

THE HONOUR OF TUTBURY
IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

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CHAPTER IIntroduction.

The Honour of Tutbury comprised the group of estates in Staffordshire and Derbyshire which were granted to Henry Ferrers by William the Conqueror. The Honour remained the hereditary Ferrers estate for nearly two centuries before Robert Ferrers, Earl of Derby, took part in the baronial rebellion against Henry III. In May 1266 he was defeated in battle, and his lands, goods and chattels were forfeit to the Crown. In June Henry, anxious to compensate his second son, Edmund, for the lost kingdom of Sicily and Naples, granted him the Honour in fee⁽¹⁾.

Successive confirmation grants after June, 1266, reduced Edmund's rights in the Honour. Terms laid down for the return of their estates to the Disinherited in the Dictum of Kenilworth of October, 1266, should have included the Honour of Tutbury. However, by means of some sharp practice Edmund managed to keep the estate⁽²⁾. When Ferrers was released from prison by the King, Edmund took him, more or less a prisoner, to Cippenham, and forced him to agree to fullfill almost impossible conditions before regaining the Honour. When these conditions were not fullfilled, Edmund retained the Honour. These disreputable negotiations were conveniently forgotten, and it came to be accepted that Edmund and his heirs held the Honour by right of the original grant in fee

of June 1266.

The principal Staffordshire manors included in the original grant, and held in demesne by Edmund, were Tutbury, Rolleston, Marchington, Uttoxeter, Barton-under-Needwood and Agardsley. A very valuable addition to the Staffordshire part of the Honour was made in 1267, when the King granted to Edmund the manor and borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme⁽³⁾. In 1279 Edmund surrendered his Welsh estates to the King, and received in return two Derbyshire manors, Ashbourne and Wirksworth, and the Wapentake of Wirksworth⁽⁴⁾. By this date Edmund held about eighteen manors in demesne in this county, including, in addition to Ashbourne and Wirksworth, Duffield, Belper and Hartington.

By the end of the thirteenth century the Honour of Tutbury was only one unit in the vast complex of estates which formed the Earldom of Lancaster. The Honour of Leicester, formerly held by Simon de Montfort had been granted to Edmund in 1265⁽⁵⁾. In 1267 he had received the Honour and county of Lancaster⁽⁶⁾, and become Earl of Lancaster. This title, not associated, like the Earldoms of Leicester and Derby, with rebellion, was adopted for Edmund and his estates. By the end of the thirteenth century the Earl held land in many counties in England, but his territorial position was strongest in the north and the north midlands. The marriage of Edmund's son and heir, Thomas, to Alice de

Lacy, meant that on the death of Alice's father the whole de Lacy estate would be united with the Earldom of Lancaster. This happened in 1311, and strengthened the Earldom especially in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

The administrative system of this vast estate had been described elsewhere⁽⁷⁾, and only a brief summary of the administrative structure of the Honour of Tutbury will be given here. The basis of this system was provided by the manorial reeves, the bailiffs of franchises, and the receivers of the forest wards. These officers collected rents and farms, the perquisites of courts and customary payments from the manors, bailliwicks and wards, and saw to necessary repairs on the manors and wards. The ward receivers were helped by parkers, and the manorial reeves occasionally by haleswayns, but only reeves and ward receivers drew up annual accounts. The Earl's stock was kept on a completely non-manorial basis, in the charge of stockkeepers, who also drew up annual accounts. In charge of the two forests on the Honour were Master-Foresters, who besides supervising the ward receivers drew up accounts dealing exclusively with deer and timber.

All these officers paid their surplus receipts to the main financial official on the Honour, the Receiver of Tutbury. Sometimes payments were made direct to the central authorities of the Earldom, but most receipts leaving the Honour had first passed through the hands of the Receiver of

Tutbury. Before paying money to the central authorities, the Receiver paid for extraordinary expenditure on the Honour, such as Castle repairs, paid the fees and wages of many officials, paid many annuities granted by the Earl and met many administrative costs, such as that of the annual audit. He paid his surplus receipts either to the Receiver-General at Kenilworth or direct to the Wardrober, the officer in charge of the Earl's household.

The Receiver of the Honour's account, like those of reeves, bailiffs, ward receivers, stockkeepers and Master-Foresters, was examined each year by two auditors who travelled round the main administrative centres of the Earldom, including Tutbury, for this purpose.

The Steward of the Honour, not principally a financial officer, did not draw up an account, but fulfilled general administrative, supervisory and, above all, judicial duties on the Honour. In theory he held all courts on the Honour, though in practice most of this work was carried out by deputies⁽⁸⁾.

The accounts of these officials form the principal sources for this study of the economic development of the estate in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Only a minority of these accounts, of course, have survived. A complete set for the accounting year Michelmas to Michelmas 1313-14, is of great value in revealing all aspects of the

Honour's economy at one date. However it is unique. No other comparable sets of accounts for the fourteenth century have survived. There are very few later stockkeepers' accounts and no later Master-Foresters' accounts. There are long gaps in the series of reeves', bailiffs' and ward receivers' accounts, especially for the Staffordshire part of the estate. The infrequency of these accounts for most of the fourteenth century is a severe handicap to a discussion of economic developments on the Honour at this period. There are, for example, no accounts for the middle years of the century, and consequently the effect of the Black Death on the Honour is very difficult to estimate. Another handicap is the fact that two of the most complete surviving sets of accounts for the first three-quarters of the fourteenth century are for abnormal years. One set is for 1321-2, but covers only the months from March to Michelmas when the Honour was in Crown hands. The second set is for 1361-2, the year of the death of Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, and excludes the period when the Honour was in the hands of the late Duke's executors.

For the late fourteenth century and for the whole of the fifteenth century the surviving accounts are much more regular. They include accounts for consecutive years for several short periods, which show year-by-year developments. There are, however, still long gaps in the accounts of certain

manors, including Ashbourne and Newcastle-under-Lyme.

The accounts are often detailed, and they provide a great deal of information about the economy of the estate. We can examine the organisation of the Earl's stock and dairy farming on the Honour, and trace, to a certain extent, the withdrawal of the Lancastrians from stock and dairy farming during the fourteenth century. In certain respects these accounts differ from most fourteenth century manorial accounts. The Earl of Lancaster had already withdrawn almost completely from direct arable farming by the beginning of the fourteenth century. Only the final stage of this withdrawal is revealed in these accounts. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries most of the Honour's resources were in the hands of tenants. Manorial reeves were principally rent-collectors. Their accounts record the changing values of rents and farms, but reveal very little detail about the organisation and methods of tenant farmers. Nevertheless much of interest emerges, and we can trace fluctuations in the demand for land, in the prosperity of industries such as cloth manufacture and coal mining and in the development of tenant pasture farming.

The accounts are supplemented by other manorial documents such as rentals and court rolls. These provide much information about the Honour's tenants which does not appear in the rentals, such as the size of tenant holdings and the

activity of the market in villein land. Only a few of the many rentals drawn up during the fourteenth century survive. The date of some of these is obscure and some are partially illegible. However a complete set of rentals for all the manors on the Honour, drawn up in 1414, and on which accounts were based for the rest of the fifteenth century, has survived. Court and wodemote rolls are infrequent for the first three-quarters of the fourteenth century, but copious for the late fourteenth century and the fifteenth century.

The accounts continue into the sixteenth century, but 1485, a year of administrative change, when Parliament vested the Duchy in Henry VII and his heirs, has been taken as the limit of this study.

The Honour changed hands many times during this period, but was never out of the hands of the Earls and Dukes of Lancaster for long. In March 1322, the whole Earldom, including the Honour, was forfeit to the Crown on the execution of Earl Thomas⁽⁹⁾. Henry, the brother and heir of the late Earl, retrieved the Earldom gradually. The Honour of Tutbury was granted to him at the King's pleasure in 1326⁽¹⁰⁾. In 1327 the judgement which had pronounced his brother a traitor was annulled, and Henry was completely reinstated in his inheritance⁽¹¹⁾.

The Earldom passed smoothly to Henry's son in 1345. The fourth Earl's military prowess was renowned, and in 1351

Edward III made him the second English Duke⁽¹²⁾. Duke Henry died in the outbreak of plague ten years later, leaving the Duchy to be shared between his two daughters, Blanche and Maud. Henry had enfeoffed part of the Duchy, including the Honour of Tutbury in his executors to give them funds to carry out the terms of his will, a practice followed by most Dukes during the next century. This enfeoffment was a short one, and the Honour had passed to Blanche before the end of the year. When her sister died without heir in 1362, Blanche inherited the rest of the Duchy. On her death in 1369 the Duchy remained in the hands of her husband, John of Gaunt. Their son, Henry, assumed the Duchy with the Crown in 1399.

Despite several temporary alienations the Honour remained as part of the Duchy in Crown hands throughout the fifteenth century. Newcastle-under-Lyme, Wirksworth, Ashbourne and the Soke of Wirksworth were included in the enfeoffment of Henry V, which lasted from his death in 1422 until 1442⁽¹³⁾. In 1444 the Honour was part of the dowry of Queen Margaret of Anjou⁽¹⁴⁾. Then in 1449 Newcastle-under-Lyme, the Soke of Wirksworth and Ashbourne were part of the enfeoffment of Henry VI⁽¹⁵⁾. Despite widespread criticism of the feoffees, the Acts of Resumption of Henry's reign excluded his enfeoffments. The situation was resolved in 1461 when the whole Duchy was claimed by Edward IV. Almost immediately the Honour was again alienated, when Edward granted it in fee to his

brother George, Duke of Clarence, in 1464⁽¹⁶⁾. The Honour was included in the Act of Resumption of 1473, and there were no further alienations before 1485.

Other land in Derbyshire, including the High Peak, was added to the Duchy in 1372, but this was administered separately. This study has been confined to the lands administered as part of the Honour of Tutbury from the end of the thirteenth century.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Earl of Lancaster, was, as we saw, one of the most important landowners in the north midlands. However, he held only a small group of his Staffordshire manors in demesne. Although his estate was compact, the Earl was not the biggest landowner in the county. The Earl of Stafford probably held most land in Staffordshire, including the county's largest borough, Stafford itself. Many men held quite large estates in the county. In 1301, when tenants holding land worth £40.0.0. or more were summoned for military service, nearly thirty Staffordshire tenants were named⁽¹⁷⁾. A dozen of these held land worth at least £40.0.0. in another county. Yet this list excludes the largest landowners, such as the Earls of Stafford and Lancaster and ecclesiastical landowners such as the Bishop of Chester and the Abbot of Burton.

In Derbyshire the Earl held more manors in demesne, and was probably the chief landowner, especially after the

addition of the High Peak to the Duchy in 1372.

Neither Staffordshire nor Derbyshire ever ranked amongst the wealthier medieval counties. In the 1334 subsidy, for example, out of 42 counties, 29 paid more than Staffordshire and 32 paid more than Derbyshire⁽¹⁸⁾. Their assessments per acre were amongst the lowest in the lowland zone. Whereas East Anglia and the fenlands paid between 50s.0d. and 65s.0d. per thousand acres, Staffordshire paid less than 16s.0d. and Derbyshire less than 15s.0d. per thousand acres. This was typical of their relative positions amongst English counties during the Middle Ages. In an examination of the relative distribution of wealth amongst English counties, based on a series of tax assessments, Buchatzsch showed that Staffordshire and Derbyshire ranked uniformly low⁽¹⁹⁾. In a list of 39 counties, Staffordshire came between twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth, and Derbyshire between twenty-eighth and thirty-second throughout the entire medieval period.

The distribution of wealth inside these counties was, of course, often uneven. Much of northern Derbyshire was barren upland, whilst there were fertile arable plains in the south. The Honour's manors in the county lay between these two extremes, including both uplands and alluvial valleys. Much of the most northerly manor, Hartington, was above 900'. This manor lay on the south edge of the mountainous uplands of northern Derbyshire. To the south of Hartington lie the southern foothills, a transitional zone between the northern

mountains and the southern plains. This is a high, plateau-like region, cut by deep valleys, where the soil is light and shallow over limestone. There are occasional veins of lead. Several of the Honour's manors lay in this area, including Ashbourne, Brassington and Wirksworth, and also the Soke of Wirksworth or the Low Peak. The soil makes poor arable in the north, but it improves further south towards Ashbourne. Even there, however, it needs constant attention to maintain its fertility⁽²⁰⁾. In contrast to the indifferent quality of the arable, the pastures provided by the southern foothills are amongst the best in the country⁽²¹⁾.

Most of the rest of the Honour's Derbyshire manors lay in the alluvial valleys of the Derwent and its tributary the Ecclesbourne, where the soil is richer and more fertile. The arable in these valleys is reasonably good, but they are best suited to grassland. Belper and Duffield were the biggest of the valley manors. The enclosed forest of Duffield Frith, lay in the middle of these manors, including parts of the valleys of the Derwent and the Ecclesbourne.

In Staffordshire the Honour did not include the mineral deposits which were the basis of the later prosperity of the county, but it contained some of the best agricultural land. Most of the manors lay in the broad, alluvial valleys of the Dove and the Trent. One of the Derbyshire manors, Scropton, lay just north of the Dove. The Honour included also Need-

wood Forest, to the south and west of these valleys. The whole forest is low-lying, mostly under 400', with a soil derived from the Keuper marl. All these Staffordshire manors have heavy, rich soil, which is fertile but difficult to work⁽²²⁾. The arable was good here, but it was the grassland which made the valleys famous. Leland observed, "There be wonderful pastures upon Dove."⁽²³⁾

Newcastle-under-Lyme, not originally part of the Honour of Tutbury, was geographically separate from the rest of the Honour, but it, too, had a rather heavy soil which was best suited to grassland⁽²⁴⁾.

Today farms on the whole of the Honour concentrate on grass farming, and arable is relatively rare. The Dove valley, especially, is now a famous dairy-farming region⁽²⁵⁾.

Inevitably stock and dairy farming was important on the Honour in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There were extensive pastures on all the Derbyshire upland manors, especially Hartington. In addition to tenant stock, there were about 5,500 sheep and 150 cattle belonging to the Earl in this region in the early fourteenth century. The pastures attracted graziers from far afield. The Cistercian Abbeys of Buildwas (Shropshire) and Garendon (Leicestershire) were pasturing stock on the Earl's upland manors at this period.

The Derbyshire valley manors had access to the extensive grassland in Duffield Frith, which provided common pastures

for many near-by manors. Extra pastures in the Frith were leased, and in 1313 250 cattle belonging to the Earl were grazing there. Similarly, the Staffordshire manors had common pastures in Needwood Forest. In addition pastures were leased to tenants and more than a hundred horses and fifty pigs belonging to the Earl grazed in Needwood Forest and Duffield Frith.

Meadow was often scarce on medieval manors, where as much land as possible was devoted to arable. The presence of such extensive pasture in the Low Peak and in the two forests of Needwood and Duffield Frith meant that stock and dairy farming on the Honour could thrive relatively free from limitations imposed by shortage of pasture.

There was also an unusually high proportion of meadow in the demesnes of several manors on the Honour. Demesne meadows on medieval manors were not normally much above one tenth the size of the demesne arable⁽²⁶⁾. On the Honour of Tutbury's manors the proportion was often much higher than this. At Brassington and Ashbourne the meadows ($33\frac{1}{2}$ and 27 acres) were nearly half the size of the arable demesnes. At Matlock the meadow (25 acres) was nearly one third of the size of the arable, and at Wirksworth about one quarter. On the manors in the Derwent valley, where the soil was richer, more emphasis was laid on arable farming. The demesne meadows were much smaller in relation to the arable on these

manors than on the manors in the uplands. At Belper and Duffield the demesne meadows were about one tenth of the size of the arable.

On the Staffordshire manors the proportion of meadow in the demesne varied widely from manor to manor. The biggest meadows were at Tutbury (87 acres) where they were two-fifths the size of the arable, and at Barton (42 acres) where they were over half the size of the arable.

Grass farming was important on the Honour at the beginning of the fourteenth century, but not, as today, to the complete neglect of arable farming. There were large arable demesnes on most of the Staffordshire manors, at Belper and Duffield, and even on some of the Derbyshire upland manors. The largest arable demesnes were in the Dove valley. There were 423 acres at Uttoxeter, 334 acres at Tutbury and 190 acres at Marchington. At Agardsley in the south west of Needwood Forest there were 168 acres, and at Barton, on the Trent, only 79 acres.

The largest arable demesnes on the Honour's Derbyshire manors were at Belper (283 acres) and Duffield (235 acres). Demesnes tended to be smaller on the upland manors, being between fifty and a hundred acres at Brassington, Bonsall, Matlock, Wirksworth and Ashbourne. At Alderwasley the demesne was larger, 114 acres, and rather surprisingly, one of the biggest demesnes on the Derbyshire manors was at Hart-

ington. Although this was the highest and bleakest of the manors on the Honour, there were 151 acres of arable demesne at Hartington itself, and 85 acres at Crowdecote, a hamlet to the north of Hartington. This arable probably did not produce a high yield, or a good quality of corn. In fact, oats grown on this manor were regularly sold at prices well below the average⁽²⁷⁾. The large size of the arable demesne on an upland manor such as Hartington shows how medieval farmers could not afford to specialise completely on pasture farming.

The Honour lies inside the region of open-field cultivation in medieval England⁽²⁸⁾. At Rolleston, in fact, in the early years of Elizabeth I's reign there were six open fields⁽²⁹⁾. The manorial documents, however, include very little information about field systems. We do know that on his arable demesne at Tutbury in 1313-14 the Earl cultivated two-thirds and left one-third fallow.

Oats was the crop most suited to the arable on the Derbyshire upland manors, which were too high for wheat⁽³⁰⁾. On the Hartington demesnes the Earl grew oats and very little else. Further south, at Tutbury, a wider variety of crops was grown, including wheat, oats, barley, rye and peas. It is very difficult to get any idea of the normal crop distribution on this demesne, as it changed completely in the two years for which there is evidence. In 1313-14 oats and

barley were the chief crops, but in 1314-15 wheat and peas replaced them⁽³¹⁾.

Some indication of tenant crops on the Honour is given by the details of the multures of the corn mills at Newcastle-under-Lyme in the years 1323-6.

Some of the manorial mills were in hand during these years, and the multures were sold. Both oats and barley were malted before being sold, and as we would expect, the malt made from barley was of a higher quality. The greatest part of the multure each year was oats. The proportion of the whole sales made up by malted oats (braseum avene) varied from two-thirds in 1324-5 to nearly four-fifths in 1325-6. The next most important crop was wheat. The proportion of this ranged from 12% in 1325-6 to 19% in 1324-5. Malted barley (braseum capitalis) rye and groats (grottes) were sold in much smaller quantities. The predominant tenant crop in the Newcastle region was undoubtedly oats at this period.

There were manorial corn mills on several Derbyshire manors⁽³²⁾, and on all the Staffordshire manors. The Earl enforced his seign^eurial monopoly of corn milling⁽³³⁾, and at the beginning of the fourteenth century this was very profitable. All the corn mills were farmed and the high proportion of the total manorial receipts which they provided shows the importance of arable farming on the Honour. A

total of £166.0.0. was collected from the farms of manorial corn mills in 1313-14 which formed about a tenth of the total cash liveries from the Honour in that year⁽³⁴⁾.

The mills on the nine Derbyshire manors were farmed for £66.15.8. Two-fifths of this came from the mills on the two valley manors of Belper and Duffield, which were farmed for £26.13.4.

The mills on six Needwood Forest manors were farmed for £50.12.8. 87% of this came from the four Dove valley manors of Uttoxeter, Marchington, Tutbury and Rolleston. At Newcastle-under-Lyme the mills were farmed for the high sum of £48.13.4. in 1313-14, nearly 30% of the total receipts from mills on the whole of the Honour. This suggests that Newcastle was a milling centre for the region.

Newcastle was a large manor, including many hamlets and the borough of Newcastle itself. This was the biggest town on the Staffordshire part of the Honour. By 1267, when it was granted to the Earl of Lancaster, it was already an established trading centre. It had previously been a crown manor, and the King had granted it the privileges of a free borough, and the right to form a Gild Merchant in 1235⁽³⁵⁾. The Earl obtained a grant of a year^{ly} fair of three days in the borough in 1281⁽³⁶⁾. By the early fourteenth century the burgages and the markets and fairs were farmed to the burgesses as a whole for the sum of £40.0.0. per year. The burgesses also

farmed the corn mills. The farm of the burgages and markets and fairs was a fee-farm, which the burgesses collected themselves as early as 1251⁽³⁷⁾. This freed them from the interference of royal officials. It also meant that the Earl's reeve or bailiff of the manor only accounted for this block sum, giving no further details. Consequently there is no indication of the actual value of the markets and fairs at this date.

Some coal mines on this manor were being worked in the early fourteenth century, and in 1313-14 these were farmed for £1.11.8. Altogether, including the assize rents from the hamlets on the manor, the Earl collected over £167.0.0. from Newcastle in 1313-14.

The other main market on the Honour was at Ashbourne, on the Dove in Derbyshire. This was a thriving market-town in 1313-14, where most of the receipts came from the profits of trade. The markets and fairs were farmed for £66.13.4. in that year. There were 22 stalls in the market place, leased at 3s.0d. each. These were permanent structures, with upper stories (solarii) and tiled roofs. A toll on goods crossing the river was worth £3.10.0. in 1313-14. The corn mills were farmed for £12.0.0., and a common oven for £1.2.0. In 1313-14 the Earl sold some of his cattle at Ashbourne. A fifteenth century account states that cloth, corn, victuals and beasts were sold in the town.

There were smaller markets and fairs at two other towns on the Dove, Uttoxeter and Tutbury. That at Uttoxeter was more prosperous in 1313-14, when the markets and fairs were farmed for £14.13.4. The town contained 145 burgages farmed for 1s. each and 32 stalls. Robert Ferrers had obtained a grant of a market and fair and the privileges of a borough for Uttoxeter in 1251⁽³⁸⁾, and the grant was renewed in the time of Earl Thomas, in 1308⁽³⁹⁾.

Tutbury had been a trading centre in 1086, when 42 men were said to live there by merchandise alone⁽⁴⁰⁾. They paid, together with the market, £4.10.0. The town had been the administrative centre of the Honour and the site of a castle under the Ferrers, and continued in this role under the Lancastrians. In 1313-14 the Earl sold some horses at Tutbury, but the market was a small one, worth in that year £2.2.1. There were over two hundred burgages in the town, farmed at 1s. each. With tolls and court profits the town was worth nearly £40.0.0. to the Earl in 1313-14.

Robert Ferrers, besides encouraging Uttoxeter and Tutbury, had obtained the grant of the privileges of a free borough on the manor of Agardsley in Needwood Forest, in 1263⁽⁴¹⁾. In 1313-14 there were 101 burgages in Newborough, as it was called, farmed at 1s.6d. each. There was however, no market or fair at Agardsley, and there is no evidence of any industry.

Earl Thomas had obtained a grant of a market and fair at Wirksworth in 1306⁽⁴²⁾, but this never really flourished during this period. In 1313-14 it was farmed for £1.10.0. Seven temporary stalls were farmed on market days for about 6½d. each. There was no burgage tenure.

Coal, ironstone and other stone deposits in Duffield Frith were exploited in the early fourteenth century. Coal mines were worth £13.10.0. in 1313-14, a millstone quarry £20.0.0., and three forges a total of £70.15.0. There is, however, little evidence of the lead veins in the Low Peak being exploited at this period. No lead mines were accounted for in 1313-14.

Four mechanical fulling mills were working on the Honour in 1313-14, at Hartington, Wirksworth, Tutbury and Barton, which provide evidence of a minor cloth industry. The mills at Hartington and Wirksworth were leased for a total of £2.10.0. in 1313-14. The value of the other two mills is not recorded.

Agriculture was, however, as we would expect, the main activity on the Honour in 1313-14. A high proportion of land on the Honour was held in villeinage at that date. Villein land, measured in bovates and virgates on some manors⁽⁴³⁾, and simply in acres on others, was not evenly distributed over the Honour. In the Derbyshire part of the Honour villein tenants were found on all the manors, but on only

one manor, Ireton Wood, was all land held in villeinage. On two manors, Holbarook and Biggin, 80% of the total rent receipts including tallage and sale of works, came from villein land. On other manors the proportion was smaller. It can be calculated from the 1313-14 accounts on twelve of the Derbyshire manors. On nine of these over 50% of the rent came from villein land.

There were no villein tenants in the town of Tutbury or at Uttoxeter or Agardsley, but they were found on the other Needwood manors. The proportion of rent coming from villein land was 16% at Marchington, 50% at Barton and 62% of the whole at Rolleston in 1313-14.

On several manors groups of cottars were mentioned in the 1313-14 accounts. Cottars were regarded as unfree tenants. At Rolleston 3% of the villein rent came from cottars. There were 34 at Crowdecote and more at Hartington itself. At Belper there were 23 cottars who paid the unusually high rent of £2.4.0. for $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, or 8s.0d. per acre. This land, previously held by villein tenants, had been leased to the cottars to build cottages on.

The obligations of villeinage varied from manor to manor, but in every case were sufficient to distinguish villein land clearly from other categories of land. On the Derbyshire manors labour services were light. The county as a whole was a region of light labour services⁽⁴⁴⁾, but villeins on some of the manors belonging to the Abbey of

Burton, such as Findern and Willington, were obliged to perform some week-work⁽⁴⁵⁾. No week-work was demanded on the Earl of Lancaster's manors in the county. Labour services were found on only seven manors in 1313-14, and they consisted only of boon works at the spring ploughing or the autumn harvest. Except at Scropton, which is nearer to the Staffordshire manors of the Earl, labour services were commuted for a money payment in 1313-14. Those at Scropton were partially commuted. The total value in cash of labour services on these manors in that year was only £1.14.6. At Bonsall, for example, where labour services were relatively heavy, the money rent on villein land was £4.7.8. Labour services consisted of six ploughing works and 74 harvest works, commuted for 9s.0d.

On three of the Derbyshire manors villeins paid an additional produce rent, collected in hens and eggs at Christmas and Easter. It was not a very heavy charge. The produce rents on these manors in 1313-14 were sold for £1.10.0.

Tallage was a far heavier burden on villeins on these manors. It occurred on every manor. Tallage from the fourteen Derbyshire manors where its value was separately recorded in 1313-14 amounted to £38.8.0. It was often more than half as much as the villein money rent. At Bonsall, for example, where the money rent was £4.7.8., tallage was

£2.13.4. At Biggin where the money rent was £4.15.0., tallage was £2.15.7. At Matlock, where the money rent per bovate was 5s.11d., tallage averaged 5s.4d. per bovate.

When? Week-work was common on the Staffordshire manors of Burton Abbey⁽⁴⁶⁾. Labour services on the Staffordshire manors of the Honour of Tutbury were heavier than those found on the Honour's Derbyshire manors. At Rolleston in 1313-14 the 26 customary tenants still performed haymaking services on the Tutbury demesne meadows⁽⁴⁷⁾, helped by the sixteen customary tenants from Scropton. Each tenant was paid 1s.10d. for these services. The labour services at Barton and Marchington were commuted for £7.10.8½d. and £1.2.1. respectively. The services at Barton were described in a rental of 1327⁽⁴⁸⁾. A virgater on this manor must give two days' work at haymaking, four days' work at harvest and carting services at haymaking and lent and winter sowing. These services were valued at 2s.4d. The virgater must also perform unspecified carting services valued at 2s.10d.

At Rolleston, according to a rental of 1414⁽⁴⁹⁾, villeins were subject to obligations in addition to the haymaking services described above. They must cart wood and timber from Needwood Forest whenever this was necessary (cum necesse fuerit). No estimate of the number of services this entailed was given, but the rates of payment, ranging from ½d. to 3d. per cartload, were laid down in the rental.

Like the villeins on the Honour's Derbyshire manors, those in Staffordshire had to pay occasional produce rents. At Marchington customary tenants gave 160 eggs to the Earl in 1313-14. At Rolleston each customary tenant gave three bushells of oats and two hens at Christmas and twenty eggs at Easter. Staffordshire villeins were also tallaged heavily. Over £13.0.0. was collected in tallage from Barton, Rolleston and Marchington in 1313-14.

Villeinage in both counties carried with it various additional conventional obligations, some of which were described in the Barton rental of 1327. The court rolls show that similar obligations were found on other manors. The villein must be reeve when elected. He must not have his son tonsured or his daughter married without permission from the lord. On the villein's death his best animal was due to the lord as a heriot. As far as it is possible to tell the heriot was confined to cases of death and inheritance, and never claimed on other land transfers⁽⁵⁰⁾. In practice the dead tenant's heir usually paid the lord the price of the heriot and kept the animal. The obligations of villeins at Rolleston were described in the rental of 1414, and were very similar. One addition not mentioned at Barton, was leyrwite, the fine paid by a villein for his daughter's incontinence.

Other obligations, not mentioned in the rentals of 1327

or 1414, were recorded in the court rolls. For example, a female villein paid a fine to marry outside the manor⁽⁵¹⁾. Villeins had to pay an entry fine to the lord on taking possession of a piece of land, including on inheritance. The level of entry fines was in theory arbitrarily fixed by the lord, but in practice there was some adjustment of the level of fines to the demand for land.

Other less common obligations were described in the rentals of 1327 and 1414. When a villein died not only his tenement, but some of his goods and chattels reverted into the hands of the lord until claimed by the heir. They were regarded as the property of the lord on loan to the tenant. The objects so regarded, according to the Barton rental of 1327, were brass dishes, carts and wagons bound with iron, swarms of bees, woollen cloth, horses and male foals, male and female pigs, whole bacons and money (thesaurum). No fee to make good the heir's claim to these goods and chattels was specified in the rental, but in practice the heir brought them back from the lord. This custom was recorded in the rentals for Barton and Rolleston only, but the court rolls show that it applied to other manors also.

Many examples of this practice can be cited. In 1413 a tenant on a Staffordshire manor was recorded as taking not only a tenement, in this case a messuage and half a virgate, but various goods and chattels from the lord⁽⁵²⁾. The goods

included a chest and a table, but no stock. Much more common are records of heirs buying back goods and chattels from the lord when they inherited their holding. For example, at Duffield in 1333 when the tenant of a cottage and $1\frac{1}{2}$ roods died, his heriot (an ox) and his goods and chattels (a brass pot and a chest) were handed over to the lord and sold by him for a total of 13s.0d.⁽⁵³⁾ Similarly in 1400 the heir to a tenement in Rolleston paid 11s.0d. for his father's heriot, an ox, and a total of 15s.10d. for his father's goods and chattels, which consisted of two shares in a horse, a brass pot and a cart bound with iron. Other examples cover the whole period and many manors⁽⁵⁴⁾.

However in some cases when the death of a villein tenant was recorded in the court rolls, and the value of the heriot was given, no reference was made to the dead tenant's goods or chattels. This is not because the dead tenant had none, as cases of this sort were explained. Possibly this obligations applied only to certain tenements, and many villeins were regarded as the real owners of their goods and chattels.

The incidents of villeinage discussed above were very valuable to the lord. The receipts from heriots, goods and chattels, merchet and entry fines in the year 1313-14 amounted to £43.2.0.

There were far fewer free tenants on the Honour, and a

far smaller proportion of the receipts came from land held freely. There were no free tenants at Ireton Wood or Biggin in 1313, and very few at Matlock. At Barton in 1327 only fifteen out of 118 tenants were free. The proportion of the rent receipts coming from free tenants can be calculated on ten Derbyshire manors in 1313-14. On every manor it was less than 30%, and on eight it was less than 20%. On the Staffordshire manors the proportion was more variable. At Uttoxeter 45% of the rent came from free tenants, and at Agardsley 25%. The proportion was smaller at Marchington and Rolleston. The area of land did not necessarily vary strictly in accordance with the value of the total rent, as rents on freehold were not necessarily the same as those on other types of land, or even always at the same level on one manor. Nevertheless these figures give some rough indication of the proportionate importance of free tenure.

The traditional pattern of freehold and villein tenure had been altered by the leasing of the demesnes and by the inclusion in the manors, at a fairly recent date, of large areas of waste land. In 1313-14 only 120 acres of the demesne of 334 acres at Tutbury was kept in hand by the Earl. The majority of demesnes on English estates were kept in hand during the thirteenth and most of the fourteenth centuries. The practice of leasing demesnes grew wide-spread during the last quarter of the fourteenth century. However demesnes had

been partly or wholly leased on several other Lancastrian estates by 1313-14, including Pickering in Yorkshire (a former de Lacy manor) and Preston in Lancashire⁽⁵⁵⁾. Lancastrian demesnes were also leased in Leicestershire at that date, whilst many other demesnes in the same county were still in hand⁽⁵⁶⁾. There is evidence that leasing the demesne at Tutbury was more profitable than cultivating it directly, and this will be discussed fully later⁽⁵⁷⁾.

There is very little evidence about the date and method of the process of leasing demesnes on the Honour. The accounts for 1313-14 include details about such leases in only a few cases. At Wirksworth the demesne was leased to various persons whose names were not recorded. At Belper nine acres, found when the demesne had been re-measured, was farmed to one person. At Agardsley eight acres were farmed to a single tenant. Much of the rest of the demesne on this manor, 155 acres, had been granted by the Earl to one of his retainers, Sir Robert de Whitefield at a nominal rent⁽⁵⁸⁾. The demesnes at Wirksworth and Southwood were held at the will of the lord. No other terms of tenure were recorded.

Most manors on the Honour included a considerable area of land which had been taken from the waste recently enough to be called "assart" in the 1313-14 accounts. A distinction was occasionally made between old and new assart, but in most cases no clue was given to the date when the assarts were made. The proportion of assart varied from manor to

manor. At Hartington nearly half the total rent receipts came from assart land in 1313-14. At Alderwasley and Hulland nearly one third of the rent receipts came from assarts in that year, and the proportion was over 15% on four other upland manors. At Agardsley in Needwood Forest nearly a quarter of the receipts came from assart, and at Barton about one sixth. At Uttoxeter the demesne was called "demesne and old assart."

Assart land was usually leased free from the obligations of villeinage. This freedom was, in fact, an incentive commonly used to encourage tenants to make assarts both in England and on the Continent⁽⁵⁹⁾. There was an exception to this on the Honour, at Alderwasley, where 44 acres of new assart were held in bondage. The accounts for the rest of the fourteenth century show that this was not altogether an isolated instance⁽⁶⁰⁾. On the whole, nevertheless, assarts increased the area of land which was held free from the obligations of bondage.

On several manors there were also large areas of land which were not included in the old categories of free or villein land. They were leased at will, and though they were not explicitly called assart, it seems likely that they had been added to the cultivated area at some relatively recent date. At Marchington at least 752 acres were leased at will. At Belper land worth £3.0.0. was leased in a similar manner.

We see from the accounts for the early fourteenth century that expansion of the cultivated area had not come to an end in 1313⁽⁶¹⁾.^H By 1313 the Earl was collecting most of his rents from the Honour of Tutbury in money. The few produce rents were sold at once, and accounted for as cash. Labour services were commuted for a cash payment on every manor except Rolleston and Scropton. At Hartington, however, in 1313-14 there was an example of the relatively rare lease ad campi partem. This was on the lease of some meadows, and the Earl's share of the hay was fed to the Low Peak stock. This lease had disappeared by 1322.

Rents and farms of land were the main source of revenue from the Honour at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Ground rents, excluding indirect forms of rent such as tallage and commuted labour services, totalled more than £700.0.0. on the Honour in 1313-14, or between 40 and 45% of the cash liveries from the Honour in 1313-14.

A far from negligible additional income came from private jurisdictions, baronial, seign^eurial and franchisal, possessed by the Earl. There were manorial courts on all the Honour's manors, and the profits from these amounted to nearly £123.0.0. This sum includes not only pleas and perquisites of the courts, but entry fines, sales of goods and chattels, heriots and merchet collected from villein tenants. It equalled nearly 8% of the cash liveries from the Honour in 1313-14.

The Honour's baronial court was divided into two parts, each with a bailiff, and dealt with the various matters arising out of military tenure. As the importance of feudal military tenure declined, these courts were restricted in scope and influence, but in 1313-14 could clearly still be very profitable to a feudal overlord. Cash liveries from the Honour Court in 1313-14, including one relief of £5.0.0., totalled nearly £23.0.0.

The Earl also owned a private hundred, Appletree, with an annexation called a Perimplementum. The bailiffs of these two units collected their receipts from views of frankpledge, courts and customary payments such as sheriff's aid (62). Cash liveries to the Receiver of Tutbury from the Hundred and Perimplementum of Appletree in 1313-14 were £36.5.0. The Earl had additional franchisal jurisdiction in units called New Liberties. The profits from these came from the same sources as in the Hundred, and in 1313-14 amounted to more than £40.0.0. The receipts from baronial and franchisal jurisdiction on the Honour in 1313-14 were about £100.0.0.

The Honour also included the Soke ^{or} of Wapentake of Wirksworth, which consisted of rents and customary payments in many of the villages of the Low Peak. A fixed rent was collected from 28 villages in this region. Some customary payments were quite heavy. The palfrey payment, for example, was £9.3.0. (63). In 1313-14 and 1321-2 the borough of

Ashbourne was accounted for with the Wapentake, but later it was always accounted for separately. Without the profits from Ashbourne, the Soke and Wapentake were worth well over £80.0.0. to the Earl in 1313-14.

Footnotes to Chapter I

1. Cal. Ch. Rolls, II, p. 321; F.M. Powicke, King Henry III and the Lord Edward, II, p. 709.
2. E.F. Jacob, Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267, p. 217 sqq.
3. Cal. Ch. Rolls, II, p. 78.
4. Cal. Ch. Rolls, II, p. 215.
5. R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, I, p. 337.
6. Cal. Ch. Rolls, II, p. 78.
7. R. Somerville, op. cit., Chapters V and VI. The administrative system of one unit in the Duchy, the Honour of Leicester, in many ways similar to that of the Honour of Tutbury, is described fully in L. Fox, The Administration of the Honour of Leicestershire in the Fourteenth Century.
8. But see also Chapter V, p. 221.
9. Cal. Fine Rolls, III, p. 106.
10. Cal. Fine Rolls, III, pp. 424 and 429.
11. Rot. Parl., II, p. 3 sqq.
12. Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster, ed. W. Hardy, p. 9.
13. Cal. Pet. Rolls, 1413-16, p. 356-7.
14. Rot. Parl., V, p. 118sqq.
15. Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster, ed. W. Hardy, p. 232.
16. R. Somerville, op. cit., p. 233.

17. Staffs. Hist. Collections, VIII, p. 22.
18. The total returns for all counties are printed in H.P.R. Finberg and W.G. Hoskins, Devonshire Studies, p. 215.
19. E.J. Buchatzsch, 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England,' in Ec. Hist. Review, 2nd series, III, No. 2, (1950) p. 180.
20. The Land of Britain. The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain, Ed. L.D. Stamp, Part 63, p. 56.
21. Land Utilisation Survey, Part 63, p. 21.
22. Domesday Geography of Midland England, ed. H.C. Darby and I.B. Terrett, p. 211; Land Utilisation Survey, Part 61, p. 573.
23. Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, V, Part 9, p. 19.
24. Land Utilisation Survey, Part 61, p. 619.
25. Ibid., Part 61, p. 584.
26. R.H. Hilton, 'Medieval Agrarian History,' in V.C.H. Leicestershire, II, p. 162sq.; J. Thirsk, Peasant Farming, p. 61-2.
27. See Chapter IV, p. 153.
28. H.L. Gray, English Field Systems, p. 35.
29. Ibid, p. 29.
30. Land Utilisation Survey, Part 63, p. 24.
31. For a fuller discussion of crop distribution on this

- demesne, see Chapter II, p. 42.
32. In 1313-14 there were manorial corn mills at Duffield, Belper, Bonsall, Biggin, Matlock, Hartington, Wirksworth, Ashbourne and Alderwasley.
 33. P.R.O., DL/30/109/1611.
 34. Cash liveries from reeves, bailiffs, ward receivers, and stockkeepers on the Honour in 1313-14 to the Receiver of Tutbury, the Wardrober, the Receiver of Leicesters and the Receiver-General of Kenilworth amounted to about £1,470.0.0. The sale of the 1313-14 wool crop added a further £151.11.0.
 35. Cal. Ch. Rolls, I, p. 273.
 36. Cal. Ch. Rolls, II, p. 252.
 37. Cal. Ch. Rolls, I, p. 367.
 38. Cal. Ch. Rolls, I, p. 374.
 39. Cal. Ch. Rolls, III, p. 123.
 40. The Domesday Book entries for Staffordshire are printed in S. Shaw, The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire, Appendix, p. i.
 41. This grant is printed and discussed by M. Bateson, 'Burghal Colonisation,' in Eng. Hist. Review, XVI, (1901) p. 332.
 42. Cal. Ch. Rolls, III, p. 66.
 43. Bovates at Matlock were said to comprise sixteen acres in the account for 1425-6. We may conclude that virgates

on the Honour conformed to the normal Midland size of 25 to 30 acres.

44. V.C.H. Derbyshire, II, pp. 162 and 165.
45. The Burton Chartulary, printed in Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, VII, p. 97.
46. The Burton Chartulary, printed in Staffs. Hist. Collections, V, Part I, p.1.
47. The two nearby manors of Tutbury and Rolleston were closely connected in administration. The demesnes and corn mills, for example, were accounted for by the Rolleston reeve at one period and the Tutbury reeve at another.
48. P.R.O., SC/11/602.
49. P.R.O., DL/42/4.
50. M.M. Postan and J.Z. Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', in Ec. Hist. Review, 2nd Series, XI, (1959).
51. P.R.O., DL/30/32/289.
52. P.R.O., DL/30/111/1656.
53. P.R.O., DL/30/32/289.
54. For example at Wirksworth in 1339, Belper in 1376, Biggin in 1387 and Rolleston in 1443. P.R.O., DL/30/44/499, DL/30/33/310, DL/30/33/322 and DL/30/111/169.
55. P.R.O., DL/29/1/3.

56. R.H. Hilton, 'Medieval Agrarian History', in V.C.H. Leicestershire, II, p. 182.
57. See Chapter II, p.39sq.
58. G.A. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England, p. 136. Whitefield was later retained by Earl Henry. Ibid., p. 67.
59. E. Power, 'Peasant Life and Rural Conditions c. 1100 to c. 1500,' Cambridge Medieval History, VII, p. 718.
60. See Chapter II, p.29.
61. See Chapter II, p.51sq.
62. Sheriff's aid (auxilium vicecomitis) was probably derived from a payment to meet the sheriff's expenses. N. Nielson, Customary Rents, p. 124.
63. This payment (palefridus vicecomitis) was probably a survival of the sheriff's right to fodder for his horse. Ibid., p. 129.

CHAPTER II

Introduction

The two centuries to be discussed in this chapter, the fourteenth and fifteenth, were years of great change in the agrarian economy of this country. The thirteenth century had been a period of increasing population, which had put great pressure on existing resources. This had led to assarting and the subdivision of holdings. Great landowners exploited the demand for land with high rents in various forms, and the expanding market and cheap labour by cultivating large demesnes.

The fourteenth century saw a reversal of this position. The population fell, and with it the ratio of population to land. The market shrank, and labour grew dearer. The resulting changes, such as the reduction in the cultivated area and in rent levels, and the withdrawal from demesne farming by the great landlords, affected the whole country, though with varying chronologies. Many of these developments can be traced on this estate, sometimes differing from the normal, sometimes conforming.

The developments of the fifteenth century cannot be observed so clearly, and have aroused considerable controversy. The century has been seen as one of contraction in agriculture and industry. On the other hand the developments

of peasant agriculture and rural industry have been claimed as more than adequate compensation for the failure of the big estates. The history of this estate throws some interesting light on these problems.

The economic developments of these two centuries are particularly well illustrated by the documents of this estate, as a result of its varied economy, which included arable and grass farming, industries and towns.

ii Arable Demesne Cultivation.

The structure of the Honour has already been briefly described. It was shown that in 1313 the Earl was cultivating an arable demesne at Tutbury only. In fact, less than half the demesne on this manor was kept in hand by the Earl. The rest, like all other arable demesnes on the Honour, was leased. Further, the form of the entry concerning this in the account for the year 1313-14 suggests that at an earlier date the whole demesne at Tutbury also had been leased, and that part of it had been subsequently resumed. In the receipts part of the account the whole demesne of 334 acres was charged as leased. In the expenses part of the account the rent on 120 acres of this was recorded as decayed. This was the part cultivated by the Earl.

An analysis of the profits coming from this 120 acres in the year 1313-14 will perhaps explain why at this date leasing the demesnes was more popular than cultivating them.

We must first calculate the cost of the cultivation of 120 acres. One of the most expensive items was the wage bill. Four ploughmen and one carter were employed permanently, and extra help was hired at harvest time. The famuli were paid partly in kind and partly in cash. They shared a cash payment of £1.10.0, and two quarters of oats and two bushells of peas grown on the demesne. A further 21 quarters and $4\frac{1}{2}$ bushells of rye were bought for the famuli at 5s. per quarter. Altogether they cost the Earl £6.11.0. Extra help at harvest time cost nearly £5.0.0.

The draught animals at the beginning of the year consisted of two horses and twenty-one oxen. During the year these were replenished with two horses and an ox, costing £2.14.7. One old horse was sold off for 7s. The draught animals were fed on oats grown on the demesne and on hay. Eighty-five acres of hay were mown, but much of this was fed to the Earl's horses. No indication of the amount consumed by the draught animals is given in the account, but since it cannot have been high, the haymaking costs (about £5.0.0.) have been excluded from the cost of cultivating the demesne.

Most of the seed for the following year, 1314-15, came from the crop of 1313-14, but eight quarters and five bushells of peas, costing £1.8.9, were bought as seed.

Various repairs were made to equipment and buildings. These seem to have been running repairs, and therefore likely

to have been a regular annual burden. They cost £2.8.0. in 1313-14. This brings the total cost of the cultivation of the 120 acres of demesne, excluding the cost of haymaking, to £18.2.0.

The receipts from the sale of stock and corn were very little more than this. Wheat, barley, rye, oats and peas were grown. After some had been put aside for the famuli, the draught animals and seed, the rest was sold. The main crops were oats and barley. $45\frac{1}{2}$ quarters and half a bushell of oats were sold at about 2s. per quarter, and 54 quarters of barley were sold at 3s. per quarter. 14 quarters 6 bushells of wheat were sold at 7s. per quarter, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ quarters of peas at 3s.6d. per quarter. Lastly $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of rye were sold at 5s. per quarter. Some oats in sheaves and some forage were sold for a few shillings. The total receipts from the sale of crops were £18.3.0. With 7s. from the sale of one horse, the total receipt from the demesne were £18.10.0.

Thus the profit was about 8s., a negligible amount from a demesne of 120 acres. What made demesne cultivation relatively unprofitable at Tutbury at this period? As far as we can tell, the year was not one in which any extraordinary expenditure was made. All the costs, of replenishing the stock, labour and repairs were likely to have been regular.

One possible partial explanation could have been the relatively low prices at which the demesne produce was sold. In every case, Thorald Rogers' average prices for 1314 are much higher than the prices at Tutbury⁽¹⁾. Rogers' suggested price per quarter for wheat was 8s.4d., compared with 7s. at Tutbury, 5s.5d. for barley, compared with 3s. at Tutbury, 2s.9d. for oats, compared with 2s. at Tutbury, 4s.1d. for peas, compared with 3s.6d. at Tutbury and 7s.5d. for rye compared with 5s. at Tutbury. The differences between these two sets of figures are great enough to be significant, even allowing for possible inaccuracies due, for example, to regional differences. A likely explanation would be the poor quality of the demesne crop,

Perhaps it is significant in view of this that there was an entirely different distribution of crops in the following year, 1314-15. The chief crops in that year were wheat, to which 32 acres were devoted, and peas, sown over 24 acres. Only 19 acres were sown with barley and 16½ with oats. The increase in the area devoted to peas is of special interest. Over a quarter of the demesne was turned over to peas. A leguminous crop such as this, when sown where cereal crops were previously repeatedly sown, could have a beneficial effect on soil, as a result of its nitrogen content⁽²⁾. Similar increases in the sowing of leguminous crops have been noticed on several estates at this period⁽³⁾.

Perhaps at Tutbury the increase was part of an attempt to improve the soil and the quality of the yield on the demesne.

The rest of the demesne at Tutbury was leased at a rent of 1s. per acre. The Earl's profit, had he leased the whole of the demesne at this rent, would obviously have been much greater.

It would be unwise to assume from the example of one year that all landlord demesne cultivation at this period on this estate must necessarily have been barely profitable. Nevertheless the fact that all the other demesnes were leased suggests this, and, in fact, by 1322 if not earlier, the Earl had relinquished even this last demesne. The arable demesne at Tutbury, like all the others, was leased for the rest of the period.

iii 1313-1414. The Fourteenth Century.

From the early fourteenth century the Earl's manorial income from the Honour of Tutbury came from rents rather than production. Much of our information about the economic developments of the estate in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries comes from changes in the levels of rents and farms of land. It is therefore well worth examining these in 1314, in relation to the demand for land and its fertility, and comparing them with rents on other estates at the same period.

We find that rents and entry fines were relatively high. If the Earl had found demesne cultivation unprofitable, rent-collecting was a different proposition. We saw that

192 acres of demesne at Tutbury were leased at 1s. per acre. This was a normal rent for demesnes in the Dove Valley at this period. Another 189 acres at Marchington and 62 acres at Uttoxeter were leased at the same rent. So were eight acres at Agardsley in Needwood Forest. The rest of the demesne at Uttoxeter consisting of 361 acres, and the demesne of 79 acres at Barton were leased at 10d. per acre.

Rents on demesnes on the Derbyshire part of the Honour were rather lower, with the exception of Belper. On this manor 220 acres were leased at 1s. per acre. Rents of 9d. per acre (on 64 acres at Belper) 8½d. or 8d. per acre (at Bonsall, Matlock and Crowdecote) or even 6½d. or 6d. per acre (at Duffield, Hartington and Ashbourne) were more common. At Alderwasley the demesne of over 100 acres was leased at only 3d. per acre.

These rents can be compared with those on other Lancastrian estates in the same year. At Preston the rent on the demesne varied between 4d. and 8d. per acre. At Pickering it was 6d. per acre, and at Stanford 5½d. per acre⁽⁴⁾. On another midland estate, that of Coventry Cathedral Priory, demesnes in 1303 were valued at rents ranging from 4d. per acre at Offlow, Ufton and Frankton, to 8d. per acre at Honington⁽⁵⁾.

Compared with these, the rents on demesnes at Belper and the Staffordshire manors were high. However rents of

this level were not extraordinary. At Desford, another Lancastrian manor, three acres of demesne were leased at 1s. per acre in 1313-14. Occasionally much higher rents were found. For example, some demesne on de Lacy estates at Sutton, in Lincolnshire, were leased at 2s.6d. per acre in the early fourteenth century⁽⁶⁾.

Rents on demesne, which was on leasehold not customary tenure, should be economic, and therefore reflect a balance between the demand for land and its productivity. The soil in the Dove and Trent valleys was shown to be heavy but fertile. Belper lay on the coal measures to the east of the river Derwent, and had richer soil than was found on, for example, the Derbyshire uplands. Therefore, in so far as they reflected the quality of the soil, such high rents are not surprising. The lower rents on the upland plateau in Derbyshire are again what we would expect.

It was shown earlier that the Honour included a high proportion of fairly recently assarted land. This, too, was presumably leased at an economic, rather than a customary rent. Assart rents varied more than demesne rents. On the Staffordshire manors assarts were mostly leased at between 8d. and 1s. per acre. In Derbyshire some were as high as this. At Hartington, for example, 86 acres were leased at 11½d. per acre, a higher rent than was found on the demesne on the manor. Usually the assart rents were lower, ranging

from 6d. to 11d. per acre. At Alderwasley 52 acres of assart were leased at the relatively low rent of 5d. per acre. This rent, combined with the low rent noticed on the demesne on the same manor, suggests that the quality of the land was poorer than elsewhere.

Of course, whatever the quality of the soil, rents would not be high unless there was a demand for land. The level of the rents on demesne and assart land on the Honour at this date shows that arable was in demand. The scarcity value probably dictated the high rents on manors where the arable cannot have been of a very high quality, for example on assart at Hartington, and demesne at Crowdecote.

It is interesting that the customary rents on bond land often echoed the rent levels on assart and demesne. For example, most bond land in Derbyshire was held at between 4d. and 5d. per acre⁽⁷⁾. However at Alderwasley, where both demesne and assart were rented at relatively low rents, 665 acres of villein land were held at 3d. per acre. In contrast at Belper, where demesne and assart were leased at relatively high rents, 129 acres of villein land were held at 8d. per acre.

Another sign of the demand for land at this date was the high level of entry fines. Record of only four fines charged in 1313-14 in one court roll survive, involving 9½ acres⁽⁸⁾.

acres. The average fine was 2s.10d. per acre. There was great variety in the level of individual fines, which included one of 8s. on two acres. Such high and arbitrarily imposed entry fines were typical of this period⁽⁹⁾.

The demand for arable in some places led to assarting. New assarts, that is those made between 1312 and 1314, were recorded separately in the accounts of 1313-14, so it is possible to assess the extent of expansion between these dates. About 62 acres at Hartington and 60 acres at Brassington were assarted at this period. Smaller amounts, including $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres at Bonsall and $15\frac{1}{2}$ acres at Matlock were assarted on several other Derbyshire manors. The four manors where most assarts were made are four of the most northerly of the Honour's manors in that county. The rents on new assarts were at similar levels to those on older assarts. At Hartington, for example, three acres of the new assart were leased at 1s. per acre, ten acres at 8d. per acre and forty acres at 6d. per acre.

It appears that the characteristic economic situation of the thirteenth century has continued into the early fourteenth on the Honour. The estate was probably relatively densely populated, and as much agricultural produce as could be grown was needed. In this situation, even if he could not make demesne cultivation pay, the Earl could extract high rents and entry fines from his tenants.

However there exist certain indications that this was not the whole picture. Firstly, some land had been abandoned on several manors. At Uttoxeter 14 acres and at Marchington $38\frac{1}{2}$ acres lay out of use. At Alderwasley $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres had been abandoned. At Duffield two bovates, 20 acres and land previously leased for £1.1.2. were out of use.

Rent reductions were more widespread. At Marchington the demesne was leased at 1s. per acre in 1313-14, but had previously been leased at a higher rent. A note in the expenses part of the account records that a decay of £1.11.0. was not allowed in that year because a rent of 2d. per acre on the demesne had been officially relieved, and therefore deducted from the charge. A further 21 acres on this manor were leased at 2d. or even 4d. per acre less. At Uttoxeter, also, the rent on the demesne had recently been reduced. The 361 acres leased at 10d. per acre in 1313-14 had previously been leased at 1s. per acre. A further 83 acres on the same manor were leased at 2d. per acre less. Similar rent reductions were found at Bonsall and Heage.

At Marchington the farm of the corn mill had been reduced. The charge in 1313-14 was £7.6.8., but this was decayed to £4.15.0. A possible explanation of this reduction would be a decrease in the volume of corn production on the manor.

The rent loss resulting from the reductions in rents

and the abandoned land at Uttoxeter represented 9% of the rent charge, and at Marchington 4%. At Duffield the loss for this reason was 2%. These proportions are slight, but nevertheless significant enough to suggest either that the demand for land on these manors had slackened or that the land was no longer productive enough to support the old high rents.

These figures are taken from the manorial accounts. In the one surviving court roll for this year a greater area of land was recorded as in the hands of the lord. This involved 40 acres at Heage, 18 acres at Biggin and 64 acres at Alderwasley. This land was probably only temporarily in hand, but the long delay before a claimant came forward strengthens the impressions put forward above.

Probably the figures relating to rent reductions and abandoned land given in the manorial accounts were not up to date. For several years before 1313-14, the full rent charge, even after the allowances mentioned above had been made, had been impossible to collect. At Michelmas 1313 a total of £253.0.0. was owed by various reeves, of the year 1312-13 and previous years. Nearly £104.0.0. of this was owed by reeves of the Staffordshire manors. The situation on these manors deteriorated during the year 1313-14, and by Michelmas 1314 over £110.0.0. was owed from these manors. At Uttoxeter the reeve for 1310-11 owed £1.14.6½., the reeve for 1311-12 owed £4.8.1., the reeve for 1312-13 owed 12s. and the reeve for 1313-14 owed £2.5.6½. These heavy arrears

spreading over a number of years, and found on all manors, are unique during this period. They reinforce the impression that the charges in the accounts of 1313-14 represented conditions which were disappearing.

Unfortunately no accounts for the next few years, which could reveal how this situation developed, have survived. The next surviving accounts after 1313-14 were drawn up in 1322, eight years later. This was the year when Edward II at last took decisive action against the unruly Earl of Lancaster. This resulted in the execution of the Earl as a traitor in March at Pontefract, and the forfeiture of his estates, along with those of some of his supporters, to the Crown.

Accounts for these estates, known as the Contrariants' Accounts, were rendered to the king for the months when they were in his hands, that is in the case of the Honour of Tutbury, from March to Michelmas 1322. As they covered only part of the accounting year, some, but not all, of the charges and allowances were recorded at half their normal annual value. This makes these accounts very difficult to understand. Usually it is fairly obvious whether a charge or an allowance was for the whole or half the annual value, but sometimes this cannot be known. This is especially so when one account includes a mixture of whole and half charges.

The 1322 accounts show that during the preceding eight

years conditions on the Honour had changed considerably. First, a considerable area of formerly waste land had been brought under cultivation. Very few manors on the Honour lack evidence of some assarting between 1312 and 1322. In Derbyshire assarts were made on most manors between 1314 and 1322, but these were concentrated on a group of manors including Duffield, Belper, Idridgehay, Hulland and Hartington. The group includes manors in both the Derwent valley and the upland plateau. It included one manor, Hartington, where there had been assarting between 1312 and 1314, and another, Duffield, where land had been lying out of use in 1314.

At Hulland and Idridgehay the new assarts were charged at £1.10.0. and £2.0.0. a year respectively. As the total rent charges on both manors had been about £7.0.0. in 1313-14, these assarts had significantly expanded the cultivated area on these manors. At Duffield the new assart added £7.0.0. to the rent charges. Altogether land worth about £14.15.0. had been brought under cultivation on the Derbyshire manors.

There had been very little assarting on the Staffordshire manors between 1312 and 1314. However by 1322 there had been considerable expansion on all five Needwood manors for which Contrariants' Accounts have survived. More details concerning this process were recorded in the Staffordshire than in the Derbyshire accounts, including

in many cases both the acreage and the site of the assarts. Altogether about 340 acres were assarted between 1314 and 1322 on these five manors. At Rolleston 63 acres were assarted near Stockley Park in Needwood Forest. At Barton about 76 acres had been assarted, some of it at Dunstall, a hamlet in Needwood.

Although land had been lying out of use on both manors in 1314, assarts had been made since at Uttoxeter and Marchington also. At Uttoxeter 175 acres were cleared, including 151 acres near Moisty Lane, the road running along the south bank of the Dove between Uttoxeter and Marchington. At Marchington about 27 acres was assarted, mostly at Hanbury or Marchington Cliff. Both of these places are to the south of Marchington village, and further into Needwood Forest. In fact the process of clearing areas of this Forest for assarts is shown very clearly by these accounts. The rents on the new assarts on manors in both counties were relatively high. At Uttoxeter 151 acres were probably leased at 1s. per acre⁽¹⁰⁾. The average rent at Marchington was 8d. per acre and 43 acres at Idridgehay was leased at the same rent. At Hulland 46 acres were leased at 6d. per acre and at Rolleston 63 acres were leased at 5d. per acre. There is no evidence that these recent assarts were leased at lower rents.

During the same period, however, that is between 1314

and 1322, other land had been falling out of use. Already in 1314 some land had been abandoned, and some rents reduced. By 1322 further reductions in rent levels had been made, and the land out of use ran into thousands of acres. The consequent loss of income to the Earl (or King) was severe. As far as it is possible to tell, the rent income (that is, the charge less allowances for decay) from money rents, tallage, sale of works and cert money on thirteen Derbyshire manors was about 30% lower in 1321-2 than in 1313-14.

Rents had been reduced on six of the Derbyshire manors since 1314. 77 acres at Duffield, 66 acres at Bonsall, 50 acres at Heage and smaller acres at Brassington, Belper and Scropton were leased at 2d. or 4d. per acre less than in 1313-14. At Brassington the reduction was said to be because the land was poor (*debilis*). At Marchington the rent on $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres had been reduced by 2d. per acre for the same reason.

These reductions are insignificant when compared with the area of land which had been completely abandoned. On fifteen manors in Derbyshire a total of 63 cottages, 5 tenements, 6 messuages, 55 bovates and 3,142 acres were out of use. On four Needwood manors in Staffordshire, 40 cottages, 57 messuages, $14\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, 20 bovates, 37 acres of meadow and 1,906 acres of arable were out of use also. In the town of Tutbury $20\frac{1}{2}$ burgages and 11 stalls were derelict.

There are no surviving rentals from earlier in the fourteenth century, from which it would be possible to calculate the total area under cultivation before this land was abandoned. The proportion of land out of use in 1322 can only be expressed roughly, in terms of decayed rents. Occasionally even this is unreliable or impossible, as both rent charges and rent allowances were recorded partly at their whole, and partly at their half annual value.

Land had not been abandoned evenly on all manors, but neither was the decay confined to certain areas. On two Derbyshire manors, Holbrook and Southwood, two-thirds of the rent charge was decayed. At Heage about half the charge was decayed, at Scropton over one third, at Alderwasley and Biggin over one fifth, and at Brassington, Belper, Ireton Wood, Bonsall and Hartington over one tenth. There were only two manors, Spondon and Idridgehay, where no land had been abandoned. Unfortunately on one of the biggest manors, Duffield, it is impossible to calculate the proportionate decay. It was certainly severe on this manor, where fifteen bovates and 1,242 acres lay out of use.

The decay was similarly severe and uneven on the Staffordshire manors. Over one third of the rent charge was decayed at Marchington, and over one tenth at Rolleston. Nearly one tenth of the charge on the town of Tutbury was decayed, and possible a third of the charges at Uttoxeter

and Barton⁽¹¹⁾.

Although no documents illustrating this withdrawal in progress have survived, the Contrariants' Accounts throw some light on the process. The lists of abandoned land recorded at the ends of the accounts for each manor include both large and small pieces. They are divided into two, or sometimes even three categories, called first, second or third decay (decasus). The land has obviously been abandoned piecemeal, and the withdrawal must have taken place over a period of some years.

Usually the type of land abandoned was not described. On the few occasions when it was, we can get some idea of the sort of land which was affected. On one manor, Scropton, most of the abandoned land was described. A total of 202 acres and ten bovates were out of use on this manor in 1322, and 164 acres of this were assarts. Assart land had been abandoned on several other manors, including thirty acres at Heage and 54 acres at Brassington.

Demesne land had been abandoned on several manors, including $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres at Brassington, 36 acres at Tutbury and 40 acres at Duffield. However this was only a small proportion of the demesnes on these manors. It is unlikely that the distinction between demesne and other land, which was made throughout the fifteenth century, would have been ignored in these accounts. Probably demesnes had suffered

relatively little contraction. These 77 had been left

Villein land was easily distinguishable on the manors where it was normally measured in virgates or bovates. Very large areas of villein land had been abandoned, amounting to 55 bovates on five manors in Derbyshire and $14\frac{1}{2}$ virgates and 20 bovates on three manors in Staffordshire. This included 23 out of a total of 28 bovates at Hartington, but only one bovat out of a total of 28 virgates at Rolleston. At Hartington villein land formed only a small proportion of the total cultivated area on the manor. In 1322 12 cottages, 278 acres and 23 bovates had been abandoned, with a consequent decay of one fifth of the rent charge. Yet 82% of the total area of bond land was decayed. At Holbrook also villein land had suffered more severely than other land. Slightly less than two-thirds of the total rent charge was decayed in 1322, yet 71% of the charge on villein land was decayed. Yet at Rolleston, where only one bovat was out of use, over one tenth of the total rent charge was decayed.

Villein land had been abandoned in large quantities, but it had not been the first land to suffer in this way. A total of 75 bovates and $14\frac{1}{2}$ virgates had been abandoned in 1322. Of these, 70 bovates and 13 virgates were included in the second or third decays. Very little had fallen out of use in the first stages of the withdrawal. There was a similar development with regard to cottages. A total of 103

had been abandoned by 1322. Of these 77 had been left during the second and third stages.

Meadow was differentiated from arable in the lists of decays. Only two acres and one rood had fallen out of use on the Derbyshire manors, but 16 acres at Marchington and 21 acres at Uttoxeter were in the hands of the lord in 1322.

It is hardly surprising in view of the large area of land which was lying out of use in 1322 that entry fines were much lower than they had been in 1314. The average fine in 1322 was 4d. per acre, compared with 2s.10d. per acre eight years earlier. A total of £10.0.0. was collected in entry fines in 1322.

During the eight years between 1314 and 1322 a considerable area of land had been assarted, and a far larger area had been abandoned. How can these apparently contradictory developments be explained? The King organised an Inquisition to discover the reason for the low receipts from the Honour of Tutbury. The findings of this Inquisition were recorded in the Contrariants' Accounts to explain the lists of deserted holdings. The explanation was similar for all manors.

First, it said, the land fell into the hands of the Earl when the tenants abandoned it because of their poverty (pauperitas). No other tenants could be found to take it, even as pasture, because of the severe shortage of stock in

the area. This was originally the result of an attack of murrain (communa morina) but the situation had been aggravated by the depredations suffered by the remaining animals during the recent political troubles.

Finally the Inquisition ended with a note that the land could not be cultivated as arable because it was so poor (nec rediguntur in culturam pro debilitate terrae).

The findings of the Inquisition dealt with several topics of great importance in the agrarian economy of this period, for example, the shortage of livestock, and some of the hazards which faced medieval stockfarmers, landlord and tenant alike. This will be discussed more fully later⁽¹²⁾.

The Inquisition also commented on the poor quality of the land, with reference to every manor on the Honour. As a description of the land on many manors this is somewhat surprising. The region included in the medieval Honour of Tutbury now specialises in stock and dairy farming. There is very little arable, and most land is under grass. However although it is best suited to grass, the soil in the Dove, Trent and lower Derwent valleys makes quite good arable⁽¹³⁾. It had been leased for relatively high rents earlier in the century. The soil on such manors as Duffield, Belper, Uttoxeter, Marchington and Barton is not naturally in/fertile enough to merit the description "debilis". Yet a large part of the decay was on such valley manors.

There must be some reason peculiar to the circumstances of the early fourteenth century for this. A possible explanation is that the land on the Honour had been over-cropped. This would result in progressively poorer yields in the absence of either adequate fallowing or manuring.

It is well known that a consequence of the population growth of the thirteenth century was great pressure on existing resources. Yet the means for maintaining soil fertility were rudimentary. The importance of manure was realised on the Honour. But natural manure was the chief fertiliser, and the supply was limited. The Earl used manure from his sheepfolds to fertilise his meadows in 1313-14⁽¹⁴⁾. When the area of his meadows was reduced, and less manure needed, ^{the} surplus was sold to tenants⁽¹⁵⁾.

Marl was also used. This is a calcareous clay, which includes lime and thus reduced the acidity of the soil. Its successful use to improve soil in the middle ages was demonstrated by Henry of Eastry at Canterbury⁽¹⁶⁾. Marl pits at Agardsley and Matlock were sold for 2d. and 4s. respectively in 1313-14, and at Matlock for 2s.2½d. in 1322, but we have very little idea of the scale of marling (or manuring) operations on the Honour. It is unlikely that these methods would be sufficient to maintain the fertility of the soil in face of incessant cropping.

Accountants' explanations of reduced receipts, must, of

course, be treated with some caution. These findings, however, are by an inquisition which was not itself, held responsible for the reductions. The references to the poor quality of the soil are unique in a century when explanations of reduced rents abounded. In the middle and later parts of the fourteenth century other causes, such as the shortage of tenants or the pestilences, were blamed. By this period the reduction in the population would have reduced the pressure on the soil and exhaustion would have been remedied.

Soil exhaustion in the early fourteenth century would explain the low price obtained for the crop from the Tutbury demesne in 1314, and the phenomenon of both assarting and abandoning land on a large scale inside a period of eight years. On four Staffordshire manors, for example, during this period, about 340 acres were assarted and over 2,000 acres were abandoned. It is unlikely that this represented two separate processes, that, in fact, there had first been a demand for land, followed by a reversal so complete as to lead to wholesale withdrawal, especially as some land had already been abandoned in 1313-14.

If, on the other hand, the soil had been overworked by the beginning of the fourteenth century, and yields were decreasing without any relaxation of demand, assarts would be necessary to maintain the existing level of production.

It is a characteristic of newly assarted land to give very high yields for a few years before becoming quickly exhausted if not fallowed and fertilised sufficiently. If therefore, the new assarts of the early fourteenth century gave good yields some of the old land which was giving progressively poorer yields could be abandoned.

However the area of abandoned land far exceeded the area assarted during this period. By 1322 production must have decreased considerably. There was an additional and important factor during the period under discussion. A series of bad harvests, the consequence of bad weather conditions, caused the Great European Famine (1315-17)⁽¹⁷⁾. The Famine was accompanied by disease and high mortality. There is no direct evidence of the effect of the Famine on the Honour, but the murrain blamed for the shortage of stock in 1322 was probably one result. Another may well have been a reduction in the population, and thus of demand for land and food. This may have caused assarting to stop. The Great Famine was followed by several years of hardship and famine and during this period more land was abandoned.

It was shown that villein land and cottages were abandoned relatively late during this period. The reason for their decay was probably, therefore, a period of famine and disease rather than overcropping alone. Villein land, would, of course, have been as subject to overcropping as any other land, but there was probably some reluctance to abandon the

old customary holdings as soon as yields fell, and in many cases villeins might have had no other land to substitute for them. Cottagers and poor villeins would be especially subject to the ravages of disease and famine⁽¹⁸⁾. However many villeins were probably reasonably prosperous, and the abandoning of a large number of virgates and bovates suggests a real fall in population following the famine years.

The extent of the contraction on the Honour of Tutbury before 1322 is unusually severe. Empty tenements were not unknown on estates in England at this period⁽¹⁹⁾, and on the estates of Canterbury Cathedral Priory the 1320's were described as "years of crisis."⁽²⁰⁾ But contraction on this scale at this period was unusual, and gives particular interest to the developments on the Honour during this century.

The area under cultivation in 1322 was so much smaller than it had been in 1314 that we would expect a decrease in the volume of corn production. This might show in the values of the farms of manorial corn mills. In fact this did not happen. The values of the mills are shown in the table below.

	1313-14	1321-2		1313-14	1321-2
DUFFIELD/ BELPER	26-13-4	26-13-4	ROLLESTON	+24-0-0	15-0-0
BONSALL	6-13-4	6-13-4	BARTON	+5-1-0	*4-14-4
MATLOCK	8-0-0	*8-0-0	MARCHINGTON	5-14-0	7-6-8
ALDERWASLEY	3-0-0	*3-0-0	UTTOXETER	17-6-8	17-6-8
BIGGIN	19-0	*19-0	AGARDSLEY	1-10-0	
HARTINGTON	9-6-8	9-13-4	NEWCASTLE	48-134	*33-6-8
WIRKSWORTH	3-4	—			
IRETON WOOD	—	2-13-4 plus 20 acres	ASHBOURNE	12-3-4	12-3-4

* Charged at half this value in 1321-2 account
+ Includes a fulling mill.

The total value of the corn mills in Derbyshire has, in fact, increased. At Hartington, for example, where there had been a net decrease in the area under cultivation, despite some assarting, the farm had been increased by 6s.8d. In Staffordshire the total value has decreased, but only drastically on two manors, Rolleston and Newcastle⁽²¹⁾. At Marchington in spite of the withdrawal from hundreds of acres of land, the value of the mill has increased.

The volume of corn production was clearly not the only factor dictating the value of the farm. Probably the higher corn prices in the 1320's were partly responsible. According to Thorald Rogers the average price of wheat rose from 5s.6d. per quarter to 11s.7d. per quarter between 1313 and 1321⁽²²⁾. The average price of oats rose from 2s.8d. to 4s. per quarter between the same dates. Examples drawn from the Honour show how sharply grain-prices had risen in this region. In 1313-14 rye was bought and sold at Tutbury for 5s. per quarter, and two quarters were bought to pay the Scropton warrener at 5s.8½d. per quarter. In 1322 one quarter bought to pay the same warrener cost 10s.

If prices were much higher, the multure though smaller in quantity, might be equally valuable to the miller. The mills at Newcastle were in the hands of the lord in 1324-5 and the high prices for which the multure was sold illustrate this. All the prices were high compared with the national averages⁽²³⁾. Wheat was sold for 7s. or 8s. per

quarter, whereas the average price in 1325 was 5s.8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per quarter. Rye was sold for 5s. or 5s.8d. per quarter, whereas the average price was 3s.9d. Best malt sold for 7s. per quarter, compared with an average of 5s.8d. The sustained high level of prices on the Honour, even when the national averages had fallen, provides further evidence of the severity of the agricultural crisis in this region.

The contraction in the cultivated area and the shortage of stock did not appear to affect adversely the Honour's trading centres. At Ashbourne the farm of the markets and fairs in 1321-2 was £62.3.5. compared with £66.13.4. in 1313-14. At Newcastle the burgesses paid £20.0.0. for half the year, compared with £40.0.0. for the full year in 1313-14. At Uttoxeter, too, the value was the same in 1321-2 as in 1313-14. At Wirksworth there had been a slight increase, from £1.10.0. in 1313-14 to £1.12.0. in 1321-2. Only at Tutbury had there been a proportionately significant decrease, from £2.2.1. in 1313-14 to £1.0.4. in 1321-2. Increased prices may have been partly responsible for these high values in face of agricultural contraction.

The accounts for the years between 1322 and 1359 are very unsatisfactory. This makes it very difficult to assess the extent or rapidity of the recovery between 1322 and the middle of the century. There are accounts for the later 1320's for only two manors, Belper and Duffield. At Belper more land was abandoned in the four years between 1322 and

1326. In 1322 104 acres and 31 cottages had been out of use. The decayed rents represented 12% of the rent charge. By 1326-7 decayed rents represented 18% of the rent charge, and 166 acres were out of use. On this manor 1322 was not the nadir of the depression.

At Duffield, in contrast, much of the land out of use in 1322 had been released during the same period. The area in decay fell from 1,242 acres and 15 bovates in 1322 to 143 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres in 1326-7. All the bovates abandoned before 1322 had been re-leased. The rent loss on decayed land in 1326-7 was nearly £6.0.0. Two years later this had dwindled further to £2.2.0. This figure may not, however, be reliable. The account for the year 1328-9 was drawn up on the basis of a new rental. According to this, the rent charge was considerably lower than in 1326-7. By the date of the new rental there must have been considerable reductions in rent levels, or much land must have been written off as a bad loss and ignored in the new rental. Probably both these things had happened. The only comparable rents in the two accounts are on demesne land. The average rent in 1322 had been 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre. In 1328-9 the rent on 40 acres was 8d. per acre. This example, however, is hardly sufficient evidence on which to base conclusions about rent increases or reductions.

A rental drawn up in 1327 for Barton, shows that, as at Duffield, some of the land lying out of use in 1322 had been

re-leased soon after. On this manor in 1322 28 cottages, $14\frac{1}{2}$ virgates and $178\frac{1}{2}$ acres had been abandoned. By 1327 only 5 cottages, half a virgate and 90 acres were out of use. A note in the rental said that the shortage of tenants was responsible for this. As at Duffield, most of the villein land abandoned before 1322, had been re-leased by 1327.

At the end of the 1327 rental for Barton there is a list of manorial appurtenances which could be improved (potest approviari). Included in this list was the corn mill, which was in the hands of the lord. The list also included 79 acres of arable demesne and 45 acres of demesne meadows. A rent valuation was given for these, but no lessee. Possibly no lessees could be found for the demesne, and it, too, was in hand.

The rent charge at Barton, as at Duffield, had shrunk between 1322 and 1327. In the case of Barton it is possible to compare rent levels at both dates, and to see that considerable reductions had been made. The rent on demesne had fallen from 10d. per acre in 1313-14 and 1322 to 8d. per acre in 1327. Assarts had been leased at between 8d. per acre and 1s.0d. per acre at the earlier dates. In 1327 122 out of 190 acres were leased for less than 6d. per acre, and none for more than 7d. per acre.

A set of rentals for several Derbyshire manors drawn up in Edward III's reign has also survived(24). These are

not dated, but were almost certainly drawn up before the Black Death, and probably at the beginning of the reign. A single, dated rental for one of these manors, Holbrook, survives for 1357⁽²⁵⁾. The other Holbrook rental is clearly earlier, and almost certainly many years earlier. Out of 24 tenants in the undated rental, only two can be recognised in the rental of 1357. Changes in surnames are unlikely to have accounted for all these changes, and it is equally unlikely that so many tenants had died and been replaced between 1350 and 1357. If, on the other hand, the undated rental was drawn up before the Black Death, the almost complete turn-over of tenants would not be surprising. We know that new rentals were made in the first year of Edward III's reign at Barton and Duffield. Possibly new rentals were made in that year for all manors, and the Barton rental and the undated rentals are the only ones to survive. These rentals would be made obsolete by the Black Death, and need renewal in the 1350's, as we know the case was at Holbrook.

Parts of these rentals are illegible, and they do not include, as the Barton rentals did, a list of land in decay. The rent charges at Southwood, Idridgehay and Heage appear to be smaller than in 1314. Probably reductions in rents had been made as at Barton. At Holbrook the rent charge in the undated rental was about the same as in 1313-14. Yet Holbrook was a manor where nearly two thirds of the rent charge

had been decayed in 1322. In that year 7 cottages, 7 bovates and 11 acres had been out of use. By the date of this rental, all or almost all, of this land must have been released.

There are no surviving rentals from earlier in the fourteenth century which would make it possible to compare the total area under cultivation at two dates. However, it is possible to trace the changing area of certain categories of land. By the date of these rentals the area of villein land has decreased on two manors, at Southwood from 309 acres in 1314 to 255 acres, and at Heage from 370 acres in 1314 to 163 acres. Possibly some former bond land, abandoned in 1322, had been re-leased free from the obligations of villeinage. Possibly much had been abandoned permanently and ignored in the new rentals. Rents on villein land had decreased also, from $4\frac{3}{4}$ d. per acre at Southwood and $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre at Heage, to 4d. per acre on both manors.

In contrast, at Idridgehay the area of bond land had increased from 82 acres in 1314 to 256 acres according to the undated rental. The different development on this manor by 1322, when no land was out of use, was noticed earlier. There had been considerable assarting between 1313 and 1322 on this manor, and some of these assarts must have been leased in bondage. A similar development earlier in the century was noticed at Alderwasley⁽²⁶⁾. In spite of the main-

tenance of cultivation at Idridgehay the level of villein rent had decreased sharply. In 1314 the rent of $9\frac{3}{4}$ d. per acre, had been unusually high. By the date of this rental it had shrunk to 3d. per acre.

At Barton the area of villein land had probably remained the same between 1313 and 1327. The number of virgates in 1313 was not recorded. However none were in decay in 1327, and the value of commuted labour services was almost exactly the same as in 1313-14. Little difference in the level of assart rents can be traced between 1314 and the date of these rentals at Heage and Idridgehay. Assart rents were normally between 6d. and 8d. per acre at both dates.

The complexity of economic developments on these manors in the early fourteenth century is well illustrated by the difference in the fate of villein land at this period.

The rentals under discussion provide our earliest fourteenth century indication of the numbers of tenants and the sizes of their holdings. The Barton rental of 1327 is perhaps most important in this respect. It lists 118 tenants, and it is immediately noticeable that there was great variety in the size of their holdings. Whilst 52 tenants held five acres or less, twenty held more than thirty acres. The last figure does not include several free tenants who held sub-manors or what appear to be large holdings, whose area was not specified, for a nominal rent.

Several of the holders of more than thirty acres were free tenants, often esquires, but eleven were villeins. Five villeins held more than forty acres each. One, Matilda Leysing, held two messuages, two virgates and $39\frac{1}{4}$ acres for an annual rent of £1.6.7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. with labour services commuted for 11s.0d. Another, Robert Mollesone held two messuages, a cottage, one and a half virgates and $65\frac{1}{2}$ acres for £1.17.2d. with works valued at 8s.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Holdings of this size put their tenants into a class of substantial peasant farmers.

Hundreds of acres of land had fallen out of use on this manor earlier in the century, and much had been re-leased by 1327. Probably some villein tenants had taken advantage of decreased entry fines and low rents on this ready supply of land, to accumulate large holdings. However the conditions of tenure on villein virgates at Barton had not been relaxed. A virgater paid 3s.6d. money rent and 5s.2d. in commuted labour services in 1327 as in 1313.

Such large villein holdings were not confined to Barton. On all four of the Derbyshire manors for which there are rentals for this period, 14 or 15% of the holdings were of thirty acres or over, and in each case several of these tenants were villeins. At Idridgehay a bond tenant held forty acres of bond land. At Southwood and Holbrook, two manors which were very close physically and where many tenants held in both manors, one villein held three bovates, $5\frac{1}{4}$ acres and another held two bovates, $9\frac{1}{4}$ acres. As at Barton, only a

minority held as much land as this. 25 out of 55 tenants at Southwood and Holbrook, nine out of 33 at Heage and ten out of 33 at Ildridgehay held five acres or less. It is, of course, possible that some of these leased additional pieces of land from other tenants, but nevertheless, these figures suggest that the majority of tenants had not accumulated large holdings during the previous disturbed years. Probably much of the previously decayed land was re-leased between 1322 and the middle of the fourteenth century. A slight increase in the level of entry fines during the reign of Edward III suggests increased pressure on the land. In 1322 the average entry fine had been 4d. per acre. The average fine on a hundred acres changing hands in the early years of Edward III's reign and on about a hundred acres changing hands in 1357-8 was 6d. per acre. The fact that entry fines should be higher in the post Black Death period than they had been in 1322 provides further evidence of the severity of the depression of the earlier period on this estate.

We know very little about this period and the next surviving accounts were not drawn up until after the period of the Black Death. It has been suggested that in Derbyshire the ravages were severe, since the number of institutions to vacant benefices rocketed from two in 1347 and eight in 1348 to 63 in 1349 and 41 in 1350⁽²⁷⁾. The almost complete turnover of tenants during this period on Holbrook manor, suggested

by the two rentals, was mentioned earlier. However although it suggested that the mortality rate at this period had been high, the second Holbrook rental suggested also that there had been a recovery by 1357. There was only one tenant fewer in the 1357 rental than in the pre-Black Death rental. This rental also showed that the size of holdings had tended to increase. The number of holdings of five acres or less had fallen from ten to three, whilst the number of holdings of thirty acres or more had increased from three to five.

The next manorial accounts confirm the impression of a recovery from mid-century depression. In 1359-60, on four out of the five manors for which legible accounts survive⁽²⁸⁾ the rent receipts, that is the rent charge less decay, were about the same as they had been in 1322. By 1361-2 the rent receipts on all five of these manors had increased slightly. At Ireton Wood, for example, cert money which could not be collected in 1359-60 was paid in 1361-2. At Belper the recovery of 1361-2 showed in the absence of profit from the sale of the herbage of lands which were in decay. The accountant explained that this was because all such land had been leased that year.

The total rent receipts from thirteen manors were considerably higher in 1361-2 than in 1322. At that date they had represented about 70% of their value in 1313-14. By 1361-2 they have increased till they represented about 88%

of their value in 1313-14⁽²⁹⁾. However, in spite of the improvements noticeable in 1361-2 there were still many signs of depression. The year 1361 saw another severe plague epidemic, during which Duke Henry died. At Ireton Wood in that year, in spite of the increase in rent receipts between 1359-60 and 1361-2, tallage was still excused because of the poverty of the tenants. Similar tallage exemptions were widespread, so that the receipts from this source were sadly depleted. In 1313-14 six manors had paid tallage and cert money amounting to £23.10.0. On the same manors in 1361-2 only £18.18.0. was collected.

There were still empty holdings on several manors, and on a few of these the rent receipts in 1361-2 were lower than they had been in 1321-2. Brassington for example, had escaped the worst depression in 1322, but had suffered later in the century. In 1361-2 cottages, assarts, arable and meadow worth £3.10.0. per year, or nearly one quarter of the rent charge, were out of use. Another manor where the rent receipts were lower in 1361-2 than in 1321-2 was Idridgehay, where no land had been out of use in 1322.

By 1359-60 and 1361-2 new rentals had been drawn up for all manors. The rent charges in these years were always lower than in 1321-2. By the date of the new rentals much of the previously decayed land must have been leased again at greatly reduced rents. In most accounts for 1361-2 there are

notes comparing the charges in that year with higher charges made earlier in the century. Some previously decayed land had never been re-leased, and was ignored when new rentals were made⁽³⁰⁾.

By 1361 the situation described in 1313 had changed radically, and permanently. The population was probably smaller in 1361. A reduction in the population, beginning before the middle of the fourteenth century was a European phenomenon, the reasons for which have proved difficult to ascertain⁽³¹⁾. However its effects are easier to describe. The high pressure on existing resources characteristic of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was relieved. In 1361 there were no longer enough tenants to cultivate all the old holdings, so empty tenements were found on most manors. The accountants blamed these, like uncollected tallage, on the paucity of tenants on their manors. There were no references at this period to the poor quality of the soil. By this date the poorer land had probably been abandoned, and the land still under cultivation need not be exploited so incessantly.

Some of the empty tenements were re-leased during the 1360's and 1370's, years which saw an increase in the area under cultivation. Assarting was, of course, unnecessary in view of the existence of previously cultivated land. This shows, incidentally, the difficulty of attempting to measure

fluctuations in the cultivated area in the absence of a series of rentals. A considerable area of land, which had been abandoned earlier in the century, had been ignored when new rentals were made. At that time there had perhaps seemed little likelihood of such land ever being re-leased. In the accounts for 1359-60 and 1361-2 references were made to empty tenements on several manors. Later accounts show that in some cases this referred to areas consisting of hundreds of acres.

Between 1365 and 1377, on fourteen Derbyshire manors, well over 440 acres of previously decayed land was leased out again. Occasionally it was taken in big pieces, of, for example, 52 acres at Hulland in 1368. More often the pieces were of only one or two acres. It is not possible to tell whether this land had fallen out of use in 1322, or more recently. Much of it was assart land. For example on each of three different manors, Idridgehay, Hulland and Biggin, seventeen to twenty acres of the re-leases lay in the New Field.

Re-expansion was not evenly distributed. Between 1365 and 1377 there were no re-leases at Holbrook, and only one of an acre, at Brassington. Yet at Hulland about 176 acres and at Southwood about 100 acres were re-leased between the same dates. At Southwood about 400 acres had been abandoned as early as 1322, so the existence of much decayed land ready to

be released was hardly surprising. At Hulland, in contrast, only eight acres had been out of use in 1322. On this manor there must have been wholesale abandoning of land since that date, and probably in the middle of the fourteenth century.

The Duchy administration encouraged tenants to take more land by conceding lower rents, by relaxing tallage and by giving easier terms of tenure. Copyhold tenure appeared with these re-leases in the early 1360's⁽³²⁾. A copyhold tenant held according to the custom of the manor, with the added security of a written copy of his lease recorded in the court roll. He could appeal to this if his tenure was challenged by the lord or by another tenant. Copyhold leases at this period were made both to the tenant and his heirs, and at the will of the lord (ad voluntatem domini). Tenure at the will of the lord implied tenure terminable by the lord at any date, although Holdsworth suggests that tenure at will was terminable by either the lessor or the lessee⁽³³⁾. However, when land was plentiful, as it was on the Honour throughout the second half of the fourteenth century the lord would be unlikely to put into practice his right to evict tenants at will.

Rents were low compared with those earlier in the century. Earlier rent reductions have already been described. Rents on re-leases at this period were lower still. For example, eight acres at Duffield, previously leased at 8d. per

acre, were leased for 4d. per acre in 1370. At Southwood 64 acres, previously leased at 6d. per acre, were leased at 3d. per acre at about the same date. 26½ acres at Hulland, 20 acres at Idridgehay and 23 acres at Biggin were leased at 2d. per acre at this period.

Entry fines during the earlier and middle years of Edward III's reign had averaged 6d. per acre. Towards the end of his reign they were lower. The average fine on 107 acres transferred in 1375-7 in Derbyshire, was just over 2d. per. acre. This reduction would make it easier for tenants to enlarge their holdings.

Tallage had been a relatively heavy burden on customary tenants on the Honour⁽³⁴⁾. Relaxation of this would provide another inducement to tenants to take more land, and this did, in fact, happen. At Heage, for example, three acres of villein land previously leased for 1s. plus 9d. tallage, was in 1370 leased for 1s. alone. On the same manor in 1376-7 tallage to the value of 10s.6d. was allowed because the tenements owing it had been leased freely.

The revived demand for arable was accompanied by a demand for cottages. A great number of these had been derelict as early as 1322. Between 1365 and 1377 five cottages at Belper, four at Scropton and one at Hulland had been re-leased.

The Duchy's rent receipts, as a result of these re-leases were higher in 1376-7 than they had been in 1361-2. By

1376-7, on 13 Derbyshire manors, they had risen to 90% of their value in 1313-14⁽³⁵⁾. No accounts for the Staffordshire manors between 1322 and 1370 survive. The accounts for the year 1370-71 suggest that these manors have seen similar developments to those on the Derbyshire manors. The rent receipts in 1370-71 were considerably less than they had been in 1313-14 on all the manors. At Rolleston, for example, rent receipts (less demesne arable and meadow⁽³⁶⁾) in 1313-14 were over £30.0.0. by 1370-71 they had fallen to just over £26.0.0. Similarly, at Barton the rent receipts were £55.5.0. in 1313-14, but only £41.15.0. in 1370-71. Rents had been reduced, and some land had been abandoned. For example, at Tutbury 334 acres of demesne was charged at 1s.0d. per acre in 1313-14. In 1370-71 211½ acres were leased at 10d. per acre, and 60 acres at 6d. per acre. The remaining 62½ acres had probably fallen out of use.

As in Derbyshire, the 1360's saw releases of previously decayed land at very low rents. At Marchington in 1370-1 40 acres of old decay was leased at 3d. per acre, 40 acres at 2d. and 40 acres at 1½d. per acre. At least 128 acres of previously decayed land had been released recently at Marchington in 1370, and at least 70 acres at Uttoxeter. Probably more had been re-leased on the other manors, but despite these re-releases, there was still land lying out of use on all the manors.

The markets and fairs at Tutbury and Uttoxeter were

worth as much, if not more, in 1370 as in 1313-14. At Tutbury the farm in 1313-14 had been £2.2.0., and in 1321-2 £5.0.0. At Uttoxeter the farm in 1313-14 and 1321-2 had been £14.13.4. The corn mills in 1313-14 had been farmed for £17.6.0. In 1370-1 the markets and fairs were farmed together with the corn mills for £37.0.0. There was a decay of £8.0.0. on this farm, but this was wholly on one mill. Probably as at Tutbury, the markets and fairs were worth more in 1370-7 than in the early years of the fourteenth century.

However, at Wirksworth the markets and fairs were inactive at this period. The value had been £2.0.0. in 1361-2, but in 1376-7 only 18s.0d. was collected.

By the 1360's most of the demesne meadows formerly kept in hand for the Earl's stock had been leased, a process which will be discussed in more detail later⁽³⁷⁾. At this point it is enough to note that the administration appears to have had little difficulty in finding tenants willing to pay relatively high rents for these. At Tutbury for example, 68 acres of meadow were leased at rents varying from 2s.5d. to 3s.6d. per acre. The level of these meadow rents is in marked contrast to rents of 3d. per acre or less on re-leased arable at the same period.

In spite of the implied prosperity of tenant stock and dairy farming, and the expansion of the area of arable under cultivation, signs of depression noticeable in 1360 had not disappeared by the 1370's. Seven derelict stalls at Tutbury

in 1370 had lain out of use "since the first pestilence". Tallage at Biggin was not collected in 1376-7 because of the great number of deaths in the epidemic of 1361. At Marchington tallage was charged at £3.0.0. in 1370-1, £1.0.0. less than in 1313-14. In fact none was collected as a result of the impotence (impotentia) of the tenants. There might have been an element of unwillingness, as well as poverty, in the tenants' attitude, which was successful because of the stronger bargaining position of tenants at this period. Similar allowances of all or part of the tallage because of impotence were made on almost every manor in 1370-71 or 1376-7.

In some cases the tallage was deliberately excused when land was leased, presumably as an incentive to tenants. At Southwood tallage was excused completely and permanently. Villein land had carried tallage of 2d. per acre in 1313-14, and this was still charged in the rental of Edward III's reign. By 1361-2 all villein land was leased without tallage.

There had been a reduction in the volume of corn production. Corn prices in the 1370's were no longer high enough to make milling profitable in face of declining production (38). The Duke's receipts from the farms of corn mills on the Derbyshire manors in 1376-7 were less than half their value in 1313-14.

His receipts from rents and farms of land on the Derbyshire manors in 1376-7 were 10% less than in 1313-14. Reductions in rent were partly responsible for this drop, but a reduction in the area of arable under cultivation was also ^apossible factor. This is something which it is impossible with the evidence we have to calculate accurately. Nor is it possible to calculate the fall in the population. If the fall in the population was in proportion to the shrinkage in the cultivated area (which we know was considerably less than 10%) there may have been the same area of arable under cultivation per person in 1376-7 as in 1313-14. If this was so the depression of 1322 and later had been overcome by the later part of the century.

The area of grassland per person in tenant hands must have been considerably greater at this period. By this date almost all the hundreds of acres of meadow and pasture formerly used by the Earl's own stock had been taken by a reduced number of tenants. In addition the area of pasture had been increased by conversion of former arable to grassland (39).

The period of expanding cultivation was shortlived. The earliest re-leases of previously decayed land were in the mid 1360's. By the reign of Richard II such leases have stopped. During the course of this reign the trend was reversed, and land started to fall out of use again.

New rentals were drawn up in 1381, which incorporated the recent leases. By 1386 the rentals were already outdated, and it was necessary to draw up a schedule of decayed rents for several manors⁽⁴⁰⁾. The portions of this relating to Heage, Holbrook, Southwood, Belper and Matlock are legible. On these five manors 233 acres, $1\frac{1}{2}$ bovates were out of use. Of these, 134 acres were at Belper. This must have been abandoned since 1377, perhaps even as recently as the early 1380's.

Abandoned land was more common than the schedule showed. Several manors were severely hit. At Hulland land worth £1.18.6., or one fifth of the rent charge was in the hands of the Duke in 1387-8. At Scropton about 5% of the charge was decayed for the same reason. The accounts of this period recorded the value of the land out of use and not its acreage, so it is impossible to say more exactly how much land had been abandoned.

As far as we can tell, the period of contracting cultivation from about 1377 was short, and had come to an end well before the end of the century. On several manors for which there survive accounts for 1387-8 and 1401-2, there were re-leases which increased the rent receipts between the two dates. At Heage the receipts were increased by 5s.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and at Matlock by 16s.9d. during this period. These increases were slight, it is true, but they illustrate the frequent

fluctuations in the demand for arable at this period.

Fewer accounts have survived for the Staffordshire manors from the end of the fourteenth century. We can see from these that in most cases the rent receipts rose slightly between 1370-71 and 1400-1. At Rolleston the increase was 10s.9d., at Barton £1.12.0. and at Uttoxeter £3.17.0. At Agardsley it was 11s.3d. between 1381-2 and 1400-1, but this overall increase concealed a fall of 5s.0d. between 1381-2 and 1387-8. It is possible that the contraction noticeable on the Derbyshire manors in the early 1380's was echoed on the Staffordshire manors. The expansion on the Staffordshire manors during the last thirty years of the fourteenth century did not take up all the previously decayed land. A list of decayed rents, attached to the accounts for the year 1400-1, shows that on one manor, Uttoxeter, as much as 200 acres lay out of use.

During the reign of Richard II, for a large part of which land was falling out of use, the market in villein land remained active. Entry fines were low, as they had been at the end of the previous reign. The average fine on over 200 acres changing hands, other than on inheritance, in Derbyshire in 1379-80 was 2½d. per acre. Most of the pieces of land involved were small.

The court rolls make it clear that there was more land available than the tenants wanted. There were, in fact, more

prospective sellers than buyers. There were frequent proclamations of tenements lying empty, which no-one claimed. Some tenants were trying desperately hard to get rid of land. For example, in 1379 a tenant surrendered four acres into the hands of the lord, and no claimant came forward. The tenant paid 3d. for another proclamation. Again there was no claimant. After a third unsuccessful proclamation, the tenant had to take the land back, paying an entry fine of 4d.

The same thing happened at least three more times in the year 1379-80. All the tenants involved paid an entry fine on retaking the land, and some, if not all paid also for the proclamations. All the pieces of land involved were small, consisting of four acres or less.

An active land market at a time when land was falling out of use can be the result of a tendency towards a shifting form of cultivation, where tenants take a piece of land cheaply, cultivate it for a few years, then abandon it and take on another piece. This was not the case here, however, as most of the transfers between peasants were to the lessee and his heirs.

There was at this date nothing to stop a tenant from enlarging his arable holding at little initial cost, except a complete lack of capital, or the knowledge that a larger holding would not be profitable.

Yet in the 1360's and 1370's many tenants had been eager to enlarge their holdings. The fluctuations in the demand for land are not easily explicable. The expansion beginning in the early 1360's and continuing into the 1370's followed almost immediately after the last serious epidemic of plague in 1361. It was perhaps the direct result of a population recovery from a long period when successive epidemics had kept the population down. The population did not, however, continue to increase. If it had, the demand for land would not have tailed off until it was reversed into a period of contraction in the 1380's.

Corn milling never recovered before the end of the century the prosperity it had enjoyed near the beginning, as the figures in the table below show.

	1313-14	1321-2	1326-7	1359-60
DUFFIELD	26-13-4	26-13-4	16-0-0	9-6-8
BELPER				8-0-0
BONSALL	6-13-4	6-13-4		2-0-0
MATLOCK	8-0-0	8-0-0		
ALDERWASLEY	3-0-0	3-0-0		
BIGGIN	19-0	19-0		19-0
HARTINGTON	9-6-8	9-13-4		3-6-8
IRETON WOOD	—	2-13-4		2-0-0
	1361-2	1373-4	1376-7	1387-8
DUFFIELD	8-0-0		8-0-0	7-6-8
BELPER	8-0-0		8-0-0	
BONSALL	4-0-0	4-0-0		3-0-0
MATLOCK	4-13-4		2-0-0	2-13-4
ALDERWASLEY	—		—	1-8-6
BIGGIN	—		—	—
HARTINGTON			4-14-0	
IRETON WOOD	15-0		2-0-0	2-0-0

	1313-14	1321-2	1370-1	1395-6
TUTBURY	24-0-0	15-0-0	18-13-4	
BARTON	5-1-0	4-14-4	5-6-8	
MARCHINGTON	5-14-0	7-6-8	4-0-0	
UTTOXETER	17-6-8	17-6-8		10-0-0

It is clear that short term fluctuations in the cultivated area were not reflected in the values of the farms of the mills. Nor were fluctuations in the values of the mills common to all manors. For example, at Matlock $1\frac{1}{2}$ bovates and 30 acres fell out of use between 1377 and 1386. Yet the value of the mill increased from £2.0.0. to £2.13.4. between the same dates. During the same period a mill was rebuilt at Alderwasley, yet the values of the mills at Bonsall and Duffield declined. The fluctuations in the values of the Staffordshire mills were even more erratic, and Barton mill was actually worth more in 1370-1 than in 1313-14.

The Duchy administration had difficulty in finding farmers for some of the manorial mills during the second half of the fourteenth century. At Bonsall and Ireton Wood the mills were in the hands of the lord from Michelmas to Christmas 1359. In 1361-2 the mill at Matlock was without a farmer during the whole accounting year. The shortage of would-be farmers itself suggests that milling was unprofitable.

It was suggested earlier that high corn prices might have been responsible for the maintenance of the values of

corn mills, in spite of a contraction in corn production. Prices were generally lower in the second half of the fourteenth century and may have been partly responsible for the reductions in the values of the mills found on most manors. At Matlock in 1376-7, when the mill was in hand, the reeve contrasted the profits in that year from the sale of the multure, £2.0.0., with the previous farm of £6.13.4. He blamed the low profit in that year onto the low corn prices.

The markets and fairs at Tutbury and Uttoxeter continued to function in the later part of the fourteenth century. In 1400-1 the farm at Tutbury was £5.0.0., as it had been in 1370-1, and at Uttoxeter it was £11.13.4. Stock and dairy farming was prospering at this period, and the values of meadows and forest pastures rose⁽⁴¹⁾. The contrast between the slack demand for arable and the rising values of grassland is very noticeable.

A set of rentals drawn up for all the Honour's demesne manors in February, 1414, survives. This, in conjunction with accounts of the same period, illustrates clearly many of the developments of the preceding century. Many of the changes were advantageous to the tenant. The changed ratio between available land and the number of tenants showed clearly. At the beginning of the fourteenth century pressure on the land was high enough to enable the landlord to extract high money rents, extra dues such as tallage, high

entry fines and to restrict his tenants' personal freedom. Dissatisfied tenants were in no position to resist.

During the course of the fourteenth century this situation was to a large extent changed. Land which had once fallen out of use could, in many cases, only be released at much lower rents, lower entry fines and in some cases, without tallage. Reductions in entry fines have already been mentioned. So have some rent reductions. The rental of 1414 shows that reductions in money rents were widespread, and affected most categories of land. Reductions in the rents on villein land at Southwood, Idridgehay and Heage during the fourteenth century were mentioned earlier. Other manors had experienced similar developments. At Belper, for example, the rent had fallen from 8d. per acre in 1313-14 to 4d. per acre in 1414. Manors where villein money rent had not been reduced were rare.

Rents on demesne land had also been generally reduced. At Barton the rent had been 10d. per acre in 1313-14, and 8d. per acre in 1327. By 1414 nearly half the demesne was leased for 4d. per acre. Similar reductions were found on other manors, but though reductions were widespread, they were not universal. At Hartington demesne land had been leased at nearly 6d. per acre in 1313-14. In 1414 68 acres were leased at 8d. per acre, and only 21 acres at 6d. per acre. The different development at Hartington was probably the result

of the different geographical position it enjoyed. At Barton there was plenty of good arable land available. At Hartington there was little land suitable for arable. The consequent scarcity could have been responsible for the maintenance of the rent level throughout the fourteenth century.

A wide variety of rent lands was typical of 1414. At Uttoxeter, for example, assarts in 1313-14 were normally leased for 1s.0d. per acre or very little less. In 1414 fourteen acres were leased at 1s.0d. per acre, 53 acres at 7d. or 8d. per acre and 100 acres at 6d. or less per acre. The differences here, found also on many other manors, show that reductions had often been made piecemeal, perhaps as a result of greater adjustment of rent to quality during periods of slack demand.

On most manors the conditions of tenure of villein tenants had improved. The total value of commuted labour services on the Derbyshire manors had fallen during the fourteenth century from £1.17.0. in 1313-14, to £1.10.0. in 1419-20. At Marchington labour services, commuted for £1.2.1. in 1313-14, had disappeared completely by 1417-18.

Tallage had been a heavier burden on most manors than labour services early in the fourteenth century. The constant reductions during the century had drastically cut the Duke's income from this source. On fifteen Derbyshire manors in 1313-14 tallage had been £24.17.0. On the same manors in

1419-20 it had fallen to £18.18.0. This was not merely the result of a reduction in the area of villein land. Former villein land was often leased without tallage but in bondage.

The area held in bondage had been reduced on many manors. At Southwood it had disappeared altogether. Tallage (£2.12.1 in 1313-14) and labour services (1s.8d. in 1313-14) had disappeared with it. On most manors, however, a diminished area of villein land remained in 1414. At Heage the area had shrunk from 370 acres in 1313-14 to 166 in 1414. At Hulland the area shrank from 224 acres in 1313-14 to 154 acres in 1414.

Reductions in the Duchy's receipts from bond tenants were sharper than the general reductions in rent receipts. At Heage, for example, the proportion of the rent receipts coming from villein tenants shrank from 76% in 1313-14 to 25% in 1419-20. At Hulland between the same dates the proportion fell from 57½% to 46%.

Similar marked reductions in the proportion of rent coming from villein tenants occurred on manors where it is impossible to trace reductions in rent levels or acreages. At Ireton Wood the proportion fell from 100% in 1313-14 to 81% in 1419-20, and at Bonsall between the same dates from 51% to 21%.

There were exceptions to this. At Idridgehay the area of land held in bondage had increased between 1313-14 and

1419-20 it had fallen to £18.18.0. This was not merely the result of a reduction in the area of villein land. Former villein land was often leased without tallage but in bondage.

The area held in bondage had been reduced on many manors. At Southwood it had disappeared altogether. Tallage (£2.12.1 in 1313-14) and labour services (1s.8d. in 1313-14) had disappeared with it. On most manors, however, a diminished area of villein land remained in 1414. At Heage the area had shrunk from 370 acres in 1313-14 to 166 in 1414. At Hulland the area shrank from 224 acres in 1313-14 to 154 acres in 1414.

Reductions in the Duchy's receipts from bond tenants were sharper than the general reductions in rent receipts. At Heage, for example, the proportion of the rent receipts coming from villein tenants shrank from 76% in 1313-14 to 25% in 1419-20. At Hulland between the same dates the proportion fell from 57½% to 46%.

Similar marked reductions in the proportion of rent coming from villein tenants occurred on manors where it is impossible to trace reductions in rent levels or acreages. At Ireton Wood the proportion fell from 100% in 1313-14 to 81% in 1419-20, and at Bonsall between the same dates from 51% to 21%.

There were exceptions to this. At Idridgehay the area of land held in bondage had increased between 1313-14 and

the date of the rental of Edward III's reign. By 1414 the area had increased further, from 256 acres early in Edward III's reign to 268 acres. At Alderwasley 708 acres of bond land in 1313-14 had increased to $747\frac{1}{2}$ acres by 1414. At Belper the area in 1414 was almost the same as in 1314, and at Rolleston it had decreased by only half a virgate. At Barton the 24 virgates held in villeinage in 1327 were still held in villeinage in 1414. So were the 18 villein bovates found at Holbrook in 1357. It is, of course, possible that the number of bovates at Holbrook had decreased between 1314 and 1357.

On the manors where villeinage remained in 1414 it still entailed obligations which differentiated it from other land. A villein at Barton still owed heavy labour services, valued at more than his money rent. The total sum of commuted labour services on this manor had fallen from £7.10.8. to £6.11.9. between 1327 and 1414, but each remaining virgater paid a money rent of 3s.0d. and commuted labour services worth 5s.2d.

Villeins at Barton and on other manors were still subject to obligations described earlier⁽⁴²⁾. For example, throughout the fifteenth century some villein heirs had to buy back their fathers' goods and chattels when inheriting their holdings.

Nevertheless there was a reduction in the importance

of villein tenure on the Honour during the fourteenth century. As villein tenure declined, more land was leased at the will of the lord and by copyhold. As was suggested earlier, tenure at the will of the lord need not be precarious for tenants as long as the supply of land exceeded the demand, as it did throughout the second half of the fourteenth, and indeed, the first eighty years of the fifteenth centuries. Copyhold tenure gave the tenant added security, and by the late fifteenth century began to gain the protection of the common law, hitherto reserved for free tenants⁽⁴³⁾.

Comparison of the rentals of the early years of Edward III's reign with those of 1414 shows several very significant developments. It was noticed earlier that the area of bond land had remained the same at Holbrook between the dates of both rentals of Edward III's reign and 1414, and at Barton between 1327 and 1414. The total area of land under cultivation on these two manors was either very much the same or slightly larger in 1414 than in 1357 or 1327 respectively. At Holbrook the area had remained about eighteen bovates and ninety acres. At Barton the area had probably increased from about nine hundred acres to about a thousand acres, in addition to 24 virgates. It must be remembered that these figures are not strictly accurate, as all the rentals include many tenements, places and crofts whose area

was not recorded. It must also be remembered that the fourteenth century rentals were drawn up after the contraction of the 1320's which was severe on both manors.

A comparison of the total areas, where this is possible, between the date of the undated rentals of Edward III's reign and 1414 shows the same trends. At Idridgehay the area appears to have increased from about 460 to 560 acres, and at Heage from 690 acres to 720 acres.

Between the same dates, in all cases there had been a reduction in the number of tenants, from 118 in 1327 to 98 in 1414 at Barton, from 33 to 26 at Heage, 33 to 21 at Idridgehay and from 55 to 39 at Southwood and Holbrook together between the date of the early Edward III rentals and 1414.

The conclusion that as large an area of land was being cultivated in 1414 as in the early years of Edward III's reign is one of great interest, especially in view of the reduced number of tenants. On these manors overall reductions in the area under cultivation, in as much as they occurred at all, must have taken place very early in the fourteenth century. Any reductions in area after the late 1320's had been made good again by the early fifteenth century.

There have been changes in the size of holdings during the fourteenth century, as would be expected. In 1414 fewer tenants held five acres or less, and more held thirty

acres or more. The proportion holding five acres or less had fallen slightly but uniformly on all manors. At Barton between 1327 and 1414 it had fallen from 44% to 39%. Between the pre-Black Death rentals and 1414 it had fallen from 45% to 43% at Southwood and Holbrook, from 29% to 24% at Idridgehay, and, more sharply, from 27% to 11½% at Heage.

In contrast, the proportion of tenants holding thirty acres or more has increased between the same dates, slightly at Barton and Heage (from 23 to 25%, and from 14 to 16% respectively), but more noticeably at Southwood and Holbrook (from 14 to 31%) and at Idridgehay (15 to 33%).

At Barton in 1327 five villeins had held more than forty acres. In 1414 seven held more than 47 acres, and this included holdings of 142 and 94 acres. At Idridgehay three villeins held more than 48 acres in bondage and at will. At Southwood and Holbrook one villein held 55½ acres. At Heage there was a holding of 244 acres, which included land held freely, at will and in bondage. The consolidation of big holdings, as well as of small ones, has clearly continued throughout the fourteenth century.

iv. 1414-1485. The Fifteenth Century.

The rentals of 1414 were the last for many years, and they formed the basis of the manorial accounts from that date until the end of our period. New rents were added to

the receipts part of the accounts under a separate heading. Rent losses, whether the result of reductions in rents or the result of land falling out of use, were usually included under one sum in the expenses part of the account. It is therefore possible to see how much of the rent charge was decayed, but not always possible to differentiate between the effects of rent reductions and contraction of the cultivated area. Luckily details of the area of land lying out of use were occasionally recorded.

The general trend found on most manors was for some contraction of the cultivated area during the first sixty years of the century, followed by a period of more stability. The few increases in rents were always outnumbered by reductions, and there was no assarting. On most manors rather less land was under cultivation in 1485 than in 1414.

The contraction in the cultivated area and reductions in rents affected the manors unevenly. As early as 1416-17, two years after the new rentals had been drawn up, land had been abandoned on two manors. At Matlock this was responsible for a decay of 12% of the rent charge, and at Bonsall for a decay of $4\frac{1}{2}\%$. By 1423-4 nearly a quarter of the rent charge was decayed at Brassington, but probably at least part of this was the result of reductions in rent. Of the Staffordshire manors Barton suffered most severely. On this manor 9% of the rent charge was decayed, but, as at Brassing-

ton, rent reductions may have accounted for some of this.

The century was not one of uniform contraction. At Brassington, for example, where nearly 25% of the rent charge was decayed in 1423-4, there had been some recovery by 1440-1. Some of the land abandoned earlier in the century had been re-leased, and only 13% of the charge was decayed. Again, however, there was contraction, and in 1446-7 over a quarter of the charge was decayed, but by 1460-61 the proportion in decay had fallen again to 18%. The decay remained the same for the rest of the period. Details of the decay were recorded in the account for 1460-1, when 12½% of the rent charge was decayed as a result of land lying out of use.

Such fluctuations were found on other manors during the fifteenth century, but the proportions varied from manor to manor. At Matlock, for example, about 29% of the charge was decayed in 1475-6. However at that date only twenty acres of the land charged in the account had been abandoned. Rent reductions accounted for 25% of the decay on this manor. At Barton, where 9% of the charge was decayed in 1440-1, only 7% was decayed in 1460-1. No further reductions were made before 1485. In 1460-1 at Barton about half the decay was the result of rent reductions, and half the result of land lying out of use.

On no manor during the fifteenth century was land

abandoned or re-taken on a large scale, as it had been during the previous century. On some manors the period was one of great stability. At Heage, for example, there were no reductions in rents and no land was abandoned between 1417-18 and 1484-5. A few increases in rents were made, and the rent receipts in 1484-5 were 2s.5d. more than in 1417-18. At Ireton Wood the rent receipts in 1484-5 were 2s.0d. less than in 1417-18. The rent charge had been increased by 8d., whilst land worth 2s.8d. had fallen out of use.

As would be expected in view of the contraction of this period, rent levels tended to fall. Reductions were common and increases rare. At Tutbury the demesne was leased for 10d. per acre until 1440-1, when the rent was reduced to 6½d. per acre. This was still a relatively high rent. More often rents were lower than this. At Agardsley 27 acres were leased at less than 4d. per acre from 1420-1 to 1484-5. At Rolleston 96 acres were leased at less than 3d. per acre until 1453-4, when the rent was raised to 3d. per acre. At Duffield 72 acres were leased at 4d. per acre throughout the century. Entry fines were low, as would be expected in view of the slack demand for rent, and sometimes tenants took land without paying any fine at all.

Occasional high rents, remaining from the early fourteenth century, were still found. At Matlock in 1475-6 26

acres, including twelve acres of assart, were leased for 1s.1d. per acre. However on the same manor in that year three acres were leased for 3d. per acre.

The Duchy's receipts from rents declined during the century. Between 1419-20 and 1484-5 the total rent receipts including tallage and sale of works, on thirteen Derbyshire manors fell by 7%. Most of the reductions took place before 1475-6. In that year the total rent receipts on thirteen Derbyshire manors were 86½% of their monetary value in 1313-14.

The contraction in area and reductions in rents on arable during the fifteenth century were echoed by reductions in the values of meadows and pastures⁽⁴⁴⁾. There are also signs of contraction in trade during the early part of the century. The markets and fairs at Tutbury, worth £5.0.0. in 1400-1, were farmed for only £2.13.4. in 1417-18. At Wirksworth there was no profit at all from the markets and fairs in 1419-20, and only the meagre sum of 8d. in 1425-6. By 1427-8 the markets and fairs at Uttoxeter were farmed for £6.13.4, compared with £11.2.4. in 1400-1. At Ashbourne, where the farm had been £62.3.5. in 1321-2, it was £11.4.4. in 1415-16 and only £9.12.1½d. in 1425-6.

The prosperity of the borough of Newcastle at this period is difficult to ascertain. The burgesses farmed the burgages, markets and fairs for the block sum of £40.0.0.

They managed to obtain a reduction of a quarter of this sum in 1425 because of their poverty, but later Duchy administrators were not convinced by this, and demanded the full £40.0.0. In view of this the extent of the poverty of the burgesses in the fifteenth century is impossible to assess. The question of the payment of this farm by the burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme will be discussed more fully later⁽⁴⁵⁾.

There was no revival in the Duchy's profits from markets and fairs during this period. At Tutbury the farm was reduced from £2.13.4. in 1419-20 to 3s.4d. in 1475-6. At Uttoxeter the farm fell from £6.13.4. in 1427-8 to £3.6.8 in 1440-1, and did not increase before 1485. At Wirksworth the farm fell to 6d. in 1438-9. For the rest of the period there was no profit from the market or fair on this manor. At Ashbourne the farm rose from £9.12.1½d. in 1425-6 to £12.0.0. in 1438-9, but after this it decreased steadily, until in 1460-61 it was only £3.16.8. After that the manor was farmed. At Newcastle the burgesses managed to persuade the Duchy to reduce the charge on the farm of the burgages, markets and fairs during Edward IV's reign, but this may have been evidence of the borough's strength rather than its poverty.

At first sight these figures suggest overwhelmingly that the volume of trade in these towns during the fifteenth century dwindled into near-insignificance in some places and

relative insignificance compared with 1313-14 everywhere. However there is some doubt as to whether these figures can be taken at their face value. Landlord control over towns and trade probably declined during this century, and it is possible that there was some trade on the Honour which escaped Duchy interference and Duchy taxes. The successful resistance of the burgesses of Newcastle may have been copied by other merchants elsewhere.

However, there are signs of depression at Ashbourne in the mid-fifteenth century. In 1445-6 fifteen stalls and shops and three chambers in the town were derelict. The shambles was in bad condition, and in that year the Duchy repaired it at a cost of £13.8.1., or not much less than half the receipts from Ashbourne in that year. Such large-scale expenditure in the town was, as far as it is possible to tell from the occasional accounts, unusual. It suggests, nevertheless, that the Duchy still had an interest in the prosperity of the town. Perhaps the Duchy's interest at this period was centred rather on the rents of shops, stalls and burgages in the town than on the direct tolls on trade. Rents both at Ashbourne and Newcastle were sufficiently high to justify such a policy.

The value of the manorial corn mills declined sharply during the fifteenth century, as the figures in the table below demonstrate.

	1400-1	1417-18	1437-40	1460-61	1475-6	1484-5
TUTBURY	18-16-4	11-9-0	10-0-0	11-0-0	7-0-0	4-4-0
BARTON	6-6-8	6-6-8	6-13-4	2-13-4	4-6-8	4-8-6
MARCH- INGTON	5-6-8	5-6-8	2-11-6	2-13-4	2-13-4	2-16-8
UTTOX- ETER	10-0-0		10-0-0	7-6-8	7-7-8	8-7-8

	1401-2	1419-20	1423-4
DUFFIELD	7-6-8	2-13-11	2-0-0
BELPER	5-6-8	5-6-8	4-13-4
BONSALL	3-0-0	3-0-0	3-0-0
MATLOCK	2-13-4	2-13-4	2-0-0
ALDERWASLEY	1-13-4	2-6-8	2-6-8
HARTINGTON		3-16-8	3-15-8
IRETON WOOD		1-6-8	—

	1439-40	1460-61	1475-6	1484-5
DUFFIELD	4-0-0	2-13-4	3-0-0	3-3-4
BELPER	4-0-0	4-0-0	3-0-0	3-3-4
BONSALL	1-0-0	1-0-0	1-0-0	1-0-0
MATLOCK	1-17-4	1-6-8	1-6-8	1-6-8
ALDERWASLEY	1-12-0	13-4	1-0-0	1-0-0
HARTINGTON	3-0-0	2-0-0	2-1-0	2-1-0
IRETON WOOD		2-4	3-4	3-4

In spite of a few slight increases in the farms before 1484, every corn mill on the Honour was worth far less by that date than it had been at the beginning of the century. The overall reduction was over half on the Staffordshire manors and nearly half on the Derbyshire manors.

There are several possible explanations for this. One is a reduction in the number of tenants obliged to grind their corn at the manorial mill as a result of a reduction in villeinage. Also, the seign^eurial monopoly might have been less strictly enforced on the remaining villeins during the fifteenth century. This seems unlikely, as at various periods during the fifteenth century the Duchy invested considerable sums of money on manorial corn mills. At Newcastle in 1445-6, for example, £10.17.0. was spent on the corn mills, and at Tutbury in the two years 1462-4 a total of £26.17.8. was spent in this way. Heavy investment in corn mills was found on many other manors during this century⁽⁴⁶⁾, and suggests that the Duchy did not feel that its monopoly was being evaded on a scale large enough to affect its receipts.

Another reason could be dwindling corn prices, which would reduce the value of the multure. Corn prices were low throughout the fifteenth century, but this could not have explained 50% reductions in the values of the mills between 1400 and 1485.

It seems likely that there was a substantial decrease in the volume of corn production. Possibly this was partly the result of contraction of the area of arable land under cultivation. Reductions in the area of cultivated land have been demonstrated on several manors during this century. However, the contraction was nowhere on a scale sufficiently large to have cut production by such a large amount. The decrease in the volume of corn produced was probably also partly caused by a change in land use, that is by the conversion of arable to pasture. As was shown earlier, the Honour is now an area where grassland far exceeds arable land. Various signs of increasing emphasis on stock and dairy farming have been mentioned in this chapter, and will be discussed more fully later⁽⁴⁷⁾.

Both the reduction in the number of tenants obliged to grind their corn at the lord's mill and low corn prices probably played some part in the decline of the manorial corn mills during this century, but these factors were probably less influential than the decrease in the volume of corn production.

Another change in cultivation during the fifteenth century was the increase in the area of enclosed land. Small enclosed crofts had existed, of course, since the beginning of our period. So had amercements of tenants who had made illegal enclosures. However from about 1440 licenced encl-

osure became common. This was a development of some importance, as enclosure often preceded improvements in technique and increased yields. A compact and enclosed area of land could be cultivated more efficiently than the more typical strips of the open fields.

The Duchy required tenants to pay for permission to enclose a part of their holdings. These licences, as they were called, took the form of a small annual payment. Most of the enclosures recorded in the accounts were of small pieces of arable, but grassland was occasionally involved.

One of the earliest licences to enclose recorded in the accounts was granted to the Rector of Ireton Wood in 1440. It concerned thirteen acres of pasture. The Rector paid 5d. extra rent to hold this in severalty. This is one of the rare instances when we know the name of the encloser. Similar licences became common during the 1440's on most Derbyshire manors. By 1475 increased rents as a result of enclosure were being paid on at least 145 acres of arable and $23\frac{1}{2}$ acres of grassland on nine of the Derbyshire manors. It is doubtful whether all enclosures would be mentioned in the accounts, and in many cases where enclosure was recorded the area of land involved was not stated, so these figures may well be underestimates.

At Barton in 1430 eighty acres of land was enclosed with a consequent rent increase from 13s.4d. to £1.0.0., or to

3d. per acre. Surprisingly, no other licences to enclose were recorded in the Staffordshire manor accounts for this period. This may have been the result of a difference in accounting methods, although no comparable differences between the accounts for manors in the two counties are noticeable. The court rolls also recorded enclosures, though it is very difficult from this evidence to get any idea of the area of land involved. They give the impression that enclosures were being made on the Staffordshire as well as the Derbyshire manors. They also make it clear that a great number of tenants were enclosing small pieces of land. The movement was not restricted to a group of richer tenants.

The fourteenth century had been a period of striking changes in social structure and in distribution of resources. Tenure in villeinage had become less important and widespread. Most of the stock, pastures, buildings and arable kept in hand by the Earl at the beginning of the century had been transferred to the tenants by the end of the century. There were perhaps fewer tenants and bigger holdings at that date. The later part of the century saw the beginnings of a shift in emphasis from arable to grass farming.

The fifteenth century was in many ways less eventful, and the evidence for this period is often harder to interpret. The obligations of villeinage which remained in 1414 lasted until 1485. Even at Barton, where labour services had been

heaviest, there was no reduction. The services on 24 virgates on this manor were commuted for the same sum, £6.11.9., in 1484-5, as in 1417-18. Wherever it can be calculated, the proportion of rent coming from villein land remained about the same during this period. This even applied to manors where it had diminished little or not at all during the fourteenth century.

Changes in rent levels during the fifteenth century were less marked, and so were fluctuations in the area under cultivation. With the evidence at our disposal it is impossible to draw firm conclusions on certain crucial points, such as the extent of trade during this century. Nevertheless, the fifteenth century saw some potentially very important developments on the Honour, such as the beginnings of a movement towards enclosure, and the reduction in the volume of corn production. Some of the most interesting developments during this century are connected with the progress of stock and dairy farming, and deserve separate discussion.

Footnotes to Chapter II

1. J.T. Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices in England, I, p. 230.
2. R.H. Hilton, Economic and Social Development of Some Leicestershire Estates in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, p. 65.
3. T.A.M. Bishop, 'The Rotation of Crops on the Manor of Westerham', in Ec. Hist. Review, IX, (1938) p.43;
R.A.L. Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, p.139.
4. P.R.O., DL/29/1/3.
5. P.R.O., E/164/21.
6. V.C.H. Lincolnshire, II, p. 306.
7. For example at Hulland, Heage, Southwood and Matlock.
8. P.R.O., DL/30/32/288.
9. E. Miller, The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely, p. 139.
10. This 151 acres of assart was charged at 6d. per acre. However the rents on demesne, burgages and other assart on this manor were charged at only half their annual value, so these, and the charges on new assart, should be doubled to give the normal annual value.
11. The reeve of Newcastle was charged with the fee-farms of mills and burgages only in 1322, and half the normal annual charge was paid. In 1324-5, however, receipts from assize rents were about one fifth lower than in 1313-14

12. See Chapter IV, p. 155.
13. See Chapter I, p. 11.
14. Carting and spreading manure at Matlock in this year cost 3s.4d.
15. Manure from the lord's sheepfolds were sold at Matlock, Barton and Hartington in 1322 for a total of 8s.4d., at Duffield in 1359-60 for 1s.6d. and in 1361-2 for 2s.
16. R.A.L. Smith, op. cit., p. 135.
17. E.V. Lucas, 'The Great European Famine of 1315-16', in Speculum, V, (1930) p. 343.
18. M.M. Postan and J.Z. Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors,' in Ec. Hist. Review, 2nd series, XI, (1959),
19. There were, for example, empty tenements at this period on the estates of Osney Abbey, I am grateful to Mr. T.H. Lloyd for this information.
20. R.A.L. Smith, op. cit., p. 108.
21. The Rolleston mill served both this manor and Tutbury
22. J.T. Rogers, op. cit., I, p. 230.
23. Ibid., I, p. 230.
24. P.R.O., DL/43/1/35. For the manors of Holbrook, Southwood, Idridgehay and Heage.
25. P.R.O., DL/43/1/29.
26. See Chapter I, p. 29.
27. V.C.H. Derbyshire, II, p. 12.

28. Accounts for 1358-60 survive for Duffield, Biggin, Bonsall, Belper and Ireton Wood.
29. However the receipts in 1361-2 on several manors include the rents from recently leased demesne meadows.
30. We know this from later evidence. See below, p.
31. M.M. Postan, in Rapports Presentes au IX^e Congres International des Sciences Historiques, p. 235; compare also his, 'Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages, in Ec. Hist. Review, 2nd series, II, part 3, p. 221.
32. The earliest case recorded in the accounts was at Belper in 1362.
33. W.S. Holdsworth, An Historical Introduction to the Land Law, p. 63.
34. See Chapter I, pp. 22 and 24.
35. This refers to the monetary value of the receipts.
36. The demesne arable and meadow was charged on the Rolleston reeve in 1313-14, and on the Tutbury reeve in 1370-1.
37. See Chapter IV, pp.
38. J.T. Rogers, op. cit., I, p. 234; also see below, p.
39. See Chapter IV, p. 195.
40. P.R.O., DL/43/1/19.
41. See Chapter III, p. 117.
42. See Chapter I, p. 24.

43. W.S. Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
44. See Chapter IV, p. 190.
45. See Chapter V, p. 217.
46. See Chapter V, p. 223.
47. See Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

Forest Economy.

A large part of the Honour of Tutbury was still woodland at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The two forests, Needwood Forest and Duffield Frith, were the site of assarting in the early years of the century,⁽¹⁾ but the bulk of the woodland was still intact.

Needwood Forest, low-lying and fertile, was famous for its rich grassland and fine timber. Duffield Frith was higher and hillier, but also provided good pastures and timber. There were gypsum deposits in Needwood, and coal, iron-stone and building stone in Duffield Frith. The economy of the whole Honour was closely linked with these forests, chiefly because of the extensive pastures found inside them, but in administration the forests proper were differentiated from the manors. In this chapter the forests themselves will be discussed.

Neither Duffield Frith or Needwood Forest were true royal forests in the fourteenth century. However, in 1285, Edward I granted to his brother, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, the right to appoint Justices of the Forest whenever necessary in all his Forests⁽²⁾. From that date Needwood Forest and Duffield Frith were administered under Forest Law. Eventually they passed into the hands of the Crown in 1399,

along with the rest of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The administrative system of the forests was briefly described earlier. The chief official was the Master-Forester, who was normally a man of some importance. In 1313, for example, the Master-Forester of Needwood was John de Mineers, who was also Steward of the Honour of Tutbury⁽³⁾. In 1370 the Master-Forester of Needwood was Sir Walter Blount, who was then Constable of Tutbury Castle, and who later became Chamberlain of the Duchy⁽⁴⁾. The Master-Foresters' main task was the distribution of venison and timber. They drew up annual accounts showing the number of deer caught during the year, and the number of trees cut down. Each forest was divided into administrative units called wards, which were accounted for by officials called receivers. Inside the wards were enclosed parks, each in the charge of a parker. The receivers' accounts dealt principally with the leases of forest pastures, but also with a host of miscellaneous items ranging from the coal-mines to swarms of wild bees and honey. They were responsible for the fencing system, the care of the deer and the hunting lodges. They also accounted for the receipts from the forest courts, called Wodemotes, held in each ward. The Wodemotes dealt with specifically forest offences, such as illegal cutting of wood, or straying animals. More important cases, including poaching deer, were heard before the Forest

Court at Tutbury⁽⁵⁾. *Thomas' closest friends, was given*

The deer were strictly preserved, as they were in royal forests. Several Earls and Dukes of Lancaster, from Earl Thomas to Edward IV, hunted in Needwood Forest or Duffield Frith. John of Gaunt, for example, often stayed at the hunting lodge of Ravensdale in Duffield Frith;⁽⁶⁾ whilst his wife, Constance of Castile, was living at Tutbury Castle.

The deer grazed in the parks in the summer and winter. There were sheds to provide shelter, and hay and branches cut from the trees were fed to them to supplement their winter diet. *John de Pals, Steward of*

Venison formed an important part of the food supply of Lancastrian households, and also a convenient means for rewarding Lancastrian supporters or officials. There is no evidence of venison from Needwood Forest or Duffield Frith being sold, as it was at Quernmore, another Lancastrian Forest⁽⁷⁾. *At the end of the fourteenth century John of*

Deer were killed, salted and stored on the orders of the Master-Foresters. In Duffield Frith there was a large larder at Belper for this purpose, which had 34 deer in it at Michelmas 1313. During the following year a total of 161 deer, 85 from Duffield Frith and 76 from Needwood, were killed. The majority of these, 88, were sent to the nearby Lancastrian households of Tutbury, Melbourne and Kenilworth. Ten went to the Prior of Tutbury as tithe. Sir Robert de

Holland, one of Earl Thomas' closest friends, was given fifteen⁽⁸⁾. The remaining 48 were given to various Lancastrian officials. Sir Ralph de Sheppey, Receiver-General of Kenilworth, and William de Markelan, Receiver of Donington were amongst the recipients.

There are no later Master-Foresters' accounts, but other documents show that the supply of venison continued. In 1370-1 forty deer from Needwood were sent to various Lancastrian households, including that in London. John of Gaunt continued the practice of rewarding his officials with deer, giving them, for example to John de Pole, Steward of the Honour of Tutbury⁽⁹⁾.

Timber, like venison, was granted to local officials. In 1313-14 22 oaks from Duffield Frith and 31 from Needwood were given away to such man as Adam Coyne, bailiff of Newcastle-under-Lyme and Henry Chaundeler, bailiff of the Hundred of Appletree. At the end of the fourteenth century John of Gaunt was continuing this practice⁽¹⁰⁾.

Unlike venison, timber was also sold. As far as it is possible to tell from the irregular fourteenth century accounts, sales were spasmodic. In some years none was sold, but in others scores of trees were sold at considerable profit. In 1313-14 143 oak saplings from Needwood were sold for over £6.0.0., or 1s. each. In 1359-60 sixty poor trees from Duffield Frith were sold for £4.0.0., or 1s.4d. each. Fully

grown trees in good condition were worth much more than this. In 1370-71 103 oaks from Needwood were sold at prices ranging from 3s.5½d. to 6s.0d. each. Altogether these trees were worth over £23.0.0. Even dearer was an oak sold from Duffield Frith in 1361-2 for 9s.0d.

In the fifteenth century, when accounts are much more regular, sales of timber were almost non-existent. There was a short period in the 1440's when timber from Needwood was sold, but this was an isolated instance. In 1442 the right to cut all sorts of wood (subboscum, ramelli and boscum) for three years was sold in Uttoxeter Ward for £31.13.4. Oaks called 'spires' and 'crabbetrees' were excepted from this agreement. In 1444-5 a similar arrangement was made with regard to Barton Ward. The right to cut underwood (subboscum) was sold for two years, for £6.13.3. Probably these were expedients to raise much needed cash.

Throughout the period, of course, timber was in constant demand for building operations. The transport of any quantity of heavy timber at this period was a laborious and expensive task, so a ready supply was invaluable to an estate.

The Earl supplied timber for repairs to manorial buildings leased to tenants. For example, 24 oaks were used to rebuild a barn of three bays on the tenement of a Scropton tenant in 1446-7. The right to timber from the lord's forests was specified in most leases of manorial mills or other

buildings. A great number of trees were also felled for repairs to the extensive fencing system inside the forests. In Duffield Frith in 1376-7 as many as 28 oaks were used for fencing alone, and this was by no means exceptional.

Timber was also essential to the frequent castle works. Needwood supplied timber for castles as far away as Melbourne, where ten wagon-loads were taken in 1314. The sporadic re-buildings and repairs at Tutbury consumed most timber, using, for example thirteen oaks in 1463-4 and seventeen in 1478-9. Oak was the chief wood for building, but alders were used also. 45 were needed for scaffolding at Tutbury Castle in 1313-14 and 24 were used on Scropton mill in 1322.

The forests were by no means merely a source of venison and timber. The grassland they contained provided pasture for both landlord and tenant stock. All the Staffordshire manors had common pastures in Needwood Forest, and some of the Derbyshire manors in Duffield Frith. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Earl kept a herd of 230 cattle in Duffield Frith, and fifty pigs and over one hundred horses in Duffield and Needwood. These were in the charge of stockkeepers, and will be discussed in a later chapter⁽¹¹⁾.

In addition pastures in all the wards were fenced off and leased to tenants during the summer months. In winter most of them were reserved for the Earl's stock or deer. The

receipts from these leases were one of the most profitable sources of income to the Earl from his forests. In addition a pannage fee was collected from all tenants who had pigs in the Forests. In 1313-14, the Earl's receipts from agistments, pastures and pannage in Needwood were £38.4.8d., and in Duffield Frith £38.5.2½d. Such large sums show that many tenants were engaged in stock farming, and show the value of such extensive pastures to an estate.

However, by 1322, the date of the next surviving ward accounts, the situation was very different. Leases of pastures in Duffield Frith were worth only £3.5.0., and in Needwood only £3.13.0. The number of stock agisting in these forests has clearly been severely reduced.

At this date the forests were suffering from both the depredations of the royal army and the after-effects of years of famine and disease, as was the rest of the Honour⁽¹²⁾. Fences and gates had been burnt down or broken in most Wards, and this was blamed on the royal army by the receivers⁽¹³⁾. In the five Wards where damage of this sort was recorded, only £1.12.8. was collected from pasture leases. The hostile army had probably consumed a great number of stock, as well as burned down fences and buildings. Other stock had probably been lost or stolen⁽¹⁴⁾. Political disturbances of this sort were one of the perennial problems faced by medieval stockfarmers.

Receipts from pastures were considerably lower even in Wards where no direct damage was recorded. From these four Wards only £5.5.4. was collected. Summer agistment in Shottle Park in Duffield Frith for example, worth £15.16.6½d. in 1313-14, was worth only £2.13.0. in 1322. Such reductions must be the result of a great number of deaths of stock from murrain or famine during the preceding years.

By the end of Edward II's reign stockfarming had recovered, and there was a great increase in the Earl's receipts from leases of pasture. Agistment in Shottle Park was worth £13.4.4. in the summer of 1326-7. Pastures in Belper Ward, worth 9s.9d. in 1321-2, were worth £6.6.5½d. in 1326-7. During the same period much arable which had been out of use in 1322, was re-leased.

The next surviving Ward accounts were drawn up after the Black Death of 1349. If the tenant stock on the Honour had suffered badly at this period, there had been a recovery by 1361-2. In that year the agistment in Shottle Park was worth over £20.0.0. to the Duke.

The demand for pasture in the forests rose steadily during the second half of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In 1370-1 the total value of pastures in Needwood Forest was £35.6.7½d., very little less than in 1313-14. By 1400-1 the value had risen to £42.11.8., and by 1427-8 to £48.17.9. Similarly in Duffield Frith the value of pastures

was £46.13.1½d. in 1376-7, more than it had been in 1313-14. By 1397-8 their value had risen slightly to £47.8.2., by 1419-20 to £52.4.0., and by 1426-7 to £57.8.0.

These figures include the lease of the remains of the Duke's herd of cattle in Duffield Frith. This consisted of forty cows and one bull, leased with pastures and buildings at some date before 1376. The lease was for £11.0.0., or 5s.6d. per head, at that time⁽¹⁵⁾.

Agistment fees probably increased slightly during this period. In Shottle Park, Duffield Frith, in 1397 the fee for horses was 1s.0d. or 6d. depending on the length of the agistment, and the fee for foals 8d. or 4d. In Needwood the equivalent fees in 1440 were 1s.6d. or 9d., or 1s.0d. or 6d. The remaining fees, 1s.0d. or 6d. for cattle or mares, were the same at both dates. Possibly the difference was a regional one, but it is more likely that it reflected increased pressure on the pastures.

The increases in the total values of pastures are very striking. In Needwood the increase between 1370 and 1428 was over one third, and in Duffield Frith between 1376 and 1427 it was nearly a quarter. It has already been shown that the later part of the fourteenth century saw some short periods of expansion in arable farming, but accompanied by greatly reduced rents, and followed by periods of contraction in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries⁽¹⁶⁾. Further

evidence for the contrasting developments in stock and dairy farming at the same period will be discussed in a later chapter⁽¹⁷⁾.

The values of forest pastures stopped rising in the middle of the fifteenth century and in many cases there were reductions in the leases. By 1460-1 the total receipts from pasture leases in Duffield Frith had fallen to £34.0.0., and in Needwood to £34.15.0. This mid-century decline in the demand for pastures was temporary, and during Edward IV's reign the Duchy's receipts from this source rose again. By 1475-6 the value of pastures in Duffield Frith was £55.16.0., and in Needwood £45.17.8. These rising values, like those of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were not paralleled by similar increases in the value of arable.

During the later part of his reign, Edward IV increased the number of deer in Needwood Forest and Duffield Frith, even to the detriment of the facilities for tenant stock. In many Parks the number of tenant stock was reduced to give more pasture for the deer. This indulgence of Edward's weakness for hunting meant a drop in his receipts from forest pastures to £32.0.0. in Needwood Forest in 1482-3., and £44.8.4., in Duffield Frith in the same year. At the same time Edward embarked on an extensive programme of rebuilding the hunting lodges, which consumed much of the forest receipts. The money came from both ward and manorial receipts, and in the

three years 1475-7 and 1478-9 over £75.0.0. was spent on extensions and repairs to lodges in Needwood alone. Luxury expensiture on this scale was never found during the previous reign, or the early part of Edward's own reign.

In the fourteenth century ward accounts the names of lessees were only occasionally recorded. They were either men about whom nothing else is known, and probably local tenants, or minor Lancastrian officials such as parkers. In Duffield Frith in 1397-8, for example, the parkers of Shuttle, Mansell, Ravensdale and Postern Parks leased the agistment themselves.

The names of lessees were usually recorded in the fifteenth century accounts and it is immediately noticeable that far more prominent men were involved. The lessees of smaller pieces of pasture were often obscure men, but the majority of lessees of the more valuable pastures were well known locally, or in some cases nationally. They fall into either or both of two groups, that is Duchy officials in important or obscure positions, and local gentry.

The collectors of the issues of the wards, formerly called receivers were often lessees. For example, William Aleyn, collector of the issues of Uttoxeter Ward and bailiff of the manor, became the lessee of pasture worth £9.13.4. in Needwood in 1462 on a twelve year lease. The collector in Barton Ward, Thomas Smith of Elford, described as a yeoman,

farmed the herbage of two Parks in Needwood in 1460-1 for £1.16.8. and of another in 1475-6 for £4.0.0. Several other minor officials including reeves, bailiffs and parkers, held similar leases during the course of the century.

Officials in higher positions were also taking leases at this period. For example John Agard, a key figure in local Duchy administration during Edward IV's reign, leased the agistment of various Parks in Needwood for £8.0.0. in 1475-6. At that date he was farmer of Scropton manor, keeper of Castlehay Park in Needwood and Collector of Tutbury Ward. He combined these lesser posts, probably exercised through a deputy, with more exalted positions. He was made a Surveyor of Needwood Forest for life in 1461. He was Deputy Receiver of the Honour in 1475 and Receiver in 1486. In addition he was Feodary of the Honour in the county of Staffordshire between 1461 and 1481⁽¹⁸⁾.

Local landowners had also become interested in pasture and agistment leases in the Honour's forests. An example of this is John Curson, Esquire, of Kedleston, near Derby. He, or his father was prominent in Derbyshire affairs during the fifteenth century⁽¹⁹⁾. Curson was an organiser of an inquisition into Knights' Fees in the county in 1431⁽²⁰⁾. According to this he held Kedleston manor for a quarter of a fee, Wingerworth manor for a tenth of a fee and land worth 3s.4d. yearly in the town of Derby. In 1475 he was receiving an

annuity of £5.0.0. from the Duchy.

He was also a frequent lessee of pastures and agistments in Duffield Frith during the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1456 he took a twenty-one year lease of Ravensdale Park and Postern Park in Duffield Frith, paying £4.16.8. yearly. Earlier in the century he had been the farmer of the Duchy's Duffield herd of cattle, paying £8.0.0. yearly.

The farmer of this herd in 1474 was another organiser of the 1431 Inquisition, Peter Pole, described as a gentleman. He held a quarter of a knight's fee in Rodburn, and land in Eggington, Muggington and Attelow⁽²¹⁾. His lease was for twelve years, and the value was £8.0.0.

Many lessees during the fifteenth century held the title of esquire, like Curson, or were described as gentlemen, like Pole. For example, Nicholas Knyveton, Esquire, sheriff of Derbyshire in 1466-7⁽²²⁾, whose rent on some tenements on Hartington manor had been remitted on the personal orders of Edward IV, was the lessee of Ravensdale Park from 1474 on a twenty year lease. In 1483-4 he shared the lease of Shottle Park, with another man, Thomas Babyngton, described as a gentleman. In 1474-5 Knyveton paid an annual rent of £2.3.4. for Ravensdale Park, and in 1483-4, with Babyngton, £15.0.0. for Shottle Park.

Lessees were not comprised wholly of local men. Amongst

them in the later part of the fifteenth century were Thomas, Lord Stanley and William, Lord Hastings. Both, besides their national positions, held administrative posts in the Duchy. Lord Stanley, who became Constable of England in 1483, was made Steward of the North parts of the Duchy in 1485. Under Edward IV he had been Receiver of the Duchy in Lancashire and Cheshire and Steward and Constable of Halton (23). In 1462-3 he held pasture and agistment to the value of £7.12.8. in Needwood Forest.

Lord Hastings, a retainer and personal friend of Edward IV, had played a prominent part on Edward's side in the crisis of 1470. After Edward's restoration many additions were made to the lands, annuities and offices of profit which Hastings had already been granted (24). Amongst these were annuities and offices in the Duchy, including the Chief Stewardship. Other rewards came from the Honour of Tutbury. Hastings was given an annuity of £40.0.0. from the Receiver of Tutbury's receipts, and in 1474 he was granted a string of posts in Staffordshire and Derbyshire. He became Cheif Steward of the Honour, Steward of Newcastle-under-Lyme and Ashbourne, Constable of Tutbury Castle and Master Forester of both Needwood Forest and Duffield Frith (25). He had at this period many retainers amongst the gentry of Staffordshire and Derbyshire, including several of the lessees mentioned above, Nicholas Knyveton, John Agard and John Curson (26).

In 1482 Hastings took a series of leases of pastures and agistments in both forests. He held the agistment of six parks in Duffield Frith and seven in Needwood Forest, paying £39.11.0., or well over half the total receipts from pasture in these forests. The leases were made for ten years, but Hastings had been executed long before they expired.

The practice of rewarding supporters with lucrative and influential administrative posts, illustrated so clearly here with regard to the King and the Honour of Tutbury, has been remarked on elsewhere⁽²⁷⁾. It is clear that leases of the Honours resources were used in the same way, especially during the fifteenth century. The fact that such wealthy men as the Lords Hastings and Stanley took leases of forest pastures on the Honour suggests that subletting these was very profitable.

Grass was by no means the only fodder provided by the Forests. Branches of trees were cut down throughout the year and fed to the stock. Branches cut in winter were presumably from evergreens. In winter, when many pastures were reserved for the deer, the branches would be a valuable supplement to oats and hay⁽²⁸⁾.

The terminology in the ward accounts is occasionally obscure. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sales of branches, crops and wood were clearly distinguished.

In the early fourteenth century accounts, however, branches (rami or ramelli) and wood (busca) were accounted for together. Busca normally means undergrowth or firewood, which would not be suitable as fodder for stock.

In 1313-14 sales of wood and branches in Needwood Forest were worth more to the Earl than pasture sales. The total receipts from Needwood Forest were £70.0.0. In Duffield Frith wood and branches were sold for over £20.0.0. The total value of pastures and agistments in both forests in the same year was just under £76.10.0. It is impossible to say, however, what proportion of the receipts from wood and branches came from branches cut as fodder.

By 1322, when stock on the Honour had been ravaged by murrain, famine and the King's soldiers, receipts from sales of branches and wood had fallen drastically. They were £9.4.0. in Needwood, and £1.15.0. in Duffield Frith. At this date they were still worth more than pasture sales.

Later in the fourteenth century, when the values of pastures rose, receipts from sales of branches followed suit. At this period sales of wood (busca) were recorded separately, and never worth more than a few shillings. Branches alone were sold in Needwood in 1370-1 for £9.11.8., in 1400-1 for £13.12.6. and in 1417-18 for £17.0.0. Similarly in Duffield Frith the receipts from sales of branches were £14.14.0. in 1376-7.

Branches were sold by the cartload, at prices varying from park to park. In Needwood, for example, in 1370-1 the price per cartload ranged from 6d. in Marchington and Yoxall Wards to 10d. in Castlehay Park in Tutbury Ward. By 1395-6 the prices had increased, until they ranged from 7d. in Yoxall ward to 1s.0d. in Castlehay and Rolleston Parks. The regional differences probably represented differences in quality. As many as 455 cartloads of branches were sold from Needwood in 1417-18, and 437 cartloads from Duffield Frith in 1376-7.

In the second half of the fourteenth century sales of branches were profitable to the Duke, but less so than in 1313-14. They no longer rivalled pasture leases as a source of income, but it is still possible to see some relations between the demand for pasture, as shown in the increased receipts from pasture leases, and the demand for branches as fodder.

By the end of the fourteenth century in Duffield Frith, and in the early fifteenth century in Needwood Forest, this relationship had disappeared. The receipts from sales of branches dwindled into insignificance. In 1397-8 in Duffield Frith the branches sold were worth only £4.5.0., and in 1426-7 were worth only £2.12.6. The receipts dropped even lower after this date. Only branches from trees cut down for timber were sold, and none were cut from living trees.

There was a similar development rather later in Needwood Forest. In 1426-7 the receipts from this source were £10.0.0., and in 1440-1 £2.15.5. As in Duffield Frith, only branches from trees already felled were sold at this date.

This complete change of policy was probably forced on the Duchy when it was realised what were the consequences of over-exploitation of the forests. Cutting hundreds of cartloads of new growth off the trees every year fetched immediate cash returns, but the practice was self-defeating. Probably by the fifteenth century this fact could no longer be ignored. Cutting branches for fodder had not been the only form of exploitation. Some idea of the rate of exploitation can be gained from the accounts. In 1370-1 in Needwood, 287 cartloads of branches and 103 oak-trees were sold, and at least 34 oaks were cut for fencing. More oaks were undoubtedly cut for other repairs. The receipts from sales of timber, branches and bark in that year were £35.5.0. In Duffield Frith in 1376-7 over 430 cartloads of branches were sold. So was a piece of woodland for charcoal-burning, worth £9.9.0. As in Needwood, more trees were probably cut for repairs. The Duke's receipts from sales of wood in Duffield Frith in that year were about £23.10.0. Yet in these years the receipts were less than they had been earlier in the century. In 1313-14, for example, sales of

wood, timber, branches and bark in Needwood and Duffield Frith were over £99.0.0.

The increased prices charged for branches in the late fourteenth century in Needwood probably reflected increased awareness of the extent of the damage being done. During the fifteenth century the practice of cutting branches from growing trees was discontinued. So, with rare exceptions, were timber sales, and so was the practice of selling large areas of woodland to charcoal burners. Only small pieces, worth at most £1.0.0., were sold for this purpose during the fifteenth century.

One of the chief sources of income from Duffield Frith in 1313-14 was the iron and coal industry. This was centred on Belper Ward, where at that date there were three forges and two coal-mines which were worth £84.5.0. In all cases the accounts record only the Earl's receipts from these, which were all farmed, leaving us ignorant of the details of the work being done.

The ironstone beds in Morley Park were, amongst the best in the county⁽²⁹⁾. At this date charcoal was almost exclusively used to produce heat for the furnaces, and Duffield Frith provided a convenient supply of timber for this purpose. One forge in Morley Park was working for eleven weeks and four days during the year 1313-14, and farmed for about 13s.0d. per week. The other two were worked

for 34 weeks, and were valued at 19s.10d. each week. The total farm of the three forges were £70.15.7. No indication other than this of the output was recorded⁽³⁰⁾.

The prosperity of these forges was shortlived, despite the favourable conditions of ironstone and charcoal found together. The forges appear to have disappeared completely soon after 1313-14. No reference to them is found in the account for Belper Ward in 1322. In 1326-7 there is a note saying that there was no profit from the forges in that year. Nor is there any record of a recovery during our period. No explanation of this total failure was offered by the accountants. However the disappearance of medieval forges was not an uncommon phenomenon, and some reasons can be suggested. Schubert attributes the failure of Duffield Frith forges to exhaustion of the supply of wood⁽³¹⁾. Certainly this was a common cause of the abandoning of forges at this period. Equipment was rudimentary, so that it could easily be moved when the supply of wood ran low. However, it seems doubtful whether this was the only reason for the disappearance of the forges in Duffield Frith. Plenty of timber was left in Duffield Frith in the early fourteenth century, and extensive charcoal burning took place later in the century⁽³²⁾.

Probably the political crisis of 1322 harmed the forges, at it undoubtedly did the coal mines in the same area⁽³³⁾. The acute depression of the Honour before 1322 might have

destroyed the local market for iron. Again, the depression of mining resulting partly from unfavourable economic conditions was a widespread phenomenon⁽³⁴⁾. These were probably important causes for the cessation of iron working in Duffield Frith.

Another forge was working in Duffield Frith in 1313-14. The Earl kept it for his own use. It was situated in Postern Park in Duffield Ward, and charcoal from Shottle Park was carted to it. A road for this purpose was mended in 1313-14, at a cost of 6s.8d. No further references were made to this forge.

The coal mines in Duffield Frith were in Morley Park, and in 1313-14 were farmed for £13.9.0. At this date three separate pits were being worked. However, during the course of the fourteenth century the pits suffered from various factors, and were eventually abandoned. In 1322 the political troubles affected coal mining adversely. Only two pits were working, and these for only thirteen weeks. The farm was consequently reduced to £1.13.4. The farm per week, 1s.4½d. was not very much lower than it had been in 1313-14, when it was 1s.8½d., so the miners' difficulties were political rather than technical.

Under more peaceful conditions the value of the mines increased again, and in 1326-7 the farm was £4.6.8. At this date there were again three pits being worked, but their

value was still less than it had been in 1313-14. The pits fell in value after 1326-7. In 1359-60 the farm was £3.6.8. and in 1361-2 there was no profit at all. This was because of flooding in the pits, a common hazard faced by medieval coal miners. Mining at this period was not very advanced technically⁽³⁵⁾. Its prosperity was dependent on the presence of good seams of coal on or near the surface. Much medieval coal mining was only the enterprise of one or two men digging on the surface.

When surface seams were exhausted, wide, shallow pits were dug to give access to slightly lower seams. These pits were often bell-shaped, wider underground than on the surface. Their efficiency was very limited. The art of digging deep underground trenches, or of draining off the water which flooded these, was not yet mastered, although it was essential to successful coal-mining. Instead, as pits grew deeper and were flooded, they were abandoned.

This appears to have been the fate of several pits in Morley Park. In 1370-1 the mines were farmed for the meagre sum of 2s.8d. In the same year, so many animals were drowned in disused pits that the agistment fees from the Park were badly affected. In 1376-7 there was again no profit, although the accountant noted that the sum of 14s.0d. had been paid for the mines at a previous date. In 1397-8 the mines were being worked again, and the farm was 13s.4d. But again,

mining died out. There was no profit from the pits in 1416-17 or 1423-4. It is clear that during this period the technical difficulties were proving insurmountable.

During the fifteenth century, however, there was a revival in coal mining. In 1425-6 mines in Morley Park were farmed for 13s.4d., and by 1426-7 this had risen to £1.6.8. By 1432-3 the farm had increased to £7.6.8., but at this point there was again trouble from flooding. The farmer ran into debt, and fled the countryside sometime before 1400 leaving a debt of £14.0.0., or £2.0.0. each year for seven years. For several years in the 1440's there was no farmer and no profit.

However, by 1460 the mine was being worked again, and was leased for £4.0.0. By 1475-6 the farm had increased to £5.6.8. and there were no further setbacks before the end of our period.

During the middle years of the fifteenth century a mine valued at 16s.8d. was reserved for the King's own use. Whether the coal was burnt in Tutbury castle, or used for some other purpose was not stated.

Occasionally the names of the farmers of the mines were recorded in the ward accounts. In 1326-7 the mines were farmed to one man, Walter Dickson and his associates (sociis suis). In 1460-61 there were four joint farmers. At least three of them were local men, two from Heage and one from

Denby. Their lease was for 21 years, starting from 1451. They had free entry and exit to and from the pits with their horses and carts. The King was to provide as much timber as was necessary in accordance with mining law (lex minera se exigit), but otherwise the farmers were to work and repair the mine at their own cost. In 1474 the lease was renewed to one of these four men. In this case the lease was for twelve years. A new twenty year lease was made to a different farmer in 1485.

All the farmers were probably local men. The mines never attracted lessees from outside the Honour as the pastures in the forests did. This is not surprising in view of the fluctuations in the value of the mines. It seems that they were never very firmly established between the early part of the fourteenth and the second half of the fifteenth centuries. Even during the later fifteenth century the value of the mines was less than half what it had been in 1313-14.

There was also a quarry for millstones in Duffield Frith, at Rowcliff. In 1313-14 this quarry was in the hands of an improver (appruator). He had fifty sledge-loads of millstones dug and sold for £20.0.0., or 8s.0d. per sledge-load. Another thirty sledgeloads of millstones and three loads of cob-stones were left over from 1312-13, and still remained at the end of the year 1313-14⁽³⁶⁾. The employment

of an improver in that year suggest that the quarry was usually farmed.

Like the coal mines in Duffield Frith, the quarry was affected by the crisis of 1322. Between March and Michémas of that year there was no farmer, and no work was done. The damage was not, however, permanent, and in 1326-7 the quarry was farmed for £26.13.4.

After this date the quarry was not mentioned in fourteenth century accounts, but we know that it was farmed during the fifteenth century. Its value at this period was drastically reduced. In 1426-7 the farm was £5.13.4. It rose to £6.13.8. by 1434-5, but fell during the century until in 1460-61 the farm was £1.6.8.

In view of the prominence of Duchy officials as lessees of forest pastures, it is interesting to notice that the farmer in 1326-7 was Nicholas de Hungerford, a retainer of the Earl and a former Master-Forester of Duffield Frith⁽³⁷⁾. In 1481 the farmer was Thomas Welles, Deputy Steward of the Honour⁽³⁸⁾.

The Duchy bought mill-stones from Rowcliff Quarry for the manorial mills at Tutbury and Uttoxeter on several occasions in the fifteenth century. The price paid for these seems remarkably high in view of the level of the farm of the quarry. The price paid by the Duchy, for example, was £1.9.4. in 1420, 14s.0d. in 1440 and £1.2.0. in 1444. In

1443-4 the quarry was farmed for only three times the last sum, that is £3.6.8. Also we must remember that in 1313-14 the selling price for sledgeloads of millstones was only 8s.0d. The high prices paid by the Duchy were probably partly the result of the heavy carting costs between Rowcliff Quarry and the Staffordshire manor. The High cost of carting was shown clearly in the account of the expenses of repairs to Tutbury Castle in 1313-14. In that year the cost of carting stone from Wynshull Quarry, near Burton-on-Trent, to the castle was nearly £16.0.0.⁽³⁹⁾.

Duffield Frith is now the site of various quarries for different types of stone, such as slate-stones and grindstones. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these were quarried spasmodically. A grindstone quarry in Colbrook Ward was farmed briefly in 1463-4 for 3s.4d. The farmer was the Ward Collector, Roger Bradshaw. Slatestones were chiefly quarried for roofing the hunting lodges in Duffield Frith. When Ravensdale Lodge was under repair in 1426-7 a tenant was paid 3s.4d. compensation for damage suffered by his tenement as a result of carts loaded with slatestones being driven over it.

There were gypsum deposits in Castlehay Park in Needwood Forest. Local alabaster was used in the Norman church at Tutbury and in the castle. Tutbury alabaster was well-known during the middle ages. In the fourteenth century Queen

Philippa had six cartloads of it sent to her in London⁽⁴⁰⁾.

The Duchy dug this stone for its own use, and during the fifteenth century regularly sold it. In 1440-1 seventy cartloads from the old east tower of the castle were sold off at 9d. each, or a total of £2.12.6. Other "white stones" were given to customary tenants for repairs, to their tenements. In the same year stones straight from the quarries in Castlehay Park were sold at the lower price of 6d. per cartload, or a total of 11s.5d.

The earliest recorded sales direct from the quarry were in the early fifteenth century. In 1420-1 the King received 13s.4d. from this source, and in 1423-4, 17s.11d. By 1444-5 more stone was being quarried and sold. In that year the receipts from the quarry were £1.6.6. This came from thirty cartloads sold at 9d. each, and one cartload of "big stones" (grossas albas petrarum) at 4s.0d. The cost of digging the stones was 8s.6d., so the net profit was 18s.0d. According to the accountant this alabaster was sold for manufacture into images⁽⁴¹⁾.

The receipts rose slightly during the next thirty years, whilst the price per cartload varied between 6d. and 9d. By 1475-6 the quarry had been farmed for £2.0.0. The farmer from this date until 1483 was John Agard, a lessee of forest pastures and an important Duchy official⁽⁴²⁾.

The chief resources of the forests, the timber, the

venison, the pasture and the stone, iron and coal, have been discussed. There were in addition many less important resources, which added a little, though never very much, to the receipts. Honey and wax were occasionally collected and sold, but never for more than a few pence. Licenses to hunt game in Duffield Frith were sold for 14s.0d. in 1313-14, but the practice of selling such licenses was dropped during the fourteenth century. The Derwent and its tributary, the Ecclesbourne, ran through Duffield Frith, and fishing rights in various stretches of these rivers were sold. In 1313-14 the receipts from sales of fishing rights in both rivers where they ran through the Honour were £1.0.0. This sum decreased during the period, until in the fifteenth century a total of 13s.0d. was collected from this source. Fishing was never an important feature of forest economy on the Honour.

The inner bark of the lime trees of Needwood Forest was manufactured into cordage and bast, and sales of bark were regularly worth small sums to the Duchy. In 1313-14 lime bark worth nearly £2.0.0. was sold. During the fifteenth century sales of bark for irregular sums ceased, and a customary payment replaced them. This was paid alternately from each of four wards of the Forest, Tutbury, Barton, Yoxall and Marchington. It varied from 6s.0d. to 8s.8d.

Normally when assarts were made from the Forests they

were incorporated into the manors as far as administration was concerned. There was one exception to this rule. This was in Yoxall Ward, where assarts made after 1314 were accounted for by the ward receiver. This was presumably because the manor of Yoxall, but not the ward in Needwood Forest, had been granted away by Earl Thomas in the fourteenth century⁽⁴³⁾.

The assarts in Yoxall Ward were made at some date between 1322 and 1370. Probably they had been recently made in 1370, during the period of expansion noticeably in the 1360's on most manors in Staffordshire and Derbyshire. 11½ acres were, in fact, called new assart in the 1370-1 ward account. The assart rent was £3.7.9., but already there had been a reduction of 3s.9d., or 4d. per acre, on the new assart. A water corn mill had also been built since 1313-14 and was leased for 16s.8d. in 1370-71.

By 1400-1 the mill was in the hands of the King, and worth nothing. The assart rent had been reduced to £2.9.4½d., in accordance with a Rental drawn up twenty years earlier. The rent remained the same from this date until the end of our period. The mill was leased again by 1417-18, when the farmer was a man from Yoxall, and the farm 18s.0d. From this date the mill farm, too, remained steady until at least 1485.

The contraction of these assarts during the last years

of the fourteenth century is in accord with the trends noticed on the Staffordshire manors at the same period.

The Wodemote had been a considerable source of profit to the Earl in 1313-14, when the perquisites from Needwood Forest courts had been £15.0.0., and from Duffield Frith Courts £12.0.0. As would be expected the receipts were far less during times of political crisis when the administration was changing hands. In 1322 only £2.10.0. was collected from Wodemotes in both Forests between March and Michelmas.

After 1322 the receipts increased again, but never recovered their former value. In 1370-71 only £3.0.0. was collected from Needwood, and only £2.0.0. from Duffield Frith in 1376-7. The receipts dwindled further during the rest of the period. As in 1322, years of crisis had a particularly adverse effect. In 1460-61 there was no profit at all from Duffield Frith wodemotes, and only 2s.4d. was collected in the following year.

During the fifteenth century the receipts from the forests came mainly from leases of pasture, pannage and agistment. In 1313-14 the total receipts from these sources had been £76.10.0. from both forests. In 1426-7 they were £106.5.0. and in 1475-6 £101.15.0. In contrast, other sources of income had diminished into insignificance. Wodemotes were worth far less by the late fourteenth century. The sale of wood and timber had stopped almost completely by the fif-

teenth century, and the sale of branches was severely limited. The forges disappeared early in the fourteenth century, and coal mines and the millstone quarry were worth only a fraction of their former value for the whole of the fifteenth century.

Consequently the proportionate increase in the receipts from pasture leases was very striking. In 1313-14 sales of pasture made up 29% of the total receipts from Needwood Forest, and 22% from Duffield Frith. In 1376-7 they were 63% of the total receipts in Duffield Frith. In 1475-6 pasture sales provided about 77% of the total receipts in each forest.

Grazing stock was, in fact, the chief activity in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The organisation of the system of pasture leases necessitated many miles of fencing inside each ward to separate parks and areas inside and outside the parks for deer and agisting stock. During the fifteenth century an increasing amount of money was spent on this fencing system. More money was also spent on water-courses, paths and sheds to shelter the animals.

In 1313-14 about 10% of the receipts from Duffield Frith and the same percentage from Needwood Forest were spent on repairs to fencing. In 1326-7 about 9% of the receipts from Duffield Frith were spent in this way. During the later part of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, after

receipts from pasture leases had increased absolutely and proportionately the proportion of the receipts spent on fencing remained about the same, or was very little bigger. 15% of the receipts from Duffield Frith were spent in this way in 1396-7, but only 10% in 1419-20. In Needwood Forest in 1400-1 only 9% of the receipts were spent on fencing.

During the 1420's the proportion of the receipts devoted to fencing, water-courses and sheds increased markedly. In 1425-6 in Needwood 23% of the receipts were spent on these items, increasing to 36% in 1440-1 38½% in 1460-61 and 58% in 1475-6. In Duffield Frith there was a similar development. The proportion spent on fencing was 21% in 1426-7 and 48% in 1460-61. The increases were absolute as well as proportional. £16.5.3. was spent on fencing in both Duffield Frith and Needwood Forest in 1313-14. In 1460-61 nearly £40.0.0. was spent.

At this period the Duchy was spending far more money on the forest resources from which it derived most profit. It must be remembered, of course, that the increase in this sort of expenditure was not wholly a matter of choice on the part of the Duchy. The cost of fencing increased during the second half of the fourteenth century as a result of the increase in wages. However the increased spending was not in proportion to the increased wages, nor did the increases in spending and wages coincide.

The cost of fencing was normally reckoned by the perch in the ward accounts. Making new fences in 1313-14 cost from $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per perch, and repairing the old cost 1d. per perch. In 1359-60 and 1361-2 making new fences cost 4d. or $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per perch, and repairing the old cost 1d. per perch. At this date the spending on fencing was very little higher than in 1313-14. In 1423-4 making new fencing cost $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per perch, and repairing and remaking cost $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per perch. From this date there was no longer any differentiation between making new fencing and repairing the old. All repairs were calculated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. or 3d. per perch. This was not a striking increase on the cost in the early fourteenth century, which had varied between repairs at 1d. per perch and $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. for new fencing.

The proportionate increase in investment was much greater. It had doubled by the early fifteenth century and was four times as high by 1460. The sharp increases in investment occurred much later than the increases in costs, which dated from the late fourteenth century. Instead they coincided with a period of increased investment on tenements, mills, fences, ditches and bridges on the Honour's manors. They were, in fact, one aspect of a more general development on the Honour in which landlord expenditure on the estate increased significantly⁽⁴⁴⁾.

During the late 1470's and the 1480's there was an

extensive programme of rebuilding of the hunting lodges in the Parks. During this period, consequently, a far higher proportion of the receipts was spent inside the Forests. This luxury expenditure is not however, comparable with the deliberate investment discussed above.

Footnotes to Chapter III

1. See Chapter II, pp. 47 and 51.
2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281-92, p. 167.
3. R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, I, p. 352.
4. Ibid., p. 364.
5. No records of this court survive for this period.
6. John of Gaunt was at Ravensdale, for example, in August and September, 1380. John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-83, I, p. 126. Camden Society, 3rd Series, 56 (1937).
7. R. Somerville, op. cit., I, p.95.
8. Earl Thomas had granted Holland various lands in this region, including the manor of Yoxall on the edge of Needwood Forest, formerly held in demesne by the Earl. Ibid., p. 21. For a contemporary comment on Holland, see R.H. Hilton, Economic and Social Development of Some Leicestershire Estates in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, p.4.
9. John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-83, I, p.122. Camden Society, 3rd Series, 56 (1937).
10. Trees were granted, for example, to Richard de Rolleston, bailiff in Northamptonshire, and to the parker of Ravensdale Park. Ibid, I, pp. 27 and 42.
11. See Chapter IV, p. 57.
12. See Chapter II, p.58.

13. Damage of this sort was recorded in Belper, Duffield and Holland Wards of Duffield Frith, and in Tutbury and Barton Wards of Needwood Forest.
14. It is known that six of the Earl's mares were stolen from Rowley Park in this year. R. Somerville, *op. cit.*, I, p. 28.
15. The lease of this herd of cattle is discussed in more detail later. See Chapter IV, p. 183.
16. See Chapter II, pp. 81-3.
17. See Chapter IV, p. 185.
18. R. Somerville, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 543-6.
19. John Curson attended the Parliament of 1404, and has been described by Jacob as one of the "important commoners" present. E.F. Jacob, The Fifteenth Century, p. 429.
20. This inquisition is printed in J.P. Yeatman, Feudal History of Derbyshire, I, Part II, p. 496.
21. Pole was also a surety for the county for the loan of 1430. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-36, p. 50.
22. W.H. Dunham, Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, p. 37.
23. R. Somerville, *op. cit.*, I, p. 422.
24. W.H. Dunham, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
25. R. Somerville, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 422 and 450.
26. W.H. Dunham, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
27. See, for example, 'Ministers Accounts of the Warwick-

- shire estates of the Duke of Clarence. 1479-80', ed. R.H. Hilton, in Publications of the Dugdale Society, 21 (1944), p. xxix.
28. This practice was common in medieval England and elsewhere, for example, in Russia. R.E.F. Smith, The Origins of Farming in Russia, p. 62.
 29. S. Glover, History of Derbyshire, I, Part i, p. 68.
 30. The price of iron in the Middle Ages is obscure. However, according to Thorald Rogers, the price of one hundredweight in 1314 was 7s.3¼d. J.T. Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices in England, I, p. 480.
 31. H.R. Schubert, History of the Iron and Steel Industry, p. 113.
 32. See above, p. 127.
 33. See below, p. 130.
 34. J.U. Nef, 'Mining and Metallurgy in Medieval Civilisation' in Cambridge Economic History of Europe, II p. 456.
 35. Ibid, P. 459.
 36. Cob-stones were small stones suitable for paving. English Dialect Dictionary.
 37. G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England, p. 68.
 38. P.R.O., DL/29/372/8205.
 39. Wynshull Quarry was used by the Duchy for repairs to

Tutbury Castle throughout this period. In 1443-4, for example, 4,452 ashlar were bought from Wynshull for the castle.

40. L.F. Salzman, English Industries in the Middle Ages, p. 96.
41. At Hanbury, near Tutbury, there is a fourteenth century alabaster image in the church which is one of the earliest of its type. L.F. Salzman, op. cit., p. 96.
42. See above, p. 121.
43. R. Somerville, op. cit., p. 21.
44. See Chapter V, p. 223. ⁵⁹⁹

CHAPTER IV1 Landlord Stock and Dairy Farming.

The upland pastures of the Low Peak, and the richer grasslands of the Derwent valley, the Trent and Dove valleys and Needwood forest made the Honour of Tutbury particularly well suited to stock and dairy farming. As we would expect, this was an important feature of the economy of the Honour throughout the period.

In 1313 the Earl's own stock occupied many of the Honour's pastures. The large scale of his sheep and cattle farming contrasted with the small scale of his arable farming at the same date. The last arable demesne had been leased before 1322, whereas the cattle and sheep were kept until the second half of the fourteenth century. However apart from a brief revival of sheep-farming in the early fifteenth century, the Lancastrians withdrew from direct grass farming well before the end of the fourteenth century. Consequently one of the chief points of interest in the stockkeepers' accounts lies in the explanation of this withdrawal. The discussion is hampered severely by the rarity of stockkeepers accounts after 1314, but nevertheless some interesting conclusions emerge.

The main enterprise in 1313-14 was sheep-farming. Perhaps it is significant that in that year a farmer cow-house at Ashbourne was converted into a sheepfold. There was one sheepfold at Barton, in Staffordshire, but most of them were

in Derbyshire. The Earl had sheepfolds at Ashbourne, Matlock, Wirksworth, Belper, Duffield, Brassington and Hartington in 1313-14. The last manor, which included hundreds of acres of the Low Peak plateau, was the real centre of the Honour's sheepfarming, with at least fourteen sheepfolds in use in that year.

The Earl's flock was designed primarily to produce wool. Nearly half the flock remaining at Michelmas 1313 consisted of wethers, the sheep which produced the best fleeces. Altogether there were 2,305 wethers, 1,655 ewes and 957 hog-gasters in the flock. The ewe's fleece was not so good, but ewes were necessary to maintain the size of the flock.

The sale of wool brought in the greater part of the receipts. In 1313-14 4,982 fleeces were shorn, making twenty sacks and twenty stones of wool. At this date the wool crop from the previous year, consisting of 26 sacks, was still in hand. Both were taken to London and sold there by Sir John de Kynardsley. The receipts were paid directly to the Earl's Wardrober. Wool prices in 1314 were rather lower than in 1313, according to Thorald Rogers⁽¹⁾, so the reason for selling two crops in 1314 is not plain.

However both crops fetched relatively high prices for Derbyshire wool. The 1313-14 crop was described simply as wool (lane) and sold at an average of £7.3.6. per sack. The 1312-13 crop consisted of 24 sacks of good wool (lane bone)

and two of poor quality (lane de refuso) which were sold at an average price of £7.6.6. per sack. Sacks of wool from the Canterbury Cathedral Priory estates were sold at £5.13.4. each in the same year⁽²⁾. Sacks of Derbyshire wool were valued at £6.0.0. each in a price list of 1343, when the best wool was valued at £9.6.8. per sack⁽³⁾. In the fourteenth century Derbyshire was never one of the most important wool-producing counties. When Edward III was granted 30,000 sacks of wool by Parliament in 1341, 29 out of 39 counties contributed more than Derbyshire⁽⁴⁾.

Lesser profits came from sheep's milk. It was common medieval practice to wean lambs almost immediately after birth and feed them with bought milk. The ewes' milk was sold⁽⁵⁾. In 1313-14, 924 milking ewes' milk was farmed at 1½d. each, or a total of £6.17.4. This was a relatively low price. In 1322, for example, only poor animals from this flock were farmed for 1½d. Healthy animals were farmed for 3d. each, twice this sum.

The extra food bought for the motherless lambs cost £7.7.0., or only half as much as the receipts from the farm of milking ewes. In 1313-14 a mixture of milk and ale was bought at 1d. per gallon for 1,678 gallons.

Livestock was not sold for profit in 1313-14. 279 sheep were sold during the year, and 170 were bought. The prices suggest that it was the poorer animals in the flock which

were sold off (at 1s.2d. each), whilst better quality stock was bought to replenish the flock (at 2s. each).

The receipts from sales of wool were altogether £338.16.5., but £186.13.4. of this came from the 1312-13 crop. The sales of milk and stock in 1313-14 were worth £32.18.9. Fells and carcasses of dead animals had been sold for £11.0.1. The total receipts from the flock in 1313-14, excluding the 1312-13 crop of wool, were £186.1.11.

This is a considerable sum, but we must bear in mind the high cost of running a flock of this size.

The Master-Stockkeeper's fee was £3.6.8., and under-stockkeepers were each paid 13s.4d. There were in addition 23 shepherds working full or part-time. Eighteen of them were paid between 4½d. and 5d. a week, and five of them between 3d. and 3½d. per week. Altogether their wages cost £21.15.6. These wages were quite high. Shepherds at Tavistock at the same period were paid an average of 3½d. per week⁽⁶⁾.

Extra help was needed at all the busy seasons in the sheep-farming year, for example at shearing. 4,882 sheep were washed and sheared in 1314 for £1.10.4½d. The cost was 1½d. for twenty. Again this was quite a high wage. The average number of sheep washed and sheared at this date for 1½d. was 24⁽⁷⁾. Extra help at lambing cost £1.15.3. Greasing the sheep was very expensive. Sheep were greased

to guard against diseases such as scab or maggots, or as treatment for infected animals⁽⁸⁾. Greasing took place in both summer and winter, and the cost was $\frac{3}{4}$ d. or 1d. per head. In 1313-14 this cost the Earl £14.10.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The wages of men doing odd jobs such as gathering scraps of wool, came to £2.16.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The cost of growing and buying food for the sheep is more difficult to calculate. The Peak Stockkeepers accounted jointly for the sheep and for a herd of 150 cattle. It is not always possible from their accounts to differentiate the costs of food for sheep and cattle. This can, however, be done to a certain extent.

In the summer the sheep and cattle grazed on the Earl's pastures. The main feeding problem was presented by the long winter. Walter of Henley recommended coarse hay⁽⁹⁾, but the Peak flock was given oats in addition to hay⁽¹⁰⁾. 483 acres of meadow was mown for hay, at a cost of £13.10.0. This was for both cattle and sheep. The account recorded the cost of carting some of it to various sheepfolds, but not the amount used in this way. The demesne meadows of several Derbyshire manors, about 125 acres in all, were also mown for the sheep. The costs of this, about £6.15.0., were met out of the manor accounts. Another £1.15.0. was paid by the Low Peak stockkeepers for carting the hay from these manors to sheepfolds. Hay worth £7.4.4. was bought, and also carted to the sheepfolds.

11½ quarters of oats were grown in the Low Peak in 1313-14. This cost £7.15.2. Another 46 quarters of oats and one bushell of wheat were bought for £2.9.1. Out of a total of 157½ quarters grown or bought, the sheep were fed 92 quarters, or well over half. Most of the rest was sold (34 quarters), or went in tithe (24 quarters). The cattle were fed 7½ quarters, because, says the account, there was a shortage of hay.

The price of the oats sold was low, only 1s.5½d. per quarter. Oats grown at Tutbury in the same year were sold at 1s.9½d. per quarter, and seed bought at Duffield cost 2s.1d. per quarter. The average price of oats in 1314 was much higher, 2s.8¾d. per quarter⁽¹¹⁾. Probably the low price of Low Peak oats reflected the indifferent quality of the soil. The price was equally low in 1359-60 when 38½ quarters were sold for 1s.5d. per quarter and the average price was 2s.9¼d. per quarter⁽¹²⁾.

Equipment for the shepherds cost very little. Only 13s.5½d. was spent on such items as canvass and thread in 1313-14. The upkeep of the pastures and buildings was more expensive. The buildings were important at this period, as it was customary to keep sheep inside for most of the winter⁽¹³⁾. About £5.10.0. was spent on repairs to sheepfolds, and about £4.0.0. was spent on hedging and ditching.

In order to calculate the profit from sheepfarming in

this year, we must deduct the cost of the cattle from the total cost. The cattle ate only one twenty-first of the oats which were grown or bought. We must therefore subtract this fraction (or 9s.9d.) from the cost of buying and growing oats, and include the profit from sales in the receipts from sheepfarming. Therefore oats for the sheep cost £9.14.6. Receipts from sales were £2.9.0.

Since they ate so few oats, the cattle must have eaten a lot of the hay grown in the Low Peak. Some of it was fed to the sheep, but to be on the safe side we could calculate that the cattle ate it all, and the sheep ate only the bought hay and the hay from the other manorial meadows. These last cost £16.4.4.

The total receipts from the flock were £188.11.0., excluding, the receipts from the sale of the preceding year's wool crop. The cost of wages was £44.14.2½d⁽¹⁴⁾. Repairs and equipment cost £10.3.5½d. Food, excluding the hay grown in the Low Peak, but including milk and ale for the lambs, cost £32.15.10. New stock cost £8.10.0. The total costs were £96.3.6.

This leaves a net profit of £92.7.5. There were just over 5,500 head of sheep at the beginning of the year, and just under this number at the end, so the profit per head was about 4d. This is an over-estimate, as the cost of some hay eaten by the sheep has been excluded, and as no estimate has been attempted of the cost of the food of the draught

animals, which were provided from the Earl's own herd.

This is a reasonable, though far from spectacular profit, when sheep were bought for 2s. each, and sold for 1s.2d. each. If, for example, a sheep had been bought for 2s. and kept for four years at a yearly profit of 4d., then sold at 1s.2d., it would have made a net profit of 6d. for the Earl. This is the equivalent of a 25% increase on the initial outlay, over a period of four years.

Possibly the year was an unusually bad one. Several of the problems facing medieval sheepfarmers were very clearly demonstrated during the course of the year. One was the danger from disease. A total of 7,062 sheep passed through the stockkeeper's hands during the year. 1,034 of these, or 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ %, died whilst in his care. Lambs suffered particularly badly. 1,766 were bought or born into the flock in that year. 396 of these, or 22%, died before the end of the year. The contrast with a modern flock, where the farmer would expect to lose between two and 5% only of his flock through disease, is striking⁽¹⁵⁾.

To the depredations of disease were added those of tithe. 112 lambs were tithed in 1313-14. Added to the great number of deaths, this meant that only two-thirds of the lambs born or bought survived their first year in the flock.

The birth rate was, in any case, low. There were 1,924

ewes, but over one-third of them were sterile in 1313-14. Both modern farmers and the author of the Anonymous Husbandry expect one lamb per ewe each year⁽¹⁶⁾.

The difficulty of building up the size or quality of a flock in the face of such difficulties, without resort to buying new stock, was almost insurmountable. In the year 1313-14, 1034 sheep died, whilst only 924 were born. It was necessary to buy more sheep to maintain the size of the flock. These difficulties were common to all medieval flocks⁽¹⁷⁾.

The next Peak flock account is for 1322. In March of that year the Earl's flock was confiscated along with the rest of his estates. Only 2,326 of his sheep were accounted for by the King's accountants. It is possible that the number was so greatly reduced as a result of the chaos on the Honour following the Earl's execution⁽¹⁸⁾. It is also possible that it was the result of some of the factors discussed above. Disease had affected the stock on the Honour very badly since 1313-14⁽¹⁹⁾.

The sheep flocks of three other rebels, Sir Robert de Holland (710), John de Mineers (120) and Thomas Meverell (46) were included in the King's Peak flock from March.

The account, covering the months from March to Michelmas only, is incomplete in many ways. For example, lambing was over by March, and no expenses were allowed for it. The

year was, in any case, abnormal. For example extra hay had to be bought for the sheep at Barton because the hay on this manor had been consumed by the horses of one of the King's officials. Consequently it is impossible to make any calculations of the profit from the flock in that year.

Certain comparisons with 1313-14 can, nevertheless, be made. Again the flock was kept primarily for wool, and nearly half the sheep were wethers. 3,172 fleeces were shorn in 1322, making thirteen sacks of wool. Twelve sacks were of fine wool (lana munda), and the thirteenth was poor (lana de refuso). The better wool was sold at £7.0.0. per sack, and the poorer at £5.0.0. per sack. Scraps were sold for 10s. The prices were slightly lower than in 1313-14, but still higher than similar sales of Canterbury Cathedral Priory wool⁽²⁰⁾, and higher than the 1343 valuation mentioned above. There had not been a general fall in wool prices between 1313-14 and 1322⁽²¹⁾, so possibly there had been a slight reduction in quality.

Milking ewes were again farmed in 1322. 120 were farmed at 3d. each, but the majority, 572, which had, according to the stockkeeper, suffered during the troubles of that year, were farmed at 1½d. each. The 3d. farm on some sheep was higher than similar farms in 1313-14, but was still not very high⁽²²⁾,

There were no sales of stock in that year, and none were

bought in. This was probably the result of the disturbed conditions of 1322, rather than of a change in policy.

Labour costs had increased in some cases since 1313-14. Shepherds and carters were often paid rather more by 1322. In 1313-14 two carters had been paid $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 6d. per week, and one $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. per week. In 1322 four carters were paid 8d. per week. In 1313-14 eighteen shepherds had been paid between $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. and 5d. per week, and five between 3d. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per week. In 1322 all thirteen shepherds were paid 6d. per week. However washing and shearing cost $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. for twenty in 1322 as it had done in 1313-14.

There had also been changes in feeding practices. Oats, an important part of the diet in 1313-14, were neither grown nor bought in 1322.

The reduced size of the flock meant that far less meadow was needed. The stockkeepers, therefore, accounted for the rents from various meadows formerly used by the stock. Meadow worth £2.7.4. was sold, at rents varying from 6d. to 1s.1d. per acre. The reduction in the meadow used for the flock also freed dung from the sheepfolds for sale. The receipts from this were 8s.4d.

Repairs during 1322 were, hardly surprisingly, slight. Only 10s.1d. was spent on the sheepfolds.

The next account is a grange account for 1361-2. By this date the flock was bigger than in 1322. A total of

4,619 fleeces were shorn. This was still 363 fewer than in 1313-14.

There are signs that the Duke had begun a deliberate withdrawal from sheepfarming. Two sheepfolds were leased. At Barton the fold, pastures and 200 sheep were farmed. At Wirksworth the folds and pastures alone were leased. The demesne meadows on several Derbyshire manors, previously used for the sheep, were also leased.

By the 1370's all the Duke's sheepfolds had been leased. In the early fifteenth century, however, there was a minor revival. In 1416-17 ten sheepfolds at Hartington were leased, but the Duke kept about 550 sheep in four folds on this manor. The form of the account shows that these, too, had been leased at an earlier date. They were charged in the account, along with the other sheepfolds, but their value was allowed to the reeve, since they were in use for the Duke's own sheep.

This revival was shortlived. In 1419-20, three years later, all fourteen sheepfolds at Hartington were again leased. As we would expect in view of this, the profit from the flock in 1416-17 was slight. No milk or livestock were sold. The receipts came only from the sale of wool and of fells and carcasses, a total of £10.2.8. and 6s.2d. respectively. The price of the wool was low, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per fleece. This compared with 9d. per fleece in 1313-14.

The account gives only an abbreviated list of expenses, which totalled £5.7.10. This includes payments of £1.3.4. each to two shepherds. This was called a stipend, but was in fact probably the equivalent of a fee, rather than a real wage. No other shepherds were mentioned.

The Duke was prepared to invest money in the flock in an effort to make it pay, and twenty sheep were bought during the year, at 1s.6d. each.

The net profit from the flock was £5.1.0., or only just over 2d. per head. This was much lower than the profit in 1313.-14. It was also lower than the profit the duke could get if he leased the sheepfolds. The charges on the four sheepfolds in 1416-17, which presumably represented the value when they had previously been leased, were £6.1.5. The actual value when the folds were leased in 1419-20 was £6.6.5. Apparently tenants could make more profit out of sheep-farming than the Duke. This was the Duke's last attempt at direct sheepfarming, and all sheepfolds were leased for the rest of the fifteenth century.

The herd of cattle in the Low Peak was abandoned much earlier than the flock of sheep. Presumably this was because it had proved less profitable at an earlier date. However, this is impossible to calculate from these accounts. The herd served a dual purpose, providing milk and meat as well as working oxen. The receipts from sales of milk and stock,

therefore, represented only a fraction of the herd's value to the Earl.

In 1313-14 there were 163 cattle at the beginning of the year. Only 21 were milking cows in that year. Their milk was farmed for 2s.2d. per head, a low price. Farms of milking cows in Duffield Frith at the same date were 2s.6d. per head. The different rates in the Low Peak and Duffield Frith probably reflected the different quality of the grass. The milk yield of cattle is always quick to reflect this. Similar differences in the farms of cattle in Duffield Frith and the Low Peak can be noticed throughout this period.

Ten animals were sold for £5.14.0. This was a mixed group, including one bull, six cows and three bullocks. Hides and carcasses were sold for £2.16.5. The receipts from the herd amounted to £10.17.0. The absence of any equivalent to the sale of wool is very noticeable. The costs of caring for the cattle have already been discussed. They totalled £22.7.1. Clearly there was no profit in cash.

However, over a quarter of the herd at the beginning of the year, and 30% at the end of the year, were working oxen, and no calculation of their value is possible.

It is not surprising that by 1322 the Peak herd consisted entirely of oxen. There were no cows, and no young animals. The herd was replenished with bought stock. There were fifteen oxen belonging to the Earl, to which were added eight

of John de Mineers'. Another five were bought at 17s.4d. each. There is no record of what had happened to the rest of the herd.

The Earl's second herd of cattle in 1313-14, in Duffield Frith, was bigger and more profitable. There were 234 head of cattle in the herd at Michelmas 1314. The composition of the herd was quite different from that in the Peak. There were 6 oxen, 3 bulls, 106 cows and 119 young animals.

Milk was much more important than in the Peak. It was all farmed, and no butter or cheese was made. 73 cows were farmed at 2s.6d. per head, and 15 year olds at 1s.3d. per head. The receipts from milk were £10.1.3.

Cattle were also bred for sale, and probably as beef. It is noticeable that no cattle were bought to replenish this herd, unlike the Peak stock. 49 animals were sold in 1313-14. 32 of these were oxen sold at about 14s.6d. each. The rest were cows with one bull, sold at about 11s.4d. each. This included one animal sent to the Earl's household. The income from sales of animals was £32.16.4. The prices were slightly higher than the average prices for the year, so the stock was probably fairly good⁽²³⁾.

Dead cattle were sold for £2.4.9., making a total income of £45.2.4. from the herd.

The expenses were considerably smaller than this. One full-time custodian was paid between 4½d. and 5d. per week.

Another was employed for 31 weeks, and paid about 4d. per week. The stockkeeper's fee was 13s.4d.

The cattle were fed on hay and oats in the winter, supplemented by branches cut from the trees of the Frith⁽²⁴⁾. Nearly one hundred acres of meadow in Duffield Frith were mown. This cost nearly £4.0.0. Two acres of land was assarted and sown with oats in 1313-14. The seed oats were bought and sown at one quarter to the acre. More oats were bought for the cattle, and the total cost of oats was 11s.3d.

Repairs to buildings and fences cost £2.2.1½d. With other minor expenses the total cost of caring for the herd was £9.8.0. The receipts were £45.2.4, so the net profit was £35.14.5. The Earl's herd fell in size from 258 at the beginning of the year to 234 at the end. The profit on each animal was between 2s.9d. and 3s., again a reasonable, though not spectacular profit.

Cattle farming, like sheep-farming, was made more difficult by the low reproduction rate and the high mortality rate. Forty-two of the Duffield Frith herd, or 13%, died of disease during the year. The Peak herd suffered even more. 38 animals, or 18½%, died during the year. Calves born into the Duffield herd suffered worst of all. Out of 73 born, 28, or 38%, died before Michelmas. After six had been tithed, less than half were left in the herd at the end of the year. However the uneven incidence of disease is shown by the fate

of the Low Peak calves in the same year. All 22 of them survived until Michelmas.

These 22 calves were the issue of 70 cows, so well over two thirds of the cows were sterile that year. In Duffield Frith over half the cows calved, but this is still a very low rate by modern standards.

By 1322 the Duffield Frith herd had been reduced to 92. The administration of this herd had been completely reorganised. The cattle were moved about between Duffield Frith and one of the Earl's Leicestershire manors, Desford. They were in Duffield Frith for only six weeks in the autumn. Consequently the receipts from milk and stock sales were accounted for by the reeve of Desford.

The stockkeeper of Duffield's account is very brief. Hay and oats were still the staple winter diet of cattle. The balance of the herd had not changed. There were 6 oxen, 2 bulls, 24 cows, 46 young animals, and 14 calves were born during the year. The herd was clearly still kept for dairy and beef purposes.

The 1322 stockkeepers' accounts are the latest to survive for both herds of cattle. There was still a dairy in the Low Peak in 1361-2, to which hay was assigned, but there is no indication how big it was. By 1373-4 both the remains of the Low Peak and of the Duffield Frith herd were leased.

These two herds and the flock of sheep were the Earl's

main stockfarming ventures on the Honour. But there were also some cattle at Tutbury in 1313-14. The Earl kept three draught horses and 22 oxen for work in connection with the arable demesne on that manor. There were no cows, and replacements or additions were bought. Two draught horses and one ox were bought in 1313-14, for £2.14.7. One ox, probably no longer much use, was sold off for 7s. This stock was abandoned before 1322, with the arable demesne.

It is interesting to compare the food consumed by the oxen and by the horses. The latter ate two quarters of oats during the year, the former only three quarters during the same period. The greater expense involved in using draught horses is very clearly demonstrated⁽²⁵⁾.

The Earl also kept a herd of pigs in Needwood Forest and Duffield Frith in 1313-14. There were 49 in all, of which nine died during the year from murrain. None were sold or eaten during the year, and no litters born according to the account.

A herd of cattle in Needwood Forest was temporarily included in the Lancastrian stock at the end of Edward II's reign. This had been Sir Robert de Holland's until his death in 1322. An account survives for 1327-8, shortly after Earl Thomas' heir, his brother Henry, had retrieved the Honour from the King.

There were 88 cattle in Holland's herd in 1327-8, to

which a bull from the Earl's Duffield herd was added. Six cattle came in tithe, and 28 calves were born during the year.

The quality of the grass made a considerable difference to the value of milk produced by cows in Duffield Frith and the Low Peak⁽²⁶⁾. The Needwood Forest meadows were probably among the best on the Honour, and it is therefore not surprising that the quality of the milk of cattle grazing there was high. The milk of 26 cows was farmed for £4.11.0. or 3s.6d. each. This compares with 2s.6d. or less in Duffield Frith and Needwood in 1313-14.

Even more important to the Earl than the milk from the cows, was the supply of beef for his households. 43 animals were sent to Tutbury or Melbourne. These were valued at £16.0.0.

No attempt was made to replenish this herd. The death rate was high, and nine, or nearly one third, of the calves died before Michelmas. Consequently, the size of the herd fell from 95 at the beginning of the year to 60 at the end.

This is the only stockkeeper's account for this herd, which was probably leased soon after. A dairy in Yoxall Ward, presumably the same one, was leased by 1337.

The Earl had a stable of horses at Tutbury, which provided riding horses for him and his retinue for peaceful and occasionally military purposes. For example, John of Gaunt planned to use horses from Tutbury on his expedition to

Scotland in 1380⁽²⁷⁾.

There were 120 horses in the stable at Michelmas 1313. They grazed in Duffield Frith and Needwood, and also at Kenilworth and Desford. Horses were regularly moved from Park to Park. There was no centralisation of breeding, however, and foals were born at Kenilworth, Duffield Frith and Needwood.

Horses were bred for sale, as well as for the Earl's own use. The high prices paid for the best horses shows that they must have been of high quality. 24 horses were sold for £64.15.0. Four foals were sold for £1.1.0. each, and 12 mares for 19s. each. Seven rounceys (runcini, or three year old mares) and one foal were sold together for £49.13.4. If this single foal was sold for £1.1.0., like the others, the rounceys were valued at £6.17.2., a very high price⁽²⁸⁾. The account does not record where these sales took place, or who bought these very expensive horses.

Disease affected this stable as much as other stock. 19 horses died, during the year, or 12% of the total number passing through the stable. There is no reference to a stallion. One must have been imported from another of the Earl's estates. Nearly half of the 53 mares foaled, and all 25 foals born survived until Michelmas. No horses were bought in 1313-14, so, after sales and deaths, the size of the stable had dropped to 105 by the end of the year.

The reduction in size of the stable was temporary. By 1327-8 145 horses were in the hands of the custodians. Another 23 horses which had been in the hands of the stock-eeper of Duffield were added to the stable.

The foaling rate had gone up slightly by this date. Only $42\frac{1}{2}$ of the 63 mares were sterile, compared with 57% in 1322. This could be the result of an increase in the number of stallions to four.

The death rate had decreased. Out of a total of 203 horses passing through the custodians hands, only four died. Conditions were more normal by 1327-8, and horses were again sold. Twenty three-year old mares were sold at £2.7.3. each, and eighteen female foals at 16s.8d. each. Receipts from sales amounted to £62.5.8.

This is the last surviving stable account, but we know that there was still a stable at Tutbury at the end of our period. The different purpose of the stable assured its existence long after sheep and cattle had been leased. The references to it in other documents are brief, and we never know its size. A stallion was bought for it, and paid for by the Receiver of Tutbury in 1396, for £4.0.0. The size of the stable probably increased during Edward IV's reign. In 1445-6 meadow worth 10s. was reserved for the horses at Tutbury. The amount of meadow reserved for this purpose gradually increased until in 1483-4 its value was £9.8.4.

ii Tenant Stock and Dairy Farming. This evidence is in

Far less is known concerning the extent and nature of tenant stock and dairy farming. There are, of course, no documents dealing with tenant stock comparable to those for a great landowner such as the Earl of Lancaster. In a discussion of tenant grass farming on the Honour of Tutbury we are forced to rely mainly on the records of leases by the Earls and Dukes of pastures, stock and buildings. These are supplemented by entries dealing with peasant stock in the manorial court rolls and wodemote rolls.

The changing values of leases give some indication of the changes in the prosperity of tenant pasture farmers but in many ways this evidence is unsatisfactory. It is very difficult to get more than a rough idea of how many tenant-owned animals there were on the Honour during this period, or of how these were distributed. Nor can we tell what tenants did with their surplus wool, meat or milk. However these are vitally important questions, and it is well worth discussing the evidence that exists.

For some regions the evidence concerning peasant stock is rather fuller, and it is useful to bear in mind the conclusions which can be drawn from such areas. Records of the taxation assessment of 1297, which was based on the levy of a fixed fraction of the total value of each tax-payer's stock, crops and household and trade goods, have survived for some

counties. One is Bedfordshire⁽³⁰⁾. This evidence is in many ways difficult to interpret. Assessment varied slightly from Hundred to Hundred, and there was probably a certain amount of suppression of evidence to evade the taxes. However, bearing this in mind, some conclusions can be drawn from this evidence. Firstly the animals most often found on peasant holdings were draught horses, cows and sheep. Mares, oxen, young cattle and pigs were rather less common. The majority of peasant holdings in Bedfordshire at the end of the thirteenth century had very few animals. Holdings including more than one of any variety of animal, with the exception of sheep, were especially rare.

As far as it is possible to tell, the most common peasant animals on the Honour of Tutbury during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were cattle. Lists of heriots were composed mostly of oxen, cows or young cattle. For example, in 1313-14 eleven heriots were described in the accounts. All eleven were cattle. Two were oxen, six were cows and the other three were heifers and bullocks. Throughout both centuries heriots were most often paid in cattle, especially oxen or cows. Cattle would take precedence over sheep when a heriot was chosen, so these tenants may have held sheep or other cattle as well as the heriot. However this is unlikely in some cases in 1313-14. Four of the dead tenants had owned only part - a half in three cases and a quarter in the fourth

case - of the animal concerned. At Brassington, for example, a heriot was one quarter of a cow, valued at 1s.5½d, (31). It seems that it was common for tenants to hold a cow or an ox jointly at this period.

Similarly, lists of strays in the court rolls were mostly composed of cattle (32). In the wodemote rolls there were also a large proportion of pigs. In all such lists sheep and horses were much rarer. Gaydon's conclusion that oxen were rarer than horses as peasant draught animals does not seem to apply to Staffordshire and Derbyshire.

No indication of the numbers of stock on the common pastures of the Honour's manors is given but we can in some cases get some idea of the proportions of stock on the additional leased pastures. In 1322 the stock in Shottle Park in Duffield Frith was listed in the Ward account. It is unfortunate that this was an abnormal year, when stock on the Honour had been depleted (33). However, Shottle Park provided £2.13.0. of the total of £3.5.0. collected in agistment from Duffield Frith in that year. There were 78 oxen, 6 calves, 3 mares and 4 foals agisting in Shottle Park during the summer of 1322. The predominance of cattle is striking. No individual agistment fees were recorded.

The ratio of animals in Shottle Park had changed slightly by the late fourteenth century. A schedule of agistment for this Park survives for the year 1379 (34). In that year

Shottle Park agistment was worth £21.12.1½., the highest sum recorded during these two centuries. There were 781 animals in the Park, of which 550, or 71%, were cattle. The rest were horses. The proportion of horses has gone up from 8% to 29%.

There is no similar surviving list for Needwood Forest earlier than 1440-1. In that year several of the Parks in the Forest were "improved." They were kept in hand by the King instead of being leased, and the numbers of animals agisting in them was restricted. Altogether there were 844 pigs, 81 cattle and 68 horses in these Parks.

The fees were recorded, so it is possible to arrive at a rough estimate of the total number of stock on the leased pastures in Needwood Forest in that year.

The fee for pigs was between 2d. and 4d., depending on their age. The average fee paid on each of the 844 pigs in the Parks under improvement was 3d. An additional £3.18.4½. was collected in pannage from the rest of the Forest. If this was collected at an average of 3d. per pig, it came from about 313 pigs. Altogether, therefore, the Forest was supporting 1,157 pigs in 1440-1.

Horses were charged at 1s.6d. or 9d. each, depending on the length of the agistment period. Foals, mares, oxen and cows were charged at 1s. or 6d. each and calves at 6d. or 3d. each. The average fee on the horses and cattle in the Parks

under improvement was 9d. Agistment in the remaining Parks was sold for £28.4.7. If this was collected at an average of 9d. per head, it came from about 753 animals. There were probably, therefore, about 902 horses and cattle on the leased pastures in Needwood in 1440-1.

Cattle, horses and pigs were predominant in the Forests throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it is clear that many of these were owned by tenants. Sheep were also of great importance in the economy of the Honour. The Earl's own flock, grazing in the Low Peak, has been discussed above. Many of the Earl's tenants were using the Low Peak pastures for their own sheep. At Hartington in 1313-14 71 horses, 528 sheep and 990 cattle were agisted on the manor. The proportions had changed completely by 1322, when 898 sheep and 336 cattle were agisted. The number of cattle has decreased by over one third, whilst the number of sheep has increased by 70%. The horses appear to have disappeared. It must be remembered that 1322 was an abnormal year, and these proportions might not reflect normal conditions. Nevertheless, the absolute increase in the number of tenant sheep on the manor must show an increase in the volume of tenant sheepfarming.

Several tenants had large flocks on the Derbyshire manors. In 1333 three flocks of sheep strayed in Duffield Frith. The smallest was of 21 sheep, the next of 120 and the third

of 200. At Wirksworth in 1339 a tenant had forty sheep. Much later in the period, in 1425, a felon whose goods and chattels were confiscated had thirteen sheep and nine lambs (35).

Similarly many tenants had herds of cattle. The schedule of agistment for Shottle Park in 1387 includes the names of graziers, enabling us to see how many animals each man had in the Park. It must be remembered that these are minimum figures for each man, as there is no reason to believe that the stock in Shottle Park represented the whole of a tenant's stock. On the contrary, this seems unlikely, as agistment in the Parks was probably for a special purpose.

There were about 858 animals in Shottle Park in 1379, which were owned by at least 175 different men. About thirty of these had only one animal in the Park. Many had several animals, including herds of 39 and thirty cattle. Eighteen of the tenants, or about 10%, had ten or more animals in the Park, or 30% of the total number of animals. About a third of the agisters had five or more animals, owning altogether about 60% of the animals.

Other references suggest that sizeable herds of cattle were not exceptional. A Marchington tenant in 1466 had 24 cattle stolen. A felon in 1458-9 had nine cattle confiscated, and another had four cattle and five horses confiscated in 1460-61 (36).

Sheep would provide wool, milk and meat for their owners, but there is very little evidence about tenant sales of these. Probably some wool was manufactured on the Honour⁽³⁷⁾. Pigs would provide meat, and possibly many of the thousand pigs in Needwood, and those in Duffield, were reared for sale as pork or bacon.

The Bedfordshire tax evidence suggested that cows were amongst the commonest of peasant stock. The lists of heriots and strays on the Honour of Tutbury would support this impression. However very few cows were recorded as agisting in the Forests. There were only five in Shottle Park in 1379, and nine in Needwood's improved Parks in 1440. This cannot represent a fair proportion of the cows on the Honour. The reason for the small number of cows is probably the distance of the Parks from most villages. A tenant needed his cow near at hand where it could be milked conveniently. Many tenants would have their own croft, pieces of meadow attached to their arable holding or access to the common pastures which would be used for their cows.

The agistments in the Forest Parks were probably used chiefly for fattening cattle for beef. Some months during the summer spent grazing in the Forest would improve their price considerably. In the agistment lists the cattle are mostly calves (vituli) or oxen (aver or boves). It is unlikely that the oxen were agisting in the Parks whilst in use

as draught animals. During the summer months haymaking and harvest would occupy fully most tenants' draught animals. The Parks were often deep in the Forest, several miles from the nearest villages. It would be very inconvenient for a tenant to drive his oxen several miles after work each evening and very expensive to pay 1s. or 6d. for the few hours of grazing his oxen would thus obtain.

There were at least 175 men agisting cattle in Shottle Park in 1379. The nearest village to the modern Shottle Hall, probably the centre of the medieval Shottle Park, is Ireton Wood, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles away. Idridgehay and two small hamlets on Duffield manor, Windley and Haslewood, are about three miles away. Other villages are further away still. Idridgehay and Ireton Wood were small manors⁽³⁸⁾. Not many of the 175 graziers could have lived within four miles of Shottle Park.

Some, in fact, came from much further afield. A man from Makworth ($6\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Shottle Hall) had four oxen in the Park. One from Ible (seven miles from Shottle Hall) had fourteen cattle in the Park. The Parson of Bradley ($5\frac{1}{2}$ miles away) had six cattle in the same Park. Other tenants from as far afield as Ashbourne and Matlock were agisting in the Park. These men were almost certainly fattening cattle to be sold as beef. It is tempting to identify some of the names in the 1379 schedule of agistment with names in the rental of 1414. The same names in these two documents probably signify the same family and holding, if not the same man.

Several of the graziers had considerable arable holdings. For example, Thomas Waterhouse held about 62 acres on the manor of Southwood in 1414. The owner of the biggest herd of cattle in Shottle Park in 1379 was also called Thomas Waterhouse. This name is an uncommon one on the Honour at this period. It does not occur, for example, elsewhere on the 1379 schedule. Another uncommon name, Proudfoot, appeared in both schedule and rental. John Proudfoot held 63 acres in Idridgehay in 1414, and in 1379 had six oxen in Shottle Park.

Agistments became the chief source of income to the Duchy from these Forests during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is very unlikely that the increasing receipts from agistments were based on an increase in the number of draught animals, as during this period the general tendency was for arable land to fall out of use. Instead the prosperity of the two Forests of Duffield Frith and Needwood was probably based on rearing cattle and pigs for beef, pork and bacon.

There were also many horses agisting in these Forests. The proportion was much higher in Needwood Forest in the mid fifteenth century than in Duffield Frith in the fourteenth century. This could be a regional difference or it could be a development of the fifteenth century.

The word used for these horses was equi. Draught horses in the accounts were often called affers. Probably

the horses called equi were rather better ones, and in many cases riding horses. There were many Duchy officials (especially near Tutbury and Needwood Forest) and local gentry who might keep several riding horses. As was shown earlier, local gentry and officials were prominent amongst the lessees of Forest pastures during the fifteenth century⁽³⁹⁾.

In Shottle Park in 1379 twenty of the horses were owned by three different residents of Ashbourne, which is eight miles away. Four horses were agisted by the Parson of Matlock, which is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles away. These were clearly not draught animals, but riding horses.

Stock farming is perhaps a more important factor in the economy of the Honour of Tutbury than of Bedfordshire, and more tenants and peasants owned several animals. Nevertheless, throughout the two centuries, there were tenants owning no stock, or only one animal. Examples of tenants who could only provide a share in an animal as a heriot have already been cited. Others died leaving no stock at all for a heriot. A villein tenant who held one messuage and one bovaté at Duffield died in 1358, leaving nothing for a heriot. Another who died in 1454, with a tenement of a messuage, three acres of land and meadow and a pond, left no stock⁽⁴⁰⁾. Many similar examples could be given.

Many tenants left only one animal. A virgater at Rolleston died in 1443 leaving as his total stock one cow⁽⁴¹⁾.

Even tenants with big holdings often had very few animals. A Duffield tenant who died in 1313, leaving two bovates, $26\frac{3}{4}$ acres and half an orchard had only one ox, one foal and one pig⁽⁴²⁾. His arable holding was big enough to make him a prosperous farmer, but he had not enough draught animals to plough it.

We can get some idea of the changing prosperity of tenant farming from the changing value of the leases of stock, meadows and buildings. For the first sixty years of the fourteenth century, when the Earls and Duke were occupying many pastures and buildings with their own stock, the information is very scanty.

One of the only indications at the beginning of the century is the level of rent from manorial meadows. The meadows in the Trent, Derwent and Dove valleys were leased at far higher rents than arable. At Barton ($11\frac{1}{4}$ acres), Uttoxeter ($21\frac{1}{4}$ acres) and Belper (4 acres) the rents varied from 1s.6d. to 2s. per acre. Arable demesne rents on the same manors were 1s. or less per acre. At Bonsall, where the arable demesne was leased at $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre, six acres of meadow was leased at 3s.4d. per acre. On all manors the demesne meadows were in demand, amongst the tenants.

By 1322 the situation had changed completely. The Uttoxeter meadow had fallen into the hands of the Earl. Sixteen acres at Marchington, leased at some date since

1313-14, had suffered the same fate. The reduction in the demand for meadow gives another indication of the reduction in the number of stock on the Honour by this date.

In the second half of the fourteenth century a new situation developed as a result of the Duke's withdrawal from stock-farming. More meadows and buildings, and in some cases stock, came onto the market. There was little difficulty in fin^ding tenants for any of these. The process extended over a number of years. By 1361-2 two sheepfolds were leased, one at Barton, with 200 sheep, and the other at Wirksworth. The rest of the sheepfolds were still kept in hand at this date, but some of the manorial meadows, previously in hand, were leased. By 1376-7 all the sheepfolds also had been leased.

Sheepfolds were normally leased along with the demesne meadows. At Barton, for example, in 1370-1 forty acres three roods of meadow, with the sheepfold, were leased for 1s.5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per acre. At Matlock and Brassington the demesne meadows were leased for 2s. per acre in 1361-2. The rent was not increased when the sheepfolds were added to the leases about 1373-4.

At Hartington the sheepfolds were leased by 1376-7 for a total of £13.12.8. Other sheepfolds were leased by this date at Belper and Duffield.

The Duke withdrew from cattle farming at about the same

time. Not only the pastures and buildings, but stock were leased to tenants.

A herd in Needwood Forest, probably originally Robert de Holland's, was leased as early as 1337. A memorandum in the court roll for that year records some details of the lease⁽⁴³⁾. The best cows with calves were leased for 6s. each, and three year old cows with calves for 4s. each. The earliest record of the lease of the Hartington herd is for 1373-4. At that date forty cows and one bull were leased for £8.0.0., or 4s. per head. The Duffield herd was leased as early as 1320, but at that date was accounted for by the Receiver of Tutbury. The earliest details of the lease are for 1376-7, when forty cows and one bull were leased for £11.0.0., or 5s.6d. per head⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The different levels of the farms of cattle in Needwood Forest, Duffield Frith and at Hartington provide further evidence of the effect of the meadows on the quality of the cattle⁽⁴⁵⁾. The farms in Needwood and Duffield Frith were relatively high. At Petworth, in Sussex, for example, the highest fourteenth century farms of cattle were 5s. per head⁽⁴⁶⁾.

These stock leases are very interesting. They were normally for a period of several years⁽⁴⁷⁾. At the end of this period the farmer in some cases had to return a herd of forty cows and one bull worth a given value, or in some cases

he had to return partly stock and partly cash. In 1394-5, for example, the farmer of the Duffield herd agreed to return forty cows and a bull or 8s. each. At Hartington in 1373-4 the farmer agreed to return forty cows and bull or 10s. each. In 1426-7 the farmer of the Duffield herd agreed to return either 25 cows or 8s. each, whichever the King chose, and fifteen cows and one bull or 8s. each, whichever he himself wished.

By the time the lease had expired the farmer in every case had paid far more than the cattle were worth. For example in 1373-4 the cows were valued at 10s. each, so the herd would have cost £20.0.0. The farmer paid £8.0.0. annually for twelve years, or a total of £72.0.0. However, he had acquired the herd without a large initial expenditure, which he might well have been unable to afford. He had acquired pasture and buildings for the herd all the year round⁽⁴⁸⁾. He might also have acquired a herd of his own, build up from any calves he could afford to keep. In practice the King replaced any cattle which died during the term of the lease, although this was never specified in the lease in the accounts⁽⁴⁹⁾. The King got the profit from the sale of the carcase of the dead animal.

Rents on meadows in the later part of the fourteenth century were also relatively high. At Matlock and Brassington the rent was 2s. per acre in 1376-7. At the same date it was

1s.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. at Duffield (compared with 1s.3d. in 1361-2) and 3s.4d. at Bonsall. In 1370-1 the meadow rent at Marchington was 1s.4d. (4 acres) or 1s.8d. (10 acres) and at Tutbury 2s. (6 acres), 2s.5d. (30 acres) 2s.6d. (14 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres) and even 3s.6d. (2 acres).

Arable which was being re-leased at the same period was at much lower rents per acre. At Matlock, for example, eight acres of previously decayed land was re-leased at 4d. per acre. At Bonsall 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres were leased at 4d. per acre, and 26 acres at 2d. per acre. At Tutbury 211 acres of demesne arable was leased at 10d. per acre and sixty acres at 6d. per acre in 1370-71.

In many cases the meadow rents increased before the end of the century. At Tutbury in 1400-1, thirty acres leased at 2s.5d. per acre in 1370-71, was at 3s.9d. per acre, and two acres leased at 3s.6d. per acre in 1370-71, was at 4s. per acre. The value of a group of meadows on this manor which can be identified in both accounts, rose from £7.4.8. to £9.17.10 $\frac{1}{2}$. between the same dates. Similarly, at Barton, the meadow and sheepfolds leased for £3.0.0. in 1370-71, were leased for £4.13.4. by 1400-1.

There is evidence of tenant sheep farming at Duffield, too, during the later part of the fourteenth century. Licenses costing a few pence were granted to tenants wishing to build their own sheepfolds in 1396-7, 1400-1 and 1401-2.

Some of the manorial sheepfolds did not prosper at this period. At Wirksworth the sheepfold fell into the hands of the Duke in 1387-8. At Duffield one sheepfold fell out of use completely about 1390. The timber from it was sold off for £1.13.4. The sheepfold at Belper disappeared from the records, and probably fell out of use at the same period.

The value of the farm of the Duffield Frith herd of cattle fell from 5s.6d. per head in 1376-7 to 5s. per head in 1397-8.

However by 1419-20 the sheepfold at Wirksworth was leased again for its original value. By the same date the value of the sheepfolds at Hartington had increased from £14.0.3. in 1376-7 to £16.5.6. Tenant sheep farming at this period was evidently more successful than the King's⁽⁵⁰⁾.

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the agistments and pastures in Needwood Forest and Duffield Frith were leased for higher rents than at any date earlier in the fourteenth or later in the fifteenth centuries⁽⁵¹⁾. Evidently at this period beef-farming, like sheep farming, was prospering.

The sustained demand for pastures and meadows at this period contrasts with the slack demand for arable. The population had probably decreased during the fourteenth century, yet the tenants assimilated more and more pasture and meadows, and paid relatively high rents for them. At

the same period the area of arable under cultivation was smaller than at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and rents were drastically reduced.

It was shown above that the fifteenth century was a period when the local gentry and Duchy officials took an increasing number of leases of Forest pastures. After the first twenty years or so of this century it was rare for a peasant to be the lessee of a large area of pasture in either Forest.

No similar development took place with regard to the manorial meadows, buildings or stock. The demesne meadows were often held by the tenants as a whole as at Marchington and Tutbury in the early fifteenth century. At Matlock and Brassington the sheepfolds and demesne meadows were leased to the tenants as a whole. Evidently on these manors sheep-farming was a normal activity for the majority of tenants.

Often a group of tenants held the manorial pastures jointly, as at Marchington in 1417-18, when 25 acres were shared between two tenants. At Barton in 1400-1, there were three joint lessees of the sheepfolds and meadows. In 1417-18 there were four, two of whom had been lessees in 1400-1. All four were peasants rather than gentry⁽⁵²⁾. One, John Penyfader, held two messuages, $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, an oven and $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, in addition to his share in the sheepfold, according to the rental of 1414. A second tenant, John Hopkynson, held

three messuages, $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, a cottage and 67 acres in addition to his share. The third lessee, also reeve in 1417-18, held five messuages, four virgates, three cottages and 21 acres, and the fourth^h, one messuage, one virgate and $17\frac{1}{4}$ acres. All, in fact, had substantial arable holdings as well as interests in sheep-farming. Yet all were probably of villein stock, holding at least one virgate of customary land upon which commuted labour services valued at 5s.2d. were owed.

At Hartington, too, prosperous peasants provided the lessees of the sheepfolds. There was one exception, a former Steward of the Honour or his son, John de Pole⁽⁵³⁾, who held three sheepfolds in 1419-20. According to the 1414 rental he held two messuages, one carucate, one bovate, one cottage, $68\frac{1}{4}$ acres and various odd pieces of arable and pasture. By 1423-4 he held five sheepfolds, and in 1439-40 agistment at Hartington worth £6.0.0. Pole held land elsewhere in Derbyshire, but was probably a native of Hartington.

The remaining ten sheepfolds in 1419-20 were held by eleven different tenants. One, John Buxstones, leased a couple, and also agistment on the manor worth £10.0.0. His arable holding, $18\frac{1}{2}$ acres in 1414, was not very big. It is possible that he leased more arable from other tenants, but it is also likely that he concentrated on sheep-farming. He was also the Duke's Parker on Hartington manor, and respons-

ible for the account for the Duke's sheep in 1416-17. When the sheep had been leased, Buxstones continued as Parker, with a wage of $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per week all the year round.

Buxstones was the only tenant, apart from Pole, to hold more than one sheepfold. As far as it is possible to tell from the 1414 rental, none of the other lessees had very big arable holdings. The vicar of Hartington, Adam Newbiggin, held part of two sheepfolds and about thirteen acres. John at Gate held one sheepfold and nineteen acres; John Roger held one sheepfold, sixteen acres and two cottages; Richard Walker held 31 acres and a cottage. All probably concentrated on sheep-farming. Several of the lessees of sheepfolds, held no land according to the rental of 1414, and may possibly have been exclusively sheep-farmers.

Like the majority of lessees of sheepfolds and manorial meadows, the farmers of the herds of cattle in Duffield Frith and the Low Peak at this period were, judging by their names also peasants rather than gentry.

During the middle years of the fifteenth century there were widespread reductions in the value of the leases of pastures, meadows, stock and buildings. Both sheep and cattle farming were affected. The dairy at Hartington had fallen in value from £8.0.0. to £4.13.4. as early as 1416-17. No indication of the number of cattle was given at the later date, so it is possible that the size of the dairy had been

reduced. By 1439-40 the farm of the Duffield cattle had fallen to 4s. per head, and by 1460-1 it was only 3s.6d. per head.

The sheepfolds at Barton, Brassington, Wirksworth and Hartington all fell in value during the fifteenth century. Their combined value had decreased from £23.2.10. in 1420, to £18.8.4. by 1440.

Meadows and pastures were also reduced in value. The agistment on Hartington manor fell from £8.0.0. in 1419-20 to £6.0.0. in 1425-6. A group of meadows at Tutbury worth £9.0.0. in 1400-1 were worth only £6.0.0. in 1440-1.

Pasture farming in the middle years of the fifteenth century was less profitable than it had been earlier, and tenants could no longer afford to pay such high rents and farms. However, at no stage were buildings or pastures abandoned.

In the second half of the century there was a slight revival. By 1460-61 the sheepfolds at Hartington were leased for more than £16.0.0., or as much as at the beginning of the century. The farm of the cattle in Duffield Frith which was 3s.6d. per head in 1460-61, rose to 4s. per head by 1473-4. There was, however, no widespread rise in values. Indeed, the sheepfold at Matlock, one of the few not to have declined in the middle of the fifteenth century, suffered by Edward IV's reign. By then it was leased for £1.12.0.,

compared with £2.10.0. in 1440-1.

There is some evidence that there was careful planning at Hartington, where the values of sheepfolds rose during the second half of the fifteenth century. At some date between 1463 and 1475 one of the sheepfolds, Glotonhouse, was converted into a dairy. At exactly the same time the dairy, at Erlesbothe was converted into a sheepfold. In both cases the value of the lease remained unaltered throughout the changes.

Probably this was an experiment designed to discover whether the pastures at Glotonhouse were more suited to cattle than sheep, and vice-versa with regard to Erlesbothe. Both were farmed by different tenants, but the coincidence of timing suggests some cooperation between the two.

Evidently the experiment proved unsuccessful. In 1478-9 Glotonhouse became a sheepfold again, and Erlesbothe a dairy. The leases and farmers remained unchanged.

The sheepfolds at Hartington were still leased chiefly by local peasants in the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1417-18 there had been twelve lessees. In both 1460-61 and 1475-6 there were eleven. Several groups of men had joined to lease either one, or a group of sheepfolds, In 1460-61, for example, three men, Richard Harryson and Thomas and Richard Hethcote held five sheepfolds, for an annual rent of £7.12.4. They also leased the agistment of

the manor for £6.3.4.

There had been, however, some penetration by the gentry into sheepfarming on the Honour. William Basset Esquire, of Blore and Grendon in Derbyshire, held five sheepfolds at Hartington from 1474. These were leased to him by a sealed letter from the King, at a rent lower than that charged in the Hartington rental or manor accounts. The charge was £5.19.0., but Basset paid only £4.10.8. The difference accumulated as arrears.

Basset was Justice of the Peace and Sheriff in the county⁽⁵⁴⁾. In 1474 he was made bailiff for life of the New Liberty in Staffordshire. This grant and that of the favourable lease of Hartington sheepfolds were probably royal rewards to Basset for his services.

At Barton three tenants had shared the sheepfold and demesne meadows in 1400-1, and four in 1417-18. By 1440-1 one man held them on his own. He held not only the sheepfold and meadows but the manorial garden, corn mill and fishery. For these he paid an annual rent of £8.0.0. By 1448 this man, John Burgoyne, shared the same leases with another, who was also reeve of the manor.

The sheepfolds at Matlock and Brassington were held by the tenants as a whole throughout the fifteenth century. At Tutbury, however, thirty acres of meadow, held by all the tenants in 1417-18, were in the hands of a single tenant in

1440. This concentration was only temporary, and by 1460 five tenants shared these thirty acres. Occasionally a tenant such as Burgoyne managed to monopolise the demesne meadows and sheepfolds on a manor, but more often these were shared between groups of tenants. Throughout the fifteenth century lessees of demesne meadows and sheepfolds were normally prosperous local peasants rather than rich outsiders or Duchy retainers.

The common pastures provided pasture for the stock of many tenants who might not have been able to lease additional pastures, as well as for those who could. During the fifteenth century the question of how many animals each tenant could put on these pastures became important. There is no record of the stints allowed to each tenant, but stints were exceeded and men with no rights at all were using the common pastures at this period. This is a phenomenon noticed on many manors at this date⁽⁵⁵⁾.

On the Honour of Tutbury occasional cases of overcharging the common pastures were recorded in the court rolls from the beginning of the fifteenth century, but they become regular from the 1440's. After this date they occur regularly until the end of the period. The amercements varied from a few pennies to several shillings. Occasionally the number of animals was recorded, but more often it was simply stated that the tenant had overcharged with his cattle, sheep,

pigs or merchandise. Often many tenants were amerced in one year. On five Staffordshire manors in 1443 twelve men were amerced for overcharging with their cattle and sheep. At Hartington in 1446-7 29 men had overcharged with their sheep. In 1466 one man, Thomas Holt, a chaplain exceeded his stint in all four Wards of Needwood Forest, with cattle, horses and pigs⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Most offenders were local men. One example was Robert Hill, a Marchington lawyer who was a J.P. and an M.P. in the 1460's and 70's. He or his father, was lessee of Marchington corn mill and of agistment worth £2.13.4. in Marchington Ward in 1448-9. He was amerced for overcharging the common pastures with his pigs in 1471-2⁽⁵⁷⁾.

Outsiders were also occasionally involved. In 1413 John Gerard of Burton overcharged common pastures in Needwood Forest with oxen and pigs. He had no pasture rights in the Forest. In 1443 two more men from Burton were amerced for the same reason, and another in 1467⁽⁵⁸⁾. Possibly these men were butcher-graziers.

The sudden rise to prominence of these offences is in some ways puzzling. At first sight it would seem to be the direct result of an increase in the number of tenant stock on the Honour. However the middle years of the fifteenth century saw a reduction in the value of leases of Forest pastures, demesne meadows, sheepfolds and cattle. This suggests a decrease in the number of stock at this period, or

at least a decline in the prosperity of stock and dairy farming so severe that rents and farms had to be reduced.

But in spite of this the Duchy could regularly amerce tenants for overcharging the common pastures. The frequency of amercements for this offence shows that the policy of the administration was rather to collect amercements than to put a stop to the offences. This could, in fact, be quite profitable. In 1446-7 a total of £4.18.4. was charged at Hartington alone on men who had overcharged the manor's pastures.

During the fifteenth century there was considerable and increasing conversion of arable to pasture in the region, which provides another indication of the importance of grass farming on the Honour at this period. F.G. Davenport showed that the ratio of pasture to arable in freehold sales in Staffordshire increased rapidly after 1436⁽⁵⁹⁾. In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries there was always less than one hundred acres of pasture to one thousand acres of arable in these sales. After 1436 the proportion of grassland grew steadily larger. In the period 1437-56 1,068 acres of pasture and 3,067 acres of arable changed hands. During the period 1477-96 1,735 acres of pasture and 2,941 acres of arable changed hands. The proportion of grassland had risen from just over one third to nearly 60%.

Arable land which had been abandoned was used as pasture

as early as 1313-14. At that date fourteen acres of former arable was leased as pasture on the manor of Uttoxeter. In 1322 there were not enough animals on the Honour to need all the abandoned land as pasture, but later in the fourteenth century the practice was widespread. At Duffield in 1326-7 the sale of the herbage of decayed arable was worth £2.1.0. At that date $143\frac{1}{2}$ acres were in the hands of the lord, with a consequent rent loss of £5.18.8. The use of former arable for pasture reduced the lord's rent loss considerably, but the rent per acre was always much lower. At Uttoxeter, for example, the previous rent on the fourteen acres of arable had been 11d. per acre. As pasture the rent in 1313-14 was about 1d. per acre.

At Duffield much of the former arable was again leased as arable by 1328-9. In that year the sale of the herbage of decayed land was only 7s.6d. Some conversions, on the other hand, were permanent. At Hartington the herbage of decayed arable was sold for £1.6.0. in 1359-60. More pieces of decayed arable were added to this, and the value of these sales rose to £1.8.2. in 1419-20. By 1425 the total value of former arable leased as pasture was £2.4.2. In this year the herbage of 32 acres of former arable was sold for $1\frac{3}{8}$ d. per acre. If this rent was typical we could make a rough estimate of the area of land involved. This was probably about 240 acres in 1416-17, and about three hundred acres in 1425-6.

On another Derbyshire manor Hlland, the herbage of 85 acres of former arable was sold for £1.3.4. in 1376-7. The rent as pasture on this land, $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre, compared with the previous rent as arable of $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre. Hlland was a small manor, where the decay of rent on 85 acres meant the loss of one fifth of the rent charge. The conversion of so much arable to pasture on such a small manor was, therefore, of great importance.

Such conversions were not confined to Hlland and Hartington. On six other Derbyshire manors sales of the herbage of decayed land totalled £1.5.3. in 1377-8. The rents per acre varied from just over 1d. to 5d. per acre. Nor were these conversions found only on the Derbyshire manors. At Uttoxeter in 1370-71 the sale of the herbage of decayed arable was worth £2.5.4., and in 1395-6 £3.16.8 $\frac{1}{4}$. At Barton in 1370-71 the herbage of fifteen acres was sold for 1s.8d., or $1\frac{1}{3}$ d. per acre. If this rent was normal at Uttoxeter, many hundreds of acres of land were involved.

With the exception of Hartington, sales of the herbage of previously decayed arable were not recorded in the ministers accounts of the fifteenth century. Previous leases were probably often included in the leases at the will of the lord, as happened at Hlland⁽⁶⁰⁾. We may conclude that by the fifteenth century, hundreds of acres of the arable which had been abandoned early in the fourteenth century had

been brought into use again as pasture. fifteenth century

The importance of sheepfarming in the economy of the Honour throughout this period has been shown. With this in mind it is interesting and relevant to discuss the progress of the cloth manufacturing industry on the Honour during the same period. ... with an allowance and

The region never became a nationally important cloth manufacturing area. The industry was always a minor one, and it was unlikely, therefore, that much wool would be imported onto the Honour for manufacture. The local industry must have used locally grown wool. ... and ...

In 1313-14 four mechanical fulling mills were in use on the Honour at Barton, Tutbury, Wirksworth and Hartington. The latter was farmed for £1.0.0., and that at Wirksworth for £1.10.0. The other two were farmed with corn mills, and no separate valuation was recorded. At that period the Earl sold his wool in London. Tenants' wool must have provided that manufactured on the Honour. ... mills ...

The fulling mills at Barton and Tutbury had fallen out of use by 1322. Those at Hartington and Wirksworth were unaffected by the depression of 1322, but suffered later in the fourteenth century. By 1351 the fulling mill at Hartington was farmed for 16s. only, and twenty years later for only 11s. At Wirksworth the mill was worth only 18s. in 1361-2, and only 13s.4d. in 1387-8. ... £1.0.0. respectively,

However during the first half of the fifteenth century the fulling mills flourished again. By 1419-20 the mill at Wirksworth was leased for £1.6.8., double its value in 1387-8. In addition three new fulling mills were built on the Honour between 1400 and 1445. The first was at Tutbury in 1400-1. It was built by a tenant with an allowance and timber from the King, and leased ^{to} the builder for 13s.4d. in the first year, and for 15s. by 1417-18⁽⁶¹⁾. The second fulling mill was built at Uttoxeter between 1401 and 1419. In 1427-8 it was leased for 8s. The mill built at Tutbury in 1400-1 fell out of use sometime between 1418 and 1440, but another mill was built on the same manor on a different site in 1444-5. Again it was built by a tenant with an allowance from the King, and leased to the builder for 10s. for the first year, and £1.0.0. the year after.

Evidently during the first half of the fifteenth century there was a revival of the Honour's cloth industry. There were probably several private fulling mills working which were not leased through the manorial accounts. A tenant at Wirksworth paid 2d. for a licence to build his own fulling mill in 1445. It is unlikely that this was an isolated enterprise.

The fulling mills at Wirksworth, Uttoxeter and Tutbury continued to work throughout the fifteenth century, and the value of their leases, £1.6.8., 8s. and £1.0.0. respectively,

remained unchanged. Only at Hartington did the mill fail to prosper during this period. Its value fluctuated from 5s. in 1425-6 to 13s.4d. in 1460-61 before it eventually fell out of use in the early years of Edward IV's reign. Hartington concentrated on the production of wool rather than the manufacture of cloth.

Footnotes to Chapter IV

1. J.T. Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices in England, I, p. 389.
2. R.A.L. Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, p. 155.
3. Rymer, Foedera, V, p. 369, printed in R. Trow-Smith, A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700, p.162.
4. Rot. Parl., II, p. 131, printed in R. Trow-Smith, op. cit., p. 141.
5. Compare with the similar practice found at Stevenage, Hertfordshire. R. Trow-Smith, op. cit., p. 126.
6. H.P.R. Finberg, Tavistock Abbey, p. 144.
7. J.T. Rogers, op. cit., I, p. 280.
8. Trow-Smith suggests that greasing sheep was also sometimes designed to improve the quality of the wool. R. Trow-Smith, op. cit., p. 168.
9. Walter of Henley's Husbandry, ed. E. Lamond, p. 31.
10. Modern farmers often give oats to ewes just before lambing time.
11. J.T. Rogers, op.cit., I, p. 230.
12. Ibid., p. 232.
13. Walter of Henley recommended that sheep be kept inside from November to Easter. Walter of Henley, op. cit., p. 31.
14. To arrive at this sum the stockkeepers' fees have been halved.

15. R. Trow-Smith, op. cit., p. 153.
16. Walter of Henley, op. cit., p. 75.
17. Compare, for example, with J.A. Raftis, The Estates of Ramsey Abbey, p. 146.
18. See Chapter III, p. 116.
19. See Chapter II, p. 58.
20. Sacks of wool from this estate were sold at £6.6.8. each in this year. R.A.L. Smith, op. cit., p. 155.
21. J.T. Rogers, op. cit., I, p. 389.
22. In the same year ewes' milk was valued at 4d. per head at Canterbury Cathedral Priory. R.A.L. Smith op. cit., p. 153.
23. J.T. Rogers, op. cit., I, p. 345.
24. The branches cut for this purpose included holly. This was a common medieval practice, now discontinued. See J. Radley, 'Holly as Winter Feed,' in Agric. Hist. Review, IX, Part I, (1961), p. 89.
25. Compare with Walter of Henley, op. cit., p. 13.
26. See above, p. 161.
27. John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83, I, p. 124. Camden Society, 3rd series, 56 (1937).
28. Thorald Rogers cites the example of a palfrey sold at £5.6.8. in 1312, and a selection of horses bought for Edward II in 1307 at prices ranging from £2.0.0. to £7.6.8. J.T. Rogers, op. cit., I, p. 331.

29. See Chapter III, p. 116.
30. This taxation assessment has been printed in full and edited and discussed by T.A. Gaydon as Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 39 (1958).
31. Another possible explanation of heriots consisting of only part of an animal could be leniency on the part of the lord towards a tenant who owned only one animal, that is that the lord took only a fraction of such an animal. However in cases where the tenants goods and chattels were recorded in the court roll we can see that the lord often took the tenants' only animal as heriot, and the list of a tenant's goods and chattels sometimes included a share in an animal. See Chapter I, p.
32. For example a list of 85 strays recorded in a Barton Ward Wodemote in 1369 were all cattle. P.R.O., DL/30/109/1626.
33. See Chapter III, p. 116.
34. P.R.O., DL/42/1/34.
35. P.R.O., DL/30/32/289, DL/30/44/499 and DL/29/369/6171.
36. P.R.O., DL/30/111/1676, DL/29/370/6192 and DL/29/371/6194.
37. See below, p. 198.
38. In 1414 Idridgehay, with 21 tenants, was the bigger.
39. See Chapter III, p. 120. ^{sq1}.
40. P.R.O., DL/30/32/299 and DL/30/48/577.

41. P.R.O., DL/30/111/1669.
42. P.R.O., DL/30/32/288.
43. P.R.O., DL/30/109/1614.
44. In each case the bull was included in the lease, but not valued. The lease also specified that the bull should be returned, so a real animal must have been meant, rather than merely the use of one.
45. See pp. 161 and 167.
46. Petworth Ministers Accounts in Sussex Record Society, 55, pp. 3, 22 and 46.
47. The leases were for twelve years at Hartington from 1373, ten years in Duffield Frith from 1394, twenty years at Hartington from 1421, eight years in Duffield Frith from 1426 and twelve years in Duffield Frith from 1475.
48. In one case, however, in 1475, the farmer of the Duffield Frith herd got summer pasture for all the herd, but winter pasture in Shottle Park for thirty cattle only.
49. The accountant was occasionally allowed a sum of 8s.0d. to replace a cow which had died from murrain, for example in 1425-6 and in 1446-7.
50. See above, p. 160.
51. See Chapter III, p. 117.
52. Their names were not, for example, included in the fifteenth century lists of county notables, such as the 1430 list of sureties (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-36, p. 50-1)

or the oath-takes of 1434 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-36, p. 370).

53. R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, p.381.
54. R. Somerville, op. cit., I, p. 548. Basset was also a retainer of William, Lord Hastings. W.H. Dunham, Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, p. 118.
55. An early comment was made by the seventeenth century historian J. Smith of Nibley, in The Berkeley Manuscripts, ed. J. MacLean, II, p.5. Detailed documentation for Worcester is in R.K. Field, The Worcestershire Peasant in the Later Middle Ages (unpublished Birmingham M.A. thesis, 1962).
56. P.R.O., DL/30/111/1669, DL/29/370/6188 and DL/30/111/1676.
57. R. Somerville, op. cit., I, p.540; P.R.O., DL/30/111/1678.
58. P.R.O., DL/30/111/1656, DL/30/111/1669 and DL/30/111/1677.
59. F.G. Davenport, 'Agricultural Changes of the Fifteenth Century,' in Quarterly Journal of Economics, XI, p.205. His conclusions were based on the Final Concords for Staffordshire, published in Staffs. Hist. Collections, XI-XV (1890-4).
60. See rental of 1414. P.R.O., DL/42/4.
61. The construction of these mills is discussed in more detail later. See Chapter V, pp.234-5.

CHAPTER V

Administration

The main structure of the administration of the Honour of Tutbury changed relatively little during the period 1313-1485. The system briefly described for the early fourteenth century was still in use in the late fifteenth century. Changes had been slight. The Earl's stockkeepers had disappeared with the Lancastrian withdrawal from stock and dairy farming in the second half of the fourteenth century. The land formerly used for the Earl's stock was accounted for by the appropriate manor or ward official. The ward receivers of the early fourteenth century were called collectors of the issues by the end of Edward III's reign, but their function remained the same.

Throughout the period manors were normally accounted for by a single reeve, a customary tenant elected by the other villeins⁽¹⁾. There were also reeves, however, on manors where there were no villeins in 1313, such as Uttoxeter, and on manors where villeinage had been abolished by the fifteenth century, such as Southwood. Very occasionally, as at Tutbury in 1322, there were two reeves who accounted jointly. In 1313-14, with the exception of Newcastle-under-Lyme, each manor had a different reeve, who was in office for one year only. Memoranda at the end of the 1313-14 accounts list the debts of former reeves, and none had held office for a longer

period. At Uttoxeter, for example, there had been four different reeves between 1310 and 1314. It was normal throughout the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries for each manor to have a different reeve, but during the course of the fifteenth century, a tenant would often become the reeve of groups of neighbouring manors. It was also common at this period for a reeve to hold office for several years. For example Thomas Comberford was reeve of Tutbury, Marchington and Rolleston from 1458 to 1461 at least. Richard Foster was reeve at Brassington and Bonsall from at least 1440 to 1447, and at Matlock from at least 1443 to 1447.

Many other examples could be cited. Men such as Comberford and Foster must have found the office of reeve a profitable one, as in holding office for such long periods they were fulfilling far more than their obligation. Very often the reeve became, or was already, the lessee of various manorial resources, such as mills, fishing rights, sheepfolds and meadows. For example, William Perkyn, reeve of Uttoxeter in 1427-8, bailiff of the same manor from 1440 to 1445, and collector of Uttoxeter Ward in 1427-8, 1440-1 and 1445-6⁽²⁾, was also a prominent lessee of the markets and fairs on the manor, and of the common oven. In 1445 he was paying £1.13.4. annually for the latter and £3.6.8. for the markets and fair. Another of his ventures was to buy from the King wood in Uttoxeter Ward worth £31.13.4., in conjunc-

tion with two other men. They paid £11.13.4. for this in 1442-3, and £10.0.0. in each of the following years. Hugh Halley, reeve of Duffield in 1439-40, also paid £4.0.0. for the corn mills on the manor in that year. The examples of John Hopkynson and Henry Edward, reeves at Barton, were mentioned earlier⁽³⁾.

Reeves probably got rent remission on their tenements whilst in office. They were also usually given a cash payment, although on one manor, Ireton Wood, the reeve received no such payment during this period. Yet even on this manor the office proved profitable enough for tenants to be prepared to exercise it for several years at a time. Richard Wade, for example, was reeve at Ireton Wood from 1443 to 1447, in 1460-1, and possible in the intervening years.

The rates of payment in 1313-14 varied from £1.10.4. at Tutbury, where some demesne arable was still being cultivated, to nothing on seven Derbyshire manors. By 1361 all but one of the reeves were receiving 1s. or more per year. The rates of payment were increased at irregular intervals on most manors during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Often the increases coincided with the replacement of the reeve by a rent-collector or a bailiff. At Southwood, for example, the reeve received no cash payment in 1313-14, but 2s. in 1361-2. By 1387 a rent-collector had been appointed, and was paid 6s.8d. a year. Probably this was a special

appointment designed to increase the efficiency of the administration on this manor. During the fifteenth century the accountant at Southwood was called reeve in some years (1400-1, 1460-61, 1475-6) and rent-collector in others (1415-16, 1423-4). The cash payment continued to be 6s.8d. yearly.

On certain manors bailiffs were occasionally appointed, often with an increased annual wage. The word bailiff implies a paid official appointed by the landlord, as opposed to a tenant elected reeve by his fellows as one of the obligations of tenure. Probably bailiffs, like the rent-collector at Southwood, were appointed to bring extra efficiency to the collection of the receipts. There was a bailiff at Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1313-14, a reeve in 1322 and a receiver later in the 1320's, followed by a reeve for the rest of the period. The important manor of Ashbourne had a bailiff as accountant throughout the fifteenth century, with an annual payment of 13s.4d. At Agardsley in 1381, Uttoxeter in 1395 and Wirksworth in 1423, temporary bailiffs were appointed, and the annual wage increased⁽⁴⁾. No clue is given to the origins or status of these bailiffs, and it is impossible to say whether they were local men or outsiders. At Uttoxeter the same man was called reeve in 1427-8 and bailiff in 1440, which suggests that he was a local man, and that the office of bailiff was little different in substance from that of

reeve.

At Hartington, perhaps the biggest of the Honour's manors, there was both a bailiff and a reeve during the middle years of the fifteenth century. The bailiff, who drew up the annual account, was paid £1.6.8., and the reeve 13s.4d. When the bailiff disappeared, the reeve acted as accountant and collected £2.0.0. himself.

Increases in payments were not made only on the appointment of bailiffs, but occurred on most manors, in accordance with the general increase in wages during the period. The total sum paid to reeves and bailiffs in 1313-14 was £6.8.1. This had risen to £18.8.0. by 1485. This increase conceals several temporary reductions, and several cases where the cash payment in 1485 was the same as it had been in 1313⁽⁵⁾.

Bailiffs and reeves carried out the same tasks. They collected the manorial receipts, saw to routine repairs and subtracted their own payments before paying over their cash surplus to the Receiver of Tutbury. If unusually high expenditure was involved, the accountant expressly quoted the mandate of the Steward of the Honour, and sometimes also of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy⁽⁶⁾. Towards the end of the period there was a move towards greater centralisation of the manorial administration. From 1479 the reeve or bailiff paid over almost all his receipts to the Receiver of

Tutbury. The cost of manorial repairs was met out of the Receiver's receipts. A similar change was made in the administration of the wards, so that from the same date the collectors of the issues of the wards no longer paid for fencing and lodge repairs themselves. Like manorial repairs these were met out of the Receiver of Tutbury's receipts. From 1481 the reeves and bailiffs no longer deducted their own payments from their receipts, but were paid by the Receiver of Tutbury. His responsibility for repairs continued until the end of the period, but by Richard III's reign the reeves and bailiffs were again deducting their own wages from their receipts.

It is possible that this change was made as a result of the difficulties the Duchy experienced with its manorial officials. In the second half of the fifteenth century many reeves got into financial difficulties, and several died owing the Duchy large sums. For example, Edward Bowne, formerly reeve at Matlock, died in 1461 owing the Duchy £2.6.0. Thomas Saperton, formerly reeve at Scropton, died in 1478 owing the Duchy £8.2.1. John Paton, formerly reeve at Alderwasley, died in 1483 owing the Duchy £1.19.9.

These three cases were noted in the manorial accounts. Probably there were others. A Duffield reeve also farmer of the corn mills owed the Duchy £46.9.3½d. in 1440. In 1447 £40.17.8. of this was still owing. This sum was not charged

in the next surviving account, drawn up in 1460. The arrears may have been paid off, but it is much more likely that the debt had been cancelled on the death of the former reeve, than that he had paid up after being in debt for so long. During the 1440's he was removed from his office and he was not mentioned in later accounts. John Blackwall, reeve of Ireton Wood, owed £1.0.0. in 1476, which was still owing in 1483. John Lenton, reeve of Bonsall, owed £7.10.0. in 1461, which was still owing in 1464.

At Southwood in 1478 the reeve for the year 1476-7 owed £1.13.4½d., and for 1477-8 £1.12.7½d. The total charge on this manor was less than £7.0.0. Hardly surprisingly the post of reeve was not popular on this manor, and in 1478-9 the tenants of the township as a whole (tenentes ville) were made responsible. They accumulated arrears more rapidly than the previous reeves, and owed £4.7.3. after two years. The total arrears on this manor in 1480 were £6.13.3., or nearly as much as the annual charge. The tenants as a whole continued in office, and in 1483 had reduced their debt to £2.19.0. The reeves for the years 1476-8, however, still owed £2.6.0.

There was a similar situation at this period at Hartington. The reeves for 1474-5 and 1475-6 finished their terms of office owing between them £12.18.4. No reeve could be found in 1476-7, and the tenants of the township were made

responsible. The tenants continued in office until 1479, by which date they themselves owed £36.18.8½d., and the reeves for 1474-6 still owed £12.18.4. A reeve was found in 1479-80, but by 1483 he owed £12.0.0., and none of the old arrears had been paid off.

Two methods of dealing with this problem are shown in the Tutbury accounts. In 1437 Henry Watson, a former reeve of this manor, was ordered to pay off his arrears at £1.0.0. a year⁽⁷⁾. In 1480 Thomas Orchard, reeve at Tutbury and Rolleston, owed the Duchy a total of £42.14.0. from the receipts of these manors. He solved his financial difficulties by selling his manor of Hatton to the Duchy⁽⁸⁾.

It is impossible to tell exactly what were the reasons for the repeated financial failure of reeves at this period. Incompetence, unwillingness or dishonesty on the part of the reeve, and resistance or real poverty on the part of the tenants from whom they had to collect rents may all have played some part. When a defaulting reeve was an isolated instance in a manor's history, as at Duffield, Alderwasley and Scropton, it seems likely that the reeve had got too deeply involved in financial negotiations and gone bankrupt. The reeves at Duffield and Scropton had both also been lessees of cornmills. When no reeve could meet the charge over a period of years, as at Southwood or Hartington, peasant resistance or poverty was probably responsible. Whatever

the reasons, the difficulties experienced by the Duchy in relying on poorly paid local tenants for its local administration are strikingly illustrated.

Inefficient methods were not however, wholly responsible. The effect of the political crisis of 1322 on the Honour has been indicated earlier. Two armies had marched through the Honour and had burned down buildings and stolen animals. The civil wars of the fifteenth century had their effect, also, though this was less spectacular. Many tenants from the Honour were involved in one of the final battles of the wars, at Towton in 1460. Some who survived returned to find that their tenements had been sacked. Rent worth £1.6.5. on four customary tenements at Rolleston had to be excused to give the tenants chance to rebuild. Rent worth 6s.8d. was excused at Duffield for the same reason.

Other tenants were killed at Towton, and as no goods or chattels could be found for distraint, their rents had to be allowed. This meant a total loss of nearly £7.0.0. to the Duchy in 1461.

Other disturbances cannot be connected so specifically with one event, but were nevertheless probably an indirect reflection of the instability of the period. The 1440's were particularly restless. In 1440 a Duffield holding was burnt down by brigands with two servants inside it. The rent of 25s.0d. was excused that year. The farmer of Matlock mill,

who had entered a ten year lease in 1438, ran into difficulties. In 1445 he fled at night with all his goods and chattels.

Flight was commonly resorted to by tenants who had been amerced. In 1445 various men amerced 12s.5d. in the Honour court fled at night. In 1446 five men amerced 7s.0d. in Appletree Hundred court fled immediately after the judgement. In the same year six men amerced 19s.0d. in the Honour court fled rather than pay.

There were similar disturbances at other periods. The flight of the farmer of the coal mine in Morley Park in the 1430's was mentioned earlier⁽⁹⁾. He owed the Duchy £14.0.0. when he fled. Hartington, a manor on the borders of Chester, a county notorious as a resort of grigands⁽¹⁰⁾, suffered periodically. For example, in 1477, a party of men from Chester carried out a raid on this manor which was so successful that rent of £20.0.0. could not be collected in that year from tenants who had suffered. Several of the latter had even abandoned their tenements.

Often the poverty of the tenants made it impossible to collect rents or amercements. At Duffield, for example, in 1445, three years' rent on a customary tenements was allowed for this reason. This amounted to £1.14.6. Amercements were frequently excused because of poverty. For example, at Marchington in 1476 (7s.10d.), 1482 (12s.8d.) and in 1483

(10s.4d.). The frequency of these allowances suggests that a minority of tenants was in real poverty throughout the fifteenth century, but it is always possible that poverty was an excuse rather than a reality.

Not only peasant tenants ran into financial difficulties. One of the most prominent Hartington tenants of gentry status was John Pole⁽¹¹⁾. In the 1470's he ran up heavy debts to the Duchy. He had been a lessee of corn mills, agistment and sheepfolds on the manor for many years before, in 1453, the leases were annulled because the rents had not been paid for several years. By 1475 Pole, or his son, now knighted, was again lessee of the Hartington and Crowdecote corn mills, for an annual rent of £2.1.0. However arrears of £6.17.0. were owing on this farm, and another £1.14.0. was owing on his tenements in Hartington by 1476. By Michelmas, 1478, Sir John owed £18.8.0. on various items. After an enquiry had been carried out by the King's officers, Pole's financial difficulties were solved by the sale of his land in Hartington and the nearby manor of Shene to the Duchy. The price paid was £400.0.0. and Pole's debts were cancelled⁽¹²⁾. Shene was worth about £27.0.0. to the Duchy in the year 1477-8. This was the second occasion in the late fifteenth century when the Duchy acquired manors in Staffordshire and Derbyshire from owners who had got into debt⁽¹³⁾.

Besides cases of poverty, flight or perhaps indirect

resistance, the administration faced occasional direct resistance in the form of refusals to pay rents or amercements. Refusals to pay rent were rare, but sometimes occurred. At Ashbourne in 1445 rent of 13s.0d. was refused, and in 1460-1 of 6s.0d. The chief example of this sort of direct resistance was the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme, which had a long tradition of independence. As early as 1251 the borough had obtained the privilege of collecting its own fee-farm, thus excluding royal, and later seigneurial officials⁽¹⁴⁾. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the borough and the Lancastrian administration wrangled over the question of the amount of the fee-farm. In 1313-14 £40.0.0. was paid, with apparently no complaints, and in 1322 £20.0.0. was paid for half the year. However in 1323-4 the burgesses claimed that the farm should be forty marks, or £26.13.4. By Michaelmas 1326 the difference between the sum demanded by the Duchy, £40.0.0., and the forty marks paid by the burgesses had accumulated as arrears. The next accounts for this borough are for 1358-9, 1386-7 and 1399-1400, when £40.0.0. was charged, and apparently paid by the burgesses. When the borough was in the hands of the feoffees of Henry V, the burgesses pleaded dire poverty, and gained an allowance of £10.0.0. on the fee-farm in 1425⁽¹⁵⁾. The protestations of poverty were disbelieved by the later administration, and the full sum of £40.0.0. was demanded. It was not, however, paid. The March-

burgesses ignored the demand, and continued to pay £30.0.0. yearly. Consequently heavy arrears accumulated and in 1429 £100.0.0. was owed on the farm of the burgages alone.

A similar situation had developed with regard to the manorial corn mills. Henry V's fees had allowed half of the normal charge of £40.0.0., but afterwards the full sum was demanded. The burgesses refused to pay the additional £20.0.0., and in 1439 £200.0.0. was owed on the farm of the mills.

By 1475-6 the administration had at last given up hope of collecting either sum in full, and only charged £20.0.0. on the burgages and £13.6.8. on the mills. By 1481 a further £6.13.4. was allowed on the farm of the burgages, on condition that the burgesses ceased certain unspecified illegal practices. The allowance was ostensibly made because of the poverty of the burgesses, but the fact that they could bargain with the Duchy in this way suggests that their poverty may have been a face-saving excuse rather than a reality.

Individual tenants could not offer sustained resistance to the Duchy's demands on this scale, but some refused to pay amercements. In 1445-6 an amercement of 13s.0d. was refused at Ashbourne, but we do not know by whom. Occasionally we know who such men were. In 1459 five men amerced a total of £5.13.4. in the court of the New Liberty in Staffordshire refused to pay. One man involved was Robert Hill, the March-

ington lawyer mentioned above⁽¹⁶⁾. He was amerced 6s.8d. for cutting down two thorn trees in Needwood Forest. His refusal to pay was not apparently punished, as he continued as Justice of the Peace and Member of Parliament⁽¹⁷⁾, and was collector of the issues in Marchington Ward and reeve of the manor in the 1460's and 1470's.

Another of the men who refused to pay ameracements in 1459 was of much lower social and economic position. Richard Woodman, husbandman, refused to pay an amercement of 13s.4d. demanded for cutting down trees illegally. The resistance of men such as Hill and Woodman suggests some weakness in local Lancastrian administration.

It was mentioned above that Robert Hill, a lawyer, Member of Parliament and Justice of the Peace, held relatively unimportant Duchy offices such as those of reeve and collector of the issues. This is not an isolated instance. John Agard, Deputy Receiver of the Honour in 1475, and a future Receiver, was also parker of Castlehay Park and collector of the issues of Tutbury Ward in Needwood Forest. The reeve of Marchington manor in 1462-4 was John Thyrkild, (who was also lessee of the manorial corn mill) and who was described as a gentleman in the account of 1475-6. The local gentry often held offices in the late fifteenth century which were formerly held by men of lower social status. The perquisites of these offices, which were not recorded in these accounts, must have made these posts attractive.

The more important positions on the Honour were often held by local gentry in the fifteenth century, but were also very often held by prominent outsiders. From 1399 the Dukes of Lancaster were also Kings of England, and the high Duchy offices were given to their friends and supporters. Somerville lists ten fourteenth century Stewards of the Honour of Tutbury, and twelve for the fifteenth century⁽¹⁸⁾. The fourteenth century list includes two men with the title of knight and one with the title of esquire. Many of the Stewards held no title and were men who had risen through service to the Earls and Dukes in local administration. In contrast, the twelve Stewards of the Honour during the fifteenth century included one Duke, three Earls, one Lord, five knights and two esquires. All had titles. Some of these men have been mentioned above, including William, Lord of Hastings⁽¹⁹⁾. Another was Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, who was Steward of the Honour of Tutbury, Constable of Tutbury Castle and Master Forester of Needwood Forest and Duffield Frith in 1435⁽²⁰⁾. These men had not risen to prominence through service to the Duchy. They were great landowners and figures of national importance, who were given positions in the Duchy as rewards⁽²¹⁾.

These men would probably use deputies to a great extent, but they did not necessarily entirely neglect their positions. For example Lord Hastings himself, as Steward of the Honour,

made a survey of Hartington manor, along with other officers, in 1477. His expenses on that occasion, amounting to £10.0.0. give some idea of the ceremony with which he carried out his duties. In 1462-3 the Steward of the Honour, at that date Richard, Earl of Warwick, proceeded through the Honour holding courts with an entourage of eighty men. Their expenses totalled £6.0.0.

Despite the penetration into the administration of the Honour of royal officials and national figures, some local families retained their long connection with the Earldom and Duchy. One example of this is the Agard family, whose family seat was at Foston in Derbyshire, and after whom, as hereditary bailiffs, the second section of the Honour court was named. Thomas Agard was bailiff of this court in 1313-14. Another Thomas Agard was feodary in Derbyshire in 1375 and in Staffordshire in 1380⁽²²⁾. John Agard was Receiver's clerk in 1461-3, Deputy Receiver of the Honour in 1476, escheator in Staffordshire in 1483-4 and Receiver of the Honour in 1486⁽²³⁾.

Several changes in administrative policy have been mentioned during the course of this study. For example terms of tenure were made more attractive to tenants as a result of reduced pressure on the land, and an effort was made during the fifteenth century to conserve the Honour's timber.

Another change of policy during this century was the

increased responsibility the Duchy assumed for the land and buildings leased from it. From quite early in the fourteenth century all arable farming on the Honour was in the hands of the tenants. The Duchy had withdrawn almost completely from stockfarming well before the end of the fourteenth century. However despite its withdrawal from direct participation in the agriculture ^{of} the Honour the Duchy never left the upkeep of the Honour's resources entirely in the hands of the tenants, and during the fifteenth century the scope of its responsibilities widened.

During the fourteenth century the Lancastrians spent a considerable amount of money on the water corn mills on the Honour, and a lesser amount on the manorial ovens. For example in 1313-14 the Earl paid for the rebuilding of the mill at Belper, which cost £26.6.3., and for repairs to the mill and oven at Uttoxeter which cost £2.3.8. In 1376-7 the mill at Matlock was rebuilt at a cost to the Duke of £6.18.0. These are relatively high sums. At Matlock, for example, the cost of the repairs amounted to a quarter of the receipts, less the arrears and decay, in that year. If cash liveries are a rough estimate of the distributed profit in any year, investment in the mill was the equivalent of 39% of this profit.

Such examples of investment in property leased to tenants are rare during this century, and are restricted to mills

and ovens. In most accounts no investment at all was recorded, as, for example, in twenty accounts for the reign of Richard II for manors in both counties.

During the fifteenth century it continued to be the Duchy's policy to repair the corn mills, and repairs were probably more regular than in the previous century. Often, in fact, the Duchy seemed to be doing more than it was legally obliged to do in paying for such repairs. The form of the leases varied a good deal. The most frequent lease left all repairs to the farmer, with the exception of the provision of timber, which was invariably the responsibility of the Earl or Duke. In some cases, however, where two mills ^{were} leased together, the King agreed to repair one, and the farmer agreed to repair the other ⁽²⁴⁾.

Whatever the terms of the lease, the King regularly bore part or all of the costs. In 1416-17 £6.10.0. was allowed to the farmers of the corn mills at Barton and Marchington because of the especially heavy repairs they had carried out in that year. These had been necessary because of severe flood damage ⁽²⁵⁾. The previous year the King had spent £2.16.9. on Duffield mill. At Uttoxeter in the middle of the fifteenth century the King spent heavy sums year after year. In the four years between 1440 and 1449 for which accounts have survived, a total of £20.9.0. was spent on the mill and oven at Uttoxeter. On the other three

Staffordshire manors where there were corn mills, nearly £23.0.0. was spent in the three years 1440-1 and 1444-6. Other examples of heavy investment in mills during this period have already been quoted⁽²⁶⁾.

Though obviously prepared to invest money regularly in corn mills, the King showed a more cautious attitude towards fulling mills. Three new fulling mills were built on the Honour during this century, and leased as manorial mills. In two cases, and probably in the third, the main cost was met by a tenant who became the first farmer of the mill. At Tutbury in 1400 an allowance of 13s.4d. was made to the builder. In 1444 an allowance of £2.0.0. was made to the builder of a second fulling mill on the same manor.

No estimate of the total cost of building a fulling mill was included in these accounts. However some idea of this could perhaps be gained from a contemporary example cited by Salzman⁽²⁷⁾. In 1437 two millwrights contracted to build a fulling mill at Chartham in Kent, for £14.13.4., with timber provided. The King provided timber for the fulling mill built at Tutbury in 1444, and probably for the other two. Nevertheless the builders must have had considerable capital or financial backing to have financed the building of these mills. The builder at Tutbury in 1444 and one of his two pledges were obviously involved in the Burton cloth manufacturing industry. The builder was Roger Walker of Burton,

and his pledges were Robert Tailor of Burton and Henry Tailor of Tutbury. The farmer at Uttoxeter in 1427-8 was also probably a fuller by trade, called Richard Walker.

The King profited from the land, timber and small cash subsidy he contributed towards these mills with the profit from the lease as long as the mill continued to work. His grant of £2.0.0. to Roger Walker in 1444 was repaid within three years. The grant of 13s.4d. in 1400 was repaid in the first year of the mill's lease.

During the fifteenth century the mills were by no means the only manorial resources in which the King was prepared to invest money. The scope of landlord investment included drainage and fencing, river banks, occasionally bridges, and above all, the buildings of customary tenants. The King also replaced stock in the herd of his cattle leased in Duffield Frith⁽²⁸⁾. Possibly the landlord had spent money on these items in the previous century, but this never happened in the years for which accounts have survived. In contrast, in the fifteenth century such expenditure occurred regularly on several manors.

The river which made the land fertile on the Dove and Trent valley manors could also cause great damage by flooding⁽²⁹⁾. At Marchington, Barton and Tutbury the river banks and drainage systems were mended at the Duchy's expense. At Marchington £2.9.0. was spent in this way in 1448-9, and £1.15.0. in 1463-4. At Barton £4.4.0. was spent on the

river banks in 1480-1 and smaller amounts in almost every year. At Tutbury over £4.0.0. was spent on the Dove banks or weirs in 1444-5, 1462-3, 1463-4 and 1476-7. Fences and ditches of the demesne meadows at Tutbury, some of which were kept in hand for the King's own stock, were repaired at a cost of over £3.0.0. in 1462-3, 1463-4, 1475-6 and 1478-9. A bridge over the Dove was rebuilt at a cost of £13.6.8. taken from the Barton receipts in 1475. Repairs to the buildings of customary tenants were paid for by the King regularly on several manors, and occasionally on many others. Sometimes the King made a contribution towards the total cost of repairs, for example 12s.6d. when the total cost was £1.5.0. at Scropton in 1418-19. Often he paid the whole cost when a tenement formerly derelict was taken by a new tenant. The earliest recorded case of this was at Matlock in 1418-19, when a new tenement was built at a cost of £9.17.0. At Brassington in 1446-7 two tenants took holdings of five and three bovates which had been out of use. The King granted £2.0.0. to the first and £1.0.0. to the second towards the cost of necessary repairs. The tenants agreed to maintain the holdings themselves after this initial help. Many similar arrangements were made. For example new barns were build by the King on customary tenements at Scropton in 1445-6 (a barn of two bays, costing £1.0.0.) and in 1446-7 (a barn of three bays, costing £1.13.0.) and at Marchington in 1448-9 (a barn of four bays, costing £2.9.2.)

In some cases the costs were recorded in great detail, as, for example, at Rolleston in 1444-5, when a thatched barn of three bays was built for a customary tenant on this manor. Various tenants of the manor were hired, with their own carts and draught animals, to cart timber from Needwood Forest. A total of thirty days work was paid at 1s.0d. per day. Carpenters were paid 5d. per day, sawyers 4d. per day and thatchers with their helpers 7d. per day. Timber and stone were provided from the estate, but nails and straw for the roof were bought. The total cost, extending over two years, was £7.5.2.

It is clear that during this century the King's policy was to see that customary tenements were kept in good order, and that, if possible, those lying out of use were re-occupied. This policy was given considerable financial support. Despite the financial difficulties of Henry VI, repairs to customary tenements on the Honour were not neglected. On four Staffordshire manors, Barton, Marchington, Rolleston and Tutbury, during the four years between 1440 and 1449 for which accounts have survived, a total of £12.1.0. was spent on customary tenements. In the three years for which accounts survive between 1475 and 1479, over £12.0.0. was spent on customary tenements on the three manors of Rolleston, Agardsley and Tutbury.

Throughout this century, in fact, the Duchy was putting

back into the Honour a far higher proportion of the receipts than in the previous century. About 4 or 5% of the receipts less arrears and decays, and about 5% of the cash liveries from the manors were regularly invested, with occasional far higher expenditure. At Matlock in 1418-19 one third of the receipts were spent on two customary tenements. Cash liveries from this manor in that year were £11.9.0., compared with investment of £10.3.6. In 1423-4 on the same manor 19% of the receipts were spent on customary tenements. At Duffield in 1425-6 18½% of the receipts and 23% of the cash liveries were spent on mills. At Barton in 1440-1 over 20% of the receipts were spent on mills and drainage, and at Uttoxeter in the same year over 18% of the receipts were spent on the mill and oven. In each case the amount invested was equivalent to about a quarter of the cash liveries from the manors. At Brassington in 1446-7 about 30% of the receipts and 46% of the cash liveries were spent on customary tenements. At Rolleston in 1475-6 17½% of the receipts and 22% of the cash liveries were spent on customary tenements.

The examples given above demonstrate how the expenditure on manorial resources continued throughout the fifteenth century, and how it affected many manors. On one manor, Tutbury, the proportion was regularly high. Some of the costs of repairs to the Castle were regularly charged on the reeve whilst the rest was met by the Receiver of Tutbury.

This is not investment of the same kind as that discussed above, so it has been excluded from the table below. So have the costs of the hunting lodges in Needwood Forest which were occasionally met out of the Tutbury manor receipts in the 1470's. The table shows the amount invested as a proportion of both the receipts, less arrears and decays, and of the cash liveries from the manor. A short summary of the items of investment has been included.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount spent</u>	<u>% of receipts</u>	<u>% of cash liveries</u>	<u>How spent</u>
1400				Fulling mill 13-4
--	18-10	1	1½	Fencing 5-6
1401				
1416				House of Pleas 1-11-1
--	4-1-0	6	15½	Weir 11-4 Fences 10-6
1417				Ditches 5-10 Bridge 1-2-3½
1440				Customary tenements 1-5-10
--	16-0-0	28½	40½	Mills 11-6-0 Meadows 19-0
1441				House of Pleas 18-8
1444				Fences 1-0-6 Mills 14-10
--	8-19-4	16	none	Bridge and weir 4-13-2
1445				Fulling mill 2-0-0
1458				
--	13-0	1½	12	Customary tenements 13-0
1459				
1459				Customary tenements 1-1-3½
--	1-10-5	2½	16	Mills 9-1½
1460				
1460				Customary tenements 4-7-6
--	5-13-0	14	24	Mills and weir 1-5-6
1461				
1462			cash	Mills 25-13-0
--	34-4-0	60½	liveries	Weir and river bank 4-4-8
1463			8-13-10	Pinfold 9-4 Meadows 3-1-10
				Customary tenements 15-1
1463				Fences 3-6-8½
--	8-18-3½	16½	27	Mills 1-4-8
1464				Weirs 4-7-0
1475				Meadows 1-10-5
--	5-4-7	12	85	Fences 1-18-9 Barn 1-6-8
1476				Bridge 8-9
1476			cash	Fences 2-5-9 River banks 4-0-0
--	9-1-5½	22	liveries	Customary tenements 2-2-2½
1477			6-18-4	Meadows 6-8 Pinfold 6-10
1478			cash	Fences 3-8-4 Stable 3-2-8
--	12-11-7	29	liveries	Meadows 2-6-10
1479			8-2-9	Customary tenements 3-2-3

We can conclude that changes in the administrative structure of the Honour have been slight. On the other hand there may have been a significant change in administrative policy. The surprisingly high proportion of the receipts put back into the Honour in the fifteenth century could be explained as a likely consequence of the improved bargaining position of tenants, as a result of the changed land-labour ratio.

Footnotes to Chapter V

1. See, for example, the account for Wirksworth, 1322.
2. William Perkyn may well have held office in the intervening years also.
3. See Chapter IV, pp. 187 and 192.
4. The increases were from 5s. to £1.0.0. at Agardsley, from 6s.8d. to £2.0.0. at Uttoxeter and from 10s. to £1.0.0. at Wirksworth.
5. The cash payment at Bonsall, Alderwasley and Brassington was 5s. throughout this period.
6. For example in 1475, when £13.6.8. from the Barton receipts was spent on a bridge, the mandate of Lord Hastings, Chief Steward of the Honour, and Richard Fowler, Chancellor of the Duchy, was quoted.
7. The total sum owed by Watson was not recorded.
8. See the Tutbury account for 1480-1. P.R.O., DL/29/372/6206.
9. See Chapter III, p. 132.
10. G. Barraclough, 'The Earldom and County Palatine of Chester' in Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 103, (1951) p. 44
11. See Chapter IV, p. 188.
12. P.R.O., DL/29/403/6468.
13. See above, p. 213.
14. Cal. Ch. Rolls, I, p. 367.

15. P.R.O., DL/29/183/2907, printed in T. Pape, Medieval Newcastle-under-Lyme, p. 192.
16. See Chapter IV, p. 194.
17. R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, I, p. 540.
18. Ibid., I, pp. 352, 357, 381 and 539-40.
19. See Chapter III, p. 123.
20. R. Somerville, op. cit., I, pp. 539 and 542.
21. See also Chapter III, p. 124.
22. R. Somerville, op.cit., I, p. 382.
23. Ibid., p. 543.
24. For example at Duffield in 1440.
25. Financial help from the lord when manorial mills were damaged by floods was, like the provision of timber, a common proviso in mill leases. See R. Bennett and J. Elton, A History of Corn Milling, III, p. 78.
26. See Chapter II, p. 101.
27. L.F. Salzman, Building in England down to 1540, p. 509.
28. See Chapter IV, p. 184.
29. Bad flood damage was recorded, for example, at Barton in 1322 and at Barton and Marchington in 1416. See above, p. 223.

Appendix I

i The value of leases of pasture, herbage, pannage and agistment in Needwood Forest and Duffield Frith throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is shown in the tables below. The figures for Duffield Frith do not include the farm of the herd of cattle.

NEEDWOOD FOREST		DUFFIELD FRITH	
1313-14	38-4-8	1313-14	38-5-3
1370-1	35-6-8	1361-2	41-4-3
1400-1	42-11-8	1376-7	35-13-2
1427-8	48-17-9	1397-8	37-8-2
1440-1	48-8-4	1419-20	42-4-0
1445-6	38-15-10	1426-7	47-8-0
1460-1	34-15-0	1439-40	41-10-2
1463-4	45-10-0	1460-1	27-0-0
1475-6	45-17-8	1463-4	38-4-8
		1475-6	47-16-0

ii The farm per head of the cows in the Duffield Frith Herd is shown in the table below.

1376-7	5s.6d.	1443-4	4s.0d.
1397-8	5s.0d.	1460-1	3s.6d.
1401-2	5s.0d.	1463-4	3s.6d.
1415-16	5s.0d.	1475-6	4s.0d.
1426-7	5s.0d.	1484-5	4s.0d.
1439-40	4s.0d.		

Appendix II

i The value of the leases of agistment and sheepfolds on Hartington manor is shown in the table below.

	AGISTMENT	SHEEPFOLDS
1376-7	10-10-0	14-0-3
1417-18	8-0-0	16-18-4
1423-4	8-0-0	16-0-6
1425-6	7-6-8	14-5-4
1439-40	6-0-0	14-5-4
1445-6	6-0-0	14-5-4
1460-1	6-6-8	14-4-8
1475-6	6-0-0	15-14-7
1483-4	6-0-0	15-1-4

ii The value of leases of demesne meadows on a series of manors is shown in the tables below.

DUFFIELD
(21 acres 1 rood)

1361-2	1-6-8
1376-7	2-0-0
1401-2	2-0-0
1418-19	2-0-0
1423-4	2-0-0
1439-40	1-6-8
1445-6	1-6-6
1460-1	1-3-4
1475-6	1-13-4
1483-4	1-13-4

BARTON
(40 acres 3 roods)

1370-1	3-0-0
1400-1	4-13-4
1416-17	4-13-4
1440-1	2-13-4
1460-1	2-13-4
1475-6	2-13-4
1483-4	2-13-4

TUTBURY

OBHOLME	HOLLYWELMEDE
(30 acres)	(14 acres 3 roods)

1370-1	3-12-4	1-16-8
1400-1	5-13-4	1-18-10
1416-17	5-0-0	1-16-10
1440-1	4-0-0	1-0-0
1445-6	4-6-8	1-0-0
1448-9	4-6-8	1-0-0
1458-9	5-2-0	1-2-0
1460-1	5-2-0	1-2-0
1475-6	in hand	1-2-0
1483-4	in hand	1-2-0

Appendix III.

The tables below show the total charge on a series of manors less arrears and decays.

	ROLLESTON	BARTON
1370-1	27-16-8	55-18-8
1400-1	29-6-0	61-2-6
1416-17	30-14-10	58-10-4
1440-1	31-7-0	54-2-2
1444-5	31-6-0	49-2-8
1448-9	30-4-4	49-11-3
1458-9	30-10-3	49-19-10
1460-1	29-13-9	49-10-3
1475-6	28-4-6	52-0-0
1484-5	28-1-10	51-18-9

	BRASSINGTON	MATLOCK
1361-2	14-16-4	26-18-0
1376-7	13-16-0	27-17-3
1387-8	14-3-7	25-2-9
1400-1		26-17-9
1418-19	13-15-0	21-17-8
1423-4	10-16-0	20-12-5
1439-40	11-17-8	23-12-5
1444-5	10-16-8	21-15-5
1460-1	11-0-0	18-6-10
1475-6	11-8-9	17-5-7
1484-5	11-2-0	17-1-4

	DUFFIELD	BELPER
1376-7	92-10-0	40-1-4
1397-8	84-1-9	
1401-2	84-8-8	42-6-10
1415-16	82-14-4	
1418-19		40-14-5
1423-4	77-5-9	44-17-7
1439-40	78-7-1	35-5-0
1444-5	79-4-0	33-7-8
1460-1	79-11-7	36-15-1
1475-6		32-9-0
1484-5	79-9-9	32-13-2

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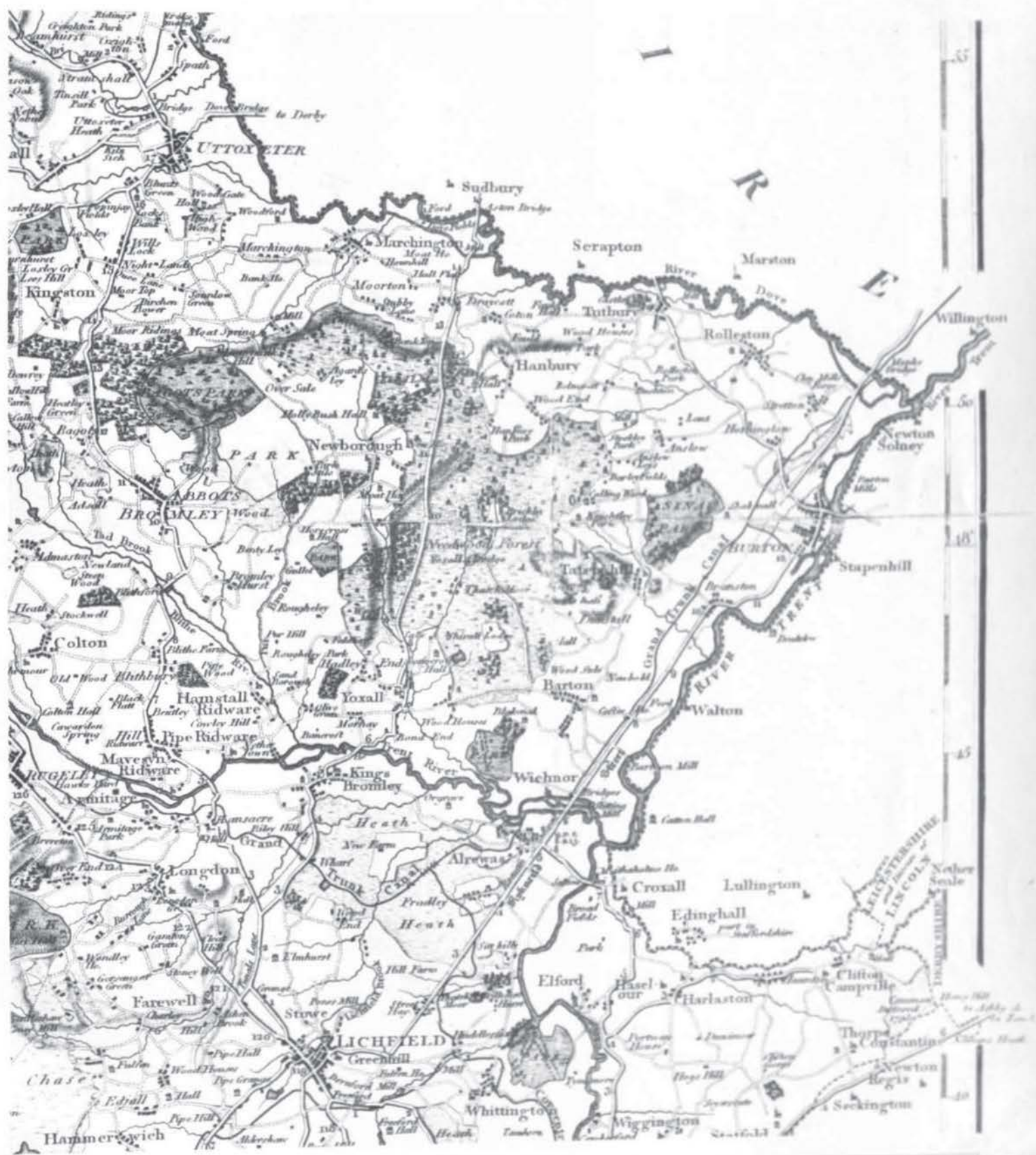
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Abbreviations.

Cal. Ch. Rolls.	Calendar of Charter Rolls.
Cal. Pat. Rolls.	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
Cal. Fine. Rolls.	Calendar of Fine Rolls.
Rot. Parl.	Rotuli Parliamentorum.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History.
Ec. Hist. Review.	Economic History Review.
Eng. Hist. Review.	English Historical Review.
Agric. Hist. Review.	Agricultural History Review.
Staffs. Hist. Collections.	Collections for a History of Staffordshire. Stafford Rec- ord Society (formerly William Salt Archaeological Society.)



The Honour of Tutbury in Staffordshire
Part of W.Yates' Map of Staffordshire (1798).



Needwood Forest
 Duchy manors and hamlets shown thus *BARTON*
 Parks, wards and lodges shown thus *Yoxall Lodge*
 Scale 1"-1mile



Tuffield Frith

Duchy manors and hamlets shown thus Biggin
Parks, wards and lodges shown thus Shuttle

Scale 1"=1mile



The Honour of Tutbury in Derbyshire
Part of C.Greenwood's Map of Derbyshire (1822).