

#### IV.—GILLY-CORN AND THE CUSTOMARY OF THE CONVENT OF DURHAM.

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Materials for a study of the manorial organization of the estates of the church of Durham are to be found in the two surveys made respectively for bishop Hugh du Puiset in 1183 and for bishop Thomas of Hatfield in 1381, together with the feodary of the convent of Durham, which was compiled in 1430.<sup>1</sup> Whereas, however, the bishops' surveys cover the names and holdings of the various free and unfree tenants of their estates and record the collective services and dues of the villeins, cottars, *malmen* and lesser folk, the feodary of the convent of Durham contains no more than a list "of the free rents and services belonging to the exchequer of the prior" in the year 1430, although based on an earlier feodary of prior Thomas of Melsamby (1233-44) and sundry other rentals of the priors of Durham.<sup>2</sup> While, therefore, a double record survives of the organization of the Durham episcopal manors as they existed in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, a similar picture of the convent estates is blurred by the later survey being superimposed on the original of 1235. Furthermore, the surviving feodary lacks any reference to lands held by unfree tenure, and a subsequent Inventory of 1464 is equally uninformative as to the rents and services of the villeins and cottars of the priory estates,<sup>3</sup> without whom the manorial economy was incomplete.

<sup>1</sup> *Boldon Buke* (Surtees Soc., 25) and *Bishop Hatfield's Survey* (*Ibid.*, 32, 1856); *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis* (*Ibid.*, 58). In addition to these printed sources unprinted material concerning the convent estates, in the form of manorial and obedientiary accounts, exists in the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham (hereafter cited as Durham).

<sup>2</sup> *Feod. Dun.*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98-211.

It has been demonstrated by Mr. J. E. A. Jolliffe that in the North of England the profits of seignioralty did not derive mainly from the power of the lord to compel regular weekly field-work from the tenants of his land. Rather the profits arose from the receipt of grain, animals or money as settlement-rents.<sup>4</sup> In the case of the bishop and convent of Durham such rents were greatly supplemented by the tithes payable to the church, and a steady supply of grain could be expected without the need to organize the tenants of the church lands to till the lord's demesne. In consequence, labour services hardly figure in the manorial accounts of the Durham convent, being frequently commuted by the term. Although free and unfree tenants alike were expected to help with the harvest it would not appear that they normally provided ploughing-services, which were generally performed by skilled ploughmen in the priory's regular employment, using the demesne ploughs.<sup>5</sup> The convent of Durham derived its revenue from traditional dues, frequently paid in cash for convenience, and from direct farming of the demesne, therefore the bursar had little need to consult a book of customary services, the usual "domesday" of information on such matters. And for lack of such a "customary" the history of the manorial organization of the estates of the convent of Durham has still to be compiled.

Although the bursar of Durham, who received in his central exchequer at the priory the bulk of the traditional dues of money, grain and produce,<sup>6</sup> apparently found no need for a "customary", not all such customary rents were

<sup>4</sup> J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Northumbrian Institutions*; in *English Historical Review*, vol. XLI, 1926, pp. 1-42.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Durham, Manorial Accounts for Bewley for 1305/6, 1332/3, 1337/8, 1339/40; Billingham for 1327/8, 1328/9, 1329/30, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336/7, 1337/8, 1339/40; Dalton for 1336/7; Ferryhill for 1331, 1332/3, 1333, 1333/4; Fulwell for 1336, 1337/8, 1343/4; Ketton for 1331/2; Pitlington for 1277, 1286, 1327/8, 1330/1, 1331/2, 1333, 1333/4, 1339/40, 1340/1; Wardley for 1328/9, 1331, 1331/2; Westoe for 1326/7, 1327/8, 1329/30, 1331/2, 1336/7, 1337/8, 1339/40.

<sup>6</sup> The "assized rents" were always the first item of receipt entered on the bursar's great roll, and they usually formed the largest single item received by him, rising in 1318 to a total value of over £500 in an annual income of £1,320.

paid to the bursar. As the internal organization of the Benedictine convent developed during the first century of its existence, special offices had been created for the purpose of keeping the alms-money, the church vestments, and the church estates. It was also necessary to provide the holders of these offices with an adequate endowment, and in consequence rents of all kinds, though small in their aggregate amount, were diverted from the central treasury to these lesser establishments. The schedule moreover has survived which records the incidence of one of these dues, *gilly-corn*, which was paid to the almoner of Durham.<sup>7</sup> This remarkable document can by analysis and comparison with contemporary records be made to shed new light not only on the date of the division of the revenue of the convent estates among the various senior monastic officers but also on the whole matter of the framework of unfree tenures on the priory estates. The schedule for the rate of payment for *gilly-corn* was compiled in 1424, six years before the feodary of the free rents and services; but detailed examination reveals that it has a parallel importance with the feodary, for not only does it supplement it in the matter of unfree tenements, but the method of assessment is so archaic as to suggest an origin contemporary with Boldon Buke, two and a half centuries before.

Evidence for the date of the assessment of *gilly-corn* is provided by the status of those liable to pay the due. Free men paid equally with bond on their respective holdings, and certain lands held by the prior and by the almoner of Durham himself were similarly liable. Tenants, however, of lands known to have been assarted from the waste subsequent to 1200 were specifically acquitted of payment. Similarly, the liability was spread over all the manors of the convent of Durham, except where the whole manor had originated subsequent to 1200, as for example the manor of Bearpark, which was a dairy belonging to the almoner as

<sup>7</sup> This schedule is entered in Durham, Almoners' Cartulary II, ff. 27v.-30. A translation is appended to the end of this article.

late as 1240. (At this date the almoner had been persuaded to exchange it with the prior for 90 acres at Moorhouses, pasturing rights both there and at Aldin Grange, an annual rent of 5s. payable from the prior's exchequer at Martinmas, and a lump sum of 10 marks.)<sup>8</sup> The exemption of new manors such as Bearpark, Wardley, or Newton Bewley from payment of *gilly-corn* strongly suggests that the due was assessed before their creation in the thirteenth century. The liability of the almoner to pay this due to himself for land in Burdon near Haughton-le-Skerne which he had acquired by charter about 1200 again suggests that payment for *gilly-corn* had been assessed there at a still earlier date.<sup>9</sup> As for the lands held by the prior of Durham, while some tenements were liable, others, even in the same village, were exempt. But it was the land newly acquired by charter or reclamation of the waste on which the prior was exempted payment at Hebburn, Westoe, and Burdon. On his old holdings at Hebburn, East Rainton and Burdon the prior paid at the same rate as any other tenant. Such lack of uniformity suggests the long duration of the custom and provides a clue as to the nature of the payment of *gilly-corn*.

*Gilly-corn* was in fact a contribution towards the provision of alms by the monks of Durham, and as such came to be attached to the funded revenues of the almoner at the time of the separation of the incomes of the senior obedientiaries. This explains why both bond and free tenants of the convent, including the prior himself, paid a contribution. It may also suggest why the assessment of the due remained stabilized about 1200, for if the revenue was assigned specifically to the almoner at that date a special survey will have been made of its current incidence. Exemptions due to the fact that land had come recently into the convent's possession by grant or purchase were duly noted, and until about 1235 the exemption of further specific tenements as being newly brought into cultivation from the

<sup>8</sup> Durham, Almoners' Cart., I, ff. 77, 161.

<sup>9</sup> *Feod. Dun.*, p. 45 and notes.

waste was noted systematically. After this date, however, no new entries were made and the render became fixed, even where, as in the case of Newton Ketton, the husbandry decayed, not increased. "In the village of Newton Ketton anciently there were 16 bondages, each containing 18 acres, as is shown by the feodary of prior Thomas, and all used to render each year 8 thraves for *gilly-corn*.<sup>10</sup> No revision was attempted until the first quarter of the fifteenth century, when both the schedule for *gilly-corn* and the feodary of free tenants were compiled. And just as the feodary of 1430 relied heavily on the early survey of prior Thomas de Melsamby, so apparently does the almoner's schedule for the assessment of *gilly-corn*.<sup>11</sup> Comparison of the schedule with the feodary on the point of names and free tenements, however, is most instructive, for the nature of the omissions in the schedule seems to indicate that only lands liable in 1235 remained liable in 1424 for *gilly-corn*.

Having traced back to the first quarter of the thirteenth century the payment of *gilly-corn* from certain tenements on the priory demesne it is tempting to assume a still older history, since customary rents generally arose from the earliest conditions of settlement in England. *Gilly-corn* was a corn rent, payable at the rate of a thrave of 24 sheaves for every tenement or ploughland<sup>12</sup> held by bond or free, and it was usually paid in wheat, although, by a special arrangement, on the manor of Billingham an equal amount of wheat and oats was proffered. In practice the amount was frequently commuted by the fourteenth century and the almoner received sums in cash varying from 48s. in the 1320s to 60s. in 1367: falling to 21s. in 1378, and rising to 48s. 4d. in 1432. The variations may have been due to seasonal fluctuations in the price of corn or to the fact that when sheaves were actually given they were not valued in money.

<sup>10</sup> Durham, Almoners' Cart., II, f. 29v.

<sup>11</sup> This point seems conclusive to the view that Melsamby's original survey covered both bond and free tenements.

<sup>12</sup> An analysis of the acreage of these ancient holdings is attempted below, pp. 44-48.

As late as 1456 sheaves were still paid at Newton Ketton, Dalton, and Skerningham.<sup>13</sup> The commuted rent continued to be paid on the estates of the convent to the Dean and Chapter of Durham during the seventeenth century.<sup>14</sup>

The incidence of *gilly-corn* on bond and free land and payable to the church of Durham at the rate of a thrave to the tenement suggests a local parallel with the better-known rent of "church-scot", which was similarly paid to the mother-church of the district, although more generally exacted from free men only, to whom it lent the stamp of social respectability.<sup>15</sup> The nearest parallel, however, is with *peter-corn*. This was originally a rent payable by the royal demesne in the diocese of York at the rate of a thrave for every carucate of land to enable the canons of York minster to distribute alms to the poor, a privilege derived according to tradition from a grant to the canons by king Athelstan in 936.<sup>16</sup> The rent was later transferred to St. Peter's hospital at York, and this almonry, which was subsequently rededicated to St. Leonard, continued to receive its *peter-corn* in 1300, when it was petitioned by the hospital before the king's council that the practice should continue whereby the sheriffs of Yorkshire, Cumberland, Lancashire and Westmorland distrained for any arrears of payment for *peter-corn* as a royal debt, on the grounds that the due had been given by the king's ancestors.<sup>17</sup> (A royal origin can be found similarly for the collection of "church-scot" by Pershore abbey in Worcestershire.)<sup>18</sup> The connection between *peter-corn* and *gilly-corn* is brought still closer in a grant made about 1181 by bishop Hugh du Puiset to his own

<sup>13</sup> Durham, Almoners' Cart., II, f. 58v.

<sup>14</sup> My thanks are due to Miss M. Graham, assistant librarian to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, for bringing to my attention these later references to *gilly-corn*.

<sup>15</sup> F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1947), pp. 152-6, 466-7.

<sup>16</sup> W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters* I, 141-2; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* VI, 608; *Historians of the Church of York* (Rolls Series, 1894) III, 162-3.

<sup>17</sup> *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench* (Selden Society 58, 1939) III, xxx, cxv.

<sup>18</sup> P. Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (1903), p. 419.

hospital of St. Giles of Kepier near Durham. According to this, the brethren of Kepier were to receive *de unaquaque caruca de dominiis nostris in episcopatu Dunolmensi unam travam bladi, sicut datur hospitali sancti Petri Ebor'schire*.<sup>19</sup>

It is fully understandable that a corn-rent payable by the demesnes of the bishop of Durham to the hospital of St. Giles of Kepier should come to be known as *gilly-corn*.<sup>20</sup> Why, however, should the similar corn-rent payable by the demesne of the convent of Durham to the almonry of Durham receive the same name, except by analogy? The estates of the bishop and convent of Durham had once been held in common, and a corn-rent based at the rate of a thrave to the carucate might well have been payable by them to the cathedral church at Durham. But St. Cuthbert was the patron of Durham. From the example of *peter-corn*, later payable to St. Leonard's hospital, *cuthbert-corn* could as naturally have been paid to the hospital of St. Giles of Kepier. Since the process was reversed at Durham, and the name of *gilly-corn* was given to the due paid to the older almonry of St. Cuthbert, further investigation into origins is necessary.

It does not seem possible to trace the establishment of Kepier hospital earlier than the episcopate of Ranulf Flambard (1099-1128);<sup>21</sup> and the specific grant of sheaves from the demesne of the bishop on the scale of *peter-corn* may well have been made originally by him and merely confirmed by bishop Puiset at the later date. The separation of the estates of the bishop from those of the convent of Durham also dates to the episcopate of bishop Flambard, for the monks themselves admitted that Flambard's predecessor, bishop William de St. Calais, died before the settlement was finally made.<sup>22</sup> It is therefore probable that the corn-rent payable to the mother-church at Durham for the relief of the

<sup>19</sup> Durham, Priors' Register III, f. 9v.; *Memorials of St. Giles's, Durham* (Surtees Society 95, 1895), p. 196.

<sup>20</sup> *Gilly-corn* as payable to the hospital of St. Giles of Kepier has its own separate history. Cf. R. Surtees, *History of Durham* IV, pp. 61-7, see esp. p. 61 note s; *Memorials of St. Giles*, pp. 196, 202, 205-6, 206-12, 217-20.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xv, 194-5.

<sup>22</sup> Symeon of Durham (Rolls Series) I, 123-4; *Feod, Dun.*, pp. xxix-xxxvii.

poor had not taken final shape before the turn of the eleventh century. It was apparently payable by the lands held of the church by uncertain tenure,<sup>23</sup> either servile or in drengage, and when the estates of bishop and convent came to be separated in the first quarter of the twelfth century bishop Flambard, being on the whole hostile to the Durham monks, denied the cathedral almonry this revenue derived from his demesne in order to endow his own alms-house nearby at Kepier. Since the greater part of the corn-rent for alms in Durham was now being paid to the hospital of St. Giles at Kepier, the due was nicknamed "bladi sancti Egidii" or, colloquially, "Saintgilocorn" and "le gelycorne"; and the convent, acknowledging the similar nature of its own corn-rent, copied local usage and called the almoner's rent "gilly-corn".<sup>24</sup>

By accepting this explanation of the origin of the name "gilly-corn" for a rent payable by the convent estates to the cathedral almonry the interesting possibility arises that its payment fell on such lands as were allotted to the priory at the time of the separation of the episcopal estates, although limited by the very nature of the due to those areas growing corn at that date. This would help to explain why land reclaimed subsequently from the waste, and also pasturage, was not included in the assessment. The render of *gilly-corn* to the almoner fell in fact on sharply defined areas at Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Dalton, Pittington, Shincliffe by Durham, Ferryhill, the Merringtons, Monk Hesleden, Billingham and Aycliffe, all areas of ancient cultivation which, more especially in the case of the estates of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, had been in monastic possession for over three centuries previously. While, in view of the notoriety

<sup>23</sup> Villeinage was legally recognized to be a servile tenure whereby the tenant was obliged to perform such services as were required by his lord at his lord's convenience, i.e. uncertain services. Drengage, with its emphasis on miscellaneous personal service to the lord, may be regarded as an "uncertain tenure" of free men.

<sup>24</sup> There are two examples of the specific rent of a thrave to the carucate, paid to Kepier hospital, being glossed in transcripts in the Priors' Register as "bladi Egidii" (Durham, Reg. III, ff. 9v., 291).

of the charters defining the early separation of the episcopal and conventual lands, it is dangerous to state categorically that the cultivated lands allotted to the monks by the bishop of Durham at the turn of the eleventh century were all liable to pay *gilly-corn* and that the monks held nothing else cultivated beside, it can be claimed that all their lands liable to *gilly-corn* were held by the monks at the date that their estates were confirmed to them by Henry II early in his reign.<sup>25</sup> The other lands held by them within the county at the same date can be shown to have been held of them either in knight service or free socage, neither of which was the general form of tenure on the estates of the convent of Durham.

The usual free tenure on the Durham priory estates entailed suit of court and suit of mill, beyond which two requirements it varied. Sometimes only a small money rent was required: at other times service outside the demesne, dues of heriot<sup>26</sup> and merchet,<sup>27</sup> and even labour-services. These are the general marks of tenure in drengage. For lack of the priory customary the graduations of unfree tenure on the priory estates have not been examined hitherto, but the incidence of *gilly-corn* sheds light on both points, of free and unfree tenure.

Examination of the schedule for *gilly-corn* in comparison with the priory feodary of 1430 makes it readily apparent that wherever free land was liable for the corn-rent it was also held in drengage. There are only four apparent exceptions, at Monk Hesleden, Burdon, Aycliffe and Barmpton.<sup>28</sup> At Monk Hesleden and Aycliffe, although land is held freely in drengage the tenure has been created by a charter of the prior of Durham and is specifically exempted in the schedule as such from payment of *gilly-corn*.<sup>29</sup> At Burdon, land liable

<sup>25</sup> *Feod. Dun.*, pp. lxxxiii-vi.

<sup>26</sup> A fine of the best beast or chattel payable on the death of a tenant, generally a mark of villeinage.

<sup>27</sup> A fine on the marriage of a daughter outside the manor, generally a mark of villeinage.

<sup>28</sup> *Feod. Dun.*, pp. 23, 45-7, 47-50, 57-64.

<sup>29</sup> Durham, Almoners' Cart. II, ff. 28, 29v.

for military service has to pay the corn-rent also; while the tenements at Barmpton have become so inextricably mixed by 1424 and 1430 that no definite conclusions can be drawn. Since in the majority of cases the tenement in each list is readily identifiable by the name of one tenant whose name has become attached to it, it is here possible to compare and contrast the information given by feodary and schedule respectively.

The schedule of *gilly-corn* naturally makes no reference to the form of tenure of any holding liable to its payment beyond the comment that it is held either freely or in bondage. It is the feodary that reveals the significant fact of drengage service. But the feodary has its own secrets. It was compiled to record the names in addition to the services of the free tenants of the priory, and by 1430 many of the tenements were shattered into their component acres by purchase or marriage, making it virtually impossible to reconstruct the original areas. Payment of *gilly-corn*, however, was based on tenements existing in 1235, two centuries previously, and the schedule of 1424 still inexorably demanded payment from carucates where now the village counted only acres. The need for a schedule must have arisen from the almoner's inability to exact his ancient due readily from villages measured in entirely different terms: hence the remarkable analysis of the priory manors assessed for *gilly-corn* which translates the archaic terms of carucates and bovates into the contemporary acres, with explanatory scales of value wherever there is local variation. A sample of this confusion is provided by the priory estate at Jarrow, originally valued at 18 carucates of free land, and covering the villages of Hebburn, Monkton, Jarrow, Hedworth, Simonside and Westoe.<sup>30</sup> Reckoned in acres, the carucate varied there from 60 acres at Simonside and Hedworth to 80 acres at Jarrow. In the same estate of Jarrow, however, there were also 36 "husbandlands", varying from 24 acres at Wallsend and Westoe to 52 acres at Monkton, and 48

<sup>30</sup> Durham, Almoners' Cart. II, ff. 27v.-8.

bondages on a scale similar to the husbandlands. The holders of a carucate, husbandland, or bondage each paid alike a thrave of corn or a fraction of a thrave in direct relation to the unit of his holding. At Westoe there were in addition 19 "bovatarii", holding bovates of 12 acres apiece, who had each to render a half-thrave. Twenty cottars at Lower Heworth and Jarrow held tenements of 12 acres, for which they were liable to pay a quarter-thrave for *gilly-corn*. The nine cottars of Simonside, who held each a toft and a croft with 6 acres  $3\frac{1}{2}$  roods, and the *cottrelli* of the same village, with their tofts and crofts, who had but 3 acres or 6 roods of land apiece, alone were exempted from the due.

With such details of the number and extent of the various free and unfree tenements on the priory estates it becomes possible to reconstruct the manorial economy.<sup>31</sup> Because Pittington was held entirely in demesne, having no free tenants even in drengage, it was omitted from the feodary. The schedule for *gilly-corn* shows that North Pittington was composed of 8 husbandlands of 28 acres apiece, and South Pittington of 8 bondages of 24 acres.<sup>32</sup> It may be found from the Manorial Account for Pittington for 1333 that holders of bondages there were expected at hay-making time to provide two labourers with sickles for the mornings of three weeks, and later to harvest the grain for three mornings during each week of harvest along with a woman of his household. But the manorial accounts also show that by 1333 there were cottars at Pittington, liable to labour-services, of whom the *gilly-corn* survey takes no account. The explanation must surely be that their tenements were not liable to pay the rent because the cotlands here had been reclaimed from the waste after the assessment of 1235. This means that the information from the gilly-corn list is valid for the early period, but may not be pressed to cover conditions one or two centuries later.

<sup>31</sup> It should be noted, however, that the assessment for *gilly-corn* was drawn up by parishes, and that the due was frequently farmed by the vicar of the respective parish. Cf. Durham, Almoners' Accounts *passim*.

<sup>32</sup> Durham, Almoners' Cart. II, f. 28.

With this caution, another priory estate, at Billingham, may be examined. The manor, which included the villages of Billingham, Cowpen and Wolviston, was from the beginning divided into small units of tenement, suggested by the fact that *gilly-corn* was levied here at the rate of 2 sheaves for every six acres, rising to a maximum of 16 sheaves for 48 acres. It was however provided that "if a carucate contains there 50, 60, 70, or 80 acres it shall render 16 sheaves". The bondages there, each of which contained 30 acres, were to render a half-thrave (12 sheaves).<sup>33</sup> There were in fact no carucates under that name on these estates, but there were 16 bondages at Billingham village, 16 at Cowpen, and 1 at Wolviston, which latter, however, paid only 10 sheaves, according to its acreage, instead of 12 sheaves according to its tenure. The cottars at Billingham, four in number, paid 4 sheaves on their acreage of 12 acres, and the 8 cottars of Wolviston were similarly assessed. Fourteen of the holdings at Wolviston were in drengage, varying in acreage from the 12 acres of the heirs of John Cudson, paying 4 sheaves, to the double plot of the commoner of Durham priory, who held 2 messuages, 2 tofts, and a total of 139 acres for the upkeep of the chantry-chapel of bishop Walter Skirlawe, for all of which he paid the double maximum of 32 sheaves in *gilly-corn*. The nineteen holdings of the tenants at will at Wolviston varied equally in size and importance between the messuage "on the Westkevyle" formerly held with 70 acres by John Shirlok, a sheriff of Durham under bishop Antony Bek in 1304,<sup>34</sup> which paid 16 sheaves, the maximum rate, and "the messuage on the South Row by the corner", with its 13 acres, which paid 4 sheaves on its acreage.<sup>35</sup>

It is noteworthy that on the estate of Billingham *gilly-corn* was paid at a special rate and in equal quantities of wheat and oats.<sup>36</sup> As there is no evidence for a particularly poor yield of grain here, this local arrangement provokes the comment that it may have been the sturdy independence of

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 28v.

<sup>34</sup> Durham, 1a. 9e. Specialia 2.

<sup>35</sup> Durham, Almoners' Cart. II, f. 28v.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

the free small-holders rather than any infertility of the land that induced the almoner of Durham to accept a less valuable render without demur.<sup>37</sup> The almoner did occasionally meet resistance in the exaction of his due, and in the autumn of 1266 the discontent of the men of the village of Barmpton, to the west of Billingham, came to a head. The case was brought before the court of the archdeacon of Durham at Darlington where, in opposition to the claim of the almoner to a thrave for every working plough (*de qualibet caruca exeunte in crastino Epiphanie*) and to 6 sheaves from every bovate, the men of Barmpton offered to pay at the rate of 4 sheaves to the bovate of 15 acres. The almoner refused their offer, leaving the consistory court which was being held in the chapter-house of the canons of Darlington, and it was in the collegiate church itself that he was eventually prevailed upon to accept a sliding-scale of payments. "The plough cultivating four to seven bovates" would pay one thrave, but below that number the stipulated 6 sheaves were due from each 15 acres.<sup>38</sup> There is no evidence of arrangements made elsewhere between almoner and tenants to make uniform the assessment of this corn-rent on the acre.<sup>39</sup>

Further information concerning the structure of the priory estates is obtainable from this effort of the almoner of Durham in 1424 to reduce all the different tenements liable for *gilly-corn* to a common denominator of acres. Whereas the large carucate of 80 acres and more predominates on the Jarrow estates, elsewhere to the south the area is generally 60 acres.<sup>40</sup> The carucate is essentially the holding of a free

<sup>37</sup> Cf. below, p. 54 and note 46.

<sup>38</sup> Durham, Almoners' Cart. I, f. 185; II, f. 71.

<sup>39</sup> As late as 1494 Robert Ker and William Watson were contesting before the archdeacon of the peculiar of the prior in Durham and in the civil courts the liability of their tenement in Hebburn, called *Hedworthland*, to pay "a certain tithé popularly called *le gelycorne*". The case was eventually decided in the convent's favour (Durham, Almoners' Cart. I, ff. 230-33).

<sup>40</sup> The carucate represents 60 acres at Hedworth, Simonside, East and West Rainton, Burdon, Barmpton, Skerningham and Ferryhill; and 80 acres at Hebburn, Monkton, Jarrow, Westoe, Newhouses (near Aycliffe), and West Merrington. There were, in addition, freak carucates of 86 and 96 acres at Hebburn, of 92 acres at Monkton, 86 acres at Hedworth, and 64 acres at

man, whose liability for *gilly-corn* is 24 sheaves of wheat (about a bushel of grain) from an acreage twice the size of the usual husbandland or bondage, although these latter units of unfree tenement were equally liable to pay 24 sheaves. The unfree husbandland was indeed taxed higher proportionately to its acreage than any other form of holding. Falling as low as 24 acres at Wallsend and Westoe, two of the oldest estates of the convent, although rising to 48 acres at Monkwearmouth, of a similar antiquity, it was still assessed to pay one thrave; whereas a "bondage" of equal acreage generally escaped with an assessment of half a thrave. On the southern estates of the convent the "bondage" consisted normally of 30 acres, although at Newton Ketton it fell as low as 12 acres. Other holdings were measured in bovates varying from 12 to 24 acres. These would seem to have been held by bond and free alike, and numerous charters survive among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham testifying to their frequent sale, especially towards the close of the fourteenth century. On the old estates at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth the bovaté holdings seem to have been treated as half-bondages and paid *gilly-corn* in proportion, but at Aycliffe in the south they were reckoned at 24 acres and identified with husbandlands while still paying only half a thrave. Elsewhere the bovaté contained 12 acres, 15 acres, 16 acres or 18 acres, so that any equality must have been in productivity. With the exception of the village of West Merrington, which paid double, bovates were assessed for *gilly-corn* at the rate of 6 sheaves annually. Cotlands were generally assessed at a quarter of a bondage, except where their area was so small as to be excused payment altogether.

Consideration of the assessment of *gilly-corn* provokes many questions. Why was there such a discrepancy in the

Southwick. The only example of the large carucate more usual in the rest of England occurs c. 1230 in Ferryhill, where one carucate was reckoned at 192 acres. A carucate of 60 acres was normally composed of 4 bovates, although at Chilton, "where 8 carucates do the service of one knight", there were 8 bovates to the carucate (*Feod. Dun.*, pp. 64 note, 169 note).

size of free and unfree holdings between the northern and southern lands of the Durham priory? Of what did the "manor" consist at Moorsley and Burdon, as there is no reference in other documents to the prior holding any lands in demesne there? Is there any significance in the fact that the ancient Jarrow estate was estimated at the round multiple of 18 carucates? Is the assessment any indication of the relative fertility of the Durham lands in the twelfth century or earlier? When, indeed, the schedule for *gilly-corn* is read in conjunction with the Durham feodary, a new picture of the priory estates emerges. For example, the feodary traces the tangled tale of descent of free land at Monk Hesleden where Thomas Preston, the vicar, held property deriving from a grant of prior Bertram of Durham in the twelfth century, and refers to "cottages" owing harvest work to the manor for two days a week. The schedule, for its part, reveals not only that Thomas Preston held at Monk Hesleden 1 messuage and 23 acres by charter and therefore was quit of *gilly-corn* but also that besides the four cottages there were 16 bondages and 1 husbandland, each of 32 acres. The free lands at Monk Hesleden therefore are shown to be outnumbered in the proportion of seventeen to five, which is the essential information for understanding the organization of the estates of the priory demesne.<sup>41</sup> Even the early history of a particular estate may be suggested by the incidence of *gilly-corn*. At Jarrow there is no reference in the schedule to the village of Wardley, although it was the manorial centre of the priory estates there before the turn of the thirteenth century. Probably the proximity of the Durham monastic cell at Jarrow induced the priors of Durham to create a new residence further from the old manorial centre; and Wardley was in fact new-built on reclaimed land by prior Hugh de Derlington after 1258.<sup>42</sup> In the display of such discrepancies lies much of the present value of the schedule for *gilly-corn*.

<sup>41</sup> Durham, Almoners' Cart. II, f. 28; *Feod. Dun.*, p. 23.

<sup>42</sup> Robert de Graystones in *Scrip. Tres.* (Surtees Soc. 9, p. 47).

To claim that the assessment for *gilly-corn* preserves the full record of the early area of the Durham priory estates is overbold. Lands held by knight service or free socage would appear to have been exempted payment. Closer examination is necessary of the extent of the convent's property within the county during the twelfth century, to reveal possible omissions in the schedule and to account for these. The name of *gilly-corn* itself seems to preclude a very ancient origin for the rent in Durham, despite its similarities to "church-scot". There is, however, little reason to doubt that the schedule for the payment of *gilly-corn* is based on an assessment of the corn-growing demesne of the priory at the turn of the twelfth century. As such, the schedule provides a most valuable clue to the manorial structure of these estates, especially the unfree tenures, which may serve as a guide for future investigations into the organization of the early Durham lands until a formal customary of the convent is rediscovered.

I wish here to thank the Dean and Chapter for permission to use their archives for the purpose of this research.

#### SCHEDULE OF "GILLY-CORN"

from the Rental of the Farms of the Durham Almonry 1424-1440  
(Durham, Almoners' Cartulary II, ff. 27v.-30)

##### CORN OF ST. GILES

Rental of the corn of St. Giles due to the office of the almoner of Durham from the tenants of the Prior in the time of sir John Fyssheburne, almoner, A.D. 1424.

##### PARISH OF JARROW

In the vill of Wallsend (*Walleshend'*) there are six husbandlands and seven bondages, each of which contains 24 acres, and all render yearly 13 thraves.<sup>43</sup>

In the vill of Willington (*Wyllington'*) there are 14 husbandlands, each of which contains 40 acres, counting the lesser with the greater, and all render yearly 14 thraves.

<sup>43</sup> A thrave represents 24 sheaves of corn, with an average yield of a bushel of grain.

In the vill of Over Heworth (*Overheworth*) there are 12 bondages, each of which contains 32 acres, and all render yearly 12 thraves.

In the vill of Under Heworth (*Netherheworth*) there are 12 cotmen, each of whom holds 12 acres, and all render yearly 3 thraves.

In the vill of Hebburn (*Hebarne*) Thomas of Hedworth freely holds 2 parts of the vill, containing 3 carucates or 260 acres, and he renders yearly 3 thraves. Item, Richard Wille freely holds there 2 messuages and 80 acres as a third part of the vill for 1 carucate, and he renders yearly 1 thrave. Item, the Prior (of Durham) holds there 1 messuage and 48 acres as a half-carucate for a third part of the vill and renders yearly a half-thrave. Item, the Prior holds there 16 acres of assart (*frissura*); and John Wille holds there another 16 acres of assart; and John Lyntlaw holds 52 acres, called *Scotesland*; and Thomas Hedworth holds 30 acres, formerly the free land of John the reeve; and the Prior holds 60 acres, called *le Westridyng*, without (holding) tofts in the village, and they render nothing for the aforesaid corn.

In the vill of Monkton the heirs of John Tosson freely hold 1 messuage and 40 acres for a half-carucate of land, and they render yearly a half-thrave. Item, the Commoner (*communarius*) (of Durham) freely holds there 1 messuage and 52 acres for a half-carucate of land and renders yearly a half-thrave. Item, there are 2 husbandlands there, both of which contain 52 acres and render yearly 2 thraves. Item, there are 8 bondages there, each of which contains 30 acres, and all render yearly 8 thraves.

In the vill of Jarrow there are 2 messuages and 40 acres, formerly free land, worth half a carucate and they render yearly a half-thrave. Item, there are 8 cotmen there, each of whom holds 12 acres, and they all render yearly 2 thraves.

In the vill of Hedworth John of Hedworth freely holds 2 messuages and 86 acres for 1 carucate of land and he renders yearly 1 thrave. Item, there are 6 carucates of land there, each of which contains 60 acres, and they all render yearly 6 thraves.

In the vill of Simonside (*Symondsete*) there are 9 husbandlands, each of which contains a half-carucate of land, namely, 30 acres, whence two parts belong to the Prior and the third part to Ralph Bulmer, and they render by the year  $4\frac{1}{2}$  thraves. Item, there are 9 cotmen there, each of whom holds a toft and a croft and 6 acres  $3\frac{1}{2}$  roods. Item, there are 9 *cottrelli*

there, each of whom holds a toft and a croft, and three of them hold 3 acres, and the other six hold 6 roods, and they render nothing.

In the vill of Harton there are 21 bondages, each of which contains 48 acres, and they all render yearly 21 thraves.

f. 28. In the vill of Westoe (*Wyuestow*) the heirs of William Merley and William Maidison of Stanhope freely hold 1 messuage and a half-carucate of land containing 40 acres, and they render by the year a half-thrave. Item, there are five husbandlands there, each of which contain 24 acres, and they all render yearly 5 thraves. Item, there are 19 *bovatarii* there, each of whom holds 12 acres, and they all render yearly 9½ thraves. Item, the Prior holds there 88 acres, called *hostileresland*, and Aylmer Heryng freely holds there 1 messuage and 30 acres of land, all of which was given by charter of the Prior and Chapter of Durham and therefore renders nothing.

Sum total of corn in the parish of Jarrow 107½ thraves.

#### PARISH OF MONKWEARMOUTH

In the vill of Fulwell (*Fuluwelle*) there are 4 husbandlands, each of which contains 48 acres, and all render 4 thraves.

In the vill of Monkwearmouth (*Wermouth*) William Bedford freely holds 1 messuage, 96 acres, and he renders yearly 1 thrave. Item, there are 4 husbandlands there, each of which contains 48 acres, and all render yearly 4 thraves. Item, there are 4 *bovatarii* there, each of whom holds 16 acres, and all render yearly 2 thraves. Item, there are 4 cotmen there, holding, the more with the less, a sum of 48 acres, and they all render yearly 1 thrave.

In the vill of Southwick (*Suthwyk*) John of Hedworth freely holds 1 messuage and 100 acres, and 18 acres, called *Watermanland*, by charter of the Prior and Chapter and therefore renders nothing. Item, Alice Wake freely holds there 1 messuage and 1 carucate of land containing 64 acres and renders yearly 1 thrave. Item, there are 10 bondages there and 1 husbandland, each of which contains 48 acres, and all render 11 thraves.

Sum total of corn in the parish of Monkwearmouth 24 thraves.

#### PARISH OF DALTON-LE-DALE

In the vill of Dalton there is one bondage containing 80 acres and it renders yearly 1 thrave. Item, there are 4

*bovatarii* there, each of whom holds 18 acres, and all render yearly 2 thraves.

Sum total of corn in the parish of Dalton-le-Dale 3 thraves.

PARISH OF MONK HESLEDEN

In the vill of Monk Hesleden (*Hesildene*) there are 16 bondages and 1 husbandland, each of which contains 32 acres, and all render yearly  $8\frac{1}{2}$  thraves. Item, there are 4 cotmen there, each of whom holds 12 acres, and all render yearly 1 thrave. Item, Thomas Preston, the vicar there, freely holds 1 messuage and 23 acres by charter of the Prior and Chapter and therefore renders nothing.

Sum total of corn in the parish of Monk Hesleden  $9\frac{1}{2}$  thraves.

PARISH OF HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING

In the vill of East Rainton (*Estraynton*) John Gylforth freely holds 1 carucate containing 60 acres and renders yearly 1 thrave. The Prior has land called *Coldynghamland*, containing 48 acres, and renders yearly 1 thrave. The Commoner holds there 1 toft and 12 acres of land and renders yearly 6 sheaves. Item, there are 33 bovates of land there, each of which contains 12 acres, and all render yearly  $11\frac{1}{2}$  thraves.

In the vill of West Rainton (*Westraynton*) there are six husbandlands, each of which contains 32 acres, and all render yearly 6 thraves. Item, there are 7 bondages there, each of which contains 32 acres, and all render yearly  $3\frac{1}{2}$  thraves. Item, the Commoner freely holds there 1 carucate containing 60 acres and renders yearly 1 thrave.

Sum total of corn in the parish of Houghton-le-Spring 24 thraves and 6 sheaves.

PARISH OF PITTINGTON

In the vill of Moorsley (*Moreslaw*) there are 12 bovates, each of which contains 16 acres, namely, 192 acres (apart from the 54 acres called *leylandes* and the 26 acres of the Commoner, and the Manor, which render nothing), and they render similarly by the year 8 thraves.<sup>44</sup>

In the vill of North Pittington (*Northpytyngdon*) there are 8 husbandlands, each of which contains 28 acres, and all render yearly 8 thraves.

In the vill of South Pittington (*Suthpityngton*) there

<sup>44</sup> Written over what appears to have been "six".

are 8 bondages, each of which contains 24 acres, and they render 4 thraves.

Sum total of corn in the parish of Pittington 20 thraves.<sup>45</sup>

f. 28v.

PARISH OF BILLINGHAM

Be it remembered that the tenants of Billingham, Cowpen and Wolviston render one half of wheat and the other half of oats for the corn of St. Giles, counting 6 acres for 2 sheaves to a total of 48 acres which render 16 sheaves. And if a carucate contains 50, 60, 70, or 80 acres of land it still renders 16 sheaves, except for the bondages, each of which contains 30 acres and renders a half-thrave.

In the vill of Billingham there is 1 message on the *Estraw* and 40 acres, formerly the free land of John son of Geoffrey, as it is shown by the feodary of T[homas de Melsamby], the Prior, and it renders yearly 13 sheaves. Item, there is 1 message there on the *Northraw* in the West Gate and 36 acres, formerly the free land of the said John son of Geoffrey, and it renders yearly 12 sheaves. Item, there are 16 bondages there, each of which contains 30 acres, and all render yearly 8 thraves. Item, there are 4 cotmen there, each of whom holds 1 cottage and 12 acres called *draveland*, and all render yearly 16 sheaves. Item, William of Billingham freely holds there 1 message and 72 acres and 3 tofts and 12 acres and 8 acres and 6 acres by charter of the Prior and Chapter, and therefore renders nothing.

In the vill of Cowpen (*Coupon*) the Prior has various messuages and 72 acres, which were the free land of Thomas of Ferry, and they render yearly 16 sheaves. Item, there are 16 bondages there, each of which contain 30 acres, and they render yearly 8 thraves.

*Free tenants in Wolviston*

In the vill of Wolviston (*Wolueston*) John Stere freely holds 1 message at the west end of the village and 12 acres and he renders yearly 4 sheaves, as is shown by the recovery of assize.<sup>46</sup> Item, the heirs of William Alaynson Smyth freely hold there 1 message on the *Northraw* and 18 acres, and they render yearly 6 sheaves, as is shown by the recovery of assize. Item, the heirs of Robert Thorpe freely hold there 1 message on the *Southraw* and 80 acres, and render yearly

<sup>45</sup> Altered from "18".

<sup>46</sup> This assize was held at Durham on 10 January 1397 before the bishop's justices, Ralph de Eure, William Gascoingne, Robert de Wycliff, and John Conyers, when judgment was given against several tenants at Wolviston for withdrawing their payment of *gilly-corn* (Durham, Almoners' Cart. II, ff. 124-6).

14 sheaves, as is shown by the recovery of assize. Item, the heirs of Alan Qwythed, formerly vicar of Tynemouth, freely hold there 2 messuages, lying separately on the *Southraw*, and 80 acres, and render yearly 16 sheaves. Item, Richard Stere of Norton freely holds there 1 messuage on the corner of *Southraw* and 24 acres and renders yearly 8 sheaves. Item, John Symson of Newcastle, goldsmith, freely holds there 1 messuage on the *Southraw* and 18 acres of land and renders yearly 6 sheaves. Item, the Commoner of Durham freely holds there 1 messuage and 67 acres belonging to the chantry [of John Fossour, the Prior,] and renders yearly 16 sheaves. Item, the same Commoner freely holds there 1 messuage and 2 tofts and 72 acres belonging to the chantry of Walter Skirlawe, the bishop, and renders yearly 16 sheaves. Item, the heirs of T[homas] and W[illiam] Chepman *and of Agnes Marras of Newcastle*<sup>47</sup> freely hold there 2 cottages on the *Northraw*, and 32 acres formerly of William Mareschell and 6 acres formerly of Bertram of Wolviston (the said Agnes denies she has these six acres, and she therefore renders nothing a year)<sup>47</sup> and render yearly a half-thrave.<sup>48</sup> Item, the heirs of Walter of Offington freely hold there three parts of *Offyngtonland*, containing three tofts on the *Southkeville* and 18 acres and they render yearly 6 sheaves. Item, the heirs of Nicholas Bromptoft freely hold there 6 acres of *Bertramland*, and a fourth part of *Offyngtonland*, containing 1 toft and 6 acres, and they render yearly 4 sheaves. Item, the heirs of Thomas Willyhamson freely hold there 1 messuage on the *Westraw* and 12 acres and render yearly 4 sheaves. Item, the heirs of John Cudson freely hold there 1 messuage on the *Northraw* and 12 acres and render 4 sheaves. Item, the heirs of William of Fulthorp freely hold there 1 messuage on the *Westraw* and 12 acres and they render yearly 4 sheaves.

*Tenants at the will of the lord in the village of Wolviston*

Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Southraw* and 48 acres, formerly of Robert Lucas, and it renders yearly 16 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Southraw* and 60 acres, formerly of the vicar of Dalton, and it renders yearly 16 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Northraw* and 70 acres, formerly of Richard Aske, and it renders yearly 16 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Westkeville* and 70 acres, formerly of John Schyreloke, and it renders yearly 16 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage

<sup>47</sup> Inserted in later hand.

<sup>48</sup> Amended in later hand to 8 sheaves.

there on the *Westkevyle* and 42 acres, formerly of John Schyreloke, and it renders yearly 14 sheaves. Item, there are 2 cottages there on the *Westraw* and 40 acres, called *Schipehyrd-place*, and they render yearly 13 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Northraw* and 40 acres, called *Fayreiou-place*, and it renders yearly 13 sheaves. Item, there is a certain ancient bondage there on the *Westraw*, containing 30 acres, and it renders yearly 10 sheaves. Item, there are 2 cottages there on the *Westraw* and 30 acres, and they render yearly 10 sheaves. Item, there is 1 empty (*vastum*) toft at the east end of the village, and 32 acres called *Massamland*, and it renders yearly 10 sheaves. Item, there are 2 cottages there on the *Southekevyle* and 30 acres, called *Kylneland*, and they render yearly 10 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Westkevyle* and 30 acres, called *Gormyreplace*, and it renders yearly 10 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Northraw* and 24 acres in the holding of John Stere, and it renders yearly 8 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Northraw* and 24 acres formerly of John Schyreloke, and it renders yearly 8 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Southraw* and 21 acres, and it renders yearly 7 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Southraw* and 21 acres, and it renders by the year 7 sheaves. (And these are called *Shepherdplace*.)<sup>49</sup> Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Northraw* and 20 acres, called *Thyrdpartplace*, and it renders yearly 6 sheaves. Item, there is 1 empty toft there, by the tithe barn, and 12 acres, and it renders yearly 4 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there on the *Southraw* by the corner and 13 acres, and it renders yearly 4 sheaves.

Sum total of the corn in the parish of Billingham 31 thraves and 15 sheaves.

#### PARISH OF HAUGHTON-LE-SKERNE

In the vill of Burdon the Prior of Durham has 7 bovates of land belonging to his manor there, and he renders nothing. The same Prior has there in the holding of various tenants 2 carucates of land, namely, at 4 bovates to the carucate and 15 acres to the bovate, containing 120 acres, and he renders yearly 2 thraves. Item, the Almoner of Durham has there 2 tofts and 1 carucate of land containing 60 acres, and he renders yearly 1 thrave. Item, the heirs of John Ingilby freely hold there 1 messuage and 3 bovates, containing 45

<sup>49</sup> Inserted in later hand.

acres, and render yearly 18 sheaves. Item, the heirs of Walter Bieulieu freely hold there I messuage and 40 acres of land, and render yearly 16 sheaves. Item, the heirs of Thomas Surtays freely hold there 1 messuage and 2 bovates, containing 30 acres, and render yearly 12 sheaves. Item, the heirs of William Merlay freely hold there 1 messuage and 2 bovates, containing 30 acres, and render yearly 12 sheaves. Item, the heirs of James Towcotes freely hold there 1 messuage and 2 bovates, containing 30 acres, and render 12 sheaves.

Total 5 thraves and 22 sheaves.

In the vill of Barmpton (*Bermpton*) John Wakerfeld freely holds  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates, namely, at 4 bovates to the carucate, and 15 acres to the bovate, containing 90 acres of land, and he renders for the one carucate 1 thrave, and for the 2 bovates a half-thrave, as is shown by the agreement made at Darlington between the almoner of Durham and the men of the same village, 1266.<sup>50</sup> Item, William Eure, knight, freely holds there 2 carucates, namely, 8 bovates, containing 120 acres, and he renders yearly 2 thraves. Item, Richard of Esh freely holds there 4 carucates of land and 1 bovate, namely, 17 bovates, containing 255 acres, and he renders yearly 4 thraves and 6 sheaves. Item, the heirs of Roger Gylet freely hold there 3 carucates and 3 bovates, namely, 15 bovates, containing 225 acres, and they render yearly 3 thraves and 18 sheaves. Item, the heirs of William of Barmpton freely hold there 1 carucate, namely 4 bovates, containing 60 acres, and render 1 thrave. Item, the heirs of John Robynson freely hold there 3 bovates, containing 45 acres and render yearly 18 sheaves.

Total 13 thraves and 6 sheaves.

In the manor of Skerningham (*Skyrnigham*) there are 4 carucates or 16 bovates, containing 240 acres, and they render yearly 4 thraves.

Sum total of corn in the parish of Haughton-le-Skerne 23 thraves and 4 sheaves.

#### PARISH OF AYCLIFFE

In the vill of Aycliffe (*Acle*) there are 8 husbandlands or 8 bovates, each of which bovates contains 24 acres and one is divided into 4 parts, and all similarly render by the year 4 thraves. And be it remembered that all other land in Aycliffe, apart from the cottars' land (which renders nothing), is now or was formerly the free land of various free tenants by

<sup>50</sup> See Durham, Almoners' Cart. I, f. 185; II, f. 71, and above, p. 47.

charter of the Prior and Chapter and therefore renders nothing.

In the vill of Newton Ketton anciently there were 16 bondages, each of which contained 18 acres, as is shown by the feodary of Thomas the prior, and all used to render yearly 8 thraves.

In the hamlet called Newhouses there is one carucate of land containing 80 acres, and it renders 1 thrave.

In the vill of Chilton there are 4 husbandlands, each of which contains 30 acres, and they render 4 thraves.

In the vill of Woodham (*Wodom'*) (blank)

Sum total of corn in the parish of Aycliffe 17 thraves.

#### PARISH OF KIRK-MERRINGTON

In the vill of Ferryhill (*Fery*) William Eure, knight, freely holds 1 messuage on the *Southraw* and 1 carucate of land (or 4 bovates), containing 60 acres, and renders yearly 1 thrave. Item, Thomas Browne freely holds there 1 messuage and half a carucate (or 2 bovates), containing 30 acres, and renders yearly a half-thrave. Item, William Peerson freely holds there 1 messuage on the *Southraw* and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates of land (or 6 bovates), containing 90 acres, and renders yearly 1 thrave. The same William freely holds there 1 messuage on the *Northraw* and 1 bovat, containing 15 acres, and renders 6 sheaves. The same William freely holds there 2 tofts near the tithe barn and 19 acres, and he renders 6 sheaves. Item, Roger of Stainton freely holds there 1 messuage and 1 bovat, containing 15 acres, and renders 6 sheaves. And be it remembered that the Prior has there 1 messuage and 120 acres, formerly the free lands of Thomas Fery; and William Hoton of Hardwick has 1 toft and 20 acres of the same land; and the Commoner has one messuage on the *Southraw* and 30 acres, formerly the free land of sir John Nevyle; and the Prior has 10 acres of the same land, (all of) which lands were formerly given by charter of the Prior and Chapter and therefore render nothing. Item; there are 2 messuages there on the *Northraw* and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  bovates of former free land, containing 40 acres, and they render 15 sheaves. Item, there are 3 husbandlands there, each of which contains 30 acres, and all render yearly 3 thraves. Item, there are 10 bondages there, each of which contains 2 bovates (or 30 acres) and they render yearly 5 thraves.

Total 11 thraves and 21 sheaves.

f. 30. In the vill of Kirk-Merrington (*Est Meryngton*) the

Commoner of Durham freely holds 2 messuages and 1 carucate of land, containing 80 acres, and renders yearly 1 thrave. Item, John Jakson of Elstob freely holds there 1 messuage on the *Southraw* and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  bovates, containing  $37\frac{1}{2}$  acres, called *Cukeland*, and he renders yearly 15 sheaves. Item, Richard Heghyngton freely holds there 1 messuage on the *Northraw* and 3 bovates, containing 45 acres, and renders 18 sheaves. Item, there is 1 messuage there by the vicar's house and 3 bovates of land, containing 45 acres, called *Massamland*, and lying among the 24 bovates of Shelam, and it renders 18 sheaves.

Total 3 thraves and 3 sheaves.

In the vill of Shelam (*Shelom*) John Wyndilston freely holds 1 messuage on the *Westraw* at the end of the village and 2 bovates, containing 30 acres, and renders yearly a half-thrave. Item, the same John freely holds there 1 toft and 1 bovat in exchange for land in Aycliffe,<sup>51</sup> and renders nothing. Item, Robert Denome holds there 1 messuage and 2 bovates, containing 30 acres, and renders yearly a half-thrave. Item, in the vill of Shelam there are 8 tofts and crofts and 16 bovates of bondland, each of which bovates contains 15 acres, and all render similarly by the year 8 thraves.

Total 9 thraves.

In the vill of Middle Merrington (*Midilmeryngton*) there are 12 bondages, each of which contains 30 acres, and all render yearly 6 thraves.

In the vill of West Merrington there are 17 messuages and 25 bovates (counting as 3 bovates the free lands of Gilbert of Elvet and John Jakson of Elstob), where 12 acres make a bovat, and they render yearly  $12\frac{1}{2}$  thraves.

Total  $18\frac{1}{2}$  thraves.

Item, in the vill of Hett Joan Gower freely holds two parts of the Manor, containing 3 bovates, each of which bovates contains 15 acres, and all render yearly 18 sheaves. Item, the same Joan freely holds there 6 messuages and 6 bovates of land, each containing as above, and renders  $1\frac{1}{2}$  thraves. Item, the Commoner freely holds there the third part of the Manor, namely,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bovates, and renders yearly 9 sheaves. Item, the same Commoner freely holds there 5 messuages on the *Westraw* and 7 messuages on the *Estraw* and  $14\frac{1}{2}$  bovates, each of which bovates contain 15 acres, and all render yearly 3 thraves and 15 sheaves.

Total 6 thraves and 6 sheaves.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Feod. Dun.*, p. 69.

## GILLY-CORN AND CONVENT OF DURHAM

Sum total of corn in the parish of Kirk-Merrington 48 thraves 18 sheaves.

In the vill of Shincliffe (*Schyncliffe*) there are 24 bondages, each of which contains 20 acres, and they render yearly 12 thraves.

Total 12 thraves.

Sum total of all the corn of St. Giles belonging to the office of Almoner.

(320 thraves 19 sheaves)<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> This represents approximately 40 quarters of corn.