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THE NORTHUMBRIAN BORDER.¹

By Rev. CANON CREIGHTON.

There attaches to all things which excite our human interest a distinct character, and it is the object of criticism to detach this distinct character from overlying details. I wish to bring into prominence the broad features of historical interest belonging to this district, and to mark out as clearly as may be its individual character. A district may be studied and examined in much the same way as a great writer. It has its peculiar charms, its special lessons, a style and mode of expression distinctively its own. It has its epochs and its transitions, through which it passes without losing its individuality.

In some cases these distinguishing features of local history are hard to disentangle and express with clearness. But there is no great difficulty in the case of Northumberland. It possesses distinctive features which give it a special character, stamped alike on all the monumental records of the past, on all the lingering survivals of old customs and institutions, on all that is racy in the life and character of its people. It is above all things a "Border Land."

I must own to a desire for a fuller recognition of the fact that English history is at the bottom a provincial history. This truth is chiefly left to be exhibited by novelists and poets. The historian and the archæologist investigate with care the separate origins of the early kingdoms, the steps by which they came under the overlordship of the West Saxon kings, and their incorporation into a consolidated kingdom under the Norman successors

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of the West Saxon line. But at this point they generally cease their inquiries. The history of the central kingdom, the progress of the central administration, become so important and so full of interest that they absorb all else. It is true that curious customs are noted by the archæologist, and that particular institutions force themselves into notice. But the vigorous undercurrent of a strong provincial life in different parts of England is seldom seriously considered by historians. Yet the moment that English life is approached from the imaginative side, it is the strong provincial life that attracts attention. Our great novels are not English but provincial. Our best known types of character are developed within distinct areas, and owe their expressiveness to local circumstances. Squire Western, Job Barton, Mrs. Poyser, Andrew Fair-service, Tennyson's Northern Farmer, all live amid definite surroundings, and all are racy of the soil which bore them. I am sure that there is no better service to be rendered by your society to historical study than an attempt to bring the characteristic features of different parts of England into due prominence. Archæology has done much for history in the past. It has gathered evidence oftentimes when written records are silent. It has pieced together fragments of the life of days of old when the human voice was still inaudible. It has settled disputed points by appeals to the eye on which there could be no doubt. In archæology, as in all other sciences, there are those who say that almost all has been done that can be done. The records of stones have been ransacked, explored, classified, and interpreted. Even if this were so, which is scarcely the case, there remain innumerable traces of the past, still unrecognised and unsuspected. Local character, habits, institutions, modes of thought and observation, are all the result of a long process, differing in different parts of England. They are only to be seen and understood by a sympathetic searcher and observer who looks upon each part of England in the light of its past, who sees that past, not only in ancient buildings, here and there, but on the whole face of the land, and in the hearts and lives of its inhabitants. I admit that this is no easy task. I admit that the results of such inquiry must at first be very hypothetical, and its conclusion

tentative. But I think that the inquiry is well worth pursuing, and it must be pursued speedily, if at all. The present century has seen an enormous change pass over the whole of England. Local customs, local peculiarities, even local dialects are rapidly passing away. Men no longer live on contentedly in the houses where their fathers lived before them. I said that English history had been provincial. It is rapidly ceasing to be so. Railways work every year unnoticed migrations of peoples multitudinous beyond the host of Ida the Flame-bearer. School inspectors demand from the children throughout the land uniform knowledge, uniform ideas, as much as may be, uniform pronunciation. Our old provincial character is doomed to destruction. Unless its remnants are carefully gathered, the key will be lost to much that will be of growing interest to the antiquarian.

Of this provincial history, no part of England possesses clearer traces than does Northumberland. It has always held the same position in English history from its very beginning. It has always been a Borderland. It is true that the Border has varied in extent; but whether it were great or small Northumberland has always been within it, and has generally formed its chiefest part. But we are met at the outset of our inquiry by the question, How came there to be a Borderland at all? The answer to this question brings into prominence a part of English history which it is too much the fashion to neglect. The northern Borderland was the creation of the Romans, who mapped it out with accuracy and defined its limits. If I were asked, What permanent results were left of the Roman occupation of Britain? I should answer that they marked out the territory between the Solway and the Clyde on the west, and the Tyne and the Forth on the east, to be a land of contention and debate, and that it remained with the character they impressed upon it down to the middle of last century.

If we were so careful of our early history as are some folk, we would erect upon the wilds of Redeswire a statue of C. Julius Agricola as the founder of our Border State, the originator of the elaborate constitution contained in the *Leges Marchiarum* and other such like documents. It was Agricola who consolidated the Roman province in

Britain, and first faced the difficulties of determining its limits. We know how in his first campaign he conquered the Ordovices and reduced the Isle of Mona. In his second campaign he brought into subjection the tribes of the western coast between the Dee and the Solway. He was careful to make good every step of his way, and keep open his communications. The trees fell before the axe of the legionary, and a rude but sufficient road was opened. Every night the Roman camp was occupied in some secure position, every day chronicled a steady advance of the invader. Permanent forts were raised in advantageous spots, and Agricola united to the fire of a general the sagacity of an explorer. From the Solway his forts most probably ran along the Eden and the Irthing to the Tyne. He found a narrow neck of land which he could occupy with ease, and by holding it secure his retreat. Then in his third campaign he advanced against "new peoples," tribes who as yet had not felt the arms of Rome. He penetrated, it would seem, to the Tay, and then again paused to secure the territory which he had acquired. Again he occupied a narrow neck of land between the Clyde and the Forth. This was commanded by forts "so that the foe," says Tacitus, "were driven almost into another island." I need not follow Agricola's course of conquest to the Grampian hills, nor his voyage of circumnavigation, nor his projected reduction of Ireland. Agricola's career came to an end, and with it came to an end any plan for extending Rome's sway over the whole of the British Isles. The only question which was considered by his successors was the boundary of the Roman province. Should they hold the northern or the southern line of forts by which Agricola had secured his conquests for the time? Rome's statesmanship and Rome's generalship never again contemplated the execution of Agricola's design of a complete conquest. For a time opinions wavered which boundary to choose. At length the line of forts along the Tyne and the Irthing was selected to mark the region south of which the "peace of Rome" was to be carefully maintained. The mighty rampart, which Dr. Bruce has taught us to call the wall of Hadrian, was erected as a majestic symbol of the permanence of Roman sway, as a dividing line between

civilisation and barbarism. But this was done without prejudice to the future extension of the Roman occupation to Agricola's farther line of forts. The Roman province was to stretch in full security as far as the Tyne and the Solway. Rome's influence was to be felt as far as the Clyde and the Forth. Two great Roman roads, each with several branches, passed northwards through the wall. Watling Street, with its supporting stations of Habitancum and Bremenium, traversed this county. The whole of Northumberland and the Scottish Lowlands are covered with traces of Roman and British camps, which tell clearly enough the tale of Border warfare in the earliest days of our history. They tell of a long period of constant struggle, of troops advancing and retreating, of a territory held with difficulty, of perpetual alternations of fortune. In the days of the Roman occupation the Border wears its distinctive features. Its future history is a changing repetition of the same details.

But though we may generally gather that this was the history of the Roman Border many puzzling questions remain. Why did the Romans fix their boundary where they did? The military reason of obtaining a narrow tract of land to fortify is no doubt a strong one. But the Romans were a practical people and wished to make their province of Britain a profitable possession. It may be that the valley of the Tyne was the most northern point where they saw a prospect of making agriculture immediately remunerative.¹ By the Tyne valley they established their boundary, and only kept such a hold of the country to the north as might help to secure the Tyne valley from invasion. It proved to be a difficult and in the end an impossible task. The sturdy tribes of the north learned to value at its true worth the intolerable boon of Roman

¹ I incline to think that the possession of the Tyne valley was more important to the Romans than is generally recognised. At the time of the Roman invasion the valley of the Tyne was probably the only corn-producing land of any extent between York and the Tweed. In early times a great part of this district would be covered by trees and scrub, with narrow strips of fertile land in the deep river valleys. Even where stretches of alluvial land broadened out, much of it was marsh, in which the beaver found a

home. North of York the traces of Roman remains are all of a military character; and signs of permanent civil occupation are only found in the immediate neighbourhood of the Wall. The importance of the land by the Tyne is shown in the grants made to the great barons of the Norman times. The Umfravilles who guarded Redesdale had the barony of Prudhoe to give a revenue. The Merlays, whose land ran up to Elsdon and Rothbury, had Heddon on the wall, Benton, Killingworth and Shields.

civilization, the colonist, the tribute and the tithe corn. In their moorland forts they resisted to the utmost. Constant warfare increased their discipline and power of combination. The growing wealth of the province offered a richer prize to their rapacity. Ever watchful for an opportunity they broke through the line of the wall and swept like a storm-cloud over the southern fields. Much, very much, has been done in explaining the Roman wall as illustrative of the life of the Romans. Something remains to be done in studying it as illustrating those whom it was built to repel. I could conceive it possible that an archæologist who was skilled in military science, and had the power of reproducing in his mind the local features of a bygone time—that one so gifted might make a military survey of the country round the Wall which might be full of suggestiveness for a picture of British life. I must own that the Wall is to me more interesting for the impression which it gives of the power of the Britons than of the mightiness of Rome. We know Rome's greatness from many other memorials. We know the bravery of the Britons only by the reluctant testimony of their enemies.

As we muse upon the ruins of Borcovicus another question arises before us. How came it that the men who so stubbornly resisted the massive legionaries of Rome marching against them in their thousands, gave way before the onslaughts of the Angles who came in small bands in their boats? It would seem that the need of resistance to Rome had called into being a premature organisation, a reckless patriotism, which produced a rapid reaction and degeneracy. The very greatness of Rome's power warned the Britons of their danger. Rome's advance was steady and threatened to spread northwards over the land. The Angles who settled along the east coast and passed up the river valleys did not awaken the same dread, or call out the same feeling of national danger. But the insidious progress of the colonists was more deadly than the warlike advance of the invader. Little by little the Britons were thrust into the hill country of the west. The line of the coast and the river valleys were gradually occupied by the clearings of the Angles. The land was still a Border land, but the line of the Border no longer

ran from north to south, but from east to west. When Ida, whom the fearful Britons called the Flamebearer, combined into a kingdom the scattered settlements of a common folk it was in the Roman Border land that those settlements began. They reached from the Tweed valley northwards and southwards, till Ida occupied the rock of Bamburgh as a central point, and thence extended his domain to the Tees.

The question of the Border between Briton and Angle, between east and west, was long contended and with varying results. The Britons on their part again united into the kingdom of Strathclyde, north of which was the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada. I will not impose upon your time and patience by tracing the variations of this western boundary. It will be enough to recall a few points of interest in the struggle. In 603 the combined army of Britons and Scots advanced to attack Æthelfrith's Northumbrian kingdom. They entered the vale of the Liddell, whence one pass leads into the valley of the Teviot and the Tweed, while another leads into the North Tyne. Here at a spot which Bede calls Døgsastan, a name still preserved in Dawstaneburn and Dawstanerig, was fought a battle which determined for many years the security of the Northumbrian Border. "From that time," says Bede, triumphantly, "no Scot king dared to come into Britain to war with the English to this day." The Angles recognised on this spot the weakness of their boundary, and copied the example of Rome. The remains of a huge earthen rampart, known as the Catrail, may still be traced along the wild moorland, hard by the spot where Døgsastan had run with blood.

I recall this event because it is a definite mark of an important point in our provincial history. The boundary from east to west led to the severance of Cumbria from Northumbria. The English desired only to secure, not to extend, their dominion westward. They weakened the kingdom of Strathclyde by driving a wedge of settlers into the tableland which lay in its midst. They penetrated along the valley of the Irthing, along the Maiden Way, into the central plain, which gained from them the name of Inglewood; but they left the mountainous district to the Britons.

I need not recall the great days of the Northumbrian kingdom, the heroic times of early Christianity, when the lamp of civilisation burnt brightly in the Columbite monastery of Lindisfarne, and was reflected from the royal house of Bamburgh. This period of greatness, though of immense importance to English history, is unfortunately only an episode in the history of this district as a whole. Yet there is no spot in England more fitted to awaken a deep sense of gratitude to the past than is the land which lies rolled beneath the Castle of Bamburgh. No works of man have effaced the traces of the past. The rocks remain amid the surging of the waves, as when Cuthbert heard amongst them the wails of men's souls in the eternal conflict between good and evil. The village clusters for protection at the foot of the royal castle, much as it did when it was fired by Penda's host. The sloping uplands are dotted by scattered farms, which still continue to mark the progressive clearings of the English settlers. The ruins of the monastery of Lindisfarne still hide themselves behind the sheltering promontory of rock that they may escape the eye of the heathen pirate who swept the northern seas. There is no place which tells so clearly the story of the making of England.

I pass by the days of the Northumbrian supremacy which ended with Egfrith's defeat at Nechtansmere, where the Pictish king avenged the slaughter of Doegsastan. "From this time," says Bede, "the hopes and strength of the kingdom of the English began to ebb." The Northumbrian kingdom still pursued its career of literary and ecclesiastical activity at Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Streoneshalh. It did not pass away till it had produced an historian of its greatness. But its boundaries north and west were ill-secured. Its premature progress gave way to social and political disorganisation. The long black ships of the Danish pirates spread ruin amidst the numerous monastic houses that had grown up along the eastern coast. The Scots of Dalriada had established their supremacy over the Picts, and a strong Scottish power ravaged the district between the Forth and Tweed. But Scots and English alike soon fell before the arms of the Danes who came as invaders, and conquered and settled as they would. Churches and monasteries were

especially hateful to the heathen Danes. Their buildings were burnt, their treasures were scattered, their libraries were destroyed. The work of Benedict Biscop, of Wilfrid and Bede, was all undone. The civilisation of Northumbria was well-nigh swept away. Only round the relics of the saintly Cuthbert a little band of trembling monks still held together, and wandered from place to place, kept steadfast by their faith that Cuthbert would not forsake them. It was the West Saxon Ælfred who checked the career of Danish conquest; it was his wisdom that prepared a way whereby the Danes ceased to be formidable and became a new but not alien element of English life.

The Danish settlement had little effect on the northern part of the Northumbrian kingdom. The Danes chose Deira, not Bernicia; their traces are found in Yorkshire, not in Northumberland. Their incorporation into English civilisation, and the limits of their settlement in Northumbria, are alike illustrated by the story of Guthred. To escape a civil war amongst themselves the Danish host listened to the counsels of Ælfred, aided by Eadred, the prior of the wandering monks of Lindisfarne. Eadred counselled them to choose as their king Guthred, a young man of the royal blood, who had been sold as a slave to a widow woman at Whittingham. Guthred, grateful for St. Cuthbert's aid, settled his brethren at Cuncachester, now Chester-le-Street, and gave as the patrimony of St. Cuthbert the land between the Tyne and the Tees, with privilege of sanctuary. This was the beginning of another step in our provincial history. It was the origin of what was known till very recent times as the Bishopric. It was the foundation of the authority of the Prince-Bishops of Durham. It marks the cause which severed the county of Durham from the county of Northumberland.

The Danish kingdom in Deira ran its course, and in due time submitted to the Lords of the West Saxon king. In Bernicia, meanwhile, members of the old royal house were allowed to rule over their devastated lands, for which they paid tribute to their Danish lords. When the Danes made submission to Eadward the Elder the men of Bernicia submitted likewise. But the men of the north were unruly subjects, and were hard to reduce into harmony with the men of the South. Edmund and Eadred

both strove to make a peaceful settlement of their northern frontier. Edmund gave Cumberland to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on condition that he should be his "fellow-worker by land and sea." He wished to show that there need be no collision of interest between England and Scotland. It was a question for decision on grounds of expediency how order could best be kept in the doubtful portions of Northumbria and Strathclyde. Edmund handed over this responsibility, as far as Cumberland was concerned, to the Scottish king, and the plan succeeded. In later days William Rufus reclaimed the district south of the Solway, and so fixed the definite boundaries of the English kingdom on the western side. Eadred had still to face the difficulty of dealing with Northumbrian independence, which had degenerated into anarchy and disorder. The last king was driven out, and an earl was set to rule in his stead; but so strong was local feeling that the earl was chosen from the old house of the lords of Bamburgh. Eadred's successor Edgar ventured a step farther, and divided this great earldom into two. Moreover he followed Edmund's example of friendly dealings with the Scottish king. The land north of the Tweed was of little value to the English. Lothian was ceded to the Scottish king, most probably by Edgar, though it was afterwards recovered, but finally ceded in 1016.

The hopes of Edgar that Northumberland would settle into peace and order were destroyed by the renewed invasion of the Northmen. Again all was in confusion. Again the terrified monks bore off St. Cuthbert's body that they might save it from sacrilege. Their wanderings were miraculously stayed, so goes the legend, upon a hill-top amid the waving woods that clad a bold promontory round which flowed the waters of the Wear. This hill-top of Dunholm was chosen as the site on which rose the mighty minster that holds St. Cuthbert's shrine. The saint had left the bleaker regions further north which he had loved so well. The outward signs of devotion for his memory were not to gather round the scenes of his labours. The chief centre of ecclesiastical civilisation was henceforth fixed far away from Bamburgh, on a spot which had no associations of the old days of Northumbria's greatness. This northern district was abandoned by its

patron saint, as though a destined theatre for acts of lawlessness and deeds of blood.

The lawlessness and barbarism of Northumberland in these days we know from the history of its earls. Uhtred, who sprang from the old line of the lords of Bamburgh, covenanted, as a condition of his marriage with a citizen's daughter, to espouse the blood feud of his father-in-law and slay for him his enemy. Though the marriage was broken off and the covenant was unfulfilled, the enemy who had been threatened bided his time, and slew Uhtred in the presence of King Cnut. The feud was carried on by Uhtred's son, who slew his father's slayer, and was himself pursued in turn. The two foes grew weary of their lives, spent in perpetual dread; they were reconciled, and undertook together a pilgrimage to Rome. But the sea was tempestuous, and they shrank before the voyage. They agreed to dispense with the solemn religious vow and to return home in peace. But on the way home the old savage passion for revenge revived, and one slew his unsuspecting fellow as they rode through the forest of Risewood. We see the growth of the wild spirit which supplied the material for the Border feuds of later days.

Still, lawless as Northumberland might be, it could not forget the days of its former greatness. Though it could no longer hope for supremacy, it struggled at least for independence. Its resistance to the family of Godwine, its rejection of Tostig for its earl, caused dissension within the house which seemed to hold England's future in its hands. The refusal of Northumberland to help King Harold was one great cause, we cannot say how great, of the victory of the Norman William by the "hoar apple tree" on the hill of Senlac. Perhaps the Northumbrians hoped under William's rule to establish their independence. But William was not the man to allow the formation of a middle kingdom. He soon learned the lawlessness of the Northumbrian temper. His first earl, though of English blood, was attacked at Newburn, and the church in which he sought shelter was burned to the ground. His second earl was driven away by a revolt. His third earl, a Norman, was massacred in Durham with all his men. William saw the gathering danger threatened by this northern love for independence. His answer to the

northern revolt was swift and decided. He let men feel his starkness by his remorseless harrying of the north. The lands between the Humber and the Tees, and then the lands of the Bishopric, were reduced to a waste. The population fell by the sword or died of hunger. Northumberland was left powerless for any further revolt of a serious kind. The southern portion of the old kingdom of Deira lost all outward sign of its former position. Its old independence needed no further recognition, and no earl was appointed for south Northumberland. Hence the old name was transferred entirely to the northern part, which being a border land against the Scots still needed some responsible governor. That northern part, which is far north of the Humber, alone retained the name which can recall the memories of the greatness of the Northumbrian kingdom.

But though the independence of the north had been thoroughly broken by systematic devastation, still William paid some heed to its local feeling by giving it an earl sprung from the old Northumbrian line. Though he did so, he regarded Earl Waltheof with a jealous eye, and demanded from him a loyalty which he did not find in his Norman barons. Slight cause for suspicion brought upon Waltheof condign punishment. William knew no mercy for the last English earl, whose tomb at Crowland men visited as of a martyr and a saint. William then conferred the earldom of Northumberland on the Lotharingian, Walcher, Bishop of Durham. Again the lawless spirit of the Northumbrians broke out, and they took prompt revenge on the bishop for a misdeed which he did not punish to their liking. At a moot held by a little chapel at Gateshead the men of the Tyne and Rede gathered in numbers. As the talk went on, a cry was raised, "Short rede, good rede, slay ye the bishop!" and Walcher was slaughtered at the chapel door. Again Northumberland was harried, and Robert, the king's son, on his way from Scotland, laid the foundation of a castle opposite the spot where Bishop Walcher had been slain. Its walls rose as a solid and abiding warning to a turbulent folk. Near it were the remains of a Roman bridge across the Tyne—*Pons Ælii*, the bridge that the Emperor Ælius Hadrianus had built. Hard by was the little township of Pandon

and some remains of a camp, which may have afforded shelter to the monks, and so gained the name of Monkchester. In distinction to the ruins of this old camp, the rising fortress was called the new castle. Soon a population gathered round it which extended to Pandon and Monkchester alike, and these old names were absorbed into that of Newcastle.

Nor was the fortress of Newcastle the only sign of the presence of the conquering Normans. The three great baronies of Redesdale, Mitford, and Morpeth, held by the Umfravilles, the Bertrams, and the Merlais, extended in a belt across the district. North of them the Vesci lords of Alnwick built their castle on the banks of the Aln, and laid the foundation of the second Northumbrian town. The land was again committed to the care of a Norman earl; but it would seem that the lawlessness of the Northumbrians was contagious. Earl Mowbray plotted against William Rufus, who took the castle of Tynemouth, but was foiled by the strength of the rock of Bamburgh, which could not be taken till Mowbray's imprudence made him the victim of a stratagem. After this we hear no more of official earls. Northumberland depended directly on the crown, and went its own way for a short time in peace. But the weakness of Stephen had well nigh allowed Northumberland to go the way of Lothian, and become attached as an appanage to the Scottish crown. David I. had married the daughter of Earl Waltheof, and Stephen recognised this claim to the earldom of Northumberland. If Stephen had had a less statesmanlike successor than Henry II. the English Border might have been fixed along the old frontier of the Roman Wall. But Henry II. regarded it as his first duty to undo the mischief of Stephen's reign. He demanded the restoration of the northern counties, and from this time the limits of the English Border were definitely settled. It is true that there was a small piece of land on the Cumbrian Border about the possession of which England and Scotland could not agree. This Debateable Land was occupied as common pasture by the inhabitants of both countries from sun rising to sun setting, on the understanding that anything left there over night should be fair booty to the finder. On the Northumbrian Border

also the fortress of Berwick was an object of contention and often changed hands, till the luckless town of Berwick-upon-Tweed received the doubtful privilege of ranking as a neutral state, and its "liberties" were exposed to the indiscriminate ravages of English and Scots alike. Nor should it be unnoticed that the castle of Roxburgh was generally in the hands of the English king, as a protection of the strip of low-lying land south of the Tweed, where the barrier of the Cheviots merged into the river valley.

I have now traced the historical steps in the formation of the English Border, and the causes which gave the modern county of Northumberland a separate existence and a distinct character. The rest of its history is written on the county itself, and tells its own story in the various interesting remains of antiquity which cover the land. I will briefly draw attention to the chief periods which they mark.

1. From the beginning of the twelfth to the beginning of the fourteenth centuries baronial and monastic civilisation did much to bring back order and prosperity. The details of the management of a Northumbrian farm have been preserved in the *compotus* of the sheriff of Northumberland who held for six months the lands of the Knights Templars at Temple Thornton, which were seized by Edward II. in 1308. The sheriff's account is compiled with business-like precision, and enables us to judge with accuracy of the details of Northumbrian farming at the time. They show a system of farming quite as advanced as that which existed at the end of the last century, and among the expenditure is an entry for ointment for the sheep.¹ The total receipts were 94*l* 2*s*. 7*d*., the total expenses were 33*l*. 10*s*. 7*d*., leaving a balance of 60*l*. 12*s*., a proportion to his expenditure which any modern farmer would be glad to obtain.²

2. This period of prosperity was already passing away when the sheriff penned his accounts. He had to sell some oats and barley in a hurry, *propter metum Scotorum superveniencium*—through dread of a raid of the Scots. The Scottish war of Edward I. led to the ruin of the English border. The *nova taxatio* of the goods of the

¹ See Appendix No. I.

² See Appendix No. I.

clergy, made in 1318, estimates the ecclesiastical revenues in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland at 28*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the benefices of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Newburn, Benton, Ovingham, and Woodhorn. Then follows an entry that all the other benefices are *vasta et destructa et in eisdem nulla bona sunt inventa*—are barren and waste, and no goods are found in them. For the northern part of the county there is an enumeration of the benefices with the remark that they are *vastata et penitus destructa*—wasted and wholly destroyed.¹ It was this state of things which led to the organisation of border defences. The office of Lord Warden of the Marches, established under Edward I, became a post of serious responsibility. Castles, which had been built to overawe a turbulent population, or to increase the power of their owners against the crown, became necessary means of protection to the country. The land was dotted with pele towers—small square rooms of massive stones, strong enough to give temporary refuge to fugitives till the marauding troop had passed by on its plundering raid. Elsewhere were earthen or wooden huts which contained nothing that could attract cupidity. An Italian traveller, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, has left a picture of a journey through Northumberland in 1435. The folk fed on poultry but had neither bread nor wine; white bread was unknown among them. At nightfall all the men retired to a pele tower in the neighbourhood, through fear of the Scots, but left the women behind, saying they would not be harmed. Æneas sat in terror by the watch-fire amongst a hundred women, till sleep overcame him, and he lay down on a couch of straw in one of the huts. His slumbers were disturbed by the cows and goats who shared the room with the family and nibbled at his bed. At midnight there was an alarm that the Scots were coming, and the women fled to hide themselves. The alarm, however, was groundless, and next day Æneas continued his journey safely. When he reached Newcastle he seemed to himself again to be in a world which he knew. “For Northumberland” he says, “was uninhabitable, horrible, uncultivated.”

3. The more pacific attitude towards Scotland adopted

¹ Hodgson's History of Northumberland, vol. I., part 3, p. 355.

by Henry VII. brought a little peace; but the battle of Flodden Field and the events that followed mark a determination on the part of the English government to use Border raids as a means for punishing Scotland, and gradually wearing out its strength. The lords wardens are urged on to the work of devastation by the Privy Lords of the King's Council, and send in hideous accounts of their zeal in this barbarous work. Thomas, Lord Dacre writes with pride that the land, which was tilled by 550 ploughs, owing to his praiseworthy activity "lies all waste now and noo corne saune upon none of the said grounds."¹ Again he tells Wolsey how the lieutenant of the middle marches entered Scotland with 1,000 men and "did very well, brought away 800 nowte, and many horses. My son and brother made at the same time an inroad into the west marches, and got nigh 1,000 nowte. Little left upon the frontiers except old houses, whereof the thatch and coverings are taken away so that they cannot be burnt." The records of Border warfare throw light upon the cold blooded and deliberate savagery which characterised the beginning of the sixteenth century. We recognise it clearly enough in other countries: we tend to pass it over leniently at home.

4. Under Elizabeth at last came peace between England and Scotland, and things grew better on the Borders. Deeds of violence were still common and disputes were rife. But Elizabeth's ministers were anxious that these disputes should be decided by lawful means, and that disorders should be as much as possible repressed. An elaborate system of international relationships was established. Every treaty and agreement about the government of the Borders was hunted up and its provisions put in force. The wardenship of the English Marshes was no longer committed to Percies, Greys, or Dacres, but to new men chosen for official capacity. There was no longer need of Border chiefs to summon their men for a foray and work wild vengeance for wrongs inflicted. Aspiring statesmen like Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Robert Carey were entrusted with the task of organising a system of defence. Scotland was overawed not so much by armed force as by red-tape. The

¹ Raine's History of North Durham, p. vii.

Scottish Council was long employed in answering pleas and counterpleas wherewith the technical ingenuity of the English wardens constantly plied them. The amount of ink shed over the raid of Reedswire is a forecast of the best methods of modern diplomacy. Scotland was pestered by official ingenuity into a serious consideration of Border affairs. The English Borders were elaborately organised for defence. The county was mapped out into watches, and the obligation was laid upon the townships to set and keep the watches day and night.¹ When the fray was raised every man was bound to follow under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Castles and pele towers were converted into a system extending across the Border, with signal communication from one to another. A brief quotation from some articles made at Alnwick in 1570 may serve to illustrate the thoroughness of the system: "That every man that hath a castelle or a tower of stone shall upon every foray raised in the night give warning to the contrey by fier in the toppe of the castelle or tower in such sorte as he shall be directed from his warninge castelle, upon paine of iij*s*. iiij*d*." ²

The system in itself was admirable. Its only defect was that in proportion as it led to momentary success it tended to decay. Sir John Forster writes from Berwick in 1575: "Thanks be to God we have had so longe peace that the inhabitants here fall to tillage of groundes so that theye have not delight to be in horse and armors as they have when the worlde ys troblesome. And that which theye were wont to bestowe in horse they nowe bestowe in cattell otherwayes, yet notwithstandinge whensoever the worlde graveth anye thinge troblesome or unquiet theye will bestowe all they have rather than theye will want horses." We see how statesmen were learning political philosophy in Elizabeth's reign. They contemplated in peace the possibilities of disaster; they recognised

¹ In Bishop Nicholson's *Leges Marchiarum*, p. 215, &c., is printed "The Order of the Watche upon the West Marches, made by my Lord Wharton in the vith year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Edmund the grate." This "Order of Watche" gives the number of armed men in each township fit to keep watch every night. A comparison of the popu-

lation of the townships then and at the present day shows at once how much more populous Northumberland was in the 16th century. It was then occupied by small freeholders, ready to fight for their own homes. The feudal lords were mainly their military leaders rather than their landlords.

² See Appendix II.

the law of the alternations of human affairs. However quiet things might be, there would come a time, for which they must be prepared, when "the worlde would be troblesome." It is worth while noticing Sir John Forster's remedy for the carelessness which peace engendered. He advises that "a generall comaundement should come from her majestie to the noblemen and gentlemen here to favor their tennants as their auncestors have doon before tyme for defence of the frontiers."¹

"To favor their tennants as their auncestors have doon before tyme." I believe that in these words we have the key to much of the social history of the English Border. You will see in your rambles through Northumberland much that will tell you of the former greatness of the feudal lords. You will not so readily distinguish the sites of the townships, which once largely consisted of freeholders, who armed themselves and fought for house and home. Northumberland at the present day is regarded as a great feudal county, with feudal antiquities and feudal memories visible at every turn. I believe, on the contrary, that in no part of England did the manorial system sit so lightly, or work such little change. Traces of primitive institutions and primitive tenures are found in abundance whenever we penetrate beneath the surface. First of all there is a noticeable feature which especially marks the district comprised within the limits of the old Northumbrian kingdom; the survival to the present day of a very large number of townships, which are still recognised as poor-law parishes and elect their own waywardens, overseers, and guardians of the poor. Even at the present day there are only thirty ecclesiastical parishes in this county which are conterminous with a single township. The remaining 132 parishes contain among them 513 townships. There are as many as thirty townships contained in a single parish, and the general number is four or five. This can easily be accounted for from the facts of local history; but it shows the need which was felt for the maintenance of small separate districts with some powers of self-government. Again, the ecclesiastical vestries of the ancient parishes of Northumberland consist, almost universally, of a body of four-and-twenty, who are

¹ See Appendix III.

appointed by co-optation. The term "vestry" does not occur in the church books, which uniformly speak of a "meeting of the four-and-twenty." This seems to point to an original delegation of power into the hands of representatives from the different townships comprising the parish. These townships were village communities holding land in common. I will not attempt to co-ordinate my evidence about them with any general theory of land tenure, but will simply tell you a few facts relating to them. The township in which I live, Embleton, lies within the barony granted to John Vesconte by Henry I. A deed, dated 1730, at which time the Earl of Tankerville was lord of the manor, contains the award of arbitrators appointed by the consent of all parties to have the lands of the townships divided. It recites that the Earl of Tankerville and eight others are "severally seized of the farms, cottages, and parts of farms in the township fields," Lord Tankerville of $16\frac{1}{2}$ farms, the others of quantities varying from 3 farms, $1\frac{1}{2}$ of a farm, to $\frac{1}{8}$ th part of a farm. It then proceeds: "The premises above mentioned lie promiscuous in common fields undivided." The only holder in severalty was the vicar, whose "parcel of ground known as the East Field" affords the only known landmark from which the division can begin. The general result of the arbitrators' award is that the vicar receives an average of fifty-six acres for each of his three farms, Lord Tankerville gets an average of sixty-four acres for each of his $16\frac{1}{2}$ farms, and the other holders average seventy-six acres for each of their eight farms. The varying quantity seems to depend on the quality of the land allotted in each case.

I will not trouble you with evidence on this point, but will quote a statement made by a man who was in the employment of a solicitor in Morpeth, and who represented a legal memory extending back as far as 1780. He says: "I believe that in former times the word *farm* was used in many parts of this county to express an aliquot part in value of a township, being one of several portions of land of which a township consisted, each one of such portions having originally been of equal value." He supports this by reference to cases of allotments in which he was himself concerned.

This use of the word *farm* to signify an original unit of land-tenure is peculiar to Northumberland, and probably has led to much interesting evidence being overlooked, as the ancient use of the word for a fixed interest in undivided land is easily confounded with its modern signification of a fixed amount of land. But many traces can still be found by one who searches for them. The records of vestry books show that contributions to parochial purposes were assessed upon each township in proportion to the number of ancient farms which it contained. In many cases this continued long after the division of the lands of the township, and long after the old meaning of the word *farm* had been forgotten.

Church rates were paid on farms; so were customary payments to the parish clerk and sexton. At Warkworth the vestry in 1826 resolved to rebuild the church wall, each farm being responsible for two yards of walling. It is curious to observe how long it was possible for an ancient institution to exist side by side with a new one. In the township of North Seaton the assessment of church rates on farms ceased in 1746, but the assessment of poor rate remained on the ancient basis down to 1831. Still more noticeable is the case of the township of Burradon. I have no record when the enclosure of the greater part of the township took place; but two parcels of land were left unenclosed. One was divided in 1723, the other in 1773. Upon both divisions each freeholder had appointed to him a part of the common in proportion to the number of ancient farms of which his enclosed lands were reputed to have consisted. Even after this final division the old system did not entirely disappear. Up to the year 1827 poor rates and highway rates were assessed at so much per farm, not so much per pound.

The evidence which I have at present, proves the ancient division into farms of forty-eight townships. A calculation of the areas of these farms, after they were divided, shows a great variety. They range from 1,083 acres to 50. No doubt this can easily be accounted for. In the less fertile parts of the county there were large tracts of waste which ultimately were absorbed by the townships scattered at a considerable distance from one

another. But there are eight townships where the average farm is below 100 acres, nine other townships where the average is between 100 and 120 acres, and nine where it is between 120 and 150 acres. This great variety renders it difficult to account for the Northumbrian farms by any of the modes of reckoning which have hitherto been proposed as of universal application. The Northumbrian unit seems to point solely to the actual facts of the needs of each township at the time of its original settlement.

The relations of these townships to the feudal lords varied, I believe, as much as did their unit of land tenure, though on this point it would be necessary to search the manor rolls in the case of each one separately. A few facts, however, may be stated on this subject. The manor of Tynemouth consist of eleven townships. Three of them are of freehold tenure. The remaining eight were in 1847 held partly in copyhold, partly in freehold. Each copyhold farm made a payment for "boon days," and also paid a corn rent. This rent varied in each township, but payment was in every case made according to the number of ancient reputed farms or parts of a farm of which the land consisted. We have no difficulty here in tracing a case in which the lord's demesne was scattered in eight out of the eleven townships contained in his manor. Three townships belonged entirely to freeholders, and freeholders were settled in the other townships also.

I pass to another instance, the township of North Middleton. The rolls of the court baron of the barony of Morpeth, which is held by the Earl of Carlisle, show that transfers of land in that township were accomplished by the admission of the new owner on the rolls of the manor. The township of North Middleton consisted in 1759 of fourteen farms, of which ten were held by the Duke of Portland, one by the Earl of Carlisle, and three were divided among six other freeholders. The condition of the township in 1797 is described as follows:—"The cesses and taxes of the township are paid by the occupiers in proportion to the number of farms or parts of farms by them occupied. These farms are not divided or set out, the whole township lying in common and undivided, except that the Duke of Portland has a distinct property in the mill and about

ten acres of land adjoining, and that each proprietor has a distinct property in particular houses, cottages, and crofts in the village of North Middleton. The general rule of cultivating and managing the lands within the township has been for the proprietors or their tenants to meet together and determine how much or what particular parts of the land shall be in tillage, how much and what parts in meadow, and how much and what parts in pasture; and they then divide and set out the tillage and meadow lands amongst themselves in proportion to the number of farms or parts of farms which they are respectively entitled to. And the pasture lands are stinted in proportion of twenty stints to each farm."

In this case we have the three-field system, with separate homesteads. The lord has a small share in the common lands, but has no separate demesne. The freeholders have mostly parted with their interests to a wealthy landholder; those who still remain hold small portions varying from seven-eighths to three-eighths of an original farm.

Take another instance. The township of Newbiggin-by-the Sea was in a manor which ultimately passed into the hands of the Widdringtons. In 1720 Lord Widdrington's lands were forfeited and were sold to a London company, who claimed manorial rights which the freeholders of Newbiggin would not allow. The proceedings of a long Chancery suit, in which the freeholders were left with their privileges unimpaired, show us a community completely self-governed, with no interference from a lord and little from the crown. They had a grant of market and fair, and tolls on ships coming into their little harbour, and paid to the crown a fee-farm rent of £10 6s. In 1730, to which date the freeholders' books survived, we find the arable land already divided, but the pasture land still in common. The freeholders meet and make bye-laws for the pasturage. They appoint constables, ale tasters, and bread weighers. They levy tolls on boats and ships, and receive payments for carts loading sea-weed from the shore, for lobster tanks in the rocks, for stones quarried on the foreshore. The money received from these rents of the rocks is divided among the freeholders in proportion to the ancient freededges, or farms.

These three instances may serve to show the exceeding

variety of social life in Northumberland, and the comparatively slight effects of the imposition of the Norman manorial system upon the ancient townships. No doubt this great variety was due to the exceptional character of the county. The lords were bound to "favour their tenants for the defence of the frontiers." They meddled little with the freeholders of the townships, who formed a stalwart body of soldiers ready to follow the fray.¹

But this same habit of following the fray had its disadvantages. It created a wild and lawless habit of life among the borderers. It brought all those evils which attach to any society which is haunted by a sense of insecurity. Though war ceased between England and Scotland, feuds and robberies by no means ceased between the borderers on each side. "The number is wonderful," write the English commissioners in 1596, "of horrible murders and maymes, besides insupportable losses by burglaries and robberies, able to make any Christian eares to tingle and all true English hartes to bleede."² They estimate the murders at 1,000 and the thefts to the value of £100,000 in the last nine years. The union of the crowns of England and Scotland under one sovereign swept away all pretence for hostility on the Borders, and left the problem of reducing a lawless people to order. This work was begun by the strong sense and capacity of Lord William Howard of Naworth. A student and a man of business at once, he lived on the Borders, doing his own duty and demanding that every one else should do likewise. His object, in his own words, was "to reduce these partes into civilitie;" his motive was "dutie to his majestie and care of the well doinge of the countrie I live in." His real success was due to the fact that during a long life he steadily pursued his course, and raised an hitherto unknown standard of public duty amongst the chief men on the English Border. He exposed abuses in the public service; he rebuked negligence; he insisted on a rigid application of the laws, and on firmness in their administration. From his days onwards order began to be maintained and civilization to advance.

It would be an interesting and profitable study to trace exactly the disappearance of savage ways and riotous

¹ See Appendix IV.

² Raine's North Durham, p. xlv.

temper. The work has, at all events, been done in a thorough and satisfactory manner. In no part of England can there be found a more orderly, peaceable, law-abiding folk than are the Northumbrian peasantry. In no part of England is greater friendliness and hospitality shown to the wayfarer than in the valleys of the Cheviot Hills, which were once the haunts of moss-troopers. I never wander over the lovely moorland, and look upon the smiling, peaceful fields below, without feeling comfort amid the perplexities of the present by the thoughts of the triumph of the past. The frowning castles of the feudal lords now stand embowered in trees, and tell of nothing save acts of friendliness to those who dwell around. The peel towers in their ruins defend the flocks and herds from nothing save the inclemency of the heavens. Goodly farm-houses and substantial cottages for the peasants betoken prosperity and comfort. The sturdy good sense of English heads, the enduring strength of English institutions, has solved a problem in this Border land at least as difficult as those which trouble us in the present and cast a shadow over the future.

APPENDIX I.

Northumbrian Farming in 1309.

I append the compotus of Guychard Charon, Sheriff of Northumberland, who renders an account of the receipts and expenditure of the lands of the Knights Templars at Temple Thornton, in the township of Thornton, in the parish of Hartburn, about six miles west of Morpeth. On the dissolution of the Order their lands were seized by the Crown, and Guychard Charon, as sheriff, managed the farm from November 1308, to March 1309. I give a summary of the chief items of receipts and expenditure, so far as they illustrate the system of farming and the price of produce.

<i>Receipts.</i>				£	s.	d.
580 eggs	...	...	...	2	5	
Farm of the dovecot ¹	...	...	...	3	0	
Peat	...	...	...	3	0	
71 hens ²	...	...	...	5	11	

¹ The right of having a pigeon-house was confined to the lord of the manor, and the destruction of pigeons was punished by severe penalties. The average price of pigeons was 3d. per dozen.

² The number of eggs and poultry sold

show that the habits of the people must have resembled those prevalent in France at the present day. So Æneas Sylvius says "*Gallinæ et anseres afferebantur in esum, sed neque vini neque panis quicquam aderat.*"

24 quarters of wheat, 6 quarters of rye and maslin,			
14 quarters of barley, 8 quarters of barley and			
oats mixed, 86 quarters of oats	...	24	15 0
2 stock oxen ¹	...		12 0
3 cows, 3 calves and 6 barren cows	...	3	16 8
3 steers	...	1	7 0
3 heifers	...		15 0
2 bull calves	...		6 8
3 year-old stirks and 3 calves	...		13 6
1 bull	...		10 0
107 ewes, 108 muttons, 17 hogs	...	11	13 0
88 lambs	...	1	6 8
8 kids	...		6 8
21 hogs (swine) ²	...	1	8 0
6 geese	...		1 6
4 skins of oxen who died of murrain ³	...		8 0
2 ditto	...		1 2
69 fleeces of sheep who died of murrain	...	2	9 8
184 fleeces weighing 17 stone 1 lb. ⁴	...	4	5 5
3 bushels of corn	...		2 6
Total of Receipts	...	£94	2 7

Expenditure.

£ s. d.

9 quarters 2 bushels of wheat at 6s. 8d. per quarter,			
50 quarters 6 bushels of oats at 2s. 6d. per quarter			
for seed ⁵	...	9	8 6½

¹ Stock oxen for the plough. Walter de Henley, (quoted by Roger, History of Prices, i, 329) writing in the 14th century, says that ploughing by oxen is cheaper than ploughing by horses, and is equally speedy. He reckons that a team of oxen beginning at daybreak, and leaving off at 3 p.m., will plough 3½ roods, or an acre of the second or third ploughing. This is about the same as is done at this day. The cost of a horse, Henley says, during 25 weeks between St. Luke's Day, Oct. 18, and Holy Cross, May 3, is 12s. 5½d., without forage or chaff. This sum is made up by ¼ bushels of oats daily, valued at 1s. 2d., 1d. for herbage in summer, and 1d. a week for shoeing. An ox can be kept for the same time on 1s. worth of herbage and 3½ bundles of oats in the ear every week—the total expense being 3s. 7d. Besides, he says, when an ox gets old you may fatten and eat him, and get something considerable for the skin, whereas there is no such economy in a horse, whose flesh is worthless and the hide of little value.

² Pigs were an important article of food. In the spring they were let loose, ringed, to search for roots; after harvest they were driven into the fields and woods to search for acorns and mast. They were

under the care of a swineherd, whose wage was ¾d. a week.

³ Murrain was a generic name for disease, by which the loss of stock was enormous in mediæval times. Walter de Henley (Roger's History of Prices, i, 334) says:—If a sheep die put the flesh at once into water, and keep it there from daybreak till three o'clock, then hang it up to drain, salt and dry it, and it will, at least, do for your labourers.

⁴ According to this, the price of wool was 4½d. per lb., and each fleece weighed, on an average, 1 lb. 5 oz. The sheep were small haired, and of a fine delicate breed, probably like the Welsh or mountain sheep. Their fleeces seldom weighed 2 lbs. and the wool was coarse with hairs, as is seen in cloth of the period. At the present day fleeces average 7 lb.

⁵ As the amount of land under corn was 37 acres, we see that the quantity of seed per acre was two bushels, almost the same as at present. But the produce at that time was rarely more than 9 or 10 bushels per acre. Walter de Henley (in Roger's History of Prices, i, 270 n.) says: If wheat does not return more than three times the seed, a loss is incurred, except in dear years, i.e., when the price is above 4s. a quarter. He reckons thus:—the

22½ quarters of rye, 13 quarters 2½ bushels of maslin at 6s. 8d. per quarter, for the use of servants	11	12	1
4 quarters of oats for servants porridge ¹ ...	10	0	
6½ quarters of oats, bought in sheaves for oxen and cows	16	3	
5 quarters of oats for provender of oxen ...	12	6	
Mending ploughs and harrows	12	0	
Turf dug to burn in winter	3	0	
Ointment for the sheep	3	0	
Wages of a man for keeping 88 lambs, ½d. a day for 90 days	3	9	
Milk for the lambs, and washing and shearing 192 sheep... ..	3	11½	
Weeding 37 acres of corn and 101½ acres of oats at ½ per acre	5	9	
Cutting, spreading and carrying 21 acres of hay... ..	13	1	
Mowing, collecting and binding 37 acres of corn and 101½ acres of oats at 7d. per acre of corn and 6d. per acre of oats	3	1	10½
Wages of an extra man for 30 days at 2d. per day	5	0	
Wages of six carters, one cowherd, one shepherd and one man for keeping house and making porridge for the year	2	0	0
Wages of a swine herd for 16 weeks	1	0	
Wages of two men harrowing for 31 days in winter and lent	5	2	
2 bushels of salt for porridge	0	10	

land is ploughed three times, each ploughing costs 6d. an acre, hoeing 1d., two bushels of seed 1s., second hoeing 1s. 2d., reaping 5d., carrying 1d., the straw pays for the threshing. If six bushels only are reaped to the acre, they will bring 3s., and have cost 3s. 1½d. Here no rent is paid.

¹ The food of the servants was oatmeal, maslin and rye, much of it made in the form of porridge, sometimes with "braxy," or the salted meat of animals that had died of murrain. The farm servants were paid wages and lived round the farm, receiving also their food. This system still prevails in Northumberland to some degree. The farm labourers are called "hinds," and each hind is supposed to supply two "bondagers" or assistant workers, generally women. The hind is engaged for the year, and receives his wage, even if prevented by illness from working. He has a house assigned him near the homestead, and has potatoes grown for his use on one of the farm fields. Fifty years ago the money wage was very small, and the hind was paid in farm produce—and kept a cow of his own. This is the same system as is shown in the Sheriff's accounts. Most probably the

labourers at that time were housed in rude beehive huts, and it is very possible that some remains which are assigned to pre-historic times may really be explained as clusters of peasant houses. At the beginning of this century the houses of the Northumbrian hinds were little superior to the beehive huts. They were built as follows:—the couples of heavy oak, with legs resting on the ground, about five feet high, were first placed; then undressed stones were heaped beneath and plastered with mud to make the walls; a small hole was left for a window, and another for a chimney; a thatched roof was put on the top. The floor was simply the earth beaten down, and in some cases mixed with lime. Each occupier brought with his furniture a fire place and a window. The chief article of furniture was a "box-bed," which made a partition in the dwelling. The cow stood in one end, and the family lived in the other. Many old people, now alive, remember this as the state of things in their young days. Their food was porridge and milk, with flat cakes of barley and pease meal mixed. They never ate fresh meat, but kept a pig, and had bacon as a treat.

Repairing walls of grange	3	0
Threshing and winnowing 21 quarters of corn, 8 quarters of barley and 44 quarters of oats ...	8	6
Wages of one servant for keeping the manor at 1½d. day	1	19 4½
Total Expenses	£33	10 7¼

The following is preserved among the Templars' Rolls, Ed. II:—

Compotus Guychardi Charon, nuper Vicecomitis Northumbrie, de exitibus terrarum et tenementorum Magistri et Fratrum Milicie Templi in Anglia, in eodem Comitatu, a die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Martini, videlicet, xvj. die Novembris, anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi secundo, usque festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens, et ab eodem festo Sancti Michaelis usque diem dominicum proximum ante festum Sancti Cuthberti proximo sequens anno tercio, quo die liberavit terras et tenementa predicta Ricardo de Horsleye¹ tunc Vicecomiti Northumbrie custodiendum quamdiu Regi placuerit, ad respondendum Regi de exitibus inde provenientibus per breve Regis et indenturam inter eos factam.

THORNTONE CUM MEMBRIS.—Idem reddit compotum de lxij s. iij d. de redditu assise diversorum tenencium diversa tenementa de predictis Magistro et fratribus de Manerio de Thorntone et diversis villis adjacentibus ad idem Manerium, videlicet Wotton, Mitford, Morpathe, Neubigging, Werkesworthe, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, sicut continetur in Rotulo de particulis quem liberavit in thesaurario, et in extenta de predicto manerio facta per Adam de Eglesfield, et ad Scaccarium retornata; et de xj li. xij s. x d. ob. de redditu assise libere tenencium et custumariorum in villis de Heylee, Corbrigge, Trepwode, Novi castri super Tynam, Fennum, Ryntone, Jesemuthe, et Redewode ad eosdem terminos, sicut continetur ibidem; Et lx s. j d. ob. de consimili redditu assise diversorum tenencium in villis de Mildrom, Shottone, Heddon, Parkeston, Kyllum, Langetone, Lilleburn, Welloure, Alnewyke, et Baumburghes ad eosdem terminos sicut continetur ibidem; Et de x li. xvij s. iij d. de redditu assise diversorum tenencium diversa tenementa in Foxdene, Bisshopeston, Coone, villa Castri Bernardi, Somerhous, et Peltone in Episcopatu Dunelmensi ad eosdem terminos sicut continentur in Rotulo et extenta predictis; Et de x s. de v quarteriis avene de redditu assise in villa de Foxdene ad eosdem terminos, sicut continetur ibidem; Et de xl s. de quibusdam terris dominicis dicti manerii dimissis ad firmam hoc anno ad firmam (*sic*) in Fennum cum quibusdam operibus ad certum positis ibidem, ad eosdem terminos sicut continetur ibidem; Et de c s. de firma molendini de Thorntone ad eosdem terminos sic dimissi ad firmam per annum sicut continetur ibidem; Et de xvij s. de firma molendini de Heylee per idem tempus sicut continetur ibidem; Et de x s. de redditu Bracinarum in villis de Thorntone et Heylee ad festum sancti Michaelis, sicut continetur ibidem; Et de ij s. v d. de Diiij^{xx} ovis de redditu assise in Thorntone, Heylee, et Fennum ad festum Pasche venditis sicut continetur ibidem; Et de v s. xj d. de lxvij operibus estivalibus et

¹ In Fuller's list of the Sheriffs of Northumberland "Guid. Charroum" occurs, 2 Edward II. Richard de Horsele

does not appear until 37 Edw. III., and again 43 to 46 Edw. III.

autumnalibus venditis¹ sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de iij s. de firma Columbarie apud Thorntone a festo pasche usque festum Sancti Michaelis per dimidium annum sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de iij s. de turbariis venditis per idem tempus sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de v s. viij d xj d. (*sic*) de lxxj gallinis de redditu assise in villis de Thorntone, Fennum, et Heylce ad festum Nativitatis Domini sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xxiiij li. xv s. de xxiiij quarteriis frumenti, vj quarteriis siliginis et mixtilionis, xiiij quarteriis ordeï, viij quarteriis ordeï et avene mixte, et iij^{xxv} quarteriis avene, receptis de Roberto de Fandone per indenturam, et sic statum venditis propter metum Scotorum superveniencium, sicut continetur ibidem : Et de xij s. de ij bobus de instauro venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de lxxvj s. viij d. de tribus vaccis et tribus vitulis de exitu earundem, et vj vaccis sterilibus, venditis circa gulam Augusti per mandatum domini Regis ; Et de xxvij s. de tribus boviculis ejusdem instauri, et per idem mandatum sic venditis, sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xv s. de iij juvenis ejusdem instauri per idem mandatum venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de vj s. de ij bovettis ejusdem instauri per idem mandatum venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xii s. vj d. de iij stirkettis superannatis, et iij vitulis ejusdem instauri, per idem mandatum venditis, sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de x s. de uno tauro ejusdem instauri per idem mandatum vendito sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xj li. xiiij s. de cvij ovibus matricibus, cvij multonibus, xvij hogastris, de remanentibus compoti precedentis receptis per indenturam, sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xxxvj s. viij d. de iij^{xxv} agnis de exitu venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de vj s. viij d. de viij capris venditis ante Natale Domini sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xxviii s. de xxj porcis venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xvij d. de vj aucis venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de viij s. de iij coreis bovinis debilibus mortuorum de morina sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xiiij d. de coreis ij affrorum mortuorum in morina sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xljx s. viij d. de vij^{xxix} pellibus ovium matricum, multonum, et hogastrorum lanutis mortuorum in morina venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de iij li. v s. v d. de x^{xxiij} velleribus ponderantibus xvij petras j libram lane venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de ij s. vj d. receptis de iij bussellis frumenti venditis super computum sicut continetur ibidem.

Summa totalis Recepte iij^{xx}xiiij li. ij s. vij d.

EXPENSE.—Idem computat in ix quarteriis ij bussellis frumenti, E quarteriis vj bussellis avene, emptis ad seminandum, ix li. viij s. vj d. ob., videlicet, pro quolibet quarterio frumenti vj s. viij d., et pro quolibet quarterii avene ij s. vj d., sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in xxij quarteriis dimidio siliginis, xiiij quarteriis ij bussellis dimidio mixtilionis, emptis ad liberationes famulorum xj li. xij s. j d., precium quarterii vj s. viij d. ; Et in iij quarteriis avene emptis pro farina ad potagium famulorum x s. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in vj quarteriis dimidio avene emptis per estimacionem in garbis ad sustentacionem bovium et vaccarum xvj s. iij d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in v quarteriis avene emptis ad prebendam affrorum, et expenditis in prebenda eorundem tempore seminacionis, xij s. vj d. ; Et respondet ex altera parte Rotuli ; Et in carucis et herciis emendis pervices xij s. sicut continetur ibidem ;

¹ This was a composition for "boon his tenants to plough his lands. days," days when the lord might require

Et in turbis fodiendis ad conburendum in yeme iij s. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in uncto empto pro bidentibus ungendis per vices iij s. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in stipendio unius hominis custodientis iiij^{xxv}ij agnos de exitu a festo purificationis beate Marie usque festum invencionis sancte crucis proximo sequens per iiij^{xx}x dies capientis per diem ob., iij s. ix d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in lacte pro sustentacione dictorum agnorum, et pro ix^{xx}xij multonibus lavandis et tondendis iij s. xj d. q^a sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in xxxvij acris frumenti, ej acris dimidio avene sarcelandis, precium acre ob., v s. ix d. sicut contineur ibidem : Et in xxj acris feni falcandis, spargendis, et levandis, tam infra clausum Curie quam in campis, xij s. j d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in xxxvij acris frumenti, ej acris dimidio avene metendis, colligendis, et ligandis lxj s. x d. ob., videlicet, pro qualibet acra frumenti vij d. et pro qualibet acra avene vj d., sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in vadiis unius hominis existentis ultra messoros per tempus autumpni, videlicet, per xxx dies, cap. per diem ij d., vs. ; Et in stipendiis vj carucariorum, j vaccarii, j bercarii, et unius hominis custodientis manerium et facientis potagium famulorum, per totum annum integrum, xl s. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in stipendis unius porcarii per xvj septimanas, xij d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in stipendiis ij hominum euncium ad herciam tempore seminacionis per xxxj dies, tam tempore seminacionis hyemalis quam quadragesimalis, v s. ij d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in ij bussellis salis emptis pro potagio famulorum x d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in parietibus grangie emendandis iij s. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in xxj quarteriis frumenti, siliginis, et mixtillionis, viij quarteriis ordeï, et xliij quarteriis avena trituranis et ventandis viij s. vj d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in vadiis j servientis custodientis Manerum per tempus compoti ut supra xxxix s. iiij d. ob., cap. per diem j d. ob., sicut continetur ibidem.

EXPENSE TEMPLARIORUM.—Et in expensis fratris Michaelis de Soureby, fratris Walteri de Gaddesby, fratris Galfridi de Wittone, et fratris Roberti de Cammulle de ordine Milicie Templi, existencium in custodia dicti Guychardi in castro Novi Castri super Tynam a die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Martini anno regni Regis Edwardi secundo usque festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens anno regni Regis Edwardi tercio, videlicet, per cccxv dies, cuilibet capiendi per diem iiij d., xxj li. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in expensis dictorum iiij fratrum, viij hominum equitum, x hominum peditum missorum cum dictis fratribus inter Novum Castrum super Tynam et Eboracum pro eisdem salvo et secure ducendis ibidem per tres dies, per breve Regis et per speciale mandatum ejusdem, et morando ibidem antequam liberabantur Vicecomiti Eboraci et Constabulario Castri ibidem, xl s. sicut continetur ibidem.

Summa Expensarum lvj li. x s. vij d. ob. q^a.

Et debet xxxvij lixj d. q^a. Et respondet infra.

FRUMENTUM.—Idem reddit compotum de ix quarteriis ij bussellis frumenti de emptis ut supra ; Et totum compotum in semine super xxxvij acras, videlicet, super acram ij bussellos.

AVENE.—Idem reddit compotum de liij quarteriis vj bussellis avene de emptis ut supra ad semen et potagium famulorum sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de v quarteriis avene receptis de emptis pro prebenda equorum tempore seminacionis sicut continetur ibidem ; Summa lix quarteria vj busselli ; De quibus in semine super ej acras dimidiam l quarteria vj

busselli; et in prebenda equorum tempore seminacionis ut supra v quarteria; Et in potagio famulorum iiij quarteria; Et equat.

MIXTURA AD LIBERACIONES FAMULORUM.—Idem reddit compotum de xxij quarteriis demidio siliginis, xij quarteriis ij bussellis dimidio mixtilionis, emptis ad liberaciones famulorum, Summa xxxv quarteria vj busselli dimidijs; De quibus in liberacionibus v carucariorum per xlv septimanas, videlicet, per totum tempus compoti xxij quarteria dimidium, Et in liberacionibus unius bercarii et unius vaccarii a die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Martini usque diem Sabbati in crastino Sancti Petri ad vincula proximum per xxxvj septimanas et v dies, cap. quarterium pro xij septimanas, v quarteria iiij busselli dimidium sicut continetur ibidem, Et in liberacione unius porcarii custodientis porcos per xvj septimanas infra tempus predictum j quarterium, et in liberacium unius hominis custodientis curiam et facientis potagium famulorum per xlv septimanas ij quarteria vj busselli, et in liberacione unius carectarii euntis ad carectandum cum equis de manerio et cum equis dicti Guychardi post mortem equorum de manerio, a predicto die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Martini usque diem Lune proximam post festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens, per xlv septimanas, cap. quarterium per xij septimanas, iiij quarteria vj busselli; Summa xxxv quarteria iiij busselli dimidijs; Et in venditis super compotum ut patet superius iiij busselli; Et equat.

AFFRI. Idem reddit compotum de iiij affris receptis de Roberto de Fandone per Indenturam; de quibus—in morine ij: Et remanet j.

BOVES. Idem reddit compotum de xxv bobus receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; De quibus in morina iiij; In venditis ij; —Et remanent xix.

VACCE.—Idem reddit compotum de ix vaccis receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; Et vendite ut supra; et equat.

BOVICULI.—Idem reddit compotum de v boviculis, iiij stirkettis, receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; et vendite omnes ut supra; Et equat.

JUVENCE.—Idem reddit compotum de iiij juvencis receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; Et vendite omnes ut supra; Et equat.

VITULI.—Idem reddit compotum de iiij vitulis de exitu hujus anni; Et vendite ut supra; Et equat.

TAURUS.—Idem reddit compotum de j tauro recepto de eodem per eandem Indenturam; Et venditus ut supra; Et equat.

OVES.—Idem reddit compotum de ix^{xx} ovibus matricibus receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; Et vendite ut [supra]; De quibus in morina lxxij, et in venditis cvij oves; Et equat.

MULTONES.—Idem reddit compotum de vij^{xx}vij. multonibus receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; De quibus in morina xxiiij, et in venditis cvij; Et equat.

HOGASTRI.—Idem reddit compotum de lxix hogastris receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; De quibus in morina lij, et in venditis xvij; Et equat.

AGNI.—Idem reddit compotum de iiij^{xx}vij. agnis de exitu hujus anni; Et venditi ut supra; Et equat.

CAPRE.—Idem reddit compotum de vij capris receptis de eodem, per indenturam, et vendite ut supra; Et equat.

PORCI.—Idem reddit compotum de xxiiij porcis receptis de eodem per Indenturam; De quibus in morina iiij; et in venditis xxj; Et equat.

AUCE.—Idem reddit compotum de vj aucis receptis de eodem per Indenturam ; Et vendite ut supra ; Et equat.

PELLES.—Idem reddit compotum de xvij petris de cxlix pellibus bidentium de morina ante tonsuram ; Et vendite ut supra ; Et equat.

LANA.—Idem reddit compotum de xvij petris et j libra lane provenientis de ciiij^{xx} velleribus ; Et vendite ut supra ; Et equat.

COREA.—Idem reddit compotum de ij coreis affrorum de morina Et iiij coreis bovinis de morina ; Et venditi ut supra ; Et equat.

GALLI, GALLINE, ET OVA.—Idem reddit compotum de lxxj gallis, gallinis, Diiij^{xx} ovis de redditu ; Et vendita ut supra ; Et equat.

MORTUUM STAURUM.—Idem respondet de tribus carucis cum toto apparatu, receptis de eodem per Indenturam, precium cujuslibet xvij d. ; ij plaustris precium ij s. ; ij plumbis precium j marca ; j cuva magna cum ij barellis precium v s. ; j lotorio cum parva olla enea ; feno ad sustentacionem averiorum dicti manerii ; j carecta ferrata precium xiiij s. ; iiij cistis ; ij minoribus barellis ; cum omnibus cartis, scriptis, et monumentis, sub sigillo fratris Michaelis, quondam custodis ejusdem manerii.

ORNAMENTA CAPELLE.—Memorandum de uno calice, uno vestimento integro, uno missali, uno gradali, et una legenda inventis in manerio de Thoronetone predicto, et remanentibus penes Robertum de Fandone, qui ea adhuc retinet, et liberare dicto Guichardo recusavit.

COMPOTUS ejusdem Guyhardi de eisdem terris a festo Sancti Michaelis anno tercio usque diem dominicum proximum ante festum Sancti Cuthberti proximo sequens, quo die liberavit predictas terras et tenementa Ricardo de Horsley, nunc Custodi earundem per breve Regis et indenturam inter eos inde factam.

Idem reddit compotum de v s. xj d. de lxxj gallinis de redditu termino Natalis Domini sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de iiij s. vij d. de coreis, ij bovium, et coreo j affri mortuorum in morina venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xxx s. v d. de iiij quarteriis dimidio j bussello frumenti venditis, precium quarterii vj s. viij d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xv s. ij d. ob. de vj quarteriis j bussello avene venditis super compotum sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xiiij s. de j carecta ferrata vendita super compotum sicut continetur ibidem.

Summa Recepte lxx s. ij d. ob.

EXPENSE.—Idem computat in vadiis unius servientis custodientis manerium predictum a die dominica in festo Sancti Michaelis anno supra dicto usque diem dominicum proximum ante festum Sancti Cuthberti proximo sequens, per clxv dies, cap. per diem j d. ob., xx s. vij d. ob. ; Et in stipendiis ij hominum euntium ad herciam tempore seminationis, tam hyemalis quam quadragesimalis, per xxxj dies, ij s. vij d., cap. per diem j d. ; Et in x quarteriis frumenti, xxx quarteriis avene tritrandis et ventandis iiij s. ij d., videlicet, per quarterium frumenti ij d., et per quarterium avene j d. ; Et in stipendio unius fabri emendantis ferramenta carucarum per tempus istius compoti, ex certa convencionem secum facta pro medietate anni, v s.

Summa Expensarum xxxij s. iiij d. ob. ;

Et debet xxxvijs. xd. ; Et debet de remanentibus compotis precedentis xxxvij li. xj s. xj d. q^a Summa conjunta que debetur xxxix. li. ix s. ix d. q^a. ; Sed respondet in Rotulo sexto in Northumbria.

GRANGIA.

FRUMENTUM.—Idem reddit compotum de xvij quarteriis j bussello frumenti, De quibus in semine super xxij acras terre v quarteria dimidium, et in venditis ij quarteria ut supra, et in liberacione facta Ricardo de Horsleye vij quarteria, et in venditis ut supra iiij quarteria v busselli: Summa xvij quarteria j bussellus.

AVENA.—Idem reddit compotum de iiij^{xxv}, quarteriis avene de exitibus grangie; De quibus in semine super xxij acras xj quarteria dimidium, videlicet, super acram dimidium quarterium, et in liberacionibus iiij caruciarum a festo sancti Michaelis usque diem dominicum proximum post festum Sancti Cuthberti proximo sequens, per xxiiij septimanas, cap. quarterium per xvj septimanas, xvj quarteria, et in liberacione unius ancille custodientis curiam et facientis potagium famulorum, per dictum tempus ij quarteria, cap. quarterium per viij septimanas, et in sustentacione ix bovium per estimacionem in garbis vj quarteria, et in farina facta pro potagio famulorum per tempus compoti j quarterium, et in liberacione facta Ricardo de Horsleye per indenturam xlj quarteria iiij busselli: Summa lxxviiij quarteria vij busselli; Et in venditis super compotum ut patet superius vj quarteria j bussellus.

INSTAURUM.

AFFRI.—Idem reddit compotum de j affro de remanentibus ultimi compoti; Et mortua (*sic*) est in morina hoc anno; Et nichil remanet.

BOVES.—Idem respondet de xix bobus de remanentibus; De quibus in morina ij, et in liberacione facta Ricardo de Horsley, habenti custodium terrarum et tenementorum per breve Regis et indenturam inter ipsum [et] Guychardum inde confectam, xvij boves; Et equat.

MORTUUM STAURUM.—Idem respondet de tribus carucis cum toto apparatu, de remanentibus ultimi compoti, precium cujuslibet xvij d.; ij plaustis precium ij s.; ij plumbis precium j marca; j cuva magna cum ij barellis precium v s.; uno lotorio cum parva olla enea; feno ad sustentacionem averiorum dicti Manerii; iiij cistis; ij minoribus barellis cum omnibus cartis, scriptis, et monumentis, sub sigillo fratris Michaelis quondam custodis ejusdem Manerii, et liberatis predicto Ricardo de Horsley per indenturam inter ipsum et prefatum Guychardum inde confectam.

Et memorandum quod dictis Guychardus liberavit predicto Ricardo de Horsley x plaustra feni per indenturam, unde habet respondere super compoto suo.

APPENDIX II.

(Foreign, Eliz. Record Office. Vol: 115. No. 924.)

Articles accorded by the Right Honorable Thomas Earle of Sussex vizcount Fitzwalter, Lorde Egremont and Burnell, knight of the moste honorable Order of the Garter, Cap^{en} of the Gentlemen pencioners and Gentlemen at Armes, Chefe Justice and Justice in Oyer of all the Q: Ma^{ts} forests pks Chaces and Warens by Sowthe Trente, L. President of her Ma^{ts} Councell establissed in the Northe, and her highnes Lieutenant Generall of the said Northe pts: the Wardens of the east and middle Marches: And the principall gentlemen of the Com: of Northumberlande, Whose names be under written. At Alnewick xij^{mo} Novemb. 1570.

At Alnewick,
xij^{mo} N^o 1570.

That the night watches for townes and fourds shalbe kepte punctually in the townes and at fourds fitt to be watched, and the other fourds dampned. And that day watches shalbe also kepte in places accustomed. And the setters searchers and ov'seers appointed as they were in former watches. And if any be deade : others to supply by the appointem^{nt} of the wardens and gentlemen and that diligent search be made by the Watches for apprehending of such as passe into Scotland, or owt of Snd wth fies or messages.

That ev'y mane upon the fraye raised by night or by day shall follow the fraye upon payne of ymp'som^{nt} for vij dayes and losse of iij^s iij^d.

That the p'sons that shall faile in answering and following of the fraye shall answer the Valew of the goods lost (if any be lost) and the p'sons reskewing the goods shall upon a manifest desert by adventure have for ther travell in peace tyme (if it be w^{thin} english grownde) after the rate of xij^d in the pounce. And if it be w^{thin} Snd grownde after the rate of ij^s in the pounce of the goods reskewed. And the owner to have his goods presently. And the Reskewer to have his porc'on of the owner, and if the owner refuse to deliv' it the Warden to compell him.

That if any scottishman shall come into England and shall take and carry away by stealth or otherwise unlawfully any goods belonging to any englishman and the said S^h man shall ether going to the facte or retorning from the fact be received by any Englishman or S^h man dwelling in englande: the p'tie so receiving shall answer the goods loste and be compelled therto by the Warden of the Marches where the goods were lost. And if the p'tie that lost the goods and the receiver dwell in sev'all Wardenries then bothe the Wardens shall joyne to see dew exequn'con of this Article.

That ev'y man that hath a castell or a tower of stone: shall upon ev'y fray raised on the night give warning to the Contrey, by fier in the toppe of the castell or tower in such sorte as he shalbe directed from his Warninge Castell: upon paine of iij^s iij^d.

That some two or iij or more speciall places may be appointed in ev'y Wardenry as warninge places Where Watch shalbe nightly kepte, to th ende that upon fier descried to be gevin in the other castells: ther may be also fier gevin there to Warne th oole Contrey. And that the places be knowne to the people that they may knowe the cawse of the fyinge of those places to be onely upon the raising of the fraye, And not for such other cawses as other beakons be comonly fyered, And that the Contrey be divided into pts. Wherby the castells of evy pte shall knowe howe to receive the Warning.

That evy pson that shali have any goods stoolen or takin shall w^{thin} tene dayes after the losse therof deliver to the Warden or his Deputy of the Mche where the goods were lost a bill of the goods lost, and (if he can) of the names of the psons that tooke it, to th ende the Warden may at evy monethes ende make upp his booke of the hurts done in his office that moneth, And by Whome (if it may be knownen) Whereby he shall understand the state of his Office evy moneth and kepe a pfitte boke therof, W^{ch} for many respects is very necessary.

That all gentlemen and freeholders shall kepe horse Armo^r and weapon for them selfs And ther families, And cawse ther ten^{ants} to kepe horse

Armo^r And weapen According to the Ancient use and custome of the borders.

That ev'y landlorde shall appoint sufficient grownde to ev'y of his tennts, Wher upon he may finde horse and armo^r according to the custome of the borders.

That no landlorde shalbe p^mitted to suffer any p^te of his lande (that is fitt to be manured) to lye waste wthout a tennt or occupier longer then of necessity he shalbe forced.

That the landlords ap^on the borders shall consider what they and ther tennts shalbe hable to dooe to inclose ther townes ap^on the borders. And the Whole Contrey shall joyne in Ayde to helpe them wth that they can of them selfs doo so as they may inclose this yeare certein townes upon the Fringe of the borders wth diche and quicksett, And others the next yeare, And so yearly untill all be inclosed neare to the Fringe, Wherby the Uttermost p^ts being streingthened: the people of england wth ther goods may lye in suerty. And the Scotts entering englande come in pill, and when the borde^r towns be inclosed: the borderers shall ayde the inlande men to inclose ther townes.

That no mane receive any Scottishman to be his tennte wthout lycense of the Warden of the Marche under his hande writinge, And that ev'y mane wthin One moneth make certificate to the Warden of the names of all such Scottishmen as be his tennts at this present, And w^{ch} of them be denisons and w^{ch} be not, And that ev'y man that hath any Scottishman to to his S^rvnte shall deliver his name to the Warden wthin One monethe, And evy mane that hereafter shall take any Scot to his S^rvnt: shall before he receive him to his service give his name to the Warden, and that evy man that hath or hereafter shall have any Scot to his serunt: shall bring forth his servant to Answer or shall Answer for him during his abode wth him, And that no man shall putt away any such Scot from his service before he first bring him to the Warden, to offer him to Answer to all matters wherwth he shalbe charged: to th ende ev'y Warden may make a p^fite boke therof and therby have knowlege of all the Scotts wthin his charge from tyme to tyme.

That good order be given to apprehend all such p^sons as shall reporte any sediciowse, lewde or slanderowse tales or rumo^{rs}, towching ether the Q: Ma^{te}, or any of Her Highnes Prev'y Councell. or any of the Nobility or principall officers of the Realme, or that shalbe derogative directly or indirectly to the goode peace and quiet of the Realme.

The Earle of Sussex Lieuten^t genall of the Northe.

S^r John Forster knight Warden of the middle M[']ches.

S^r Willm Drury knight Marshall of Barwick, having the charge of Barwick and the easte Marches by the Quene's Ma^y Order in the absens of the lorde of Hunsdon.

S^r. Valentine Brown knight Treasurer of Barwick.

S^r George Hearon knight deputy Warden of the Middle Marches and kep of Tyndale and Riddesdale.

John Selbye Deputye Warden of the east M[']ches.

The L. Ogle

S^r John Witherington

S^r George Radclif

S^r Thomas Graye

S^r Cutbert Collingwodd

Willm. Hearon Bailif of Hexam

Clement Ogle

Edwarde Witherington

Robte. Middleton

Robte. Rames

Thomas Ogle	Anthony Radclif
Roger Cutbert Carnaby	John Shaftoo
Thomas Forster	Gawain Rotherforde
Nicholas Riddley	Mighell Fenwik
Thomas Swinborne	Roger Fenwik
Thomas Ilderton	Alexander Hearon
George Mustiens	Gerarde Hearon
Robte. Witherington	John Witherington
Robte. Clavering	James Ogle
Thomas Clavering	Lewes Ogle
Lancelot Thrillway	John Hearon
Mighell Helborn	Oswolde Midforde
Robte Horsley	Oswold Witherington
John Horsley	Laurence Thorneton
John Car of Hetton	Stephen Fenwik
Edmond Crayster	Richarde Fenwik
John Car of Fourde	Thomas Selby
Luke Ogle	Robte Clennell
Thomas Ogle	Roger Proctor
George Ogle	John Fenwik
Richard Fallowfelde Constable of	Martin Fenwik
Morpet	Gilbert Park
John Musgrave	Cutbert Midforde
Gilbert Erington	Marmaduke Fenwick.
Edward Bydnell	

APPENDIX III.

(Record Office. Foreign, Eliz : Vol. 134. No. 153.)

Endorsed 1575, 6 Junii. From Sir John Forster to my lords of the Vituller of Berwick, of the decay of Horses on the Borders.

Pleaseth yt yo^r hon^{rs} to be advertised that Edwarde Merye Victualler of Barwyck under S^r Valentyne Browne hath beine w^t me and geven me warninge that upon comaundemente geven unto him by fre frome his M^r S^r Valentyne he will execute the victuallinge of the said towne of Barwyck no longer than Mydsomer next. Wherof I thought I could doo no les but advertise yo^r. ho : that some farther order maye be taken therin as yo^r. Ll : shall thinke convenient.

Wheras I receyved yo^r ho : fre beringe date IXth of Maye to have conferance wth such gentlemen of my Wardenrye as are inclined to good orders and of best Judgement and Secrecye, I have doon accordinge to yo^r Ll : comaundement therin And the opinion ys that there are sondrye cawses whye that the borders are not so well furnished wth horsemen as theye have beine before tymes.

The fyrst is that thanks be to God we have had so longe Peace longe peace that the Inhabitants here fall to tillage of gronde so that they have not delight to be in horse and armore as theye have when the wordle y^s troublesome. And that w^{ch} they were wont to bestowe in horse they nowe bestowe in cattell other-

wayes yet notwth standinge whensoever the wordle graveth ..anye thinge
troublesome or unquiet theye will bestowe all theye have rather then they
will want horses.

An other cawse y^s that the most parte of all the good horses of theis
partes of Englande that are bowght at Mawten fayre
The conveyeng and Ryppon fayre are brought into the west Marches
of horses into and there open sale made of them into Scoteland I
Scoteland. remember I spake to my L. Treasurer therin a longe
tyme since and his ho: wrote down ires to the Justices
of peace wthin Yorkshire to take the markes of the horses bowght there
And the byers name And to advertise the wardens thereof to th entent
they should not pas their m'ches wthowte knowledge w^{ch} notwthstanding
ys used dayly contrarye wise.

The thyrd cawse y^s that otherwise then hath beine accustomed in the
frontors, ther is leases taken daylye So that the Tennant
The excessive oftentimes takes y^t at the Seconde or thyrd hand. And
fynes. wheras the fyrst taker payeth two or three yeres fyne
the Tennant payeth ix or x yeres w^{ch} is ther utter
undoinge. This matter doth not consist onlye in the Queynes Ma^{ties}
Tennants here but also in the Tennants of noblemen and gentlemen for
they take suche gersom'es and enhauncements of rents that the pore
Tennants are not able to kepe hors and armore as they have doon before
tyme.

The fowrth y^s that when any Inhabitant here hath gotten anye Interest
in a Tent beinge scant sufficient for the menteignance
The devision of of one pson yf he chaunce to dye having two sonnes he
y^e tenements. devydeh the said Tent betwixt them bothe and thus
the taverninge of the Queynes land ys hinderance for
kepinge of hors and armor.

Wheres men are so geven to trouble and often tymes those of the porer
sorte that yf theye cannot get that w^{ch} they desyre
Contention by and are satesfyed withall at Yorke, they will forthwth
lawe. repaire to London for trefling matters w^{ch} ys a great
Impoverishinge of the Contrie w^{ch} in o^r Opinions were
a cheritable deade that there were some reformacon therin.

So that in o^r opinions consideringe that the Queynes Ma^{ties} doth not
charge the Contrie here wth taxes or subsidies as other Contries are a
generall Comaundement cominge frome her Ma^{tie} or
The Remedy: her highnes privie Counsell both to the noble men and
gentlemen here to favo^r their tennants as their Auncetors
have doon before tyme for defence of the frontors, and to geve in certifi-
cate to the Wardens what nnumber of horsemen they are able to make
shall put them in more terror then ordinarie comaundements that comes
frome the Wardens, And so I humbly take my leave At barwyck this
vjth of June, 1575.

Yo^r hono^{rs} humbly to comaunde,

JOHN FOSTER.

APPENDIX IV.

Northumbrian Village Communities.

The opinion expressed in the text is that the townships of Northumberland were original units of land tenure and represent ancient communities holding land in common. In proof of this it is necessary to show how the land was held by the township and how it passed into separate ownership. The partition deed of the township of Embleton may serve as an example. I give it in full :—

“To all people to whom these presents shall come Thomas Wood of ffalodon in the County of Northumberland Esq^r Major Algood of Brandon in the said County Gent^l. John Doubleday of Alnwick Abbey in the said County Gent^l. William Cook of Brainshaugh in the said County Gent. and Edward Haggston of Ellingham in the said County Esq^r send Greeting, Whereas the R^t Hon^{bl}. Charles Earl of Tankerville Richard Witton of Lupsett in the County of York Esq^r George Darling of Embleton in the said County of Northumberland yeoman Ralph Christon of the same yeom Robert Christon of the same yeoman Thomas Wood and John Wood both of Embleton aforesaid yeoman and Joan Darling of Embleton aforesaid Widdow are severally seized of the severall Farms Cottages and part of Farms in the Township fields precincts and territories of Embleton aforesaid hereafter particularly mentioned (that is to say) the said Charles Earl of Tankerville of sixteen Farms and one half of a Farm and eight Cottages or Coatlands the said Richard Witton of two farms the said Grace Darling of one Farm and Eleaven Twelve parts of another Farm the said Ralph Christon of one Farm and Eleaven Twelve parts of another Farm the said Robert Christon of one Sixth part of a Farm the said Thomas Wood and John Wood of one Farm the said Jean Darling of one Farm, And whereas the Premises above mentioned lye promiscus in Com'on Fields undivided And whereas Dr. Blossiers Tovey Viccar of Embleton aforesaid is seized in right of the Church of Embleton aforesaid of and in three Farms in Embleton aforesaid and as Trustee to a Charity School thereof a sixth part of a Farm And whereas there's a large Moor or Com'on belonging to the Townshipp of Embleton aforesaid, And whereas the said Charles Earl of Tankerville Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood Joan Darling and Dr. Blossiers Tovey have by Common Consent agreed to have all the said Farms parts of Farms and Coatland in Embleton aforesaid of which they are soe seized as aforesaid divided (except a parcell of ground called or known by the name of the East Field and which is part of the Lands belonging to the Vicarage of Embleton aforesaid which is to continue and be unto the said Dr. Blossiers Tovey and his successors as it's now) as it is now enjoyed by him so as a just and equal division and allotment should be had and made according to there respective Interests therein And also to have the said Moor or Com'on divided according to the respective Interests of the said parties therein And for that end by their Indenture Trepartite under their severall hands and seals and by them duely executed bearing date the twenty eight day of October last past have by mutual Consent and agreement Indifferently elected nominated appointed and Chosen the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John

Doubleday Edward Haggerston Com^{rs} or arbitrators to divide allott and set out in severally to the said owners of the said prmisses according to their respective Interests therein their several & respective shares proportions of & in the said prmisses so always as the said award order & determination of the said arbitrators of for and concerning the premisses mentioned in the said Indenture be duely executed on or before the fifteenth day of ffebruary next ensueing the date of the same Indenture as in and by the same Indenture amongst divers other matters and things therein contained whereunto relation being had more fully and at large it may and doth appear

Now know ye that the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John Doubleday William Cook and Edward Haggerston haveing pursueant to the said Election taken upon them the said division doe first allott and set out unto the said Dr. Blossiers Tovey in right of his Vicarage lands (over & besides the said East field) twenty acres two Roods and ten perches seituate in Embleton Town fields as dowelled or marked out and bounding on Dunston¹ grounds on or towards the south on the said East Field on or toward the East and on Embleton Innfield grounds on or towards the north and west and also to him (in trust for the said Charity School in Embleton aforesaid) five acres seituate also in Embleton town fields and lying next and adjoining to the school house in Embleton aforesaid.

Item the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John Doubleday William Cook and Edward Haggerston Do allott and set out unto the said Charles Earl of Tankerville for his said Cottages or Coatlands three Acres and three roods in Embleton Town Fields next and adjoining to and on the north side of the said Schoolhouse and lands above allotted.

Item the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John Doubleday William Cook and Edward Haggerston do allott and set out unto the said Dr. Blossiers Tovey in right of his said Vicarage Lands sixty eight acres of the said Moor or Common bounding on Brunton¹ grounds on or towards the North on that part of Embleton Moor now called or distinguished by the Middle part on or towards the West on Embleton Inn field grounds on or towards the South and that part of Embleton Moor hereafter mentioned to be allotted to the said Earl of Tankerville for his cottages on or towards the East.

Item the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John Doubleday and William Cook and Edward Haggerston do allott and set out the remainder of the Infield grounds of Embleton aforesaid and of the said Moor (not yet allotted or set out) except the said Eastfield into three equal parts or divisions and now called and distinguished by the several names of the west part the middle part and the east part as they are now severally marked out or dowelled out the west part containing five hundred and thirty two acres and bounding on Dunston and Stamford¹ grounds on or towards the south and south east on Rock¹ grounds on or towards the west and on the middle part on or towards the north and north east. The middle part containing six hundred and one acres bounding on the said west part on or towards the south and south west on ffallodon grounds on or towards the north and north west on that part of the said

¹ The adjacent townships are Dunstan, Stamford, Rock, Newton and Falldon, whose boundaries are necessary for the allotment.

above allotted to the said Dr. Blossiers Tovey and to the said Earl of Tankerville for his said Cottages or Coatlands on or towards the north and on Embleton Innfield grounds and part of the said moor on or towards the east the east part containing five hundred and thirty-three acres bounding on the middle part on or towards the west on Newton grounds and that part of the said Moor allotted to the said Cottages or Coatlands on the north and north-west on a part of ground called the Newbiggin and also on the sea on or towards the east and on Dunston Steed grounds and the said Eastfield belonging to the said Viccarage on or towards the south We do allot and set out unto the said Charles Earl of Tankerville the said west and east parts and unto the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood & Joan Darling the said middle part and whereas the number of Farms and parts of Farms of the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood & Joan Darling before this Division consisted of twelve acres more than the like number of Farms and parts of farms which the said Earl of Tankerville . . . as good in quality We therefore do allot & set out unto the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood and Joan Darling the said twelve acres out of that part of the said east part allotted and set out unto the said Earl of Tankerville as lyes next and adjoining upon the said middle part so allotted and set out unto the said Richard Witton Grace Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood and Joan Darling.

Item the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John Doubleday William Cook and Edward Haggerston do order and award that the said Charles Earl of Tankerville shall erect and build or cause to be erected and built and for ever after maintained and kept in good repair one moiety or half part of a Dike or Hedge to separate and divide his said allotments of the premisses from the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood and Joan Darling their said allotment of the premisses and also from the said Dr. Blossiers Toveys allotment and that the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood and Joan Darling shall erect and build or cause to be erected and built and for ever after maintained and kept in good repair a moiety of the Dike or Hedge to separate and divide their said allotment of the premisses from the said Charles Earl of Tankerville and also from the said Dr. Blossiers Tovey and that the said Dr. Blossiers shall erect and build or cause to be erected and built and for ever after maintained and kept in good repair a moiety of the Dike or Hedge to separate and divide his said allotment of the Premises from the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon, Thomas Wood John Wood and Joan Darling their said allotment and also from the said Charles Earl of Tankerville.

In Witness whereof we have hereunto said our hands and seals the Thirteenth Day of february in the fourth year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain &c anno Dom. 1730.

Thomas Wood. Major Allgood. John Doubleday.
William Cook. Edward Haggerston.

Endorsement.

We whose names are underwritten being the within mentioned Commissioners do Certify that tho' the Lands within mentioned and given by the said written award to Dr. Tovey only, without any notice being taken of his successors and tho' no mention be made y^t he y^e s^d Dr. Tovey is likewise to enjoy to him and his successors two small butts of Land belonging to the Right Hon^{ble} Earl of Tankerville and which is bounded on the east west and north sides of the Viccarage East Field and on the south by Dunster land; and tho' no part of the moor whatever by this written award allotted to him y^e s^d Dr. Tovey in trust for the Charity School of Embleton It was our intention and agreement nevertheless at the day and time within mentioned that the said Dr. Tovey should enjoy the said Lands to him and his successors, and also the said two Butts of Lands, as also three acres and a half of the said moor lying at the foot of the Cadger Ways and bounded by Fallodon in the west George Darling on the east Thomas Wood on the south and Joan Darling on the north in trust for the said School and that such omissions proceeded only from the Clerk who reduced our award to writing. We do likewise further order and award that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the within mentioned Earl of Tankerville and Joan Darling their heirs and assigns to pass and repass with their Corn and Hay to and from their present stack garths by the most usuall and convenient ways; any alterations that may have been made in them by the Division notwithstanding.

Major Allgood.
 Thomas Wood.
 John Doubleday.
 William Cook.
 Edward Haggerston.

An extract from the Terrier of the parish Church of Edlingham, dated 1681, shows how in earlier times the rights of the freeholders were invaded by great landowners:

"One full fifth part of the South Demesne of Edlingham aforesaid did of right belong to the said Vicaridge, but the late S^r John Swinburn refusing to allow thereof, the said late Vicar Ralph Carr continued a suite and recovered the same in or about the years 1663 or 1664, and after it was recovered the said late Vicar and the late Sir John Swinburn did agree to refer the matter then in difference to Ralphe Clavering late of Collowle in the s^d county esq^r & Thomas Burrell late of Broompark in the s^d county gent^l now both dece^d.

"As also the eighth stint throughout the whole North Demesne which did belong to the said Vicar in lieu of the said Sir John Swinburn and Vicar did agree that the s^d two arbitraters should sett of a piece of ground for the said Vicar in lieu of the said eighth stint. And s^d arbitraters did sett of a piece in lieu thereof which goes by the name of the Hutt, and the late Vicar Ralph Carr enjoyed the same in lieu of the s^d eighth stint through the s^d North Demesne.

"And the s^d Arbitraters alsoe ordered the s^d late Sir John Swinburn should pay or cause to be paid unto the said late Vicar and his successors yearly and every year Three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence in lieu of the s^d fifth part of s^d South Demesne, the same to be paid half-yearly at Whitsuntide and Martinmas which said s^{um} of three Pounds six-

shillings and eight-pence was after received by the said late Vicar during his Life and since his decease by the present Vicar Carr and his Tenuants, as the same became half yearly due. But there was noe award made by the said Arbitraters in Writing nor confirmed by the Bishop."

The rights which the Vicar alienated for the yearly payment of £3 6s. 8d. are described in a terrier of 1663: "every fifth Ridge in a field called the South Domayne of Edlingham, but wrongfully and forcibly detayned from the Church ever since the late Troubles began in England." It would seem that Sir John Swinburn took the opportunity afforded by the Great Rebellion to deny the rights of the Vicar, who only recovered them after a suit. In his old age, when weary of the contest, he was persuaded to submit the question to arbitration. The arbitrators were two neighbouring landowners who did all they could for Sir John Swinburn, and were so ashamed of themselves that they never even reduced their decision to writing. The old Vicar was left to the mercy of Sir John Swinburn. His claims had probably not brought him much income for some time past, and he was satisfied with a money payment, which was probably soon discontinued; at all events there is no trace of it at present. If a freeholder so important as the Vicar was thus dealt with by the great landowners what must have been the treatment of the smaller freeholders?

The great source of information respecting the land tenure of the Northumbrian townships is the evidence collected in a Chancery Suit, Attorney General *v.* Trevelyan, which was tried in the years 1846-48. The voluminous evidence in this suit has been put in my hands, and I make a few selections which may be of general interest. The history of the suit is as follows—

On the dissolution of the Monasteries the lands of the great Abbey of Newminster passed into the hands of the Crown. Part of them were granted by Edward VI for the foundation and maintenance of a Grammar School at Morpeth. The lands so granted were the lands belonging to a Chantry of S. Giles which lay in the township of Netherwitton. In the Particular for Grants, 5 Edward VI they are thus described.
Nuper Cantaria Sancti Egidii fundata in Capella de Wyttonne in parochia de Hartborne in comitatu Northumbriæ.

Terræ et tenementa cum pertinentibus dictæ nuper Cantariæ
Sancti Egidii.

Firma unius tenementi cum pertinentibus in Nether-	
weton in tenura Johannis Smythe	per annum xiiij ^s
Firma unius tenementi cum pertinentibus in Nether-	
weton prædicta in tenura Thomæ Potts	per annum xiiij ^s
Firma unius tenementi cum pertinentibus in Nether-	
weton in tenura Alexandri Anson	per annum xiiij ^s
Firma unius tenementi ibidem cum pertinentibus in	
tenura Johannis Rogerson	per annum xij ^s
Firma unius vastæ ibidem cum pertinentibus in tenura	
Richardi Snawdone	per annum x ^s

These lands were granted to the Bailiff and burgesses of Morpeth and their successors to the use of a School. They were leased by the burgesses of Morpeth to the Thorntons, who were lords of the Manor of Netherwitton. These leases generally ran for periods of twenty-one years, till in 1685 a lease was granted to Nicholas Thornton for a period of five hundred years

at a yearly rent of forty-five pounds. In 1710 the Master of the School at Morpeth was discontented with this arrangement, and instituted a Chancery suit to have it set aside or amended. The difficulty lay in discovering what part of the lands of the township of Netherwiton belonged to the Grammar School of Morpeth. At the time of the original grant the lands in the township lay promiscuous and undivided. Since then the Thorntons had acquired all the lands which belonged to the ancient freeholders and had leased the lands which belonged to the Grammar School. There were no boundary marks or divisions of any kind ; there was no means of determining the extent of the possessions of the School. Luckily, however, a clue had been accidentally preserved. Nicholas Thornton was a Roman Catholic, and his lands, owing to his recusancy, were subject to double taxes. This fact led to a separate taxation of the lands of the Morpeth School, according to the principles stated by his farm steward in an affidavit sworn in the case, Attorney General *v.* Radcliffe, 1710 :—

“The township lands of Netherwiton during all the time of this Deponents being the said Nicholas Thornton’s servant and living under him were computed and reckoned to consist of nineteen farmes and one half farme, and saith that five farmes and one halfe farme thereof were then usually assessed and taxed in the Land Taxes at the single rate or tax as belonging to the said Grammar School in Morpeth, when as at the same time the other lands there belonging to the said Nicholas Thornton Esq^r were assessed and taxed at the double rate or tax for his being a Romish Recusant.”

Much evidence was given of the same kind, and the result was that the rent of the School lands in the township of Netherwiton was raised from £45 to £100. This sum continued to be paid without further question till the records of this suit came accidentally to light in 1844, and a new suit was instituted for the purpose of securing for the School lands a rent more in proportion to the increased value of land since the decision of 1710. This suit was brought forward just in time to save from oblivion a mass of evidence about the ancient meaning of the word *farm* as denoting a unit of tenure of undivided lands in a township. I quote as an instance the affidavit of Robert Coxon of Morpeth, who was born in 1778, and was in the employment of a solicitor in Morpeth who died in 1826 at the age of seventy-one. He consequently represents a far reaching memory of legal matters. He says :—

“In former times the word *farm* was used in many parts of this county to express and was an aliquot part in value of a township, being one of several portions of land of which a township consisted, each one of such portions having originally been of equal value, and in particular I believe that it was so used in the parish of Hartburn in the said county. And I know that prior to the year 1805 nearly the entire township of North Middleton in the said parish of Hartburn was undivided, both tillage and pasture ground being occupied in common, each proprietor’s share and interest being estimated by the number of antient farms or parts of a farm of which his land was known to consist. And in the year 1805, in consequence of a deed of agreement entered into by and between the said landowners in the said township the lands therein were allotted and set apart, such allotment and division being made according to the number of ancient farms or part or the parts of a farm which belonged to

each landowner, that being the only criterion by which the proportion of each owner's interest in the said land could be ascertained, and that in such division each farm was regarded as of equal value. All the business relating to the said allotment having passed through my hands I am well acquainted with the above mentioned facts and circumstances."

A few more particulars may be added about the township of North Middleton mentioned in the above affidavit.

(1). An Indenture of feoffment, March 27, 28 Charles II (1676) conveys "One quarter or fourth part of one farme and halfe a farme the said farme and halfe a farme into fower partes equally to be divided situate and being within the township fields precincts and territories of North Middleton."

(2). An Indenture of release, April 15, 1766 conveys in fee "all the messuages with a garden behind the same and all the several pieces or parcels of arable land meadow and pasture ground thereunto belonging, lying dispersedly in the several fields precincts and territories of North Middleton."

(3). William Davison of Middleton Mill testifies July 21, 1847. "From the time I first came into the township the poor rates were assessed and paid at so much per ancient farm, not so much in the pound, each farm paying the same sum, and every fractional part of a farm a sum in proportion thereto. For the last twenty-four years I have always been one of the overseers of the poor of the said township, and have received and paid the poor rates when assessed in manner aforesaid. The poor rates were first assessed upon the annual value of the hereditaments and tenements in the said township about ten years ago."

(4). North Middleton township was included in the Barony of Morpeth Castle. The following is an extract from the "Courtleet of the Barony of Morpeth Castle with its members," held Oct. 5, 1714.

"It's found by the Jury that Joseph Yellowly of Carter moor marry'd Jane Jameson, and in right of his wife the said Jane Jameson is become seised and possessed of a third parte of a farme in North Middleton within the jurisdiction of this Court, and held of the lord of this manor by suite of court and the certain yearly rent of and that the said Joseph Yellowly is admitted tenant accordingly."

These extracts, taken together, give materials for the continuous history of a township.

I pass on to give instances of evidence which shows the traces of this ancient system of land tenure by curious survivals of institutions deriving from it.

The records of the Church books show that contributions to parochial purposes were assessed upon each township in proportion to the number of ancient farms, and this in times long subsequent to the division of the lands of the township, and long after the old meaning of the word farm had been forgotten.

Let me take a typical instance. The parish of Earsdon consisted of eight townships, which in the Church books appear as follows:

Newsham	6 farms, $\frac{1}{2}$ farms and $\frac{1}{6}$ of a farm.
Seaton Delaval	11 farms.
Hartley	9 farms.
Backworth	10 farms.
Earsdon	8 farms.

Seghill	10 farms.
Burradon	5 farms.
Holywell	6 farms, $\frac{1}{2}$ farms and $\frac{1}{6}$ of a farm,

making in all $66\frac{1}{3}$ farms. Each of these farms so lately as the year 1847 paid to the Vicar 6s. 8d. per annum. Until the year 1841 Church rates were assessed at so much per farm.

In the year 1841 the Vestry resolved that the Church rates should be paid upon the £ rental or actual value of the lands. The Vestry of the parish of Earsdon, like that of all the ancient parishes of Northumberland, consisted of a body of Four and Twenty, who were appointed by co-optation. A few extracts from the records of the proceedings of this body will show how parochial business was managed :

May 5. 1697. It is this day ordered by the major part of the four and twenty at the Chapelry of Earsdon that an assessment be levy'd on the said parish at the rate of five shillings p farm for and towards the repairing of the said Church or Chapell to be levyed and collected by the churchwardens for the time being at or before the thirtieth day of this present month.

Nov: 14. 1715. It is this day ordered by the major part of the four and twenty of this parish that an assessment of ten shillings a farm for the repairs of the Parsonage house and other incident expenses of the said Parish, and that the Churchwardens do take care to levy the same immediately.

March 7. 1744. At an appointed meeting of the four and twenty it is agreed that an assessment of two shillings and sixpence p farm be immediately collected towards defraying ye charge of ye parish for the year 1743.

April 20. 1840. At a meeting of the Minister Churchwardens Four and Twenty and principal inhabitants of the parish held in the Vestry room this day, It was agreed that an assessment of sixteen shillings per farm on the $66\frac{1}{3}$ farms in the said parish be collected to defray the expenses of the preceding year.

In many other parishes the entries are equally explicit ; but in some they are more obscure, because the older books have disappeared and the more modern ones quote the old phraseology, after the old schedules, to which it originally referred, have disappeared. These Church books contain orders, "That the book of the rates," or "double the book of the rates be laid on." In these cases the "book of the rates" copied at the beginning of the vestry book merely has the names of individuals and a certain sum set against them. There can be no doubt that this corresponds to the number of farms, from each of which an average annual payment had been found by experience to cover current expenses. In other cases these nominal sums are called "Ancients" or "Ancient rents." I believe that a careful search in Church books would bring many more instances to light.

But I leave these doubtful cases and return to the townships where the farms were undoubtedly recognised as the units of land tenure. Not only were Church rates paid upon the farms, but in many cases there were in this century customary payments made to the parish clerk by the owners of these ancient reputed farms. Thus in Netherwiton in 1830 the parish clerk received fourpence per annum from each of the $40\frac{1}{2}$ farms contained in the parish. In the parish of Warkworth the clerk received one shilling and sixpence, and the sexton ninepence a year from each

farm, till the year 1842 when the Vestry resolved, "That the Clerk and Sexton respectively should receive out of the Church rates certain fixed stipends on consenting not to collect or claim the sums to which they were customarily entitled." The Church books of Warkworth also contain a resolution of the Vestry in 1826 that the wall enclosing the Churchyard should be rebuilt, the owner of each farm building two yards in length of it. "An account of what each township repairs of the Church wall being at two yards per farm, beginning at the North East corner and so round."

Again in other townships old rate books shew that poor rates were at one time assessed on the basis of farms. Thus in the township of North Seaton the assessment of Church rates on farms ceased in the year 1746; but the assessment of poor rates remained on the ancient basis down to the year 1831. I append an extract from a rate book of 1829.

1829. Feb : 12.	W ^m Watson esq.	1 farm at £1 5 per farm	1	5	0
	W. J. Straker	4	-	5	0
	John Sanderson	3½	-	4	7
	John Swan	3	-	3	15
	Jas. Ogle	1½	-	1	17
	W ^m Ogle	1½	-	1	17
	James Haggup	1½	-	1	17
<hr/>			<hr/>		
	16	at £1 5	-	20	0

There are also instances of land tax and fee farm rents paid upon the basis of farms and so stipulated in indentures of release. Finally divisions of commons show that in some cases the ancient basis of farms was employed even when the lands had been already enclosed and divided. It is noticeable that the desire for a division of lands was felt earlier in some townships than in others, but this division of lands did not obliterate at once the old state of things. Thus in the township of Burradon there were formerly two parcels of unenclosed lands, called the South Side and the North Side, the first of which was divided about the year 1723 and the latter about the year 1773. Upon both such divisions each freeholder had appointed to him a part of the common in proportion to the number of ancient farms of which his enclosed lands consisted. Even after this final division the old assessment did not pass away. Up to the year 1827 the poor rates and highway rates were assessed at so much per farm and not so much per pound.

I have now indicated the nature of the evidence by which the existence of Northumbrian townships as Village Communities holding land in common may be established. The evidence itself which at present has come into my hands enables me to determine the number of ancient farms into which forty-eight of the Northumbrian townships were formerly divided. I have little doubt that a more extended investigation would very largely increase that number.

These forty-eight townships are as follows: I have added the size of the farms calculated on the acreage size of the townships.

<i>Parish of Earsdon</i>	<i>No. of farms.</i>	<i>Area of each farm.</i>
Newsham containing ...	6½ and ½ farms	153 acres.
Seaton Delaval ...	11	214
Hartley ...	9	155

Backworth	...	10	...	144
Earsdon	...	8	...	153
Seghill	...	10	...	136
Burradon	...	5	...	100
Holywell	...	$6\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{5}$		
<i>Parish of Kirk Whelpington.</i>				
West Whelpington	...	19	...	205
<i>Parish of Bothal.</i>				
Longhirst	...	$12\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{2}{5}$	...	132
<i>Parish of Woodhorn.</i>				
North Seaton	...	16	...	87
<i>Parish of Rothbury.</i>				
Whitton	...	8	...	79
Snitter	...	21	...	50
<i>Parish of Alwinton.</i>				
Burradon	...	18	...	80
Sharperton	...	11	...	153
<i>Parish of Elsdon.</i>				
Rochester	...	27	...	817
Toughend	...	24	...	1083
Otterburn	...	27	...	315
Woodside	...	17	...	350
Monkridge	...	15	...	360
<i>Parish of Hartburn.</i>				
North Middleton	...	14	...	75
<i>Parish of Whalton.</i>				
Newburn	...	12	...	108
Riplington	...	3	...	125
Ogle	...	$14\frac{1}{2}$	...	142
Whalton	...	$18\frac{1}{4}$	...	110
<i>Parish of Bedlington.</i>				
<i>Parish of Tynemouth.</i>				
Chirton	...	8	...	223
Monkseaton	...	10	...	120
Murton	...	4	...	130
Preston	...	5	...	300
Whitley	...	5	...	103
<i>Parish of Netherwitton.</i>				
Netherwitton	...	$19\frac{1}{2}$	...	356
Coatyards	...	21	...	117
<i>Parish of Warkworth</i>				
Morwick	...	6	...	123
Togston	...	12	...	84
Acklington	...	18	...	106
Hauxley	...	10	...	71
Walkmill	...	1	...	120
Grange	...	8	...	135
Amble	...	14	...	81
Broadridge	...	3		
Spittle and Lower Buston		13		
Warkworth	...	10	...	99
Buston	...	8		

Birtley	...	10	
East Chevington	...	14	... 156
West Chevington	...	12	... 161
Hadstone	...	8	... 130

In some Church books the phrase "plough or ploughland" alternates with "farm"; but "farm" is by far the commonest expression.

Regarding the relation of these ancient farms to the lords of the manor I give the following extracts from Manor rolls:

(1). The manor of Tynemouth contained several farms which were of copyhold tenure; each of which paid to the lord 2s. 6d. per farm for "boon days" or "days work money," and 32 bushels of bigg or barley and 16 bushels of oats. The following is an example of the records of the Court Baron.

"Manerium de Tynemouth. You are to enquire what copyhold lands farms and tenements Ralph Grey of Backworth Esq dyed seized and possessed of within the manor of Tynemouth aforesaid and who is the next heir to the same according to the custom of this manor and as you find present under my hand this 17th day of Aprill anno D'ni 1700.

We find that the said Ralph Grey dyed possessed of eight severall copyhold farms and one half a farm with the appurtenances situated lying and being in Backworth aforesaid and also of and in one copyhold farm or ten^t with the appurtenances situate and lying and being in Preston and also of and in one third part of two copyhold or customary tenements in Earsdon and also of and in one quarter of one customary tenement or farmhold in Monkseaton and also of and in eight stints or beast gates in Billy Milne moor, and that W^m Grey of Backworth Esq^r is the next heir of the said Ralph Grey to all the aforesaid copyhold lands or customary farmholds."

(2.) The Call book of the Court Baron of the Barony of Morpeth contains all the freeholders within the barony headed by the Duke of Newcastle for lands in Shilington, Twizell and Saltwich, as well as the owners of the manors of Netherwiton and Wallington who are subject to an annual payment and owe suit and service. A few extracts are interesting:

"Chief court and Court leet of the barony and Castle of Morpeth with its members held the 6th day of October 1724 before John Aynesley seneschall of the said Court:

"You are to enquire for and on behalfe of the lord of this mannor of how many farmes the tounship of Ulgham now consists and how many farmes there do belong to the said lord of this mannor and who are or is owner or owners of the other farm or farms and whether any or what part of the said tounshippe belongs to George Lawson, Gent. You are also to enquire what part and share of that parcell of ground lying in Ulgham aforesaid called the east part of the Whins doth belong to the said George Lawson.

"Upon the oath of Gawen Robinson of Ulgham aforesaid aged eighty years and upwards We doe find that the tounship of Ulgham now and formerly consisted of twenty four farmes and that twenty three farmes thereof did and doe and time beyond memory have belonged to the lord of this manor and his ancestors And that one farm only in the said tounship now doth and formerly did belong to the said George Lawson and his ancestor And we find that about forty years ago a parcell of

ground in Ulgham called the Whins was divided into three parts two pts of which were entirely allotted to the said Lord or his ancestor and that seven parts of the other third part thereof called the east part doth of right belong to the Lord of this manor And that the other eighth part thereof (two ridges belonging to the Church being taken out of the whole eight parts) doth belong to the said George Lawson of which eight parts one ridge lyeing on the west side of the freehold by and on the south side of the said town being taken to be a part of the said George Lawson's said eighth part and that noe other or greater part thereof doth belong to the said George Lawson."

In the Court baron of 1732 is an entry :

"Whereas Jane Swann of Longhorseley widow dy'd seized of one farne and a halfe of land situate lying and being in Longhorseley aforesaid within the barony having an estate for life and after her decease the said farm and a halfe descended to Robert Potts in right of his wife William Dobson in right of his wife and George Moore who purchast a fourth part of the said farne and a halfe of John Lawson whereby they the said Robert Potts William Dobson and George Moore are become severally seized and legally intituled to three parts of the said farne and a halfe within the jurisdiction of this court paying an antient yearly free rent of 6d. to the Rt. Honoble the Earle of Carlisle Lord of the Mannor and suite of court having severally paid their fees are admitted tenants accordingly for three parts of the said farne and a halfe."

In 1733 there is a similar record of admission to a fourthe part and a halfe a farm in North Middleton on payment of an "antient yearly quit rent the sum of three half pence."

(3). Newbiggin by the sea is a small fishing village with a rude harbour. The following facts are known about its past history. In 1240 the manor of Newbiggin was held by John de Baliol, whose estates were granted by Edward I to the Earl of Brittany and Richmond, to whom in 1308 was made a grant of market and fair at Newbiggin. In 1319 Edward II made a grant "bailivis et probis hominibus de Newbiggin" of tolls on ships for the purpose of repairing their pier. In 1326 the lands of the Earl of Richmond were seized by the Crown, and in 1335 the King granted Newbiggin to John de Denton, who was mayor of Newcastle in 1336. Denton conveyed to the Widdrington family in 1343. In their hands the manor of Newbiggin remained till the forfeiture of William 4th Lord Widdrington after the rebellion of 1715. His estates were purchased of the Crown by the Governor and Company of Undertakers for raising the Thames Water in York Buildings. The purchasers filed a bill in Chancery to establish their rights as Lords of Manor, which was stoutly resisted by the freeholders. The following extracts are taken from the proceedings in the suit "Gregory v. Pattinson," instituted in 1733.

The freeholders of Newbiggin assert "that the township of Newbiggin hath for all the time of their remembrance been distinguished by whole Freeholds and half Freeholds"; that Newbiggin Common has been stinted by them in proportion to their Freeholds: that there are certain rocks adjoining the said stinted pasture which extend to low water mark, and they insist that these rocks belong to the said Freeholders. They have constantly and in the most open manner rode the boundaries thereof down to low water mark and have won and got limestones and freestones forth of the same; they have gathered seaweed from the said rocks and have had payment from others to whom they have granted liberty of cutting seaweed.

They have constantly received anchorage money and have converted to their respective use such shipwrecks as have been driven ashore within the boundaries of the township. They payed no quit rent to Lord Widdrington or his ancestors ; but there was a fee farm rent of £10 1s. payable to the heirs of Edward Noell, Esq^r. issuing of the several freehold lands at Newbiggin and payable in certain proportions amongst themselves.

They go on to say "The Widdrington family being a very opulent family and having numbers of people within their influence by reason of several beneficial farms at Woodhorn and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Newbiggin, some of which were let to some of the freeholders at Newbiggin at very low rents, and the ancestors of the late Lord Widdrington having a desire to lay a foundation of a future claim to the said Newbiggin Common as a place from whence several considerable benefits might be reaped, did about sixty years ago first take upon themselves to hold a Court at Newbiggin and did prevail upon such of the Freeholders at Newbiggin as were their dependants and friends to appear at such pretended Court and did prevail upon them to accept admittances upon pretence that the same were only copies of their entrances in the Court Rolls as tenants at the Lord's Court. But the said several persons afterwards finding that by these means attempts were formed to make them copy holders and to subject them to fines and the bondages to which Copyhold estates are by law subjected the said several persons utterly declined and refused to appear any more at the said pretended courts and accordingly the said pretended Court was dropt and hath been declined not only since the year 1715 but for some time before."

A few extracts from the Freeholders' books show how they exercised their privileges.

"*Constabells* for the year 1730.

Ephraim Johnson) and they are to take care of the pinfold belonging to
Joseph Payevett) the town and the pinfold in the moor be kept in
sufficient repare.

Comen Dryevers for the year 1730 is

Robert Dawson

Ralph Smeth.

Ale tasters and bred wuers for the year 1730 is

John Pattson

Thomas Johnson

and they are to heave att every Alle house in the town won quartt."

1731. The freeholders agree to pay one shilling a freehold to defend their "rites and priveliges."

1744. "Whereas there is some Freeholders who does not contribute towards the Chancery suit now depending, we the said freeholders do agree that the said Constables or any other freehold shall impound the s^d freeholders cattle or horses grazing upon the common or Town pasture till such time the payment be made, and if they will not pay up their proportion we the said freehold does agree that these agressors shall forfeit and loose their rights and properties belonging to the said Town of Newbiggin."

1757. Ordered that John Swan of Linefield is to pay one guinea p wain for loading ware or sea-weed.

Mr. Cresswell is to pay £2 2 for liberty of keeping lobsters in the Rocks or sands belongs to the Township.

1762. Ordered that the Constable weigh all butter and bread that shall be offered for sale in s^d township.

Similar entries are found up to the date of 1829.