

MINING WITHOUT LAWS: ORIGINS AND PRACTICES OF THE WEARDALE MOORMASTERS.

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Abstract: This paper describes the customs and practices of the Weardale Moormaster as found in various law suits between the English civil war and the end of the 17th century. It shows the origins of the moormaster in the 16th century, and finds earlier evidence for many of his practices. The possibility of customary laws is also examined.

THE WEARDALE MINING FIELD

Weardale lies in the west of Co Durham, at its furthest west it has a common boundary with both Cumbria and Northumberland, not far from the market town of Alston. It comprises all the land within the watershed of the river Wear from Wolsingham (NGR. NZ 076373) west to the source of the river in the hills above Killhope, and consists of a main valley, quite steep-sided, with a few small tributary valleys. The land rises from Wolsingham, at 140 metres AOD to 746 metres AOD at its highest point on the watershed, a straight line distance of about 30 km.

From the grant of King Stephen in 1154 to Bishop Hugh Puiset, mineral rights to this land belonged, as did the land itself,

to the Bishop of Durham. Land that could sustain some form of farming, with a dwelling, was held under various types of tenure from the Bishop. This was clustered in the valley bottoms, and in the 16th century reached little farther than Wearhead. The higher dwellings were originally shielings, occupied only in the summer months for hill grazing, although by this time many were year round tenancies. The area used for mining by the moormasters was all of Weardale excluding the valley-bottom farm lands, leaving him with the higher ground, more effectively termed the moors, wastes and fells.

In the 12th century, the administrative area called the Forest of Weardale had reached east of Wolsingham but by the 16th century it had shrunk to that part of

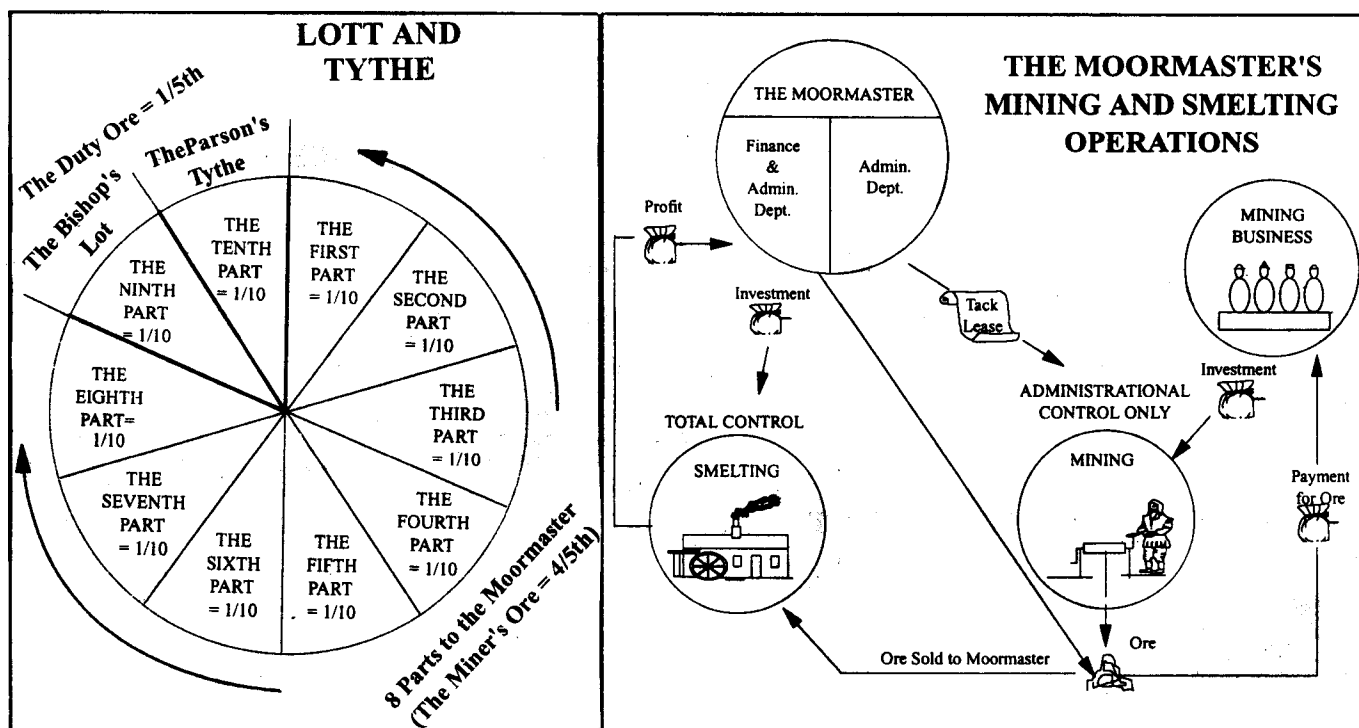
Weardale that lay to the east of Eastgate. This area came under Forest Law which was originally devised for the protection of the royal hunting parks and forests, and in general gave less rights to its occupants than did the common law which applied to the rest of Weardale. The whole area was part of the Palatinate of Durham, which effectively gave the Bishop many rights, such as his own courts of justice, that in other areas of the country were the prerogative of the king. This considerable but fluctuating power was much reduced in the 16th century, but it remained a strong influence on Weardale life throughout the 17th century.

CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES OF THE 17TH CENTURY MOORMASTERS

'Moormasters' was the term used for the men who held the rights from the Bishop of Durham to operate the lead mines. In the 17th century Humphrey Wharton of Gilling in Yorkshire, held the post of moormaster from about 1661 to 1688. He was the subject of several law suits brought by the Rector of Stanhope and the Bishop of Durham. These law cases enable a picture of the operations of the moormaster to be compiled, and are the source of the information found in this section.¹

1. Lott and Tythe

The moormaster was responsible for the calculation and setting out for collection of the duty ore, comprising the Bishop's lott and the Parson's tythe. There has been some confusion over the value of the lott ore, mainly because it is recorded in



18th and 19th century documents as 'the Bishop's ninth', taken completely out of context from its original derivation, so that it would seem to be a ninth of the ore raised. In fact, when the correct computation is examined, it turns out to be a tenth.

The clearest way to explain the lott ore calculation is to combine two sources, the first from a Parliamentary Commissioners Survey of 1647² and the second from the evidence of Matthew Smales in a law case of 1686.³ The Commissioners state "The Bishop hath the ninth part of the lead ore for his share or lott, and the Rector of Stanhope the tenth part for his tythes, the other eight parts of the ore, gotten of ancient custom, is claymed by the Moormaster". Matthew Smales clarifies it a little, saying "The Bishop has interest only in the ninth part, the whole being divided equally into ten parts - so that the lott and tythe are equal."

Thus the correct system is very simple to operate. The Bishop and the Rector both get a tenth, making the duty ore two tenths or one fifth, which agrees nicely with the following statement of William Deacon, deputy Moormaster, when in 1665 at Ewetre Mine he "received 20 Bing loads, and took off four bing loads for the Lott and Tythe". Although there

is not space to discuss it here, it should be noted that for much of the time the lott and tythe were leased out to Merchants.

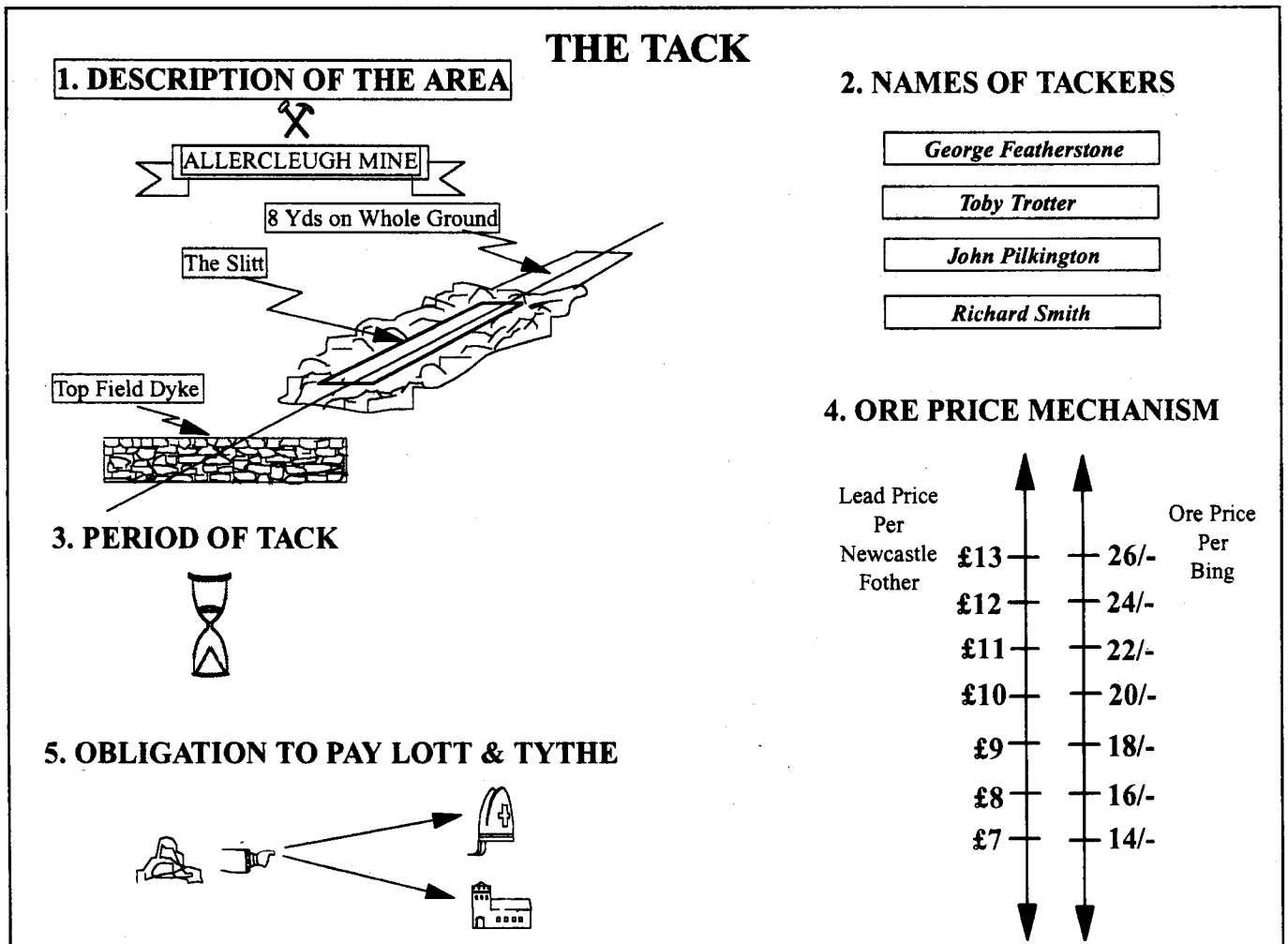
2. Administration and Control

It is convenient to look at the Moormaster's operations in two sections, the mines and the smelt mills. Taking the latter first, this was the part of the operation that made the Moormasters' money, and it was subject to no regulations by the Bishop. It was therefore, a separate business wholly owned by the Moormaster, in which he alone invested, building or renting smelt mills as production increased.

The system for controlling the mining, however, was completely different. This had an administrative framework to control all the details of the operation of the mining field, excluding the actual mining, and was run by the Moormaster. The mines themselves, although regulated by this system, were separate and distinct businesses, financed and run by miners and other investors. The Moormaster therefore, while controlling the mines, had no financial interest in them.

The key to controlling the mining was a document called a "tack". Tack is an old Scottish and North of England word meaning a grant. It was also used in the

Forest of Weardale by the the customary tenants of the bishop who paid a penny, called a Tack penny to their lord once a year at the Forest Court as one of the conditions of renewing their tenure. The tack was issued by the Moormaster to the miners and contained the details under which they would have permission to mine. It would contain a full description of the area to be mined, for example, at Allercleugh in 1666, "from the topfield dyke [wall] up the slitt [the previously mined groove on top of the vein] then eight yards on the whole ground". Also stated was the length of time permitted for the tack, conditions of working to prevent forfeit, the obligation to pay lott and tythe, and the names of the people involved in the tack. The Moormaster did not charge for the tack, because the miners, by reason of their tack, had to sell him all their ore, and this was paid for at a controlled price set deliberately below the market price, thus effectively giving him a percentage payment on the ore produced. This payment scheme was stated in 1666 as paying "twenty shillings for each bing when lead sells at Newcastle at ten pounds the fother, and to rise or fall two shillings per bing as the price of lead at Newcastle rise or fall every twenty shillings per fother". To give a guide as to this indirect cost of the tack, in 1666 the Rectors tythe ore, which



could be sold to anyone and would represent the open market price, was purchased at 34/- a bing at a time when the miners were getting 26/- a bing for their ore, so they were giving the Moormaster nearly 25% discount on their ore as a condition of getting their tack.

3. The Tackers

The people who got together to raise the finances and ask the Moormaster for a tack were called tackers, and they were the shareholders in the mine. From the available evidence they appear to be drawn predominantly from the yeoman farmers of Weardale, although there were some gentlemen investors as well. Many can be found as tenants of the Bishop, although whether this was a condition of receiving a tack is not clear. There was no need for the tackers to be miners, although many would work in their own mines, but in that case they would have to reach an agreement with their partners over pay, as no tackers wages were permitted as expenses in the mine accounts. All the other miners and labourers were simply hired as needed.

From a list of tacks for 1666, the common number of tackers for a mine was between three and five, extending to a maximum of seven. However, many tackers can be found investing in more than one mine, which would increase the chances of a profit, and remembering the uncertainties of mining, would help spread the risk of failure. This practice I have termed multi-tacking, and from a list of tacks of 1684 when the number of mines operating was growing quite fast, there were 94 tackers working 160 mines. Of the 94 tacks 30 were multi-tacked, of which 23 held 2 or 3 tacks, while the remainder held from four to eight tacks each. These lists only give the names of one person, presumably a head or senior tacker, so the average number of

investors involved would be over four times this, and the number of multi-tackers would also be much greater).

4. Mining Practices

Most Moormasters employed at least one deputy moormaster, who was responsible for the operation of the field in the absence of the Moormaster, which could be for long periods, as they were usually men with many other business or political interests. Various clerks and agents were used to inspect the mines and run the smelting.

With regard to the operating of the mines, only a limited amount of information is available. Surface work in 'the slitt' seems common, as does the sinking of shafts and the driving of levels, one of which driven at Groverake about 1647 cost over £100. There is only one reference to ore extraction techniques, and that is in about 1610, when Cuthbert Peart was a tacker at Whiterake mine, and listed the charges of the mine, including "Hirelings wages who digged peates serving for fuell for burning stones within the earth for opening the veins".⁴ This is a clear reference to firesetting with peat, which was a very common fuel located very near to most mines. If there had been a good supply of wood then it would have been used for firesetting, but there is good evidence that all forms of timber were scarce in Weardale, such as the Parliamentary Survey of 1647, which could find no timber growing or remaining in the Forest of Weardale.⁵ This would make the cost of purchasing and carrying wood for firesetting from outlying areas to the mines expensive, and no doubt some miners turned to the cheaper alternative of peat. Indeed as early as 1306, a petition to parliament complained that Bishop Anthony Bek wastes and destroys all the wood"

appertaining to his church - by gift and sale and bad keeping and in setting up forges of iron and lead and in burning charcoal".⁶ The lack of local timber, possibly for a prolonged period, could well have seen the use of peat for firesetting as common practice in Weardale over a considerable period of time.

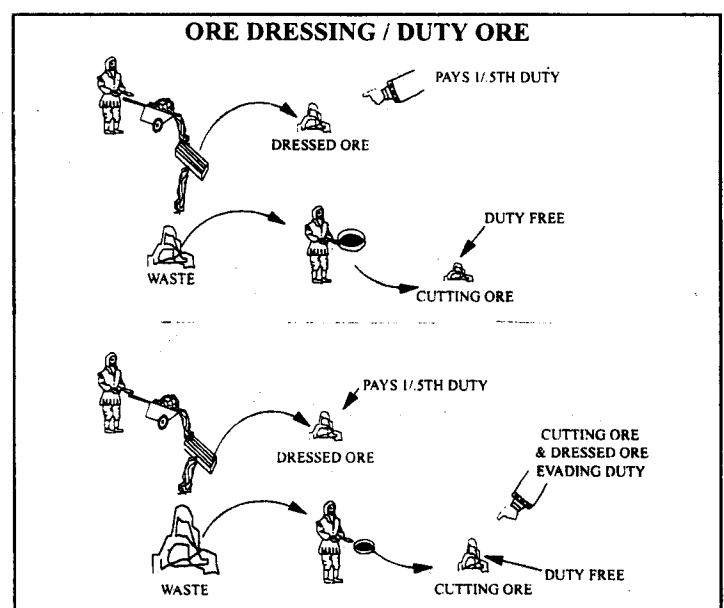
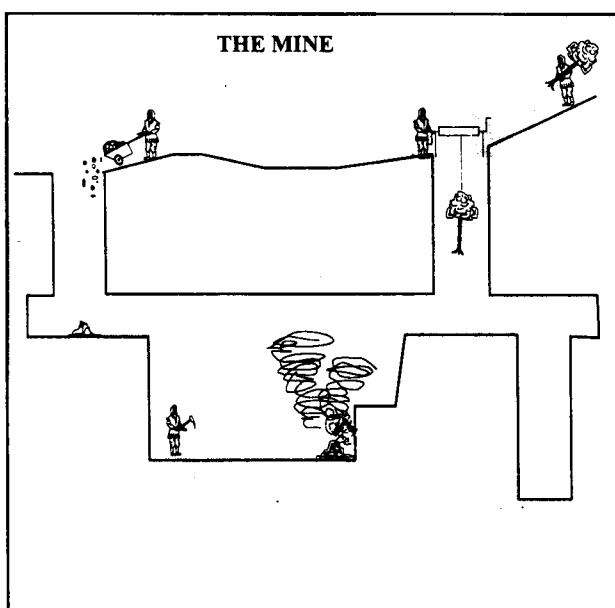
5. Ore Dressing

Agents were employed to visit each mine regularly to take an account of the ore produced. This was washed and dressed on site, and the dressed ore kept in a heap for the agent to check, as this would be liable to lott and tythe. The waste was thrown to one side, and it was common practice to extract further fine ore from it, which was called cutting or tushing ore. This had to be sold to the Moormaster at a lower price than the normal ore. Although it is clear that the miners did not pay duty on cutting ore, the reasons are not given. A possible explanation is that the duty ore was taken from the clean and washed ore ready for smelting, at which point everything else was waste. Extraction of further ore from the waste heaps was not taking ore from the earth by the process of mining, and was therefore exempt.

Although not a practice that was to be encouraged, it is worth noting that in 1684 the then Bishop of Durham accused his Moormaster of cheating on his duty ore declarations, by letting the miners throw good ore on the waste heap, covering it with ordinary waste, and then taking it out later as cutting ore, and thus exempt from duty. Whether it was true or not, the Bishop was obviously being advised by experienced people who knew all about this underhand practice.

6. The Accounting Days

Every quarter there was an accounting



day for the mines, these were All Saints, Candlemass, St Mark's day, and Lammas. In 1667 they were held at the house of Thomas Vickers, "commonly known as Chappel house", in St John's Chapel. On these days the tackers would bring their ore accounts to be presented to the Moormaster or his deputy, together with representatives of the Bishop and Rector, responsible for the lot and tythe respectively. This was not however the day they got paid, but the day the lott and tythe were agreed. The accounts were said to be usually accepted without question, after which the Moormaster's agents had to set out the lott and tythe ready for collection within forty days. It was stated in 1667 that it was an old mining custom of the accounting days, now lost, that the Bishop gave the grovers wood as an allowance for his lott ore, and likewise the parson gave 2/- a bing load allowance for his tythe. This allowance appears to have been for washing the ore.

7. The Day of Reckoning

Transport of the ore was also carefully controlled, by means of tallies. When loading was complete, the miners and carriers prepared a tally, probably a piece of flat wood, broken or cut into two unequal parts, with the greater part, called the stock, kept by the miners. On it was recorded the name of the carrier and the mine. The smaller part, called the swatch, was retained by the carriers. There is no mention of what, if anything, was written on it. This procedure continued until a day of reckoning was fixed.

There do not seem to be any specific dates when this was held, nor is it known how many times a year it occurred, although since it was payday for the miners and carriers, it would be arranged by the Moormaster, and could well have occurred only once a year. On

that day, in front of the officers and clerks of the oormaster, each group of tackers would present their stocks, and the carriers would bring forward their swatches. The stocks and swatches were matched, and when they agreed, both stock and swatch were destroyed, and the miners and carriers were paid.

THE FIRST MOORMASTER

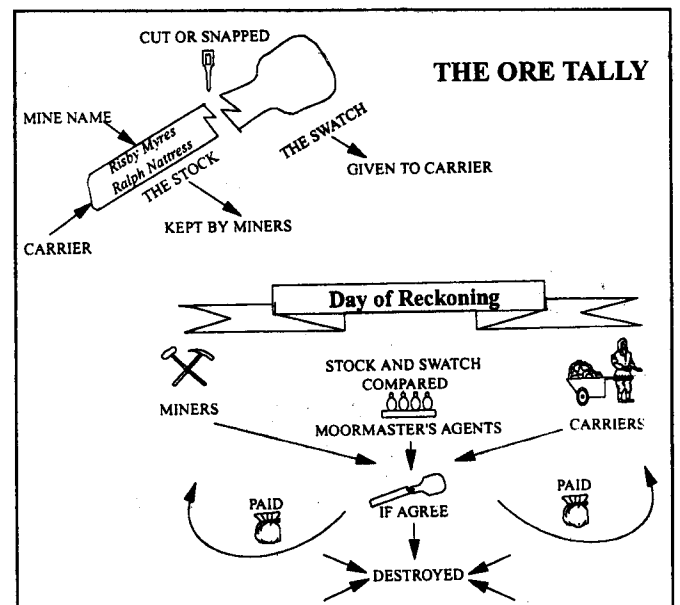
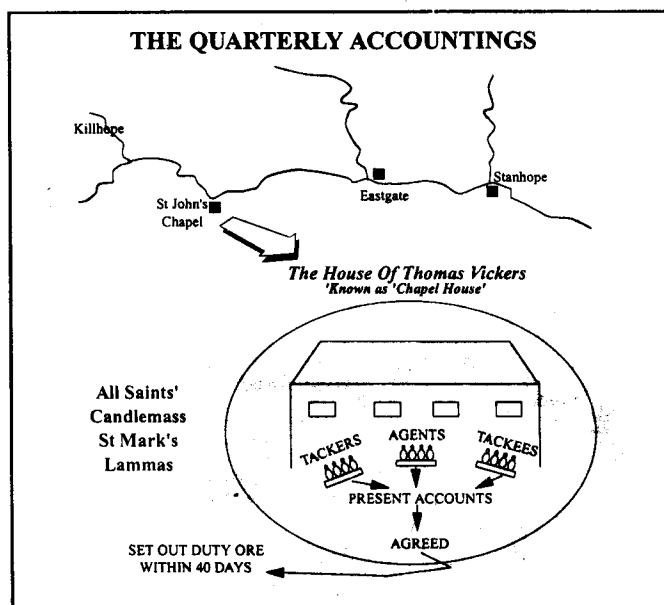
On the accession to the throne of Elizabeth 1 in 1559, the church was once again pulled away from Rome and back to the Protestant religion. The north of England had much of its nobility controlling, via largely family appointments, many of the secular offices of the Bishopric of Durham, the majority of whom favoured the old religion. In 1561 Elizabeth appointed a new Bishop, James Pilkington, and a new Dean of the cathedral. Both men were radical southern protestants who virtually ignored the views of the northern lords and their families. One consequence of this was the wholesale replacement of the previous northern Bishopric officers, with new ones drawn from friends and families of the new Bishop and his Dean. One such typical appointment was that of Francis Pilkington, probably the Bishop's brother, to a new post of Moormaster of the Weardale lead mines.⁷

This new grant was given by letters patent, and as was typical of the Elizabethan period, it was probably given as a favour. The 17th century ones were probably given for a fee, such as the £160 paid by Humphrey Wharton to Bishop Morton in 1640.⁸

The ancient books of the Moormaster were stated by Matthew Smales, who had them in his possession for some time after 1666, as starting in the ninth year of the

reign of Elizabeth 1st, ie. from November of 1566. This would indicate that the first known Moormaster, Francis Pilkington, was appointed about this time. Before 1566M are many references to clerks of mines and mine surveyors, but there is no use of the distinctive word 'moormaster'. In fact, there is no record of such a word in the Oxford English Dictionary. However, in several instances the phrase 'moorman or moormaster' is used, and moorman is described in the dictionary as a man who has control of a moor. He is responsible for the control of common moorland for grazing, and the examples listed refer only to moors in the South of England. Thus if Bishop Pilkington and his new advisors needed a name for the man they wished to have to run their mines on the moors of Weardale, they had one that was already familiar to them from their local moors, and this could well be the way the name was introduced. Although it is not known exactly what was recorded in the Moormasters books, it is clear that they recorded the names of the groves or mines, and the name of at least one tacker from each tack. This continuity indicates that if the tacks were being recorded from the start of the moormaster system, then the tacking system must also have been in operation from the same time, and it is very probable that some, if not all, of the other customs previously described, extended back to this date. In particular those concerned with the calculation of the lott and tythe, the quarterly accounting days, and the day of reckoning (payday) would seem likely to have early origins, because they are all necessary for the proper functioning of the orefield.

All the available evidence, therefore, points to the conclusion that the first Moormaster was appointed by Bishop Pilkington about 1566, and that much of the mining system used by the 17th



century moormasters was in place from this date.

BEFORE THE MOORMASTER

A summary of the above would seem to be that a radical Protestant Bishop from the South of England, much disliked and viewed with great suspicion by the religiously traditional Northerners, was the driving force behind the introduction of the moormaster system. This, however, may be attributing too much to Bishop Pilkington. If he introduced the title, did he devise the whole system, or was the title bolted on to the front of an already existing system?

There is one custom that is clearly older than 1566, and that is the levy of lott and tythe on the ore produced by the miners. The Parson's tythe, a tenth of all produce in the Parish, was well known from Norman times. The lott is also an old term, common to Scotland and the northern borders of England, for a tax or customary payment. 17th century mine tacks include the payment of lott and tythe as duty ore, but the situation is slightly different in the 15th century, when for much of the period the term 'lott' is not found. What is found is virtually the same charge, but under a different title. In 1401, Bishop Skirlaw let the lead mines of East and West Blackdean, Aldwodeclough and Hardrake to Roger Thornton for twelve years, paying as rent the ninth part of the ore, and the tythe to the parson. It is clear that the rent and tythe were equal, which is the same as was found for the lott and tythe under the moormasters, and which establishes the levy of these duties as being in use by at least 1401.⁹ By the 17th century the lott ore was being seen

as a perpetual right of the Bishop, and the concept of it as a rent for the use of the mines was fading. This view is strengthened by the change in 1667 to a lease for three lives for the post of moormaster. In this lease an annual rent was charged as well as the lot and tythe, which was to remain the case into the 19th century.¹⁰

From the earliest mentions of the Forest of Weardale the mines there were included in the responsibilities of the Master Forester. As his post became more complex, the mines were handled separately by a Bishop's Clerk of Mines, or Surveyor of Mines, or alternatively were let out. One of the few occasions when the 15th century records have survived is for 1425-1427, when Bishop Thomas Langlely took the mines in hand. He appointed Richard Burton as surveyor of his lead mines. The Bishop's Master Forester, the senior officer charged with upholding Forest law in Weardale, was given the task of letting the mines to local tenants of the Bishop. The terms were for the miners to pay the rector's tythe ore, and then sell the remainder to the Bishop at a controlled price. One example of this is shown by the price offered to the miners at Westirsedlyng in 1427 of 3/8d a load (of 60 stone), while at the same time the Bishop's officer also purchased the tythe ore at 5/- a load. As this would be the open market price, it is clear the miners were having to take a discount on their ore as a condition of their permission to mine, as was the case under the Moormasters. Comparison of the discounts on the ore prices between 1667 and 1427 are virtually the same at almost 25% in each case, so the miners discount of one quarter on their ore price to pay for their mine had remained the same for nearly 250 years.¹¹

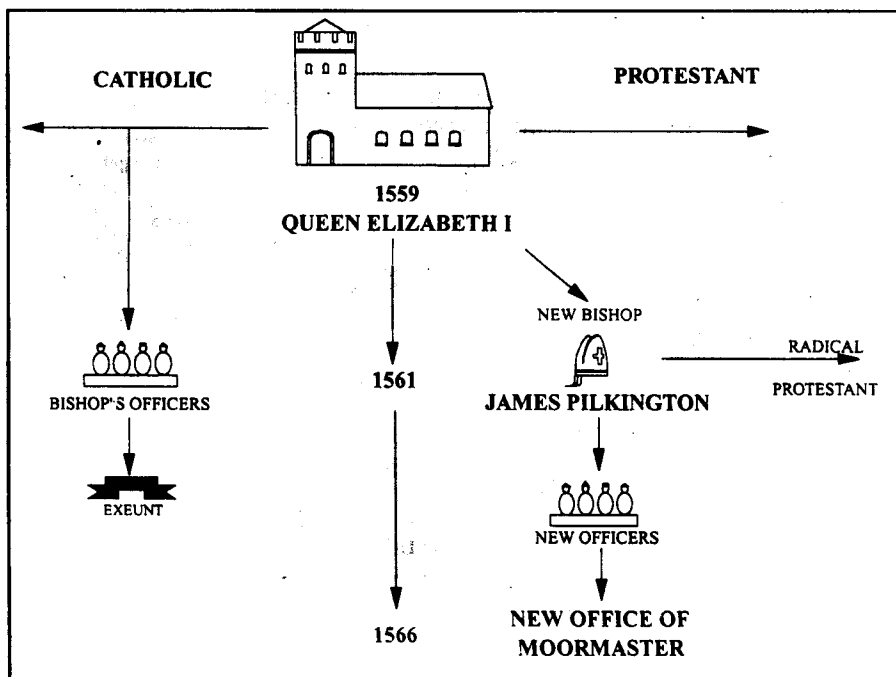
In 1487 the following statement was made concerning the operation of the mines. "Agreed with divers tenants of the High Forest of Weardale that they have licence under pleasure to mine lead ore at their own costs under the supervision of the Bishop's man. They shall pay the rector his tithe and sell the rest to the Bishop at 5/- per load".¹² This statement effectively legitimises the system that had been operating at the mines from at least 1425. It also covers the major points of the tacking system in use under the Moormaster, ie. a permit to mine [tack note] issued by the Bishop's officer [Moormaster] to tenants of the Bishop who must find all the costs of mining themselves. They must pay the Rectors tythe ore and sell the rest to the Bishop at a controlled discounted price. Indeed apart from the word tack being missing it is almost identical to the Moormaster system, and since the original is in latin, what word was used in the Weardale vernacular for a 'licence' is unknown, but it could easily have been 'tack'.

Bishop Pilkington, therefore, did not invent the system of mining used by his Moormaster, but simply adopted the traditional system that had been in use for over a century before. He gave his new moormaster a grant to operate the mines, but there was really no change on the ground, with the moormaster effectively taking over the office of the former Clerk of Mines.

LAWS OR CUSTOMS

In deciding whether the customs and practices under the moormaster represent a form of law, it is necessary to distinguish between ancient mining customs, which are mining practices of an area continued over long time, and customary mining laws, which can copy ancient mining customs, but which over and above that define rights and liberties for the miners, and set down a framework for deciding disputes, with a final court of appeal made up from a representative body of their fellow miners.

Although Weardale can be seen to have many ancient customs, they do not impart to the miners any rights. The nearest that they achieved is the statement of 1487, given above, which by clarifying the mining system that has been in use, does imply a tradition that the Bishop's tenants in Weardale have been allowed to mine there on their own account. However, they have no freedom to mine, they must follow the system, and the system does not provide them with any rights. What was acknowledged was a privilege of the miners to be allowed to mine, which was beneficial to the Bishop as well as the



miners. The 1487 statement also gives "licence during pleasure", an indication of the Bishops control over his mines, which is repeated in the Parliamentary Survey of 1647.

In 1614 Edward James (the then Bishop's brother) and Thomas Surtees were made moormasters, and they were given powers to determine pleas about digging, which is an early confirmation that any disputes over mining were dealt with by the Moormaster.¹³ Apart from breaches of Forest or Common law, the final appeal on matters of mining was not to a body of fellow miners, but to the Moormaster, whose power was absolute and whose decision was final. These same powers were also given to the earlier Master Foresters. If the miners had obtained any rights under the moormaster then they would almost certainly have raised considerable objections to the deliberate scrapping by the Blakett family at the end of the 17th century of the tacking system and all the ancient customs, but they remained mute and powerless to oppose the new Blakett Company mining regime that brought the Industrial Revolution to Weardale. In fact, what existed in Weardale under the moormaster was not a system of customary law, it was a system of customary patronage, of considerable antiquity, which existed as mutually beneficial to landlord, moormaster and miner, until the great changes of the industrial revolution swept it away.¹⁴

EARLY ORIGINS

If virtually the same mining system can be seen to extend from 1696 back to 1425 and before, then the obvious question is where did it come from? The tradition of lead mining in Weardale under the Bishop goes back to before the grant to Bishop Hugh Puiset of the mineral rights for Weardale by King Stephen in 1154.¹⁵ This was a confirmation grant, which implies that the Bishop was already extracting silver and lead, but now had a royal grant to confirm his rights to do so. The silver produced was minted at his own mint in Durham. This control by the Bishop separated Weardale from its near neighbour of Alston moor, where silver was mined under the protection of the crown, and minted at the royal mint in Carlisle. Crown protection here was to produce by the 13th century the grant by the King to his miners of the liberties and customs of Alston as a King's mining field.¹⁶

Thus sitting beside each other were two independent mining states, under completely separate control. Since there is no trace of the King's liberties to be found in Weardale by about 1400, and

there seems very little similarity even in the mining systems, it seems most probable that rather than adopt or borrow from the King's liberties of Alston, only to have somehow to get rid of the miners' rights and adopt a new mining system by about 1400, the Bishops had in place their own system running parallel to the King's liberties, and of equal if not greater antiquity. It is important also to remember the power given to the mediaeval bishops. As rulers of the Palatinate of Durham, they were given powers within that area close to those that the king held for the rest of the country. There were in fact only two other Palatinates, Cheshire and Lancashire, but their controlling Earls Palatinate became the monarch from 1237 and 1399 respectively.¹⁷ During the 13th and 14th centuries, when the King was increasing his claims to various mining fields as mines royal, the Bishop was holder of the only land in the country that the king could not claim his royal mining rights on, (with the possible exception of Lancashire before 1399), because he already held them by grant of the king. This autonomous power further emphasises the view that the Bishops of Durham were not influenced by royal grants of miners liberties in Alston or anywhere else, but developed their mining system within Weardale, and under their own influence and control. In fact, since the strength of the Bishop of Durham in the north of England stretches back not only to the Norman Bishops, but also to the Saxon ones, it is possible to conjecture a direct descent of a mining system under the Bishop from a very early period indeed. Hopefully future research will throw further light on the many aspects of this topic. The building of the massive Durham Cathedral, which required much silver to finance, and lead

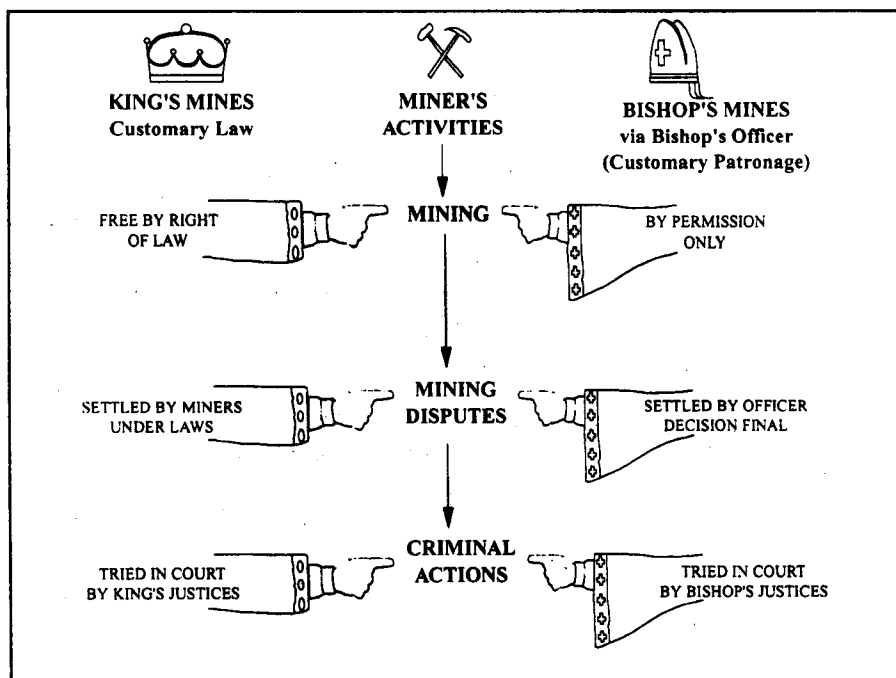
for its construction, was commenced in 1093, well before the Laws of the King's Liberties were promulgated.

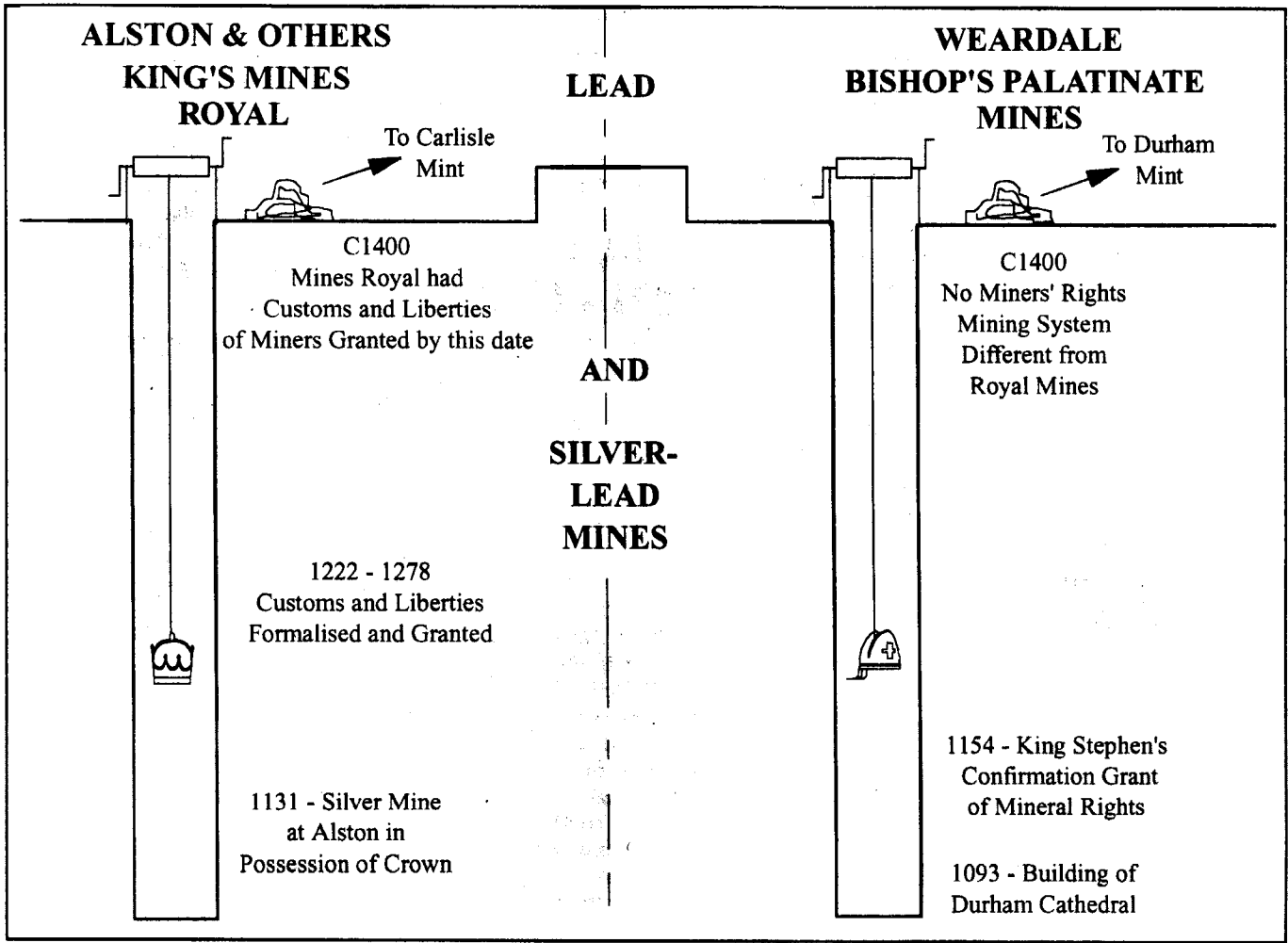
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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REFERENCES

1. Except where separately referenced, the sources used are a sequence of legal cases from 1666 to 1686 between the then Moormaster, Humphrey Wharton, and two protagonists, the Rector of Stanhope, Isaac Basire, and later, the Bishop of Durham, Nathaniel Lord Crewe. They are listed below.
(Some dates derived from these documents are given as 'about', this is because they are taken from the evidence of people many of whom were illiterate, and who give a date as 'about ten years last past'. Thus while the date is worked out from this some doubt as to its accuracy must remain).
Public Record Office, (P.R.O) Exchequer Depositions, E134/19C has 2/East33. 1666/7 Isaac Basire Doctor of Divinity and others v Humphrey Wharton and others.
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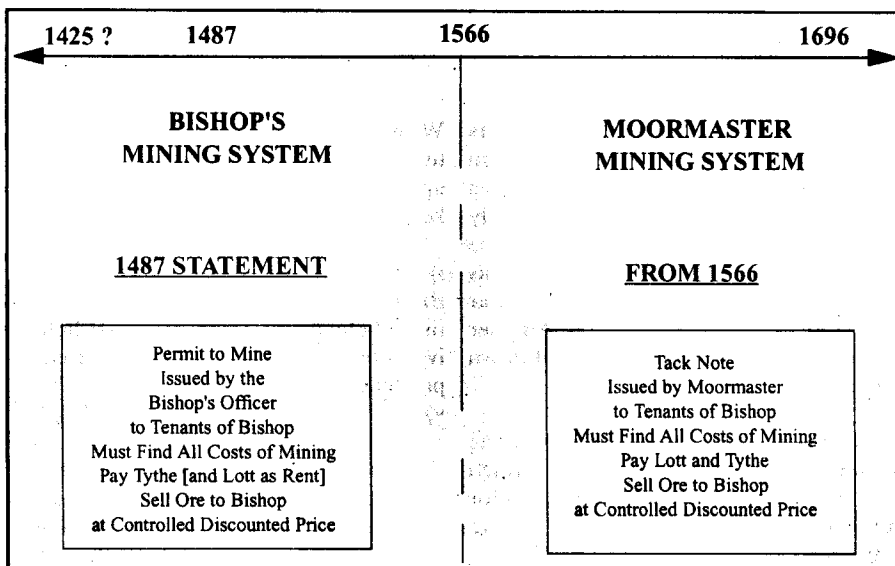




Ibid E126/14, ff208-208v, 36 Chas 2. Humphrey Wharton v Nathaniel Lord Crewe.
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 2. Parliamentary Surveys of the Bishopric of Durham, P151 Publ Surtees Society Vol. 183, 1971.
 3. Deposition of Mathew Smales in reply to interrogatory no 17, P.R.O. Exchequer Depositions E134/2 Jas2 /Mich42.
 4. Deposition of Cuthbert Peart of Drygill, Forest of Weardale, aged 77yrs, in reply to interrogatory no. 3. P.R.O. Exchequer

Depositions E134/19C has 2/East33.
 5. See 4. p149-150.
 6. Drury, J.L. 1992 Mediaeval Smelting in County Durham; an archivist's point of view. IN D. Cranstone and L. Willies (Ed) *Boles and Smelting*. Historical Metallurgy Society, p22.
 7. For a general view of this period of Weardale history see Marcombe, D (Ed) 1987 *The Last Principality; Politics religion and society in the Bishopric of Durham 1494-1660*. University of Nottingham.
 8. P.R.O. Exchequer Depositions 1650/C 2 July/Mich7, Andrew Barton and others v Humphrey Wharton and others.
 9. D.U.L. Archives and Special Collections, D&C Register 3, f4, second series of foliation. Also, for a wider view of early leases, see

Mediaeval Smelting in County Durham (note 6)
 10. D.U.L. Archives and Special Collections, Church Commission Bishopric Deposit, CC 22641.
 11. Ibid. Burtons accounts of 1425 and 1426 are CC 190012 and 190013 respectively. For a full account of Bishop Langley's mining and smelting see, Drury, J.L. 1987 *Lead Works in Weardale, Co Durham 1425-1431*. *Durham County Local History Society, Bulletin* 38.
 12. Ibid. CC 220198.
 13. P.R.O Durham Chancery Rolls 3/95 ff77.
 14. Although Blackett Company records are believed lost from 1696, when Sir William Blackett obtained the Moormaster lease, they resume in 1725 with a clear indication of the sole ownership and control of all aspects of the mines and mills by the Company. See in general Northumberland Record Office deposits NRO.672 and 673.
 15. As note 6 above.
 16. Some details of the liberties and free customs of the King's miners at Aldeston are given in Raistrick, A. and Jennings, B. 1965 *A History of Lead Mining in the Pennines*. Longman. pp. 97-102.
 17. Some details of the mediaeval Palatinate of Durham are given in Emsley, K. and Fraser, C.M. 1984 *The Courts of the County Palatine of Durham*. Durham County Local History Society, pp.1-3.



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