonici superius onerati ad xxvjs.viijd. per annum in manu domini pro termino Pentecoste infra hunc computum defectu reparacionum, et sic xiijs.iiiijd. Et allocatur eidem pro certis parcellis terrae videlicet Ricardi Bekarton (iijd) Roberti Typlynge (vjd) et Roberti ... (iijd) pro medietate incluse pro uno gardino pertinenti uni cotagio in tenura Ricardi Holynhawe xijd. Et allocantur eidem pro firma j cotagii in tenura Beatriciae nuper uxoris Willelmi Baynton eidem relaxata causa paupertatis et impotentiae suae per discrecionem Auditoris hoc anno cum ijd. de bonesilver iijs.ijd. Et in decasu firmae ij acrarum terrae nuper in tenura Thomae Ecop iacentium incampis de Lynton prout oneratur per dictum rentale eo quod idem Thomas sursumreddidit in manum domini dictas ij acras terrae per rotulum curiae annorum praecedentium pro terminis Martini et Pentecoste huius anni ijs. Et in decasu firmae j cotagii et j gardini nuper in tenura Willelmi Hamerton pro ijs.ijd. per annum cum ijd. de bonesilver, in manu domini praeter xijd. levatos de proficiis eiusdem de Willelmo Cokyll, et sic xiiijd. Et in decasu firmae j cotagii nuper in tenura Roberti Todd pro iijs. per annum, in manu domini, vasti causa combustionis eiusdem per infortunatum ignem ij annis elapsis, pro terminos Martini et Pentecoste huius anni iijs.

Summa vj li.ijs. ob.

### Allocaciones

Et allocatur eidem pro expensis Johannis Bikerton equitantis de Eboraco versus Petteworthe cum quadam summa pecuniae domino carianda mense Decmbris post clausum compoti de termino Martini anni subsequentis xs. Et allocatur computanti eidem pro expensis suis venienti usque Eboracum pro compoto suo istius anni reddendo per discrecionem Auditoris per duos dies xijd.ob.

Summa xjs.ob.

### Feoda

Et in feodo Johannis Robynson sibi concesso per litteram patentem domini ad terminum vitae suae percipiendi annuatim de firmis de Wodhall iuxta Spoford hoc anno ut in annis praecedentibus xls. Et in feodo Roberti White

consimili modo sibi concessio ad terminum vitae suae per litteras patentes domini percipiendi de firmis domini apud Spofford de jd. per diem ut pro hoc anno ut supra xxs.iiijd.

Summa lxxs.iiijd.

### Soluta cofris domini

Et in solucione facta cofris domini de exitibus termini Martini huius anni per manum Johannis Morden per j indenturam sub signeto domini datam apud Dakenhame xiiio die Decembris anno xxmo Regis Henrici Sexti, remanet intra Warrantum huius anni iiij li. Et eisdem cofris de exitibus eiusdem termini per manum Christoferi Spencer per aliam indenturam sub signeto domini apud Londinium x mensis Marci anno xx predicto remanet intra warrantum istius anni ut supra xxvjs.viiij. Et eisdem cofris de exitibus eiusdem termini per aliam indenturam datam Londinii ij die Februarii anno xx predicto, remanet ut supra xxs. Et eisdem cofris per manum Thomae Kempe de exitibus eiusdem termini per unam indenturam sub signeto domini datam apud Dakenham ultimo die Maii anno xx predicto, remanet intra Warrantum ut supra xxxiij.iiij.

Summa viij li.

### Liberata

Et in denariis liberatis Johanni Bykerton deputato ballivo domini ibidem vj li. vjs.viiij. per indenturam per manum Ricardi Bykerton patris sui (xxs.) et per manum Thomae Pynchebeke (lxs.) pro parte cuiusdam Warranti prout patet per iiij indenturas super comptum liberatas, et remanet inter warrantum huius anni ut supra x li. vjs. viij. Et in denariis liberatis Christofero Spencer supervisorii terrae domini de exitibus receptis suis istius anni ut in compoto particulari eiusdem Christoferi huius anni ls. Et liberavit domino Willelmo Spencer clerico Rotulorum domini in Craven de exitibus compoti sui de libera firma in Ilkeley huius anni unde idem oneratur in compoto suo in titulo de forinsecis receptis xxiijs. Et liberavit praefato Christofero Spencer Supervisorii etc. ut in tot denariis assignatis domino Willelmo Normanvyle militi pro parte feodi sui de hoc anno ut in dicto compoto suo particulari plenius apparet - vij li.xiij.vd.

Summa xxj li. xiij. jd.

Summa Omnium allocacionum et liberacionum xxxix li.xvs.vjd. Et sic debet xj li. Qui onerantur in proximo compoto anni subsequentis in titulo arreragiis.

Compotus Roberti Barde et Johannis Wyvell Feodarii domini  
ibidem de tempore quod infra.

Arreragia

Nulla.

Redditi et Firmas

Set de xxxiij.iiiij. pro redditis et firmis in  
Whitewell apud Lynton hoc anno. Et de xxv. viij. pro  
firma terrarum et tenementorum in Oxton de eschaetis.

Summa lxs.

Perquisita Curiae

Et de viij.iiiij. pro perquisitis xvij curiarum  
tentarum ibidem hoc anno ut patet per rotulos earundem  
de amerciammentis pro defalta sectae curiae per Willelmum  
Farefax hoc anno. Et de xlviij. viij. pro finibus diversis  
pro secta curiae relaxanda hoc anno ut patet per rotulos  
curiae. Et de xxv. xd. pro finibus pro respectu homagii  
hoc anno per eosdem rotulos. et de xij. pro fine Jacobi  
Tollicowtes pro probacione aetatis suae per rotulos curiarum  
praedictarum. Et nichil pro releviis ibidem hoc anno  
quia nulla acciderunt ut per eosdem rotulos. Et nichil  
pro extrahuris hic hoc anno quia onerantur in compoto  
ballivi de Tadcastr prout patet ibidem. Et de ix. viij.  
pro finibus forinsecis brasiatorum ibidem hoc anno unde  
apud Staynfordbrygge (vs.) Ilkeley (ijs.) Wansforde (viij.)  
Kirkeby Ouerblowes (vjd.) Nafferton (vjd.) Newton (vjd.)  
Folyfatt (nichil) et Foston (vjd.)

Summa iiij li. xiiij. vjd.

Terrae in manu domini ratione minoris aetatis heredum.

Et de v. viij. pro valore j tenementi xij acrarum  
terrae et prati in Tadcastr accidentium in manum domini  
ratione minoris aetatis Roberti filii et heredis Roberti  
Goodyere defuncti, qui est aetatis sex annorum prout patet  
per rotulos curiae in anno praecedenti, hic onerata pro  
terminis Martini et Pentecoste infra hunc compotum, sic  
dimissa Johanni Thurstan de Morelay durante minore aetate  
heredis praedicti.

Et nichil responsum est de ciijs.iiiijd. pro valore terrae et tenementi nuper Thomae Grene iacentis in Newsome in Craven existentium in manum domini ratione minoris aetatis Johannis filii et heredis praedicti Thomae defuncti, qui est aetatis xxj annorum et ultra, sic dimissi Johanni Tempest militi ad firmam durante minore aetate heredis praedicti, sub sigillo suo secundum extentam inde factam vel faciendam ultra dotem uxoris nuper praedicti Thomae pro terminis Martini et Pentecoste huius anni et eo quod terra fuit extra manu domini causa plenae aetatis heredis praedicti.

Et nichil pro custodia terrarum et tenementorum filii et heredis Roberti Goodyere defuncti in Craven accidenti in manum domini causa minoris aetatis heredis eiusdem eo quod in compoto Receptoris de Craven et dimittitur Ricardo Tempest avunculo per factum domini.

Summa vjs.viiijd.

Summa totalis receptorum Viij li. xiiijd.

(Note: Memorandum quod debentur domino per Johannem Tempest militem pro firma terrae et tenementi nuper Thomae Grene iacentis in Newsome in Craven praefato, domino pertinentis causa minoris aetatis Johannis filii et heredis praedicti Thomae defuncti pro iij annis praecedentibus de ciijs.iiiijd. per annum sic eidem dimissi per factum eiusdem domini secundum extentam inde factam vel faciendam ultra dotem uxoris nuper praedicti Thomas a retro et nondum soluti cum xijs.viiijd. de parte firmae terrae debiti per eundem Johannem Tempest militem de iij anno praecedenti ultra soluciones et allocaciones suas eiusdem anni In toto xvj li. ijs. viiijd.)

#### Decasus cum aliis solucionibus

E quibus idem computat in decasu redditu domini super terras domini in Lynton vocati Whytewellfarme superius onerati ad xxxiij.iiiijd. in manu domini existentis hoc anno praeter xxvs.viiijd. levatos hoc anno de proficiis redditu earundem et sic in decasu vijs.viiijd.

Et in pergameno empto pro rotulis curiarum huius domini et domini de Topclyffe ad extracta earundem superscribenda hoc anno ut in annis praecedentibus ijs.

Summa decasuum et aliarum solucionum ixs.viiijd. Et debet vij li. xjs.vijd. Et liberavit sibi ipsi comptistae ballivo feodi de Topclyffe ut in compoto suo ibidem huius anni in titulo forinsecis receptis. Et sic recessit.



Compotus Johannis Bykerton deputato Thomae Pynchebek ballivi ibidem a festo Sancti Michaelis Anno xx Regis Henrici Sexti usque idem festum Sancti Michaelis extunc sequens anno eiusdem Regis xxj scilicet unum annum integrum

### Arreragia

Idem respondet de ix li. iijs. iijd pro arreragiis ultimi compoti anni proxime praecedentis prout patet in pede eiusdem

Summa ix li. iijs. iijd.

### Dimissio herbagii et pratorum

Et de iijs. iijd. pro firma herbagii j clausi intra palicium et novum stagnum ibidem hoc anno in tenura Willelmi Todde (xxd.) et Ricardi Bekerton (xxd.) Et de iijjs. pro firma herbagii j clausi infra situm manerii ibidem sic dimissi comptistae hoc anno. Et de nichil pro firma grangiae infra situm manerii ibidem quia occupatur cum feno et meremio domini. Et nichil pro herbagio parci infra le Neweparke et Horshouseynge quia reservantur in manu domini pro vaccaria sua cum reddito solito iiii li. per annum. Et nichil pro herbagio de Vivercarr cum toto herbagio eiusdem quia conceditur Thomae Pynchebek ballivo ibidem per dominum ad terminum vitae suae per litteras suas patentis datas viij die mensis Augusti anno xix Regis Henrici Sexti ostensas et penes ipsum remanentes cum reddito solito per annum xvijjs. Set respondet de ijs. pro herbagio j clausi infra les Rayles in Donstell Hage iacentis inter palicium et stagnum ex opposito le Bromelaundes sic dimissi Willelmo Galway et Roberto Bykerton per annum ijs. Et de xxiijs. pro firma vj acrarum prati infra le Hopkynynges sic dimissarum Henrico Coke et Willelmo Galway ad terminum vitae eorundem per rotulum curiae secundi anni precedentis. Et de xxiijs. pro firma ix acrarum prati in Mykelynge (xiijs) et le Mylneynges (xs.) ibidem sic oneratarum quia falcantur et occupantur per dominum Willum Plompton militem et cariantur usque Plumpton sine dimissione alicuius hoc anno. Et nichil pro firma j acrae prati vocatae Kighlay acre quia dimittitur cum capitali messuagio et responsu est inde in compoto collectoris in tenemento Thomae Taillor. Et nichil pro firma j clausi infra parcum vocati Whetecrofte quia depascitur per bestias de stauro domini. Et nichil pro firma j clausi ibidem vocati Netherlande infra parcum quia dimittitur cum firma herbagii parci cum reddito solito xxxs. iij. Et de vjs. viij. pro firma j parcellae prati vocatae le Littyhalleynges alias vocatae Parkeynges sic dimissae Willelmo Todde hoc anno.

Summa iij li. viijs. vjd.

## Firma Parci

Et de viij li. pro firma herbagii parci ibidem in tenura Johannis Clerke et Johannis Russell per indenturam inter dominum et ipsos factam ad terminum x annorum pro viij li. per annum solvenda ad festa Inventionis Sanctae Crucis et Michaelis annuatim durante termino praedicto unacum firma herbagii de le Horsclose infra dictum parcum et praedicti firmarii reservabunt herbagium ibidem sufficiens ad depascendas et sustentandas feras domini unacum uno tauro, xx vaccis de vaccaria domini cum sequelis eorum quousque ad aetatem j anni pervenient ac herbagium sufficiens ad falcandum pro feno inde habendo pro bestiis tempore hiemale sustentandis ac pascendis sufficienter pro omnibus aliis averiis at animalibus concessis per Warrantum domini quibuscumque personis cum indentura data similiter annuatim durante termino praedicto dimittent hoc termino Michaelis in fine compoti ix pro parte.

Summa viij li.

## Arlethorpe

Et de iiij li. pro firma j tenementi et campi ibidem in tenura Johannis Russell per indenturam factam inter dominum et ipsum ad terminum vitae suae. Et nichil pro firma herbagii de Arlethorpe parke ad festum Michaelis in fine compoti quia includitur infra parcum pro bestiis et feris domini ibidem sustentandis.

Summa iiij li.

## Perquisita Curiarum et vendicio bosci

Et de iiij li. xvs.iiijd. pro perquisitis xvij curiarum tentarum ibidem hoc anno prout patet per rotulos earundem. Et de iiij li. js.vjd. pro vendicione bosci ibidem prout patet per eosdem rotulos hoc anno. Et de x li. pro C dosanz skeppes carboni vocati charcole combustis in Thackwithhagge infra parcum hoc anno prout patet per j talliam inter computante et Johannem Ive factam per le skeppe ijd.

## Pannagium Extrahurae Cokshotes Bestokes

Et nichil pro pannagio porcorum ibidem hoc anno quia continentur intra perquisita curiarum. Et nichil pro vendicione extrahurarum ibidem hoc anno quia nullae acciderunt per eosdem rotulos. Et nichil pro firma de lez

Cokeshotes neque pro Bestokes ibidem quia parcarius clamat habere ex dono domini sine aliquo inde reddendo unde videatur quo warranto.

### Vendicio feni

Et de xs. pro precio iij fothers feni captorum per praefatum dominum Willelmum Plompton infra grangiam manerii de Spofforde ad usum suum sic appreciatorum super comptum.

### Vendicio Operum

Et de xijs.iijd. pro precio cvj operum custumalium pro falcacionem factura et cariendo feni, sic venditorum tenentibus domini ibidem per annum.

Summa xix li. xixs.jd.

### Walton Hede

Pro omnibus terris et tenementis domini in West Walton iuxta Spofforde in Comitatu Eboracense cum pertinentiis, nichil responsum est hic quia dominus dedit et concessit omnia praedicta terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis Guidoni Farefax ad terminum vitae suae in recompensationem feodi sui per litteras suas patentes datas xv die Decembris anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post Conquestum xii penes ipsum remanent et valent xx marcis et ultra.

Summa nichil

### Forinseca Recepta

Et de x li. vjs.viijd. responsum est pro Roberto Rote collectore de Spofford per manus Johannis Bikerton per ij memoranda (vj li.vjs.viijd.) per manus Ricardi Bikerton patris sui (xxs.) et per manus Thome Pynchebeke (lxs.) computantis ut in compoto collectoris hoc anno.

Summa x li. vjs.viijd.

Summa Totalis cum arreragiis Lv li.xviijs.vijd.

### Expensa Senescalli

E quibus idem computat in expensis capitalis senescalli, subsenescalli, feodarii, clerici curiae et aliorum ministrorum domini ibidem existentium per diversas vices infra tempus compoti pro xviiij curiis tenendis et aliis negotiis domini faciendis ut patet per rotulos earundem xxxijs.jd.

Summa xxxijs.jd.

Custae molendinorum granaticorum et fullonicorum cum uno tenemento domini in Folyfatt

Et in diversis custis et expensis factis seu reparacionis et facturae molendinorum granaticorum et fullonicorum (xvjs.xjd. & vij li.viijs.xjdo.) ibidem hoc anno ut in stipendiis carpentariorum cimentariorum sarratorum pro sectione maeremii cum cariagio eiusdem ac aliorum laborariorum ad idem opus conductorum cum clavis et aliis necessariis emptis pro eisdem operibus prout patet per parcelas ostensas et examinatas super hunc computum et remanet intra Warrantum huius anni omnibus computat viij li. vs.xd ob. Et solutum pro reparacione tecturae j tenementi domini in Folyfatt nuper in tenura Thome Exilby ut in tectura eiusdem cum cariagio straminis de Kirkby usque Folyfatt per parcelas in toto iij.s.vijd. Et in diversis solucionibus per istum computantem factis per tempus compoti per parcelas examinatas et remanet ut supra cum reparacione defectuum in manerio in toto xjs.ixd.

Summa ix li. xiiijd ob.

Custae Palicii parci ibidem

Et solutum Roberto Paver et Willelmo Fletcher pro factura xlv rodarum novi palicii circa parcum hoc anno capientibus pro j roda iiiijd. xvs. Et solutum eisdem Roberto et Willelmo pro remocione lxxxv rodarum veteri palicii circa dictum parcum hoc anno per rodam ijd. xiiij.s.ijd. Et eisdem reparantibus defectus eiusdem palicii per vj dies utroque capienti per diem iijd.-- xviiijd. Et solutum Johanni Rudde Johanni Lemynge Roberto Lemynge et Ricardo Marrot pro factura xij rodarum fossati et positione eiusdem cum Whikfall et remocione veteris palicii et positione super dictum fossatum inter pratum vocatum Horshouseynge et le Horshouse infra dictum parcum - roda ad iijd. iiijs. Et solutum Roberto Lemynge reparanti defectus dicti palicii per iij dies capienti per diem iiiijd. xijd. Et solutum Johannis Clerke pro cariandis xxix plaustratis palicii ad diversa loca circum dictum parcum capienti per lodam ijd. iij.s.xd.

Summa xls.vjd.

Clausura Copiciarum

Et solutum Johanni Rudde Johanni Lemynge Ricardo Marrot et Roberto Lemynge reparantibus defectus palicii et halarum circa Dunstalhage infra parcum ibidem locis deficientibus per xx dies cuilibet per diem iiiijd. vjs.viiijd. Et solutum Roberto Clay et Johanni Clay

reparantibus defectus clausi de Personhage in bosco forinseco ibidem hoc anno ijs.xd. Et solutum Johanni Rudde Johanni Lemynge Ricardo Marrot et Roberto Lemynge pro sustentacione lez Rayles in Arlethorpe parke hoc anno per unum diem quolibet per diem iiijd. xvjd. Et solutum Roberto Paver pro sustentacione clausi de Whetecrofte hoc anno vjs.viijd. Et solutum Johanni Rudde et iij sociis conductantibus pro cxxlij rodīs novae haise circa copiciam vocatam Thackwithhage in dicto parco ibidem - roda ad ijd. xls.iiijd.

Summa lvijs.xd.

#### Factura de Shipburdes et Thackburdes

Et solutum Roberto Paver et sociis suis pro prostracione viij quercorum pro shipburdes et thackburdes inde faciendis pecia ad iiijd. ijs.viijd. Et solutum Roberto Cokyll pro factura ccc shipburdes factorum de eisdem quercubus ad usum domini c ad xs. xxs. Et in cariagio vj plaustratarum tabularum de parco usque manerium per Ricardum Bikerton xvd.

Summa xxxiij.s.xjd.

#### Minutiae

Et in expensis Supervisoris, Auditoris et aliorum ministrorum domini existentium apud Spofforde hoc anno tam pro vendicione bosci quam aliis diversis negotiis per diversas vices.

Summa xijs.ijd.

#### Feoda

Et in feodo Thomae Pynchebeke pro officio ballivi domini ibidem et pro custodia boscorum forinsecorum domini praedicti de iijd. per diem sibi concessis ad terminum vitae suae per litteras domini patentes ut patet hoc anno iiij li. xjs. Et in feodo Johannis Russell consimili modo sibi concesso ad terminum vitae suae per litteras domini patentes de ijd. per diem percipiendis de firmis de Arlethorpe in tenura sua pro hoc anno ut supra lxs.viijd. Et in feodo Johannis Clerke parcarii parci de Spofford sibi concesso ad terminum vitae suae per litteras patentes domini de ijd. per diem per annum ut supra lxs.viijd.

Summa x li. xijs.iiijd.

#### Allocaciones

Et in allocacione facta Johanni Russell de parte firmae de Arlethorpe in tenura sua in parte solucionis expensorum suorum in officio suo staurarii domini in

Comitatu Northumbrense in compoto ibidem non allocata ut pro hoc anno xis.iiij<sup>d</sup>. Et allocavit eidem Johanni de parte firmæ parci pro fugacione diversorum bestiorum domini de Stauraria sua et de empcione apud nundinas de Rippon per Thomam Knapton de Spofford usque Dakenhams mense Octobre hoc anno ultra xiijs.iiij<sup>d</sup> solutos per dictum Thomam Knapton tunc Receptorum domini in Northumbria vijs.ij<sup>d</sup>. cum viij<sup>d</sup>. deficientiis pro expensis suis superius allocatis

Summa xxvjs.vjd.

#### Soluciones per Warrantum

Et in solucione facta Thomae Pynchebeke ballivo istius domini pro j equo ab ipso empto ad usum domini per litteram domini de warranto datam Londonii sub signeto suo xv die Maii anno xx Regis prædicti remanet intra warrantum huius anni iiij li. Et solutum Johanni Levaton de medietate firmæ huius anni in parte maioris summae eidem debitæ per dominum pro denariis suis propriis accommodatis prout patet per iij warranta cancellata et remanet intra warrantum huius anni per manus Thomae Pynchebeke apud Helagh per testes Christoferum Spencer et Johannem Russell iiij li. vs.

Summa viij li. vs.

#### Soluciones cofris domini

Et in solucione facta cofris domini de parte viij li. xs de arreragiis Roberti Cokyll pro vendicione bosci eidem venditi in anno præcedenti per manus Christoferi Spencer per j indenturam sub signeto domini datam Londinii x die Martii anno Regis Henrici Sexti remanet intra warrantum huius anni ut supra iiij li.

Et eisdem cofris de parte dictæ summae debitæ per eundem Robertum Cokyll pro consimile bosco per manus Thomae Kempe per aliam indenturam datam apud Dakenham sub signeto domini ultimo die Maii anno xx prædicto remanet ut supra lxs.

Et eisdem cofris de parte precii vendicionis bosci pro carbonibus inde comburendis in Thackwith hagg superius onerata per manus Thomae Pynchebeke ballivi domini prædicti apud Helagh mense Septembri per testem Christoferum Spencer supervisorem præsentis super hunc compotum iiij li.

Summa xj li.

#### Liberaciones

Et in denariis liberatis super compotum Christofero Spencer supervisorum terrarum domini in Comitatu Eboracensi de vendicione bosci combusti pro carbonibus in Thackwithhagg

ut in compoto suo particulari de hoc anno iiij li.

Summa omnium allocacionum et liberacionum Liij li.xixd.  
Et sic debentur lvijs.

Unde super

Dominum Willelmum Plompton militem pro firma pratorum  
(xxiijs) et pro parco, iij fother feni (xs.) per ipsum  
cariatis ex manerio domini ibidem et pro C thackburdes  
(iijjs) xxxvijs.

Et super Ricardum White (vijs.iiijd.) et Willelmum  
Lees (vijs) de arreragiis suis tercii anni praecedentis  
a retro nondum solutis xiijs.iiijd.

Et super Willelmum Ynskype pro firma molendini fullonici  
a retro nondum soluta xiijs.iiijd.

Computus omnium et singulorum ballivorum praepositorum firmariorum et aliorum ministrorum domini Regis omnimodorum castrorum dominiorum terrarum et tenementorum ac aliorum possessionum et hereditamentorum quorumcunque per dominum Regem de Henrico Comite Northumbrense in Comitatu Eboracensi nuperius perquisitorum, computo existenti a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno xxxij<sup>o</sup> Regis Henrici Octavi usque idem festum Sancti Michaelis extunc proxime sequens anni regni eiusdem Regis xxxij<sup>o</sup> Scilicet per unum annum integrum ut inferius:-

Spofforth Collector

Computus Barnardi Iveson praepositi ibidem per dictum tempus.

Arreragia

nulla

Liberi Redditus

Sed respondet de vj li. xs. de liberis redditibus diversorum liberorum tenentium domini ibidem per annum ad terminis Sancti Martini et Pentecoste equaliter ut per rentale ibidem remanens anno xiiij nuper Regis Henrici Septimi.

Summa vj li. xs.

Redditus et Firmae

Sed de xxvij li. vjs. jd de redditibus et firmis diversorum tenentium ad voluntatem domini Regis ibidem per annum solvendis terminis praedictis ut per rentale praedictum

Summa xxvij li. vjs. jd.

Summa receptorum xxxiv li. xvjs. jd. E quibus

Decrementa reddituum

Idem computat in decremento firmae unius cotagii ibidem nuper in tenura Willelmi Rutter pro ijs. per annum Et quod modo occupatur per Willelmum Woodborne pro vjd. per annum et sic in decremento per dictum tempus xvijjd. Et in decremento firmae i cotagii ibidem nuper in tenura Christoferi Bracewell pro vjs. ijd. et modo dimittitur Roberto Bell pro xijd. per annum et sic in decremento per tempus praedictum vs. ijd. Et ...j cotagii nuper in tenura Willelmi Procter vocati Pynkerton Garth ad iijs. ijd. per annum et inde habetur hoc anno nisi iiijd ex Agneta relicta Nicolai Walker et sic...ijs. xd. Et... j cotagii vocati Hamerton Garth nuper in tenura Thomae Bykerton pro ijs. ijd. ... prout onerati superius infra summam xxxiiij li. xvjs. jd. eo quod iacet in manu domini regis totaliter vastati et sic ijs. ijd. Et .. i cotagii



nuper in tenura Johannis Exilbye pro ijs... per infortunatum ignem combusti et modo gardenum eiusdem dimittitur Johanni Judson pro viijd...et six xvjd. Et...i cotagii nuper Willelmi Trewlofe pro ijs.ijd. ...eo quod dictum cotagium iacet vastatum et gardenum eiusdem dimittitur Barnardo Iveson pro xijd. et sic..xiiijd.

Summa xiiijs.ijd. Et debet xxxiiij li.xxiiijd. quos liberavit Henrico Whiteronson Receptori domini regis ibidem de exitibus officii huius anni tam ad diversas vices infra tempus huius compoti quam super compotum ex recognitione dicti receptoris coram auditore.

#### Spofforth Officium Ballivi

Compotus Thomae Mydleton ballivi ibidem per dictum tempus.

#### Arreragia

nulla

#### Dimissio Herbagii

Sed respondet de vj li.vjs.xd. de firma herbagii diversorum clausorum ibidem per annum ut ad festum Sancti Michaelis termino

Summa vj li.vjs.xd.

#### Firma Manerii de Arlethorpe

Et de iiij li. de firma manerii de Arlethorpe cum pertinentiis sic dimissi Johanni Canbye ad terminum annorum per indenturam Henrici Comitis Northumbrensis per annum solvendum ad terminos Sancto Martini et Pentecoste.

Summa iiij li

#### Firma Herbagii Parci

Et de x li. de firma herbagii parci et pannagii eiusdem dimissorum Thomae Johnson militi et Henrico Johnson filio suo per indenturam domini regis nunc Henrici viij sub sigillo Curiae suae Augmentationis Revenencium Corone .. iij Augusti xxix anno regni sui ad terminum octaginta annorum Reddendum inde annuatim ad festa Annunciacionis Beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli x li. (pro parco parvo de Topclif lxvis.viijd) durante vita dicti Thomae Johnson et post eius mortem Henricus Johnson reddet xx li. per annum durante termino praedicto.

Summa x li.

#### Vendicio Operum

Et de xijs.vjd.de pretio v operum costumalium in falcatura factura et careagia feni debitorum per diversos tenentes huius domini per annum solvendum terminis

praedictis Et xvjli.xiijs.iiijd.de firma terrae de Waltonhede per annum solvendum terminis praedictis non respondet quia conceduntur Thomas Johnson et heredibus suis in perpetuum per Henricum nuper Comitem Northumbrensem

Summa xijs.vjd.

Perquisita Curiarum cum vendicione bosci

Et de lxxix.vijd.de perquisitis ij visuum franciplegii et x curiarum baroniae ibidem hoc anno tentarum ut patet in rotulis earundem super hunc computum ostensis et examinatis. Et de xxs.de vendicione bosci ibidem vocati le derefall hoc anno ut per billam inde factam et restitutam

Summa iiij li.xix.vijd.

Summa totalis receptuum xxv li. xviijs.xjd. E quibus Allocatur ei xxxvijs.viijd.pro expensis Senescalli Clerici curiarum ballivi aliorum ministrorum domini regis ibidem existentium ad curias praedictas hoc anno. Et eidem xvijd.de amerciamento posito super Johannem Wode (xijd.) pro licencia concordanda cum Johanne Wryghte et Edwardo Carre pro defectu responsionis Thomae Herpin superius onerato in titulo perquisitorum curiarum huius anni eo quod dictae personae depriaverunt ante liberate exactum et nihil habuerunt in bonis per quod distringere potuit per sacramentum dicti computatoris. Et eidem xs.per ipsum liberati pro prostracione de le derefal infra parcum de Spofforthe hoc anno tempore yemali infra tempus compoti pro sustentacione ferarum domini regis ibidem. Et eidem xiis.per ipsum soluti pro sex plaustratis feni per ipsum emptis pro sustentacione ferarum domini regis infra parcum suum de Spofforthe tempore yemali proximo post clausum huius compoti. Et in denariis liberatis Henrico Whiteronson Receptori domini regis ibidem pro exitibus officii sui huius anni tam ad diversas vices quam super computum coram Auditore:xxij li.vs.vd. Et debet xijs.iiijd. Qui allocantur ei pro tantis denariis per ipsum solutis pro exoneracione diversarum sectarum prosecutarum extra Bancum domini Regis versus dictum computatorum pro bonis et catallis Roberti Rowley nuper de Lynton in Comitatu Eboracensi felonis fugitivi Eo quod dictus ballivus computavit de xvij li. xjs.de pretio bonorum dicti Roberti Rowley ut in compoto anni proxime praecedenti patet - viz. pro equitacione recordi (iiijs.) pro traxione placiti (ijs.) pro feodo Magistri Haywode atturnati (xxd.) pro intracione placiti Clerico Coronae (iijs.iiijd.) et atturnato domini Regis (vs.) pro cognitione placiti ut patet per unam billam inde restitutam. Et quietus est.

## Lynton

Computus Aliciae relictae Johannis Wodeborne, praepositi ibidem.

### Arreragia

nulla.

### Liber Redditus

Sed respondet de ixs.viiij<sup>d</sup>. de libero reddito diversorum liberorum tenentium domini regis ibidem per annum solvendo ad festa usualia ut per rentale renovatum anno xiiij<sup>o</sup> nuper Regis Henrici vij<sup>o</sup>

Summa ixs.viiij<sup>d</sup>.

### Redditus et Firmas

Et de xvj li.xiiijs.iiiij<sup>d</sup>. de redditibus et firmis tenentium ad voluntatem domini regis ibidem per annum solvendis terminis praedictis ut patet per rentale supradictum. Et de xviijs.viiij<sup>d</sup>. de exitibus terrarum nuper per dominum perquisitarum de Ricardo Saxton ibidem hoc anno non respondetur. Eo quod Henricus Comes Northumbrensis concessit dictas terras Thomae Johnson et heredibus suis imperpetuum

Summa xvj li.xiiijs.iiiij<sup>d</sup>.

Summa totalis xvij li.iiijs. E quibus allocantur eidem vjs.viiij pro feodo dicti computatoris collectoris reddituum et firmarum per annum ut in praecedentibus. Et debet xvj li.xvijs.iiiij<sup>d</sup>. Quos liberavit Henrico Whiteronson receptoris domini regis de exitibus praedictis tam ad diversas vices infra tempus huius compoti quam super compotum coram auditore. Et equitur.

### Officium Feodarii de Spofforde

Computus praedicti Willelmi Stapleton Feodarii ibidem per tempus praedictum.

### Arreragia

Idem reddit compotum de cvjs.xd. de arreragiis ultimi compoti anni proxime praecedentis

Summa cvjs.xd.

### Redditus et Firmas

Et de xxxiij<sup>s</sup>.iiiij<sup>d</sup>. de omnibu redditibus et firmis in Whitwell apud Lynton solvendis etc... Et de xxvjs.viiij<sup>d</sup>. de firmis terrarum domini in Oxton domino provenientibus de escaeta defectu heredum hoc anno ut in

praecedentibus annis. Et de xlijs.vjd.de firma terrarum et tenementorum in Ayton et Yrton iuxta Semarre in manu domini devenientium per escaetam post mortem Henrici Serche felonis attincti et suspensi hic onerata pro terminis Martini et Pentecostae infra tempus huius compoti ut patet per rentale super compotum de anno octavo regis Henrici septimi. Et de xviijs.vjd. de firma duorum tenementorum in Bukden in Cravyn nuper per antecessores domini concessorum Henrico Leylison et heredibus suis sub condicione quod nec ipse Henricus nec heredes sui alienabunt dictas terras sub pena forisfactionis et in anno septimo regis praedicti seisitae in manus domini sunt racione alienacione (sic) eorundem heredum facta Ricardo Tennaunte del byrks et Galfrido Tennaunte del Chappell hic onerate pro terminis Martini et Pentecostae infra tempus huius compoti ultra xvijjd. annuatim solutos collectori de Riblesdale pro libera firma exeunti de eisdem tenementis ... Et de vij li.xviijs. de firma terrarum et tenementorum in Newsham in Cravyn nuper Thomae Grene in manibus domini devenienti per escaetam per tempus compoti non respondetur eo quod heres dicti Thomae Grene clamat dictas terras fore suas proprias

Summa vj li.xijd.

#### Fines pro respectu homagii et secta curiae relaxanda

Sed respondet de lxxvjs.de finibus diversorum liberorum tenentium domini regis pro defectu sectae curiae de Spofforthe relaxandae quam pro respectu homagii domino debiti faciendo hoc anno ut in rotulis curiae ibidem continetur

Summa lxxvjs.

#### Fangfosse

Et de x li. xs.jd.de omnibus redditibus et firmis terrarum et tenementorum domini regis ibidem per annum etc.

Summa x li.xs.jd.

#### Firmae Terrarum

Et de xvijjs de firma ij messuagiorum j toftae et croftae j clausurae et ij bovatarum terrae cum pertinentiis in Hundmanbye et j parcellae prati vocatae Thristongape in manibus domini regis accidentium post mortem Willelmi Percye militis ut escaeta Eo quod Thomas Percye fuit propinquus heres dicti Willelmi ei quod dictus Thomas Percye fuit attinctus de alta prodicione Ideo omnia praedicta cum eidem pertinentiis pertinent domino regis ut escaeta. Et de vjs.vjd.de firma j bovatae terrae cum suis pertinentiis in Ayton in tenura Magistri Goodyere in manu domini regis devenientis in escaeta post mortem dicti Willelmi Percye ultra ijd solutos Wapentagio de Hang West. Et de iijs.ixd. de firma j cotagii cum tofta et crofta

cum pertinentiis in Ayton in tenura Ricardi Broune in manu domini regis accidentis ut escaeta post mortem dicti Willelmi Percy ultra xxd. solutos Capellano de Ayton et iijd. domino Regi et iijd. Magistro Haystynges.

Summa xxvijs. iijd.

Et de xj li. xs. ixd. ob. de seipso computatore Feodario domini de Topclif ut in compoto ibidem hoc anno plenius continetur.

Summa totalis Receptorum cum arreragiis xxxviij li. xjs. xjd. ob.

#### Resolucio Redditus

Idem computat in redditu resoluto domino Comiti Northumbrensi per manus collectoris de Poklington exeunti de eisdem terris et tenementis domini in Fangfosse praedicto hoc anno iijs.

#### Decrementa Redditus

In decremento redditus unius cotagii in Ayton nuper Henrici Serche ad vs. per annum et ij cotagiorum ibidem ad iijs. vjd. per annum superius onerati infra summam xlijs. vjd. Eo quod remanent in manibus domini regis per tempus compoti pro defectu reparacionum et conductus Ac nullum proficuum inde habetur per sacrum computatoris

Summa ixs. vjd.

#### Feoda

Et in feodo clerici computatoris pro scriptura et engrossacione compotorum omnium ministrorum domini in comitatu Eboracensi computabilium sibi per eundem dominum concesso pro execucionem eiusdem officii hoc anno liijs. iijjd.

#### Liberaciones Denariorum

Et in denariis per ipsum liberatis Henrico Whiteronson receptori domini regis ibidem de exitibus praedictis tam ad diversas vices infra tempus huius compoti quam super compotum coram auditore .. xxx li. xs. jd. ob.

Summa Allocacionum et liberacionum praedictarum xxxiij li. xvjs. xjd. ob. Et debet iij li. xvs.

E quibus allocantur ei xxvjs. viijjd. de redditibus et firmis in Oxton superius oneratis in titulo per se Eo quod dictae

terrae estimantur fore parcellae domini de Helagh et Catterton quod Henricus Comes Northumbrensis dedit et concessit Thomae Wharton militi et heredibus suis imperpetuum ut per unum warrantum xv Julii Anno xxvij regis praedicti, auditori directum pro exoneracione dictarum terrarum in Oxton. Et eidem xvij. vjd. de firma ij tenementorum in Bokden in Cravyn prout superius onerata in titulo per se Eo quod Henricus Comes Northumbrensis per indenturam suam xxv Maii Anno xxvj regis Henrici vij inter alia concessit et ad firmam dimisit maneria sua de Sterbotton et Bukden cum suis pertinentiis in Cravyn Thomae Wyndye et assignatis suis vjs. viijd. unde responsum est domino regi postea in compoto Collectoris de Langstroth hoc anno. Et debet xlix. xd.

### Unde Super

Priorem de Gysburgh de libero reddito pro j tofta in Walplewe ad xijd. per ipsum insoluto pro ij annis ijs. Christoferum dominum Conyers de libero reddito suo in Marske ad vjd. per annum pro j tenemento quondam Thomae Brithorpe et ij acris terrae nuper Willelmi Carter a retro insoluto tam pro hoc anno quam pro ij annis ijs.

Et Occupatorem i messuagii cum pertinentiis vocati Estbye in Uplethom j croftae vocatae Brewer crofte et dimidiae bovatae terrae nuper Johannis Capon ad xvjd. per annum insoluti pro ij annis - iij. s.

Priorem de Watton de amerciamento posito super ipsum pro fine sectae curiae de Spofford annis xxx et xxxj Regis Henrici vij<sup>i</sup> xd.

Johannem Adam pro defectu sectae curiae de Spofforde annis xxx et xxxj regis praedicti vjd.

Heredes Anthonii Crak de fine pro sectae curiarum de Topclif et Spofforde anno xxx Henrici vij<sup>i</sup> xijd.

Mattheum Guyton (xxvs.) de relevio suo pro terris suis in Foston et Christoferum Hilyerd (xs.) de relevio pro terris suis in Awborn et Foston superius oneratis inter arreragia xxvs.

1.

Compotus omnium et singulorum ballivorum, collectorum, firmariorum praepositorum et aliorum ministrorum quorumcunque omnium et singulorum castrorum dominiorum maneriorum terrarum et tenementorum possessionum et revencionum quorumcunque tam temporalium quam spatiosorum praenobilis domini Henrici Percy Comitis Northumbrensis, domini Honoris de Cockermonth et Petworth, domini Percy Lucye Poyninges FitzPayne Bryane et Lattimer ac praenobilis ordinis Garterii militis infra Comitatum Eboracensem computabilium existentium a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli Anno regni domini nostri Jacobi Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regis Fidei Defensoris etc quinto et Scocie xli<sup>o</sup> usque eundem festum Sancti Michaelis extunc proxime sequens eiusdem anni regni Regis Anglie etc sexto et Scocie xlii<sup>o</sup> Scilicet per spacium unius anni integri ut inferius

Dominium de Spofforthe    Officium Ballivi

Compotus Willelmi Lawson generosi Ballivi ibidem per tempus praedictum

Arreragia    Idem computator non oneratur de cxlix li.xvijs. iiijd. de omnibus arreragiis in pede ultimi compoti anni proxime praecedenti eo quod dominus per warrantum gerens datam xij Septembris 1608 Anno vj<sup>o</sup> nunc Regis Jacobi predicti mandavit quod de nullis huiusmodi arreragiis oneretur. Ideo hic in exoneracione eorundem arreragiorum virtute warranti praedicti    Summa Nulla

Redditus Liberorum tenentium    Sed respondet de cxvijs.jd. de redditibus diversorum liberorum tenentium domini ibidem per annum solvendis ad festa ibidem usualia. Pro aliquo proficio proveniente de tribus uncis cuminae, una libra piperis et uno paris calcarium deauratorum provenientes de redditibus et

serviciis diversorum tenentium liberorum praedictorum hic non respondet eo quod liberantur Auditori domini ut parcelle commoditatis officio suo pertinentes ut ab antiquo consuetum fuit Summa cxvijs. jd.

Opera Custumaria tenentium Sed respondet de xxxvjs. ob. provenientibus de precio operum custumariorum tenantium ibidem vulgariter vocatorum Boone Siluer per annum solvendorum ad festum Sancti Michaelis tantum Summa xxxvjs. ob.

Herbagium Parci Et de C li de firma herbagii et pannagii parci ibidem sic dimissi Sampson Inglebye generoso per Indenturam praenobilis Henrici nunc Comitibus Northumbrensis gerentem datam vj<sup>o</sup> die Junii Anno regni dominae nuper reginae Elixabethae xxvj<sup>o</sup> habendi et tenendi eidem Sampson Inglebye et assignatis suis a festo Annunciationis beatae Mariae Virginis tunc proxime praeterito usque ad finem et terminum xxj annorum, reddendum inde per annum ad festa Sancto Michaelis at Annunciationis equaliter Summa c li.

Herbagium de le Parsone Hagg Et de xvj li. de firme herbagii de le Parsone Hagg ibidem sic dimissi Willelmo Cheyney per indenturam praenobilis domini Henrici nunc Comitibus Northumbrensis gerentem datam (blank) die (blank) anno regni dominenuper regine Elizabethae praedictae xxxix<sup>o</sup> pro termino xxj annorum reddendum inde per annum ad festa praedicta equaliter Summa xvj li.

Herbagium de le Bramley Hagg et Eshe Hagg Et de xxij li. de firma herbagii duorum virgultorum ibidem vocatorum Bramlay Hagg et Great Eshe Hagg sic dimissorum Willelmo Lawson generoso per indenturam ... nunc Comitibus ....xxij die Februarii 1604... pro termino xxj annorum ... ad festa praedicta equaliter Summa xxij li.

Novi Redditus Et de xijd. de novo redditu unius domus cum garthino adiacenti in tenura Thomae Mendall ad voluntatem domini per annum solvendum ad festa praedicta equaliter. Et de xxs de novo redditu unius clausure sive parcelle terre vocatae Litle Eshe Hagg adiacentis palliciam parci ibidem sic dimissae Johanni Chaumbre per indenturam ...ij Junii 1591 ..pro termino xxj annorum ... Et de xxs. de novo redditu unius parcelle terrae vocatae Colebedde impruviatae ex communa et vasto domini ibidem sic dimissae Johanni Godfraye .... anno nuper reginae xxxij<sup>o</sup> pro termino xxj annorum.... Et de xvjs. viijd. de consimili novo redditu unius messuagii sive tenementi vocati Colebedde House alias Colebedde Lodge et unius clausurae ibidem adiacentis continentis per estimationem iij acras cum pertinentiis sic dimissae Willelmo Woodborne



....xx Martii....anno v<sup>o</sup> ...Jacobi ..pro termino xxj  
annorum Summa lvijs.viijd.

Quarrera Lapidaria Et de xls.de firma quarrerae lapidariae  
ibidem sic dimissae Willelmo Parke de  
anno in annum ad voluntatem domini Et aliquo proficuo  
provenienti sive crescenti de precio aliquorum les quarre-  
rarum de le frestone and fyerstone infra le Southefeld  
et le eastefeilde aut alibi infra manerium de Spofforthe  
praedicti hic non respondet eo quod nulla huiusmodi  
proficia infra tempus huius compoti acciderunt Summa xls.

Perquisita Curiarum Nec respondet de aliquo proficuo prove-  
nienti sive crescenti de perquisitis  
et amerciamentis curiarum infra tempus huius compoti  
tentarum. Nec de aliquo proficuo provenienti de perquisitis  
curiarum qualibet iij<sup>o</sup> septimanis tentarum. Nec de aliquo  
proficuo..... vocatarum Sheriffe Turnes eo quod remanent  
incollectae usque in proximum compotum. Set respondet de  
xls. provenientibus de viride sive grenehowe de (blank)  
tenentibus domini infra dominium iuxta ratam (blank) pro  
quolibet tenente prout per extracta curiae plenius patet.  
Et de aliquo proficuo provenienti de proficuo aliquorum  
bonorum aut cattallorum waviatorum sive extrahurarum infra  
tempus huius compoti accidentium hic non respondet eo  
quod nulla huiusmodi proficia per totum tempus accidebant  
ex sacramento computantis super hunc compotum. Summa xls.

Aucupacio et Piscaria Domini praedicti Nec respondet de  
aliquo proficuo  
provenienti de aucupacione et piscacione infra precincta  
totius domini praedicti eo quod in manibus domini sunt  
in defectu tenentium per tempus huius compoti Summa nulla.  
Nec de aliquo proficuo ... de precio aliquorum bonorum aut  
cattallorum alicuius felonis attincti fugitivi aut utliga-  
toris infra tempus huius compoti accidenti eo quod nulla  
huiusmodi proficia per totum tempus praedictum accidebant  
ex sacramento dicti computatoris Summa nulla

Summa oneris praedicti clij li. xs. ixd.ob.

Feoda et Stipendia clerici, auditoris etc. Idem computat  
in feodo suiipsius  
computatoris ballivi ibidem ad lxs.viijd. per annum causa  
officii exercendi et occupandi hoc anno ut in annis  
praecedentibus lxs.viijd.

Et in stipendio clerici auditoris scribendi tam hunc compotum  
quam compotum praepositi de Spoforthe et Lynton ad ijs.  
cuiuslibet eorum per annum viz. in allocacione huiusmodi hoc

anno vjs. Summa lxxvjs.viiijd.

Allocacio Redditus Et in allocacione medietatis firmae novi redditus unius messuagii vocati Colebedde House superius onerati ad xvjs.viiijd. per annum eo quod conceditur Willelmo Woodborne in consideracione edificandi novum horreum super praemissa praedicta ad custas suas proprias et reddendi inde pro ultima medietate infra tempus huius compoti accidenti tam ex relacione Thomae Fotherley quam ballivi super hunc compotum, videlicet in allocacione eiusdem hoc anno causa praedicta ut supra viijs.iiiijd. Summa viijs.iiiijd.

Liberacio Denariorum Et in denariis per praedictum computatoris solutis et liberatis ad manus Henrici Slyngesbye militis Receptoris domini Comitis praedicti de exitibus officii sui huius anni ex recognicione sua super hunc compotum cxlvij li.xvs.ixd.ob. Summa allocacionum et liberacionum praedictarum clij li. xs. ixd.ob. quae quidem summa coequalis est cum summa totius oneris praedicti.

Spofforthe, Officium Praepositi

Compotus dicti Willelmi Lawson generosi, praepositi ibidem per tempus praedictum.

Arreragia De xij li.xiis.ijd. de omnibus arreragiis in pede ultimi compoti proxime praecedenti hic non respondet eo quod dominus per warrantum suum ...xij<sup>o</sup> Septembris 1608 ... mandavit quod nulla huiusmodi arreragia onerarentur. Ideo hic in exoneracione eorundem arreragiorum virtute warranti praedicti nulla.

Terrae Dominicales Sed respondet de xxvij li. xd. de redditibus et firmis omnium terrarum dominicalium in Spofforthe in separali tenura diversarum personarum per annum solvendis ad festa Sancti Michaelis et Annunciationis Beate Mariae Virginis equaliter Summa xxxvij li. xd.

Redditus Tenentium tam per indenturam quam ad voluntatem

Et de xxix li. xjs.iiiijd.ob. de firmis terrarum et tenementorum in separali tenura diversarum personarum tam per indenturam quam ad voluntatem domini per annum solvendis ad festa praedicta equaliter Summa xxix li. xjs.iiiijd.ob.

Molendina Et de vj li.xiis.iiiijd. de firma duorum molendinorum aquaticorum granaticorum ibidem cum una parcella prati eiusdem pertinenti sic dimissorum Willelmo Lawson Ballivo ibidem per indenturam Henrici nunc Comitis...xxvij<sup>o</sup> Julii 1603... a festo Annunciationis.... tunc ultimo praeterito usque ad finem et terminum xxj annorum ..... Summa vj li. xiis.iiiijd.

Pistrinum Commune Et de xxjs.iijd. de firma communis  
pistrini ibidem in tenura Johannis  
Tayler de Spofforthe six eidem dimissi per warrantum  
commissionarii domini .. v<sup>o</sup> die Novembris 1604 ... pro  
termino novem annorum .... Summa xxjs.iiijd.

Summa oneris praedicti lxxiiij li. vjs. xd. ob.

E quibus Allocatur ei xjs.viiijd. pro firma unius clausi  
vocati Horsehousewoode superius onerati ad vj li.xjs.viiijd.  
per annum eo quod dimittitur Willelmo Allensone reddendi  
inde nisi vj li. per annum et sic in decremento hoc anno  
ut in praecedenti Et eidem iijs. pro libero reddito unius  
parcellae terrae sive tenementi vocati Stubbins iuxta  
Castleye in tenura Willelmi Gascoigne de Calley Hall  
generosi superius onerati ad iiijs. per annum eo quod  
negat solvere eundem pro eo quod dicit esse parcella terrae  
et possessionum nuper Archiepiscopi Eboracensis et sic  
in allocacione eiusdem anni ut in praecedenti. Et eidem  
xvijs. de incremento firmae cotagiorum supradictorum  
donec in proximam dimissionem generalem fient eo quod  
dominus ita mandavit ex relacione Willelmi Wicliffe armigeri  
super computum de anno iiij<sup>o</sup> nunc regis Jacobi. Ideo hic  
in allocacione hoc anno ultra vjs.viiid. de incremento  
firmae praedictae per Leonardum Gell hoc anno Ballivo  
domini soluto. Et debet lxxij li.xiiijs.ijd.ob.  
Quos liberavit ad manus Henrici Slyngesbye militis Receptoris  
particularis domini comiti praedicti ut de exitibus  
officii sui huius anni ex recognitione sua coram auditore  
super hunc computum. Et sic equitur.

Lynton manerium, parcella domini de Spofforthe

Computus praedicti Willelmi Lawson ballivi ibidem per  
tempus praedictum.

Arreragia De ciijs.ijd. de omnibus arreragiis in pede  
ultimi compoti anni proxime praecedentis penden-  
tibus idem computator non oneratur hic eo quod dominus  
per warrantum ..xij<sup>o</sup> die Septembris 1608 ....mandavit  
quod nulla huiusmodi arreragia onerantur.

Summa nulla

Terrae dominicales Sed respondet de xxv li.viijs.de firmis  
omnium terrarum dominicalium ibidem  
in separalibus tenuris diversarum personarum quarum nomina  
cum eorum particulis summis in quodam libro supervisoris  
de anno xix<sup>o</sup> nuper reginae capto plenius ad largum continetur  
per annum solvendis ad festa usualia..

Summa xxv li. viijs.

Redditus Tenentium tam per indenturam quam ad voluntatem.

Et de viij li. xixs.ijd. de firmis omnium terrarum et tenementorum ibidem in separalibus tenuris diversarum personarum .... per annum solvendis ad festa praedicta equaliter. Et de xxs. de firma xij acrarum terrae arrabilis prati et pasturae ibidem, viz. certarum parcellarum pasturae at prati vocatarum Dovecote Garthe, Rowleye Garthe Coultis Garthe et certarum parcellarum prati apud Hellbecke the hede of the Hollines at apud Willowe Springe sic dimissarum inter alios Johanni Lawson per commissionarium domini reddendis inde per annum etc.

Summa ix li. xixs.ijd.

Novi Redditus Et de vs. de novo redditu unius parcellae terrae vocatae Croseplate (iijs.iiiijd.) et unius parcellae vasti vocatae Willowe Springe (xxd.) sic dimissae Johanni Loskowe generoso per commissionarium domini 1604 per annum solvendis etc. Et de xviiid. de novo redditu certarum selionum terrae arrabilis iacentium in campis iuxta Wetherbie sic dimissarum Roberto Peareson per commissionarium domini 1604 etc. Summa vjs.vjd.

Perquisita Curiarum Nec aliquo proficuo proveniente sive crescenti de perquisitis et amercia-mentis curiarum ibidem hoc anno tentarum hic non respondet Eo quod onerantur in compoto ballivi domini de Spofforthe prout ibidem plenius apparet.

Summa nulla

Summa oneris praedicti xxxv li. xiijs.viiijd. Quos liberavit ad manus Henrici Slyngesbye militis Receptoris domini Comitis praedicti ut de exitibus officii huius anni et recognicione sua super hunc compotum. Et sic equitur.

Officium Feodarii de Spofforthe

Compotus praedicti Edmundi Kaye Feodarii domini ibidem per tempus praedicti.

Arreragia de xcij li.xs.iiiijd. de omnibus arreragiis in pede ultimi compoti anni proxime praecedenti pendentibus idem computator non oneratur hic eo quod dominus per warrantum ..xii Septembris 1608 mandavit quod de nullis huiusmodi arreragiis oneratur.

Summa nulla

Redditus liberorum tenentium Nec respondet de una libra piperis de libero redditu et servicio Johannis Scaverde Willelmi Rowleye et Johannis Smythe eo quod liberantur auditori domini ut parcellae

commoditatis dicto officio suo pertinentes ut ab antiquo  
consuetum fuit. Summa nulla.

Sed respondet de xxxvs.xd. de firmis diversarum parcellarum  
terrae scituatarum et existentium in Lynton in tenura  
Johannis Loskeye vocatarum Whitwell (xxxiijs.iiiijd.) et  
Croked Flatte (ijs.vjd.) sic eidem dimissarum per indenturam  
....xviij Maii..nuper Reginae xxxvj pro termino xvij  
annorum .... etc. Et de xxs. de constabulariis  
villarum de Lynton Follyfait et Kirkebie Sicklinghall  
Castley Leathley Askewithe Middleton et Ilkely pro finibus  
Wapentagii sive blanche ferme per annum solvendis ad festum  
Sancti Michaelis tantum. Summa lvs.xd.

Perquisita Curiarum Et de xvj li.xiijs.xd. de perquisitis  
curiarum ibidem scilicet de finibus  
pro respectu homagii, relaxacione sectae curiae infra  
manerium praedictum infra tempus huius compoti prout  
patet in separalibus extractis tam huius anni quam diversorum  
annorum praecedentium plenius. Summa xvj li.xiijs.xd.

Relevia Et de vj li. iiijs.ijd. de releviis diversarum  
personarum sequentium viz. de relevio Willelmi Preston  
filii et heredis Johannis Preston et consanguinei et  
heredis Thomae Preston patris dicti Johannis pro terris  
suis in Ruston tentis de Henrico Comite Northumbrensi pro  
quinta parte unius feodi militis xxs.: de relevio Thomae  
Grymston armigeri fratris et heredis Marmaduci Grymston  
militis defuncti pro terris suis in Goodmadham Kiblingcotts  
et Cloughton de dicto Comite Northumbrensi tentis per ser-  
vicium unius feodi militis Cs.: de relevio Martini Megson  
in iure uxoris suae filiae et heredis Thomae Tathwell  
patris sui nuper defuncti pro terris suis in Nafferton de  
praedicto Comite tentis pro xxxvj parte unius feodi militis  
ijs ix.d.gr. Et de relevio Willelmi Wade filii et heredis  
Thomae Wade nuper defuncti pro terris suis in Foston tentis  
de antedicto Comite pro lxxj parte unius feodi militis  
xvjd ob.q. ut per extractas curiae de Spofforthe praedictas  
patet. Summa vj.li. iiijs.ijd.

Maritagia Et de Cs. pro custodia et valore maritagii  
Roberti Waugh filii et heredis Willelmi Waugh  
defuncti pro terris et tenementis suis in Wandesforthe de  
dicto Comite Northumbrensi tentis per servicium et modo  
Emottae Waughe venditis. Et de x li. pro custodia et  
valore maritagii Willelmi Williamson filii et heredis  
Johannis Williamson defuncti pro terris suis in Over  
Catton et Newton .... per servicium militare et modo  
cuidam Christofero Horsley venditis. Et de x li. pro  
custodia etc. (blank) Cobbe fili (i) et heredis (blank)  
Cobbe defuncti pro terris suis in Foule sutton de supradicto

Comite tentis per servicium militare et modo Isabellae Cobbe iure suo venditis prout patet per extractas curiae de Spoforthe plenius. Summa xxv li.

Summa oneris praedicti l li.xiijs.xd. E quibus Allocantur ei xxs. pro redditu resoluto domino Regi per manus vicecomitis Comitatus praedicti extra diversas villas supradictas vocato Blancheferme alias Wapentake fynes hoc anno ut in praecedentibus. Et debet xlix li. xiijs.xd. E quibus liberavit ad manus Henrici Slingisbye militis Receptoris domini Comitatus praedicti ut de exitibus officii sui huius anni ex recognicione sua super hunc compotum xxiiij li. vijs.iiiijd.ob. Et debet xxv li. vjs.vd ob.

Unde super Thomam Grymston armigerum fratrem et heredem Marmaduci Grymston militis pro relevio suo post mortem dicti fratris sui pro terris suis in Goodmadham Kiblingcottes et Cloughton de Henrico etc tentis..... in manibus suis remanet adhuc insoluto.

Cs.

Et super Emetam Waughe viduam Roberti Waughe pro medietate custodiae et valoris maritagii dicti Roberti filii sui vendita et in manibus suis remanet ultra Ls. feodario domini hoc anno solutos.

Ls.

Et super Isabellam Cobbe viduam pro medietate custodiae et valoris maritagii (blank) Cobbe filii (i) su (i) sibi vendita etc Cs.

Et super diversos liberos tenentes pro amerciamentis super eos impositis quia non fecerunt sectam et servicia sua ad curiam domini de Spofforthe et in manibus suis remanent etc. ut per extractas curiae....patet xij li.xvjs. vjd.

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