

ART. X – *The Castle Household and Demesne Farm at Millom in 1513-14.*

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AMONG the earl of Lonsdale's muniments in the County Record Office at Carlisle is an important series of 16th-century manorial papers relating to the seigniorship of Millom¹ which was acquired by Sir James Lowther in 1774.² They include fragmentary accounts of expenditure on the castle household and demesne farm at Millom in 1513-14 which provide a rare glimpse of life in a northern English manor house in the early 16th century. The accounts consist of a list of payments made by the receiver at Millom Castle in the latter part of 1513 and part of 1514, and an account of food consumed by the castle household at approximately the same time (May-October 1513 and an unspecified period in the summer of 1514). The accounts are printed in full in Appendix I and the following notes highlight some of the information they contain on the economy of the castle household and demesne farm. To ease reference to the text in Appendix I, the numbers of the pages on which individual entries occur in the manuscript are given in brackets in these notes.

I. The Castle Household and the Local Community

John Hudleston (1488/9-1547), who succeeded to the lordship of Millom on his father's death in January 1513,³ also had estates at Cotherstone (Yorkshire, North Riding)⁴ and in Gloucestershire, where he lived.⁵ By May 1513, the Millom estates appear to have been managed by John Thompson, the author of these accounts, who describes himself as John Hudleston's receiver (171). His duties included collecting the rents from Hudleston's Yorkshire estates and taking them to him in Gloucestershire: accompanied by Christopher Walton, one of the salaried servants at Millom, Thompson travelled to Cotherstone ('Goderston' in the accounts) in Teesdale to collect rent – a return journey of 9 days in November 1513 – and to Buckland, Gloucestershire, to take the rent to their master (175, 178, 181).

Millom Castle was thus the seat of an absentee landlord. In Hudleston's absence public duties, such as taking muster, were fulfilled by 'Master Kirkby' and 'Master Bardsea' (167, 168, 179), minor gentry living locally in Furness.⁶ It is difficult to reconstruct the size and membership of the castle household but certain individuals can be identified. 'Sir Hugh', present in October 1513 (176, 253) but possibly not a permanent resident, is probably Sir Hugh Hendley, chantry priest at Millom in 1523 and also at one time Hudleston's receiver there.⁷ Other members of the household appear to have been servants. Blendall, Griffin and Park, the three liveried retainers to whom frequent references occur, probably lived in the castle. It is not clear whether five other servants, to whom annual wages of between 8s. and 13s. 4d. were paid half-yearly, lived in permanently (176, 177, 180, 181). Two important salaried staff who lived out were Geoffrey Scot, described as 'storer' (i.e. stock-keeper) (181), who received 33s. 4d. a year, and Sowrmer, the estate's shepherd at Kirkby, whose annual wage was 5s. (176, 180). Geoffrey Scot played a prominent part in the running of the estate, frequently providing board and lodging to visitors (169). He was a farmer in his own right, recorded

in the estate rental of 1510 as tenant of Beckhouse, half a mile south-west of Millom Castle.⁸

The accounts also shed light on the wider circle of employees of the castle – the day-labourers who helped with the harvest, etc. – and other members of the local community from whom goods and services were bought. Among those who can be identified as tenants in the Millom area in the rental of 1510 are Christopher Postlethwaite of Dashetgate, who supplied and malted barley for the castle household (177, 182); John Stell of Howhouse, from whom peat was bought (172); and John Murthwaite of 'Mekilcrokes', who made clothing for the servants in the castle (176).⁹ Such entries, and the long list of 'scherers hyred at Millom' for the harvest of 1513 (173), who were nearly all men and women bearing local names, give a glimpse of the complex web of economic links which bound the castle household to the rest of the local community.

II. Demesne Farming

John Thompson's responsibilities extended to oversight of farming on the estate's demesne land. The accounts leave unanswered many questions about the demesne farming enterprise as a whole, but they give some details of both arable cultivation and stock-rearing on the estate. An immediate problem concerns the location and extent of the demesne land. It is clear that the accounts concern land not only on the Hudleston estates in Millom but also at Kirkby Ireleth: there are payments for threshing wheat at Kirkby and for the salary of a shepherd there (170, 176). That the links between the two estates were close is suggested by Henry Kirkby's involvement at Millom which was noted above. It should also be noted that Hudleston's grandfather, Sir John (*d.* 1494), had held the manor of Kirkby Ireleth from 1467 to *c.* 1485 after the attainder of Kirkby's father in 1461.¹⁰

At Millom there was a nucleus of demesne arable and meadow land immediately around the castle. Sewell, the block of fields due east of the castle on the ridge between Furnace Beck and Millom Marsh,¹¹ appears to have been the core of cultivated land: there are references to 'dongscaleing in Sewell' (167) and to the cultivation of wheat there (171). Indirect references to the crops grown on the demesne suggest that, as was general in Cumbria in the medieval and early modern period,¹² oats and bigg predominated. In 1513, 23 quarters of oats were threshed, compared with only 10 quarters of bigg and 6 quarters of wheat (177). The hire of eleven days' labour the following Spring in 'bege sede tyme' (182) also reflects the predominance of spring-sown grain. Part of Sewell was meadow but the bulk of the 47½ acres of meadow mown in the summer of 1514 (182) lay on the low ground to the south and west of the castle.¹³ The substantial yield of hay from these meadows was presumably consumed in the castle stables and by the cattle which were the responsibility of Geoffrey Scot, the 'storer'. The only references, however, to what may have been an important cattle herd at Millom are those to the purchase of oxen (180, 181); the sale of beasts at Dalton fair (169); and the eleven oxen which were farmed out ('latten') in Furness (256).

The day-to-day tasks involved in managing the demesne are well documented; harvesting, threshing, drying and malting the grain crop (167, 173, 177); mowing material for thatch (176); cleaning ('feying') ditches and reinforcing their banks with interwoven hurdles ('wyndyng and spylyng') (180-2); the purchase and carriage home of harness

(178), wagon wheels (180), and a variety of iron gear: horse-shoes, nails, spade, shovel and fork irons, 'clouts' to prevent wear on the axles of carts (167, 168, 169, 171, 172). In particular, the great influx of labour for the harvest should be noted. Between 3 September and 2 October 1513, 75 reapers were fed at the castle (252). Thirty-two of these were the hired labourers who worked, generally for between one and four days, at a daily rate of 2d. (173). The remainder were probably the 'boon-shearers', local tenants who owed 4 days' reaping on the demesne as part of the rent for their holdings.¹⁴

In addition to the home farm at Millom, the Hudlestons retained a direct interest in stock-rearing on the fells although it is not possible to reconstruct the scale or exact nature of their flocks and herds from the accounts. In 1510 the estate kept a flock of sheep on Grassoms, a fell pasture on the northern slopes of Black Combe, where they were tended by a resident shepherd.¹⁵ The accounts make no direct mention of that flock, but they do record a demesne flock at Kirkby, kept by the shepherd, Sowmer, whose wages were paid annually (176). At Ulpha the park was retained in demesne¹⁶ but there does not seem to have been a resident stock-keeper: the accounts record the driving of the park there in the autumn of 1513 (168), probably to ascertain the number and ownership of stock agisted on it.¹⁷ Any demesne stock that was grazed at Ulpha was in the care of local tenants: John Lamb and Richard Woodend, who received payments for keeping horses and cattle (176, 181), were tenants in Ulpha.¹⁸ Similar payments to other, unidentified, men for keeping sheep (177) suggest that part of the demesne flock was similarly farmed out.

III. Iron Working

Another sphere of economic activity recorded in the accounts is the working of iron. Although the entries are few and scattered, they throw a rare glimmer of light on the iron industry in southern Cumbria in the early 16th century. The Millom estate purchased 200 quarters of iron ore from Christopher Bardsey, the lord of Bardsea, (169, 180), which implies that he was involved in iron mining in Furness. 'Master Pennington', the lord of Pennington and Muncaster, supplied 4 stone 3lbs of 'spange yren' (169) which suggests that he, too, was involved in the iron industry: his forebear, Sir John Pennington, was lessee of iron mines at Egremont in 1471.¹⁹ Apart from two references to the construction of a smithy at Millom (179), there is no evidence for the smelting or working of the ore which had been purchased and carted at considerable expense.

IV. Domestic Economy

The accounts are particularly important for the detailed picture they present of several aspects of housekeeping for the castle household, including details of food consumed there. A few details of the castle buildings themselves may be obtained from references to repairs: new ropes for the louvres in the hall and kitchen (167), slating the 'bakhaws' and possibly other buildings as well (171), and the sawing of boards for the 'hey stabill' (175). Purchases of 32 waggonloads ('foders') of peat (171, 172) and over 6 quarters of sea coal (180) suggest that both were used as fuel in the castle.

Some idea of the diet of the household and hired labourers can be gleaned from the lists of food consumed in the castle between 3 May and 24 October 1513 (251-3) and during an unspecified period before St James' day (25 July) 1514 (254). Recurrent items

which seem to have formed the basis of the diet are wheat, malt and 'hardcorn' (i.e. wheat and rye, as opposed to barley and oats); fish, butter and eggs; 'crokes' (i.e. old, worn-out sheep killed for mutton), and beef. The implication that wheaten bread was a staple food, while oats was by far the largest crop on the demesne is noteworthy. The paradox may be more apparent than real, however, as a substantial quantity of oats was malted (177, 182), presumably for ale, and there are references elsewhere in the accounts to the use of oats as oatmeal and dogbran (177). Moreover, a substantial proportion of the crop of oats was presumably consumed in the castle stables.

That fish formed an important element in the diet of a coastal community is not surprising, and the accounts give an idea of the variety of species eaten: white herrings were eaten in Lent (170); a turbot was bought from the fishermen of Silecroft (175); 'cokfisch' (salmon ?) were supplied regularly (179); eels were fished for at Haverigg (180); and there seems to be mention of a salted porpoise ('salt porpas') (251). Indeed, the four quarters of salt which were bought (167) may have been intended as much for the preservation of fish as for meat.

The purchase of clothing for members of the castle household enables one to gain a vivid picture of their apparel. Blendall, Griffin and Park, the three liveried servants, wore white woollen hose (168); linen shirts and smocks (178); jackets of frieze (a coarse, woollen cloth) (176); and doublets and harvest gloves of sheepskin (252). Both linen and woollen cloth was produced locally: the numerous purchases from local people no doubt reflect the existence of a widespread cottage textile industry in the neighbourhood, providing by-employment for farming families. Some of 'Little Anne's' clothing is also recorded: a woollen kirtle (172); linen kerchiefs and neckband (178); and a second-hand gown which had belonged to Sir Thomas Sanderson (179), a former receiver at Millom.²⁰

Appendix I

John Thompson's Accounts of Expenditure at Millom, 1513-14

Editorial Note

The accounts are written on paper, the list of payments (167-182) having been written at the beginning, and the account of food consumed (251-6) at the end of a volume which has afterwards been used to record transfers of copyhold land on the Millom estate in the decade after the accounts were written. There is no contemporary foliation. At a later date, probably in the 18th century, this and other early 16th-century documents relating to the Millom estate have been re-sewn as two volumes and given continuous pagination. Those page numbers are given in square brackets on the left margin of the following transcript: they are the numbers to which reference has been made in the introductory notes. Space on pp. 253, 255, 256 has been filled with memoranda recording transfers of copyhold land: these are not included in the transcript. The following alterations have been made in preparing the text for publication: (a) the use of initial capital letters has been modernised; (b) all figures, given consistently in roman numerals, have been converted to arabic numerals; (c) the letter yogh (occurring, for example, in 'yerdes') has been printed as 'y'; (d) the phrase *et dimidium*, consistently abbreviated to & di' in the text, has been rendered '½' or 'and a half' as appropriate; (e) a corner has been torn from pp. 251-6; the missing text is represented by asterisks in the transcript; (f) some entries have been crossed through, apparently when the accounts were presented at Buckland for scrutiny. These deletions have been noted in the transcript: other minor erasures and deletions have been omitted; (g) sub-totals of expenditure entered on the margins of pp. 177, 180 have also been omitted.

[p. 167]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici viii quinto.

Paymentes made by John Thompson the yere of ovr soveragne lord kyng Henry the 8th And
before the fest of senct Andre thappostill in the same yere

Furst paid to Rege for 12 wayne cluttes	12 ^d
Item for a nax	7 ^d
Item for 2 hynglokes (4 ^d) and 2 dosen horschoyn and a half (8 ^d)	12 ^d
Item for goldweddes to harrowes	18 ^d
Item for forkschoyn (2 ^d) and for spykynges (1 ^d)	3 ^d
Summa huius: 4 ^s 4 ^d	
Item paid for sechyng my master geldyng that was crokes when he was away	8 ^d
Item for 2 payr lade saddill treys and 4 payr of crukes	8 ^d
Item for master Kyrkby dener at Griffay Scot when he tuk muster at Galowbank	6 ^d
Item to Agnes Gray for dongscaleing in Sewell	12 ^d
Item for bred and drynk to Alen and such as caryeth corn in to the maynes	5 ^d
Item for 4 quarter of salt price every quarter 3 ^s 4 ^d tholl	13 ^s 4 ^d
Item to John Kechyn for threschers burd that threschid at Whittingham of tenth corn	3 ^s 5 ^d
Item to Redhed for threschyng there	13 ^d
Item for ropis to the lowers in the hall and kechyng	2 ^s 1 ^d
Summa huius: 27 ^s 6 ^d	

[p. 168]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici viii quinto.

Item to Oliver Hudilston for his costes when he went to by my master a hors and with
hym agayn

Item expenses at Ulpho for dryfing the park there	6 ^s
Item to Nicholson of Egremond for 38 quarters lyme	9 ^d
Item for expenses of master Kyrkby my masters tenantes and his servauntes at Ravynglas apon Senct Jame Day	33 ^s 6 ^d
Item paid to Alen for his costes when he delyvered lyme	22 ^s
Item to William for [sic] of the bankes for 3 yerdes of whyt wollen cloth for hos to Blendall and Griffen	7 ^d
Item for castyng 2 webbes of lede at the abbay	17 ^d
Item his costes at caryed it home	4 ^s 4 ^d
Item myne own expenses to Penreth to mak answer to My Lord Dacre	4 ^d
Item for the said John Thompson costes for tryeng men at Akbank	20 ^d
Item paid to Thomas Freres for his costes to Carlell with a sertificat to the Lord Dacre	4 ^d
Item paid to Oliver Hudilston for byyng a hors to my master	20 ^d
Item paid to Rege for 12 horse schoyn and 100 nayles	35 ^s 4 ^d
Summa huius: 5 ^{li} 8 ^s 9 ^d	10 ^d

[p. 169]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici viii quinto.

Item paid at Dalton fayr for 3 sokkes (2 ^s) 6 plugh-schoyn (13 ^d) 2 dosen wayne clottes (2 ^s) 2 spade yrens (4 ^d) and for our costes theder with bestes to sell (5 ^d)	5 ^s 10 ^d
Item for Jennyng costes with led to thabbay	4 ^d
Item to master Penyngton for 4 ston and 3 ^{li} of spange yren	3 ^s 6 ^d

Item to master Bardsay for 100 [i.e. a 'long' hundred of 120] quarter ure price every quarter 20 ^d	10 ^{li}
Item paid to Gilbert Fox Richard Fox and master Levyns servauntes for ther wages 40 ^s wherof I have receyvid agayn of John Wallez 6 ^s 8 ^d and of William Jacson and Baisbroun 10 ^s and so ys clere paid [entry deleted]	23 ^s 4 ^d
Item paid to Griffray Scot for William Fox burd by the space of 18 wekes after Sencet Helyn Day to he went from my master every wek 13 ^d	19 ^s 6 ^d
Item to Griffray for Thomas Freres burd by the space of 20 wekes at the same tym every weke 13 ^d	21 ^s 8 ^d
Item to the same for John Asburner burd by the space of 11 wekes every wek 13 ^d at the same tyme	11 ^s 11 ^d
Item for John Thompson burd by the space of 28 wekes at the same tyme every wek 13 ^d	30 ^s 4 ^d
:- 15 ^{li} 16 ^s 5 ^d	

[p. 170]

Item to Agnes Gray for thred to blankettes	2 ^d
Item to John Wile for a masse whit heryng for Lent last past	6 ^s 8 ^d
Item paid for threschers burd at Kyrkby when the whet was thresched ther	2 ^s 4 ^d
Item tre disches and spigottes	2 ^d
Item for John Thompson costes to Penreth [entry deleted]	2 ^s 4 ^d
Item for the said John expenses and Thomas Freres to Goderston and ther at sencet James tyme	6 ^s 8 ^d

Summa huius: 18^s 4^dSumma Totalis: 23^{li} 11^s [deleted; 'variat' in margin]

Summa Totalis huis allocacionis: 15^{li} 13^d allocatum est per magistrum apud Bucland ut patet per acquietanciam Indentatam.

[p. 171]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici viiiiⁱ quinto.

Soluciones et allocaciones facte per Johannem Thompson Receptorem Johannis Hudilston armigeris ad festum sancte Andre apostoli anno supradicto

Inprimis to James Benson for a ston and 3 quarters of clot yren	13 ^d
Item paid to Percivell Danson sclatter for wyrkyng at Myllom	16 ^d
Item to John Pyrrre and John Danson for 40 days labor at Myllom every day 3 ^d the holl	10 ^s
Item to the same for sclattyng and amending the bakhaws	4 ^s 8 ^d
Item for 7 wyndelles rye and a pek price every wyndill 16 ^d	9 ^s 8 ^d
Item to Blendall for a payr of schoyn	4 ^d
Item to Park for hys schoyn	4 ^d
Item to William Watson for natbandes	2 ^d
Item paid for kepyng crowes by the whet in Sewill	8 ^d
Item to William Ben for 400 lat nailes	10 ^d
Item for Griffen schoyn	4 ^d
Item to Makyn Harreson for 1 ^{li} blaksop	2 ^d
Item for Blendall costes to Egremond for a cow	4 ^d
Item Henry Murthuat for a wyndill rye	16 ^d
Item allowid John Leutath for 16 foder petes every foder 1 ^½ ^d	2 ^s
Item to John Pirre and John Danson for 500 sclattes	2 ^s

[p. 172]

Item paid to Rege for 150 doble burd spykynges	9 ^d
Item to the same 450 late brod	13½ ^d
Item for a nax	4 ^d
Item for 12 horschoyn and nales	10 ^d
Item for a schoyll yeren	1½ ^d
Item paid John Hareman for kepyng up the park wall	12 ^d
Item to the same John and Mathew his son for 13 days labor at Myllom	26 ^d
Item William Hall for 6 yerdes of fres and 3 quarters for Griffen and Blendall	2 ^s 9 ^d
Item Robert Matson for 2½ yerdes wollen cloth for a kyrtil to Anne	2 ^s 9 ^d
Item to the same for a quartron of piper aganest Crystynmes	4 ^d
Item to the same for a boltyng cloth	3 ^d
Item paid to Richard Benson for 3 cappis to Blendall Griffen and Park	19 ^d
Item for 2 yerdes of lynnyng whit	5 ^d
Item allowid John Stell for 16 foder petes every foder 1½ ^d	2 ^s
Item paid William Jennyng for 18 days labor	22½ ^d

[p. 173] [N.B. pp. 173-4 are a separate sheet which has been sewn on to the head of p. 175]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici viii quinto.

Scherers hyred at Myllom by John Thomson

Furst Katherine Grise 4½ days	9 ^d
Item Agnes Grys 4½ days	9 ^d
Item John Stroth Junior	8 ^d
Emnot Stroth 4 days	8 ^d
Item Issabell Stabill	8 ^d
Item Marion Fox 2 days	4 ^d
Matheus Fox 4 days	8 ^d
Item Matheus Harreman 7 days at the wayne	12 ^d
Item Robert Hobkyn et uxor eius	4 ^d
Item Tadre [sic] Kechen 3 days	6 ^d
Margare Kechen 1 day	2 ^d
John Murthuait 4 days	8 ^d
Miles Drynkell 1 day	2 ^d
Issabell Drynken 3 days	6 ^d
Katherina Stabill 1 day	2 ^d
Johanna Syngilton 1 day	2 ^d
Walterus Ascow 2 days	4 ^d
Johanna Cleter 2 days	4 ^d
uxor Johannis Gray Junior 1 day	2 ^d
Relicta Milonis Myre 1 day	2 ^d
Agnes Seward 1 day	2 ^d
William Rolandson 2 days	4 ^d
Katherina Rolandson 1 day	2 ^d
James Fox 2 days	4 ^d
Issabell Borodall 1 day	2 ^d
John Troughton 1 day	2 ^d
John Grys 1 day	2 ^d
Gilbert Murthuayt 1 day	2 ^d

John Fox 1 day	2 ^d
Item William Marschall 5 days	10 ^d
Item William Rolandson 3 days	5 ^d [sic]
Summa Huius: [sic]	

[p. 174]

Item to Charles for byndyng 2 days in harvest	1 ^d
Summa Totalis: 12 ^s 4 ^d	

[p. 175]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici viii quinto.

Item paid to Thomas Jacson for cattles that was spendid when master Berdsay was at Myllom	2 ^s 1 ^d
Item to the same for such cattles as was spendid ther fro master Berdsay rode to the purification of our Lady	4 ^s
Item for the expenses of John Thompson and Christofer Walton to Goderston ther and hom agayn at senct Andre tym by the space of 9 days [entry deleted]	8 ^s
Item Mathew Harreman and John Stanley for sawyng of a rod burdes for the hey stabill	5 ^s
Item allowid John Stabill for kepyng of whet in the maynes	12 ^d
Item for threschyng whet at Whittyngham	5 ^d
Item the fyschers of Silcrofte for a turbat	12 ^d
Item paid Miles Deconson for a wyndill rye to saw	16 ^d
Item allowid Roland Danson for 33 days labor every day 3 ^d	8 ^s 3 ^d
Item two days burdyng	4 ^d
Item allowid Richard Couper for 30 days labor at Myllom every day 3 ^d	7 ^s 6 ^d
Item to the same for 2 day burd	4 ^d

[p. 176]

Allocaciones Anno Regni Regis Henrici viii quinto.

Allowid James Tutow for 4 yerdes of fres for Griffen jacket every yerd 5 ^d	20 ^d
Item William Lame for Park schoyn	3 ^d
Item to Mathew Crage for his labor	13 ^d
Item to Thomas Fox for mawying 2 foder thakke	4 ^d
Item allowid John Murthwait for makying Blendall and Griffen jackettes and 2 dobles 2 hoddies and a payr of hose and canvas	15 ^d
Item allowid Thomas Mire for this half yere fee	20 ^d
Item Thomas Hartley for 2 payre of garthyng metyns 4 ^d and contersynges 1 ^d	5 ^d
Item to Thomas Whithed for his costes to Bokland and hom	6 ^s 8 ^d
Item paid Sowmer scheperd at Kyrkby for his wages	5 ^s
Item to Sir Hugh at the commandment of George Bardsay	6 ^s 8 ^d
Item Alen half yer wage	6 ^s 8 ^d
Item allowid Giffra Scot for his half yere wages	16 ^s 8 ^d
Item allowid Richerd Wodend for kepyng of bestes	4 ^s 9 ^d
Item allowid Robert Wod for 4 days labor	8 ^d
Item to Nicholl Jacson for wefyng blankettes	14 ^d
Item allowid Roger Bowes for servyng scatters [sic] 2 days	3 ^d

[p. 177]

Allowid Christofer Walton for his half yere wages	5 ^s
Item paid to John Yodall for the same	4 ^s 6 ^d
Item to Miles Deconson for the same	4 ^s
Item to Ales Smyth for the same	4 ^s
Item for a seyf	2 ^d
Item paid to Christofer Troghton and John for threschyng 6 quarte whet every quarter	
4 ^d	2 ^s
Item for 10 quarter bege every quarter 3 ^d	2 ^s 6 ^d
Item for 23 quarter hottes every quarter 2 ^d	3 ^s 11 ^d
Item for scheryng in harvest as aperith by a bill herto annexid [see above, pp. 173-4]	12 ^s 4 ^d
Item paid to thabbot and covent of Fornes for tenth corn	12 ^{li}
Item to Thomas Kechen for ledyng tenth corn to Myllom	6 ^s 8 ^d
Item paid Christofer Postilthuit for 8 quarter bege making in maulte every quarter	
3 ^d	2 ^s
Item for 10 quarter haver every quarter 3 ^d the holl	2 ^s 6 ^d
Item drying 5 quarter ottes for meill (4 ^d) }	
Item ½ quarter for dogbran }	5 ^d
Item paid Hoge Gunson for kepyng schep	3 ^s
Item to Gilbanc for kepyng schep	2 ^s 8 ^d
Item Wyndyat for grissyng hoges	12 ^d

[p. 178]

Summa huius allocacionis et solucionis: 21^{li} 9^s 7^d [recte £21 16s 7½d.] Allocatum est per magistrum apud Bucland ut patet per acquietanciam Indentatam.

Paymentes made at Myllom by John Thomson after hys comyng from his master from Bucland that was in the clensyng days Anno Regni Regis Henrici viii quinto.

Furst for 4 yerdes of lynnyng cloth to Griffen and Park schertes	12 ^d
Item for a hoper	2 ^d
Item for 33 yerdes hayrcloth to the kylne at Millom	10 ^s 9 ^d
Item for a Dean letter	12 ^d
Item for the expenses of the said John Thomson [and] Christofer Walton to ther master at Bucland with the rent and hom agayn	26 ^s 8 ^d
Item for 6 pare trases and 2 halters	7 ^d
Item Guffray Fox wif for 3 yerdes lynnyng cloth price every yerd 4 ^d to 2 smokkes	12 ^d
Item for 2 yerdes and a quarter lynnyng cloth to lytill Anne for 2 kyrcheffes and a nek bend	16 ^d
Item for a masse heryng to John Scharp	6 ^s 8 ^d

[p. 179]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici viii quinto.

Item to Thomas Leutath for a quarter wages	2 ^s
Item for expenses takyng a distris at Whithaven	4 ^s 2 ^d
Item to Miles Deconson that he spendid	[sic] 2 ^d
Item to James Knyghtson doghter for cokfisch to Giffyn [sic] and Park in the maynes	4½ ^d
Item for the offerynges of Park Blengdall and Griffen	2 ^s 7 ^d
Item to Robert Redhed for threschyng in the maynes	

Item allowid Thomas Kechen for kepyng schep	19 ^d
Item paid Roger Tomson when he was brought up by prevay seall [<i>Marginal note: 'non allocatum'</i>]	6 ^s 8 ^d
Item paid Mathew Heryman 2 days dawbyng at smythe	4 ^d
Item for sowyng quarter rod of burdes	15 ^d
Item to Ales for a quarter wages endid at Ester and a half	3 ^s
Item to the parson of Bothill for 10 strik whet	16 ^s 8 ^d
Item to John Crudson for dightyng a gown of Sir Thomas Sanderson to litill Ane	4 ^d
Item for ayll rasyng and remevyng [<i>sic</i>] the yren smethe	4 ^d
Item paid Giffrey Scote wif for all and bred to master Kyrkby at the last muster at Myllom	8 ^d
Item paid Katherin Gris for cokfisch for all the yere	12 ^d

[p. 180]

Item to sanct John fare	12 ^d
Item for a payr wayne wheles and caryage hom from Cartmell	6 ^s
Item for cariage of ure for met and drynk to the leders and meters	22 ^d
Item to Miles Deconson for rydyng to Hacsyd for baly burds	4 ^d
Item for 2 yong cranes	2 ^d
Item for drynk to dykers	2 ^d
Item for half a hondred quarter ure	4 ^{li} 10 ^s
Item for 2 ^{li} blak sop	4 ^d
Item to Sowrmer for a holl yere wage for kepyng shep	5 ^s
Item for see coles 6 quarter and 6 wyndelles	7 ^s 1 ^d
Item for potes for ayll	6 ^d
Item to Richard Walles and Robert Wood for wyndyng and spylyng Decon Dike	7 ^s 8 ^d
Item for expenses at Ravyn glas	20 ^s
Item for half a 100 quarter yren ure cum 11 ^s allocatis penes Christoferum Bardsay	3 ^{li} 19 ^s
Item to Deconson for expenses to Saterthuait	2 ^d
Item for 2 oxen to Symson of Fornes	14 ^s 4 ^d
Item to Alen for half a yere wage endid at the fest of sanct Jame	6 ^s 8 ^d
Item for ure ledyng in bred and all and fyschyng in Havereg at eles	4 ^d

[p. 181]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici viii sexto.

Item paid to John Yodall for a half yere wage endid at the fest of sanct Jame	4 ^s 6 ^d
Item Miles Deconson for his wage	4 ^s
Item to Alen for to by ches to the bones	3 ^s 4 ^d
Item paid to Griffen for his wage	3 ^s 4 ^d
Item paid to Blendall for the same	3 ^s 4 ^d
Item for my costes and Christofer Walton to Goderston for the rent and home	7 ^s
Item for Sowrnes [?]wages to the stoctes [<i>sic</i>]	32 ^s 4 ^d
Item paid for feyng Decon Dik	33 ^s 4 ^d
Item for a nox of Thomas Fell boght by Giffrey Scot storer	11 ^s 4 ^d
Item Robert Hobkyn for Decon Dik [<i>entry deleted</i>]	12 ^d
Item paid to John Pirre sclatter for 18½ days labor at Myllom	4 ^s 7 ^d
Item to John Dawson for 18 days labor	4 ^s 7 ^d
Item Percivell Danson for 10 days	2 ^s 6 ^d

Item paid to 8 men for 24 days labor with mete or drynk at Decon Dyk	8 ^s
Item paid John Lame for kepyng hors and mares	8 ^d
Item paid Matheu Crag for work	18 ^d
Item paid Richard Postilthuaite wif for 9 geys	15 ^d

[p. 182]

Item payd Christofer Postilthuaite for makyng of 10 quarter bege malt every quarter 3 ^d	2 ^s 6 ^d
Item 11½ quarter haver malt every quarter 3 ^d	2 ^s 10½ ^d
Item for dryeng 8 quarter haver	8 ^d
Item paid William Jennyng for holdyng plugh 44 days every day 1 ^d	3 ^s 8 ^d
Item for 11 days labor in bege sede tyme and 6 days in harvest every day 1½ ^d	2 ^s 1 ^d [sic]
Item paid Richard Bowes for tethyng	12 ^d
Item paid Makyn Stabill, Thomas Kechen, John Stabill and Mathew Langton for mawying meadow 5 acre in the Ruke myre 7½ acre [in] Gilryddyng 11½ acre in the Brodmedow 4½ acre in the Dowcot medow 7½ acre in the Old Park acre and a half in Nedersewell 6 in Oversewell. Item 4 acre ley. Summa totalis: 48½ price every acre 6 ^d [sic; recte 47½ acres]	23 ^s [9 ^d]
Item to Stroth wif and hyr folowyth for wyrkyng at hay 173 days every day 1 ^d	12 ^s [sic; recte 14 ^s 5 ^d]
Item to Gilbert Walton, Richard Langton, Mathew Stabill and Myles Drynkel for feyng 51 rod of dyk at the Town Croft syde price every rod 5 ^d	20 ^s [sic; recte 21 ^s 3 ^d]

Summa: 26^{li} 6^s 1^d [recte £26 9s 8½d]

[p. 251]

Expenses made at Myllo from the fest of the Invention of the Holy Crosse in the yere of our
soverain lord Kyng Henry the 8th the 5th unto the thred day of Septembre in the same yere which
ys by the space of 17 wekes and 3 days.

Furst in malt for the servauntes and cariag and for the sclatters	5 quarters
Item in whet for bone scherers	10½ strik
Item in whet dightynges for cariag and sclatters	3½ strik
Item in hard corn	4 quarter
Item in fysch	2 ^s 6 ^d
Item in flysh	5½ quarters
Item in crokes	6
* * that ther ys left in the larder thame day	
* * [qu]arters bef [entry deleted]	
* * * of salt: 4 quarters	
* * * kyt of salt porpas	
* * * talow: 4 loves	

[p. 252]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici viii quinto.

Item spendyd from the said 3^{de} day of Septembre to the 2^{de} day of Octobre the yere abovesaid.
Furst in crokes to the howsold and for 75 scherers and also for sclaters and oder
workmen

Item in beif for the said workmen by the same space: a stot a litill cow and a sturdy
 strik 3
 Item in fysch by the same space [*'and a week and more' deleted*] and for buter and egges 19^d
 Item for 3 endyng ges [*entry deleted*] 6^d
 Item in fysch [*entry deleted*]
 Item in whet for the said servauntes and workmen 8 st [rikes]
 Item in malt 2 quar[ters]
 Item in hard corn 10 busch[els]
 Crok skynnes sold to Roland Prat [anno] regni regis Henrici viiiⁱ v^{to} 21 price every [skin] 1½^d, the
 summa: 2^s 7½^d Whereof * * * for 5 schep skynnes for doble[tt]es * * *
 Blendall and Griffyn 10^d. Item * * * pare harvest glovys 6^d [Summa:] 16^d et debet 15½^d quos *
 * * *

[p. 253]

Item spendid at Myllom from the said secunde day of Octobre the yere beforesaid unto the 24 day
 of the said moneth the yere above wryten.
 Furst in fysch butter and egges for the servauntes Sir Hew my self 2 wrightes 2
 sclatters and oder warkmen 19^d
 Item for 3 endyng geys to the servauntes 6^d
 Item bef a cow
 Item i[n] crokes 4
 Item in whet 2½ strik
 Item malt 6½ quarter
 Item hard corn [*'with' deleted*] of new corn 6 buschelles
 Item spendid of ry that com from Whittyngham 12 wyndelles that 9 buschell
 was borrowed of hym for sede 9 pekes and 3 pekkes

[p. 254]

Bege malt mad by Christofer Postilthuit 18 qua[rters]
 Haver malt 21½ quarter Haver dryed sex q[arters]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici viiiⁱ sexto.

New malt spyndid at Myllom apon the housold wryghtes and sletters and oder
 wark men afor sanct Jame evyn 6 * * * *
 Whet spyndid ther before the same day 5 * * * *
 Ry spyndid ther before the same day 6 * * * *
 Hordcorn spyndyd there befor the same day 5 * * * *
 Haver dryed there befor the same day * * * *
 Item haver sown at Myllom [sic]
 Whet sown ther [sic]
 Bege sown there 6 * * * *
 Item left unspeyndyd the said sanct [James' even] of bege in a bynge per estimacionem *
 * * * * and 2 wyndelles and a half.
 Item in a fat with 3 wy * * * * to Dawson pise [?] and Richard F * * * *
 Item of haver in a by[ng] * * * *
 Item haver 7 wynd[ells] * * * *
 Item malt * * * *

[p. 255]

Item in the kechen the same day 2 krookes and a cow.

[p. 256]

Oxen latten into Fornes by Bernard S * * * * *

Inprimis to John Fell	4
Item to Giles Pell	2
Item to Richard Lece	1
Item to Freres of Kyrkby	2
Item to John Kechen	1
Item Henry Kechen wif	1

Summa: 11 price 11^s

Whet boght by George Berdsay

R' 2 strik and 3^s 4^d

R' 2 strik

R' 1 strik

R'

Furst of Oliver Smyth	5 st[rike]
Item John Myre	5 * * * *
Item of Robert Kyrkbank	* * * * *
Item of John Kyrkbank	1 * * * *
Item of Richard Fox	1 * * * *
Thomas and his moder	2 * * * *

Glossary

The following reference works have been consulted: *English Dialect Dictionary* (E.D.D.); *Oxford English Dictionary* (O.E.D.); R. E. Zupko, *Dictionary of English Weights and Measures* (1968).

baly burdes	meaning not known
blaksop	? bleaching soap
boltyng cloth	cloth used in mills for sifting meal. (E.D.D.)
bones/bone scherers	tenants owing reaping services on the demesne. (O.E.D.)
cattes	meaning not known.
clensyng days	? Ember days
clot yren	? a lump of iron – 'clot' = a mass or rounded lump (O.E.D.)
cok fisch	? salmon
contersynges	marks of identification (O.E.D.)
cranes	herons, storks, or shags (O.E.D.)
crokes	old, useless ewes (E.D.D.)
crukes	wooden frames slung in pairs across the saddle of a pack-horse (O.E.D.)
dean letter	? letter to rural dean in connection with church affairs
endyng geys	from context, presumably geese served to castle servants. Full meaning not known
feyng (a dike)	cleansing, clearing out, tidying (E.D.D.)
foder	measure of capacity, from OE fother = a cartload (Zupko)
forkschoyne	? fork irons
fres	frieze; a coarse, woollen cloth (O.E.D.)
goldweddes	meaning not known. From its context, possibly iron tines for a harrow

grissying hoggs	taking young sheep (hoggs) to graze
hardcorn	wheat or rye (E.D.D.)
late brod	a lath-nail (E.D.D.)
lowers	louvres, in this context controlling the draught up the chimney (O.E.D.)
masse (of herring)	measure of quantity for herrings containing c. 600 fish (Zupko)
meters	measurers (O.E.D.)
natbandes	meaning not known
plughschoyrn	the ironwork on which the plough share is fixed (E.D.D.)
quarter	a grain measure, usually containing 8 bushells (Zupko)
quartron (of pepper)	a gallon measure for dry goods (E.D.D.)
schoyll yeren	? shovel-iron
schoyn	shoes
spange yren	meaning uncertain. Cf. use of 'spang' in sense of 'variegated, streaked, flecked' (E.D.D.)
spykynges	large nails (E.D.D.)
spylyng	driving in stakes or piles (E.D.D.). The phrase 'wyndyng and spylyng' probably refers to the reinforcement of ditch banks with interwoven hurdles
strike	a grain measure, usually containing 2 bushells (Zupko)
tenth corn	tithe corn
wayne cluttes	plates of iron fixed on a cart's axle to prevent wear (O.E.D.)
webbes (of lead)	sheets of lead (O.E.D.)
wyndill	a grain measure containing c. 3 bushells (Zupko). In 13th-cent. Cumberland 16 windles = 1 skep (P.R.O., SC6/824/7-15, <i>passim</i>)

References and notes

- ¹ Cumbria Record Office (Carlisle), D/Lons/W.7.
- ² Nicolson and Burn, ii. 13.
- ³ For genealogy, see H. S. Cowper, 'Millom Castle and the Hudlestons', CW2, xxiv (1924), 180-234.
- ⁴ *V.C.H. Yorks, N.R.*, i, 121.
- ⁵ He was living at Buckland, Gloucs., at the time of these accounts, but later moved to Southam Delabere, where he built Southam House: *V.C.H. Gloucs.*, viii, 10.
- ⁶ Hen. Kirkby (d. 1524), lord of Kirkby Ireleth, and Chris. Bardsey (d. c. 1529), lord of Bardsea: *V.C.H. Lancs.*, viii, 332n., 394.
- ⁷ R. L. Storey, 'The Chantries of Cumberland and Westmorland: part i', CW2, lx (1960), 87.
- ⁸ He was tenant of both 'Overbekhowse' and 'Nedyrbekhouse': C.R.O. (Carlisle), D/Lons/W.7, Millom Court bk. 1510-23 (rental of 1510), p. 54. (Hereafter cited as '1510 Rental').
- ⁹ 1510 Rental, pp. 52, 53, 55.
- ¹⁰ *V.C.H. Lancs.*, viii, 394n.
- ¹¹ For identification, see C.R.O. (Carlisle), D/Lons/W/Plans/85.
- ¹² Cf. E. Miller, 'Farming in Northern England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Northern History*, xi (1976), 1-16; A. J. L. Winchester, 'Territorial Structure and Agrarian Organisation in Medieval and 16th-century Copeland, Cumberland' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1978), 120-133.
- ¹³ The meadows and their identification (C.R.O., D/Lons/W/Plans/85) were: 'Ruke myre' (Rook Mire); 'Gilryddyng' (Children's meadow?); 'the Brodmedow' (Broad Meadow); 'Dowcot medow' (Dove Cote); and 'Old Park' (Old Park Meadow).
- ¹⁴ The tenants of Millom owed 4 days' reaping and the tenants of Kirksanton and 'Sather-ton' (the eastern end of Whicham parish) an unspecified number of days: 1510 Rental, pp. 56, 59.

¹⁵ 1510 Rental, p. 64. For the earlier history of Grassoms, see *Register of Priory of St. Bees* (Surtees Soc. Vol. 126, 1915), pp. 364-5.

¹⁶ 1510 Rental, p. 62.

¹⁷ Cf. the annual driving of Stockdale Moor, Copeland Forest, in September where numerous tenants grazed their stock in the later 17th century: C.R.O. (Carlisle), D/Lec, box 284, *passim*.

¹⁸ 1510 Rental, pp. 61-2.

¹⁹ Alnwick Castle muniments, X. II. 3 box 3, Egremont min. acct., 11 Ed. IV.

²⁰ In 1511 Sir Thomas Sanderson is called "my servant" in the will of Hudleston's father, Sir John, who directs that he is to have his costs and expenses in receiving the rents from Millom and other estates and carrying them to Sir John. I am grateful to Mr C. R. Hudleston for supplying this information.

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