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THE ADMINISTRATION OF
WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL PRIORY IN THE TIME OF
CARDINAL BEAUFORT

by

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the University of Ottawa in partial fulfilment of the re-
quirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Joan Gertrude Greatrex, Ottawa, 1973.

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FORWARD

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.M. Add MS.	British Museum. Additional Manuscript.
B.M. Add Roll	British Museum. Additional Roll.
B.M. Rot. Harl.	British Museum. Harley Roll.
<u>C.P.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls.</u>
<u>E.H.R.</u>	<u>English Historical Review.</u>
H.R.O.	Hampshire Record Office.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
Reg. C.S.	Common Seal Register, Vol.I.
Reg. Pont.	Registrum Johannis de Pontissara.
Reg. Wyk.	Registrum Willelmi de Wykeham.
<u>V.C.H., Hants.</u>	<u>Victoria County History of England, Hampshire.</u>
W.C.C.	Cartularium Prioratus Sancti Swithuni, Wynton. (Winchester Cathedral Charters)
<u>T.R.H.S.</u>	<u>Royal Historical Society. Transactions.</u>

Note: Wherever possible the modern spelling of place names has been used. With respect to proper names the manuscript and printed sources show much variation; here consistency and common sense have been the factors governing the choice in each case.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

From time to time we read that the last word has been written on a certain historical subject. This is a foreboding assertion for the scholars whose manuscripts on a similar theme are awaiting submission to the experts for examination and approval, and whose future career depends at least partly on the interest and support of a publisher. The definitive judgement against the future implied by these words neither enhances the reputation of their author nor provides any critical insight into the value of the particular book under review.

It is with a firm conviction that, for the historian, the last word will never be written that I present this study of the administration of the Cathedral Priory of St. Swithun's in Winchester during the episcopate of Cardinal Beaufort.

The list of historical monographs, essays and articles on the administration of English monastic cathedrals in the medieval period continues to grow, although no one has yet attempted a comparative study to stand beside that brilliant work of Miss Kathleen Edwards, The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages (1949). However, each of the nine¹ cathedrals in England

¹. These were Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Norwich, Worcester, Ely, Rochester, Bath and Coventry. The last two, however, differ from the rest in that they were only one of two cathedrals under the same bishop. See Miss Edwards' Secular Cathedrals, 2nd edn., rev., p. 11; and also M. D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 943-1216, Cambridge, 1950, p. 621.

which were staffed by Benedictine or Black Monks has had its own devoted group of antiquaries, scholars and more recently professional historians who, during the centuries since the Reformation, have preserved and often at the same time augmented the store of historical knowledge which has been handed down by succeeding generations.

Winchester has had its share of such writers to whom much is owed by their present day successors. Yet their writings, though for the most part in the tradition of sound scholarship, cannot be considered in any way either final or complete. In the first place, there are many lacunae in the surviving historical records, and the bulk of what remains is of limited value since it belongs in the category of official documents. Secondly, while this large collection of manuscript quires and rolls has been frequently examined in the search for additional information, and a few transcriptions and translations of certain classes of documents have been edited and printed², the interests of previous antiquarians and historians centred on topics and problems which were of contemporary concern. Their preoccupations have now ceased to have much significance for us who are surrounded by the

².E.g., G. W. Kitchen, ed., Compotus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester, Hampshire Record Society, 1892; and also A. W. Goodman, ed., Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral, Winchester, 1927. The more recent work of J. S. Drew deserves mention. This is available in bound volumes of unpublished typescript, copies of which are in the Institute of Historical Research, London, and the Cathedral Library, Winchester, and consists of a series of compotus rolls, and where they exist, court rolls, rentals and custumals of the priory manors of Silkstead, Chilbolton, Michelmersh and Houghton which were edited and translated by Mr. Drew between 1943 and 1947.

perilous uncertainty of our own continued existence in the face of recurring world crises; our present situation thus stands in sharp contrast to the more settled world of our forefathers. The fact that the professional historian has now largely replaced the antiquary and local amateur historian can be taken as reflecting the new outlook. It is also revealed by an increasing reluctance to pursue historical studies solely for the love of Clio, and to make historical judgements in the form of broad generalizations. These attitudes were the by-product of an age of self-confidence when there was plenty of leisure time to follow one's scholarly inclinations.

Confronted by new and somewhat alarming prospects and pressures, the historian has yet to remain true to his calling as well as to his contemporaries and to himself. His contribution to learning and to his fellow men may be regarded as worthwhile to the extent that he is able to increase man's understanding of himself through continued investigation of the only available material which bears on this problem: viz., the historical records which show what man has thought, accomplished, and failed to accomplish in the past. The attempt to acquire fresh historical insights and a deeper historical understanding is renewed by every generation which remains unsatisfied by past effort and explanation and feels compelled to begin again. By asking those questions which appear to be the most pertinent and most crucial at the time, the historian is constantly engaged in rewriting history.

Today's key questions are in general more broadly based than ever before and yet the method of working out answers and the very answers themselves tend to be narrower in scope. The reasons are to a large extent connected with the growing influence of the social sciences upon historical research. Bury's definition of history takes on new life and meaning as a result of our encounter with the scientific-type method of our colleagues in sociology, psychology and political science.

There is also a strong element of continuity with past historical studies in the present emphasis on research at the local or regional level, an emphasis which clearly reflects new forces³ at work and which sometimes requires the active cooperation of a team of specialists of whom the historian is but one among many. However, the antiquary who devoted many years to a detailed study of the records of his chosen town was moved by different reasons from those which now prevail. Civic pride and a passion for antiquity may still cause a stir in a few breasts, but the historian approaches his task today with the conviction that the only sound way to proceed is by means of a thorough examination and attempted reconstruction of a particular problem or situation as it is revealed to him in the relevant manuscript sources and, whenever helpful and feasible, with the aid of archaeological and other related evidence. Only after a consider-

³. The work of the historian, J. A. Raftis, is an example. See his Tenure and Mobility, Studies in the Social History of the Medieval English Village, Toronto, 1964, which also illustrates the present trend toward detailed local studies.

able collection of particular data has been brought together and studied in this way can the particular results be collated and a broader view obtained. Whether this takes the form of a discernible pattern or of an irregularly designed mosaic, the labour required and the conclusions reached are an offering most worthwhile.⁴

The aim to provide in the following pages still another study of cathedral administration is justified by the reasons given above. Until we have specialized studies of all the English monastic cathedrals in the middle ages we cannot form any valid judgements even though some persons, like the reviewer to whom reference has been made earlier, have grown over-confident by a marked similarity among the studies which have appeared to date.

In his magnificent studies of the monastic and religious orders in medieval England, Professor Knowles⁵ has given us a vast panoramic view which is as profound as it is comprehensive. This achievement would be a contradiction in terms except that it is the work of one of the most distinguished among living English medieval historians. His opinions and insights, which in the fields of monastic economy and secular administration are based on the work of the recognized experts, must be considered

⁴. Cf. M.D. Knowles: "No complete account of late medieval monastic administration will be possible until further research has been made by individual workers", The Religious Orders in England, Vol. II, 1961, p. 310.

⁵. M.D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 943-1216, Cambridge, 1950; The Religious Orders in England, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1948-59.

before beginning any study in the field which has become peculiarly his own; in fact, it might be said that contemporary scholarly endeavour to further our knowledge of English medieval religious history both begins and ends with Knowles. His discussions of particular cases suggest key questions to ask of our sources, and the resulting answers will frequently be found to support, amplify and supplement his conclusions.

It must be stressed, however, that historical documents cannot always furnish an answer to the questions most eagerly asked since they are records which were made for very specific and practical purposes and not for the benefit of future historians. Thus, the historiography of each monastic cathedral will differ because of its dependence on the type and quantity of the particular body of surviving records.

Those which are preserved at Winchester provide ample material for a study of monastic administration in the early fifteenth century although, regrettably, not for every aspect of administration in equal depth. The bulk of these records consists of manorial account and court rolls, a smaller but substantial number of obedientiary rolls, and a most interesting and informative volume of about two hundred folios entitled *Registrum Sigilli Communis Capituli Wyntoniensis*.⁶

⁶. This has been noticed by W. A. Pantin in "English Monastic Letter-Books" which is to be found in Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait, edited by J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob, 1933, p. 205. This is the earliest volume in a series of registers of which only the first two are of the pre-Reformation period. Unless otherwise specified all references are to Vol. I, which the present writer has been invited to edit for a new series of Hampshire records.

In addition there are three large scrapbook-type volumes to which the name Cathedral Records has been given and into which a nineteenth century antiquary⁷ pasted a large collection of manuscripts and documents, many of which appear to have faded and become partly illegible as a result of this unfortunate treatment. There is a partial remedy for this loss in the manuscript notes of Mr. F. J. Baigent whose transcriptions, translations and summaries from these and other archival material are to be found in a series of notebooks and papers which are preserved in the Cathedral Library and in the British Museum.⁸ The cartulary, which is also in three parts and has been edited by Canon Goodman,⁹ provides valuable historical background mainly of the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹⁰ The *Rentale et Custumale* of St. Swithun's may have been written or compiled by

7.

Dean Kitchin sometimes referred to this collection as Cathedral Deeds in his Obedientiary Rolls, e.g., on p. 23. The antiquary according to Kitchin (*ibid.*, p.3) was Mr. Allchin who was employed by the Dean and Chapter in the 1860's.

8.

Baigent papers, B.M.Add.Mss., 39975, 39978, 39982, 39983. The notebooks in the Cathedral Library have no catalogue marking. Baigent is also the author of A Collection of Records and Documents relating to the Hundred and Manor of Crondal, Hampshire Record Society, 1891.

9.

See note 1, p. 1.

10.

This register, as it is described by G.R.C. Davis in Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain, 1958 (item 1044), is unfortunately incomplete. Davis also refers to B.M.Add.MS. 15350, an early cartulary, (item 1042), and B.M.Add.MS. 24936, another cartulary (item 1043) with miscellaneous additions including an early history of the priory and compositions between the priory and the bishop in the years 1280-1331.

John De Guldeford around 1343,¹¹ but the sections relating to some of the manors are dated much earlier.¹² A late fourteenth century stock book which is also preserved in the Cathedral Library contains a list of all the livestock held on the priory manors in 1390-92. Finally there are a few miscellaneous manuscripts such as the fourteenth century consuetudinary of the refectory which Kitchin edited for publication in 1886, and an early sixteenth century libellus composed by William Basyng, the hordarian, and pertaining to that office.¹³

The registers of William Wykeham and Henry Beaufort must also be consulted when matters which concerned both bishopric and priory are involved. Wykeham's register was edited by T. F. Kirby in 1896-9;¹⁴ but only one folio volume of Beaufort's register remains which contains material covering the years 1404-17.¹⁵ The periodic episcopal visitation of the cathedral priory is an example of an area of common concern, evidence for which is to be found in the priory's Common Seal Register, the episcopal registers

¹¹. According to a statement on f.11r of this volume; Mrs. K. A. Hanna transcribed and edited this custumal in two volumes as an M.A. thesis for the University of Southampton (1954), a copy of which is now in the Institute of Historical Research, London.

¹². E.g., Worstone 1221 and Whitchurch 1251.

¹³. These are both preserved in the cathedral library. The consuetudinary was transcribed and edited by Kitchin in Winchester Cathedral Records, 1886, Hampshire Record Society (extra volume for 1891).

¹⁴. Two vols., Hampshire Record Society.

¹⁵. A note at the end of this volume, in what appears to be a fifteenth century hand, notes that the second part is cum domino Rege; and in a sixteenth century list only one volume is recorded.

and also, in the time of Wykeham, in a small separate volume containing two sets of his injunctions to the priory dated 1386/7 and 1392.¹⁶ The manorial administration of the bishopric has been admirably treated by the former Hampshire County Archivist, Mrs. E. Cottrill.¹⁷

The theme of this study is administration. By the preceding description of extant manuscript material it should now be apparent that this theme will be most fully developed in the sphere of manorial administration; but the records of the monks' activities as landlords contain many indirect allusions to their other responsibilities, and include references to priory officials and personnel both lay and clerical. With additional information gleaned from other sources it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of the functioning of monastic administration in the cathedral priory at Winchester in the early fifteenth century. To the extent that this demands some account of the prior's role beyond the priory and the care of the manorial estates, it will be necessary to include a brief description of the place held by St. Swithun's in public affairs, i.e., in the affairs of town, diocese and kingdom. In an age in which rights and responsibilities were constantly being asserted and the frequent conflicts of authority and jurisdiction led to an endless stream of litigation, administrative efficiency and success were in no small

¹⁶. This is now B.M. Harley MS. 328.

¹⁷. E. Swift, The Machinery of Manorial Administration with Special Reference to the Lands of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1208-1454, unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of London, n.d., [1930].

measure dependent upon the ability to maintain, defend, and where possible augment the privileges and authority of one's family or house. The religious orders were zealous guardians of their claims and dignities, a duty which they held as a most sacred obligation even when confronted by the demands of bishop or king. For example when Henry VI ordered the prior and convent of St. Swithun's to care for his sergeant, Thomas Morestede, in the latter's old age, they refused on the grounds of a concession granted by Edward II in March, 1316/17.¹⁸

The later middle ages have been aptly described by Knowles as the period in which the great abbots and priors became "the representatives of their communities in external relations and trustees of the manifold interests concerned",¹⁹ while the monks "became more and more occupied with the administration and exploitation of their varied possessions and obligations."²⁰ The following pages will present a detailed examination of the precise nature of these activities at Winchester cathedral priory and of the methods employed in their performance.

¹⁸. P.R.O. Chancery Miscellanea C.47/17. This must refer to the Articuli Cleri of 1316 in which the king had promised not to burden religious houses in this way. A similar case occurred at Worcester in 1323; see J. M. Wilson and E. C. Jones, eds., Corrodies at Worcester in the Fourteenth Century, Worcester Historical Society, 1917, passim.

¹⁹. Monastic Order, p. 189.

²⁰. Ibid., p. 190.

CHAPTER II

ST. SWITHUN'S PRIORY IN THE LATE FOURTEENTH AND EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

The cathedral monasteries of medieval England were an almost unique phenomenon.¹ The combination of a monastic chapter, and, with only a few exceptions,² a secular bishopric in the centuries after the Conquest had resulted in a gradual separation of interests, rights and revenues. Though the bishop was nominally abbot, he could not reside with or even near his monastic family since he was frequently called away to take part in the public affairs of church and kingdom. As a result two distinct households emerged, one episcopal, the other monastic; and the divergent interests and activities often led to conflicts rather than to cooperation. Tensions developed in the areas in which authority coincided, the chief of these being the bishop's claim to have the right of appointing the prior and some or all of the obedientiaries³ and of admitting monastic candidates and later receiving their profession, and the monks' counterclaim to the right of electing their head

¹ Knowles mentions only two others outside England: Monreale, Sicily and Downpatrick, Ireland; both were twelfth century foundations, the former probably and the latter certainly based on English precedents (Monastic Order, p. 619, n. 1).

² There were approximately two hundred bishops in the nine dioceses in which there were monastic cathedrals between the years 1216 and 1500. Of these only nineteen were black monks and seven were friars.

³ These were monk-officials appointed to have the care and oversight of particular parts of the administration of the convent and its property.

(i.e. the bishop) as well as of choosing their own prior, appointing their own obedientiaries, admitting and professing the monks, and also the right as a cathedral chapter of administering the see during a vacancy. Finally, there was also disagreement over the division of property between bishop and convent and the disposal of these properties, which remained of mutual concern long after the appointments had been made. Let us examine these points of difference in more detail since they have a direct bearing on administrative developments.

Winchester like the other cathedral priories experienced its share of disputes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These were at times complicated and embittered by the interference of the king as well as the bishop, a situation that was due to the importance of Winchester as a royal borough to which rulers like Henry III and his son, Edward I, frequently resorted.⁴ The Annales Monasterii de Wintonia⁵ and the register of Bishop John of Pontissara⁶ are two of the main sources for this period, which provide many vivid illustrations of the recurrent conflict.

⁴. During the reign of Henry III there were at least two and possibly four parliaments summoned here. The evidence for those of 1258 and 1265 is conclusive and there is mention in less reliable sources of two other parliaments in 1246 and 1270. See F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, eds. Handbook of British Chronology, 2nd ed., 1961, pp. 499-506.

⁵. H. R. Luard ed., Annales Monastici, Vol. II, 1865 (Rolls Series no. 36).

⁶. Transcribed and edited by C. Deedes, Canterbury and York Society, 2 vols., 1915, 1924.

On two occasions the monks thwarted Henry III's attempts to give the see of Winchester to his wife's French relatives, but they were finally brought to submission and reluctantly accepted Aymer de Valence in November, 1250. The latter so oppressed the priory by depriving the prior and the obedientiaries, according to the Winchester annals,⁷ that prior William of Taunton fled to Rome where he was sympathetically received by Innocent IV. In 1254 the pope bestowed the ring, staff and mitre on the prior and his successors, together with the right of blessing chalices, altar palls and other church ornaments, of giving the first tonsure and conferring the minor orders of doorkeeper and reader and of giving solemn benediction in Divine offices and at table.⁸ This grant of pontificalia had been given to the prior of Christ Church Canterbury in 1221.

The Oseney annals relate that in 1258 Archbishop Boniface affirmed the right of the monks of St. Swithun's to elect their own prior.⁹ This was confirmed in perpetuity by the apostolic see in the same year.¹⁰ However, the priory soon found itself

⁷. Annales Monastici, Vol. II, p. 95.

⁸. W.C.C. no. 53. These charters are bound in three volumes, the first containing documents numbered from 1-223, the second continues from 224-386, and the third from 387-553. Goodman adheres to this numbering in his single printed volume.

⁹. Annales Monastici, Vol. IV, p. 122. W.C.C. documents also give evidence of quarrels before this date; e.g., in no. 22 with regard to Prior Andrew who had been de facto prior before 1258, and who, upon resigning, was duly elected after the right of election had been formally conceded.

¹⁰. Aug. 21, 1258. W.C.C. no. 24.

in difficulties over the next prior and the next bishop. On Bishop Aymer's death the monastic chapter, unable to agree upon a successor, was divided between the prior Andrew of London and his predecessor William of Taunton. As a result the pope provided the Chancellor of York, John Gervais,¹¹ who forced Andrew to resign, but was himself suspended six years later for his opposition to the king during the civil strife which preceded the battle of Evesham. On his deathbed in Viterbo, he admitted that "by grant of the apostolic see and by custom the monks of Winchester (cathedral) have the right of electing their own prior",¹² and that he had wrongfully deprived Andrew and later intruded Valentine.

Valentine, however, remained in office as prior and soon came to blows with Nicholas of Ely, another papal appointment. In 1276 he was deprived, restored, and deprived again, and at the same time the new bishop appointed two obedientiaries and a new prior.¹³ According to the Waverley annals¹⁴ the king intervened in 1279 by taking over the monastery and placing William de Brebuf, one of his itinerant justices, in charge.

¹¹. Sometimes known as John of Exeter (1262-68).

¹². W.C.C. no. 23, as translated by Goodman on p.11 of his volume. Prior Valentine took office in 1265.

¹³. Thus we are told by the Annales de Wintonia (Annales Monastici, Vol.II) p. 122-123. The second deprivation was non tamen sine causa ut dicitur. Knowles says that the bishop appointed twelve obedientiaries in 1270, Religious Orders, Vol.I, p. 256; on f.175r of Reg. Pont., there is a list of the bishop's rights and of the duties of prior and convent which includes the right to appoint twelve obedientiaries among whom are the prior, subprior and third prior.

¹⁴. Annales Monastici, Vol.II, p. 391-2.

When Bishop Nicholas was allowed to resume control, he at once appointed Adam of Farham, one of the monks of the priory, as prior, and chose a number of obedientiaries from among his own adherents within the monastery.¹⁵

The advent of John of Pontissara to the see of Winchester in 1282¹⁶ did not at first mark any change in this period of strain and dissension. In fact Pontissara followed the example of his predecessors by making appointments to two of the obedientiary offices, selecting men from outside the monastery and collating and instituting them as if to benefices in his own gift.¹⁷ This aroused renewed opposition; and no doubt the monks supported their case against the bishop by referring to the grant of Henry of Blois, a royal predecessor in the episcopal see, who in a charter of 1172 granted the prior the right to appoint and dismiss obedientiaries subject only to the advice of the chapter.¹⁸

¹⁵. Loc. cit.

¹⁶. Pontissara (or Pontoise) was also provided by the papacy and had at one time held the post of Chancellor of Oxford.

¹⁷. Reg. Pont., f. 2r refers to collation to the office of cellarer; f. 100r refers to that of kitchenier.

¹⁸. W.C.C. no. 3. Goodman's rendering (on p.2 of the printed edition) is as follows:
"the prior shall have free control to make his monks, and to appoint and dismiss all obedientiaries with the advice of the chapter."

Two years later Pontissara himself came to an agreement with the convent and issued a charter guaranteeing the rights which had long been disputed; freedom of prioral elections, freedom of appointment and dismissal of obedientiaries and of secular servants and of reception of monastic candidates, and full control of the monastic properties without any rendering of accounts. In return the bishop was allowed to remain as patron of the monastery, to retain limited powers of custody during a vacancy in the priorate and to confirm the subsequent election, and finally to profess the monks who had been previously received and admitted by the chapter.¹⁹ This composition was put to the test almost at once by the resignation of prior William Basyng. Adhering to the terms outlined above, Pontissara gave custody to the subprior, and licence to the chapter to elect, and he subsequently approved the re-election of the ex-prior.²⁰

Shortly afterwards at Carnarvon, Edward I confirmed this settlement and made over the advowson of St. Swithun's to Pontissara and his successors.²¹ The monks accepted the bishop as their patron in return for his renunciation of abbatial claims. The royal letters patent also confirmed the powers of

¹⁹. Calendar of Charter Rolls, II, 273-75; Reg. Pont., f. 106v; W.C.C. no. 451.

²⁰. This is the interpretation of J. C. Cox in V.C.H. Hants, Vol. II, 1903, p. 110 since it seems more reasonable than to assume that there were two successive priors by the same name.

²¹. See S. Wood, English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century, 1955 p. 52; also W.C.C. no. 49.

the prior to appoint the secular officers of the house and the authority of the chapter to direct the affairs of the priory during a vacancy.²²

At the time of this agreement the prior and convent surrendered to the bishop the three valuable manors of Droxford, Alverstoke and Havant.²³

There are several later renewals of this inspeximus and confirmation which St. Swithun's wisely obtained from the king, and some of these have additional clauses mostly pertaining to churches and manors: that of May, 1285 for example,²⁴ in which the bishop had granted a release and quitclaim of his rights in fifteen specified manors. There is also mention of the bishop's remission of the obligation of rendering to him the obedientiary accounts.

While John of Stratford held the see of Winchester he petitioned the pope for confirmation of the Pontissara composition;²⁵ and probably at the same time he requested similar confirmation of a concession by the king to the effect that during vacancies in the bishopric the prior and convent should henceforth have custody of the episcopal churches of East Meon and

²². C.P.R., 12 Edward I, m.3.

²³. Reg. Pont., ff. 106-9. These folios contain detailed documentation of the whole proceedings leading up to the agreement. They are given in Appendix II, pp. lxxix-lxxi, as transcribed by C. Deedes who edited the register for the Canterbury and York Society, 1915-24.

²⁴. Cathedral Records, Vol. II, f. 17, no. 8, and Calendar of Charter Rolls, Vol. II, p. 288.

²⁵. W.C.C. no. 187, c. 1332-3.

Hambledon together with their fruits and revenues.²⁶ Evidence of his success is contained in a papal document dated October 31st 1333, in which John XXII confirmed to the bishop, and to the prior and convent, the grant made to them by Edward III in 1331 with regard to custody of the two churches sede episcopali vacante without interference from the guardians of the temporalities.²⁷ After Stratford's translation to Canterbury in November, 1333, the prior and monks of St. Swithun's petitioned him to confirm the liberties of their church and also to procure from the king another confirmation of their charters.²⁸

Bishop Pontissara's register provides the details of the election of Henry Woodlock as prior in 1295,²⁹ another illustration of the good faith and peaceful relationship which had been restored in 1284. Prior Woodlock himself became the next bishop in 1305,³⁰ the only prior of St. Swithun's to succeed in

²⁶. Ibid., no. 188; c. 1332-3. These were both in Hampshire.

²⁷. Ibid., no. 424; Calendar of Papal Letters, Vol. II, p. 397.

²⁸. Ibid., no. 264; May 17, ?1335. Later (as shown in no. 276) they thanked him for obtaining the royal confirmation, but begged the archbishop to excuse their inability to pay the required fee on account of a fire which had destroyed much of their wheat crop and buildings at Crondal.

²⁹. Reg. Pont. ff. 16 and 17. The chapter chose to elect by way of compromise. See also Reg. Winchelsey, ff. 153v-154.

³⁰. He held the see from 1305-1316; his register has been edited by Canon A. W. Goodman for the Canterbury and York Society, 2 vols., 1940-41.

attaining the episcopal throne of Winchester. Almost exactly a century later, when the chapter elected the prior, Thomas Neville, to succeed William Wykeham the election was speedily quashed; and by mutual agreement between Henry IV and pope Innocent VII the king's half-brother, Henry Beaufort, was translated from Lincoln to Winchester.³¹ The principle of free election remained; but the practice had been reduced to a mere formality in which the king usually proposed and the pope disposed.

In the years between Woodlock and Beaufort the pattern had been gradually worked out. Woodlock's successors, John Sandale (1316-19) and Rigaud of Assier (1319-23), had both been royal nominees, but the monks had at first objected to the Italian nuncio.³² After Stratford's elevation to the primacy the next appointment was that of Adam Orleton who was successfully promoted by the papacy,³³ but not without a brief period of strong opposition this time from Edward III, during which the monks were accused by the king of disobedience for accepting Orleton as their bishop.³⁴ This appears to have been the last disturbance

³¹.Reg. C. S., ff., 20r-22r. The election of Neville took place on October 16, 1404; and Beaufort was provided on November 19.

³².They had in fact nominated one of their brethren, Adam of Winchester, W.C.C. no. 244.

³³.W.C.C. no. 238, which is a copy of the bull of John XXII addressed to the chapter of Winchester; see also Calendar of Papal Letters, Vol. II, p. 397. The pope claimed his right of providing to sees which had become vacant by translation.

³⁴.W.C.C. nos. 239, 240, 241, 242, 260.

of any consequence, although after Orleton's death the monks attempted to elect John Devenysshe, one of their number, as bishop without the king's licence and in defiance of his inhibition.³⁵ Edington,³⁶ who was Edward III's treasurer and Wykeham, who was keeper of the privy seal, were nominated by the king, provided by the pope and elected by the chapter of St. Swithun's.³⁷

There were several occasions during the early fourteenth century when the prior of St. Swithun's played an active role in the affairs of the diocese by assuming some of the episcopal powers while the bishop was absent or the see vacant. The claim that the monastic chapter, qua cathedral chapter, had the

³⁵.C.P.R., 19 Edward III, p. 569. The abortive election took place in July, 1345; and the pardon was granted to all the brethren with the exception of Devenysshe in November shortly before Edington was provided to the see.

³⁶.William Edington had also been master of the hospital of St. Cross near Winchester and had been elected by the prior and convent as one of Orleton's coadjutors when the latter became blind and infirm several years before his death. The monks had acted on the mandate of the archbishop of Canterbury which was issued in July 1341. W.C.C. nos. 525,526. For details of Edington's career see A. B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, Vol.I, 1957, p. 629.

³⁷.Edington was consecrated in May, 1346 and Wykeham in October,1367. An intimation of Bishop Edington's relationship with the priory is possibly shown by the fact (recorded in his register, Vol.I, ff.113v-114) that he appointed Hugh Basyng as prior in place of Thudden whom the chapter had elected to succeed John Merlawe. In LeNeve William Thudden is listed as prior for only two months (1361-2). Edington intervened on the grounds that the election had been conducted contra formam, Monastic Cathedrals, Vol. IV, ed., B. Jones, 1963, p. 47. For details of Wykeham's appointment to Winchester see J. R. L. Highfield, "The Promotion of William of Wickham to the See of Winchester" in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, IV (1953), 37-54.

right to administer the see sede vacante does not seem to have been pressed at Winchester; at least, the Winchester records which remain to us are silent. The archiepiscopal records at Canterbury which have been so thoroughly investigated by Miss Irene Churchill³⁸ confirm the passivity of the monks of St. Swithun's in this regard. There is no evidence of resistance to the six sede vacante commissions issued for Winchester between 1300 and 1450 in which the archbishop appointed an official and keeper of the spirituality. M. Peter Poleyn was given this office on the death of Henry Woodlock in 1316;³⁹ Robert de Wamberg was made keeper in 1319;⁴⁰ M. John de Baddesley in 1323;⁴¹ M. John Beautre, rector of Stepelmorden Ely diocese, in 1366;⁴² M. John Maydenhith, Dean of Chichester, in 1404;⁴³ and Richard, Bishop of Ross in 1447, along with M. John Langthorn and M. Thomas Forest.⁴⁴

There is also evidence of the prior acting for the bishop. While John of Stratford was absent from his diocese of Winchester

³⁸. See her excellent work, Canterbury Administration, 2 vols., London, 1933.

³⁹. Reg. Reynolds, f. 117v and Churchill, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 84.

⁴⁰. Reg. Reynolds, f. 89r.

⁴¹. Ibid., f. 130v and Churchill, ibid., Vol. II, p. 84.

⁴². Reg. Langham, f. 46v, and ff. 85 to 88. F. 85 also contains the document in which Urban V appointed Wykeham administrator of the bishopric in December, 1366.

⁴³. Reg. Arundel, Vol. I, f. 499r. See also Emden, Oxford, Vol. II, p. 1247.

⁴⁴. Reg. Stafford, f. 26r-27r. Langthorn is also found as a special commissary for Beaufort in a signification of excommunication in 1424, P.R.O., C.85/156/18.

between March and July 1333,⁴⁵ Prior Alexander Heriard acted as vicar-general and special commissary of the bishop,⁴⁶ and some forty years earlier during Pontissara's absence in Italy Prior Woodlock was one of the bishop's commissaries.⁴⁷

Wykeham performed a lengthy tour of duty in the royal service before coming to Winchester. The activities implied by the documents which are preserved in his episcopal register indicate that he was rarely absent from his diocese, so that, apart from his declining years there was little need to involve the prior (or any other outside person) in the administration of the see. However, from time to time he requested the assistance of the prior, and on occasion, of some of the monks, to carry out certain assigned duties. In 1373, for example, Prior Hugh Basyng (1362-84), is found acting in conjunction with the archdeacon of Surrey, the abbot of Hyde and the bishop's official⁴⁸ on a commission for the purgation of certain offenders. The

⁴⁵. Stratford was chancellor at this time.

⁴⁶. Reg. Stratford, f. 77r, which is the commission appointing both Heriard and M. Richard Chaddesle as his vicars-general. The volume of Winchester Cathedral Charters contains more than a dozen documents in which he is found acting in this capacity (nos. 156 to 163 inclusive, 167-170 inclusive; in no. 170 he is called official of the bishop).

⁴⁷. Reg. Pont., f. 169v., October, 1396. The same register (f. 45v) records that in October, 1304 the precentor of St. Swithun's acted as commissary.

⁴⁸. Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 87v. The archdeacon of Surrey was M. John de Edington (B. Jones, Monastic Cathedrals, p. 49); the abbot of Hyde was Thomas Pechy (V.C.H. Hants; Vol. II, p. 121); and the official was M. John de Wormenhale, archdeacon of Lincoln, who took over from Beautre (v. supra p. 21) as commissary of Wykeham in March, 1367 (Reg. Langham, f. 88v).

next prior, Robert Rudborne (1384-95), was similarly employed in 1393 together with the abbot of Hyde, the official and two others.⁴⁹ Wykeham gave Prior Thomas Neville (1395-1415) an arduous commission in May 1399, in company with the abbot of Hyde and the official. They were ordered to administer an oath of loyalty to the clergy of the archdeaconry of Winchester, "the same oath which had been taken by the mayor, aldermen and citizens of London to observe and keep the statutes and ordinances of the last parliament at Westminster."⁵⁰ The prior was also called on to perform an induction to the archdeaconry of Winchester in 1387.⁵¹

At various times the bishops licensed one or more of the monks of St. Swithun's as penitentiaries for the diocese. An example from Stratford's register is Nicholas of Heghterbury, S.T.P.;⁵² in Wykeham's register there are references to at least

⁴⁹. Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 267r. The abbot was John of Eynesham (V.C.H. Hants, Vol. II, p. 122); Wormenhale was still official.

⁵⁰. Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 312v (p. 488), Kirby's summary. The abbot of Hyde was now John Letcombe (V.C.H. Hants., Vol. II, p. 122) and the official M. John Elmer (or Aylmer or similar variations). For information about those who bore the title magister consult A. B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, 3 vols., Oxford, 1957-9.

⁵¹. Reg. Wyk., Vol. I, f. 180r. Roger Waldene succeeded John Bloxham as archdeacon of Winchester in 1387 (B. Jones, Monastic Cathedrals, p. 50).

⁵². On f. 1r; the date is 1324. See also W.C.C. no. 249.

seven monks by name including Nicholas Wykforde, Robert Wallingforde, Ralph Basyng and Thomas Neville.⁵³

Certain other public duties devolved upon the prior and chapter from time to time. Goodman rightly pointed out in his introduction to Woodlock's episcopal register that

The liberty of the Church as an independent body within the State threw an immense burden of secular affairs upon the ecclesiastical authorities.⁵⁴

One of the most frequent assignments was the collection of tenths in all or part of the diocese. These came usually in the form of mandates addressed to the bishop who then issued a commission to the prior and chapter. There are illustrations of this activity in several of the fourteenth century episcopal registers including those of Edington⁵⁵ and Wykeham.⁵⁶ The collection of clerical subsidies like that of tenths was organized by the

⁵³. Wykforde was appointed penitancer in 1370 (Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 32v); Wallingford in 1375 (Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 124v); Basyng became confessor to the nuns of Wherwell in 1393 (Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 261v) and was penitancer for the diocese 1398-1400 (Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 299v and 318v); Neville had a confessor's licence for the diocese in 1395 (Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 280v).

⁵⁴. Vol. I, 1940, p. XXXVI.

⁵⁵. Reg. Edington, Vol. II, f. 74v; and see also W.C.C. no. 373, dated October 26th, 1356.

⁵⁶. For example, Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 161v, December 12th, 1377 and f. 212v, January 1385. The latter has the marginal heading "Commission to levy and collect half the tenth conceded to the king."

bishop who sometimes employed the prior, as for example in May 1371.⁵⁷ In this case the mandate from the king to the bishop says subsidia vel decimas,⁵⁸ but on most occasions the descriptive phrase is either pro subsidio regio⁵⁹ or simply decima. Some commissions came directly to the prior in the form of a writ from the king; for example, Edward III ordered the prior in January 1356 to help the sheriffs and others, whom he had recently appointed to prepare for the defence of the county of Southampton against a possible French invasion.⁶⁰ Less than a month later the prior was told by the king to check up and report on the account rendered by William of Overtone late sheriff of Southampton and one of those named in the previous writ.⁶¹

The summonses to parliament and to convocation also came regularly through the bishop. While Wykeham's register contains many copies of his returns to these writs which usually include the names of his proctors when he was unable to attend, it is difficult to discover how the prior responded. In the Winchester

⁵⁷. Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 44r. These were sums "donated" by convocation to meet the king's demand. There were also papal subsidies which were requested from time to time.

⁵⁸. Ibid., f. 43v.

⁵⁹. Ibid., ff., 53v, 67r, 85v.

⁶⁰. W.C.C. no. 354.

⁶¹. W.C.C. nos. 357 and 358.

Cathedral Charters⁶² we learn that John of Forde, the subprior, and M. John of Leche were appointed to represent St. Swithun's at a convocation at St. Paul's, London, on September 22nd, 1334. Twelve years later Prior John Merlawe and the chapter sent John of Wolvele and Thomas of Enham to St. Paul's to a provincial council called by Islip.⁶³ The Common Seal Register records that on May 20th, 1390 the chapter named two of its members, M. Ralph Basyng, doctor in decretals and John Langred, along with two others, M. John Penkestone, bachelor of laws, and John Warner, rector of the church of Stockton, to be proctors on their behalf with general powers, among which is specified attendance at clerical convocations.⁶⁴ In 1398 when the prior and convent became involved in a legal dispute pertaining to their church of Enford in Sarum diocese they employed M. James Cole, a proctor at the Court of Arches to plead their case.⁶⁵ They must have found his services satisfactory because two years later they appointed him their proctor for the convocation which met in conjunction with the Hilary parliament of 1401.⁶⁶

⁶². Nos. 258 and 259. In no. 259, however, Nicholas of Haywode is named in place of John of Leche. Both these men were monks of the priory.

⁶³. W.C.C. nos. 362 and 363, (A.D. 1356).

⁶⁴. F. 5v.

⁶⁵. Ibid., f. 7v.

⁶⁶. Ibid., f. 11r.

There were at least several occasions on which the prior of St. Swithun's was summoned to parliament in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. There is record of his having been called to the Hilary parliament of 1265,⁶⁷ that of August 1st, 1295,⁶⁸ and that of Michaelmas 1297⁶⁹ at which he was ordered by the Prince Edward to take men and arms to Newcastle to aid his father against the Scots. In Edward II's fifteenth year (1316/17) he was also summoned⁷⁰; and in 1346/7 he was called to a consilium which may possibly have been the parliament which either opened on February 3rd, 1346, or on March 3rd, 1347 since both of these were enrolled with that designation in the margin.⁷¹

Of the twenty-seven ecclesiastics, in addition to the bishops, who were summoned by writ in the fifteenth century, there were no priors of the monastic cathedrals. In the lists of parliamentary proxies preserved in the Public Record Office there are no letters from Winchester between 1370 and 1450;⁷² is it permissible to suggest that, when Wykeham cited the prior⁷³ and chapter and the two archdeacons to attend a parliament at

67. Reports from the Lords Committees touching the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm, Vol. III, Appendix 1, Part 1 (1829), p. 34.

68. Ibid., p. 65.

69. Ibid., p. 87 and p. 90.

70. Ibid., p. 315.

71. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 563. See also Powicke and Fryde, Op. cit., p. 523.

72. S.C. 10/files 30 to 50.

73. Winchester diocese had two archdeaconries: Winchester and Surrey.

Westminster in Eastertide 1379, they may have "shared" proxies with the bishop or have made convenient use of chancery officials?⁷⁴ The premunientes clause which was included in the writ and citation makes it clear that the prior and archdeacons were expected to attend in person, and the chapter was to send one representative.⁷⁵ In the absence of returns for convocation it is impossible to determine to what extent the two assemblies had a common personnel.

The episcopal rights of visitation of the cathedral priory were not altered by the Pontissara composition of 1284. There were also occasional metropolitan visitations; and visitational powers were claimed and exercised by the provincial chapter of the English black monks. The records of episcopal visitations occur in the episcopal registers, in the Common Seal Register and in the Winchester Cathedral Charters.⁷⁶

The account of Woodlock's visitation of 1315 is followed by a set of injunctions issued for the priory which reveal that there was an atmosphere of laxity requiring a firm enjoinder to

⁷⁴. There are some interesting and pertinent facts and suggestions in an unpublished M.A. thesis of Maurice Oldfield, Parliament and Convocation with special reference to the Pontificate of Henry Chichele, 1414-43, (Manchester, 1938). For example, he states that "The cooperation between local monastic houses and layfolk living near indicates a relationship which would hardly be imagined to exist either from the evidence of monastic chronicles, or the continuous litigation between abbot and town." (p.60).

⁷⁵. The question of terminology arises here. The archdeacons and the representatives of the chapter of St. Swithun's and the diocesan clergy were being summoned to convocation although the writ uses the term parliament, and the premunientes clause, as stated, was contained in the writ. The same possibly applies to the prior himself who was no longer receiving an individual summons to parliament.

⁷⁶. For example, W.C.C. no.226, which is a copy of a certificate handed to Woodlock upon his arrival at the priory to begin a visitation (Oct. 18th, 1305).

a stricter observance of the Benedictine rule.⁷⁷ Woodlock's comperta would have been supplemented by his own intimate knowledge of the brethren whom he had ruled as prior. Stratford may have held two visitations, after the first of which he issued injunctions with attendant penalties.⁷⁸ An appeal from the prior and convent to Canterbury was withdrawn only after he lifted the censures, but he reserved the right to issue orders as he saw fit after due discussion with the monks.⁷⁹ Orleton and Edington both carried out visitations, the latter by means of deputies who were commissioned in 1353 to inquire into the lax conditions within the priory which had fallen into debt.⁸⁰ Wykeham held four visitations, three of them in person. No injunctions are entered in the register after the 1373⁸¹ inspection, but a mandate

⁷⁷.Reg. Woodlock, ff. 23*-24*.

⁷⁸.Reg. Stratford, ff. 13v, 171v to 174r and 177v to 178r for the 1326 visitation; on f. 69v is found the citatio of a proposed visitation for July, 1333, but there is no evidence that it was actually performed before his removal to Canterbury in November of that year.

⁷⁹.W.C.C. nos. 250, 251 and Reg. Stratford, ff. 171v-178.

⁸⁰.For Orleton see W.C.C. no. 155 (A.D.1334); for Edington see his register Vol. II, ff. 27-28 (A.D. 1353). W.C.C. nos. 343, 344, 359 and 372 reveal that Prior Merlawe borrowed a sum amounting to £75 between January, 1355 and March, 1357, so that the financial problems about which Edington had been concerned were still unsolved. Prior Heriard in the 1330's had found it necessary to obtain a £200 loan (W.C.C. no. 221) and in this St. Swithun's was like several of the other cathedral monasteries (for example, Christ Church, Canterbury as R.A.L. Smith indicates in Canterbury Cathedral Priory, Cambridge, 1943, pp. 52-54).

⁸¹.Reg.Wyk., Vol. II, f. 90v, Citacio pro visitacione ecclesie cathedralis Wyntonie, April, 1373.

was issued citing the chapter on account of certain excesses which he had detected.⁸² Injunctions were issued, however, in 1387 and again in 1392; these have been preserved in the interesting volume referred to above⁸³ and show the bishop's firm hand in directing and regulating the monastic family which comprised his cathedral chapter. There are references to two visitations under Beaufort, but it remains uncertain that the earlier one of 1408 took place since it was twice prorogued.⁸⁴ The second was carried out by John Catryk, Beaufort's chancellor, who acted as the bishop's commissary for this purpose.⁸⁵

Miss Churchill has done a thorough study of metropolitical visitations in her work on Canterbury administration.⁸⁶ She notes the proposed visitation of Winchester by Archbishop Winchelsey in 1305 of which there is no evidence beyond the announcement of intention;⁸⁷ and she also refers to Reynolds' appointment

⁸². Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 112v. A citation was also issued after the visitation of 1381, ibid., Vol. I, f. 122r.

⁸³. On p. 9.

⁸⁴. Reg. C.S., ff. 28v and 30v, and also Reg. Beaufort, f. 14.⁺

⁸⁵. Reg. Beaufort, f. 32⁺

⁸⁶. Supra p. 21.

⁸⁷. In Vol. II, p. 156; also Reg. Winchelsey, ff. 155, 298. Folio 298 contains a letter to the recently consecrated Woodlock. It should also be noted that f. 296 contains an earlier letter, dated December 26th, 1304, in which Winchelsey proposed to visit, sede episcopali vacante, (on the Monday after Epiphany), i.e., before Woodlock's election. Miss Churchill refers to this in Vol. I, p. 236. The archbishops always claimed the right to visit sede plena, but no doubt, there was more resistance, as may well have been the case in 1305.

of commissaries to visit St. Swithun's when the see was vacant between April and June 1323. The monks at first refused to receive the visitors although the archbishop explained that in sending them he was acting in the capacity of diocesan and not of metropolitan.⁸⁸ The visitation did take place however, and the archbishop appears to have examined the inmates of the monastery, the account books and official documents. On condition that the monks henceforth kept their rule he dismissed the other charges against them.⁸⁹ In 1404 while M. John Maydenith was keeper of the spirituality he conducted a visitation at the request of Archbishop Arundel; there is no evidence to suggest that there was any resistance.⁹⁰

Visitations and other activities of the English Benedictine community have been ably described in the three volumes of W.A.Pantin.⁹¹

⁸⁸.Reg. Reynolds, f. 118v.

⁸⁹.W.C.C. no. 35. Miss Churchill apparently did not know of the existence of this document, which is dated June 27th, 1323.

⁹⁰.Reg. Arundel, Vol. I.,ff.499v-510.

⁹¹.Documents illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540, Camden Society 3rd series, 3 vols. (XLV, XLVII, LIV), 1931-7. St. Swithun's appears to have been represented at most of the chapter meetings, and Pantin's documents show that the prior was president of the Chapter on at least five occasions: in 1403 (vol. XLVII, p. 148 from Westminster Abbey Mun. 12393); in 1414 with the abbot of Winchcombe, (vol. LIV, p. 162 and Westminster Abbey Mun.12400); in 1442 when M. Robert Pruryton, subprior, presided with the abbot of Chertsey (Annales Joh. Amundesham, Rolls Series, 28e, Vol. II, p. 281); in 1444, Winchester, Colchester and Chertsey presided jointly (vol. XLVII, p. 187); and the following year Prior Aulton was president (Reg. C.S., f. 65v).

At the provincial chapter meeting of 1423 the abbot of Hyde who had been assigned as visitor of the Benedictine houses in the diocese of Winchester, reported that all the offences pauca erant et levissima.⁹² There are also references to two of these chapter visitations in the Common Seal register, that of 1390 when the abbot of Cerne was appointed visitor and that of July, 1405 when Richard, abbot of Abingdon, who was named as visitor of St. Swithun's, sent two deputies in his place.⁹³

The final area of dispute between the bishop and the cathedral monastery was over the division of the lands which belonged to the church of Winchester. The cause of this struggle has its origins in the period before the Conquest when the bishop and cathedral received many gifts from royal and noble benefactors. In these early grants estates were given to ecclesiae Dei Petro Pauloque dictae civitate Wentana⁹⁴ or to

⁹². Ibid; Vol. XLVII, p. 143.

⁹³. Reg. C.S., ff. 5v, and 23v, 24v. In 1426 there is record that the abbot of Abingdon was to visit St. Swithun's while the prior was to carry out a visitation of the Benedictine houses in Winchester diocese. It is not known if these actually took place (Pantin, XLVII, p. 169).

⁹⁴. Cuthred's charter granting land at Clere, Hants. It is dated 749 A.D. and is accepted by Kemble as the earliest genuine charter to Winchester (W. de G. Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum, Vol. I, p. 256). For this and the following reference I am indebted to Mrs. K. A. Hanna's helpful introduction to the Winchester Cathedral Custumal to which reference has already been made above (p.8, n.11).

episcopo et omni congregationi Wentane aecclesiae.⁹⁵ Before the early tenth century there was no separation of land and revenues between the bishop and his cathedral clergy who at this date were secular canons.⁹⁶ Under the inspiration of the monastic reform movement the saintly Ethelwold, monk and bishop of Winchester, substituted a monastic chapter in the cathedral in place of the secular one; but the familial unity he desired to maintain through his dual role as abbot and bishop soon proved to be unworkable in practice. While the monks remained in charge of the cathedral the bishops became more and more caught up in diocesan and public affairs, with the result that during this century there is the first indication of an apportionment of some of the revenues, though not of the lands themselves.⁹⁷ The bishop continued to be responsible for the estates as a whole, but by the time of the Domesday survey some of these lands were held by him for the support of the monks.⁹⁸

⁹⁵. Ethelbald's grant of Farnham, Surrey in 855 A.D. See J. Earle, A Handbook to the Land Charters and other Saxon Documents, 1888, p. 129; also Birch, Op.cit., Vol. II, p. 99. Other grants of land to Winchester in Egbert's reign are printed in Birch, Vol. I, pp. 539, 541, 547.

⁹⁶. There was a religious community at the cathedral for a brief period after A.D. 604.

⁹⁷. See Athelstan's charter to Winchester dated A.D. 938, on Charter Roll, 12 Edward II, No. 48.

⁹⁸. See the two headings in Domesday, f. 41 1) lands held by the bishop and 2) lands held by the bishop de victu monachorum.

The names of the pre-Conquest benefactors and of the benefactions are in many cases uncertain because of the conflicting evidence. The chronicles and the charters are often unreliable: the monastic writers and scribes were always anxious to enhance the reputation of their own house by writing down what they believed to be true of a distant past of which there was no accurate memory or written contemporary record. The Annales de Wintonia⁹⁹ and the much later Winchester chronicles of Thomas Rudborne¹⁰⁰ and John of Exeter¹⁰¹ together with various collections of early charters¹⁰² are of some help, but confusion and contradiction cannot be eliminated.

The extent and value of the Winchester lands in the time of William I were such as to make the bishop and the monks of

⁹⁹. For example, we are told that among the gifts of King Edgar were forty-two hides at Shalfleet, and four villas (villas) named Droxford, Worthing, Alton and Beddington (In the Rolls Series, op. cit., p. 8). Athelstan is reported to have included the manor of Chilbolton among his gifts (p.10) and that of Avington (p.12).

¹⁰⁰. According to Rudborne, a monk of St. Swithun's in the mid-fifteenth century, Queen Emma gave nine manors to Winchester. See the section of his Historia Maior Wintoniensis which has been printed in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, Vol. I, p. 235. Wharton made use of the copy of the manuscript which is still preserved in Lambeth Palace (MS.183).

¹⁰¹. There is a MS. copy of John of Exeter's work in All Souls' College, Oxford (MS.114). It is entitled Liber Historialis et Antiquitatum Domus Sancti Swithuni Winton and is dated 1531. There are other copies of this work which have been bound with similar chronicles and documents pertaining to Winchester, details of which are given in Appendix II at the end of this volume, p. xcvi.

¹⁰². The cartularies have been referred to above p.7.

St. Swithun's among the greatest landlords in the county of Hampshire, with sizeable holdings in several other counties.¹⁰³ Of the Hampshire properties those listed in Domesday as being held for the maintenance of the monastery include Chilcomb, Nursling, Chilbolton, Avington, Whitchurch, Hurstbourne Priors, Clere, Crondal, Droxford, Alverstoke, Wonston, Milbrook, Hinton Ampner, Fawley and Hannington.¹⁰⁴ Downton in Wiltshire and Taunton in Somerset were two of the largest holdings outside Hampshire. In addition the monks claimed to hold in their own right other estates including Brockhampton, Havant and Wootton St. Laurence.¹⁰⁵ Taken as a whole these vast possessions formed a fief for which the bishop owed the service of sixty knights,¹⁰⁶ in the late twelfth century.

Immediately after the Conquest there was some effort to arrive at a permanent settlement of the land question. Bishop

¹⁰³. "On the day King Edward was alive and dead" the church of Winchester had lands in Wiltshire, Somerset, Surrey, Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Hertfordshire as well as in Hampshire. There were also lands in the county of Dorset which were taken away at the time of the Conquest, but returned by Henry I (see V. Galbraith, "Royal Charters to Winchester", E.H.R., XXXV (1930), p. 385.

¹⁰⁴. Domesday Book f. 41; V.C.H. Hants., Vol. I., p. 463-467.

¹⁰⁵. Domesday Book f. 41; V.C.H. Hants, Vol. I., p. 468.

¹⁰⁶. Red Book of the Exchequer (Rolls Series no. 99). Vol. I, p. 72, 91.

Walkelin, who had at first attempted a suitable division, soon disregarded his own arrangements in 1079 after beginning a costly construction programme¹⁰⁷ which resulted in the new Norman cathedral completed in 1093. Under his successor, William Giffard, Rudborne speaks of the enormis discordia inter episcopum et monachos pro dilapidatione terris et ecclesiis quas episcopus abstulit.¹⁰⁸ The bishop finally returned the lands which Walkelin had alienated.¹⁰⁹ Hanna draws the reasonable conclusion that

the many charters of doubtful authenticity contained in the 12th century Codex Wintoniensis¹¹⁰ and purporting to establish the Priory's ancient claim to the ownership of disputed manors appear in themselves to bear witness to the desperate efforts of the monks to secure possession, by any available means, of their share of the lands of the Church of Winchester, or to increase that share at the expense of the bishopric.¹¹¹

However, the bishops continued to appropriate estates which had been made over to the priory, partly on the grounds that they were held responsible for both royal and papal financial exactions, a burden which grew heavier as the years passed.

¹⁰⁷. Hanna, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. xii.

¹⁰⁸. In Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. I, p. 298.

¹⁰⁹. W.C.C. no. 1, and Reg. Pont., f. 164v.

¹¹⁰. Another name for B.M. Add. MS. 15350 which has been already described, p. 7, n.10.

¹¹¹. Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. xxi-xxii.

The first clear picture of the possessions of St. Swithun's after the Conquest is given in a papal confirmation of 1205.¹¹² A charter of Innocent IV in 1243¹¹³ shows a re-organization of the lands at Chilcomb, which were now divided into the manors of Barton Priors and Littleton, and also the first appearance of Silkstead.

At the time of the agreement between Pontissara and the monks the bishop quitclaimed to them the pensions, portions and oblations of the churches already in their hands¹¹⁴ and also a number of manors.¹¹⁵ But in return they gave up some of their

¹¹². W.C.C. no. 45 which is given in full below in Appendix II on p. lxxviii.

¹¹³. Ibid., no. 25. Littleton had been given to the monks by Henry de Blois to provide income for the guestmaster's office (W.C.C. no. 3).

¹¹⁴. These churches were Littleton, Elyngdon, Hyneton, Crondal, Havant, Droxford, Morestead, Chiltecombe, Albi Monasterii and chapels within the city of Winchester (not named). Reg. Pont., f. 109r.

¹¹⁵. These were Barton, Littleton, Eston, Worthy Martyr, Crondal, la Rede, Sutton, Michelmersh, Hotton (?Houghton), Chilbolton, Hurstbourne, Whitchurch (manor and burgh), Extone, Evesford, Aulton, Pateney, Fifhide, Worston, Hyneton, Silkstead, Northbury, terra la Broke, Avington, Ovington, Henton, Stockton, Nursling, Millbrook, Westwood, Bleaddon, Worstone, Wootton, Brandesbury, Hodington, West Meon, Ham, Clive and all hamlets, appurtenances, rents of houses in the city of Winchester and outside; and the bishop gave up all his rights in the hundreds of Fawley, Buddlesgate, Evingar, Crondal and Elstub, Reg. Pont., f. 109r. It is worth noting that the bishop paid £2000 to the king for the confirmation of his possessions, while the prior and convent paid the bishop £1000 for the concessions granted by the latter to them (ibid., f. 194v).

properties.¹¹⁶ The priory also had to relinquish all claim to the lands which were held by military tenants of the bishopric.¹¹⁷ The lands in Dorset went to Richard, Earl of Gloucester in 1260 but the manor of Mapledurham Hants., was given in return.¹¹⁸

The presence of numerous episcopal documents in the Common Seal Register shows that all episcopal transactions with regard to the transfer of property (including manumissions, the appointment of manorial officials, the appropriation of churches and establishment of chantries) had to be ratified by the cathedral chapter. There is at least one instance to indicate that this was not always a mere formality, as for example in December, 1332 when prior Alexander and the chapter refused a request made by the abbot of Titchfield to the bishop for permission to ordain a chantry in the Titchfield parish church.¹¹⁹

By the end of the thirteenth century a state of harmony and stability had been attained and was to continue with only rare

¹¹⁶. Namely the estates of Droxford, Alverstoke, Havant and Hayling Island in Hampshire and East Knowle in Wiltshire.

¹¹⁷. Reg. Pont., f. 108.

¹¹⁸. V.C.H. Hants., Vol. III, p. 87. In the taxation of Pope Nicholas Mapledurham is included among the possessions of the prior and convent who continued to hold it of the earls of Gloucester, the lords of the chief manor of the same name to whom the prior's tenants paid rent (V.C.H. Hants., loc. cit.)

¹¹⁹. W.C.C. no. 70.

exceptions until the dissolution. Writing to Pope John XXII, Stratford gave his assurance that the property of the bishop and of the prior and convent were separate.¹²⁰ There were a few minor additions and losses during the period under study due to grants and appropriations for which there is evidence in the Winchester Cathedral Charters, Cathedral Records, and the Common Seal Register; but these were rarely as large as was the gift of the manor of Upsomborne by John and Joan Talmache to St. Swithun's in 1384.¹²¹ According to a late fourteenth century custumal preserved in the cathedral library¹²² this manor consisted of twelve tenants with their holdings and services.

In December, 1300, Edward I gave a charter to St. Swithun's by which the monks obtained a grant of free warren on all their manors. These are specified by name and include twenty-three in Hampshire, thirteen in Wiltshire, one in Somerset and one in Berkshire.¹²³ In the priory Custumal¹²⁴ the list of twenty-four manors for which the rents and services are recorded is very

¹²⁰. W.C.C. no. 185, in 1333.

¹²¹. Cathedral Records, Vol. II, no. 62, f. 78. But from no. 65 on f.77 it is clear that there is a dispute going on which had not been solved by 13-14 Henry IV. See P.R.O., E. 153/1728, in which it is reported in an inquisition that Robert Rudborne, late prior, had acquired the manor without licence.

¹²². In Box 58.

¹²³. Calendar of Charter Rolls, Vol. III, p. 1.

¹²⁴. This has already been described on pp. 7-8.

similar although it is obviously incomplete since there is no section for Silkstead or Mapledurham.¹²⁵ There is a third list of manors (dated 1334-5) which occurs on one of the two remaining receiver's rolls; this shows the amount of wool received from twenty-five of the priory manors the names of which, with one exception,¹²⁶ all appear on Edward's charter. The fact that the royal grant contains more manors than the other two lists can be explained without resorting to the possibility of carelessness or loss in the one case or absence of sheep in the other, inasmuch as there appears to be what is often called today a lack of precise terminology. The charter, for example, includes Compton and Wyke, which may or may not be manors, but the Custumal describes them both as divisions (tithings) within the manor of Barton.¹²⁷

There are over five hundred remaining manor court and compotus rolls for the period 1380-1450 which represent the manorial records of twenty manors and five hundreds. The existence of this large and valuable collection of rolls for

¹²⁵. Silkstead was not a manor properly speaking since it had no tenants owing customary services, and no manorial court. There appears to be no reasonable explanation for the omission of Mapledurham.

¹²⁶. The exception is Hattyngale. In Beaufort's register (f. 8v) the taxation list of properties held by St. Swithun's in the archdeaconry of Winchester (i.e. Hampshire) is also similar.

¹²⁷. Regroupings and other administrative changes sometimes took place.

St. Swithun's, Winchester together with more than seventy obedientiary rolls¹²⁸ makes it possible as well as desirable to study the manorial administration of this period in detail and also to enlarge our understanding of the broader range of administrative and other activities of the prior and his brethren as these are revealed through the evidence at our disposal.

The monks of St. Swithun's, in their combined role as a monastic community and as custodians of the cathedral of a wealthy and important see and administrators of large and valuable estates, had possibly a more exacting task than did their brethren of the great abbeys of Westminster, Ramsey and St. Alban's. Knowles has remarked on the more democratic spirit which prevailed in the cathedral monasteries¹²⁹ and which was freer to develop in the absence of the autocratic rule of an abbot, who ranked beside the bishops as one of the great ecclesiastical dignitaries of the realm. The cathedral prior, on the other hand, even when mitred, never had quite the aura and dignity of a bishop, and the authority he wielded both within and outside the cloister could not, in most instances, match that of the diocesan.

¹²⁸. In The Religious Orders, Vol. I, 1950, p. 316, n.1, Knowles has noted that St. Swithun's remains a neglected house whose wealth of manorial records should yield a rich store of knowledge. J. S. Drew's valuable manorial studies, to which reference has been made above, are still for the most part unpublished and rarely extend beyond 1400. More obedientiary rolls have been found and returned to Winchester since Kitchin edited the 64 known in his day.

¹²⁹. The Religious Orders, Vol. I, p. 259.

Moreover there was a great dissipation of spiritual energy, accompanied by the permanent loss of varying amounts of wealth and prestige, on the part of the cathedral priories which, like Winchester, were involved in long periods of conflict with their bishops whose authority they felt bound to challenge in order to maintain their rights. Perhaps it is not so surprising¹³⁰ that the influence of the monastic cathedrals on monasticism and on the church in England appears to be slight in comparison with their size and dignity. It was a shared dignity, and in the later middle ages the priory came to be overshadowed by the mighty bishopric. This was especially true of Winchester with its succession of statesmen-bishops and with only two short vacancies in the see in the space of 120 years.¹³¹

¹³⁰. Ibid., p. 133.

¹³¹. Wykeham was provided in 1367, Beaufort in November, 1404, two months after Wykeham's death, and Waynflete was provided in May, 1447 only a month after Beaufort's death. Waynflete died in 1486.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE PRIORY

Details of the internal organization and daily life of the monks of St. Swithun's can be reconstructed from several sources. The bulk of the evidence comes from the obedientiary rolls, with additional insights furnished through information gained from the Common Seal Register, Wykeham's injunctions and the interesting Consuetudinary of the refectory which was written in the fourteenth century and has been edited and translated by Dean Kitchin.¹ The manorial rolls are also of value, especially in the case of the manors which were assigned to certain offices as their source of income.

The monastery compared in size with other cathedral monasteries like Worcester and Durham and the larger abbeys like Westminster, Peterborough and Bury St. Edmunds. In respect of monastic population Knowles and Hadcock have provided us with an excellent reference work based on their joint research.² In 1325 according to a list entered in Pontissara's register³ St. Swithun's had sixty-four monks; but after the ravages of the plague the community was and remained depleted, as is shown by

¹. The full title is A Consuetudinary of the Fourteenth Century for the Refectory of the House of St. Swithun in Winchester, London, 1886. See p.8, n.13.

². D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales, London, 1953.

³. This insertion must have been due to a scribal error, since the register has no entries, apart from this one, which occur after 1304. It is on f. 143.

the fact that in 1386 Wykeham addressed a letter to Prior Rudborne and his forty-five brethren urging them to find new recruits.⁴ When the chapter gathered for the election of Wykeham's successor in 1404 there were forty-two names listed as present.⁵ At the end of the century the numbers dropped to twenty-nine⁶ but rose to thirty on the eve of the dissolution.⁷

The large number of monastic officials denotes the high degree of organization and of differentiation of function which had developed by the twelfth century to fit the needs of the monastery. When all of the more than twenty posts were occupied almost half the body of monks held office. These assignments of duty fall into four general groups as Dean Kitchin has helpfully described them in the introduction to his edition of the obedientary rolls.⁸

⁴.Reg. Wyk. Vol. II, f. 226r. There were 41 monks in 1379 according to the Winchester deanery assessment for the graduated poll tax of that year. This roll is preserved in Box 63 in the Cathedral library.

⁵.Reg. C.S., f. 20v.

⁶.In an obedientary roll of 1496 pertaining to the office of hordarian who accounted for 24 brothers extra scolam, 4 iuvenes in scola and 2 scolares at Oxford.

⁷.In 1533. V.C.H. Hants., Vol. II, p. 113.

⁸.Referred to above on p. 2. R.A.L. Smith uses the same classification for Christ Church Priory in his pioneering book, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, 1943, pp. 36-40.

The first group consists of the officials who stood close to the prior and shared some of his heavy burden of responsibility. These were the subprior and third and (sometimes) fourth prior who worked together to preserve harmony and order within the cloister and community. The lay officer at Winchester in charge of the priory lands, who was responsible to the prior and designated as the Lord's steward in the rolls (senescallus domini), also belongs to this group according to Kitchin.⁹

The functions of the second group centred on the church and included the cantor (or precentor) and his assistant the succentor who were responsible for all literary and musical activities, especially the daily choral services. The sacrist¹⁰ and subsacrist took care of the altars and the equipment necessary for their maintenance, including vestments and linen. The preservation and repair of the cathedral fabric had also been the sacrist's responsibility in an earlier day, but had passed into the hands of an officer called the master of the works (custos operum) two of whose rolls have survived for our period. There

⁹. Knowles also includes the prior's chaplain, the master of the novices, the master of the children, and other senior monks (circatores or custodes ordinis) in charge of claustral supervision. (Monastic Order, p. 428.) Apart from the chaplain, these receive no mention at Winchester in the period under study.

¹⁰. The sacrist was the master of ceremonies in the thirteenth century. See Knowles, ibid., p. 430. Unfortunately there are no extant rolls pertaining to this office before 1536.

was also an anniversarian who kept the list of obits of benefactors and ensured that the appropriate masses were said on the appointed day.¹¹

The third and largest group is made up of the "directly administrative offices, the receiving and spending Departments."¹² At Winchester there was an official called the receiver to whom were paid some of the revenues from the priory estates, and to whom the wool and sometimes dairy products like cheese were also delivered. The chamberlain's¹³ duty was to provide for the clothing and bedding of the monks and also the convent furnishings. The hordarian¹⁴ or gardener was one of the obedientiaries who supplied the refectory, as did the cellarer who was responsible for obtaining supplies of staples of food and drink; and at St. Swithun's the cellarer¹⁵ also had to take care of the stables and outbuildings, of which he no doubt made constant use in ful-

¹¹. It was usual to appoint a keeper of the shrine in the cathedrals which housed the relics or remains of their patron saint, but there is no mention of this official at Winchester in our period. There is however a custos altaris beate virginis Marie of whom one sixteenth century roll survives.

¹². Knowles, ibid., p. 429.

¹³. There are a number of the rolls of the office of chamberlain (camerarius) which have been preserved, and of which more will be said below. Kitchin says that the chamberlain at Winchester for some reason did not care for the monks' clothing. See his introduction to the Obedientiary Rolls, p. 71.

¹⁴. Several hordarian's rolls also exist.

¹⁵. Or curtarian. Several of these rolls survive.

filling his responsibilities. Wykeham's injunctions of 1387 reveal that during his visitation he had been distressed to find a layman in charge of this office.¹⁶ The refectorer's¹⁷ department was the communal dining room while the kitchen¹⁸ was the monastic caterer. The almoner dispensed charity to the poor in the form of food, clothing and sometimes lodging.¹⁹ Finally the infirmarian²⁰ tended the sick and elderly brethren, and in so doing he ran a separate establishment with its own kitchen, chapel and staff of servants.

In the fourth group Kitchin places the doorkeepers or porters, and the guestmaster whose function it was to provide hospitality for friends and travellers as well as for their horses.²¹

Finally, each of these offices had its assistants or deputies as has been pointed out in the case of the succentor and subsacrist, and there was also a varying number of lay servants within each department who performed the menial but essential chores like preparing the food and cleaning the dormitories. From

¹⁶. B.M. Harley MS. 328, f. 6r.

¹⁷. There is an interesting diet roll of 1495 preserved among the cathedral MSS, and printed by Kitchin in his Obedientiary Rolls.

¹⁸. There are no rolls for this office.

¹⁹. This is Knowles' description, The Monastic Order, p. 431. There are more than a dozen almoner's rolls, most of which have been printed by Kitchin. Cf. The Book of William Morton, Almoner of Peterborough Monastery, 1448-1467, ed., P. I. King, Northamptonshire Record Society, 1954.

²⁰. Ibid. p. 440. There is one roll for the year 1400 which was returned to the cathedral library from Downside Abbey in 1940.

²¹. These obediences were by no means always confined exclusively to their named functions; each monastery had its own peculiar customs and traditions in this and in other respects as will become evident in Chapter VI below.

evidence in the records of several abbeys and priories even in the early thirteenth century this group often outnumbered the monks.²²

Besides furnishing us with many intimate details which vividly illustrate monastic life inside the cloister, the Consuetudinary²³ also reveals the complexity of organization which had developed around the refectory. For its proper functioning it required the services of the cellarer, refectorer, gardener, kitchener, chamberlain, sacrist, almoner, the keeper of the shrine of Our Lady, and the prior himself. The first four of these monk-officials were directly concerned with the provision and preparation of food; but it was the chamberlain who cared for the table linen, the sacrist who supplied the wax candles, the almoner who gave a bell (signum) to the refectorer each Maundy Thursday, and the keeper of Our Lady's shrine who provided tapers to burn on feast days before the ancient crucifix on the east wall of the refectory. The prior was responsible for the bread, beer, wine, salt, cheese and butter served to the monks and also for the rush mats and straw for the floor.

The gradual development of what Knowles and others describe

²². Knowles, The Monastic Order, pp. 439-41.

²³. Referred to above in note 1, p. 43. The MS. is in Box 66 in the Cathedral Library.

as the obedientiary system²⁴ was the result of a decentralizing process which was set in motion after the Conquest. The feudal pattern of "scattered and parcelled estates held by the early Anglo-Norman landowners"²⁵ (both lay and ecclesiastical) replaced the previous more compact arrangements; and on the monastic lands there was an accompanying

universal devolution in the course of which many of the estates and revenues, presented or allocated to particular uses, came to be administered by the officials concerned acting in complete independence and with full initiative.²⁶

The grant of Henry de Blois of the manor of Littleton to the guestmaster of St. Swithun's has already been cited.²⁷ A few years later his successor in the see, Richard of Ilchester, gave land at Ham in Wiltshire to provide income for the chamberlain's office.²⁸ By the second half of the twelfth century this system was well established in all the large Benedictine houses;²⁹ and

²⁴. The Monastic Order, p. 4; and The Religious Orders, Vol. I, p.55.

²⁵. The Religious Orders, Vol. I, p. 55.

²⁶. Knowles, Loc. cit.

²⁷. See above p.37, n.113.

²⁸. According to Kitchin, Obedientiary Rolls, p. 363, n. 5. But it is in the list of manors granted to the prior and convent by Henry de Blois in 1172, W.C.C. no.3.

²⁹. Knowles, The Religious Orders, Vol. I, p. 55.

it continued to operate, with certain controls imposed from time to time by papal, episcopal, and English provincial chapter decrees, throughout the middle ages.

The controls were made necessary by the weaknesses and potential abuses inherent in the obedientiary organization. Within this type of almost totally decentralized administration there was no authority with the power to coordinate the activities of the individual offices to the economic advantage of the monastery as a whole. In many cases poor management, extravagance, waste and debt went unchecked and led to a disastrous situation in which some houses came to the brink of ruin. From a spiritual point of view the obedientiary system wrought a profound modification in the pattern of monastic life as envisaged by St. Benedict. The administrative responsibilities assigned to the senior monks with regard to the monastic properties provided ground for the criticism that the spirit of private ownership had invaded the cloister.* It was these officials themselves whom we find at Winchester and elsewhere acting as virtual landlords of their manors; and although not residing there permanently they made regular visits to inspect, supervise, collect dues and sometimes to preside at the courts at Michaelmas and Hocktide. Two examples may be cited from the rolls of the period under study: the almoner travelled to his manor of Hinton Ampner several times in 1377 and he and the

* An example of this accusation applied to St. Swithun's may be found in Wykeham's injunctions of 1387 (B. M. Harley MS. 328, f. 8v).

steward held the courts in person;³⁰ in 1396 the anniversarian spent ten weeks on his manor of Bishopstone, Wiltshire.^{31,32} This regular supervision was necessary, and was in fact required as Wykeham's injunction, De supervisu maneriorum bis in anno faciendo makes clear.³³ But the monk who had custody of a

³⁰.The steward was the senescallus domini. Unless otherwise stated the account and court rolls cited are preserved in the cathedral library at Winchester and the exact location there is given in Appendix II at the end of this volume,p.lxxvii.

³¹.The obedientiary rolls are also in the Winchester cathedral library in Boxes 66, 67, 68.

³².It is necessary to add a note on the dating of the rolls. For purposes of accounting the year began and ended at Michaelmas, and therefore many rolls are headed "from Michaelmas X to Michaelmas Y". Since the greater number of months comes in year 'Y' I have used the latter as the correct date, e.g., Michaelmas 1380 to Michaelmas 1381 is referred to as belonging to the year 1381. In this I believe I am following the monks themselves since they sometimes dated the foot of the account roll as well as the head, the former being an abbreviated description of the latter which in every instance I have found to be the later of the two years specified, e.g., the heading on the face of a Woolstone account roll "...from Michaelmas 1385 to Michaelmas 1386", and on the foot of the dorse simply "...for the year 1386," (P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/10). See the comments of Dr. J. Z. Titow on the merits of this way of reckoning in his English Rural Society 1200-1350, 1969, pp. 27-28 which is a stimulating essay based on his study of the pipe rolls of the bishopric of Winchester. See also the article by J. S. Drew,"Manorial Accounts of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester," E.H.R.,LXII (1947), pp. 25-26, and The Manor of Michelmersh, 1943, p. 20 (typescript, for location of which see above n.2, Chap. I, p.2)

³³.B. M. Harley MS. 328, f. 7v-8r.

manor was expected to perform his duties as the deputy of his brethren. However, the perennial difficulty of stamping out the spirit of worldliness is shown by another of Wykeham's injunctions in which he sharply denounced some of the monks whom he had discovered making profits for themselves by engaging in commercial transactions in the guise of attending to manorial business.³⁴

The statutes and decrees which were intended to reform the internal organization and regulate the financial affairs of the Benedictine houses had two main aims: to introduce a central treasury of receipt in every monastery and to provide for committees of audit at regular intervals.³⁵ Centralization of revenues was in existence at Canterbury cathedral priory well before 1200,³⁶ but in some monasteries, like the cathedral priories at Rochester³⁷ and Norwich,³⁸ it is doubtful that a common treasury was ever set up. Still others like Winchester had a central treasury which received only "that part of the income which was not

³⁴. Ibid., f. 6v-7r, and 8r.

³⁵. A fuller explanation is given in Knowles, The Religious Orders, Vol. I, p. 56 et seq.

³⁶. R.A.L. Smith, Op. cit., Chap. II. On p. 14 Smith states that in 1179 Pope Alexander III ordered that "all the rents of the cellarer, chamberlain and sacrist should be received by treasurers appointed by the prior and convent".

³⁷. See R. A. L. Smith, "The Financial System of Rochester Cathedral Priory", E. H. R., XLV (1941) and reprinted in Collected Papers, London, 1947, pp. 42-53.

³⁸. H. W. Saunders, An Introduction to the Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory, 1930, p. 71. However, C. R. Cheney has found evidence to the contrary which is presented in his article "Norwich Cathedral Priory in the fourteenth Century" in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XX, no. 1, 1936.

apportioned to conventual officials.³⁹ This "central reserve fund"⁴⁰ to use Dr. Smith's apt phrase, was in effect a compromise and was set up at St. Swithun's by Henry de Blois.⁴¹ It is also found at other cathedral priories like Worcester and Durham.⁴² At Winchester the unassigned revenues were under the control of a receiver (receptor scaccarii)⁴³ and two or more assistants (depositarii) one of whom was named the custos espernii, "in virtue of his position as collector and guardian of the surplus revenues from the different departments."⁴⁴ At a time of financial crisis or of extraordinary expenditures there was thus always money at hand.⁴⁵ As examples of its continued functioning

³⁹. Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, p.27.

⁴⁰. Loc. cit.

⁴¹. See Knowles, Religious Orders, Vol. I, p.62. Evidence for the operation of this central treasury appears in the earliest remaining pipe roll (for the year 1248-9), which is preserved in the cathedral library.

⁴². See R. H. Snape, English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages, 1926, pp. 39-40.

⁴³. Two account rolls of the receiver, for the years 1334-5 and 1336-7, have been printed by Kitchin in Obedientary Rolls, pp. 224-53. There is also a receiver's roll for 1355-6 in the cathedral library (Box 69). The thesaurarius appears to have been an assistant to the receiver. Infra, p. 256.

⁴⁴. R.A.L. Smith, "The Regimen Scaccarii in English Monasteries" T.R.H.S., 4th series, XXIV, 1942 and reprinted in Collected Papers where this quotation is found on p.63. See also notes on the espernium in W.C.C., p.1.

⁴⁵. See Kitchin, Obedientary Rolls, pp. 62-3; cf. W.C.C. nos. 176-180 (which refer to the difficulties in the 1330's under Prior Alexander); also W.C.C. no. 104.

in the fifteenth century Smith refers to four grants of annual pensions to be paid ad scaccarium prioris in gratitude pro .. honorabili consilio et auxilio nobis et ecclesie nostre. These are all found in the Common Seal Register.⁴⁶

From the impressive studies of Dr. Smith it appears that the

first regular system of centralized audit to be established in an English monastery was probably that which Henry of Blois instituted at Winchester Cathedral Priory sometime between 1153 and 1171.⁴⁷

This energetic and reforming bishop provided for a committee of twelve of the senior monks to scrutinize the accounts of all the obedientiaries annually and to distribute any surplus revenue for the needs of the community.⁴⁸ This "financial oligarchy"⁴⁹ was thus in existence at least half a century before Pope Gregory IX issued a series of statutes requiring the auditing of the accounts of all abbots (and priors and their obedientiaries)*. According

⁴⁶. Ff. 33v, 37r, 51r and 51v. The Latin phrases quoted are from f. 37r.

⁴⁷. Smith, Collected Papers, p. 55. Smith also suggests that St. Swithun's thus benefitted from the bishop's earlier experience at Cluny at a time when the abbey was in financial difficulty, loc. cit. This paper is the one referred to above in note 44.

⁴⁸. See the decree in Reg. Pont., f. 165r: Et ut compotus Prioratus et omnium obedienciarum singulis annis a duodecim senioribus audiantur. See also Goodman's remarks in his edition of Winchester Cathedral Charters, p. 5.

⁴⁹. Smith, Collected Papers, Ibid., p. 56.

* See Snape, Op. cit., pp. 66-7.

to a statement of Henry Woodlock in his visitation injunctions of 1315 the committee of auditors was to consist of "the prior or subprior and the senior monks specially selected by the prior and convent in accordance with the hitherto approved custom of the house."⁵⁰ The obedientiary accounts were rendered at Michaelmas; however, the individual manorial accounts of the reeves and sergeants were presented to the auditors only after they had been transferred to a single pipe roll.⁵¹ There are only eighteen of these pipe rolls in existence between the years 1248 and 1326, and it therefore remains uncertain that the practice was continued through the next two centuries,⁵² but there is plenty of evidence to show the scrupulous care with which the monk-auditors carried out their duties. The account rolls, with the underlinings, totals, marginal annotations, surcharges imposed upon and allowances sometimes made to manorial officials, all written in a different hand and a different shade of ink from the rest of the roll, reveal their thoroughness.⁵³

⁵⁰. Reg. Woodlock, f. 23*v.

⁵¹. Smith points out the similarity to the corresponding rolls in the royal exchequer, which seem to have been the model followed by the monks at Winchester rather than the pipe rolls of the bishopric. Op. cit., p. 64.

⁵². Most of the Wiltshire manors were audited on the spot by professional auditors in the fifteenth century. (Smith, ibid., p. 65)

⁵³. See, for example, the Silkstead rolls for 1378, 1382, 1383, etc., which J. S. Drew has translated in Vol. III of his typescript, described above on p. 2, n. 2.

In addition to the manorial estates St. Swithun's possessed a number of other sources of revenue and areas of financial and jurisdictional responsibility. There is sufficient evidence in some instances to reconstruct the details; but frequently there is no more than a brief mention or a passing reference to indicate that income was flowing into or out of the convent treasury, and the reasons in any particular case may be obscure. It is understandably difficult if not impossible to discover and describe with any hope of achieving completeness, what in most cases would likely prove of no great importance. Several examples should suffice to illustrate the quantity and variety.

The prior and convent received a small but probably significant portion of their revenue in the form of income, tithes and sometimes pensions from churches which in many cases were theirs by appropriation. There were also offerings left at the shrine of St. Swithun and bequests to the "mother church"⁵⁴ from private **individuals**. Of the pilgrims' oblations no record has been found at Winchester; and the sums bequeathed to the cathedral which appear frequently in fourteenth and fifteenth

⁵⁴.

This is the phrase often used in wills.

century wills are seldom for more than a few shillings.⁵⁵

There was also an annual collection of alms which dated back to the early twelfth century when Bishop Giffard granted to the cathedral church all the oblations of priests and parishioners in Winchester Diocese during the week of Pentecost.⁵⁶

This money was given to the sacrist for lights and other needs of the church especially for the maintenance of the altars.

Both Wykeham and Beaufort issued mandates to the archdeacons and others to collect these offerings.⁵⁷ In December 1394

Wykeham made an additional request for gifts in aid of the "works and lights" of the church, a demand which probably coincided with

⁵⁵. The will of John Fromond, steward of the lands of Winchester College is an exception. He died in 1420 leaving 100 shillings to the prior and convent as well as a gilt chalice. See the article by H. Chitty, "Fromond's Chantry at Winchester College" in Archaeologia, 2nd series, XXV (1925), pp. 139-158 and also W. H. Gunner's transcription of Fromond's will in the Archaeological Journal, XVI, pp. 169-73. John Champfloure, knight, also gave 100 shillings to the fabric of the cathedral in 1408 according to an entry in Beaufort's register, f. 16r.

⁵⁶. Hence the name 'pentecostal' applied to this type of contribution. Giffard's grant is given in W.C.C. no. 32.

⁵⁷. Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, ff. 233 (1384), 279v (1395), 302r (1398); and Cathedral Records, Vol. III, f. 16, no. 6, which is a copy of a letter from Beaufort to the official of the archdeacon of Winchester and to the deans of the archdeaconry ordering them to admonish the ~~rectors~~ and vicars to pay their pentecostals to the sacrist on pain of suspension and sequestration (1407). For details of the MS. collection entitled Cathedral Records see above p. 7.

his remodelling of the nave and which was made more attractive by the offer of indulgences to benefactors and those who came as pilgrims to the cathedral.⁵⁸ Receipts of this kind make up the "spiritual revenues" or spiritualities which Snape has examined in some detail in his study of monastic finances.⁵⁹

Only on some of their manors did the monks of St. Swithun's have the advowson of the church, a right which did not in itself bring in any income, but which was often the first stage toward appropriation. Thus, for example, the church of Wootton⁶⁰ was given to the priory in 1299 by Pontissara who had previously given the church of Littleton⁶¹ in 1284. These two churches occur in a document of 1331 which relates the proceedings concerning the right of the convent to their appropriation and to "certain pensions, portions, tithes and oblations from various churches and chapels in the city and diocese of Winchester."⁶² The date of the appropriation of Crondal church is not clear because of the

⁵⁸. Cathedral Records, Vol. III, f.8, no.15 and Reg. Wyk., Vol.II, f. 302r.

⁵⁹. Op. cit., in Chap. III. This is a helpful chapter despite certain value judgements characteristic of the Coulton school.

⁶⁰. Cathedral Records, Vol. II, f. 22, no. 19, and W.C.C. no. 56. The manor was in the hands of the cathedral much earlier. See Baigent, A Collection of Records and Documents relating to Crondal, introduction, passim.

⁶¹. Cathedral Records, Vol. II, f. 16, no. 7. The lands at Littleton were confirmed to the convent by Henry de Blois. See above p.37, n.113.

⁶². Ibid., Vol. I, f. 38, no. 119.

conflicting evidence in the pertinent documents. Shortly after John of Stratford's promotion from Winchester to Canterbury, Prior Alexander Heriard petitioned to appropriate the churches of Crondal and Wonston. A series of documents among the Winchester Cathedral Charters⁶³ reveals the lengthy correspondence which ensued before archbishop, pope and king granted the necessary licences to the convent c. 1334. The Common Seal Register contains a number of presentations made by the prior and convent to some of these appropriated churches. On folio 51v, for example, is a letter to Robert Neville, bishop of Salisbury, in which Prior Thomas Shirebourne presents Thomas Newenham as vicar of Overton church in Sarum diocese.⁶⁴

By far the greater part of the temporal revenues or temporalities came from the manorial estates in the form of produce grown for the use and consumption of those residing on the manor or of the monks in the priory, in the form of money resulting from the sale of surplus produce, or in the form of money rents along with feudal dues and services from the tenants of the manor, and the fines and perquisites of the manorial courts. However,

⁶³. For Crondal nos. 185, 191, 192, 194, 255, 257; for Wonston nos. 185, 419-23, 437, 438. However it is not clear that the Crondal appropriation was ever completed since in 1446 Beaufort seems to have appropriated it to St. Cross, V.C.H. Hants., Vol. IV, p. 14.

⁶⁴. The date of the presentation is June 1452; the date of the appropriation of the churches of Enford and Overton is 1291 according to W.C.C. no. 40.

there were also lesser sums obtained from other properties within the city of Winchester itself, the manor or liberty of Godbegot, for example, situated on the north side of the High Street, which included a number of tenements and stalls leased out by the monastery. The steward of the manor was the kitchener of St. Swithun's or the hordarian in his place, and there is one court roll extant (for 1354-6) to give evidence of his activities.⁶⁵ The liberty of St. Swithun's had its own bailiff and presumably its own court, but no records of these remain.⁶⁶

From the revenues of St. Giles' fair which William Rufus had granted to Bishop Walkelin, Henry de Blois allotted the monastery the sum of £20 for the maintenance and repair of

⁶⁵. The roll is in Box 64 in the cathedral library along with three sixteenth century rolls. These have all been translated by Canon Goodman and were printed in a pamphlet "The Manor of Goodbegot in the City of Winchester", Winchester, c. 1923. In 1412 a controversy arose in the city when a miscreant tried to escape his fate at the hands of the county sheriff by seeking refuge within the manor. The sheriff ordered the bailiffs of Winchester to go after him infra limites de Goudbeyete ut dicitur, ut plenius est infra libertatem civitatis Wintonie. See W. H. Bird, ed., The Black Book of Winchester, Winchester, 1925, p. 4, which is a transcription of B. M. Add. MS. 6036, f. 14r.

⁶⁶. There are a number of sheriffs' mandates for fines addressed to the bailiffs of the liberty for the 3rd, 4th, 11th, 12th and 16th years of Richard II and the 9th and 10th years of Henry IV. The sheriff's roll of 1392-3 records a £20 fine against the prior of St. Swithun's de catallis Ingelrami Carpenter felonii which presumably he had failed to relinquish. These rolls are in Box 63 in the cathedral library.

the cathedral.⁶⁷ In subsequent years the monks seem to have sent reminders to his successors in the hope of obtaining this annual pension.⁶⁸ Like other religious houses in and near Winchester, St. Swithun's had several stalls at this autumn fair as the pipe roll of the bishopric shows; the sub-prior had a shop and the custos specierum [sic] of St. Swithun's two terrages, but in 1393 these and many other sites had been vacant for 33 years.⁶⁹ From the small profits received in Wykeham's day the bishop may have been reluctant to pay the priory if in fact he was continuing to make this payment.⁷⁰

⁶⁷. W.C.C. no. 6. Dean Kitchin has transcribed and edited A Charter of Edward III Confirming and Enlarging the Privileges of St. Giles's Fair, Winchester, A.D. 1349, Winchester Cathedral Records, Hampshire Record Society, 1886 (extra volume for 1891).

⁶⁸. E.g., the letter of Prior Heriard to Orleton, W.C.C. no. 274 and Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 364v. The latter is a memorandum to the effect that, amongst other things, Henry III had granted and Edward I confirmed to St. Swithun's an annual payment of 30 marks out of the profits of the fair for the repair and maintenance of the cathedral fabric. This payment, so it was claimed, was now in arrears by £1000. I have checked a number of the pipe rolls of the bishopric during Wykeham's time but have found no reference to this payment in the section of the roll which lists the receipts and disbursements of the fair. (These pipe rolls are held by the Hampshire Record Office).

⁶⁹. H.R.O., Piperoll no. 159400, membrane 28.

⁷⁰. See note 68 above.

Ever since the Reformation the monastic houses of medieval England have been under strong condemnation for their failure to heed the gospel's call to deeds of charity. In the case of St. Swithun's, Kitchin has passed judgement on the almoner.⁷¹ For the present it is neither necessary nor wise to do more than point out some of the many areas of responsibility which involved expenditure in addition to almsgiving and the upkeep and maintenance of a great cathedral and monastery.⁷²

The monks, as we have seen, frequently acted as collectors for royal and papal subsidies.⁷³ It should be remembered that after 1341 they were regular contributors to the clerical subsidies granted by convocation. Sometimes these sums were collected from the manors, as shown by the Enford account rolls of 1433, 1440, 1443 and 1450 which include under expenses the sum of 78s.9d. "for the spiritualities and temporalities of the lord prior in Enford."⁷⁴ There were also various papal dues like

⁷¹. Obedientiary Rolls pp. 74-76 as quoted in Snape, op. cit., p.115.

⁷². It is safe to assume that excluding guests there were often a hundred persons within the house to feed and clothe.

⁷³. Supra, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁴. There is an account roll of 1403 with a similar entry, but in this case the amount (which represents half of one tenth) was collected twice. Unfortunately these are all the account rolls of Enford which survive for the years 1380-1450. These rolls are B.M. Rot. Harl. X.7, X.8, X.9, X.10, X.11. Tithes on the produce of many of the manors are also recorded. In 1416 and again in 1417, two tenths were paid by the reeve of Woolstone (Berks.), a sum of £4 in each case. This is no doubt unusually large (P.R.O., S.C.6/758/3, and 758/4).

Peter's pence, the non-payment of which in 1399 caused the convent to be cited and under sequestration.⁷⁵

The cathedral monastery at Winchester also had the heavy burden of providing hospitality for the royal and noble guests, and the pilgrims who arrived at the gates of St. Swithun's or of one of the manors. The manorial rolls indicate that many a lord and his retinue had to be housed and fed for a period of days or weeks, and the most frequent offenders on the St. Swithun's manors were men-at-arms in the royal service, and officers from the royal household who came to demand provisions to be sent to the royal kitchens. For example, William Bowcer, Knight, "and other soldiers of the lord King" spent ten weeks at the manor of Mapledurham in 1417.⁷⁶ The account rolls of Wootton, Whitchurch and Chilbolton have numerous entries listing the expenses caused by visits from the King's huntsmen, fishermen, maltsters and purveyors of wheat and from the retinues of various knights and nobles.⁷⁷

The prior and convent also had certain obligations which fell to their lot as residents of the city of Winchester. There is record of an agreement with the mayor and commonalty in 1266 by which they bound themselves to repair and maintain two of the

⁷⁵. Reg. Wyk. Vol. II, f. 317v. However the chapter objected on the grounds that the money had been paid, ibid.

⁷⁶. B. M. Add Roll 28082.

⁷⁷. These rolls are all preserved in the cathedral library at Winchester.

city gates which were close to the cathedral and cloister precincts.⁷⁸ According to J. S. Furley's study of the borough records in the fourteenth century, the "Bishop and the Prior of St. Swithun's [*sic*] are always spoken of with respect",⁷⁹ and he described the priors in this period as "peaceful and reasonable".⁸⁰ This is an indication that they fulfilled these and other obligations laid upon them.

The almoner held the position of custos of the Sustern Spital, an almshouse which in 1403 had sixteen dependents, thirteen of whom were resident. The sisters received 3d., a week each,⁸¹ and an annual allowance of 3s.6d., each for clothing. The chaplain received 13s.4d., and repairs to the stonework of the hospital amounted to 52s.6d. Most of the other extant rolls of the almoner bear record of similar expenses.⁸²

Finally there was an unknown number of elderly and other persons who received board and lodging at St. Swithun's and it is probable that at times these must have been a financial drain

⁷⁸. These were Southgate and Kingsgate and included the drawbridge which existed outside the former. W.C.C. no. 316, and Cathedral Records, Vol. II, f. 6, no. 15.

⁷⁹. J. S. Furley, Town Life in the Fourteenth Century as seen in the Court Rolls of Winchester City, Winchester, n.d., p. 100.

⁸⁰. Ibid., p. 101.

⁸¹. The account roll gives the total of £12 2s. 8d. for the year.

⁸². Two interesting documents in W.C.C. (nos. 360-361) show Queen Philippa and her daughter, the lady Isabella, requesting the prior of St. Swithun's to receive Agnes Pathulle into the hospital. The date is April 1356.

on the convent. From one point of view corrodies may be considered to belong to the credit side of the monastic ledger since they were usually preceded by a cash payment or gift of land, a welcome windfall to a community in a state of financial embarrassment. On the other hand, if the recipient of a corrody outlived the value of the hospitality for which he had paid in advance, the monks might well be hard pressed in fulfilling their side of the agreement to support him ad terminum sue vite. It was even more difficult when the king pressed on the reluctant monastery his retiring servants to be cared for at no expense to himself.⁸³ However, a corrodian might also render some service to the monks in return, like Thomas of Schafesbury who in 1320 paid 50 marks sterling for his corrody and promised to serve the prior and convent in arte medicina.⁸⁴

None of these examples of expenses incurred by St. Swithun's can be fully described in detail for the period under study (or for any other period). While the amount of evidence at our disposal is seen to be plentiful it yet remains sporadic, and consequently we are not in a position to determine or even to make an accurate estimate of any totals for any given year or years, whether these be the amounts of taxes, the number of lay servants,

⁸³. Supra, p. 10.

⁸⁴. W.C.C. no. 225. There are many other examples of corrodies in this cartulary, and also in the Cathedral Records and Common Seal Register. Sometimes the amount received was as high as £40 sterling paid in cash (W.C.C. no. 282).

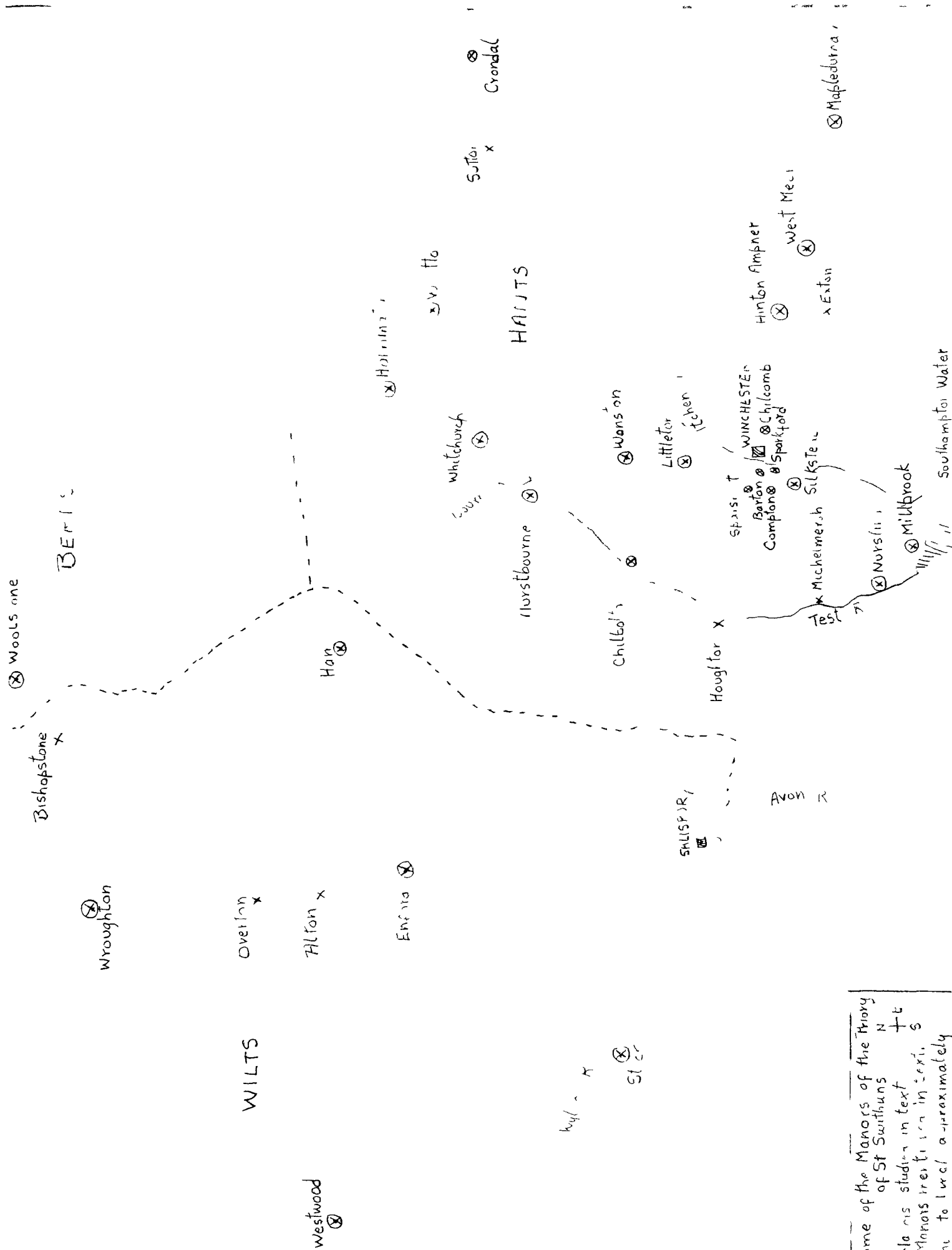
guests or corrodians or the quantity of produce raised on the manors. The inherent difficulty in the method of writing history by citing examples is the resulting tendency to collect the separate incidents described in the surviving records and come to view them as typical of the whole. In this way Professor Coulton frequently became the victim of his own rich storehouse of colourful illustrations.

However a short survey of the internal organization of St. Swithun's enables us to put forward two conclusions, one general, the other the starting point for the main theme of this study.

In the first place, it is clear that the priory of Winchester cathedral was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and even before, a complex, highly organized community with many rights and privileges and much property and equally many obligations and responsibilities. The internal arrangements of the monks had gradually developed to meet the external demands and needs both of their manorial estates and of their public commitments to church and to secular society. The decline from the monastic ideal had come about because of this unavoidable interpenetration of spiritual and secular roles. In medieval society no other way of life was possible, although St. Benedict himself could hardly have foreseen this problem.

Secondly, a careful analysis of the records in hand should bring to light a sufficient amount of information, hitherto un-

noticed or unused, which can be arranged and ordered to produce a clearer picture of certain aspects of the administrative life and activity of St. Swithun's in the early fifteenth century. On the following pages I propose to examine three of these aspects in turn: first, the monks of St. Swithun's as landowners and farmers, i.e. their farming methods and organization of the manors; secondly, the monks as landlords, i.e. their relations with their tenants and labour force; and lastly the administrative personnel of St. Swithun's, for despite the impersonal nature of all the records, many individuals can be traced in the performance of their assigned duties on the manor and in the priory.



Some of the Manors of the Priory of St Swithuns

Map is studied in text

Manors mentioned in text are approximately 6 miles to 12 miles apart

CHAPTER IV

THE MONKS OF ST. SWITHUN'S AS LANDOWNERS AND FARMERS

i. Introduction.

Three distinct stages can be recognized in the relationship of the Black Monks with their lands. Before 1200 they took little if any direct part in the exploitation of their estates, with the possible exception of those manors which adjoined the monastery. Apparently concerned to keep free of "the risks of fluctuating income and the responsibilities of direct supervision",¹ their policy was to farm out their estates, sometimes including the demesne, for an annual rent in cash or kind. During the thirteenth century, however, and for most of the fourteenth and sometimes even longer, the monks of St. Swithun's like many of their brethren elsewhere became high farmers and took it upon themselves "to direct and oversee the exploitation [of their lands] with interest and full responsibility."² By, if not before, the year 1400 a new trend is evident, or rather the recurrence of an earlier trend brought on by the changing economic and social conditions: the leasing of demesnes and later of entire manors to tenants in return for a fixed annual payment.

1. Knowles, Religious Orders, Vol. I, p. 35.

2. Ibid., p. 32.

The years under study in these pages straddle the second and third periods described above. They also overlap, at the earlier point of time, the researches of J. S. Drew whose valuable essay "Manorial Accounts of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester", in the English Historical Review (1947)³ was based on a detailed examination of the four manors of Michelmersh, Houghton, Chilbolton and Silkstead⁴ and a more general survey of many others. By continuing his work for another half century and at the same time extending its scope to cover as many of the manors as possible, we shall have the advantage of following through the transition period on the Winchester priory estates until, as one after another of the demesne properties were leased out to local farmers, it merged into the final stage in which rent-collecting almost completely replaced estate management. Moreover, for St. Swithun's at least, this study will serve to dispel some of the darkness and uncertainty which still prevail in the sphere of fifteenth century economic development in England and more precisely of the monastic economy. Until recently this era was often traditionally dismissed as a time of moral, social

3. Referred to above in Chap. III, p. 51, n.32. The essay deals with the period 1248-1400.

4. These four typescripts have been previously referred to on p.2, n.2 and detailed entries are to be found in the bibliography at the end of this work. The periods covered by these volumes are as follows: Michelmersh, 1248-1331; Houghton, 1248-1331; Chilbolton, 1248-1433; Silkstead, 1267-1399.

and economic decadence preceding the breakthrough to modern times; and although A. R. Bridbury's opposing hypothesis of "resurgent vitality and enterprise"⁵ as the keynotes of late medieval English industrial and commercial history has stimulated historians to renewed activity, fifteenth century studies have not yet penetrated deeply and exhaustively enough into the abundant records to permit a valid and definitive judgement. There are two methods of dealing with the wealth of material in these repositories and the results are two equally valuable types of study: the one is achieved by a scrutiny of all the account rolls of a single manor over a long space of time,⁶ and the other by a comparative analysis through a shorter time span of the rolls of a group of manors which form a unit by virtue of their common lordship.⁷ The latter is the method chosen for this study.⁸

⁵. A. R. Bridbury. Economic Growth: England in the Later Middle Ages, 1962, p. 24.

⁶. This is the method followed by Drew, and much earlier by F. J. Baigent in his study of Crondal, and by G. W. Kitchen in The Manor of Manydown, Hampshire Record Society, 1895.

⁷. Alternatively a group of manors in a given geographical area may form a regional study unit.

⁸. It is hoped that the period after 1450 for which there is also an abundance of records, will be treated in a later study.

ii. The Manors And Their Staff.

Of the thirty⁹ St. Swithun's manors we are now concerned chiefly with twenty-two,¹⁰ five of which were in Wiltshire,¹¹ one in Berkshire, and the rest in Hampshire. Reference will also be made to several others where an account roll exists and has been consulted for additional information. As previously mentioned, the prior and convent held five hundreds,¹² (of which one, Crondal, contained a manor of the same name and is therefore included in the twenty-two), manors within the other four hundreds with surviving account rolls are also numbered in this total. Of the manors qua manor three,

⁹. This is the approximate number and is in agreement with Drew. See his article "Manorial Accounts", p. 22.

¹⁰. I exclude the "manor" of Godbegot from this reckoning because it was within the city of Winchester and not a manor in the more usual sense of an agricultural unit.

¹¹. Drew's statement that "Few Wiltshire rolls have survived after 1320" ("Manorial Accounts" p. 22) seems to imply that he did not know of the Stockton and Enford rolls in the British Museum.

¹². The court rolls of the two hundreds of Crondal, and Elstubb and Everleigh (Wilts.) together with all the extant rolls of the manors under study will receive attention in the next chapter. There are no remaining court rolls of the third hundred of Evingar; but there are nine of Fawley hundred and nine of Buddlesgate hundred both of which belonged to the bishop of Winchester and included a number of the manors of St. Swithun's. In fact, in 1316 according to N. S. Gras (The Economic and Social History of an English Village, i.e., Crawley, Hants., 1930, p. 54, n.1), of the 25 hamlets in Buddlesgate hundred, the prior owned thirteen, and the bishop only nine.

Ham in Wiltshire, and Nursling and Millbrook,¹³ have court rolls but lack accounts. Thus, for this chapter the evidence has been extracted and compiled mainly from nineteen manors, for a few of which there are only two or three account rolls, but for many there are records from twenty to fifty years of the period 1380-1450. Unfortunately there is no one year for which we have a complete set of accounts.

The questions to be put to these rolls must be carefully chosen, although it is worth remarking that in themselves the accounts make surprisingly interesting reading as Baigent and Kitchen have shown in their writings. But the importance and use of this type of evidence cannot be grasped as long as it is known merely as a source of illustrative information of local and antiquarian interest. About half a century after these two writers, Drew began his studies of the St. Swithun's manorial rolls and was the first historian of the priory records to make a critical and interpretative analysis of each item in the accounts. This new approach was in line with the upsurge of interest in local history and the "progress made since the early 1930's in the care of local archives, the foundation of several county record offices, and the growing interest in historical geography and agriculture".¹⁴

¹³. On the court rolls these two occur together.

¹⁴. D. Oschinsky, "Notes on the Editing and Interpretation of Estate Accounts: Part I", Archives, IX, no. 42 (1969) p. 86.

With the aid of Drew's penetrating analysis our present task of formulating key questions is greatly facilitated. It is clear, for example, that there are two aspects of the monastic economy, a thorough grasp of which is a necessary prerequisite to any comprehensive and conclusive interpretation of the whole. First, there are the problems related to the exploitation of the land; these include the management of the demesnes under the local officials (usually the reeves, assisted by the lesser members of the manorial staff under the supervision of a sergeant or bailiff or both), with particular attention to any changes in method employed to improve the yield of grain and the quality and quantity of the stock, to the fluctuations between the amount of farm produce required for consumption by the manorial and monastic communities and the amount sold in local or distant markets, to the cost of upkeep, repair, wages, and hospitality and to the actual income turned over to the monastery. In other words, this first aspect is concerned with the implementation of the agrarian policies developed by the prior and his advisers and the expenses incurred in and profits obtained from working and later leasing the demesnes.

In the second place there is the problem of administrative methods with special reference to the economic and financial policies developed by the central authorities for the efficient supervision and regulation of the manors as a whole by reason of which they ensured the collection and receipt of all revenues accruing from their estates. The financial policy is also seen

in operation in the allocation and distribution of funds, evidence for which is obtained from obedientiary and receivers' accounts, in the methods and form of accounting and in the auditing procedures.

It is clearly not possible in this thesis to examine more than a few of the questions to which attention has been drawn above; where the surviving evidence permits it is desirable, if not essential, to devote a separate work to each, so that any final assessment will rest firmly on the collective results of the individual studies. It is to be hoped that the aspects of monastic administration singled out for examination in this present study will serve to suggest not only the complex nature of the problem as a whole, even in a much earlier age when life was assuredly simple and crude in contrast to that of today, but also, through painstaking and cooperative research, the possibility of arriving at a fair degree of understanding of the medieval administrative approach. This in itself should provide a significant clue to the inner workings of the medieval (administrative) mind. Let us begin with the famulus, the nucleus of the manorial labour force, the chief members of which were the lord's administrative agents at the local level.

To use Postan's definition in his illuminating essay, The 'Famulus': the Estate Labourer in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,¹⁵ the famuli were "the workmen hired or otherwise re-

¹⁵. Economic History Review, Supplement no. 8, 1954.

tained for continuous service"¹⁶ by the manorial lord. They were the permanent functionaries whose responsibilities varied from the mainly supervisory duties demanded of the reeve to the domestic skills required by the humble dairywoman.

From his studies Drew concluded that by 1330 each of the St. Swithun's manors was in the sole charge of one man who was either a sergeant or a reeve, more often the former.¹⁷ This arrangement replaced the bailiff and reeve combination of the thirteenth century by which the bailiff had supervised several manors with a reeve normally of servile status who was under his authority, resident on each manor. This two-manager system never entirely disappeared, however, since it occurs in 1379 at Crondal,¹⁸ at Hurstbourne in 1391 and 1393¹⁹ and at Barton which had a unique arrangement of its own. This great manor consisted of some twelve members²⁰ which were often termed manors rather than tithings; taken together they encircled the outskirts of the city of Winchester on the east, west and south. Here, in addition to the bailiff and the reeve there were bedells in each tithing who performed a number of tasks pertaining to the collection of rents and other revenues and who rendered their own separate accounts.

¹⁶.p.i. This did not always imply full-time or year round service as will be made clear in this chapter passim.

¹⁷.J. S. Drew. "Manorial Accounts" p. 23.

¹⁸.As stated at the top of the account roll for this year.

¹⁹.Hurstbourne Priors today. See the account rolls for these years.

²⁰.This number may have varied slightly when manorial properties were on occasion rearranged and redistributed. The tithings of Barton, or Barton Priors, might well be classed as sub-manors.

The bailiffs remained on the scene to supervise certain other functions on the priory estates, but on the whole in the period under study they are an elusive group; identification is seldom possible with the result that their areas of jurisdiction are not easily defined. The bailiff of Barton is one of the few exceptions although even he is rarely mentioned by name.²¹ On the 1386 Stockton court roll mention is made of John Stoke, "bailiff of the liberty of the lord prior in the county of Wiltshire".²² Presumably this is the same office as that held by John Plonte who on the Enford account roll for 1403 is described as bailiff of Enford.²³ Geoffrey Lyrgoys occurs on the Evingar hundred court roll in 1422, and from the context it would appear that his jurisdiction included Whitchurch and Hurstbourne, as it had done in an earlier day. Again, at the hundred court of Fawley in 1396 which some of the Barton tithings had to attend, the "bailiff of the liberty" (of? Fawley)²⁴ was present. Another reference, on the Barton manor court roll of 1389, indicates that notification of a royal command had been given per ballivum libertatis

²¹. The 1428 account roll from Thurmonds tells us that he was in that year Thomas Well.

²². B.M., Additional Charter 24344.

²³. B.M. Rot. Harl. X.7.

²⁴. In this the terms 'hundred' and 'liberty' may be interchangeable.

prioratus Wynt.²⁵ Most if not all of the manors had a room or two, and at Crondal also a hall,²⁶ set aside for the bailiff's use on his periodic visits which occurred at harvest time,²⁷ during court sessions and at other times as well.

Like the bailiff the sergeant was also a freeman and usually non-resident, but since he had only one manor under his control he was expected to pay more frequent visits at fairly regular intervals. As the single manorial unit under the sergeant gradually replaced the group of manors under the bailiff, so the two terms often came to be used interchangeably. There is clear evidence for this on an indenture attached to the Silkstead compotus roll of 1383.²⁸ Another example is found on the Wootton accounts for the years 1412, 1413 and 1417 through

²⁵. The abbreviation stands for Wyntonie or Wynton. This was presumably the bailiff of the liberty of St. Swithun's.

²⁶. According to a list of repairs made on the account roll for 1370. In 1390 building expenses show repairs to the camera and aula ballivi and new windows in the hall. The 1393 account roll of Hinton Ampner records that the bailiff's chamber there was repaired. Similarly at Littleton in 1386.

²⁷. See the Crondal account roll for 1382 and 1414; the Hurstbourne account roll for 1393; the Hinton Ampner roll for 1393. Note that the horse belonging to the bailiff of Crondal received his daily feed of oats at Crondal for an average of six months in most years for which we have information.

²⁸. Nicholas Clerk is named as sergeant on the roll and as bailiff in the indenture. In her new edition of Walter of Henley, Miss Oschinsky states that the bailiff was often called serviens, (p.65). This volume was published by The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971. H. P. R. Finberg also upheld a similar view in his study of Tavistock Abbey, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 239-40.

what appears as a discrepancy; the sergeant's salary seems to be omitted in each case, but the bailiff is reported to have received 20 shillings, the exact sum usually paid to the sergeant on the preceding and succeeding rolls.

It is worth noting that the yearly payments to the bailiff and the sergeant showed great variations.²⁹ The bailiff of Barton understandably received 100 shillings, at Crondal sometimes 40 shillings, at other times 53s. 4d., with additional wages of 30s. 4d., on several occasions,³⁰ and at Enford only 20 shillings.³¹ The sergeants of Chilbolton,³² and Whitchurch³³ also received 20 shillings per annum; their counterparts at Littleton,³⁴ Hannington³⁵ and Silkstead³⁶ only 13s. 4d., while at Thurmonds, a manor closely connected with Barton, the sergeant was always paid a mere 6s. 8d. The

²⁹. Drew suggests that in the case of the sergeant these were due to the price of wheat and not to the custom of the Manor ("Manorial Accounts", p. 36.).

³⁰. For example, it was 40 shillings in 1399 and 53s. 4d. plus 30s. 4d. in 1382 and 1384.

³¹. B.M. Rot. Harl., X.7.

³². This amount is noted on all the rolls between 1384 and 1415.

³³. For the years 1394, 1395, 1398 etc.

³⁴. Accounts for the years 1386, 1391.

³⁵. In 1385 and 1387.

³⁶. In 1380, 1381 and all the extant rolls to 1396.

grain allowance (usually taken in wheat) might vary from five quarters seven bushels at Silkstead³⁷ to six quarters four bushels at Crondal.³⁸ It could also vary on the same manor from one year to the next.

The reeve was no doubt the most important official on the manor,³⁹ and since he was almost always resident he was in effect the farm manager. He was normally one of the virgaters and a villein who must have been chosen with care, although an election sometimes took place as recorded for example on the dorse of the Evingar hundred court roll in October 1422.⁴⁰ As payment he received acquittance of his rent and customary works the value of which on the priory manors ranged from 5 shillings at Whitchurch,⁴¹ Enford⁴² and Wonston⁴³ to 12 shillings at Mapledurham which records the inclusion of

³⁷. Account rolls for 1381, 1382.

³⁸. Account rolls for 1406, 1411. This averages one bushel per week except during harvest.

³⁹. See the note on the officials of Crawley (an episcopal manor lying between Chilbolton and Littleton) in Gras, Crawley, pp.22-24.

⁴⁰. Ricardus Goode electus est ad officium prepositure in manerio domini de Hussebourne [Hurstbourne]. The villeins elected one of their number to represent them, but presumably he would be appointed by the prior and his council to manage the demesne lands only if they approved of the choice and no sergeant was at hand. There is another example on the Woolstone court roll for Michaelmas 1377, but at the next court the following spring the newly elected reeve paid a fine ut exonerari possit ab illo officio hoc anno (P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/80). There is insufficient evidence to show that these elections were a regular occurrence on the St. Swithun's manors, but it is reasonable to suppose that they usually took place.

⁴¹. E.g., on the 1386 account roll.

⁴². Account roll for 1403, (B.M., Rot. Harl., X.7).

⁴³. Account rolls for 1381, 1382, 1383 etc.

both rent and works (opera) of "one reeve who holds one messuage and ten acres."⁴⁴ A few years later, Thomas Purve who was soon to become farmer at Mapledurham, held the reeveship there, and he was acquitted for 16s. 4d., although he held the same amount of land as the previous reeve.⁴⁵ It was not customary for the reeve to receive a grain allowance like the sergeant and other farm officials but at Crondal in 1382 he was given three quarters of mixed grain, and acquitted one hen and five eggs⁴⁶ in addition to his rent. It was more usual to make allowances at the time of the presentation of the account when extra duties and faithful service were often rewarded by a reduction in the amount owed by the computans (whether reeve or sergeant). An example is provided in this same year at Crondal by the fact of the remission of 2s. 8d., for the reeve's work of collecting the rents pro denariis through the whole hundred. Gifts of a

⁴⁴. Account roll for 1400, B.M. Add. Roll 28067. In 1401 the reeve received only 11s. 4d. (Add. Roll 34934). The annual amounts paid by customary tenants for the commutation of their services varied, and the entries are not often as precise as this one at Mapledurham. Drew ("Manorial Accounts", p. 38) suggests that the average paid on one virgate was between 5s. and 9s. 6d.

⁴⁵. B.M., Add. Roll 28074 for the year 1408. In 1411 he was farming the demesne (Add. Roll 28078).

⁴⁶. Account roll for 1382. The hen and eggs were presumably church scot.

cheese, a lamb or a piglet were often made to the manorial staff.⁴⁷ All were fed at the lord's table during the harvest season, or in some cases, as at Wonston in the 1380's,⁴⁸ the reeve received a cash allowance of 2d., a day instead.⁴⁹ By allowing 2s. for the price of the piglet or cheese and 6s. for the free food at harvest Drew arrives at the figure of 24s. as the average amount received by a reeve on the manors belonging to St. Swithun's in the years 1250-1400;⁵⁰ but he would have agreed, I am sure, that averages are seldom true to life as the example of Mapledurham would seem to indicate.⁵¹ In the

⁴⁷. Most of the account rolls furnish examples. See, for instance, Chilbolton for 1424 where the reeve received one fleece, one lamb and one cheese.

⁴⁸. See the account rolls for 1381, 1382, 1383, 1386, 1387 etc. The reeve usually received 5s. 10d., which is 2d. a day for five weeks. As early as 1325 the auditors abolished the lord's table at Michelmersh. See Drew's typescript of Michelmersh, p. 42, where he notes a similar procedure at Silkstead, Houghton and Chilbolton.

⁴⁹. There was no table at harvest time at Mapledurham in the years 1400 to 1408 and 1417 to 1425, and no cash allowance for the reeve is mentioned. (These rolls are all in the British Museum and the numbers are given in Appendix II, p.p.lxxiii-lxiv.

⁵⁰. "Manorial Accounts", p. 37.

⁵¹. In no. 49 above. There are no account rolls of Mapledurham earlier than 1400 but it is reasonable to assume that no drastic change occurred at this date. I have found no evidence that Drew knew of the existence of these rolls.

absence of a reeve the hayward (messor)⁵² was next in command and could assume the task of farm foreman. His importance is indicated by the fact that he is regularly listed on the court rolls with the assuratores who are frequently reeves or former reeves.⁵³ The hayward's position therefore lay between that of the officials described above and the rest of the farm servants and workers. In some cases he is found receiving a stipend, for example, on most of the Whitchurch and Chilbolton rolls where the amount paid is 6s. 8d.; at Enford however, in 1403, the messor received acquittance of 5 shillings de redditu, and at Hurstbourne in 1391, there is record of two messors, one among the famuli whose annual wage was 5 shillings and another, described as de Stoke, who received acquittance of 3 shillings. At Crondal in 1382 the messor was given the same grain allowance as the reeve in addition to his stipend of 6s. 8d. at harvest time.

In accordance with the threefold plan suggested for this and the following two chapters⁵⁴ the administrative pattern will be described, by means

⁵². I have followed Drew in equating hayward with messor. Gras seems only to confuse matters with his rendering of messor as grain bailiff, op. cit., p. 68.

⁵³. The 1420 Stockton court roll (B.M., Add. Roll 24367) lists John Mascal and Edward Porter cum messore. Mascal had been reeve of Stockton in 1398 (B.M. Add. Roll 24356, which is the Martinmas court roll), and became farmer in 1400 (Add. Roll 24395).

⁵⁴. Supra, p. 67.

of the evidence at our disposal, from these three different aspects in turn, the first of which will be limited to information about the size of the labour force and the different types of labour and labourer on the manors and demesne lands belonging to the cathedral priory. As an aid to a clearer understanding of monastic policies and practices on the manors held by St. Swithun's it will be necessary to make the rounds of these manors ourselves, with the accompanying map as guide.

The prior's hundred of Crondal covered an area of almost 29,000 acres in the northeastern part of Hampshire,⁵⁵ and the manor itself lay four miles to the northwest of Farnham where the bishop of Winchester held the castle and manor; only three miles to the west was Odiham which was a royal manor, and in between Crondal and Odiham was situated Dogmersfield, a manor belonging to the bishop of Bath and Wells. Much of this area according to Baigent⁵⁶ was and is heath and gorse lands interspersed with small strips suitable for cultivation. In the years between 1382 and 1400 the extant rolls⁵⁷ of the manor

⁵⁵. I owe this figure to F. J. Baigent's book The Hundred and Manor of Crondal, 1891, p. xv.

⁵⁶. Ibid. p. xvi.

⁵⁷. The Crondal account rolls are in Boxes 14 and 15.

show us a reeve-manager, but from 1406 he was replaced by a sergeant with no further mention of a reeve for the next half century.⁵⁸ The bailiff, however, occurs frequently and presumably exercised jurisdiction within the hundred; in the thirteenth century Hanna found him directing affairs at the neighbouring manor of Sutton.⁵⁹ The manorial demesne at Crondal was not leased until after 1450.⁶⁰

The manor of Hannington (or Hanyton) was six miles west of Basingstoke and about four miles northwest of another St. Swithun's manor, that of Wootton⁶¹ of which it was at first a tithing. In becoming a separate manor, however, it retained its close connexion with Wootton. Both of these manors had parish churches of which the prior and convent were patrons. In 1378 Hannington was under a reeve only but the account roll records the outstanding debt of the former sergeant and reeve. This same account has no details of the yield of the manor, the

⁵⁸. The first record of a lease occurs in 1465, but the account roll for that year does not give details of the indenture.

⁵⁹. Now Long Sutton. See Hanna, Custumal, Vol. II, p. 504, n.1.

⁶⁰. The leasing of demesnes on the St. Swithun's manors will be discussed in detail in Chapter V, pp. 226 et seq. and Tables A.1, and A.2, Appendix I, pp. i-ii.

⁶¹. From 1432 onwards the name was Manydown; today the village is Wootton St. Lawrence.

ploughing and carting expenses and those pertaining to the sheepfold and the issue of poultry and geese because these are described as per firmarium.⁶² For the years 1385 and 1387 Benedict atte Mersh is found as sergeant of Hannington and for the former year he was also sergeant of Wootton,⁶³ so that he either held both offices simultaneously⁶⁴ or moved from one to the other and back again at the command of the prior. The 1385 Wootton roll states that there was no bailiff that year; in fact there is no mention of one until 1412 when the sum of 20 shillings was paid to an unnamed bailiff while the sergeant, whose name appears at the head of the roll, has no recorded salary. It is likely that this is an example of the blurring of the distinction between the two offices.

Another interesting feature of the Wootton and Hannington rolls is that they seem to point to the existence of a small group of selected persons from which the prior and his advisors chose their officials to manage their estates. In addition to Mersh's two appointments there is the example of

⁶². We have here a partial farming out of the demesne. The 1381 roll consists of the account presented by the rent collector who states the amount received from the farmer then in the first year of a twelve-year lease. The fragment of the 1389 account roll also shows a farmer for that year; thus we have two abortive attempts at leasing within this decade.

⁶³. Kitchin has transcribed many of the Wootton rolls in The Manor of Manydown, Hampshire, Hampshire Record Society, 1895.

⁶⁴. We lack the 1386 Hannington account roll and the 1386 and 1387 Wootton rolls.

William atte Rook⁶⁵ who first appears as sergeant of Wootton from 1391 to 1396 and turns up as farmer at Hannington in the latter year. The dates, as given, show the two positions as possibly overlapping since the first record of his new status is on the 1404 Hannington account roll which tells us that this was his tenth year. The demesne lands at Wootton-Manydown were not leased out until 1444 at which time John Brown, the reeve, became the first farmer and combined this position with that of collector of the rents.⁶⁶ It is worth noting that the reeve of Wootton in 1398 was John Newman who may possibly have moved on to hold the post of sergeant of Crondal between 1406 and 1428. This is not as unlikely as it may first appear, for the movement of officials from manor to manor on the St. Swithun's estates has parallels elsewhere. On the estates of Durham cathedral priory, for example, Miss Halcrow found that sergeants were frequently transferred from one manor to another.⁶⁷ As has been pointed out above this movement was accompanied by a certain mobility of status of these officials: not only are sergeants and bailiffs interchangeable, but reeves may become sergeants, sergeants may become reeves, reeves as well as sergeants may do

⁶⁵.The name might be Pook. See the rolls in Box 57.

⁶⁶.He is named as collector of the rents on the 1447 roll.

⁶⁷.E.M. Halcrow, The Administration and Agrarian Policy of the Manors of Durham Cathedral Priory. (unpublished Oxford B.Litt., thesis), 1949, p. 86.

well enough to become farmers,⁶⁸ and in two cases at least we find the reeve-farmers obtaining their freedom. The evidence for these assertions will receive further substantiation in this and the following two chapters.

Whitchurch, the only free borough⁶⁹ on the cathedral estates, lay on the river Test approximately eight miles southwest of Wootton and twelve miles north of Winchester. The manor of Hurstbourne was only two miles to the southwest on the river Bourne close to its junction with the Test; thus it is not surprising that the two manors shared the same bailiff.⁷⁰ In fact, a Benedict atte Mersh is found holding this office according to the Hurstbourne compotus rolls of 1391 and 1393, and probably this is the sergeant of Hannington of four years earlier now promoted.

68.

At Durham "The manorial sergeants clearly included many enterprising men who managed to acquire considerable resources in excess of their standard salary," ibid., p. 87.

69.

The charter appears to have been granted by the prior and convent between 1247 and 1249. See W.C.C. no. 472. As Hanna has noted (Custumal, Vol. I, p. xli) there is no mention of Whitchurch borough in A. Ballard and J. Tait, eds., British Borough Charters 1047-1307, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1913, 1923. In the Whitchurch section of the Custumal (dated 1251) there are 37 burgesses listed on ff. 60-61v. The borough was never as important as the manor from which it had been carved and on which there were 100 manorial tenants in 1251, (Hanna, loc. cit.)

70.

Supra, p. 76. For Hurstbourne, account rolls survive for only the two years of 1391 and 1393, and it must be admitted that the exact dating of these rolls is still open to question. The existence of a reeve at Hurstbourne in 1422 is shown by the Evingar hundred court roll of that year.

Some six miles southwest from Hurstbourne and also in the valley of the Test lay the manor of Chilbolton.⁷¹

It was always closely associated with Wonston which was five miles to the east across the downs. The priory was only twelve miles in a south-easterly direction via the Roman road. Like the manors of Michelmersh and Silkstead, Chilbolton was used by the monks as a country resort to which they paid frequent visits. Here they retained a sergeant and a reeve up until the 1430's; at times one of them managed alone.⁷² The 1444 account roll shows the demesne finally at farm. There is a possible duplication of officials here also if the recurrence of names is not merely coincidental. In 1403 the sergeant of Chilbolton was John Mersh who may have filled the same position at Whitchurch (only eight miles upstream) between 1390 and 1398.⁷³ Again, a John Plonte (?Ploute) occurs as nuper serviens at Whitchurch in 1385, as sergeant at Chilbolton in 1396, and as bailiff at Enford⁷⁴ in 1403. It is

⁷¹. This manor was part of Buddlesgate hundred.

⁷². In 1392 there was only a sergeant; in 1424 only a reeve. Drew's typescript Vol. II, pp. 476 and 597.

⁷³. See the Whitchurch account rolls for the years mentioned.

⁷⁴. Enford was one of the Wiltshire manors in the prior's hundred of Elstubb and Everleigh; it was about 15 miles from Chilbolton on the Hampshire Avon. See the Enford account roll for 1403 which is B.M. Rot. Harl., X.7.

worth noting that the salary for these last two posts stood at 20 shillings per annum.

The manor of Wonston, only five miles north of Winchester, was in the hands of a farmer by 1406 who was assisted by a collector of rents from 1417 on and possibly before. Over the next forty years there were four farmers in succession and two of these had been rent collectors before taking on the lease of the demesne.

The eight remaining rolls of the manor of Littleton show its close connexion with Barton several of the tithings of which were adjoining. Littleton is two and a half miles north of Winchester and like Barton in the hundred of Buddlesgate. A sergeant was managing in 1386 and again in 1391; in the latter year the account roll states that there was no reeve because the sergeant was ad stipendia et ad liberacionem.⁷⁵ His salary was 13s. 4d. and the usual allowance of five quarters seven bushels of wheat. Five years later there was a reeve and no sergeant, a situation which seems to have continued until 1428. Thanks to the recent acquisition of the 1457 compotus roll⁷⁶ we know that by this date the demesne had been leased, but there is no means of knowing the year in which the transition occurred.

⁷⁵. See the account roll for this year.

⁷⁶. It was returned to the Winchester cathedral library from Rochester cathedral in 1967.

Thurmonds, also adjacent to Barton, was considered as a member of the Barton group; nevertheless, it was treated as a separate manor under a sergeant, who in the 1380's⁷⁷ was receiving only 6s. 8d. per annum, the same sum as the ploughman-cum-carter⁷⁸ in 1390. However, the reason for this trifling wage becomes clear when attention is focussed on the account rolls of Barton itself; the sergeant at Thurmonds in 1392, 1396⁷⁹ and again in 1402⁸⁰ was also reeve of the manor of Barton, and in the latter year he seems to have rendered the account without the bailiff. That the Barton reeve⁸¹ who doubled as sergeant of Thurmonds was of villein status is clear from the record we possess of Edward atte Church. It was he who held both offices in the years mentioned above and who in 1410 in his old age was manumitted

77. Many of these rolls were returned from Rochester only thirty years ago.

78. As to grain allowance the sergeant received 6 quarters 4 bushels and the ploughman 5 quarters.

79. The information for this year comes from the Chilcomb account roll for 1396.

80. And perhaps in the intervening years, but there are no surviving account rolls. There appears to have been no sergeant of Barton. The manor lay to the south of the priory on the way to St. Cross and was less than a mile from the Kingsgate entrance to the city of Winchester.

81. The reeve of Barton received acquittance of his rent on the account roll of the tithing in which he resided. For example, he was a virgater of Compton in 1387. On the other hand the Compton roll of 1383 mentions 25 shillings as the reeve's stipend.

by Prior Neville and the chapter pro bono servicio.⁸² The Barton rolls for the years 1433, 1438 and 1440 reveal the continuation of this arrangement and show the reeve-sergeant rendering the account without the bailiff although the latter is usually recorded as receiving his salary, now down to 50 shillings instead of the earlier 100 shillings. Only two bailiffs of Barton occur by name: Richard Forster⁸³ and Thomas Well, who is mentioned in the 1428 Thurmonds account roll and whose role as an advisor to the prior will be discussed below.⁸⁴ The demesne of Barton manor was not leased out during the period under study.

The satellites of Barton have already been mentioned. Among these we have accounts for the tithings of Sparkford, Sparsholt, Compton and Chilcomb, which were accounted for and have survived as a group.⁸⁵ Compton was situated only two miles south of Barton and Sparkford lay in between; Chilcomb was no more than two miles east of Barton across the water meadows of the Itchen; Sparsholt lay approximately three miles north of Barton, north and slightly east of Winchester. The bedell of Sparsholt for the

⁸².Reg. C.S., Vol. I, f. 32r. See below p.207, n.86, and Appendix I, p.xlviii.

⁸³.He is named on the heading of the 1392 account roll.

⁸⁴.On p. 273.

⁸⁵.The rolls are attached at the top.

years 1383, 1385 and 1387 was the Edward atte Church who was promoted to Thurmonds and Barton in the following decade. Another bedell, Robert Bollere⁸⁶ who was in charge of Sparkford in 1392 and 1396, had been sergeant of Thurmonds in 1390; similarly, William Giffard reeve of Barton in 1428, also sergeant of Thurmonds in the same year, may have become bedell of Sparkford in 1446.⁸⁷ A final example of alternating positions within the Barton community is Thomas Stone (or Stene), bedell of Compton in 1383, who appears as sergeant on the Thurmonds account roll for the same year and is found as reeve of Barton in 1385.

Two miles southwest of Compton was the manor of Silkstead. A mere four miles from St. Swithun's, it was an easy ride or pleasant walk for the monks, who between 1205 and 1243 established a court-farm here.⁸⁸ The manor was composed entirely of demesne land worked by servile labour under a sergeant who from 1391 to 1396 was possibly the same Thomas Stone, described

⁸⁶. Also spelled Bolour.

⁸⁷. The difference of some 18 years might lead to the conclusion that there are two generations involved here. These two examples are unusual in that the bedell's position seems to be quite insignificant. At Compton in 1396 he received acquittance for only 4 shillings; at Sparsholt in 1383 the bedell was acquitted of rent and works to the value of 73s. 4d. Was it an office that could have been adequately performed by a man in his declining years?

⁸⁸. See Drew's typescript, The Manor of Silkstead, 3 vols., which contains a translation of the 66 extant compotus rolls between 1267 and 1399.

above as the former bedell of Compton and reeve of Barton. After 1399 the manor was leased to a succession of farmers, six in the next half century. The bailiff of Barton put in a frequent appearance at Silkstead for the purpose of supervising the stock and the shearing.⁸⁹

There are only court rolls remaining from the manors of Nursling and Millbrook which are both close to Southampton. The former lies on the river Test five miles northwest of the city and is about eight miles southwest of Silkstead; the latter is close to Southampton Water and three miles southeast of Nursling. Both manors came within Buddlesgate hundred and therefore were under the jurisdiction of the hundred court of which we have nine rolls between 1396 and 1451. In addition the two manors came together to hold one manorial court whose surviving records cover 25 of the years between 1389 and 1450. It should be noted that the revenues from Nursling and Millbrook at the beginning of the fifteenth century and probably earlier belonged to the custos operum of the priory.

Hinton Ampner was also a source of revenue for one of the obedienciaries, in this case the almoner as the name implies. The manor was situated about seven miles east and slightly south of Winchester and was in the hundred of Fawley along with other monastic estates such as West Meon. For Hinton Ampner there

89. See the account rolls for 1404, 1408 etc. Names of bailiffs are sometimes given, e.g., Nicholas Clerk and Thomas Picot who are both named on the 1383 roll.

remain only three account rolls and for West Meon a single roll of 1400.⁹⁰ A sergeant was manager at Hinton in 1377 and in 1393 without the help of a reeve; in 1423 the situation was reversed. The bailiff (of ?Fawley) appeared at the time of harvest and participated in the reaping operations, and the building expenses record repairs to his chamber.

The manor of Mapledurham⁹¹ was situated southeast of Winchester a distance of approximately seventeen miles; thus it was about ten miles beyond Hinton Ampner. The first extant roll⁹² is of the year 1400 and shows a reeve in charge and "no sergeant";⁹³ by 1411⁹⁴ the reeve of 1408⁹⁵ had become the farmer with a twelve year lease which was terminated seven years later. A new reeve was now appointed,⁹⁶ and replaced by a sergeant who had the assistance of a rent collector in 1425.⁹⁷ The farmer took out the lease

⁹⁰. West Meon is twelve miles east and slightly south of Winchester. This roll shows a sergeant in charge under the direction of the chamberlain of St. Swithun's.

⁹¹. It is no longer on the map, but it is marked on John Speed's map of Hampshire and therefore existed in the seventeenth century. Kitchen confused this manor with Mapledurwell which is north of Basingstoke (see his Obedientiary Rolls, p. 225) Kirby describes it correctly as a "hamlet in the parish of Buriton, three miles southwest of Petersfield," (Wykeham's Register, Vol. I, p. 47, n.1). Today there is only a farmhouse by that name to indicate the site. I am grateful to Mrs. Rosemary Bouquet the present owner of the house for this last piece of information.

⁹². There are 21 account rolls for the period under study and all but one fragment are in the British Museum.

⁹³. B.M. Add. Roll 28067.

⁹⁴. Add. Roll 28078.

⁹⁵. Add. Roll 28074.

⁹⁶. In 1417. Add. Roll 28082.

⁹⁷. Add. Roll 28096.

of the demesne five years later.⁹⁸ Coinciding with some of these changes two new rentals were drawn up in 1426 and in 1430.⁹⁹ Conditions on this manor were clearly neither stable nor satisfactory from the point of view of the monastic landlord but the evidence provides little insight to suggest a reasonable explanation. However this problem will be given further attention in the next chapter.

By 1316 most of the prior's Wiltshire properties were listed as within his hundred of Elstubb,¹⁰⁰ which by 1402 had come to be called Elstubb and Everleigh. As a hundred it is "sadly disjointed";¹⁰¹ but it must have proved convenient, at least for purposes of jurisdiction, to lump together all the estates in the county which were under the lordship of St. Swithun's.¹⁰² The demesnes of three of the four Wiltshire manors included in this study were farmed out by and possibly before the year 1419. Westwood, for example, which is two miles southwest of Bradford-on-Avon (and thirty-five miles northwest of Salisbury)

98.

Add. Roll 28106.

99. The 1426 rental is Add. Roll 28100; the 1430 rental is Add. Roll 28105. There is also a third rental dated 1447 and numbered Add. Roll 28127.

100. The exceptions are Ham, Bishopstone and Westwood. This information is found in Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, 1284-1431, P.R.O., Vol. II, 1899. pp. 202-224. Both Ham and West Meon, Hants., pertained to the chamberlain's office.

101. R.C. Hoare, The History of Modern Wiltshire, Vol. II, 1822, p.1.

102. Miss Elizabeth Crittall, the Victoria County History editor for Wiltshire has informed me that the history of this hundred is now under investigation for inclusion in the next Wiltshire volume.

was already let out to farm during the thirteenth century.¹⁰³ There were four fairly long leases here between 1381 and 1450. In the former year John Oter had been farmer for not less than sixteen years; John Plour occurs between 1401 and 1413; James atte Mulle between 1421 and 1430 and William Culverhous from 1435 to 1450.

Wroughton was a village and manor two and a half miles south of Swindon, while Ham was four miles south of Hungerford and therefore on the road from Wootton to Wroughton, or alternatively to the Berkshire manor of Woolstone by turning north through Hungerford. Apart from two account rolls for Wroughton, which reveal little beyond the presence of a farmer in 1419, there are only court rolls extant for these two manors.¹⁰⁴

Enford and especially Stockton are a more rewarding study for the historian. The former was in the vale of Avon seven miles north of Amesbury and thus lay due west of Hannington, a distance of about twenty-three miles. Stockton manor, as its name suggests, was a stock (in this case sheep) farm situated in the valley of the river Wylfe, a tributary of the Avon, some fourteen miles northwest of Salisbury. The distance from Salisbury to Winchester is about twenty-four miles, so that it is not surprising to find that the expense account of officials from the priory visiting

¹⁰³. Hanna, Custumal, p. lix. The tenants are described as paying rent only with no services of any kind. See W.C.C. no. 248.

¹⁰⁴. The Wroughton account rolls are for the years 1419 and 1425.

Stockton normally included the cost of a stopover in Salisbury.¹⁰⁵ In 1403 the Enford account roll records the presence of three officials, the bailiff John Plonte, a bedell who was acquitted ten shillings rent and a reeve whose holding was valued at five shillings but whose post remained unfilled that year.¹⁰⁶ The next Enford roll is thirty years later; in it we meet John Gervays, farmer, in his second year; that his father had previously been reeve is clear from a quitclaim recorded in the Common Seal Register and dated 1411.¹⁰⁷ He was still working the demesne in 1443¹⁰⁸ but a new farmer took over in 1446.¹⁰⁹ The 1388 and 1389 court rolls¹¹⁰ show the existence of a reeve at Stockton, but the first extant compotus roll, of the year 1400, shows John Mascal¹¹¹ farming the demesne without an indenture to indicate the year he took up the lease. There is evidence in the court rolls, however, which points to 1395 or 1396; fortunately the Stockton court roll

¹⁰⁵.E.g., the account roll for 1400, B.M. Add. Roll 24395.

¹⁰⁶.B.M. Rot. Harl., X.7. Could this John Plonte be the same as the sergeant of Chilbolton in 1396 and/or the former sergeant of Whitchurch named on the 1385 Whitchurch account roll?

¹⁰⁷.F. 33r.

¹⁰⁸.B.M. Rot. Harl. X.8.

¹⁰⁹.The 1450 roll states that the farmer was in his fourth year. B.M. Rot. Harl., X.11.

¹¹⁰.Hock 1388, B.M. Add. Roll 24345; Martinmas 1389, B.M. Add. Roll 24347.

¹¹¹.He was the father of Ralph Mascal, one of the monks (Reg. C.S., Vol. I. f. 45r) and was manumitted in 1417 (Ibid., Vol. I. f. 43v.)

for the year 1396 has survived to inform us that for the first or second time only the sum taken at the Martinmas court of 1396 was divided between prior and farmer, a practice which may also have been followed at Enford. William Mascal, who appears on the 1396 court roll¹¹² as messor followed his namesake in 1420¹¹³ and from the extant account rolls he seems to have held the lease for the next twenty-two years.

Woolstone (Wolricheston), the single priory manor in Berkshire was situated four miles northeast of the Wiltshire manor of Bishopstone at the foot of the White Horse Hill.¹¹⁴ Like Stockton it was a sheep farm as is indicated by the frequent record of heavy sheep expenses. The account and court rolls run in a lengthy and fairly continuous series during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and because they have found their resting place among the Ministers' Accounts in the Public Record Office they were discovered and used by an historian like Miss A. E. Levett in her study of "The Financial Organization of the Manor."¹¹⁵ Winchester historians, on the other hand, do not seem

¹¹². Martinmas 1396, (Add. Roll 24353). There is no 1395 court roll and the farmer is not mentioned on that of 1394.

¹¹³. There are six rolls: B.M. Add. Rolls 24410-24415 inclusive. This is perhaps another William Mascal.

¹¹⁴. It was thus over 40 miles from the priory. The rents from this manor went to the support of the hordarian's office while Bishopstone was attached to the office of anniversarian.

¹¹⁵. Studies in Manorial History, Oxford, 1938, pp. 52 and 64. Miss E. C. Lodge also made extensive use of these splendid rolls in her essay in the V.C.H. Berkshire, Vol. II, 1907, p. 170 et seq., in which she discussed the effects of the Black Death in the county.

to have made any reference to them in any previous studies of St. Swithun's manors.¹¹⁶ Here there were reeves between 1370 and 1436¹¹⁷ with the first and presumably temporary appearance of a farmer on the 1424 roll, which alone survives to fill a gap between 1417 and 1434. Only twice within the period of our study is there record of a bailiff or a sergeant in office: in 1380 George Ennok heads the recto side of the roll as sergeant, but on the dorse he is named indifferently as bailiff, and in 1430 the name John Penter is given as sergeant for that year.

As a result of this preliminary examination, the men who managed the St. Swithun's manors have already shown themselves to be an interesting and varied group. Whether or not they resided on the manor where they held office, they have turned out to be more flexible and more adaptable than previous general impressions allowed. If it is necessary to suggest broad patterns and trends in late medieval manorial administration before all the facts are known, then some of the great variations in detail, which patiently await further study, must also be recorded in order to provide a historical balance. These men appear to have been chosen on the basis of intelligence and ability, and not on the basis of custom or class status; their

¹¹⁶. Kitchin thought that Wolvrichstone [sic] was in Wiltshire. See Obedientary Rolls, p. 62.

¹¹⁷. The full P.R.O., numbering of these rolls is given below in Appendix II, p. lxxvi.

worth once proven in one post, they might be transferred to another when an office became vacant. The bailiff of Barton may possibly have been the only one of this circle to have gained admittance to the prior's council;¹¹⁸ but a capable reeve who showed initiative could hope for a change of position and of title, although the latter does not always appear to have signified the move upward that is implied since the rungs in the ladder of promotion were not rigidly fixed. An adequate wage or acquittance, with food and livery allowances and a few gifts and privileges were probably more attractive than the realization of freedom, the lack of which does not seem to have been a bar to progress nor the attainment of which especially difficult. Security was doubtless as appealing in the fifteenth century as it is today, and the example of lengthy service on the part of these manorial officials speaks for itself; that they were not conscripted seems evident from the twopenny fines¹¹⁹ which some paid for the privilege of remaining free of the burden of office.

¹¹⁸. See Chap. VI infra, p. 273.

¹¹⁹. For example at Enford in the 1433 account roll (B.M.Rot. Harl., X.8) under recepicio denariorum, and also in the 1383 accounts for Sparsholt. This is less than the recognicio which was the payment for the right to dwell outside the manor and often amounted to 3d. (See the Wonston compotus roll for 1386). There are frequent examples of payment of the fine ne fiat prepositus in the account rolls of this period, a contrast to Drew's findings in the preceding era ("Manorial Accounts" p. 37).

But some degree of comfort, if not of prosperity, has always been a desideratum and must have been attainable by an enterprising reeve who was eligible to take on the lease of one of the demesnes of St. Swithun's.

Of the other servants and workers on the manor, in most cases only shadowy nameless figures can be discerned from the rolls and other manuscripts, but their activities and sometimes their numbers are recorded with sufficient regularity to make them capable of description. Drew's threefold classification of the staff of farm workers at Michelmersh¹²⁰ in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries can be applied to all the manors with some qualifications. There were first the famuli, those who were employed full time and received a cash wage and a grain allowance, which usually consisted of barley;¹²¹ next come the group on the rolls called operarii, or servile tenants, who worked for the lord a good deal of the time and received acquittance of rent and often other privileges as well; lastly there was the somewhat nebulous group of occasional or seasonal labourers who were paid in cash or grain.

120. Typescript p. 43. He actually gives only the first two categories, but says "in addition...there was occasional extra seasonal labour" (p.44).

121. Postan has shown that the famulus "had become very largely a wage-earner...before...the late fourteenth century", The Famulus, p. 37.

This description is illuminating but at the same time it suggests a clarity and tidiness which seldom exist in real life.¹²² During the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century these distinctions are not easily drawn since some of the servants who received fixed stipends in the section of the account rolls headed stipendia famulorum may sometimes be identical with, or at least complementary to, some of those who received acquittance of rent. Together with the reeve at Wonston in 1381, a keeper of wethers, a keeper of ewes, a keeper of hogasters and a ploughman are described as having been accustomed to pay no rent, although for this particular year only the first and last of the four did in fact enjoy this right.¹²³ A similar situation prevailed at Enford in 1403 where, among others, a swineherd, a keeper of ewes and a carter had rent-free holdings.¹²⁴ It is likely that the work of ploughmen, carters and others (or some of the work) in some years was taken over by customary tenants whose rent was acquitted while they performed the additional tasks which may have been attached to a particular holding they had taken up for that year.¹²⁵ At the same time those customary

¹²². "Manorial servants of the thirteenth century were a heterogeneous body. Some were hired labourers pure and simple, others servants settled on special service holdings. ...the demarcation between the two types of manorial labour was by no means clear and not always important." Postan, loc.cit., p.4.

¹²³. The amount of acquittance for the reeve was 5 shillings, and for the others 3 shillings.

¹²⁴. B.M. Rot. Harl., X.7.

¹²⁵. One must beware of any general assumptions, however, as Postan found that "by no means all demesne servants occupied service holdings, and even those who did, did not always receive their wages in the form of a rent-free tenure, or in that form alone," loc.cit., p.16.

tenants who did not hold office were gradually commuting the services which were the condition of their tenure, as the increasing length of the venditio operum section¹²⁶ of the yearly accounts records. The decrease in acquittances of rent over the same period reflects the change-over from the use of the labour and skills of a select number of these tenants on a part-time basis to the employment of paid full-time servants only, with additional help from hired labour (ad tascham) whenever required.¹²⁷ The distinction between the operarii and the famuli may be clear on the account rolls but when one attempts to track down a particular carter on a particular manor one might be hard pressed to arrive at a precise description beyond that of his servile status. How full-time in fact were the famuli? When a (stone) tiler is found among the famuli at Barton in 1392 the obvious implication is that in this particular year there was enough work for him to be included in this group; but the reverse may be

¹²⁶. They are also found at work and being paid in the sections of the accounts which list the expenses of ploughs, carts and the dairy and sheepfold.

¹²⁷. I am here following Drew's conclusions (stated in his introduction to the Chilbolton accounts, Vol.I, p. 22) with the exception that he does not at this point include the hired labour. Drew is not convincing however when he suggests that the famuli were able and willing to do more work for the same pay because they were more efficient. It was rather the beginning of the end of direct farming on the part of St. Swithun's.

equally true at other times when carters were hired in lieu of the manorial carter. The official records which now concern us were not written with the intent of removing all uncertainties for the historian, nor have enough of them been preserved to give us any continuity; however it is worth noting that on the 1420 account roll of Mapledurham two carters were paid for making 18 trips to Winchester carrying grain, cider and wool. The following year there is no mention of the two hired carters but the single carter listed among the famuli received 10 shillings, and 7 shillings in 1424 rather than the hitherto usual amount of 5 or 6 shillings.¹²⁸

In the introduction to her edition and translation of Walter of Henley's Husbandry, Elizabeth Lamond reminds the reader "how closely the value of the estate depended on the maintenance of a sufficient head of labour".¹²⁹ She goes on to describe two of the officials already mentioned, the reeve and the hayward, as "foreman labourers; the former seems to have been the official representative of the villans [sic], who was responsible for them; the latter had to...be present to superintend their work".¹³⁰ The thirteenth century author of Seneschaucie

¹²⁸. The Mapledurham account roll for 1420 is B.M. Add. Roll 28087; for 1421 Add. Roll 28089; for 1423 Add. Roll 28092.

¹²⁹. Royal Historical Society, 1890, p. xii. This volume also contains An Anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie & Robert Grosseteste's Rules, all thirteenth century treatises on estate management.

¹³⁰. Ibid., p. xii.

states that the hayward ought to be "an active and sharp man",¹³¹ a reasonable demand since his duties went far beyond the supervision of mowing and reaping and came close to the general oversight which pertained to the reeveship. At Ham Drew found the 1363 account rendered by the bailiff and messor.¹³² The court rolls show the messor presenting the attachments¹³³ at the opening of the court session, and also occasionally give details of his election;¹³⁴ here and there his name is mentioned allowing us to identify him performing other tasks.¹³⁵

On several of the manors, however, like Westwood and Wonston there is no mention of a hayward, although it is unlikely that such a useful if not essential post would remain unfilled for any length of time.¹³⁶ It is our misfortune to have only one

¹³¹. Ibid., p. 103. In Oschinsky's edition the wording (p.281) is the same.

¹³². "Manorial Accounts" p. 23.

¹³³. See Stockton, B. M. Add. Roll 24363 (A.D. 1411); Enford, B. M. Harley Roll W. 19 (A.D. 1428) etc. To attach is "to secure by means of sureties for future attendance in court" as defined by R. F. Hunnisett in The Medieval Coroner, 1961, p. 201.

¹³⁴. E.g., at Stockton in April, 1390 (B.M. Add. Roll 24348).

¹³⁵. William Mascal for instance, supra p.98.

¹³⁶. With regard to Wonston it is worth noting a) that it was one of the smaller farms, and b) that there is mention of a ripereeve among those employed during the harvest season whose supervisory work would have been akin to one of the most important of the messor's duties.

court roll for Westwood and none for Wonston, while the hundred courts¹³⁷ to which the tenants of these manors were summoned have left no records which throw any light on this question.

Among those included in the lists of servants¹³⁸ receiving stipends the most frequently mentioned are carters, ploughmen, oxherds, keepers of sheep (including wethers, ewes and hogasters), and dairywomen, who are found on nearly all the manors; for the three Wiltshire manors of Stockton, Wroughton and Westwood, however, information is lacking. There was, for example, only a small staff at Wonston consisting of two of the three shepherds (i.e., a keeper of ewes and one of hogasters), an oxherd, two carters and a dairywoman: a total of six people¹³⁹ for whom the prior in 1383 ordered six sets of clothing.¹⁴⁰ In addition to this group several other workers are found performing similar services in return for rent-free holdings; on the 1381 roll these are listed as usually including two more shepherds, a swineherd and a ploughman whose acquittances were valued at the same amount as the stipends of their associates within the famuli. In this

137. Westwood lay within the hundred of Elstubb and Everleigh, and Wonston within that of Buddlesgate.

138. Figures given in the paragraphs below unless stated exclude bailiffs, sergeants, reeves and messors, the "top layer" of the famuli described above.

139. There was also at times a swineherd as in 1400 for example.

140. This item comes under "foreign expenses" and the term used is "duddes." There are similar entries in other years.

particular year one of the two shepherds and the swineherd were not acquitted and a few years later the latter turns up among the famuli.¹⁴¹ Here again one obtains the impression that there were frequent changes in personnel as operarii became famuli, for a year or possibly a period of years, when there was a vacant post to be filled.

At Thurmonds, another of the smaller manors, there were only two carters who also did the ploughing, one keeper of wethers and one of ewes; while Hannington for a time in the early 1390's had what must have been an overworked sergeant,¹⁴² since he took the place of both messor and ploughman; there was also a ploughman, carter, keeper of wethers, and a dairymaid whose task was to keep the fire and make the pottage.¹⁴³ The following year a farmer took over and the rolls cease to provide us with details of the famuli.

The sergeant who managed the court farm at Silkstead for the priory in the years before 1400 had a staff consisting of the basic seven named above.¹⁴⁴ At Woolstone the full time famuli numbered only six or seven, there being no regular inclusion of a ploughman since the ploughing was usually done by custom.

¹⁴¹. In 1400 (if not before) when he received only 2 shillings and presumably a grain allowance which is not given on this roll.

¹⁴². See the account rolls for 1391, 1392 and 1393. His name was William Vox and his stipend only the usual 6s. 8d.

¹⁴³. Presumably these duties replaced the work in the dairy since she received only 12d., instead of the usual 2 or 3 shillings.

¹⁴⁴. Supra p.106.

The manors with a somewhat larger staff, which thus fall into the middle-sized group of those belonging to St. Swithun's, were Whitchurch, Littleton, Hinton Ampner and Mapledurham. The servants at Whitchurch and Littleton usually numbered between eight and eleven. The Whitchurch account rolls reveal that in addition to the messor there were usually two carters, two ploughmen, three keepers of sheep,¹⁴⁵ a parker who divided his time between this manor and Hurstbourne, a sergeant's (or bailiff's) boy instead of an inhyne,¹⁴⁶ an oxherd and a man who cared for the plough horses.¹⁴⁷ In addition to the basic seven Littleton had a swineherd and two part-time ploughmen who also performed duties as carter and inhyne; we are also informed that the messor sometimes functioned as a keeper of the warren.¹⁴⁸ The famuli at Hinton Ampner were similar in number although there were some interesting fluctuations in numbers and in salaries which are in sharp contrast to the other St. Swithun's manors. Here there are only three account rolls, which cover the period 1377-1423; on the first the staff totalled ten with one additional person. The messor doubled as ploughman for a stipend of 10 shillings, and there were also two other ploughmen, two carters, an oxherd who also acted as a drover, three keepers of sheep, a dairywoman and

¹⁴⁵. That is, of wethers, ewes and hogasters.

¹⁴⁶. Drew concludes that this was a domestic who did no outside work. (The Manor of Chilbolton, Vol. I, p. 57).

¹⁴⁷. In 1418 there were four ploughmen.

¹⁴⁸. In 1382 and 1386.

the extra man who was a swineherd and whose work is described as usually by custom. Under the list of acquittances on the 1393 roll he is found to be receiving an acquittance of 5 shillings in return for his works and there is no mention of a swineherd among the famuli. Here we have one example of movement in and out of the inner group of manorial staff, a change which is difficult to detect when the individuals are seldom capable of identification. The same roll indicates an increasing movement of animals in that three men now replaced the oxherd-cum-drover: two drovers and an oxherd. Of the stipends in 1393, some were higher and some lower than 1377, a fact which suggests that the determining factor was the amount of work required in a given year. The messor-ploughman went down from 10 shillings to 6s. 8d., but the oxherd, no longer a drover, received 6 shillings; the keeper of wethers and shepherd of the ewes each had a 10d., rise in 1393 and another similar rise by 1423; the ploughmen and carters had a 2 shilling rise over the space of this forty-six year period, but the stipend of the dairywoman remained at 4 shillings. These changes are remarkable in view of the fact that on most of the other manors the stipends showed little if any change. The nine or ten farm servants at Mapledurham usually comprised two ploughmen,¹⁴⁹ a carter, two shepherds, an oxherd, a swineherd and a dairywoman and two young assistants,

¹⁴⁹. In 1420 the messor also did some ploughing and probably during other years as well, as his stipend was always 7 shillings. It is very likely that the stipendia were not the only payments which these workers received; they were sometimes given vadia in cash or kind (or both). See below p. 123.

one in the sheepfold during the lambing season and one in charge of the otiosa animalia.¹⁵⁰ These last two worked for only a limited period during the year and were paid in grain only, rather than in cash and grain. It has already been noted that the Mapledurham carter received a stipend of 10 shillings, and indeed the 5 shilling stipend which was usual for many of the famuli elsewhere was 6 shillings here.¹⁵¹

The remaining six manors all had a large staff consisting of fifteen or more servants; nevertheless the basic pattern is similar. The numbers at Hurstbourne were augmented by the presence of three keepers of plough horses, two oxherds, two keepers of wethers and one each of ewes and hogasters, one swineherd and one dairywoman. The bailiff's boy is also included among the stipendiarii, as is the keeper of otiose animals who received 2 shillings for summer work only. The parker who has already appeared on the Whitchurch rolls, received half of his stipend here. Finally, there were five carters and a cowherd not included with the famuli who gave their services in return for a 6 shilling acquittance of rent.¹⁵² Chilbolton had a similar arrangement with two keepers of plough horses, the same number of shepherds and a sergeant's young man¹⁵³ included among the

¹⁵⁰. As distinct from the plough beasts, these were put out to graze.

¹⁵¹. See the roll for 1400, (B.M. Add Roll 28067). Those receiving 6 shillings were the ploughmen, the two shepherds and the oxherd.

¹⁵². They are described as cottars on the 1391 and 1393 account rolls. There were two carters among the famuli.

¹⁵³. Instead of an inhyne.

permanent manorial staff. Crondal had as many as seven ploughmen in 1382, but only one shepherd (of ewes) with an assistant at lambing time who is here called a hurdic.¹⁵⁴ The hurdic was also on the Chilbolton staff, and both manors had a part-time young man to look after sheep, lambs at Crondal and rams and barren ewes at Chilbolton. The hurdics and these junior helpers received their pay in the form of a grain allowance as was the case at Mapledurham. Aside from the reeve and hayward who were described in the previous section, the famuli on these two manors numbered about fifteen to seventeen during the period under study; the same number holds good for Wootton, and the salaries on all three farms were in the usual 3 to 5 shilling range per annum. However, the distribution of duties was different at Wootton where, for example, there were three ploughmen in contrast to the single one at Chilbolton, only one keeper of plough horses, two cowherds to one each at Crondal and Chilbolton, a sergeant's boy or an inhyne similar to the bailiff's boy at Crondal except that the former was paid in cash as well as in grain; and Wootton in common with Barton had a granger (berebrettus) who like the messor received 6s. 8d., and whose name occurs on the 1381 and 1383¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴. Sometimes "hurdek". There was also a keeper of the otiosa animalia at Crondal mentioned on the 1382 roll.

¹⁵⁵. The name at Barton was appropriately, William atte Poule, who occurs at the top of the account rolls next to the bailiff and reeve between the years 1392 and 1433. The function of this official was to look after and make the issue of (i.e. take the stock of) the grange or barn. He is mentioned by Walter of Henley, (Lamond's edition, p. 17).

rolls of Wootton and on most of the extant rolls of Barton after 1392.

All our information about Enford comes from the one surviving account roll of the era before the manor was put out to farm. In 1403 the famuli comprised eighteen people¹⁵⁶ although the sum total of the stipends paid was £6 9s. 8d., in contrast to the seventeen at Crondal who received £3 7s. 8d., in 1400. The ploughmen who numbered five had 6s., each a year and the two carters 9s., each; in fact all the stipends were proportionately higher except for the poor 4s., dairywoman. In addition there were several other officials and workers included under acquittances, the chief of these being a bedell whose specific duties are not described, and there was also an extra swineherd and shepherd in this group; and, more important, the messor received an acquittance de redditu 5s., a fact which explains his absence from the list of famuli.

The manorial staff at Barton was never less than twenty and usually more. As we have already seen, the members and associates of the Barton group were closely connected and the officials and servants often moved from one manor to another in the performance of their tasks. The 1385 account roll shows the large scale of operation with the sum of the worker's stipends amounting to £4 14s. which increased to £10 3s. when bailiff, granger and two messors were included;¹⁵⁷ it also shows the coming and going of the staff. The most interesting entry is that

¹⁵⁶. B. M. Rot. Harl., X.7.

¹⁵⁷. As was mentioned earlier the bailiff of Barton had an annual stipend of 100s.

pertaining to Robert Bollere, a stone tiler. From Barton he received a stipend of 20 shillings per annum, and his family were given an additional 3s. 4d., in 1392. In this same year and again in 1396 he appears as bedell of Sparkford. Twelve of the Barton famuli including six shepherds, two oxherds and the dairywoman received only 3s. 4d., according to the 1385 roll, but some of them were probably among the ceteri famuli curie et famuli de Thurmond who had additional recompense when they ate at the lord's table while assisting in the harvesting operations for the four or five weeks of autumn.¹⁵⁸

On the farmers' accounts it is almost impossible to trace the activities of the famuli for the reason that the financial statements were much briefer. I have found only two references to the office of reeve on the Enford rolls of 1433 and 1450. In the latter year Thomas Gerle the farmer accounted for 2d., from Simon James ne fiat prepositus nec messor pro tenuris suis quas de domino tenet nativus.¹⁵⁹ The court rolls provide some light when, as at Mapledurham, we are told that in the 1430's a sergeant was held responsible for the lands in manu domini.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸. This entry comes under the "autumn expenses" on the account roll of this year and has no parallel on any of the other manors belonging to the priory.

¹⁵⁹. B.M. Rot. Harl., X.11. This is entered under receptio denariorum. The 1433 roll is numbered B.M. Rot. Harl., X.8.

¹⁶⁰. See the 1432 roll (B.M. Add. Roll 28111), the 1433 roll (Add. Roll 28115) and the 1435 roll (Add. Roll 28118). In 1440 the farmer was responsible (Add. Roll 28118); but it is possible that the sergeant and farmer are the same person.

The farmer was often assisted by rent collectors whose names frequently occur at the top of the roll next to the farmer, or where the roll is divided into two sections, at the heading of the second half. It is clear however that some farmers took on these duties themselves for Thomas Broune, reeve of Manydown in 1444, is described as farmer and collector of rents in 1447. On the archiepiscopal manors of Canterbury Professor Du Boulay found that the reeves were the rent collectors over the tenantry;¹⁶¹ but no clear inference is possible from the St. Swithun's account and court rolls, although we have seen that both reeves and rent collectors became farmers and these last two offices were sometimes combined, so that it is likely that either or both of them might have been held jointly with the reeveship.

The close resemblance between the positions of reeve and rent collector is apparent from the fact that the latter as well as the former usually received acquittance of his rent, an amount which showed great variations. At Wonston in 1417 the value was 5s., and thirty years later on the same manor it had risen to 8s. 4d.; at Mapledurham in 1432¹⁶² this office, in terms of acquittance, was worth 13s. 4d., while at Whitchurch in 1446 it was 10s. There are frequent references to the messor on the court

¹⁶¹. F. R. H. Du Boulay, "The Archbishop as Territorial Magnate" in Mediaeval Records of the Archbishops of Canterbury, Lambeth Lectures, 1962, p. 64. Gras found at Crawley that on the 1449 account roll the farmer gave himself all three titles (Crawley, p. 473).

¹⁶². B. M. Add. Roll 28107.

rolls in the period after leasing began, for example at Stockton.¹⁶³ However, with regard to the other members of the famuli the farmers recorded very little information apart from a few entries under the heading of "foreign" or "necessary" expenses and occasionally in the liberatio denariorum when explanations of certain expenditures were deemed necessary. Thus for example in 1417 the auditors allowed William Wylkins, rent collector at Wonston the sum of 6s., pro acquietantibus unius carucatoris et unius custodis multonum custumarium pro terris suis;¹⁶⁴ this item is repeated on the 1419 and 1427 rolls. Also at Wonston the 1434 and 1439 accounts record that the keeper of hogasters, the shepherd of the ewes and his boy helper were each given a lamb.¹⁶⁵

It now seems clear that the division between famuli¹⁶⁶ and operarii is neither very significant nor very distinct, and probably it was useful mainly for accounting purposes, i.e. in order to reckon the amounts of the cash and grain allowances and the acquittances which may have been attached to certain holdings.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³. In 1403 (B.M. Add. Roll 24360), 1411 (Add. Roll 24362), 1436 (Add. Roll 24368).

¹⁶⁴. In the liberatio denariorum section of the 1417 account roll.

¹⁶⁵. Alternative reading, the boy who helped the shepherd.

¹⁶⁶. It is likely that the famuli held little if any land while serving on the full-time staff. See Hanna, Custumal, p. xxxiii.

¹⁶⁷. Evidence of this attachment seems to be implicit on the Wonston account roll for 1417 in the Latin phrase quoted on this page above, and also on the Wonston roll of 1381 under the heading "acquittance of rent" de II operariis diversimode operantibus XII s. nihil quia terre et tenementa pro quibus operar. ...sunt in manibus domini.

In addition there was always the necessity of arranging for the due performance of all the farming operations on the manor in a given year in the most convenient and efficient manner possible. It is not likely that the convenience of the tenants caused a moment's thought on the part of the prior and his advisers, but the smooth functioning of the demesne depended on a degree of willing cooperation, so that it behoved the monks to show some consideration to their staff and workers. It will be best to return to this point later after an examination of the relations between the monk-landlords and their tenants.¹⁶⁸

As a group the operarii were the most numerous since they comprised all the customary tenants of the manor with the exception of the few who were temporarily removed¹⁶⁹ from their midst to form the inner circle of the famuli. They too performed a number of essential functions, some of which depended on special skills like that of the blacksmith; other tasks like that of the woodward, milkmaid, sawer and swankeeper (at Chilton) or of washing and shearing sheep could be performed by any capable person. Of these the blacksmith was possibly the most

¹⁶⁸. See Chap. V below.

¹⁶⁹. By "temporarily" I mean during shorter or longer periods, but not permanently because attention has been drawn above to the movement in and out of the circle of "permanent" staff. Both these words, tend to misrepresent the situation as it is revealed in the account rolls.

important because he was not only engaged to shoe the livestock but to mend and sometimes make the farm tools and the heavy equipment like ploughs and carts. As residents of the manorial community they gave their services (opera customaria) in return for rent-free holdings;¹⁷⁰ and this, as Gras points out,¹⁷¹ "was a precious commodity which the lord valued highly and the tenant gave reluctantly." During the period 1380-1450 these services were gradually being commuted to a money payment.

The Winchester Custumal presents a picture of the operarii which in general terms can be safely applied to a slightly later period.¹⁷² In the years of expanding demesnes during the later thirteenth century many new holdings were carved out of the waste lands,¹⁷³ and the tenants who took them over paid higher rents and gave little or no labour service to their monastic landlords. On the other hand the tenants on the older lands were still giving three days a week (increased to five days during harvest), and receiving in exchange acquittance of part or all of their rent. In addition there were boon-works (precaria) which were owed by all tenants customary or free, who had to respond to the lord's summons.¹⁷⁴ The Custumal contains evidence

¹⁷⁰. Sometimes they received only partial acquittance and sometimes they were paid for (some of) their labour.

¹⁷¹. Crawley, p. 66.

¹⁷². It was probably compiled about 1343 since this is the date (on f. 11r) inserted by the scribe, John de Guldeford.

¹⁷³. That is by assarting.

¹⁷⁴. Drew. Chilbolton, Vol. I, p. 52 and Hanna, Custumal, p. xxxiv.

of commutation already in progress, "signs that payment in money had been steadily gaining ground at the expense not only of labour services, but of a variety of contributions in kind, [and] that the assized rents of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries included commutations of many ancient dues and customs".¹⁷⁵

A study of the section on the account rolls entitled redditus assisus (fixed rents) reveals one side of the changing position of the operarii in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and an examination of the entries under this heading in conjunction with the venditio operum (sale of works)¹⁷⁶ provides a fuller, although by no means complete, picture of the process which was well advanced on some of the priory estates in the early 1400's. For example, the large increase in fixed rents at Chilbolton between 1424 and 1433¹⁷⁷ "coincides with the virtual cessation of receipts from sales of works,"¹⁷⁸ as the tenants now at last paid one all-inclusive sum. Further illumination on this problem is to be found in a third section, firma, which is often coupled with sales of works

¹⁷⁵. Hanna, Op. cit., p. xxxix. See also A. E. Levett, Studies in Manorial History, 1938, pp. 50-57, where helpful examples from the pipe rolls of the bishopric (of Winchester) as well as of St. Swithun's are included.

¹⁷⁶. The heading is sometimes opera arrentata.

¹⁷⁷. In 1424 they totalled £18 2s. 9d; in 1433 they had risen to £27 6s. 1d.

¹⁷⁸. These are Drew's words in Chilbolton, Vol. I, p. 21.

or issues of the manor in the receipts portion on the recto side of the account rolls.¹⁷⁹ As Miss Levett wisely and wittily pointed out, the information here may be "hidden away under the heading 'Issues of the Manor', together with sales of timber or eels, or refuse wool."¹⁸⁰ In fact, the firma on the Chilbolton rolls also include the "sums received from individual virgates and small holdings."¹⁸¹ Drew has shown that such entries are deceptive because in some cases the tenant was also "paying an unspecified sum under rents of assize."¹⁸² Once again the disappearance of receipts "from such holdings in 1433 reflects the consolidation of rents and services in a fresh system of rents of assize, which now included leased holdings."¹⁸³ This is the pattern which Drew uncovered at Chilbolton but it cannot be applied to more than a few of the other St. Swithun's manors. Some examples will suffice to show that there appears to be no general pattern present, thus Miss Levett's firm assertion that "it can be indubitably proved that on the Winchester estates [i.e., those of the bishopric] there is absolutely no connexion between rents of assize and

179. E.g. at Wonston in 1381, Vend. operum cum firmis; at Mapledurham in 1425 ex. manerii cum firmis; at Chilbolton in 1384, simply firma.

180. Studies, p. 52.

181. Drew, Chilbolton, Vol. I, p. 25.

182. Loc. cit.

183. Loc. cit.

commutation of services"¹⁸⁴ can also be applied in several cases to St. Swithun's. Further investigation of what is assuredly a complex problem may discover the relation between the sudden and sometimes surprising changes in the totals appearing on the account rolls and the movement of farm workers behind these changes, as well as the possible motives of those in authority. The Chilbolton "pattern" is a very tidy one; but it behoves us to heed Miss Levett's assertion that if the increase in rents did represent the commutation of services there arises the problem of explaining why rents remained almost stationary throughout much of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The orderly transference of the sales of works to the fixed rent column which occurred at Chilbolton may possibly serve as an explanation of new developments at Wootton-Manydown¹⁸⁵ where the works commuted increased from 78s.2d., in 1381 to £6 8s. 11d., in 1433 while the rents of assize remained virtually the same; by 1439 however the change-over had taken place. The rent had risen by £5 and the firme cum venditione operum were a mere 2s. Similarly, at Crondal the jump in rents between 1423 and 1426 corresponds very closely with the sum total of the opera arrentata which disappeared precisely at this time. Two years

¹⁸⁴. Studies, p. 51.

¹⁸⁵. From about 1430 onwards the manor of Wootton was known as Manydown.

later, on the 1428 roll, the full amount of the works reappears as a separate entry and the rents are again correspondingly lower. The second disappearance of the commuted services occurs on the 1434 account roll and appears to have been permanent.¹⁸⁶

At Whitchurch, however, there is no readily discernible pattern. The first extant farmer's account roll is that of 1446 on which there are no sales of works and yet the rent is £7 lower than on the previous roll. At Littleton there is a wide gap between rolls, but there seems to be little change in the rent total despite the disappearance of the £5 sum of relaxatio operum cum firmis by 1457.¹⁸⁷ On the other hand at Hannington, between 1391 and 1404 the rents increased from £8 19s. 2d. to £16, but the farms and works together never amounted to more than 25s. 8d. At Woolstone there was no change in the fixed rent of £10 13s. 11d., between 1380 and 1417. By 1435 there was a 6d., increment, and over the entire period the sale of works showed a gradual increase of a little over £2.¹⁸⁸ On most of the other manors there is either insufficient evidence or the manor itself is an exceptional one which is not susceptible of this kind of treatment, e.g. Barton and its

¹⁸⁶. Mapledurham and Wonston are also similar, and in both cases the change coincided with the arrival of the farmer.

¹⁸⁷. The previous roll is dated 1428. Between 1382 and 1428 the rent did not vary apart from a 5d., decrease in the latter year; in 1457 the fixed rent was only 18s., more than that of 1428. One possible explanation lies in the decreasing rents which occur at this time and which will be discussed below.

¹⁸⁸. The P.R.O., numbering for these rolls is in Appendix II, p. lxxvi. The £2 figure is only approximate because of the difficulty of extracting it from the other items under the same heading: ex. manerii cum firmis et oper. arrent. Miss Lodge (V.C.H., Berks., Vol. II, p. 187) ignores this point by referring to the sum of these three items under the one heading as relaxed works.

members, and Silkstead.

Throughout this period the commutation process continued its course, as the rolls clearly show; neither the changeover to leasing nor the cessation of sales of works (which as we have seen were often coincident in time) seem to have had any marked effect. On the 1431 Stockton accounts, for example, the farmer included in his receptio denariorum¹⁸⁹ the statement that John Mascal had paid 16s., for his rent, works and church scot; at Wonston the rent collector reported that in 1434 and 1439 there was a sum of £4 6s. 8d., de novo redditu pro operibus XII virgatarum arrentatis et concessis firmario.¹⁹⁰ At Hannington John Wayte, farmer, reinserted the heading "works" in 1439, some thirty years after its disappearance at the time when the demesne was first leased out.¹⁹¹

Details of the individual tenant fulfilling his obligations to his manorial lord are also on the account rolls. The blacksmith at Enford in 1403¹⁹² is found performing his services pro terra sua and de consuetudine under three separate headings: the expenses relating to ploughs, carts and the sheepshed. At

¹⁸⁹.The heading which often replaced redditus assisus on the farmer's account. See B.M. Add. Roll 24412 for this entry. At Hurstbourne in 1393 one tenant is recorded as having paid the large sum of 30s. for commutation, and several others paid 14 s.

¹⁹⁰.This is under redditus assisus on the rent collector's portion of the roll.

¹⁹¹.On this roll and the succeeding three rolls the amount is only 3s. 6d., but it is the entry per se which is significant.

¹⁹².B.M. Rot. Harl., X.7.

Wootton however in 1396 the smith was paid 15 s., for shoeing five cart horses, and at Chilbolton in 1415 he received 15 s., in wages for mending ploughs. The question arises as to whether the money payment denotes freedom from customary services or work done in addition to what was required by custom. The autumn officials, who were presumably tenants of the manor, received a stipend and sometimes an additional sum in wages;¹⁹³ they were thus being paid for the burden of responsibility and for labours extending beyond their obligations. In these examples we see the distinction between the tenants qua operarii on the one hand and qua non-customary farm labourers¹⁹⁴ on the other. As in the case of the relations between the famuli and the operarii there is here an uncertainty about the identity of the operarii vis-à-vis the paid labourer. Some of those tenants at Wootton and Wonston who by 1381 had commuted the customary services they owed in the form of washing and shearing the lord's sheep were probably found among the shearers being paid to do the same job on the later rolls.¹⁹⁵ Both types were present at Stockton in 1400 since as the farmer explained extra men were needed ultra opera custumaria.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³. The ripereeve, tassator and claviger often received stipends of 5s., to 6s. 8d., as shown by the Whitchurch accounts for 1416, and the Mapledurham and Wonston accounts for 1400. At Wonston there were wages of 2d., a day as well, which in this year were paid to a perspicator who replaced the ripereeve. (The Mapledurham roll is B.M. Add. Roll 28067).

¹⁹⁴. Hired labourer would possibly describe the situation.

¹⁹⁵. It must be admitted that at Wonston in 1381 ten women were paid to do the shearing!

¹⁹⁶. B.M. Add. Roll 24395.

In what category ought we to place the two men who in 1420 on two occasions drove cattle and swine from Mapledurham¹⁹⁷ to the lord's larder at St. Swithun's? This item is recorded by the reeve under foreign expenses, and together with the entry which immediately follows and which describes the work of two carters carrying eighteen cartloads of cider, wool and tiles to Winchester, seems to indicate that the carting could no longer be handled by the carters within the famuli nor by those within the circle of operarii who might have commuted their services by this date. Commutation fees are not always recorded but the Wootton accounts for 1381 show the going rate there for carriage service to have been 3d., a trip at least for grain.¹⁹⁸ Further information on this point is given on the Mapledurham roll for 1421 where the commutation charge for ploughing (wheat) was 4d., an acre, and for threshing and winnowing 2d., an acre. An entry on the same account under ploughing expenses seems to suggest "customary payments": Et in cons [uetudine] Custum[ariis] ad semen yem [ale.] hoc anno Vs. The tenant-operarius could purchase freedom from his obligations only through an annual cash payment; in order to earn the necessary sum at least some of his work had

¹⁹⁷. B.M. Add. Roll 28087. For all this labour only 5s. was given.

¹⁹⁸. Under sale of works, de CLXVIII averagiis custumariis hoc anno pro bladis Wynt. carrietatis, 42s.

to be done in return for cash. And in fact these two processes do seem to be occurring simultaneously on the St. Swithun's manors.

The possibility of accumulating some capital by the tenants is revealed in the section firme, to which attention has already been drawn above; here the enterprising villein is seen leasing some of the demesne land in the form of arable or pasture; for example 2s. 6d., for five acres of demesne at Thurmonds (1383), and 10d., for two acres at Hannington (1378). The "farms" also included the letting out of dovecotes (e.g., at Mapledurham in 1400),¹⁹⁹ of mills (e.g. at Whitchurch during the 1380's and later), of quarries (e.g., at Westwood in 1413), and even of a forge (at Wootton in 1391).

The customary tenant has now been shown in the process of divesting himself of his tenorial obligations and entering into a new relationship with his lord.²⁰⁰ The other workers and craftsmen found on the manor were either the non-resident skilled artisans or the labourers hired ad tascham who replaced the operarii, and as suggested above were probably in most cases the former operarii working for the lord on a cash basis.

Of these paid workers neither the carpenters nor the tilers appear to have been residents of the manor, although their place

¹⁹⁹. B.M. Add. Roll 28067.

²⁰⁰. This is one of the themes of the following chapter.

of origin is not always clear. As Gras remarks of Crawley:
"We wonder just where these housebuilders came from--the town
or the country and we would like to learn about their ways of
contracting, travelling and providing materials for work."²⁰¹
William Ykenham, carpenter, went to Stockton in 1416²⁰² and
was paid by the farmer the sum of 3s. 4d., to cover the expenses
of his journey from Winchester (and back again). In general
carpenter's wages varied between 3d., and 5d., a day depending
on the skill required for the particular job. There were seven
carpenters working at Mapledurham in 1438²⁰³ for a period of
seven weeks, during which time they received 54s. 8d. in pay
and another 54s. 8d., in food and lodging (in tabula). The account-
ant explains that these and other works were performed per
billas; doubtless this remark was intended to satisfy the auditors,
and it does provide some satisfaction to the historian as well,
although it would have been gratifying to know the terms of these
schedules.

The tilers frequently had an indenture for a period of
years or for life and in several instances seem to have gone on
a regular circuit of some of the manors. The fact that on three

²⁰¹. Crawley, p. 69.

²⁰². B.M. Add. Roll 24407.

²⁰³. B.M. Add. Roll 28121.

of the manors²⁰⁴ Walter the tiler was followed by Thomas, and Thomas by John Baker removes any doubt of a possible confusion of identity. Moreover, Walter was paid 3s. 4d., per annum at Hannington by an agreement made with the receiver of St. Swithun's;²⁰⁵ this information is on the 1378 roll. In 1381 the sergeant at Wootton recorded that Walter received 3s. 4d., from him (also for life) and four bushels of wheat; three years later at Crondal he was being paid 13s. 4d. By 1387 Thomas was working at Crondal; in 1391 he is to be found at Wootton and the following year at Hannington, the rates of pay and the agreements being the same as those of his predecessor. John Baker had succeeded Thomas at Crondal and Wootton by 1399 but the Hannington rolls are silent at this date. On the manors of Hurstbourne, Whitchurch and Chilbolton²⁰⁶ there was a similar arrangement by which John Partrych plied his trade from the early 1390's to 1418. At Chilbolton he had a life agreement which included 10s., a year, and 20d., of bread and 4s., of ale at Christmas.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴. It is worthy of note that these three manors are fairly close together, being north and east of Winchester.

²⁰⁵. For this reason the tilers could be included with the other officials sent out from the priory who will be examined in Chapter VI; however, the duties of the latter group were supervisory which does not describe the work of the artisan.

²⁰⁶. Notice that these three manors are all on or close to the river Test and within an eight mile radius.

²⁰⁷. See the account roll for 1393.

In direct relation to the decline in the rendering of customary works was the increasing reliance on predial labour. While in no way an innovation in the later fourteenth century, the landlords of the period after 1350 were compelled to exploit its potentialities by the economic dilemmas which beset them. Hoeing and mowing, and threshing and winnowing were among the tasks performed by hired labourers which occur under separate headings on some of the account rolls from the beginning of the period under study.²⁰⁸ The sums paid out vary greatly from manor to manor and also from year to year; there is no discernible increase in the amounts to suggest a gradual rise in the number of paid workers although Drew suggests for Chilbolton that "of the acres hoed by customary tenants some would be by works and others by custom",²⁰⁹ and one might have expected an increase in the cash payments. However, the answer may be linked to the presence on the rolls of these as separate entries the significance of which may be taken to lie in the fact that on some manors virtually all of these jobs were being performed ad tascham as is specifically stated at Whitchurch in 1385 in the section "threshing and winnowing." At Wootton and Silkstead there are frequent references to the dairywoman doing the winnowing at no charge, and at Wootton she had the company

²⁰⁸. They also occur on earlier rolls.

²⁰⁹. Chilbolton, Vol. I, p. 47. This information is derived from the Custumal.

of the sergeant's boy in 1383 and later years.²¹⁰ An entry at Mapledurham (for 1408 and 1421) shows the custumarii receiving payment in both cash and kind; for these years the amount paid to those who did the hoeing and mowing was increased by 12d., worth of cheese which was delivered to them ex consuetudine.²¹¹ The milking women who were hired at 3d., a week for periods of eight to twelve weeks at Wootton,²¹² Hinton Ampner,²¹³ Chilbolton²¹⁴ and elsewhere may also be described as hired help, but in view of other examples already cited payment in cash does not necessarily exclude ipso facto the operarii. Moreover, one wonders how the salary and wage scale were determined when the dairywoman who was supposedly employed more or less full time received only 3s., to 4s., a year, while these women earned at least 3s., within the space of about three months. Hired labour became of increasing significance at harvest time, details of which will be examined under farming operations below.²¹⁵

²¹⁰. Like the dairywoman the sergeant's boy was not paid. It is to be noted that these two belonged to the famuli. Gras suggests that the threshing was done during the winter when there was little else to do, (Crawley, p. 67).

²¹¹. B.M. Add. Rolls 28074 and 28089. It is worth noting that occasionally, as at Littleton in 1396, there was no payment made to hoers and mowers as it was all performed by customary works and with the help of the famuli.

²¹². See the rolls for 1399, 1403 etc.

²¹³. See the rolls for 1377 and 1393 etc.

²¹⁴. See the rolls for 1393, and later years. That these were women who milked the ewes is Drew's interpretation, which is borne out by the Hurstbourne accounts for 1391 under dairy expenses where five women were hired pro ovibus matricibus.

²¹⁵. In the first section of the following chapter.

Evidence from St. Swithun's manors supports many of the conclusions of other recent studies in manorial administration. The employment of different methods of recruiting manorial servants is doubtless due to local conditions and particular needs and there is nothing in these Winchester records to refute Mrs. Chibnall's statement that "famuli were recruited in the main from two types of labour, customary and hired."²¹⁶ The absence of any clear reference to landholding among the St. Swithun's famuli in this study does not permit the assumption either that they were normally customary tenants as Thorold Rogers believed to be the case at Cuxham,²¹⁷ or that they were most frequently landless men as may have been the case on the Crowland estates.²¹⁸ It seems reasonable to suppose that in some cases they could have been customary tenants who had temporarily given up their holdings in order to become full-time manorial servants. The sergeant, though included among the famuli on the account rolls, should probably not be made to fit into either of these categories especially if he was often non-resident. However it is possible if not probable that during the last years of direct farming he may have been

²¹⁶. M. Morgan, The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec, Oxford, 1946, p. 88.

²¹⁷. An Oxfordshire manor which belonged to Merton College, History of Agriculture and Prices in England from the Year after the Oxford Parliament (1259) to the Commencement of the Continental War (1793), Oxford, 1866, Vol. I, p. 18.

²¹⁸. F.M. Page, The Estates of Crowland Abbey, pp. 104-5.

a local man; this is certainly true of Stephen le Prust at Woolstone who in 1370 was required to pay his 5 shilling rent but not his 6s. 8d., for works relaxed.²¹⁹

In summary the manorial records of St. Swithun's show that in any given year similar tasks could be and sometimes were performed both by famuli and by operarii fulfilling their labour obligations; carters and ploughmen are the most frequent examples. Moreover, many tasks, including those of carting and ploughing,²²⁰ were done by men hired for the occasion, men who must often have been customary tenants desirous if not in need of extra cash. The fact that the wages of the full-time farm employees varied from year to year on some manors like Hinton Ampner may be due to the amount of work required of them, but there is no evidence on the Winchester monastic estates as there is for example at Norton, one of the manors of Owston Abbey, Leicestershire. There, R. H. Hilton found five of the nine famuli "only being paid for work done during the heavy seasons."²²¹ The Winchester account and court rolls also fail to shed light on the interesting question of where the famuli curie lived. While they certainly ate together when there was a common table at

²¹⁹. On this roll (P.R.O., S.C.6/756/23) there is no separate section recording the stipends of the famuli.

²²⁰. For example twenty men with ten ploughs were paid 2 shillings at Woolstone in 1387.

²²¹. The Economic Development of some Leicestershire Estates in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Oxford, 1947, p. 143. This information is on the Norton account roll for 1358.

harvest time, there are no references to domestic living-quarters within the courtyard, apart from those kept ready for the use of prior and bailiff. There are however, abundant references to the latter and also to the cottages and tenements of demesne servants all of which were constantly in need of repair.²²²

Thus any general conclusion about the composition, classification and identity of the farm personnel must begin with the warning that in the later middle ages it seems impossible to see a pattern. Miss McKisack's study of borough representation in parliament led her to conclude that "it is probably unwise, with this as with so many other disputed questions of medieval history, to hope that a general statement will provide the answer to what is essentially a particular problem."²²³ We must therefore be content with a "non-conclusion" which, however, can be affirmative on several points. It is necessary to assert that the evidence from St. Swithun's manors, as from other manors elsewhere, shows the life of the peasant or villein to have consisted of a complex round of services, obligations and fines ameliorated by some payments in cash and kind and a few rights and privileges. All of these had been sanctified by centuries

²²². See Postan, The 'Famulus', pp. 14-15.

²²³. M. McKisack, The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs, 1932, p. 21.

of tradition and custom, but the "system" if such it can be called was breaking down under the pressure of new economic developments which produced a malaise in landlord and in tenant. Among the landlord's difficulties were declining markets and shortage of labour, while the peasants' increasing discontent with the status quo played on the lord's increasing vulnerability. There is little that is static about this confused picture presented by the personnel on the manors belonging to the priory. The overlapping of customary services and money payments and the blurring of distinctions between the different kinds of staff members and employees provide abundant evidence of transition which in real life takes place in a haphazard rather than in an orderly way.

iii. Farm Organization.

The account rolls of the manors belonging to St. Swithun's throw light on many aspects of farm organization as it had developed by the later fourteenth century. Drew has noted that the monastic authorities in Winchester were followers of the Walter of Henley school of agricultural thought,²²⁴ and he has suggested that in some instances they even went further in the responsibilities and requirements with which they charged their officials.²²⁵ These demands were particularly onerous in the

²²⁴."Manorial Accounts", p. 35. According to Walter the landlord should suffer no loss no matter what the reason, as Drew remarks on p.20

²²⁵.Ibid. [of this article.]

second half of the century as the frequent alterations made by the auditors and the imposition of penalties on reeves and sergeants²²⁶ clearly show.

The larger quantity of manuscript sources available for the cathedral priory at Canterbury and their greater diversity of form and contents enabled Dr. Smith to present a balanced and comprehensive survey of the farm organization on the Christ Church manors through several centuries. The present study is more limited in scope. It is confined to a period of just over half a century,²²⁷ and at the same time it is unavoidably restricted by the amount and type of evidence at the historian's disposal. Unfortunately there is nothing at Winchester to compare with the accounts of "progress" of the wardens²²⁸ of the priory manors at Canterbury, nor is there any correspondence like that which has been assembled in the three volumes of Literae

226. These penalties are listed as onera super compotum or venditio super compotum.

227. The account and court rolls of the manors between the years 1380 and 1450 have all been examined.

228. This is Smith's phrase; see his list on pp. 222 and 223 of Canterbury Cathedral Priory. While there were no monk-wardens at Winchester there was a group of lay and clerical officials who made regular rounds of the manors as the account rolls show. These members of the priory administrative staff will be examined in Chapter VI.

Cantuarienses.²²⁹ In place of the series of Christ Church registers²³⁰ there is only the earliest volume of the Common Seal Register of St. Swithun's which spans the entire fifteenth century and is, by virtue of its solitary survival, a most precious document; its contents, however, are of little value with regard to farm management apart from information about some of the manorial officials.

When considered together, the above factors seem to impose serious limitations on this aspect of the present study, but a satisfactory solution can be found through a different and admittedly more restrictive approach. The answer lies in the selection of three pertinent questions for systematic inquiry, questions which are at once worthy of attention and, through the medium of the surviving manorial account rolls, open to fruitful investigation. These three will focus attention on harvesting procedures on the manors, the supplying of provisions to the monastic larders in Winchester and the monks of St. Swithun's as sheep farmers in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.²³¹

²²⁹. This was edited by J. B. Sheppard for the Rolls Series (1887-89). There is another volume of letters which was also edited by Sheppard for the Camden Society (N.S., Vol. XIX, 1877).

²³⁰. These were described by Dr. Sheppard in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendices to VIIIth and IXth Reports, 1881 and 1883.

²³¹. Valuable information bearing on this question is to be found in the late fourteenth century stockbook of the manors previously referred to above on p. 8.

Of the three the first and last have seldom been singled out for scrutiny, while the second is of sufficient importance in a study of monastic and manorial administration as to require separate treatment.

One of the many advantages of looking closely at the reaping operations is that they are found to be a point of convergence of several aspects of farming methods and arrangements. Under the single heading of autumpna²³² on each roll is gathered a variety of interesting detail, often leading to a clear if not vivid picture of the activities within the manor courtyard and in the fields of the demesne during the four to six weeks of harvest.²³³ These details are in most cases as important as they are interesting. Moreover, a number of the entries reflect the changing conditions on the manorial demesne and indicate the attempts made to respond and adjust to new circumstances.

With only a few exceptions the sums of money required to finance the harvesting operations were the highest single item among the expenditures recorded on the manorial accounts.²³⁴ The exceptions occurred when building expenses were unusually

²³². It should be noted that by following Dr. Titow's method of dating the account rolls "under the calendar year of the closing Michaelmas of the account" (as explained in his English Rural Society, pp. 27-29) we have the advantage of knowing that when we refer to the harvest in any given year the crop in question was sown, cultivated and reaped in that actual year and not in the year preceding. Cf. Drew, Chilbolton, Vol. I, p. 74. He maintains that the crop accounted for in the roll of (say) "Michaelmas 1309 had been sown, cultivated and harvested in the period covered by the roll of Michaelmas 1308". If this be true the accounting must have been a full year behind and it would be wiser to date the rolls by the earlier and not the later year.

²³³. The average duration of harvesting was five weeks.

²³⁴. See Table B.1, Appendix I, p.iii.

high, as at Wonston in 1382 when a domus was bought from the vicar of Wootton and transported by means of ten carts (?cart-loads) to Wonston.²³⁵ Building reports on the same manor were costly during the next few years because the new building had to be converted into a dairy and the mill seems to have been in a state of partial dilapidation.²³⁶ The unusually large sum paid out in stipends to the famuli at Crondal, which also exceeded the harvest expenses, is explained by the fact that the bailiff there was paid at least £2 a year and often more, and he also sometimes received an additional wage of 7d., a week (i.e. 30s. 4d., per annum). These harvest totals would be even higher in most cases if the cash value of the food supplied from stock on hand had been included. At Chilbolton, Wootton and other manors the computans recorded the cash equivalents for the information of the auditors. The figures are especially striking at Wootton where on at least four occasions between 1390 and 1402 the food supplied from provisions on hand was valued at over £4; in 1390, for example, it was £4 12s. 11d., while the sum of the (other) harvest expenses is given as £4 14s. 4d. At Chilbolton over £5 worth of food was consumed in 1384, while at Woolstone the amount was usually between £1 and £1 10s.

²³⁵. This information is provided by a schedule attached to the lefthand margin of the 1382 account roll of which the heading is novum edificium. The total cost was 79s. 10d.

²³⁶. On the 1386 account roll it is reported to have been idle for three weeks while repairs were in progress and on the 1394 roll a new millstone was brought from Southampton.

There were two or three occasions during the year when the manor kept open house: these occurred on the days when the tenants gathered to attend the manorial court and to bring in the lord's harvest.²³⁷ The large quantity and interesting variety of food which was served at the "lord's table" in the five weeks of activity in the autumn are described in detail, the cost of each item being given whether it was actually purchased or whether it came from supplies and stock on hand. In addition most of the rolls carefully record the expenses of the precaria,²³⁸ the acres reaped by customary service and those done by hired labour, and the wages and stipends of the harvest officials. All of this detail was necessary in order to confront the shrewdness and assuage the severity of the auditors who must have singled out this section of the account for the closest scrutiny, especially in these declining years of monastic farming. The Wootton rolls provide frequent examples of the reduction of harvest expenses forced upon the reluctant reeve or sergeant: the amounts spent on flesh and fish were lowered by 5s. 6d., in 1383, by 4s. 4d., in 1386, and in these and other years a large portion of the onera super compotum resulted from these alterations. A similar situation prevailed on other manors like Whitchurch, Mapledurham and

²³⁷. Cf. J. S. Drew, Chilbolton, Vol. I, pp. 45, 49-50.

²³⁸. That is boon work.

Silkstead. The sergeants at Silkstead in the 1380's and 1390's often ran afoul of the auditorial board which charged them with overpaying the hired men by a considerable sum: in 1385, for example, by 11s. 4d., and in 1394 by 14s. 10d. While these amounts were payable by the sergeants they may have been merely inserting the higher figures in the hope that the difference might be slipped into their pockets. Drew has concluded that the farm managers were probably "active practitioners in that indefinite borderland where wangling merges into fraud",²³⁹ as their persistent attempts to outdo the auditors must have had some inevitably unrecorded, success.

The table of harvest expenses (i.e. totals) provided in the Appendix²⁴⁰ is based on the account rolls of fifteen manors at four different intervals between and including the years 1380 and 1450. Those manors for which an entry under the final column has been recorded are without exception the ones which were still not let ad firmam; once the changeover had taken place the lessee was responsible and did not have to account for his harvesting arrangements. Occasionally, however, some information can be gleaned under the heading "foreign expenses" on the rent collector's section of the account. At Mapledurham, for instance, in 1430 it is stated that the customary tenants were given one sheep (worth 12d.), three nails of cheese (i.e., twenty-one pounds, worth 12d.),

²³⁹."Manorial Accounts", p. 39.

²⁴⁰.Appendix I, Table B1.,p.iii.

and 5 shillings which were owed to them by custom pro eorum operibus licet non operentur in autumpno ultra IIII bus.frumenti externis comput. hoc anno.²⁴¹ This scrap of evidence indicates that for one manor at least there seems to have been continuity in harvest procedures since this corrody is mentioned earlier on the reeves' accounts; however, the amounts paid differed greatly: 30s., in 1400²⁴² 52s., in 1417.²⁴³ While frequent references to expenditures for food for the company assembled for the Hock and Michaelmas courts occur on the farmers' accounts on most of the manors under "foreign expenses," or under provisions supplied from the grain and stock on hand (where these continue to be itemized on the dorse side of the account), there appear to be no other references to the harvest food supplies.

Two of the fullest descriptions of the food served at the lord's harvest table are found on the Whitchurch account roll for 1385 and on that of Wootton for 1391. At Whitchurch 40s., provided sufficient flesh and herring for the harvesters who were also served twelve sheep²⁴⁴ worth 16d., each, one wey of

²⁴¹. B.M. Add. Roll 28106.

²⁴². B.M. Add. Roll 28067.

²⁴³. B.M. Add. Roll 28082.

²⁴⁴. This was altered by the auditors from 14. At Enford in 1403 the computans tried to get away with a much larger number. On the dorse of the roll under the heading sheep he stated that 19 were used by the house at harvest because of the exceptionally rainy weather. The auditors allowed him only 12. (See B.M. Rot. Harl., X.7.)

cheese²⁴⁵ worth 10s., three geese worth 4d., a piece, and forty pigeons worth 13d., ("not 6d." added the auditors), all from supplies on hand. Beer was added to the fare in 1390 and extra cups and plates were bought. At Wootton the harvest menu in 1390 included two bullocks, ten sheep (of which two were "kebs", or weak animals), two geese and fifty eggs as well as grain, all of which were supplied from stock.

With regard to changes in the proportion of harvest work performed by means of precaria, customary labour and hired labour, the entries under autumpnus provide many valuable details; but it is difficult to piece the evidence together to form a clear picture of the sequence of events on any of St. Swithun's manors. As H. S. Bennett pointed out in 1937, the lord of the manor was usually most reluctant to give up his right to boon-works,²⁴⁶ because successful harvesting depended on the ability to draw on a large supply of labour available for immediate duty; for this reason commutation of precaria was put off as long as possible. On the St. Swithun's account rolls mention of precaria is made at Barton, Whitchurch, Wonston, Chilbolton, Hurstbourne,²⁴⁷ Hinton Ampner, Hannington, Crondal, Woolstone and

²⁴⁵. That is, 182 lbs.

²⁴⁶. Life on the English Manor, 1150-1400, Cambridge, p. 280. The St. Swithun's account rolls invariably use the feminine rather than the neuter form of the noun, i.e., precarie in the plural.

²⁴⁷. In 1391 there were as many as four precaria here totalling the unusually large number of 198 men who are described as "reaping the grain by custom."

Wootton. Among these, the precaria of forty-three men at Whitchurch in 1385 and 1391, who helped to account for the heavy food expenses above, continued to be called on until 1418 and possibly later; similarly at Barton, Crondal and Wootton where they occurred until 1446, 1451 and 1445 respectively.²⁴⁸

Wherever the evidence permits, it is possible to discover the division of labour between customary tenants and hired men in any particular year and also the amount reaped by boon-workers.²⁴⁹ Thus, we find that at Thurmonds from 1390 onward the "reaping, binding and transporting"²⁵⁰ of grain was done by piece work for which, in 1390, 66s. 6d., were paid; the accountant notes in addition that since 115 acres were harvested the cost per acre worked out to about 7d. By 1420 the cost had risen to 9d., an acre although the amount reaped had increased by only four acres. Food did not enter into these computations at Thurmonds as was often the case elsewhere. Neither was it taken into

²⁴⁸. At Barton they may be found after 1450.

²⁴⁹. See the tables in Appendix I, B.2., pp. iv-ix.

²⁵⁰. The phrase is ad metendum, ligandum et comportandum. It should be noted that information occasionally inserted in the legume section of the account roll points to one of the possible reasons for the difference between the acres sown and those reaped. E.g. at Chilbolton in 1392 where 43 acres of winter vetches, peas and beans gave no yield because they were eaten in pod. There is a similar reference on the dorse of the Mapledurham roll for 1400 (B.M. Add. Roll 28067).

the reckoning at Littleton in 1428 for the harvesting account of this year shows that all of the 211 acres sown were reaped by hired men at a rate of pay which cost the manor 5d., an acre. Food supplies from purchase and stock in this year amounted to almost $\text{£}4^{251}$ during the five autumn weeks; thus in this case it seems certain that the hired help must have joined the famuli at table. Altogether it was an expensive year²⁵² which the anxious reeve ascribed to the tempus pluviosum. At Crondal only 165 of the 335 acres were reaped by hired workers in 1387; their pay amounted to 68s. 9d., which, following the practice of the Littleton accountant, gives a 5d., per acre average. Here, however, because almost two-thirds of the acreage was still being harvested by custom²⁵³ the entry states that 335 acres in all were reaped at a cost of 6d., an acre. This higher figure was computed by adding to the sum of the harvest expenses (which included the wages of 68s. 9d.,) the cash value of the food supplied from stock (which was not included in the harvest total)²⁵⁴ and by dividing the result by the total acreage.²⁵⁵

²⁵¹. In 1399 the amount was 38s., from purchase and 31s. 2d., from stock, a total of 69s. 2d.

²⁵². The harvest expenses totalled $\text{£}7$ 7s. 11d., plus 33s. worth of food from stock.

²⁵³. This is my assumption.

²⁵⁴. As well as being itemized in the section autumpna the sheep, geese, etc., are usually listed in the appropriate section on the dorse of the account.

²⁵⁵. If the sum of the harvest expenses is designated by H, the food from stock on hand by S, and the total acreage reaped by R, the equation is $\frac{H + S}{R} = \text{cost per acre}$. On the other hand, the cost per acre in universo, as this is described on the account rolls, does not always appear to be computed from this formula. In 1399 the stipends of the harvest officials were not included in 'H' at Crondal.

By 1418, of the 214 acres sown exactly half were being done ad tascham. Unfortunately, the remaining rolls, covering the years 1418 to 1450 are decayed and thus more information is lacking.

The formula outlined above can also be applied to Silkstead where 207 acres were sown and reaped in 1382 by men hired by day during the harvest period. They were paid wages amounting to £4 8s. In this year the sum of the harvest expenditures was £6 16s. 2d., in addition to which 3ls. 9d., worth of food was supplied from stock; the cost per acre, as the computans states, was therefore 9.5d. By 1395²⁵⁶ the total cost of food for the harvest table had decreased by 22 shillings, the wages paid to hired men by 15 shillings and the acres sown and reaped by thirty-six with the result that the cost was reduced to 7d., an acre.

The variations in these per-acre averages provide some indication of the situation on any given manor with regard to piece work and customary work. However, there were several different formulae by means of which these figures were worked out. The ad tascham (or ad themam) formula, wherever it was applied, was the sum of the wages paid to the hired men (W) divided by the number of acres which they reaped (A). In this case $\frac{W}{A}$ is the cost per acre. The in universo formula, on the

²⁵⁶. This is the latest roll which provides this information.

other hand, seems to have varied from one manor to another for reasons which are not readily discernible. Fortunately, an explanatory phrase or clause is usually included, as for example at Hurstbourne and Whitchurch in the 1390's: unde reprisa cuiuslibet acre cum stauro appreciato et expensis domus. This can be expressed as $\frac{H + S}{R}$ which has already been suggested as the Crondal formula in 1387.²⁵⁷ At Whitchurch and also at Wootton it seems clear that the amount of the harvest stipends, equipment (which included gloves, candles and sometimes dishes) and any gifts made to the workers are excluded from this reckoning because these occur immediately after the in universo figure.²⁵⁸ At Littleton in 1382 where 240 out of the 250 acres were already being reaped by hired men the cost per acre in universo is obtained by including both wages and stipends, so the computans records; and in 1400 the 4d., an acre cost, takes into account both food from stock and house expenses (i.e. food purchased). At Wonston no costs per acre are given; here the order in which the items usually occur is almost reversed since the wages are listed first, and there is no mention of food from stock. There is no in universo amount on the Chilbolton account roll for 1384, but by 1394 a figure is given with an explanation similar to those found at Whitchurch and Hurstbourne. At Woolstone a different phrase is

²⁵⁷.

Supra, p. 143, n.255.

²⁵⁸. This also applies at Crondal in 1399 and probably other years.

provided by the accountant: Et sic est messio cuiuslibet acre in universo preter stauro extra comput [anto] et oner [ato] apprec [iato] et expensis domus oner [atis].²⁵⁹ This would appear to mean that neither the food supplied (S) nor the food purchased (P) were included in the reckoning, and therefore the formula is $\frac{H-P}{R}$, the application of which does yield the 4.5d., figure supplied by the accountant. The translation of the word reprisa as it is used in this context may give rise to further problems. However, it is reasonable to suppose that since both messio and reprisa are found on the Whitchurch rolls²⁶⁰ at different times and are used in the same phrase, as indicated above, they are in fact synonymous terms.

The harvest section of the St. Swithun's account rolls is now seen to be discouragingly complex and intractable, a condition which is rendered even more difficult by the lack of any comparisons with harvesting procedures and reckonings on other manors. However, a few general comments may be helpful if only to serve as a challenge to further research. It is true for example that where customary work predominated over piece work the costs per acre tend to be lower, as at Hannington where the total sown acreage²⁶¹ in 1391 was reaped by means of customary and boon

²⁵⁹•P.R.O., S.C.6/737/20; the year is 1400.

²⁶⁰•Messio is found on the 1433 roll.

²⁶¹•In this case sullones. The cost was 1.75d., per sullonem. Can this be 'sulling' or 'suling', which, according to The English Dialect Dictionary (J. Wright, ed., Vol. V., 1923), is a Domesday measure and applies only to Kent?

works. A similar situation prevailed on the manor of Wonston which, though burdened with an extra 20 shillings in 1381 for work done beyond the obligations de consuetudine, in later years seems to have managed with only a small amount of hired labour, and the expenses are correspondingly low. Here the averages are not given by the reeve or his clerk nor the cash value of the food from stock, but we obtain about 3d., per acre in 1381 and in 1400 using the formula $\frac{H}{R}$.

The pattern at Chilbolton also reveals the gradual increase in the amount of harvesting done by hired workers. In 1393, for example, £5 15s. 4d., were paid out²⁶² to men hired by the day for reaping grain and scything peas and vetches, and the area they covered was 346 of the 481 acres sown. By 1424 the picture had altered greatly. While there were still several precaria numbering in all 165 men²⁶³ their task was light since they were responsible for only forty acres out of the now diminished total of 425 acres. The reason for the new situation as explained by the reeve was that all the cotsetta and virgates "which used to owe works are now let for fixed cash rents and are in the hands of the lord."²⁶⁴ The sum of the harvest expenses

²⁶². The auditors disallowed the sergeant's figure of £6 3s. 3d.

²⁶³. The chamberlain's men, who made up 47 of this total, were provided for on this account. Chilbolton Camerarii, a sub-manor pertaining to the chamberlain's office was "treated as a single financial unit [with the chief manor] for financial purposes and both were managed by one reeve." This is Drew's explanation (Chilbolton, Vol. I. p.5).

²⁶⁴. This is Drew's translation (Chilbolton, Vol. II, p. 603).

this year was £ 11 4s. 11d., the highest on record for any of the manors during the period of study with the exception of Barton. The cost per acre, while absent from the account of this year, works out at a little over 7d.²⁶⁵

The fact that Mapledurham does not fit into any of the categories described above is in part due to the absence of the lord's table which had been dispensed with before 1400.²⁶⁶ Instead, the ripereeve and tassator each received a supplement to their stipends of 2d., a day during the four weeks of harvest; the custumarii were given an allocation of 30 shillings pro reprisa corodiorum suorum eis debitur per extentam licet non operentur in autumpno.²⁶⁷ Although a mere 146 acres were sown the harvest expenses came to £ 7 2s. 9d., or, by my reckoning, just under a shilling an acre.²⁶⁸ Eighteen years later the cost of this allocation for the customary tenants had increased by 22 shillings and the crop was smaller by two acres. The wages paid for harvesting the seventy-five acres of wheat and barley in 1420 are

²⁶⁵. The formula here is $\frac{H + S}{R}$, where S is 42 shillings.

²⁶⁶. At Michelmersh the lord's table was abolished as early as 1325. See Drew's typescript, The Manor of Michelmersh, p. 26.

²⁶⁷. B.M. Add. Roll 28067.

²⁶⁸. Table B.2, Appendix I, p. vii, shows that at Mapledurham, as at Barton, the cost per acre is given ad tascham for each crop. The overall shilling per acre does not agree with the Mapledurham averages because the amount paid for the corrody was included in the former and excluded in the latter reckoning.

given as 9d., an acre, for forty-three acres of oats 7d., an acre, and for three and a half acres of beans 6d., an acre; the sum of all the harvest expenses was ~~£~~7 17s. 1d., or 10 d., as the overall average per acre. The discrepancy here between this overall average per acre and the averages of the individual crops is due to the fact that the auditors have disallowed some of the original higher figures recorded by the reeve or his accountant who had for example quoted 10d., an acre for the wheat and barley. These and other similar changes, which are especially frequent in the harvesting accounts, are an additional complicating factor encountered by the modern historian in the attempt to be accurate in his computations and conclusions!

Any attempt to construct a synthesis from these harvesting accounts of the priory manors will meet with only partial success because of the fragmentary evidence at our disposal; the value of the evidence, when compiled in tabular form is seen to be disappointingly small because of the frequent gaps which break the series and the diversity of information and of procedures revealed by a study of the harvest accounts. What has been preserved is at best a haphazard collection of accounts which makes any attempted reconstruction of events and developments fraught with uncertainty. One point which seems irrefutable, however, is the complexity of the manorial situation in these years and the great variety of economic and social factors whose combined force rendered change inevitable. "It seems

highly probable", as Dr. Smith concluded in his chapter on arable farming on the Christ Church demesne lands, "that movements of population and prices...lay at the roots of the agricultural changes of this period."²⁶⁹ It is worthy of note that the influence of these two factors on developments on the St. Swithun's lands would be difficult to assess by means of internal evidence although the court and account rolls faithfully record names of tenants, and grain and stock prices throughout this seventy-year period. A series of regional studies devoted to this important problem is an imperative need, for only by this approach and method can historians hope to discover the numbers and mobility of men and fluctuations of price.

The information provided by the Grain Tables (C.1 and 2, Appendix I, pp. x-xv) shows that without exception, on all of the manors for which figures are available, the total acreage sown was declining by or soon after 1400. This, as we have seen, raises the problem of the disappearing acres which has been tentatively explained by the increase in leasing out parcels of demesne,²⁷⁰ prior to leasing the whole. It has also been shown above that harvesting expenses increased whenever hired labour was employed to harvest the acres formerly reaped by custom. The question of the identity of these workers who gradually took over an increasing proportion of the former customary services remains unresolved, but the earlier

²⁶⁹. Canterbury Cathedral Priory, p. 144.

²⁷⁰. Supra p. 125, and infra, p. 233.

suggestion that we may often be observing only a change of relationship of the same tenant vis-à-vis his lord continues to hold good. If Miss Levett and Dr. Gras are correct²⁷¹ wage labour proved to be doubly crippling to the financial position of the manor because the market value of a day's agricultural labour, as given by the former for the late fourteenth century, was 2d., or 3d.,²⁷² while the commutation value of the same labour was only .5d., to 1d., without food.

The size of each of the grain and legume crops at ten year intervals as given in the tables fails to reveal any particular arrangement or policy, either for one manor or for a group of manors; and despite the frequent gaps in the records it seems safe to assume that there was none apart from a general tendency to continue the status quo, and to provide for specific needs from year to year.

In terms of farm management the monastic policies are manifested in the frequent alterations in the harvesting accounts. The period between 1380 and the arrival of the farmer on most of the manors seems to be as "tight" as the preceding period (1318 to

²⁷¹. See Miss Levett's, The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester, Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, Vol.V, 1916, p.157, n.4; also N.S.B. Gras, Crawley, p.67.

²⁷². The St. Swithun's accounts frequently refer to wages of 2d., a day, for example the ripereeve and tassator at Mapledurham in 1400 (B.M. Additional Roll 28067). The commutation values are difficult to determine because they are usually found lumped together, e.g., "37s. 6d., for fifteen customary works" at Hinton Ampner in 1377, and so the daily rate cannot be computed. At Mapledurham ploughing service could be commuted for 4d., an acre.

1370 according to Drew) when penalties began to replace admonitions. The "key-note of the time [1380-1400] is the methodical and continuous application of a system which was already developed!"²⁷³ This judgment of Drew is fully borne out by a study of the harvest section of the rolls. Whether or not the inclusion of the per-acre cost of harvesting by some of the reeves and sergeants has any special significance in this connexion is uncertain; there can be little doubt that the auditors checked these, along with the other, figures; and since the harvesting arrangements varied considerably from manor to manor, as we have seen, the per-acre averages were useful only for the individual manor in showing the results of the changing labour situation from year to year. It is also unclear why the lord's table was abolished at Mapledurham when the harvest expenses there were so much higher because of the extra cash payments in lieu of food, some of which could have been provided from supplies on hand.

On several manors the group of harvest officials, supervised by the ripereeve, was sufficiently large to provide a further indication of the importance of the autumnal weeks. At Wootton in 1385, for example, there were stipends paid to two pedones, a perspicator, tassator and a claviger, and with the usual 6s. 8d., paid to the ripereeve the total came to 23s. 2d. At Enford in 1403²⁷⁴ there were seven pedones, two tassatores, a claviger and an

²⁷³. Drew, "Manorial Accounts", p.35.

²⁷⁴. B.M. Rot. Harl. X.7.

equitator and at Crondal in 1307 a dispensator whose stipend was as much as that of the ripereeve.²⁷⁵ At Wonston the tassator received a stipend of 5 shillings and an additional wage of 2d., a day for four weeks; this was also true of Mapledurham where the explanation is given in 1400 that nulla mensa ibidem tenebatur per idem tempus.²⁷⁶ The special tasks normally assigned to each of these officials were sometimes performed by another as at Wootton when the inhyne replaced the claviger in 1396, and at Whitchurch in 1396 when the sergeant's boy did the work of the clavigeri gratis.²⁷⁷

From the harvesting accounts which have been examined above there seems to be little if any evidence of attempted change or innovation on the part of the monastic landlords in this period before they put out the whole demesne ad firmam. They were continuing to keep as tight a rein as possible on their farm managers, but beyond this they appear to have been in no position to introduce new methods when the labour force was slipping out

²⁷⁵. Another official, the perspicator, is also found, as for example at Barton in 1385 where two occur.

²⁷⁶. B.M. Add. Roll 28067. There was food served at Wonston but only for the boon workers.

²⁷⁷. Two more interesting examples may be given. At Thurmonds a man was paid 6s., in 1420 to guard the grain in place of the ripereeve; at Wonston, however, in 1387 the ripereeve received additional wages of 4s. 8d., for performing the duties of the perspicator. Thus, it is not always clear who was meant to do what!

of their control and in more and more cases, was able to demand a cash wage in exchange for services performed. It is pertinent to ask how the first farmers were equipped to deal with a difficult situation with responsibilities both to the landlord and to the tenants. Dr. Smith suggests that at Canterbury there was probably very little change "in agricultural operations as a result of the general adoption of the leasehold system",²⁷⁸ a statement which seems also to be applicable to the St. Swithun's situation. However, he does not explain how the Canterbury farmers managed to meet their obligations; the St. Swithun's farmers will be examined more closely in Chapter VI.

²⁷⁸. Canterbury Cathedral Priory, p. 194.

The intention of the early benefactors to cathedrals and monasteries was that their endowments of land should furnish the grateful recipients with food and income. This original purpose continued to be adhered to during the later middle ages in the case of the cathedral priory at Winchester as the account rolls of the manors and of the obedientiaries show. Year by year these statements record the amounts of cash paid over ad scaccarium domini prioris, a phrase which often signified to the treasurer or receiver of St. Swithun's when he was making the rounds of the manors, or in the case of those manors which pertained to one of the obedientiary offices to the monastic official himself. Thus, to give but one example of each, we find the receiver at Wonston in 1381, the treasurer at Wootton in 1391 and the almoner at Hinton Ampner in 1423. On the dorse of the manorial account rolls are listed the quantities of grain and stock which were sent to the priory during the year.

The changeover to leasing does not appear to have resulted in any striking alterations to the general pattern although the quantity of grain and the quantity and variety of stock were often reduced. Dr. Smith notes that even after the monks at Canterbury had let out their demesnes "at the end of the [fourteenth] century, statutory food-farms were still exacted from a number of them."²⁷⁹ At Winchester, as Drew has pointed out, an annual

²⁷⁹. Ibid., p. 145.

target for the minimum issue of pigs, poultry and eggs on some of the manors was set before the middle of the fourteenth century, so that "provided the ... numbers were forthcoming the auditors asked no questions".²⁸⁰ With the exception of Barton, where the same numbers of poultry seem to have been supplied annually from 1428 onwards, this pattern of predetermined production figures does not seem to have been carried through into the sphere of food supplies for the priory during the last years of direct farming. As soon as the demesnes were leased, however, the St. Swithun's practice, like that of Christ Church, Canterbury a few years earlier, was to demand fixed amounts of grain and stock from at least some of the farmers. Wheat, barley, oats and poultry were required from Chilbolton, Enford and Littleton, for example, and sheep from Silkstead.²⁸¹

In the period before the farmers arrived on the scene the amounts of produce sent from an individual manor to the priory vary considerably from year to year, although a broad and somewhat elastic pattern can be discerned in the case of certain items like pigs. In the years for which the records remain the numbers of pigs driven from the manors of Chilbolton, Crondal, Whitchurch and

²⁸⁰. "Manorial Accounts" p. 39.

²⁸¹. Consult the tables in D.1, Appendix I, pp. xix-xxx. Tables D.1 to D.4 inclusive are intended to illustrate and supplement this section. It is worth noting that no sheep appear to have been demanded from Silkstead until the farmer arrived.

Wootton to Winchester were relatively large in comparison with other manors and ranged between thirty-two and twenty-one, thirty-three and twenty-two, thirty-two and twenty-five, and thirty-one and twenty-six respectively.²⁸² Amounts of eggs and cheese, on the other hand, showed much greater variation as did numbers of the heavy stock like cows, bulls and oxen.

It is quite certain that it was the task of some of the officials of the priory to ensure an adequate annual supply of food for the monastery kitchens and that in order to do this they must have kept constant watch on the progress of crops and animals as they made their frequent rounds of the manors. When quantities were unusually low or quality inferior they undoubtedly purchased commodities in local markets, the price fluctuations of which were also under constant observation as Drew has noted.²⁸³ From the complete absence of some items from these records in some years - eggs, for example, and butter - and from the gradually diminishing amounts of produce sent in by some of the manors, it is clear that an increasingly large quantity of food must have been purchased as the years passed.

Unfortunately, there is no way of determining what proportion of the total amount of food consumed by the monastic

²⁸². Barton does not fit into this pattern, and Wootton had unusually heavy demands in 1402 when 41 pigs were sent to the priory and 3 more eaten by the prior during his annual visit to the manor.

²⁸³. "Manorial Accounts", p. 24: "woe betide the official who had sold any wheat at 6s. a quarter when the market price was 6s. 4d. - he was immediately surcharged with the difference!" These surcharges will be treated in Chapter V below.

household in Winchester was actually delivered by the manorial carters or the drovers; nor, with a few exceptions, is there any record of the amounts purchased.²⁸⁴ Since none of the documents which might have thrown light on this problem have survived, it may prove helpful to cast the net wider in order to include other possible sources of information. There is, by way of example, an interesting diet roll which has been preserved and which spans the first half of the year 1493;²⁸⁵ this itemized day by day the food served in the monks' refectory and gives both the quantities and the cost of each dish served. In several respects this list is unsatisfactory in that it provokes more questions than it suggests answers, for the meals described consisted mainly of meat, fish and eggs; and cheese, bread and poultry receive no mention during the entire six-month period. Thus, it is surely incomplete. Moreover, at a time when the

²⁸⁴. See, for example, the hordarian's roll for 1382 under the heading expense hordarii where wine and spices are included. Wood and coal for the several kitchens and for the prior's hall were purchased by the curtarian as well as oats, straw and hay. See also the accounts of this obedientiary for 1415 and 1431, which are among the rolls returned to the cathedral library in 1940 by the kindness of the librarian of Downside Abbey.

²⁸⁵. This has been translated and printed by Dean Kitchin in Obedientiary Rolls, pp. 306-330.

monastic family had dwindled to twenty-nine as compared with forty-two at the beginning of the century²⁸⁶ it is remarkable that during the first seven weeks 5930 eggs were consumed,²⁸⁷ a very much larger number than the total amount sent to the priory from the manors during a whole year as recorded on the account rolls in the early 1400's. In this same period £6 2s. 8d., worth of mutton was served, which in terms of sheep was also a large number even if the per capita cost had risen considerably from the lld., received by the Stockton farmer in 1446.²⁸⁸

Let us also consider evidence from an earlier period. There is a receiver's roll extant for the year 1337²⁸⁹ on which the kitchen expenses amounted to £72 6s., and consisted mainly of various kinds of fish.²⁹⁰ The 1335 receiver's roll²⁹¹ accounted for the much larger sum of £200 16d., which included 536 carcasses of sheep as well as fish and oil. In addition, John of Merlawe, who was the receiver for this year, bought £50 worth of grain and

²⁸⁶. M.D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, London, 1953, p. 81.

²⁸⁷. The cost was 10d., per hundred; they were 5d. in 1410 as recorded on a number of account rolls. It is reasonable to presume that because of their fragility eggs were often procured from a source of supply close at hand.

²⁸⁸. B.M. Add. Roll 24416. These were "kebs", i.e. the weak sheep, the kind which were usually sent to the priory kitchens.

²⁸⁹. Unfortunately, there are only four of these rolls, for the years 1335, 1337, a fragment for 1308 and one for 1281. The first three are printed by Kitchin, Obedientiary Rolls, pp. 224-253, 467-471. There is also (?a copy of) a fifth roll dated 1356 in book form, folded.

²⁹⁰. Kitchin, Ibid., p. 246. In 1356 the kitchen expenses were £92 9s.1d.

²⁹¹. Ibid., p. 229.

stock from a number of the manors some of which he turned over to the cellarer.

These observations, made possible by the chance survival of fragments of evidence from an earlier and a later period, can now be related to the problem of the manorial contribution to the St. Swithun's larder between 1380 and 1450. The records provided in Table D clearly indicate the continuance of the food-farm principle, but in terms of quantity the amounts in some cases seem little more than tokens. While it must be remembered that this record is incomplete since account rolls of a number of manors have perished, it is equally necessary to recall the total number of residents of the priory, which may well have been twice that of the monks alone, and in addition to this the frequent arrival of guests, travellers and their retainers.

However, the bakers at the priory must have taken the greater part of the year to work their way through the six hundred quarters of wheat which were supplied by the manors in 1400, and the cooks also must have been able to prepare many meals with the three hundred sheep which were delivered to the priory in the same period.²⁹² These two items may have been the year's supply

²⁹². These figures are approximations in that I have computed averages for those manors included in the tables for which there is no account roll for these particular years; my estimates have erred on the minimum rather than on the maximum side. With regard to grain consumption, H.S. Bennett presents an interesting discussion of this problem and suggests that one quarter of wheat per individual would be a safe yearly average (Life on the English Manor, p. 88-9). The sheep were mostly "kebs" as it was the policy to cull the flocks several times during the year and the weaker animals unsuitable for breeding or wool production would nevertheless make good eating.

in each case, or nearly so for approximately forty people, but without any certain knowledge on this point it is not possible to form any conclusions. The monks in 1495 were served a dish of oatmeal about once a fortnight and occasionally oftener; this amounted to sixteen bushels over a six month period, or four quarters for the year. By comparison, eighty-eight quarters of oats were brought in to the priory from the manors in the year 1400, an amount which would have supplied ample bowls of porridge and a quantity of ale besides! For one item on the list of food regularly supplied to the priory we have complete totals for the years 1390 and 1391 thanks to the fortunate survival of a stock book of the manors. In the former year 499 pigs were sent "to the lord's larder", and in the latter year 469 of which approximately 160 were from six manors where account rolls for this period are lacking.²⁹³

Swans for the refectory were a regular contribution from Chilbolton, with an additional few from Whitchurch. Chilbolton also sent an annual average of twenty-eight pigs, varying amounts of cheese and a more or less fixed quota of geese, capons and fowls.²⁹⁴ Its proximity to Winchester rendered transportation easy, although generally speaking distance does not seem to have

²⁹³. See Table D.1, Appendix I, p. xxxi. These entries are found on ff. 19v, 38r. of the stock book.

²⁹⁴. Approximately 16 of each. See Table D.1, Appendix I, p. xx.

been a consideration, since two hundred eggs were sent from Wootton in 1391 and five hundred from Mapledurham in 1400. However, none of the manors, with the possible exception of Barton, seem to have sent eggs on a regular basis; possibly there was a system of rotation in order to furnish extra supplies for the priory beyond the amounts purchased in Winchester or obtained from the home farm of Barton. The manorial accounts show that some of the cheese went to the curtarian and was thus intended for the refectory table, while some was delivered to the receiver²⁹⁵ along with the sacks of wool and was therefore probably sold. Hinton Ampner seems to have been unique among the manors under study in that for the years 1377 and 1423 the farm produce was delivered to the chamberlain. In the former year the explanation was given that the wheat and oats were for the brethren and sisters of the hospital of St. Swithun's with the exception of two quarters of oats which were for the chamberlain's horses.

It is important to realise that the prior, obedientiaries, clerical and lay officers and servants of the priory and others who visited the manors consumed large amounts of food in some years thereby depleting the supplies on hand.²⁹⁶ On frequent

²⁹⁵. Where this is the case the appropriate entries on the tables are marked 'R'.

²⁹⁶. See Table D.3, Appendix I, p. xxxii.

occasions it was necessary for the manorial reeve or sergeant to purchase commodities in order to meet the needs and desires of his guests, or to furnish enough grain for the famuli or for his quota for Winchester. The prior and receiver visited Crondal in 1382 and cost the manor £5 3s. 5d., and five years later the expense of the prior's visit amounted to just over £6 in addition to the food supplied from stock on hand. In the year 1415 this manor was burdened with a heavy expenditure, that of purchasing thirty-one quarters of barley for malt at a cost of £8 5s. 4; this was to be delivered to the prior's hospicium in Winchester along with a calf, two lambs and eleven capons also purchased. Similarly, an order was given for barley and oats in 1411 to be sent from Mapledurham to the hospicium and the cost recorded by the computans was £5 18s. 4d. On frequent occasions manors had to share the expenses of hospitality, as for example in 1414 when the Whitchurch account roll contains the following entry: In diversis victualibus emptis et missis ad manerium de Hussbourne pro expensis domini prioris hoc anno, and the amount was 13s. 4d.; two years later the same entry occurs but the cost had doubled. The account rolls furnish many other instances of these exactions, most frequently entered in the section entitled "foreign expenses"; the highest recorded during the period of this study is that at Wootton in 1402 which lists large quantities of food consumed by the prior and in addition purchases amounting to £10.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷• See Table D.3, Appendix I, p. xxxiii. It is likely that the prior made four visits during this year because four tallies were used to record the expenses.

That the manors could have sent larger supplies of food to the priory in some years is evident from a study of Tables C.3, and D.4²⁹⁸ which show the amounts of sale of grain and stock by the farm managers at ten year intervals during the period under study. In some cases the higher sales occur on the account rolls of the more remote manors like Crondal and Enford, but this could not have been the rule since Chilbolton and Silkstead have several large figures for the years before 1400. The Enford sales seem to have been fixed after the arrival of the farmer while the Silkstead farmer gave no account of sales at all. Financial considerations must have been the original cause of the decision to dispose of farm produce in local markets, and in the case of the priory to purchase the same products close by. It would seem reasonable to expect one result of this decision to take the form of greater sums of money turned in at the convent treasury. That this was not regularly so is shown in Table D.2,²⁹⁹ by figures based on the amounts of cash paid over by nine manors in 1380 and again in 1450. In each case I have arrived at the figures by adding together the sum which had been paid over ad scaccarium and the amount which was still owed by the computans. The small allowances "forgiven" by the prior have not been deducted, but the arrears have, as they appear to have remained unpaid until later. There may be some significance in the fact that, with only the one exception of Mapledurham, all the figures in the

²⁹⁸. Appendix I, pp. xvi and xxxiv.

²⁹⁹. Appendix I, p. xxxii.

right hand column which show an increase over those in the left are manors already in the hands of a farmer; and of these Mapledurham is the only one where there were definite signs of unsettled conditions which resulted in the removal of the first farmer and the return of a reeve in 1417, while the second farmer did not appear until about 1430.³⁰⁰ If we interpret these examples correctly, the farmers were on the whole giving a fairly good return to their monastic landlords in terms both of making demesne farming a paying proposition at a time when the monks no longer had their earlier initiative and success and of keeping up the supply of food as contained in their agreements. At Canterbury the

growing of corn and the rearing of stock ceased to be a personal concern of the monks after the institution of the leasehold system. Their interest was confined to receiving the food-farm and to seeing that the crops and stock were diminished neither in quantity nor quality when a lease expired or was ready for renewal.³⁰¹

This judgment of Dr. Smith can also be applied to the monks of Winchester cathedral. In company with the vast majority of English landlords they had to move with the times; and while giving up the burden of direct responsibility for their demesnes

³⁰⁰. B.M. Add. Rolls 28082 and 28106 respectively.

³⁰¹. R.A.L. Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, p. 203.

at a time when increasing labour costs were causing an economic dislocation verging on crisis,³⁰² they were still able to enjoy the benefits of continued ownership by the regular replenishment of their food supplies and the maintenance of their income.

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As Eileen Power has aptly stated English commerce and English politics were built upon wool.³⁰³ This was primarily due to the efforts and abilities of ecclesiastical and lay landowners who became experts in both arable and pasture farming during the high middle ages. The monastic contribution to English agriculture wrought significant developments in both crop cultivation and sheep raising, and by a shrewd and efficient policy of estate management the fields and pastures were made to yield their due. This system, as we have seen, had reached its peak of development and production before the Black Death, but it continued to function through the remainder of

³⁰². A.R. Bridbury has stated that the "average wage-rate in the southern counties doubled between the Black Death and Agincourt." (Economic Growth: England in the Later Middle Ages, p.24.)

³⁰³. The Wool Trade in English Medieval History, 1941, p.7.

the fourteenth century and sometimes later. While these years of decline preceding what Miss Power has somewhat harshly called the age of stagnation³⁰⁴ may appear to hold little interest in contrast to the excitement and success of the golden days of the thirteenth century, there is a fascination in observing the downhill trend and the accompanying change in agrarian organization.

Some ecclesiastical landowners like the Cistercians and Premonstratensians, who had settled in remote uncultivated regions, devoted themselves almost exclusively to sheep raising; others, like the monks of St. Swithun's, held lands in areas which were suitable for the development of both side by side. The priory demesnes included downland and pasture in both Hampshire and Wiltshire well suited to the rearing of the short-woolled sheep which was able to thrive on the scanty pastures of the chalk downlands in the South.³⁰⁵ Miss Power found about 20,000 sheep on the St. Swithun's manors in the early fourteenth century.³⁰⁶ Around 1400 the total of the flocks on sixteen of the manors under study was over 16,000;³⁰⁷ and from the 1390

³⁰⁴.

Ibid., p. 35. Not all historians would agree with this judgement of the fifteenth century, even if it is restricted to the economic sphere alone. Cf. A.R. Bridbury, Op. cit., passim.

³⁰⁵. E. Power, The Wool Trade, p.21.

³⁰⁶. Ibid., p.34. There is no reference for this statement but I presume that it was obtained by a study of the receiver's roll for 1337.

³⁰⁷. These manors are Barton, Enford, Hurstbourne, Hinton Ampner, Thurmonds, Wootton, Littleton, Hannington, Crondal, Stockton, Silkstead, Chilbolton, Whitchurch, Wonston, Mapledurham and Woolstone.

figures recorded in the one remaining stock book the total on all of the manors was 20,618.³⁰⁸

Thus, for St. Swithun's, the decline in terms of sheep seems to have set in after the turn of the century. The tables in Section E of Appendix I confirm the timing of this trend which is especially striking in the diminishing amounts of wool sent to the receiver at the priory from the manors of Wootton, Wonston, Whitchurch and Chilbolton. In each case the quantity of fleeces decreased by about half between 1400 and 1450. Figures are unfortunately far from complete during this half century when farmers took up leases on a good number of the demesnes, and only some of them seem to have been required to account for the sheep which in most cases must have been included in the farm. Among those who continued to turn over their wool were the Mascals of Stockton;³⁰⁹ John Mascal in 1400 stated this requirement plainly on the roll at the top of the dorse where he rendered account for the 347 multones de rem[anentia] et de LXI hog [astris] adiunct[is] etc.³¹⁰ His expenses were almost all related to his responsibilities with regard to the monastic sheep and included the payment of the supervisor of stock who was sent out from the priory, the wages of extra men

³⁰⁸. See Table E.3, Appendix I, p. xlvi. All the tables in section E are devoted to sheep raising and wool production.

³⁰⁹. It has already been pointed out that Stockton was a sheep farm.

³¹⁰. B.M. Add. Roll 24395.

who were called in to wash and shear the sheep ultra opera
custumaria and the carters who made two trips to Winchester
with the wool. On these most detailed and interesting rolls,
the purchase and sale of sheep are also recorded, the latter
occurring regularly but the former somewhat less frequently
because the supply of hogasters usually came from Enford or
Aulton.³¹¹ In 1413, however, thirty hogasters were bought by
order of the prior's steward at a cost of 2s. each;³¹² again in
1416 and 1417 twenty hogasters were purchased, but in 1440 the
prior paid the bill for sixty-one hogasters and for sixty
six years later. By 1431 sales had dwindled to a few shillings,
although the prior's effort to increase the stock in 1440 and
1446 seems to have had an effect which was still apparent ten
years later when the number of fleeces turned over was higher
than it had been for twenty-four years.³¹³ On the other Wilt-
shire manors of Enford, Westwood and Wroughton, the advent of
the farmer resulted in the disappearance of the stock account;
only John Gervays at Enford continued to list the grain and
stock exclusive of the sheep, of which there had been a large
flock numbering nearly 1500 wethers, ewes and lambs in 1403.

³¹¹. This was Aulton, Wiltshire, a manor held by St. Swithun's.

³¹². B.M. Add. Roll 24405.

³¹³. This statement depends on the existing records; there are
in fact 6 account rolls for the years between 1427 and
1451.

On the account rolls of the manorial reeves and sergeants the custus bercarie are given in detail and usually included the cost of officials sent from the priory ultra tonsuram the cost of men (sometimes women) hired to do the washing and shearing when customary labour was insufficient, and the cost of equipment. The amounts, while they were fairly low on most manors, show a wide range of variation over all the manors: at Thurmonds they varied between 8 and 10 shillings; at Mapledurham the average was about 15 or 16 shillings; at Hurstbourne in 1385 the cost was £2. 1s. 3d. and at Whitchurch in 1405 it was £1. 18s. 3d; the expenses at Chilbolton and Barton, however, were usually between £3 and £4.

Stockton and Hannington were the two manors whose flocks contained only wethers. Hogasters were supplied for the former from several of the other Wiltshire manors, namely, Enford, Aulton, and Overton, and for the latter from widely scattered flocks including those of Littleton, Chilbolton, Hurstbourne, Wonston and Whitchurch.³¹⁴ Neither of these stock farms seem to have transferred animals elsewhere in their turn; the sheep must therefore have been used for their wool, and if kebs, sold, eaten on the spot or sent (in the case of Hannington) to the curtarian for the monastic kitchens.

³¹⁴. See the tables in section E.1 of Appendix I, pp. xxxviii and xlii. Hogasters were sent to Stockton from Overton in 1401 (B.M. Add. Roll 24396) and to Hannington from Whitchurch in 1403 and 1410.

Most of the other manors both gave and received sheep, usually hogasters and lambs. As Miss Power has pointed out "demesne sheep farming was usually inter-manorial."³¹⁵ However, there was no overall centralized organization for St. Swithun's as she found on the vast estates of the Duchy of Lancaster in the fourteenth century³¹⁶ where the manors were divided into smaller units of management and the flocks run by a stock-keeper and not by the manorial reeve or sergeant. Evidence in the account rolls permits us to single out a small group of priory officials who are frequently to be seen touring the manors for the purpose of inspecting and supervising the stock and grain, and whose visits usually coincided with important activities such as marking the lambs and shearing the flocks. Since the accounting entries served only to explain the expenditures on the part of the manor in providing for these men, it is not often possible to be certain of the precise nature of any particular visit nor of the exact office or duties of the individuals whose names occur most regularly. Sometimes, probably frequently, the spring visit was conveniently arranged to coincide with the hock court; this is true, for example, at Stockton of which the hock court rolls of 1390 and 1392 are dated on the same day that the

³¹⁵. The Wool Trade, p.7.

³¹⁶. Ibid., p.28. Professor H.P.R. Finberg describes the inter-manorial arrangements on some of the larger estates of Tavistock Abbey; pp. 145-46, and Miss Halcrow also in her thesis on the Administration...of the Manors of Durham Cathedral Priory, p.69.

flocks were counted.³¹⁷ In the 1380's and 1390's John Mounter, described as clericus domini, is frequently found at most of the manors apart from Woolstone where John atte Brygge(re)'s visits are annually recorded.³¹⁸ Brygger also alternated with Mounter both during the same year and in different years in paying visits to Chilbolton, Crondal, Hurstbourne, Littleton, Silkstead, Whitchurch, Wootton and Wonston. There were rarely less than two visits, sometimes three as at Wootton in 1390 and at Littleton in 1396 and on two occasions four;³¹⁹ that these visits rarely lasted more than two or three days at a time seems fairly certain from the small amounts of food and cash charged to the account. Mounter's title was probably that of supervisor, but the Latin phrasing pro stauro (or manerio) supervidendo et

³¹⁷. In 1390 it was April 23rd, in 1392, May 6th as in Table E.2, Appendix I, p. xlv; the 1390 court roll is B.M. Add. Roll 24348 and the 1392 roll is held by the Wiltshire County Record Office located in Trowbridge and numbered (W.R.O.) 108/13. Unfortunately there are no other extant court rolls for the spring of the years 1390-92, for the manors named in the stock book.

³¹⁸. Mounter was at Woolstone in 1378 and 1405 (P.R.O., S.C.6/757/5 and S.C.6/757/21). There is some confusion about Brygger since there was also a Thomas[atte]Brygger who worked with John; the 1390 and 1392 rolls (S.C.6/757/13 and 14) show them together, but the latter seems the more important, while the activities of the former were confined to Woolstone and he had disappeared by 1394.

³¹⁹. Both Mounter and Hayhod paid two visits to Wootton in 1396; John Greenfield appears to have made four visits to Chilbolton in 1424 and six to Manydown (Wootton) in 1432, if the tally count is a correct indicator.

ordinando does not remove all uncertainty since the official who came to do the supervising may not always have held this position. Mounter does not seem to have been given any supervisory authority until about 1390 when the purpose of his visit to Whitchurch is described in the pro stauro phrase above. On the Woolstone roll for the year 1398 Brygger is given the title of supervisor of the lord's stock.³²⁰ There could have been no doubt about the duties and position of these manorial inspectors in the minds of those whose duty it was to check the manorial accounts, and there was therefore no need to include any unnecessary details which, however, would have been of great value for us. Two other individuals stand out clearly on the account rolls in the later years of our study: Robert Hayhod, like Mounter, designated at first as clericus domini, appears in 1390 at Wootton and is found supervising the stock at Wonston four years later; and John Greenfield was employed by the priory from about 1411 onwards,³²¹ and was very active on most of the Hampshire and Wiltshire manors for the next thirty-five years.

³²⁰. P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/19. Mounter is described as supervisor at Woolstone in 1405 (S.C. 6/757/21). By 1407 Walter Cordray appears as supervisor and continues his annual visits until 1417. However, he does not seem to have had any duties other than at Woolstone and one visit to Hinton Ampner in 1423.

³²¹. In this year he was reported as being at Mapledurham for three weeks ultra collectionem pomorum et facturam cisere (B.M. Add. Roll 28078).

On one occasion Brygger, Mounter and Hayhod all paid separate visits to the same manor in the same twelve-month period, namely in 1390 to Wootton; Mounter was there in February pro stauro etc., Robert Hayhod ultra tonsuram and John Brygger in negocio domini.

From these and other similar examples it is safe to assume that for the St. Swithun's manors there was at any one time a small trained body of two to four men who moved around the estates fulfilling now one and now another of the important supervisory and regulatory functions. At times this group was assisted and supplemented by some of the monks and obedientiaries not only on the two manors of Hinton Ampner and Woolstone, whose revenues helped to finance the offices of almoner and hordarian, but on other manors as well. The presence of brothers John³²² Ware and John Thurston at Whitchurch in 1394 and 1395 pro manerio et stauro supervidendo and at Silkstead and Wootton in the latter year for the same purpose may have been due to exceptional circumstances; but brother John Langred, described as treasurer,³²³ was at Littleton in 1391 pro stauro...and at Hurstbourne pro ferma capienda, and he was also at Wootton in the years 1385 and 1392

³²². This probably should have been Thomas. He was treasurer of the priory in 1393 according to the Whitchurch account roll for this year.

³²³. Langred was anniversarian from 1394 to c.1397.

to supervise the manor and stock there and at Wonston in 1387 for the same purpose. The unnamed supervisors of stock frequently mentioned on the Woolstone account rolls after Brygger's last appearance in 1405 and at Hinton Ampner in 1423 are surely members of the group described above.

During the years under study there was "considerable redistribution and exchange"³²⁴ of stock, a typical feature of the centralized system described by Miss Power. Silkstead for instance sent lambs to Barton in 1399 and succeeding years as did Thurmonds from 1390 onwards, and both received hogasters in return.³²⁵ But in most cases there was an annual redistribution among many manors rather than a direct exchange between two. If there are enough examples to indicate the general lines of monastic policy it seems that the actual transfers and their destinations varied greatly from year to year and must have been decided by consultation among the supervisory group only shortly before the exchanges took place. Thus Mapledurham received ninety-six hogasters from Exton in 1402,³²⁶ and Wootton sent forty-six lambs to Exton the following year. In the years 1417 and 1418 we have the record of four different transfers of sheep involving seven manors: Mapledurham³²⁷ sent one hundred and twenty lambs to

³²⁴. Ibid. p.7.

³²⁵. See the tables in E.1, Appendix I, pp. xxxv, xli and xlii.

³²⁶. Table E.1, p. xli.

³²⁷. B.M. Add. Roll 28082. See also the 1390 and 1391 sheep transfers, on Table E.4, p. xlvii.

Barton, and Wonston sent twenty hogasters to Wootton in 1417, while the following year Wootton sent twenty-four lambs to Hurstbourne, and Crondal sent fifty lambs to Whitchurch. One other example should serve to show what must have been a policy determined by the actual issue and survival from year to year. In the year 1428 the reeve of Barton received thirty-eight hogasters from Littleton, eighty-two lambs from Michelmarsh, one hundred and twenty-three lambs from Silkstead and one hundred and thirty-six lambs from Thurmonds.

Thus, much depended on the number of lambs born and the number of sheep and lambs which survived the year. Losses were heavy from murrain and smallpox, and sometimes up to fifty per cent of a flock died; the attacks of murrain were especially frequent although the disease usually struck only locally and intermittently. Long range planning must have been virtually impossible for this reason. For example two-thirds of the lambs at Silkstead died of smallpox in 1388, and in 1404 the farmer reported that he had received no hogasters because of the great murrain at Wyke. The very next year another disaster had to be reported, that of the loss of almost half of the lambs. Another hazard over which these poor farmers had little control was the plundering of their flocks by passing soldiers, as the Silkstead farmer had to explain in 1416 when six ewes had been taken by some of the king's men on their way to the coast. At Mapledurham there were three major epidemics

between 1408 and 1430;³²⁸ in the former year nearly half of the one hundred and seven lambs were lost, in 1420 only forty-four lambs were born because thirty-one of the ewes died before lambing and twenty-two more (out of a total of one hundred and fifty-five) were sterile, and in 1430 nearly half of the seventy-five ewes died and as a result only eighteen lambs were born. The two worst years recorded at Whitchurch were 1393 when one hundred and nine hogasters out of two hundred and fifty died before shearing, and in 1416 when a third of the hogasters and nearly half the lambs died.

The last reference to sheep at Mapledurham³²⁹ provides the information that the farmer and the prior divided the sixteen lambs between them, each having eight pro proportione sua. At Wonston after 1439 the farmer also ceased to account for any stock, but the terms of the indenture given on the farmer's portion of the roll for 1447 under receptio denariorum show that he was leasing two hundred and fifty wethers and two hundred and fifty ewes at 3d. a head for the former and 4d. for the latter.³³⁰ How-

³²⁸. B.M. Add. Rolls 28074, 28087 and 28106.

³²⁹. In the year 1430. See B.M. Add. Roll 28106.

³³⁰. The Anonymous Husbandry suggests the figure of 6d. for each sheep farmed out if you "acquit the tithe and keep the sheep and lamb" (Lamond, Op. cit., p.79). It is interesting that prices were much lower a century after this treatise was written.

ever, the arrival of the farmer was not always accompanied either by the complete disappearance (at least from the account rolls) or by an immediate decline in the size of the flocks.³³¹ On some manors numbers were maintained and show a mid-century increase. At Littleton, for instance, the numbers of wethers and ewes increased between 1428 and 1457, the period during which the demesne was leased; at Silkstead the decline was almost imperceptible after the farmer appeared in 1396, and over half a century later the flock had only been reduced to half its former size. A similar pattern emerges at Stockton and Wonston in the first fifty years of farming, and in the case of these last three manors the number of wethers around 1450 was higher than it had been at some of the recorded points in the previous decade. Although numbers fluctuated from year to year as we have seen and although these increases may not have been maintained, they surely imply an attempt to improve wool production.

Monastic efficiency can hardly be challenged in view of such difficult conditions which made wool production a risky business even when markets were expanding and labour cheap and plentiful. The fact that flocks were sometimes transferred long distances, as for example from Crondal to Chilbolton or

³³¹. The tables in section E.1, Appendix I, pp. xxxv-xliv, provide the background to these conclusions.

Wootton to Exton,³³² is not as surprising as it might appear since the young animals had to be hardy to survive to maturity; they were no doubt intended to replace others which had succumbed and thus to provide a more even distribution of flocks among the Hampshire manors. There is very little information available to throw light on the wool markets, either local or distant, so that the destination of the wool sacks after they had been delivered to the receiver at the priory remains unknown; what is certain is the gradual decline in the amount turned in. The demesne farmers who took on leases which included flocks of sheep must have been sooner or later responsible for selling the wool; and they undoubtedly sought out the same markets used by the neighbouring tenant farmers whose collective flocks, according to the records examined by Miss Power,³³³ were often larger than those of the lord. It is to be noted, however, that the account rolls of one of the manors, namely, Woolstone, provide details of wool sales since the wool was not sent in to the receiver;³³⁴ this surely suggests that before 1435 it was an unusual rather than the usual practice. The responsibility in

³³². In 1406 there were 40 lambs sent from Crondal to Chilbolton; in 1403, 46 lambs from Wootton to Exton.

³³³. The Wool Trade, pp. 30-31.

³³⁴. See the table in E.1 p. xliv, where the amounts of sales are given.

this case fell upon officials like Brygger and Mounter who provided hospitality at the manor for the wool merchants during the price negotiations.³³⁵

The three aspects of monastic farming which have now been examined have brought to light much valuable information and interesting detail. In general this study substantiates the conclusions of Professor Knowles and contributes a further chapter to the history of Benedictine agricultural and manorial administration in the later middle ages. Variations in detail from one manor to another and from one ecclesiastical estate to another form the light and shade of the historical background which is gradually emerging more clearly as a result of continuing research in the monastic and manorial records. Each small contribution to a more complete historical portrayal of this period brings a very real sense of accomplishment and satisfaction to the historian as he observes the accumulating evidence taking shape and pointing in the direction which Professor Knowles' profound insights have already indicated. Words spoken by him some years ago in a lecture to the Royal Historical Society will serve as a fitting judgment upon the situation on the St. Swithun's manors and the farming experience of the monks in the late four-

335.

See the rolls for 1387, 1388, 1405 etc. (P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/11,12 and 21). In 1387 and 1388 the almoner was present and arranged the sale; there is one wool merchant named, Walter Aubrey, on the 1379 account roll (P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/6).

teenth and early fifteenth centuries.

For reasons...obscure, but probably to be sought in the calamities of the period--pestilences, wars and social disorders, all of which made trade less and labour scarce and dear--the golden age of the corn and wool trades passed, and prosperity moved from the high farmer and the owner of large flocks to rest with the small owner and peasant proprietor, who had sufficient labour and could avoid overhead costs. The monasteries read the signs of the times aright, and grasped at ready returns by once more leasing their lands on a grand scale, thus abandoning the direct supervision of their estates and becoming little more than rentiers.³³⁶

³³⁶.

"Some Developments in English Monastic Life", T.R.H.S., IVth series, Vol. 26 (1944), pp. 50-51.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF
WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL PRIORY IN THE TIME OF
CARDINAL BEAUFORT

by

Joan Gertrude Greatrex, M. A.



A thesis presented to the School of Graduate Studies of
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quirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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CHAPTER V

THE MONKS AS LANDLORDS

In recent years many historians have attempted to unravel the complex web of relationships by which the medieval tenant was bound to his lord. These were woven into the very fabric of society so that, although they were subject to constant adjustment arising from economic and social fluctuations with their corresponding local repercussions, much has survived into modern times. The subject is a fascinating one, for few of us can disclaim any interest in the way of life of our rural forefathers who comprised by far the largest segment of the population of England. For most regions the bulk, if not the entire body, of the evidence which remains and by which the medieval historian is confined in his efforts to discern the details of life and movement among the masses, is administrative and juridical. As Hilton asserts in his study of the West Midlands at the end of the thirteenth century, the manorial documents tend to distort our vision by implying that the manor itself and the lord's authority were the centre and sole concern of the individual peasant.¹ Furthermore, in many cases, they accentuate this distortion in that they show the manorial servants and tenants in confrontation with authority rather than in the ordinary course of their daily activities. However, Hilton also points out that "since most peasants' households must have

¹ R.H. Hilton, A Medieval Society, London, 1966, p.88.

been primarily occupied in producing enough, additional to their own needs, to pay the rent and the customary dues, their attention must necessarily have been fixed on the lord, his steward, his reeve and his rent collector."²

In a study of administration it would perhaps be permissible to keep one's gaze steadily fixed on the administrators without considering the usually quiescent crowd of lesser men who were expected to comply with and carry out administrative policy, decision and change. However, it must by now be clear that in the compotus and court rolls³ one can see both the free and unfree tenants⁴ responding to, pleading with, defying and perhaps sometimes thankful for the dispensation of justice. It is therefore possible and most certainly worthwhile to single out several topics which are susceptible to investigation in the records available and which while continuing the administrative theme, reveal the position of the peasant vis-à-vis his lord. It has already been stressed that, in the end, only by means of a series of individual studies of local

². Ibid., p. 149.

³. The Common Seal register also provides valuable information about the welfare of some of the manorial servants. It should be noted that extents and surveys of this period are lacking, and rentals exist for only two of the manors; there is a Sutton rental for the year 1447 in the cathedral library and three Mapledurham rentals in the British Museum (B.M. Add Roll 28100 for the year 1426, Add. Roll 28105 for 1430 and Add. Roll 28127 for 1447).

⁴. The Latin words employed are liberi and nativi respectively.

conditions in particular regions and communities can the ground for a comprehensive study be prepared. For the present, historians engaged in research in this field are grateful for the work of Professors Hilton and Hoskins who have both completed studies of communities in the Midlands,⁵ of Professor Du Boulay who has examined conditions of the tenantry of the archbishop of Canterbury,⁶ of Dr. Titow for his work based on records of the estates of the bishop of Winchester⁷ and of a number of others.⁸ It is to be hoped that this chapter may serve as a beginning for a study of those areas of the Hampshire and Wiltshire countryside in which St. Swithun's held lands in the declining years of demesne farming.

Three classes of tenants will be singled out in order to describe and evaluate three aspects of the many-sided tenurial relationship: first, the large body of unfree tenants for whom the operation of justice must frequently have been resented as both too near and too dear; secondly, the manorial sergeants

⁵. R.H. Hilton, The Economic Development of some Leicestershire Estates in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Cambridge, 1947, and A Medieval Society, The West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century, London, 1966; W. G. Hoskins, The Midland Peasant, the Economic and Social History of a Leicestershire Village, London, 1965.

⁶. F.R.H. Du Boulay, The Lordship of Canterbury, an Essay on Medieval Society, London, 1966.

⁷. E.g., English Rural Society, 1200-1350, London, 1969.

⁸. Mention should be made of the work of some of the assistant editors of the Victoria County Histories, especially in recently published volumes like those on Wiltshire.

and reeves who, as accountants, faced the relentless scrutiny of the auditorial board at the monastery but who, as manorial servants, were favoured by concessions and privileges from time to time; and finally the peasant farmers whose personal ability and previous experience had fostered initiative and served as their recommendation and acceptance into a new and more independent relationship with their overlords.

*

It is of course the court records which reveal the operations of justice although somewhat unevenly due to variations in content, and somewhat sporadically due to frequent and often lengthy gaps between the surviving rolls. Thus it is always difficult and rarely possible to trace individuals or obtain sufficient detail to solve particular problems; however, taken as a whole the court rolls of the hundreds and manors pertaining to St. Swithun's provide adequate documentary evidence to illustrate both the benefits and exactions of medieval justice at the manorial level.

There are numerous examples of the array of exactions and fines which were required of the tenants at every session

of the courts. Of these, the certum⁹ and the tallagium¹⁰ were the most general in their application. The amount of the former, which was levied on the individual tithings within each manor, did not vary from year to year, at least within the period of this study; but that of the latter fluctuated slightly and on some manors showed a gradual decrease, while on at least two manors it does not appear at all.¹¹ These sums were classified as cash turned in and were therefore entered on the account as well as the court rolls.¹² The highest annual certum was paid by the seven tithings of the hundred of Crondal which totalled £3 5s. 8d., while the tallage there which amounted to 45s. 6d. in 1382, was reduced to 21s. 8d. by 1434. With the exception of Woolstone where on one occasion only (in 1380) the tallage was 23s. 4d.,¹³ these three figures are the largest sums recorded in any of the courts. On other manors the certum most frequently varied between 7 shillings and 15 shillings with only a few above

⁹. This was a tax paid by all the suitors, probably to defray court expenses. See Gras, Crawley, p. 108.

¹⁰. This was also a tax but it was levied only on the unfree tenants. H. S. Bennett discusses tallage in Life on the English Manor, pp. 138-142. On most of the St. Swithun's court rolls it is described as tallagium bondorum in communi.

¹¹. These two are Mapledurham and Westwood (Wilts.). The certum does vary slightly on some court rolls when, for some reason not always given, one or more tithings did not pay. Drew translates certum as "fixed fine" in his Chilbolton volumes.

¹². They come under the heading finis et perquisita curie.

¹³. P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/7.

or below these amounts.¹⁴ The bondmen of Evingar hundred (in which there were thirteen and later twelve tithings) paid 13s. 4d. in January, 1385, while those of Hannington who were required to attend the manor court at Wootton turned in 2s. 1d. per year at the Martinmas court, which together with the sum of 3s. 1d. from the men of Wootton amounted to 5s. 2d. annually throughout the entire period. At Stockton, however, as at Woolstone the payments gradually lessened, in the case of the former from 6s. 6d. in 1400 to 20d. in 1431.¹⁵

The sums paid in tallage were in themselves small, but when combined with one or more of the other less frequent exactions they must have imposed a financial strain on many unfree households. The fines were levied on every occasion of a transfer of land or a change in state of life, for each of which the tenant had to obtain and purchase permission; on the other hand it can hardly be doubted that the amounts were determined by what the traffic could bear and there are only a few instances which reveal inability to pay.¹⁶ Entry fines on the St. Swithun's manors

¹⁴. At Wootton it was 26s. 8d.; at Mapledurham 22d. 9d.; and at Littleton and Hinton Ampner a mere 4 shillings. At Crawley, a manor belonging to the bishop of Winchester which was contiguous with Chilbolton, Wonston and Littleton on three sides the certum was 13s. 4d. in this period. (Gras, Crawley, p.297).

¹⁵. See the account rolls for these years which are B.M. Additional Roll, nos. 24395 and 24412 respectively.

¹⁶. Hilton remarks on the arbitrariness of the amounts demanded as heriot and entry fines in A Medieval Society, p. 145.

furnish numerous examples of the remarkable differences in the sums paid. At Stockton between 1398 and 1412 four men took up four separate holdings each consisting of one messuage and half a virgate, and the sums paid were 24s., 12d., 20s., and 26s.8d.¹⁷ The fact that the smallest fine was paid by Walter Mascal, who seems to have been the son of the farmer,¹⁸ may serve as a partial explanation, but if so this was certainly an unusual practice. Two entry fines recorded on the Martinmas court roll of ?1395¹⁹ at Woolstone, both for one messuage and one virgate, were 26s. 8d. with one capon, and 46s. 8d. respectively. In 1417 at the same manor John Froxton Smyth took up a messuage and half a virgate which included a water mill, and in addition a toft and another half virgate; he was required to pay 26s. 8d. before entering into his new holding and he also had to perform a number of specified services with regard to ploughing.²⁰ It is clear that each transaction was assessed according to the particular set of relevant circumstances.

The series of Woolstone and Stockton court records, together with those of Mapledurham and Wootton-Manbydown, are the

¹⁷. The dates are 1398 Martinmas (B.M. Add. Roll 24356); 1400 Hock (B.M. Add. Roll 24358); 1403 Hock (B.M. Add. Roll 24360); 1412 Martinmas (B.M. Add. Roll 24364). A virgate at Chilbolton contained approximately 25 acres (see Drew's introduction to Chilbolton, p.7); but it is uncertain that the same measurement applied on other manors. At Mapledurham the 1430 rental (B.M. Add Roll 28105) describes one holding of two virgates as containing about 28 acres.

¹⁸. This relationship is explained on the 1403 Hock court roll mentioned in the previous note.

¹⁹. The last digit is illegible but this court comes between the Hock courts of 1395 and 1398. (P.R.O., S.C.2/154/81).

²⁰. P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/82.

most complete among the surviving rolls of the priory manors between 1380 and 1450, and despite the lacunae it is possible to make comparisons which are both interesting and enlightening. At Mapledurham in 1406²¹ one messuage and ten acres required an entry fine of 6s. 8d., and one messuage with five acres required 4s. in 1409.²² However, when John Randolph in 1426 took from the lord a total of three messuages, two virgates and six acres (in three holdings) he gave only 12d. as his entry fine, although his annual rent was perhaps high at 30s.²³ Again, in 1408, the unfortunate John Chount had to pay 13s. 4d. to reenter his messuage and five acres which had been confiscated by the previous court on account of his neglect to make repairs.²⁴ On the Wootton roll there are also striking differences in the amounts assessed for entry fines: at the Hock court of 1397, 26s. 8d. were demanded for one messuage, one virgate and a croft containing five acres, but three years later,²⁵ for one messuage and two virgates the new tenants were only required to pay 16s. 8d. Some years later in 1430, John Poule appeared before the Martinmas

²¹•On the Hock court roll (B.M. Add. Roll 28073).

²²•Martinmas (B.M. Add. Roll 28076).

²³•Martinmas (B.M. Add Roll 28099). There was no mention of services.

²⁴•B.M. Add. Roll 28075.

²⁵•Martinmas 1400.

court there and took up one messuage, one virgate and three and a half acres, for all of which his entry fine was a mere 20d. In some cases, as Hilton suggests, the entry fines were higher in order to compensate for low, or declining rents, but on the St. Swithun's manors there are also instances of the combination of lower rents and nominal entry fines; three of these occur together on the Martinmas court roll of 1429 at Mapledurham.²⁶ For these and other entries on the court records it seems clear that the prior was concerned about the number of vacant holdings on a number of the manors; in the year 1430, for example, there were nine or ten vacant at Wootton; in 1409 eight tenements at Whitchurch were reported as in manu domini; at Crondal five nativi were declared missing from the tithing of Cronkham in 1428 with the result that there were many buildings falling into decay and land going to waste. The prevalence of this situation is borne out on the account rolls of some of the manors in the section which is headed 'defective rents'. These were particularly high at Crondal and Whitchurch until a re-arrangement was effected by which the various sums previously listed separately under 'farms' and 'sales of works' were incorporated into a single amount for each tenant which is shown under

²⁶. In the first case the rent was lowered from 11s. 4d. to 6s. 8d. and the entry fine was one pheasant; the second was a decrease in rent from 11s. 4d. to 8s., and the third was reduced from 22s. 8d. to 16s., the fine in each of these last two cases being one capon.

'fixed rents'; at about the same time the cumulative list of defects which had been laboriously entered on the rolls year by year was revised and many of the entries omitted. Thus, at Crondal the defects went down from £15 12s. 6d. in 1428 to £4 12s. 1d. in 1434 and at Whitchurch from £12 14s. 5d. in 1414 to 52 shillings in 1446. At Mapledurham the three remaining rentals show that five holdings were unoccupied in 1426, none in 1430 and two in 1447.²⁷

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the prior made it difficult for men to leave the manor. Thomas Hughet of Southwode²⁸ was given permission to depart with all his belongings in 1406 and to remain outside the manor durante vita sua, but the price was 40 shillings and an annual recognition fee of 6d.²⁹ In 1402 Richard Jurdan (or Jordan) of Wootton managed to raise the sum of £4 which permitted him to dwell outside the manor, but only dum domino placuerit. Those who left tended to disappear unannounced while fully aware that the tithing to which they belonged would be held responsible and threatened with a fine, although this appears to have been seldom, if ever, actually

²⁷. These are numbered B.M. Add. Rolls 28100, 28105 and 28127 respectively. However, it should be noted that in 1430 both John Chauntrell, the rent collector, and some of the tenants here were in financial difficulties since the prior was moved to remit £5 of Chauntrell's debt causa paupertate sue quod diversi tenentes recesserunt a dominico et nulla habuerunt nisi per quod distringere potuere. (B.M. Add. Roll 28106).

²⁸. This is a tithing which paid suit at the Nursling and Millbrook court.

²⁹. I.e., continued recognition of the lord's authority.

paid. The Wroughton court roll entered the names of absent nativi like Thomas Stephens and John Bonde for over twenty years (between 1400 and 1423), and the tithing was regularly ordered to present them at the next court under pain of being fined 6s. 8d.³⁰

Some who left the manor to which they were attached were charged with seeking higher pay contra statutum;³¹ four of these men were described as daily labourers per totum annum³² on the Wroughton court roll of 1372 who had left the manor at harvest time when their services were most in demand, and each of them was fined (in absentia). Also in the 1370's four men described as artificers on the Woolstone court roll were charged with accepting wages in excess of the statutory rate; in the latter instance they seem to have been present to pay the penalty.³³

Although it is certainly true that the lord profited twice at the occasion of every transfer of a holding, the patchy nature of the records does not permit the conclusion that each instance signified a harsh tale of oppression for the peasant-victim.

³⁰. This is the usual amount charged at most of the courts under consideration. However, at the Hock court at Stockton in 1437 the penalty for the non-return of John Parker and Thomas Burbache was 20s. (B.M. Add. Roll 24368).

³¹. I.e., the Statute of Labourers, 1351.

³². Could this imply that they were landless men? Hanna refers to the presence of such men in the Custumal (p.xxx), and states that they provided an extra source of labour both for the priory and for the more prosperous freeholders and villeins.

³³. The dates are Hock, 1372 and Martinmas, 1376 (P.R.O., S.C.2/154/79).

The surviving collection of St. Swithun's court rolls reveals the prior, or more generally his steward (senescallus domini), dealing with this situation in one of three ways: by exacting both the heriot and entry fines from the party or parties concerned, by lowering or remitting the entry fine and at the same time imposing certain conditions upon the new tenants, and in some cases by pardoning one or both fines for reasons which are carefully specified. Several examples of each will serve to show these different ways of dealing with individual cases.

When Walter Grym surrendered his holding at the Hock court held at Hurstbourne in 1422 and gave as heriot two wethers (valued at and sold for 2 shillings), his two sons were present to take on their father's land and to pay the entry fine of 6s. 8d. At the Mapledurham court held in October 1431 a bullock (sold for 5 shillings) was required from the outgoing tenant and 3s. 4d. from the incoming tenant.³⁴ On the death of Robert atte Crouche, who had served as granger at Wootton in the 1380's, one cow was taken as heriot for his small holding,³⁵ and at the Martinmas court of 1396 at which Crouche's land returned to the lord, Roger Berthone acquired the holding and paid an entry fine of 6s. 8d. Of these three illustrations the first furnishes an

³⁴.B. M. Add. Roll 28109.

³⁵.The holding consisted of one cotagium cum curtilegio...cum pertinenciis; the cow was sold for 6s. 8d.

instance in which the two fines were levied on different members of the same family, while the second and third are examples of the fines being distributed between the two peasant households involved in the transaction. Both types are common on the court rolls which were examined for this study. There are also interesting variations, such as the case of the holding belonging to Stephen Sprot, who was reeve of Woolstone during most of the 1370's. When her husband died in 1384/5 Alice Sprot returned their holding and surrendered an ox and a cow to the steward at the Martinmas court that year. She later proceeded to buy them both back for 13s. 4d.; and the new tenant who took up the Sprot holding was allowed to pay his entry fine of 20s. in two instalments.³⁶

At Woolstone also, in 1415³⁷ John Conburghe's entry fine was lowered from 20s. to 3s. 4d. on condition that he repaired the building(s) on his new holding. Similarly at Crondal in 1428 the prior's steward presiding at the Martinmas court pardoned Richard Cholewyn's entry fine of 3s. 4d. and ordered him to repair his tenure (ad reparandam tenuram); the Manydown Martinmas court roll of 1445 records a parallel case, as does that of Mapledurham for the autumn session of 1417.³⁸ In the latter instance

36. The Martinmas court was held in January 1385. P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/80. The new tenant appeared at the Hock court in 1388 to take up the holding.

37. Martinmas court, P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/82.

38. B.M. Add. Roll 28083.

the conditions are of exceptional interest: Henry and Joanna Tyere were pardoned their entry fine of 63. 8d. because they were to construct on their holding a building according to the specifications³⁹ which were recorded on the roll, and the prior guaranteed to furnish the lumber for the foundations (ad grunshull) and also promised 13s. 4d. in auxilium.

When John Prut of Wroughton died in 1400 the custom of the manor allowed his widow to retain his tenure dum se gerit in pura viduetate sua, and she was admitted as a tenant without any fine. This custom was a common one and prevailed in many regions of England,⁴⁰ but the widow was not always absolved from the payment of both fines as were Joanna Prut above and Edith Whychere whose case was recorded at the Nursling and Millbrook spring court in 1437. In some instances the heriot was not required because it had been paid in advance; thus in 1420 widow Grigge at Mapledurham must have been doubly thankful for her husband's foresight when she was able to produce a written record of the payment to satisfy the court.⁴¹ Heriot was not required of Christina Sone of Hurstbourne in 1422 when she returned the land she had previously held in viduetate and she was allowed to re-

³⁹. The new building was to be de duabus altis copulis et de duabus curtis copulis. Cf. Hilton's description of peasant houses in A Medieval Society, pp. 97-9.

⁴⁰. H.S. Bennett, Life on the English Manor, pp. 251-54.

⁴¹. B.M. Add. Roll 28088. An agreement as to the amount of heriot to be taken at the death of the first of two partners was made at Mapledurham in 1433 at the time of taking up the tenure. (B.M. Add. Roll 28111).

tain one messuage for the rest of her life pro suo aisamento si voluerit commorare in eodem messuagio.

The condition of poverty was also stated as the cause of the forgiveness of fines. There are approximately six clear examples on the court and account rolls of the St. Swithun's manors, some of the details of which are significant for the purposes of this study. Richard Chew, who is reported as having the farm of the mill at Crondal in 1387, was in arrears by £4 for his rent over the preceding five years; his poverty and inability to repay this amount resulted in his being pardoned according to the auditors' final reckoning with the reeve on the account roll for that year. The Woolstone courts, like those at Mapledurham, Stockton and elsewhere show frequent presentments for the failure of the tenants to repair the buildings on their land. William Colles of Woolstone was one of these who in 1370 and for the next five years was regularly presented and pardoned quia impotens or pauper.⁴² The farmer at Woolstone in 1424 was relieved of a small portion of what remained owing on the account roll of that year because of poverty among the tenants of the manor which had resulted in his debts being greater than usual.⁴³ William Barber returned his messuage and five acres to the lord at the Hock court

⁴².P.R.O., S.C.2/154/79.

⁴³.P.R.O., S.C. 6/758/5. Two poor tenants of the lord at Wonston were each given one bushel of wheat and two bushels of barley in 1387.

held at Mapledurham in 1424⁴⁴ for which he had to pay 18d. heriot according to the custom of the manor. Afterwards the money was returned to him for two reasons: causa paupertatis sue et causa quod est in servicio domini in manerio suo ibidem.⁴⁵

This latter reason was a frequent cause for remittance of fines and no doubt the intention was to make the lord's service appear in a more attractive light. Reeves and farmers, like the freemen who appear on the court rolls, were often pardoned many minor transgressions,⁴⁶ although neglect and carelessness on duty were not permitted. The Woolstone court in 1390 had to deal with two presentments against the manorial staff: Robert Smart, the keeper of hogasters and John Polton, the cowherd, paid heavy fines for neglecting their duties, the former 2 shillings and the latter 1 shilling.⁴⁷ However, John Skynner, the keeper of wethers at Stockton in 1418, was more fortunate when he was charged with the loss of six animals before shearing; the lord's steward pardoned him on the strength of the unanimous testimony of all the tenants of the manor that it was through no fault of the keeper that the wethers had been stolen.⁴⁸

⁴⁴. B.M. Add. Roll 28094.

⁴⁵. In this one case at least one of the manorial servants is shown as, from this date onwards, having no holding while among the famuli curie.

⁴⁶. The explanation given was simply quia prepositus (firmarius, liber). Examples are to be found on most of the court rolls especially in the section which lists the amercements for breaking the assizes of bread and ale.

⁴⁷. P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/81. Five years later the keeper of wethers and the reeve of Woolstone were both held responsible for the poor condition of the lord's wethers and each was fined 6d. (ibid.).

⁴⁸. This is on the account roll, B.M. Add. Roll 24409.

Those in servicio domini on the manors also benefited in a number of ways through concessions and gifts. The sums owed by sergeants, reeves and farmers were sometimes reduced in consideration of their labours;⁴⁹ and farmers, whose duty it was to make arrangements and secure provisions for the gathering of the community on the court days usually received a small portion of the sum collected in return for their efforts. The farmer at Wroughton, for example, received 12s. 6d. and the prior 3ls. 6d. from the Martinmas court of 1386; at the Stockton Martinmas court in 1396, which has the earliest record of this division,⁵⁰ the farmer was allotted 4s. 10d. out of the total of 63s. 7d. In 1409 also at Stockton the farmer received 5s. 9d. while 17s. 4d. went to the prior,⁵¹ and at Mapledurham in January 1448 the farmer obtained 2s. 3d. and the prior only 17d.⁵² It is unfortunately impossible to discover on what basis these sums were divided, but the Mapledurham practice, while repeated on that manor in other years, is not found elsewhere.

The auditors and other priory officials also distributed a few bushels of grain from time to time to the manorial servants, often as an incentive to a better performance of their duties, ut melius se haberent in suis occupationibus was the

⁴⁹. Infra, p. 222.

⁵⁰. This was because the farmer appeared for the first time in 1395 or 1396. (B.M. Add. Roll 24353).

⁵¹. At the Hock court. W.R.O., 906/SC/3.

⁵². B.M. Add. Roll 28128.

explanation at Mapledurham in 1419 when the lord's steward granted one bushel of wheat to the famuli.⁵³ At Wootton where the famuli were more numerous, the treasurer⁵⁴ of the priory ordered that two bushels of wheat and two bushels of barley be supplied to them in 1385; a similar gift of four bushels of barley was made at Chilbolton in 1392, two bushels each of wheat and barley in 1394, two bushels of wheat and one quarter of barley in 1396 and similar amounts in later years. A special concession seems to have been made to William Ancrade a retired oxherd of the manor of Manydown; in 1438 the prior assigned four bushels of barley for Ancrade's use causa sui magni laboris et servicii per longum tempus, and this annual gift continued until 1450 when four bushels of wheat were given in addition de mandato domini ex elemosina sua.

A cash reward was also given as an alternative to gifts in kind. The oxherd at Mapledurham received 12d. in addition to his annual wage of 6 shillings every year for which there is record between 1400 and 1425; the carter and shepherd of the ewes, who received a yearly wage of 5 shillings, at Chilbolton were each given a 12d. reward in

⁵³. This is on the dorse of the account roll in the grain section. (B.M. Add. Roll 28085).

⁵⁴. This was brother John Langred whose name appears on the account roll.

1406, and the carter at Hannington received the same amount in 1385 and 1387. The prior's generous distribution of cider in 1404 is also worthy of note; made from the apple crop at Mapledurham it had yielded 9 shillings a cask when some had been sold the previous year.⁵⁵ Thirteen casks were given to manorial officials in 1404, one each to the sergeants of Sutton, Wonston, Chilbolton, Michelmersh, and Exton, to the reeves of Crondal, Wootton, Whitchurch, Hurstbourne, Houghton, Barton and Littleton, and to the farmer of Silkstead.⁵⁶

Despite these extras many tenants preferred to pay fines in order to avoid holding office. John Turnour found himself elected to serve as woodward and parker at Hinton Ampner in 1385,⁵⁷ but for 3s. 4d. he was relieved of this position for this year. William le Priour, who was elected and sworn in as reeve of Woolstone in September 1377, does not appear on the 1378 account roll because in April 1378 he presented himself before the court and paid 6s. 8d. in order to be excused from his office.⁵⁸

⁵⁵.B.M. Add. Rolls 28070 and 28068 (account rolls).

⁵⁶.These gifts were described as pro autumpno. They may have been intended as an aid to the celebration of Prior Neville's hasty and abortive election as bishop in October 1404 (Reg. C.S. f. 20r et seq.).

⁵⁷.This information is on the Martinmas court roll.

⁵⁸.P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/80.

A much larger fine gained a greater concession for Henry Stonewode in 1385 at the Wootton spring court. He paid 20 shillings so that he would not have to be reeve, messor, or any other "minister of the lord" on the manor of Hannington, of which he was a tenant, for the rest of his life.⁵⁹ Two special concessions were made at Mapledurham without reference to any fine; when Thomas atte Wode junior took up his father's holding in 1410⁶⁰ this privilege was granted as one of the terms of tenure, and when Robert Kylllyngale (or Kynnyngale) was allowed to marry Joanna Monk, a widow, and have access to her tenure in 1419⁶¹ he was granted the same privilege. Both men were, or appear to have been, manorial servants, the former as farmer at Mapledurham⁶² and the latter as one of the lay officials who visited and inspected the manors on behalf of the priory.⁶³ On the Enford account rolls, as on those of other manors, there are small annual sums frequently recorded⁶⁴ as being paid by tenants in order to be free from having to hold office. It seems

⁵⁹. There was one exception: preter quod erit decenarius si ad hoc electus fuerit.

⁶⁰. B.M. Add. Roll 28077.

⁶¹. B.M. Add. Roll 28086.

⁶². The father was also Thomas but could hardly have been farmer in 1435-1440.

⁶³. Infra, p.283-84.

⁶⁴. These are usually headed recogniciones. In 1403 at Enford there are three such entries (ne fiat prepositus) the fine being 2d. each (B.M. Rot. Harl.X.7). The same sum was paid at Sparsholt by John Edward in 1383, and at Chilcomb in the same year by Robert Carter. At Woolstone Hugh Martin gave 1 capon each year (P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/17 etc.) for the same purpose.

fairly certain that few, if any, of the unfree tenants on the manors of St. Swithun's were forced to become manorial servants against their will.

Of the other fines which were levied on the nativi of the priory manors there is one which, despite its infrequent occurrence, reflects the concern of at least a small number of peasants to provide the best for their sons.⁶⁵ There are five examples of fathers placing their sons in school, two with and three without previous permission. At the spring court held at Stockton in 1387 John le Smith was presented for putting his son, John, in school without license. On pain of a 40d. fine the father was ordered to withdraw the boy, and the tithing-man and Smith were each charged 3d., the former because he had concealed the information.⁶⁶ In October of the same year, again at Stockton, John Felawe junior was reported to be dwelling unlawfully outside the manor in order to send his son, William, to school in Salisbury.⁶⁷ The homage was charged 6d. and threatened with a 10 shilling fine if the two Felawes were not produced at the next court. However, this illicit venture was more successful than the former because neither father nor son

⁶⁵. One could also regard the frequent payment of marriage fines (which normally varied between 3 shillings and 6 shillings) as revealing a parallel concern for the welfare of their daughters by enabling the latter to leave home to serve elsewhere and marry outside the manor!

⁶⁶. W.R.O., 108/11. At this same court John Smith also paid 6s. 8d. for a licence for his daughter to marry outside the manor.

⁶⁷. W.R.O., 108/12.

returned; in 1401 the fine threatened contra proximam was 3s. 3d.,⁶⁸ and the same entry continues to recur until at least 1420,⁶⁹ the penalty having risen to 6s. 8d. in 1411,⁷⁰ and only young William was named as being still away. Two fines of 13s. 4d. were paid at Woolstone court in 1372 by William le Priour and by Stephen Sprot ad ponendum filium ad scolam et ad ordines recipiendum;⁷¹ Priour has already been mentioned as having turned down the reeveship in 1378,⁷² and Sprot was reeve between 1370 and 1378.⁷³ The Wroughton case of 1400 posed a problem for the court in that the status of Roger Hulle was uncertain. His father, John, had sent him to school without obtaining a licence and Roger had already received first tonsure; the rolls of the court were ordered to be searched in order to ascertain whether or not the Hulle family were nativi.⁷⁴ Unfortunately there is no record of the judgement which must have followed.

There are, however, many examples of manumissions granted

⁶⁸•B.M. Add. Roll 24359.

⁶⁹•B.M. Add. Roll 24367.

⁷⁰•B.M. Add. Roll 24363. In 1426 William was reported dead. W.R.O., 906/S.C./5.

⁷¹•On the account roll, P.R.O., S.C. 6/756/24; Priour's fine is also recorded on the Martinmas court roll of the previous year (P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/79).

⁷²•Supra, p.200. However, he was reeve in 1380 (P.R.O., S.C.6/757/7).

⁷³•P.R.O., S.C. 6/756/23 et seq.

⁷⁴•This case came before the Martinmas court in October 1400.

by the prior and convent to their unfree tenants, copies of all but two of which are found entered in the Common Seal Register. Apart from four instances all the (corresponding) documentary evidence on the manorial side is lacking so that it is impossible to discover what fines were exacted; but two of these four surviving references on the court and account rolls are particularly helpful in that they may well be considered typical of at least the most numerous class of aspirants, the manorial servants and their families. Alice, the wife of Stephen Sprot, reeve of Woolstone,⁷⁵ was widowed in 1384/5,⁷⁶ and after giving an ox and a cow in heriot she proceeded to take on her late husband's holding. In December 1387 she came to the court to pay to the lord 30 shillings pro se et omnibus bonis et catallis suis ab omni onere actione et iuribus servitutis seu villenagii ecclesie cathedrali Sancti Swithuni Wyntonie pertinentibus relaxandis et imperpetuum liberandis.⁷⁷ The account roll of 1387/88 records the payment of this fine by Alice ut possit esse quieta ab omni iugo servitutis. The case of Alice Consail also of Woolstone is limited to a brief notice of 10 shillings received from her by

⁷⁵. Supra, p. 194.

⁷⁶. This was reported to the court in January 1385 (P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/80).

⁷⁷. This is in the usual abbreviated form. Alice next returned her holding and gave another ox and cow in heriot which, as mentioned earlier (p.194) she bought back. All this information is found in the portfolio referred to in the preceding footnote.

the court in 1400 ut possit a servitute liberari.⁷⁸ There is an equally brief note on the almoner's roll of 1406 under 'receipts' to the effect that a certain Nicholas Colyns of Barton Stacy had paid £10 for an acquittance, a copy of which has fortunately been preserved in the Common Seal Register where it is headed manumissio.

The case of John Mascal, farmer at Stockton for the first eighteen years of the fifteenth century, is more complex. In November 1417, the year before his retirement the prior and convent gave him his freedom causa sue senectutis et eciam pro suo bono servicio nobis et ecclesie nostre predicte...⁷⁹ but there are no surviving court rolls between 1416 and 1419 to provide further information. The 1417 account roll appears to make some indirect reference to the farmer's manumission in a statement to the effect that he had incurred a certain fine which, so we are told, was recorded by the court at the autumn session on October 6th, 1417.⁸⁰ The problem lies in the fact that the fine in question is the reason provided to explain why Mascal was not reimbursed for his unusually heavy expenses⁸¹ this year, which exceeded the receipts by £27. It is possible that the grant of a corrody enters into the picture since a document to this effect is also to be found in the priory register,⁸² and the fact that it is dated some two years later may be because

⁷⁸. See P.R.O., S.C. 6/737/12 for Alice Sprot and S.C. 6/757/20 for Alice Consail. See the list in Section F., Appendix I, p.xlviii.

⁷⁹. Reg. C.S., f. 43r.

⁸⁰. The manumission in the priory register is dated November 13th, about five weeks after the court.

⁸¹. B.M. Add. Roll 24408. There was extensive building this year.

⁸². F. 45r.

it was meant to coincide with the beginning of his retirement. In this interesting grant Mascal is described as the father of Ralph Mascal one of the monastic brethren; he was to be supplied with food and clothing of the same kind and quantity as that provided for the prior's valecti, and he was also to be given a room within the monastery ad terminum vite sue pro aisiamento suo.⁸³ Although it is not specified in the grant, there is no doubt that this corrody was charged to the Stockton manor account since the item is recorded there under 'foreign expenses'.⁸⁴ The cause of the large debt incurred by Mascal must remain a mystery, and although he was only one of a number of manorial servants who obtained their freedom, in no other instances do we have a record of the sums of money involved.⁸⁵

Among the forty nativi whose grants of manumission were copied into the Common Seal Register, six resembled Mascal in that they were at one time in charge of a manor as reeves, ser-

⁸³. Ibid.

⁸⁴. In 1427 (B.M. Add. Roll 24714), 1431 (B.M. Add. Roll 24412) and presumably between 1419 and 1427.

⁸⁵. On the Ramsey abbey estates in this same period there is record of several payments as high as £ 20 each, and some as low as 10 marks each. J. A. Raftis, Tenure and Mobility, p. 187.

geants or farmers.⁸⁶ In the case of two others the manumission is almost certainly in favour of one or more members of a family whose close relatives had served or were serving on the staff of one of the manors⁸⁷ and there may be still more who cannot be identified by name. One, Walter Whycchere, was a member of the prior's familia,⁸⁸ and probably another, John Slont of Michelmersh, who was given his freedom in order that he might serve the prior for a decent wage.⁸⁹ Five nativi were manumitted in order that they might prepare for ordination, and two who had left the manor of Wonston without permission returned for long enough to straighten their accounts with the court and obtain the desired document.

⁸⁶. These were John Brown, reeve of Wootton-Manydown from 1432-1444; Thomas Brown, who succeeded John Brown and became farmer of Manydown; Edward atte Church who served as sergeant of Thurmonds and reeve of Barton between 1392 and 1402; Benedict atte Mersh, who was sergeant of Hannington and Wootton in 1385, of Hannington in 1387, and bailiff of Hurstbourne in 1391 and 1393 (see supra, pp. 77-8 for the interchangeability of the terms 'sergeant' and 'bailiff'); and Richard Nichole of Hurstbourne who may have been the farmer of Wonston in 1445, although in this case it may have been the son or another member of the family. The case of John Gervays farmer of Enford, 1432-1443, will be discussed immediately below. See the list of manumissions in Appendix I, pp. xlvi-lix for this section of the present chapter.

⁸⁷. These were John Jurdan of Hannington manumitted in 1404 (Robert Jurdan is recorded on the 1381 account roll of this manor as nuper firmarius); John Wylkyn, senior, and his issue of Wonston obtained their freedom in 1442 (Robert Wylkyns had been reeve of this manor in 1386 and William Wylkyns collector of the rents there in 1417 and farmer in 1422).

⁸⁸. Further details of the familia of the prior will be given in Chap. VI, pp. 284-85. The spelling is also 'Whicchere', and so it is not clear which of the two men by this name who were freed was employed by the prior.

⁸⁹. Reg. C.S., f. 37r. These details are given in the list of manumissions in Appendix I, p. xlix. Slont does not appear on any of the court or account rolls.

These grants of manumission appear under three forms; in the common form the wording is clear and precise,⁹⁰ but neither in the quitclaim or general acquittance form nor in the licence to dwell outside of the manor ad terminum vite is there any reference to freedom or manumission. However, the documents are headed manumissio in the case of all the names which are on the list in the Appendix⁹¹ with the exception of those which pertain to the Gervays family of Enford. Preserved in the Common Seal Register is a series of six deeds which reveal some aspects of the relationship between the prior and convent and the most prominent of their tenants on this Wiltshire manor. The earliest is a general acquittance in favour of John Gervays, son of Simon the former reeve; it is dated December 15th, 1411.⁹² The next deed was issued the following day and is in the form of an obligation or guarantee by which John bound himself to pay £ 20 to the prior by June, 1412.⁹³ Directly beneath this entry in the Register follows the condition of this obligation which rested on John's good behaviour;⁹⁴ though undated, it was presumably issued the same day. Raftis has shown that this

⁹⁰. It is very similar to the common form given by Raftis, Op. cit., p. 186.

⁹¹. Loc. cit.

⁹². F. 33v.

⁹³. F. 34r.

⁹⁴. Ibid.

threefold sequence of documentation was the common procedure on some of the Ramsey estates, but apart from the case of Walter Whitchere of Aldershot,⁹⁵ this is the only complete example from the St. Swithun's manuscript sources. Next in chronological succession is a deed which is dated May 20th, 1412 and is a full acquittance (plena acquietancia) in favour of William Gervays and of his son Thomas; underneath it there is a note to the effect that a mandate of general acquittance was also [? to be] issued to Walter Gervays and to his son Thomas, and to Simon Gervays and his sons Thomas and John.⁹⁶ Finally, in May 1414 a full acquittance was granted to William Gervays and to his sons Simon and John.⁹⁷ We are here presented with a confusing picture of family relationships which it is impossible to clarify due to the absence of account rolls between 1403 and 1433. The court roll of Elstubb hundred for the Hock term in 1428 contains a list of jurors among whom are a Simon, a Thomas and a William Gervays,⁹⁸ and at the Enford Martinmas court of October 1431 a John Gervays was one of the assessors.⁹⁹

⁹⁵. Aldershot is a tithing of Crondal. The three documents (general acquittance, obligation and condition of the obligation) are on ff. 16v and 17r of the Common Seal Register.

⁹⁶. F. 35r.

⁹⁷. F. 37r.

⁹⁸. B.M. Rot. Harl. W.19.

⁹⁹. B.M. Rot. Harl. W.20. Presumably this was the John Gervays who became farmer in this year (B.M. Rot. Harl. X.8).

Due to these frustrating gaps in the Enford records we are restricted to a conclusion phrased in quantitative terms: the impressively large number of members of the Gervays family who were able to obtain their freedom and who by virtue of this collection of deeds would seem to have been men of enterprise and ability were quite up to treating with the prior, his steward and his council in order to further their own ends, and were quite ready and able to pay the price. For it is now clear that on the Winchester Cathedral Priory manors, as on those of Ramsey Abbey, there was an agreement about the actual price of purchasing freedom, and that these payments were "distinct from the amount of the guarantee or pledge."¹⁰⁰

There are a few examples of the peasant community acting together and assuming collective responsibility. Elections to the more important manorial offices like those of reeve and messor are recorded or mentioned in a number of court and account rolls, and some of these have been referred to above.¹⁰¹ These references are not sufficiently regular or frequent to indicate that it was a universal practice on all the manors, probably because the right of the prior to make any of his men take office was still implicitly acknowledged and a written record was therefore not essential.¹⁰² In 1405 a petition was presented to the lord's

¹⁰⁰. Raftis, Op. cit., p. 187.

¹⁰¹. E.g., the election of the messor at Stockton in 1390 (B.M. Add. Roll 24348) and of the reeve of Hurstbourne in October 1422, and supra, p. 79, n.40.

¹⁰². Hanna, Custumal, passim.

steward at the Martinmas court at Wroughton by all the tenants tam liberi quam nativi, by which everyone sought permission to look after his own newly sown fields in the spring, summer and autumn. In 1416 the same tenants agreed that six of their number were to be supervisors of the common pasture land and of the lord's meadows and that anyone who disregarded the days assigned for the pasturing of animals on these lands would, ex communi assensu pay 20 shillings.¹⁰³ The tenants at Mapledurham in April 1448 enacted that each of them should henceforth be responsible for ensuring that his animals were kept out of the lord's grain fields on pain of a fine of 6s. 8d.¹⁰⁴ for each transgression.

There are a few signs of resentment of and restlessness under authority, customary tenants desiring a 'reward', for example, for work done beyond their obligations,¹⁰⁵ and now and again one

¹⁰³. At the Hock court.

¹⁰⁴. B.M. Add. Roll 28128. The phrase ordinatum est per considerationem curie et ex assensu omnium tenencium indicates the enactment of a by-law; see W.O. Ault, "Open-field Husbandry and the Village Community; a Study of Agrarian By-Laws in Medieval England," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S., Vol. 55, Part 7, 1965, p.41. This particular example and that of 1416 at Wroughton of a by-law support Ault's view that both free and unfree tenants are at least implicitly included.

¹⁰⁵. Under 'foreign expenses' in the Wonston account roll of 1383.

or more tenants refusing to repair their tenements¹⁰⁶ or pay their rent until threatened with forfeiture.¹⁰⁷

On the whole the evidence at our disposal in the manorial records of St. Swithun's suggests that the unfree tenantry were neither oppressed nor even unduly repressed. In fact, despite the lengthy list of fines which were exacted by the lord, only a few of which have been described above, the years between 1380 and 1450 saw a decline in the amount of services rendered and a corresponding rise in the amount of cash payments given by the peasant to his lord; this ability to pay is a clear indication of the improving financial condition of the former. It is true that this gradual growth in independence was only reluctantly permitted and was always expressed in terms of concession and privilege granted ex gratia of the lord, or as at Wonston in 1439 ut tenentes libencius dictum dominicum inhabitarent;¹⁰⁸ there can be no doubt that the peasant increasingly resented such an attitude and at times reacted strongly against it. But in reality, towards the end of the fourteenth century the peasant

¹⁰⁶.E.g., Philip White at the Crondal court, October 1428.

¹⁰⁷.William Spark of Millbrook was charged with withholding his rent at the Hock court, but he gave in when threatened with the loss of his holding.

¹⁰⁸.This occurs on the account roll to explain the reason for the increase in the number of works relaxed and the corresponding increase in the amount of cash received.

was gaining strength and status and was in consequence able to suggest terms to the lord which the latter could hardly afford to reject. With regard to manumission for example, Raftis has concluded that on the Ramsey manors the "variety in periods for payment as well as amounts, and the naif's ability to pay off his fine in a few years, would seem to suggest that bargaining power did not rest solely on the side of the lord. ...the wealthy villein would be able to offer a tempting sum that the lord could ill afford to overlook."¹⁰⁹ A similar trend can be discerned on the St. Swithun's manors, where some of the tenants, like those described by Hilton in the Midlands in a slightly earlier day, were subletting portions of their holdings and employing servants.¹¹⁰ In short, there were some villeins with intelligence and drive who became men of substance and influence in their local community, and of these a certain number considered it worthwhile to remove the stigma of villenage.

It is not possible in this study of administration to enter the general controversy about the standard of living of the medieval peasant although the manorial records are the main body of evidence

¹⁰⁹. Op. cit., p. 188.

¹¹⁰. A Medieval Society, pp. 161-66. An example of subletting is found at Hurstbourne in 1400 when Thomas Barnefield, nativus, was fined by the court held there in July because he had dismissed one toft and one virgate ad firmam without licence. Several tenants named in the Woolstone court roll of Martinmas 1389 are described as possessing servants (P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/80)

for the social and economic historian; it is nevertheless important to note Titow's summary of the problem and also his advice as to the most fruitful method of approach: "by collecting, collating, and fitting into a comprehensive pattern all pieces of information, or impressions, obtained from documents depicting the position of the peasantry over a narrow area."¹¹¹ From his study of the Winchester episcopal estates in the period up to 1350 he suggests that the rise in entry fines,¹¹² the growing number of examples of impoverishment, and the increase in the number of small landholders are some of the indications of economic decline in the first half of the fourteenth century. The aim of this present chapter is to describe the relations between lord and peasant as one of the aspects of medieval manorial administration in action. Consequently the illustrations from the manuscript sources have been selected with this end in view; and there has been no systematic tabulation of statistics relating to fines paid or pardoned nor to privileges granted, both of which are prerequisites in implementing Titow's plan of approach. From this study of the priory estates in a slightly later period there are clear indications that for the peasant at least life offered more opportunities and that further research will reveal

¹¹¹. English Rural Society, p. 66.

¹¹². This, so he thinks, is a reliable indication of decline in place of rents which tended to be fixed by custom and to remain stationary.

more evidence to confirm and describe the details of this new trend. To take but one instance, it was the decline of customary labour, a fairly insignificant development until well after 1348 as Titow notes,¹¹³ which before the end of the century had gathered sufficient momentum to become in itself the cause of change. By this the peasant benefited, for the landlords were being forced to become employers and to hire and pay cash wages to the very people who had formerly performed the customary works.¹¹⁴ This is but one of many complex questions which require investigation and analysis before the historian can plot with accuracy the downward and upward trends in the late medieval English economy.¹¹⁵ In conclusion I suggest that it was the men of substance,¹¹⁶ whether free or unfree, men like John Gervays and John Mascal who counted most, and of these as well as of the poor and needy St. Swithun's, like other large monastic estates, had its share.

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¹¹³. Ibid., p. 92.

¹¹⁴. Supra, pp. 125 and 131.

¹¹⁵. There are many hidden pitfalls in the historian's approach to the truth. As Miss Levett pointed out in 1927 when describing the wealth of information available in manorial account rolls: "The great disadvantage of working in such voluminous material...is that even the most careful of historians lays himself open to contradiction by almost any other worker in parallel fields. Contrary results can always be obtained by a deliberate or even by an accidental choice." "The Financial Organization of the Manor" in Studies in Manorial History, p.68.

¹¹⁶. W.O. Ault, Op. cit., p. 42.

In the preceding two chapters a number of the individual reeves and sergeants have already been encountered in the performance of their manorial functions. It has also been pointed out that together they comprised a group of able and intelligent men, a few of whom at least were transferred from one manor to another and from one post to another. For reasons of incompleteness only twelve of the twenty-two manors now under examination lend themselves to a comparative study of these manorial officials,¹¹⁷ but it is surely significant that eleven of the twelve had at least one reeve or sergeant who appears to have remained in office on the same manor for a minimum of five years, and half of them served terms of nine years or more.¹¹⁸ John Newman occurs as sergeant at Crondal between 1406 and 1428, Robert Voke as reeve of Whitchurch manor between 1405 and 1418, John Brown¹¹⁹ as reeve of Manydown

¹¹⁷. This section is confined to the era before leasing. See Table F, Appendix I, pp. l-liii.

¹¹⁸. While it must be admitted that there can be no final certainty about the continuity of any particular individual in office whenever the rolls are missing, it seems highly probable that wherever the same name occurs at frequent intervals at the same manor the person in question remained in office. The two clear exceptions were at Woolstone where William Henekyn was reeve in 1384 and again in 1394-5 (P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/9 and S.C. 6/757/16), and at Wootton where Thomas Lhude was sergeant in 1413 and again in 1423.

¹¹⁹. Or Broune.

between 1432 and 1444, and Edward atte Church as reeve of Barton (and sergeant of Thurmonds) between 1392 and 1402; of these the last two obtained their freedom at the end of their years of service.¹²⁰ Among those who served the priory on more than one manor the career of Benedict atte Mersh is the longest of any which can be traced in the surviving manuscript sources. He first appears as sergeant of Wootton in 1383, two years later as sergeant at Hannington as well as at Wootton, and again in 1387 as sergeant at Hannington;¹²¹ in 1391 and 1393 he is found as bailiff of Hurstbourne, and finally in 1398 on his grant of manumission he is described as a tenant of the manor of Michelmersh where he had probably retired.¹²² Edward atte Church gained experience as bedell of Sparsholt, one of the components of Barton, from 1383 to 1387 before moving on to Thurmonds in 1392; and two other bedells in charge of Barton tithings held their positions for more than ten years: John atte Shovele was at Compton from 1385 to 1396 and Robert Clerk at Chilcomb from 1383 to 1396.

¹²⁰. Brown was manumitted in 1441, atte Church in 1410 when he appears to have been retired. See the list of manumissions in Appendix I, p. xlviii. See also supra, pp. 85-87.

¹²¹. There is no account roll of Wootton for 1387.

¹²². Reg. C.S. f. 7v. This deed also freed him from serving as reeve or in any other office on this manor for the rest of his life.

It would seem reasonable to assume that a degree of continuity in office implies a degree of mutual satisfaction with the status quo; and the final reckoning on the yearly accounts in this period does suggest that, despite the clear evidence of the relentless zeal of the auditors, the computans was treated with justice, not infrequently tempered with mercy. Nevertheless, the medieval landowner, as Drew pointed out, required the medieval compotus to show him "the exact financial position as between himself and the official who rendered the account."¹²³ The agricultural and therefore the accounting year began and ended at Michaelmas; thus the account roll records on the front all the cash receipts, expenditures and the sums turned over to the priory¹²⁴ during the course of this twelve month period, and on the dorse the quantities of grain and numbers of livestock on hand at the beginning of the year together with the yield of crops and issue of stock, the totals remaining, and a precise explanation of all acquisitions and losses. The auditors checked every item with an even greater degree of precision, making frequent comments and corrections on the roll before they filled in the cash totals which incorporated their amendments.

There are numerous examples of these amendments which were especially common with regard to harvest expenses. At

¹²³• "Manorial Accounts", p. 25.

¹²⁴• These sums turned over are described as liberatio.

Chilbolton the house expenses during the harvest weeks were regularly lowered: from 65s. 7d. to 60 shillings in 1393, from 58s. 8d. to 55s. 8d. in 1396, from 32s. 8d. to 28 shillings in 1406, and similar reductions in other years. At Wootton in 1383, 1385 and other years the same pattern occurs, and in 1392 at this manor the carter who went about collecting the tithes at harvest time was cut down to 3s. 4d., instead of the 7 shillings which the sergeant had allowed. The messor's salary at Silkstead was, on a number of occasions in the 1380's,¹²⁵ held at 6s. 8d. despite the 8 shilling wage entered in the harvest section, and the wages paid to the hired reapers here in 1394 were altered from £4 2s. 4d. to £3 7s. 6d. The auditors allowed only twelve sheep (at 16d. each) in place of the fourteen which the Whitchurch sergeant stated had been consumed at the lord's table in 1385; this reduction and a number of others in the harvest food supplies resulted in a lowering of this item in the account by almost 6 shillings. In 1406 (and in other years) the reeve at Woolstone tried to protect himself by inserting, wherever he thought the auditors might challenge him, ut testatur per supervisorem stauri; however, this did not prevent his being charged 16d. for the loss of one calf and 3s. 5d. for cheese that was not (and ought to have been) produced.¹²⁶ The total amount charged against Thomas Lhude,

¹²⁵.E.g., at Silkstead in 1382 and 1384 etc.

¹²⁶.P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/22.

sergeant of Wootton in 1412, reached the high of £5 3s. 5d., a fact which must have caused the auditors to record that he was not to receive his grain allowance of five quarters and seven bushels this year, but might have it next year si domino placuerit.¹²⁷ The total at Silkstead in 1384 was £6 18s. 9d., £2 of which comprised the cost of four oxen that had died; the sergeant could not appeal his innocence because he had not previously obtained the testimony of the court on his behalf. There is another interesting entry at Silkstead in this same year, and in several later years, to the effect that a reward of 20d. was paid to the carter who had threatened that otherwise he wished to serve elsewhere; the auditors struck out this entry except for the year 1387 when the amount was paid. The auditors also made frequent changes in the selling prices of grain and stock at Wonston in the years between 1381 and 1400;¹²⁸ at Mapledurham the responsio or yield of grain in 1423¹²⁹ was judged by the auditorial board to be far below the estimates of the year, and so John Mounk the reeve was charged 11s. 5d. for three quarters one bushel of wheat, 11s. 3d. for three quarters of barley and 9s. 10d. for five quarters of oats. Mounk also paid 40 shillings this year for twenty pigs quia deficiunt but was

¹²⁷.

On the account roll of 1413 he did receive it!

¹²⁸. E.g., 1381, 1387, 1388, etc.

¹²⁹. B.M. Add. Roll 28092; the explanation is onera super computum ut respondet proprius ad estimacionem.

pardoned the loss of four piglets. Failure to meet the responsio in grain and stock was a frequent occurrence on many of the account rolls during the period under study.

The final result of auditorial scrutiny is shown in the section which begins Et debe[n]t comput. domino. It is important to note that this amount had nothing to do with an annual statement of profit or loss. "If the cash receipts exceeded the cash disbursements plus the liberatio, then the difference was owing by the official to the lord. If...the receipts fell short of the disbursements and the liberatio, then the difference was owing by the lord to the official."¹³⁰ In other words, as Drew makes clear, the official's debt was made up of two items: the cash value of the penalties imposed on him by the auditorial board and the balance of the cash account of the manor.¹³¹

In most cases during the period under study it was the reeve or sergeant who was obliged to pay, but usually not before certain deductions had been made. On the one hand, as we have seen, the landowners subscribed to the agricultural policy that the lord must suffer no loss¹³² and therefore the farm official was held responsible in almost every case regardless

¹³⁰. Drew, "Manorial Accounts", p. 26.

¹³¹. Ibid., pp. 36-7. Drew also suggests that in many cases if there had been no penalties there would have been no debt.

¹³². Supra, p.133, n. 224.

of the circumstances. On the other hand there are frequent entries recording deductions made for various reasons; and sometimes in addition, probably as the result of an appeal to the auditors or to the prior, amounts were forgiven ex gracia. Drew has examined both the charges and the deductions in the period 1381-1400.¹³³ According to his calculations the average net charge for the sixty-one surviving rolls is £2 17s. 5d.; moreover, there were fifty-six cases in which an appeal resulted in deductions averaging £1 16s. 3d., and thirty-two instances of pardons granted by the prior which averaged £1 2s. 5d. His conclusion is that over a third of these officials had to pay more than their total emoluments for the year, which he has computed as averaging about 24 shillings for the reeve¹³⁴ and £3 18s. for the sergeant.¹³⁵

Of the nine manors which remained in the hands of reeves or sergeants after 1400¹³⁶ and for which there are a number of surviving account rolls the evidence suggests a change of pattern if not of policy in some instances, although the poor condition of many of these rolls and their frequent omission of the very

¹³³. "Manorial Accounts", pp. 35-36.

¹³⁴. Ibid., p. 38.

¹³⁵. Ibid., p. 39. These figures were computed by adding to the average acquittance of rent in the case of the reeve and to the sergeant's yearly wage the approximate cash value of the grain and stock which he could expect (supra, pp. 78-81) and in the case of the sergeant an amount (usually 6s. 8d.) to cover the cost of his livery.

¹³⁶. Consult Section F, Appendix I, pp. 1-liii.

details which could remove the historian's uncertainties render any positive clarification impossible. However, it looks as though the amounts owed by the officials at Barton after 1402, at Chilbolton from about 1406, and at Mapledurham after 1416 were more or less consistently lower. Amounts owed at Littleton, Thurmonds and Wootton never appear to have been large after 1400, but at Woolstone there were great fluctuations: between 6s. 8d. in 1409 and £ 9 13s. in 1435. This last sum was actually paid by the reeve in time for him to withdraw quietus; and the same is true on the other manors where large amounts were due at the final reckoning. At Whitchurch, for instance, the auditors found that the computans owed £ 15 16s. 8d. in 1405. However, in the end he only had to hand over 13s. 4d. because £ 14 was allowed quos solvet super scaccarium, 16s. 8d. de diversis oneribus, and the prior pardoned him 6s. 8d. A similar procedure at Mapledurham reduced by almost two-thirds the £ 25 12s. 4d. owed by the reeve in 1408.¹³⁷ Thomas Purve (had) paid two separate amounts super scaccarium: £ 5 and £ 10 6s., the latter resulting from the sale of cider that year; he was also allowed 10s. 4d. de diversis oneribus and thus £ 9 6s. remained to be paid, and was paid, at the time of reckoning. The exceptionally large amounts owing at Crondal on the eleven surviving account rolls of the first half

¹³⁷. B.M. Add. Roll 28074.

of the fifteenth century present a perplexing problem.¹³⁸
The smallest amount recorded is £10 10s. in 1426, and all the others except one are over £19. The actual surcharges appear to have normally varied between 20 shillings and 40 shillings, although in 1434 they were £2 12s. 10d. and in 1451 they rose to £5 2s. 1d. Except for this last year there were no arrears of rent¹³⁹ which might have been charged against the sergeant, as there had been for instance in 1387 when the reeve was ordered to pay £4 for the millkeeper's arrears; in this case, however, the prior had pardoned the latter because he was poor. It is surprising at first sight to find that these large sums at Crondal appear to have been paid off, although the incompleteness of a number of the rolls makes it impossible to be certain in three cases.¹⁴⁰ Thus, John Newman, who was sergeant of Crondal from 1426 to 1428 must have been able to cope with these large debts. It seems more than likely that there were some undocumented advantages to holding office as Drew suggests since

¹³⁸. There are in fact thirteen rolls but on two of these the liberatio denariorum section is so worn as to be illegible.

¹³⁹. In 1451 the arrears were £15 7s. 4d.

¹⁴⁰. I.e., in 1400, 1411 (this dating is from internal evidence as the head of the roll is decayed), and 1423. In 1451 there was £15 3s. 10d. debt remaining.

these men were not only officials of the lord, they were also agriculturists on their own account, and ...their very status as the lord's representatives would bring them chances of advancing their own interests in a quite legitimate way. To take one example only - they would be much better placed than most of their fellow-farmers to hear of opportunities for making profitable purchases and sales in connexion with their own business.¹⁴¹

It is apposite to recall that on some manors a fixed annual target was set for the production of certain numbers of stock¹⁴² and to add that, provided these quotas were met, the auditors appear to have been satisfied. Unfortunately there is insufficient evidence to conclude that this was the case at Crondal, but there was a rough pattern of uniformity with regard to the numbers of pigs and poultry sent to the priory kitchens.¹⁴³ An enterprising sergeant or reeve could therefore, and probably did, ensure that these numbers were higher than required so that he might make a profit by selling the surplus.

Finally, it may well be that many of these manorial officials played the same game as the auditors by altering numbers and prices in their own favour, and it is unlikely that they were caught every time. Thus, whenever they could succeed in making the total expenses higher than they actually were, the final reckoning would be to their advantage. However, there is of course

¹⁴¹."Manorial Accounts", p. 39.

¹⁴².Supra, p.155-56.

¹⁴³.See Table D.1, Appendix I, p. xxi.

no evidence that they did so apart from Walter of Henley's warning that "it happeneth often that servauntes and reeves doe by thei themselves and others make merchandize of theire maisters money for theire owne gaine and not for the gaine of theire maister" and "doe in their accompte increase the things boughte and dyminishe the things solde."¹⁴⁴ Whatever the truth in this respect it is clear that the auditors, and through them the prior, retained a firm measure of control; but theory seems to have been mitigated in practice, while the principle of authority remained unchallenged.

*

In recent years a number of English medieval historians have shown a great interest in the men who became farmers of the manorial demesnes in the later middle ages. Both Prof. Du Boulay¹⁴⁵ and Dr. Harvey¹⁴⁶ have pointed to the importance of discovering who they were in the light of some of the earlier and also more recent general assumptions about late medieval

¹⁴⁴. D. Oschinsky, ed., Walter of Henley and other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting, Oxford, 1971, p. 341.

¹⁴⁵. F.R.H. Du Boulay, "Who were Farming the English Demesnes at the End of the Middle Ages?", Economic History Review, Second Series, XVII, no. 3, 1965, pp. 443-55; also his book The Lordship of Canterbury. An Essay on Medieval Society, London, 1966, pp. 218 ff.

¹⁴⁶. B. Harvey, "The Leasing of the Abbot of Westminster's Demesnes in the Later Middle Ages", Economic History Review, Second Series, XXII, No. 1, 1969, pp. 17-27.

rural economy. Thorold Rogers in the nineteenth century¹⁴⁷ and Dr. Bridbury in our own day¹⁴⁸ have concluded that this was the era when the peasants were beginning to come into their own by taking on the manorial leases, to the great relief of the landlords who were relieved to abandon the unrewarding task of the direct exploitation of their demesnes. Dr. Harvey on the Westminster Abbey estates and Prof. Du Boulay on those of the Canterbury archbishopric have both found that at least some of the firmarii were men of substance and social standing. This group, which is "more aptly classified as gentry than as peasants",¹⁴⁹ as Dr. Harvey suggests, forms a small but significant minority whose presence disproves the view that these lessees were all peasants and that rural society in this period can be neatly divided into two classes: the landlords and the peasantry.¹⁵⁰ In fact, it is not possible to make any generalizations about a situation which clearly varied from one estate to another and from one region to another. There seem to have been more men of "substantial family"¹⁵¹ on the Canterbury lands than on those of

¹⁴⁷. J.E. Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices in England..., Vol. I, Oxford, 1866, pp. 667ff., and also Six Centuries of Work and Wages. The History of English Labour, 2nd ed., 1886, pp. 274ff.

¹⁴⁸. A.R. Bridbury, Economic Growth: England in the Later Middle Ages, 1962, p. 92.

¹⁴⁹. Harvey, Op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁵⁰. Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁵¹. Du Boulay, "Who were Farming the English Demesnes at the End of the Middle Ages?", p. 445.

Westminster, or on those of Leicester Abbey which Hilton describes as being leased by "an upper class among the peasantry which had been growing in strength before it had the opportunity to extend the scale of its enterprise by the leasing of manorial demesnes."¹⁵² Since the farmers of only a few of the large estates have been examined to date, it will be worthwhile to consider the St. Swithun's members of this group in order to discover their origins and status as well as the conditions under which they leased the priory demesnes.

Unfortunately most of the evidence is derived from one source, that of the record on the account rolls, which is limited to the details pertaining to the financial arrangements; but the farmers and their families do occur frequently on the court rolls and occasionally in the Common Seal Register.¹⁵³ Thus, while this priory register contains many leases of land and tenements relating both to the bishop and to the prior and convent, none of the indentures of leases are recorded;¹⁵⁴ it is clear that they must have been preserved together and none appear to have

¹⁵². R.H. Hilton, The Economic Development of Some Leicestershire Estates in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, London, 1947, p. 94.

¹⁵³. Mainly in the deeds of manumission.

¹⁵⁴. On ff. 49v-50r of the Common Seal Register the prior and convent leased the site of one fuller's mill at Eston for 26 years to Richard Turnaunt, a citizen of Winchester. The annual rent was to be 10 shillings and the terms are spelled out in detail (A.D. 1430).

survived.¹⁵⁵ With one exception none of the court records note the farmers' appearance before the court to have their agreement with the lord enrolled.¹⁵⁶ Despite these sporadic glimpses of the St. Swithun's farmers it is possible to construct a tentative picture of them as a group and to discern the main trends in leasing up to the middle of the fifteenth century, a trend which may well have continued for some years after 1450.

A study of the manuscript sources of St. Swithun's in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries might reveal a change in the direction of the Canterbury type of gentleman-farmer found by Du Boulay;¹⁵⁷ in the earlier years of manorial farming this is not the case. Of the twenty-six farmers recorded on twelve manors between 1381 and 1450, most if not all were clearly local men and, with the exception of five, nativi. While the "ministerial-type lessee"¹⁵⁸ does not predominate as at Westminster, seven farmers at St. Swithun's are known to have previously held the office of reeve, sergeant or rent collector, and four more bear names of families of whom other members

¹⁵⁵. In the early sixteenth century the monks at Canterbury had a special register into which "they copied indentures of leases pertaining to the archbishopric estates as well as their own," (Du Boulay, "Who were Farming the English Demesnes...", p.445). Professor Du Boulay informs me that the monks appear to have kept copies of some earlier leases, e.g., in the Register now distinguished as 'S'.

¹⁵⁶. The 1408 Hurstbourne lease is found on the 1408 court roll. (The month and day are illegible.) Most of the court rolls for the years in question have not survived.

¹⁵⁷. In the article referred to above in footnote 151, passim.

¹⁵⁸. Harvey, Op. cit., p. 20.

were in the lord's service; it is more than probable that there remain others in this category, but the information is lacking.

William atte Rook, who appears as farmer at Hannington on the 1395 account roll, had learned his expertise as sergeant of the neighbouring manor of Wootton during the previous five years; John Williams was reeve of Chilbolton in 1423-4 and 1432-3 before becoming farmer there in 1444-5; at Mapledurham Thomas Purve, who was farmer on the 1411 account roll, had been reeve three years earlier while John Webb, farmer in 1429-30 had been sergeant in 1424-5;¹⁵⁹ both William Wylkins and John atte Teo of Wonston served as rent collectors for several years before taking out the lease of the demesne from the previous farmers with whom they had worked;¹⁶⁰ and William Lang who is named on the court roll of 1408 as farmer at Hurstbourne had been reeve there in 1391 and 1393. Three of the six other farmers whose families had records of service are John and William Mascal¹⁶¹ of Stockton and John Gervays¹⁶² of Enford. A William Mascal was messor at Stockton in 1396 and 1397¹⁶³ and numerous other Mascals move in and out of the court

¹⁵⁹. For Purve see B.M. Add. Rolls 28078 and 28074 respectively, and for Webb Add. Rolls 28106 and 28095.

¹⁶⁰. William Wylkins was farmer on the 1422 account roll and John atte Teo on those of 1434 and 1439. A Robert Wylkins is named as reeve on all the extant Wonston account rolls from 1386 to 1402.

¹⁶¹. Supra, pp.205-06.

¹⁶². Supra, pp.208-09.

¹⁶³. B.M. Add. Roll 24353 (Martinmas 1396); B.M. Add. Roll 24354 (Hock 1397).

records.¹⁶⁴ At least six members of the Gervays family group received grants of manumission in the form of a general acquittance, a fact which suggests that they had previously served the prior. Thomas Brown, farmer of Manydown in 1444-5 succeeded John Brown who had held the office of reeve there for the preceding decade; presumably these men were closely related to one another.

Only five of the St. Swithun's farmers in this period are known to have been or become free men: Thomas Brown of Manydown, John Mascal of Stockton, John Gervays of Enford, Richard Nichole of Wonston¹⁶⁵ and John Mason of Hannington who is described as liber on the Hock court roll of 1415.

There are records of seventeen leases of eleven manors on the account rolls, the earliest of which is noted on the 1399 Silkstead roll and the latest on that of Chilbolton dated 1459. Prior to 1396, which is the date of the commencement of

¹⁶⁴. E.g., Walter Mascal who takes up a holding at the Hock court of 1400 (B.M. Add. Roll 24358); James Mascal son of Walter at the Hock court of 1405 (W.R.O., 906/SC/3); William Mascal who died in 1407 (W.R.O., 906/SC/3, the Hock court); another William who broke the assize of ale in 1410 (same reference as the preceding).

¹⁶⁵. See the list of manumissions, Section F., Appendix I, pp. xlvii-xlix for details.

the Silkstead lease, of the eighteen manors now being examined¹⁶⁶ only Westwood had been leased out earlier.¹⁶⁷ A century later, i.e., by 1465, the last two manors, Barton and Crondal, had farmers, although the Barton account rolls of the second half of the century continued to be as lengthy and all inclusive as the earlier ones and both bailiffs and sergeants were in office;¹⁶⁸ no doubt Barton, the home farm, remained an exception to the end. At St. Swithun's the process of leasing the manorial demesnes was spread over a longer period than it was at Christ Church, Canterbury¹⁶⁹ or Westminster;¹⁷⁰ and Leicester Abbey still retained a small amount

¹⁶⁶. See Table A.2, Appendix I, p. ii. There are no account rolls for Nursling and Millbrook, but the account roll of the custos operum of the priory mentions the sergeant of Millbrook in 1409, and on the 1533 roll of the same obedi-entary, a reeve at Millbrook and a farmer at Nursling. A farmer (unidentified) is mentioned on the 1429 Hock court roll. Presumably the sixteenth century reeve could have been working for a farmer or even, as at Crawley (supra, p.114,n.161. have had both titles.

¹⁶⁷. By 1365.

¹⁶⁸. E.g., John Dekyn, bailiff occurs at the top of the 1477 roll.

¹⁶⁹. R.A.L. Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, p.145. The demesnes were all let out on lease by 1400. On the arch-bishop's estates the date is half a century later. (F.R.H. Du Boulay, "Who were Farming the English Demesnes....,"p.445). As far away as Durham a similar pattern obtained; Miss Halcrow found that by 1451 the monks of Durham cathedral priory had abandoned demesne farming. (E.M. Halcrow, "The Decline of Demesne Farming on the Estates of Durham Cathedral Priory", Economic History Review, Second Series, VII, no.3, 1955, p.356.

¹⁷⁰. B. Harvey, Op. cit., p. 19.

of demesne in 1477,¹⁷¹ probably equivalent to the home farm at Barton. Lack of evidence eliminates the possibility of knowing whether or not the sizes of the demesnes leased by these early farmers were significantly smaller than they had been around the middle of the fourteenth century.¹⁷² Under the firme section of the account rolls there are a number of entries which show small portions of the demesne at farm, but there is no indication that these were more than short term leases.¹⁷³

The manor of Hannington provides an interesting example of the various stages which might precede the permanent leasing of the whole demesne. In 1378 there appears to have been a partial farm of the demesne since several sections of the account roll have only the statement nihil quia per firmarium; this occurs as a marginal addition beside exitus manerii and also after the headings custus carec., custus caruc., and custus berc. Also, on the back of the roll the capons, geese

171.

R.H. Hilton, Leicestershire Estates, p. 91.

172. On the Leicester Abbey estates Hilton found that in most cases the area of the demesne in 1477 was the same as it had been in 1341. (Loc. cit., p. 90).

173. E.g., the sergeant of Thurmonds was renting out 4 acres of demesne to "divers men" in 1409; there were several 1 and 2 acre leases of demesne at Hannington in the late 1370's, and in 1385 the nativi there were paying 10 shillings for the lease of a pasture.

and fowl were listed as per firmarium. The next surviving roll of 1381 shows Robert Jordan paying $\text{£}4\ 13\text{s. } 4\text{d.}$ for the farm of the whole demesne for the next twelve years; however, six years later Benedict atte Mersh was sergeant there and Robert Jordan is recorded as having paid 12d. for licence to wander outside the manor.¹⁷⁴ In 1389 the almost totally illegible account roll has a Thomas ?wede, farmer; but from 1391 to 1393 William Vox held the office of sergeant. Finally, in 1394, William atte Rook took out the lease of the demesne and ten years later, on the 1404 roll, he was paying $\text{£}4\ 1\text{s. } 2\text{d.}$ for the farm. Mapledurham is the only other manor for which there is evidence of the return to direct exploitation of the demesne after a period of leasing; Thomas Purye, the first farmer, rendered his account for the year 1411¹⁷⁵ and probably remained until 1415 or 1416.¹⁷⁶ The following year a reeve succeeded him,¹⁷⁷ followed by a sergeant in 1425.¹⁷⁸ By 1430 the demesne was once again at farm,

¹⁷⁴. He came back to be farmer once again in 1409-10 !

¹⁷⁵.
B.M. Add. Roll 28078.

¹⁷⁶. There are no account rolls for these years.

¹⁷⁷. John Mounk by name (B.M. Add. Roll 28082).

¹⁷⁸. John Webb (B.M. Add. Roll 28096).

probably for the sum of £ 6 13d. 4d.,¹⁷⁹ which was reduced by £2 when Thomas atte Wode became farmer in 1440.¹⁸⁰

It has been noted above¹⁸¹ that the information which can be derived from the details of these leases provided on the account rolls is difficult to analyse because it is incomplete. However, a good deal may be learned from a closer examination of these and the other surviving accounts rendered by St. Swithun's farmers. To return to Hannington, we find that before 1420 the farmer continued to account for the lord's sheep, although the numbers, never large, by 1418 had dwindled to fifty-two wethers who provided a mere thirty-five pounds of wool. On the 1420 account roll and on all those of later years this information ceases; and it is to be noted that the change corresponds fairly closely with the commencement of a new lease sometime during 1421.¹⁸² The record on the 1426 account roll shows that the assized rent and the farm have now been separated, so that while the preceding farmers were charged £16 for both, Robert Zebot now paid £ 3 13s. 4d. for the farm of "all the demesne lands,"¹⁸³

179. The sergeant became the farmer and paid ad scaccarium this one sum. (B.M. Add. Roll 28106).

180. B.M. Add. Roll 28122.

181. Supra, p. 228.

182. See the Hannington leases, Section H., Appendix I, pp. liv-lv. and note that the second lease b), dated 1426, was in its fifth year.

183. Loc. cit.

and J. Knyght the rent collector turned in £12 3s. for the fixed rents. Both the lease and the rent declined during the next few years, so that by 1436 the farm was a mere £2 and the rent £10. As Du Boulay affirmed, "A landlord whose terms were too steep would fail to let, and let he must";¹⁸⁴ and the prospective farmers were in a strong position to obtain favourable terms. Like the farmers of the Wiltshire demesnes of Westwood and Wroughton the Hannington farmers returned a very brief annual account, for the monks made few demands of them apart from the yearly reckoning and the two regular visits of priory officials to hold the courts.

The Wootton-Manydown demesne was not farmed until 1444 at which time, as the 1447 record¹⁸⁵ of the lease shows, Thomas Brown undertook to "farm" three hundred sheep as well as the manorial demesne, but he continued to account for a small amount of grain and a few pigs and poultry.¹⁸⁶ At Silkstead sheep and capons were accounted for after 1399; in terms of wool fleeces the numbers did not decline appreciably, while both sheep and capons remained part of the food farm demanded by the priory.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴. F.R.H. Du Boulay, "Who were Farming the English Demesnes..." p. 444. In the same article (p. 450) Du Boulay refers to the occasional distribution to the archbishop's farmers of robes of the lord's livery or, alternatively, of cash; the farmers on at least seven of the St. Swithun's manors regularly received amounts ranging between one mark and half a mark, the latter being more usual in the 1420's and later.

¹⁸⁵. See the two leases, Section H., Appendix I, p. lvii. The second is probably the correct version.

¹⁸⁶. Some of this produce was sent to the priory. See Table D.1, Appendix I, p. xxx.

¹⁸⁷. See Table D.1, Appendix I, p. xxvii.

The first of the two Woolstone leases was a land lease similar to that of Silkstead, but the second one, dated 1458 gives the terms of a new arrangement by which the farmer-reeve guaranteed to provide at his expense winter feed and other necessities for the lord's sheep; at the same time he took on the farm of thirty hogasters at one shilling a head. The single record of a Stockton lease is also similar to that of Silkstead since the stock, which consisted of sheep only, were evidently considered an important asset to the priory and were not relinquished; for the first half century of farming at Stockton¹⁸⁸ details of the purchase and sale of wethers and hogasters, together with their vital statistics and the amount of wool obtained, were carefully recorded by the Mascals and their successors.

When John Gervays first leased the demesne at Enford in 1432 the heavy stock and sheep disappeared from the stock account although there is no explanation given on the 1433 account roll;¹⁸⁹ grain, pigs, and poultry remained, however, and as at Manydown and Silkstead, a fixed quota continued to be delivered to the priory.

¹⁸⁸. I.e., 1400-1450.

¹⁸⁹. B.M. Rot. Harl. X.8.

The account of the first farmer at Mapledurham¹⁹⁰ was only slightly shorter and less detailed than that of the reeve before him, but it was soon reduced to include only grain, sheep, pigs, and apples. By 1440 the grain and stock had ceased to be accounted for and the farmer was paying an annual rent of £4 13s. 4d., while the assized rents amounted to £25 13s. 1d. These two sums together equal the total charged to the first farmer before the separation had occurred.

According to the record of his indenture of 1406 John Carpenter at Wonston accounted for £16 which included both the assized rents and the farm;¹⁹¹ of the former complete stock and grain account grain, sheep, pigs and lactage remained but in briefer form. By 1447 only a few quarters of wheat, oats and barley were being accounted for and sent to the priory and Richard Nicole held a stock and land lease for which he paid £7 15s. 10d.¹⁹² Since the assized rents amounted to £14 7s., the result is, in this case, an increase over the single sum paid by John Carpenter.

Supervision of their lessees was strictly maintained throughout the period of this study by the prior and convent of St. Swithun's. There is abundant evidence for this activity which

¹⁹⁰. B.M. Add. Roll 28078, A.D. 1411.

¹⁹¹. Previously the redditus assisus had been £15 3s. 1d.

¹⁹². That is £6 5s. for the sheep and £1 10d. for the demesne; the lease is in Section H., Appendix I. p.lvii. The demesne is not mentioned in the 1447 lease as recorded on the account roll.

centred around the regular holding of courts and the supervision of stock, especially of sheep and usually at the time of shearing. In this respect it is clear that the advent of the farmer, in the beginning at least, produced little change in the pattern of manorial administration. The visits of officials from the priory are usually noted under foreign expenses, their names and the purpose and length of their stay often being provided. The monks themselves are also to be numbered in this group; in many cases their presence is recorded in the liberatio denariorum section in connexion with taking back to the priory certain portions of the cash receipts. The most frequent visitors, however, were the lord's steward, or the obedientiary to whose office the particular manor was attached, the stock supervisor and a small group of lesser clerical and lay officials who probably functioned as the latter's assistants. Since the following chapter will be devoted to an examination of the personnel of the priory which was responsible for manorial administration, here it will be sufficient to observe a few individuals in the performance of their duties.

The Wiltshire farmers at Enford, Stockton and Westwood appear to have been visited regularly each year by the lord's steward and by one or more of the supervisory officials; the former's presence can be gathered by the entries under receipts and expenses of the courts on the account rolls and also by the

occasional references to one of his decisions or commands which may be found on both account and court rolls.¹⁹³ The latter are frequently mentioned by name. At Westwood and Stockton Robert Hayhod, clericus domini, was a regular visitor and inspector for many years in succession prior to about 1422 when John Greenfield replaced him. Greenfield is also found at Enford during the 1430's and 1440's; the reason for these visits was in most cases explained by the accountant who had recourse to one or more stock phrases, e.g., pro manerio supervidendo or pro stauro ordinando. Of the monks brother Peter Cranbourne, the convent receiver between 1431 and 1433,¹⁹⁴ stopped at all three manors during his term of office, in order to collect varying amounts of cash from the farmers and rent collectors.¹⁹⁵ Nicholas Mersh was making a similar round of visits in the early 1450's at the time when he may have been holding the same office.¹⁹⁶ One or other of the senior monks turns up at Mapledurham on every surviving farmer's account roll for the years between 1430 and 1450, and John Greenfield's regular appearance is also recorded as are some interesting de-

¹⁹³. E.g., the 1413 Stockton account roll notes that the steward ordered the purchase of 30 hogasters. (B.M. Add. Roll 24405); and in 1418 also at Stockton the steward dismissed a charge of negligence against one of the famuli (B.M. Add. Roll 24409).

¹⁹⁴. See Section I.1, Appendix I, p. lxi.

¹⁹⁵. These sums sometimes correspond to the amount of the farm or of a portion of the assized rents, or of the certum etc.

¹⁹⁶. From the recent return of several rolls of the custus operum it is known that Mersh held this office in 1450-51.

tails of his diverse activities there. These include in 1430, pro terra dominica mensuranda;¹⁹⁷ in 1442, pro stauro novo firmario deliberando;¹⁹⁸ in 1446, pro compoto anni preteriti audiendo;¹⁹⁹ and in the following year pro novo reddituali faciendo [sic].²⁰⁰ Greenfield, and John Mounter, who probably held the office of stock supervisor,²⁰¹ both visited Wonston and Hannington, and Hayhod and Greenfield were often at Silkstead; thus the pattern of these tours of inspection and regulation was not interrupted in the early days of demesne leasing.²⁰²

Although we are deprived of the terms laid down in the indentures of these early leases, it can hardly be doubted that despite the farmers' acknowledged authority the monks as well as the designated inspectors cast a wary eye around them during their stopover and issued recommendations or condemnation whenever necessary. We are likewise uncertain of the details concerning responsibility for the construction and repairs of buildings; at Westwood and Hannington it appears to have been

¹⁹⁷. B.M. Add. Roll 28106. A new rental was the result, and higher rents.

¹⁹⁸. B.M. Add. Roll 28123.

¹⁹⁹. B.M. Add. Roll 28125.

²⁰⁰. B.M. Add. Roll 28126. This rental lowered the total of the assized rents by approximately £5.

²⁰¹. Supra, pp. 172-73 and infra, pp. 279-81. The same may well apply to Greenfield.

²⁰². I.e., before 1450.

shared between the prior and the farmer, as the prior on several occasions made deductions in the amounts owed by the farmer because of the latter's building and maintenance operations.²⁰³ However, at Hannington carpenters' wages and major construction were also charged,²⁰⁴ as was apparently the case at Mapledurham. Since there is no mention of construction at either Wonston or Silkstead it is probable that at these manors the farmers were responsible for the upkeep of buildings on the demesne; a similar situation may have prevailed at Stockton except in 1416 and 1417 when a major construction programme was in progress, presumably undertaken by order of the prior himself.²⁰⁵ The prior of St. Swithun's, like the abbot of Westminster, appears to have continued to concern himself with the regular supervision of repairs and building since there is no evidence of dilapidation on the demesne;²⁰⁶ whereas the steward found the tenants frequently neglectful of the buildings on their holdings, I have not found any similar complaints levied against the farmers.

More generally, it seems clear that, in the case of the St. Swithun's manors, although the monastic landlord may have

²⁰³. E.g. at Westwood in 1421, 1426 etc., and at Hannington in 1418.

²⁰⁴. In 1429 and 1444.

²⁰⁵. B.M. Add. Rolls 24407 and 24408.

²⁰⁶. B. Harvey, Op. cit., p. 25. On this same page Miss Harvey refers to the "extensive dilapidation of buildings recorded... in the fifteenth-century inventories of Durham Cathedral Priory." (See, for example, Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Surtees Society, Vol. IX, 1839, pp. cclxxxuff.).

been glad to relinquish the actual farming of the demesne there was no decline in his interest in its administration. That this is a reasonable conclusion is borne out by the type of lessees who were both acceptable and available; though they are found to have been more able and enterprising men than their neighbours, they were of local origin,²⁰⁷ former tenants, if not nativi, who almost certainly undertook to manage the farms themselves; accustomed to the lord's authority they could hardly have been unwilling to accept continued supervision, provided that the terms of their agreements gave them sufficient freedom to determine the sowing, cultivating, reaping, pasturing and other arrangements pertaining to their farming office.²⁰⁸

In their capacity as monastic landlords I would suggest that the prior and convent of St. Swithun's have shown themselves to have been more humane and considerate than stern and oppressive, just, but on the whole reasonable. It was never a case of a fundamental opposition between the landlord and his tenant, manorial manager, or demesne lessee, the one out to oppress and the other to resist and overcome; an understanding of human nature is all that is required to explain the reason that there was a

²⁰⁷. There is, of course, no final certainty about all of them since some cannot be identified.

²⁰⁸. It is not safe to assume that the results of this policy must have been financially beneficial to St. Swithun's. This is a complex question and probably insoluble due to the loss of all the receiver's rolls of this period.

degree of exploitation on both sides, as well as a fairly strict exaction of manorial rights and dues on the one hand and moments of resentment and restiveness on the other. There is no evidence to uphold the argument that either side was in "a position of special economic weakness",²⁰⁹ although landlords were now on the whole in more straitened circumstances, and there were at the same time more variations in economic status among the manorial peasantry.

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Du Boulay, "Who were Farming the English Demesnes...", p.449. He is here referring to the Canterbury farmers and their archiepiscopal lord, but the phrase is equally valid in this broader context.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL OF THE PRIORY

For the period of this study the administrative personnel of St. Swithun's priory is an elusive group, frequently incapable of individual identification and even more frequently insusceptible of any kind of classification. These hindrances and limitations impeding historical investigation in this area have their origin in several factors, the most obvious of which is the accident of the survival of some and the disappearance of other manuscript sources.¹ A second problem which presents a more serious drawback to the successful delineation of this chapter lies in the fact that in the remaining medieval records of the priory the desired, and often the essential, information may be lacking; names may be given without designation of office, or the office itself mentioned without the name of the holder. Moreover, in the attempt to reconstruct and describe the functioning of councils, courts and committees one is aided only by fragments of indirect evidence referring to their pronouncements and decisions. A third complication arises due to the constant changes in the composition of the shadowy group of men in the employ of St. Swithun's; this problem is partially alleviated by the existence of a small permanent nucleus, and by the continuity provided by the monastic officials who played an active role in all spheres of the admini-

¹. As explained at the outset the nature of this study has been largely determined by the type and content of the extant records.

stration of the temporal affairs of their house. Finally, at St. Swithun's even among what appear to be the permanent members of the administrative staff, a further uncertainty remains because of the fact that specialization of function is not particularly marked, with the result that unless full details are provided it is impossible to ascertain the nature or purpose of, for example, a manorial visit or a journey to London in negocio domini.

A large proportion, although by no means all, of the officials (monastic, clerical and lay) who were employed by the priory were directly involved in manorial administration which is the theme of this study. In adherence to this theme, therefore, it is the group of persons to whom the prior and his advisers assigned the task of manorial organization and supervision with which we are now chiefly concerned. In the absence of chapter acts and ordinances, visitation records,² priors' letter books and registers³ we are dependent on manorial records and obedientiary accounts as the main sources of information.⁴ For the period of this study the administrative personnel of the priory will be considered in a descending order of managerial function in order to observe the implementation and exercise of authority at each level.

².With the exception of Wykeham's injunctions (B.M. Harley MS.328) to which reference has been made above p.9.

³.The Common Seal Register provides little information on the internal organization or administration of the priory.

⁴.Both Durham and Canterbury have a more abundant and more varied collection of manuscript material. See, for example, the unpublished thesis of R.B. Dobson, The Priory of Durham in the Time of John Wessington, Prior 1416-1446, Oxford, D. Phil., 1962. For Canterbury see R.A.L. Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, pp. 222-225.

Six priors span the seventy-year period of the study, three of them being in office during Beaufort's episcopate. If we exclude the sixth prior whose election took place in 1450 the average length of office of the remaining five was fifteen years. Three of these, Robert Rudbourne, Thomas Neville and Thomas Shirebourne were university men,⁵ a fairly good record at this time when Benedictine houses were sending very few of their members to Oxford.⁶

Some of the obedientiaries also had lengthy terms of office; Richard Marlborough, for instance, was chamberlain for sixteen years and hordarian for twelve⁷ and seems to have had responsibility for both offices during part of this time.⁸ Other offices were changed more frequently with the result that a number of the brethren must have gained a fairly broad experience over the years. Thomas Shirebourne, who was elected prior in 1415, had served successively as the convent treasurer (1400-01), master of the works (1406), hordarian (1407-12) and master of

⁵. Emden includes all three in his register of Oxford. See the list of priors and obedientiaries in Section I, Appendix I, pp. lvi-lxii.

⁶. In most of the years for which there exist obedientiary account rolls there are two, and occasionally three monk-students at Oxford whose expenses are recorded. See Pantin, Chapters of the English Black Monks, Vol. II, pp. 22, 77, 149; Vol. III, pp. 149, 175.

⁷. He may have been hordarian for as long as 24 years, but there is a gap in the records.

⁸. Wykeham's injunctions of 1387 which had ruled against the simultaneous occupancy of more than one office were continuing to be quietly disregarded in at least this one case. (B.M. Harley MS. 328, f. 9r).

the works once again before his election as prior in 1415. It is clear from Wykeham's injunctions to the priory in 1387 that he had discovered irregularities in the appointments to obedientiary office for he enjoined Prior Rudbourne to adhere to the procedure prescribed in the agreement of 1284.⁹ In addition Wykeham laid down that for the future the election and formal appointment (prefeccio) to office were to take place openly (in communi) in the chapter house and not privately in the prior's chamber.¹⁰ From the complaints of brethren who may well have disliked the prior we obtain this glimpse of the internal state of the house; it is a view probably arising out of prejudice and must be neither overstressed nor discounted. What is essential is that we strive to approach as closely as possible to the truth by making our way carefully between the few embarrassingly intimate details such as this one, and the many terse, formal entries on the account and court rolls into which the breath of life can rarely be infused.

Despite the many regrettable lacunae in the cathedral priory manuscripts some insights may be gained through the fortunate survival, in two instances, of obedientiary and manorial records which belong to each other in the sense that the same

⁹. See Section D, Appendix II, p. lxxx for the exact wording of the agreement; the key phrase is per consilium sui Conventus.

¹⁰. This is in the section entitled, De prefeccone obedienciariorum..., B.M. Harley MS. 328, f. 10v-11r.

revenues are accounted for in both because the manorial income supported the obedientiary office. The fairly complete series of Woolstone account and court rolls thus serves as a valuable supplement to the seven remaining hordarian's rolls;¹¹ and the three account and three court rolls of Hinton Ampner contribute details which are a helpful addition to the fourteen almoner's rolls.¹²

The hordarian of St. Swithun's was responsible for seven manors¹³ which together with a few small rents brought in a revenue of £213 9s. in 1382.¹⁴ In this year, as in earlier and later years he was unable to meet all his heavy responsibilities the most costly of which was the annual sum of £182 paid to the convent kitchen.¹⁵ In this particular year Ralph Basyng started

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- ¹¹. Of the hordarian's rolls only four (for the period 1380-1450) are printed by Kitchin in his Obedientary Rolls, pp. 279-289; these are for the years 1382, 1401, 1406 and 1410. In addition three rolls for the years 1402, 1403 and 1452, have recently been returned from Downside Abbey.
- ¹². Kitchin printed all fourteen of these (Op. cit., pp. 412-448); the years are 1387, 1390, 1396, 1399, 1403, 1405, 1406, ?1410, 1411 (Easter to Michaelmas only), 1414, 1416, 1419, 1438 and 1445. The heading of the roll which he dated 1410 is very worn; it appears to me to read 1417.
- ¹³. These were Exton, Bran[de]sbury, Hoddington, Avington, Bleadon in Somerset, Hinton in Wiltshire and Woolstone in Berkshire.
- ¹⁴. This is the highest manorial income received by any of the obedientiary offices for which rolls exist in the period under study.
- ¹⁵. This payment was increased by 100 shillings in 1393 as a result of Wykeham's ordinance issued to the convent in that year in his attempt to increase the amount and quality of the food (B.M. Harley MS.328 f.19v). Unfortunately the almoner was unable to pay the extra sum in 1401 and possibly in other years.

off with a debt of £17 18s. 7d., and his expenses exceeded his receipts by £33 17s. 4d. but the records fail to provide any further information as to how these debts were alleviated. On one occasion the "prior, subprior and other auditors"¹⁶ remitted the sum of £6 7s. 3d. so that the expenses were in excess of the receipts by a mere 33s. 4d., but the large deficits seem to have remained.¹⁷

Among the hordarian's smaller expenses are recorded a number of items which provide details of the staff which assisted him in his administrative tasks. In 1382 Basyng bought robes for a steward (senescallus), a monk-colleague (amicus),¹⁸ a clerk (clericus), an administrator in place of a bursar (dispensator), and three servientes (?manorial serjeants); there were also three garciones whom Kitchen designates as 'horseboys.'¹⁹ The stipend of the bursar is recorded as 10 shillings while two of the garciones

¹⁶. This is the wording on the hordarian's roll for 1406.

¹⁷. On the 1470 roll the deficit was £18 15s. 5d. A reference on the hordarian's roll shows that the sum of £39 5s. was borrowed from Bishop Edington's chest that year and 100 shillings were returned as the first instalment toward repayment. Another loan from the same chest was also in the process of being repaid. Edington had left a generous legacy to the monks (Kitchen, Obedientiary Rolls, p. 86).

¹⁸. This is Kitchen's rendering of the Latin (Op. cit., p. 280, n.1) and seems reasonable in the light of the other similar references in later rolls. The word socius is also used in the same context. The chamberlain's account roll of Abingdon Abbey (1428-29) has a separate section for stipendia famulorum; there seems to be no steward, but some of the staff are mentioned by name (R.E.G.Kirk ed., Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey, Camden Society, N.S., Vol. LI, 1892, pp. 107-09)

¹⁹. Loc. cit. The clothing expenses for these seven officials totalled £6. The boys were supplied with bread valued at 22s. 6d. A laundress was also employed by the hordarian at 4s. per annum.

received 5 shillings each. In 1406 and 1410 reference is made to the hordarian's chaplain, and in the latter year to the steward of the manors by name.²⁰

That Ralph Basyng made regular annual visits to his manors in the years in which he served as hordarian, is likely from his frequent purchases of horses, saddles and other riding equipment and from entries on the Woolstone account rolls. While at Woolstone he usually collected various sums of money,²¹ including the amounts obtained from the sale of wool, the negotiations for which he seems to have undertaken himself.²² His four known successors apparently carried out their duties in a similar manner, assisted by their stewards and a number of other officials who did not form part of the hordarian's administrative staff but were attached to the priory.

There is some uncertainty about the identity of the steward

²⁰. He was William Sturtone who unfortunately does not appear by name on any other records.

²¹. The assized rents amounted to £ 10 13s. 11d. for most of our period, and the hordarian's rolls show an average of £ 32 (approximately) received from Woolstone annually.

²². The phrase is lana per ipsum vend[enda] on the 1387 Woolstone account roll (P.R.O., S.C.6/757/11), and in succeeding years. It must be added, however, that the expenses recorded by the manor on account of these visits are surprisingly infrequent after 1380.

at Woolstone on the occasions when he is described as senescallus domini.²³ In the light of other references on these manorial account rolls, where he is senescallus manerii²⁴ or simply senescallus, it is more than probable that all the references are to the hordarian's rather than to the prior's steward. The prior himself does not appear to have paid a visit to Woolstone apart from a brief stopover in 1379,²⁵ though supervision of the manor was often undertaken by some of the officials in the employ of the prior and convent, men like John atte Brygger and John Mounter for example who made the rounds of many manors during their period of office.²⁶ If the assumption about the hordarian's stewards is correct there are two mentioned by name at Woolstone between 1417 and 1436, John Shotsebrouk and Richard Holt,²⁷ both are found supervising and receiving an annual fee of 20 shillings. In addition there is a Walter Cordray who is described as a stock supervisor receiving the same fee each year for which the manorial accounts survive between 1408 and 1430. On the 1424 roll he is identified

²³. As in 1424 (P.R.O., S.C.6/758/5), and 1430 (P.R.O., S.C.6/758/7).

²⁴. On the account roll for 1417 (P.R.O., S.C.6/758/4).

²⁵. On this occasion he had two capons (P.R.O., S.C.6/757/6).

²⁶. See Section K., Appendix I, pp. lxvii-lxii for the names and visits of these men.

²⁷. John Shotsebrouk in 1417, 1424 and 1430 (P.R.O., S.C.6/758/4; 5; 7) and Richard Holt in 1434, 1435 and 1436 (P.R.O., S.C.6/758/8; 9; 10). These men are found only at Woolstone.

as a clericus domini; the question therefore arises as to which lord employed him, since apart from Woolstone his name also occurs on one occasion, in 1423, at the almoner's manor of Hinton Ampner where the entry records the payment of 20 shillings made to him as steward of the manor.

An examination of the almoner's rolls reveals frequent mention of a steward, and on two occasions of the steward of the manor of Hinton Ampner who was paid a stipend of 13s. 4d.²⁸ The almoner also paid his serjeant (serviens custodis) 10 shillings a year and bought him two robes according to the 1387 roll. His responsibility for the Susterne Spital did not apparently require any additional staff, but he paid the chaplain there his annual stipend of 13s. 4d.²⁹ A fire at Hinton in 1405 reduced the almoner's office to a state of penury since the year had begun with a deficit of over £17; as a result the prior, subprior and auditors remitted the £4 15s. 3d. owing to the office, enabling the next

28. These payments were made in 1406 and 1414; on the 1387 almoner's roll and on the succeeding four rolls (for 1390, 1399, 1403 and 1405) no payment was made from the almoner's account but from that of the manor. The one name which occurs on the manorial accounts is that of John le Mountere who is named senescallus domini in 1377 and who received 20 shillings as his fee. Hinton Ampner was one of two manors which supported the almoner's office of which the total receipts varied between £20 and £40.

29. The annual expense of supporting this hospital ranged from £12 to £15 depending on the number of inmates.

almoner, John Hurst, to make a clean start the following year. The three surviving account rolls of Hinton Ampner show the almoners making frequent visits to supervise and in 1399 to hold the two courts; in 1423 Robert Puryton was there pro lana pack., and at Martinmas the subprior held the court and view of frankpledge. In 1377 the account roll records the expenses of both the almoner and the steward holding four courts. While there are many general references to 'the lord' on the Woolstone court rolls there is only one clear and specific reference to the official who presided; this was the steward (of the manor) who held the Hock court in 1416³⁰ and, one may surely presume, other courts as well.

There are other obedientiary accounts which record payments to a steward, as there were also other obedientiaries who were actively engaged in manorial administration. The stewards occur in the expenses of the anniversarian, the chamberlain and the master of the works, all of whom had several manors in their charge.³¹

³⁰. P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/82.

³¹. The anniversarian's office was supported by revenues from the Wiltshire manor of Bishopstone; that of the chamberlain by West Meon, and Ham (Wilts.); and that of the master of the works by Nursling and Millbrook. The anniversarian accounted for 13s. 4d. for a steward's fee in 1395, while the master of the works paid 40 shillings in 1409 to a steward and his clerk; the chamberlain's account of 1400 mentions no stipend but two robes bought for a steward and clerk at a cost of 24s. 6d.

It would appear that the monastic officials who were responsible for the supervision of estates often had their own stewards whose functions were similar to those of the prior's steward, the role of the latter being largely confined to the majority of the manors which were not attached to an obedientiary office.

Of the other obedientiaries who visited the manors two stand out as exercising greater authority than the rest: these are the receiver and the treasurer. In his helpful article on "The Regimen Scaccarii in English Monasteries", Dr. Smith described the receptor scaccarii of Winchester Cathedral Priory in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.³² Reference to the receiver's office at St. Swithun's was also made by Mr. Drew in the introduction to his translation of the Chilbolton account rolls where he noted that "the scaccarium is the receiver's office at the priory."³³ Kitchen's account of the receiver's office³⁴ was based on the two receiver's rolls which he transcribed, and he concluded that it was the duty of this important official "to account for the main income of the House, and he was a general Treasurer, not a private assistant to my Lord the Prior."³⁵ Since there are no extant rolls of the official known as the

³². T.R.H.S., 4th series, XXIV, 1942 and reprinted in Collected Papers, 1947. See pp. 63-65 in the latter volume.

³³. Chilbolton, Vol. I, p. 60.

³⁴. Snape's explanations of the roles of bursar, treasurer and receiver (Monastic Finances, pp. 44-46) does not seem to clarify this issue. Goodman suggests that the official known as a depositarius, which he translates as 'treasurer', was one of two assistants to the receiver (W.C.C. p.1); can thesaurarius be identified with depositarius?

³⁵. Obedientiary Rolls, p. 57.

thesaurarius his function at Winchester cannot be clearly defined; in fact, while there are numerous references to amounts of money being taken in and being paid out by the convent treasury (i.e., through the receiver) there is no evidence which might indicate how the treasurer fulfilled his duties. It was because the "central treasury [at St. Swithuns] absorbed only the unassigned revenues of the house"³⁶ that we find the receiver making frequent visits to those manors which were not attached to an obedientiary office. In fact, in this respect the receiver and the treasurer performed similar functions, so that the latter may possibly have served as assistant to the former in the task of collecting sums of money from the manors and transporting these to the safekeeping of the scaccarium in Winchester. These financial operations were usually carried out on several occasions during the year, and some of the clerical and lay officials who were sent out by the priory to inspect and supervise the manors were also entrusted with the delivery of cash on their return journey. For example, Peter Cranbourne, who was receiver in 1430 is found at Mapledurham,³⁷ at Enford in 1433,³⁸ and at Wootton in 1432.

³⁶. Smith, Collected Papers, p. 63.

³⁷. B.M. Add. Roll 28106.

³⁸. B.M. Rot. Harl. X.8.

A few years earlier William Skylllyng, as receiver, was taking in money at Hannington (1378) and at Wootton (1383). In the office of receiver Skylllyng was succeeded by John Wayte between 1383 and 1384, the latter having just completed at least one year as treasurer. Both these men were at Wootton during the preceding year when Wayte was still treasurer, and in this case it was Skylllyng who returned to the priory with money³⁹ and Wayte who was there to supervise the manor. Two years later, in 1385, John Langred now treasurer⁴⁰ is found supervising the stock at Wootton; he stayed long enough to cost the manor 5s. 4d. and he returned to Winchester with £ 5 13s. 4d. For the next ten years Langred and his successor, Thomas Ware, seem to have made regular visits to Wootton for supervisory and financial purposes. When farmers had come on the scene and most of the manorial demesnes had been leased, both the receiver and the treasurer, as well as other monk-officials, remain in view wherever the records exist and provide the necessary information.⁴¹ In this the monastic

³⁹. He made two visits. On one of these he ordered that a gift of a pig be made to the sergeant.

⁴⁰. Longred was to become anniversarian in 1394, almoner in 1398 and hordarian in 1405. He had been ordained deacon in 1365 (Kitchin, Obed. Rolls, p.473 as extracted from Edington's register).

⁴¹. Peter Cranbourne as receiver visited Westwood in 1430 and returned with cash but it must be admitted that these visits were less frequent; and sometimes one of the manorial officials took the money to Winchester: William Swayn, the rent collector at Hannington did so in 1418 and Robert Zebot the farmer of this manor in 1425.

community were faithful to Wykeham's ordinance that two of the most capable and trustworthy brethren should be chosen annually to make a personal inspection of the manors twice during the year.⁴²

The thirteenth century anonymous Seneschaucy⁴³ provides a lengthy account of the duties of an estates steward or seneschal. On the St. Swithun's manors it was the official who was designated as the prior's steward who had the oversight of manorial administration on the lord's behalf, although as we have seen there were several lesser stewards in the entourage of some of the obedienciaries. References to his activities on the priory estates are not as frequent as the Seneschaucy would suggest,⁴⁴ but this may in part be due to the fact that the clerk failed to provide the details when these were irrelevant to the account; thus, if the steward moved on from one manor to another without remaining long enough to run up an expense account there would be no record of his visit. The entries which occur on the surviving account rolls are too scattered to permit any conclusions except in five instances when the names are supplied. Several of these officials are of sufficient interest to merit individual attention.

⁴². B.M. Harley MS.328.f.6v-7r. The date was 1387.

⁴³. This has recently been edited and translated in D. Oschinsky's Walter of Henley and other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting, Oxford, 1971.

⁴⁴. "The steward ought to make his circuit twice or three times yearly and visit the manors in his charge." Ibid., p. 265.

Walter Haywode for example is named on the Wootton account roll of 1381 as is Edmund Spirecok in 1390.⁴⁵ The former may probably be identified with the Walter Heywod who occurs in the lists of sheriffs for Hampshire and escheators for Southampton in 1356;⁴⁶ the latter is described as having a mansion at Andover in a deed entered in Wykeham's register⁴⁷ and he is also found witnessing a grant of land by Prior Rudbourne to the vicar of Hurstbourne in August 1390.⁴⁸ According to the Wonston and Hurstbourne account rolls William Purchas was the prior's steward in 1392-93; and Robert atte More, who succeeded him, probably held office continuously from 1394 to 1406.⁴⁹ Like Spirecok, More served as a witness to the prior's enactments, for example to a quitclaim in favour of the abbot of Reading tempus Neville.⁵⁰ In 1393 More was high sheriff for Hampshire, and in 1397-98 he was summoned to parliament as a knight of the shire.⁵¹ Edward

⁴⁵. Spirecok also occurs on the Whitchurch account roll of the same year.

⁴⁶. P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, No. 72, List of Escheators for England and Wales, 1971, p. 147. Between 1385 and 1396 he was paying rent to the priory for land in Sparsholt.

⁴⁷. This is a grant to Spirecok enabling him to hear divine service in his private oratory and is dated 1374. (Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 111v.

⁴⁸. Reg. C.S., f. 6r.

⁴⁹. See Section I, no. 18, Appendix I, p. lxii for the references.

⁵⁰. Reg. C.S., f. 10r.

⁵¹. P.R.O., Lists and Indexes No. 9, List of Sheriffs for England and Wales, 1898, p. 55; Parliaments of England, Return of Members of Parliament, Part I, 1878.

Coudray, the next steward whose name is recorded was twice appointed sheriff for the county and was also summoned to Westminster.⁵² Coudray was in Wykeham's employ in 1391 when he was bailiff of High Clere,⁵³ and presumably in that of Prior Neville in 1411 when he witnessed a deed which has been preserved in the Common Seal Register.⁵⁴ It is unlikely that More and Coudray were the only prominent and able men whom the prior attracted into his service as seneschal or steward; moreover a similar policy guided episcopal appointments to the same office as Mrs. Cottrill concluded from her study of manorial administration on the lands of the bishopric of Winchester.⁵⁵

There is only one reference to the amount of remuneration which St. Swithun's set aside for the holder of this responsible post. According to the 1356 account roll of the receiver, in this year Walter Haywode was paid a fee of £13 6s. 8d; he was still (or again) steward in 1381 and probably received a similar amount.

The assortment of activities recorded on the manorial

⁵². He occurs as steward on the Crondal account roll for 1415; he was sheriff in 1403-04 and again in 1417-18, List of Sheriffs, loc. cit., Parliaments of England. See previous footnote.

⁵³. Reg. Wyk., Vol. II, f. 251v.

⁵⁴. Reg. C.S., f. 33v.

⁵⁵. E. Swift, The Machinery of Manorial Administration with Special Reference to the Lands of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1208-1454, p. xxvi.

account rolls of St. Swithun's gives some indication of the importance of these officials and of the dignity of their position, but the reasons supplied for their visits, when these are stated,⁵⁶ are not always distinguishable from those which explain the stopovers of other officials. We are told, for example, that Robert atte More was at Whitchurch in 1398 and at Hannington in 1404 to supervise the shearing operations (ultra tonsuram); there is no mention of his holding a court during these or other possible visits during those years, but he was at Westwood in 1403 and at Whitchurch in 1405 in order to hold a court. In the former year he is found at Chilbolton where he installed a new sergeant and also supervised the stock; he visited Wonston in 1400 to inspect the stock there, and during the course of the year he rode to London in negocio domini stopping over at Crondal on his way. Spirecok also made at least one trip to London; an entry on the Wootton account roll of 1390 refers to this journey and to his visit there; in this year he was also at Whitchurch in order to bring to justice the sergeant and the labourers,⁵⁷ presumably at a session of the court. The convent treasurer was there at the same time, and together they ordered the distribution of four bushels of grain to the famuli at Hurstbourne ut melius se haberent in officiis suis hoc anno. These two officials appear to

⁵⁶. Often no explanation is given.

⁵⁷. The phrase is pro serviente et laborariis iustificandis.

have worked together on a sufficient number of occasions to suggest a regular pattern of combined operations. They are found awarding grain to the famuli at Enford in 1403,⁵⁸ at Hurstbourne in 1393, at Chilbolton where in 1394 they jointly pardoned one of the famuli for an offence and in 1396 distributed two bushels of wheat among the manorial servants. Although these illuminating details are found on the account rolls they would seem to have been originally enacted during the sessions of the courts to which the treasurer may have frequently accompanied the steward.

The court records themselves are a more informative source, concerning the role of the lord's steward. As the lord's representative he is here seen in the performance of one of his most important functions, that of presiding over the regular sessions of the courts within the prior's jurisdiction. This was in effect the supervision of the tenantry who came before the courts to answer for their actions, to present their petitions, to obtain permission to take up or relinquish land, and to pay certain fines and dues; it was principally on these occasions in the presence of the assembled community that the lord's authority, his justice and at times his mercy were made manifest in the decisions duly recorded on the rolls.⁵⁹ Most of the entries are brief and

⁵⁸. B.M. Rot. Harl. X.7.

⁵⁹. Supra, pp. 192, 197-98.

formal, the steward's presence being indicated by the fact that he ordered the sale of animals received as heriot as, for example, at Mapledurham at the Martinmas courts of 1409 and 1431,⁶⁰ or that he examined particular individuals during the formalities preceding the entry into or relinquishment of a holding as at Mapledurham in 1409 and at Stockton in 1389.⁶¹

Now and then, however, more details are given which in supplying a background drawn from the incidents of real life will greatly assist our present inquiry.⁶² The Wootton court rolls provide several interesting examples, one of which appears on the record of a court held by the bailiff in February 1381; three accusations against Henry le Smyth were crossed out because the judgement of the steward was required in these matters. Another case entered on the Hock court roll of Wootton in 1385 was similarly deferred because no one less than a steward was held to be competent to pass judgement when the accused was a serviens domini. The steward presiding at the Stockton Martinmas court of 1383 pardoned William Frensh who had been presented

⁶⁰. B.M. Add. Roll 28076; B.M. Add. Roll 28109.

⁶¹. B.M. Add. Roll 28076; B.M. Add. Roll 24346 (this was the Hock Court).

⁶². It is unfortunate that the surviving court rolls do not permit the reconstruction of an itinerary for the steward as he made his rounds to hold the courts. Three of the sessions held in the spring of 1411 are sufficiently close together in time to suggest that he made a regular and perhaps often hasty circuit: he was at Stockton on Thursday, April 23rd (B.M. Add. Roll 24362); at Wootton on Monday, May 11th, and at Mapledurham on Friday, May 15th. (B.M. Add. Roll 28079); the gap between the first two would have allowed time to visit the other Wiltshire manors.

on a charge of removing wood from land belonging to the prior on the grounds that it was not ad dampnum domini⁶³; the widow of the former reeve of Westwood was likewise pardoned by More in 1403.⁶⁴ When the tithing of Bransbury appeared before Spirecok at the court held at Barton in February 1389 they were amerced for failing to produce a list of artificers, tavern keepers, labourers and servants in their tithing as demanded by the king through the bailiff of the liberty of St. Swithun's. These details provide a picture of the prior's steward which is similar to that of the chief steward of the English estates of the abbey of Bec who "went on progresses round the manors, held the courts, and settled specially difficult suits";⁶⁵ unfortunately there is no evidence at St. Swithun's that the steward also heard the accounts of the manorial officials.

Apart from the many signs of activity of the auditors on the account rolls,⁶⁶ in the period under study they remain at work in the background and their individual identity remains hidden. Earlier in the century Woodlock had described the membership of the auditorial committee as consisting of the prior

⁶³. W.R.O., 108/10. Frensh was reeve of Stockton in 1387 (W.R.O., 108/11). The treasurer was also present at the 1383 court.

⁶⁴. This is on the account roll.

⁶⁵. M. Morgan, The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec, pp. 56-7. But see infra, p. 274.

⁶⁶. Supra, pp. 218-26.

or the subprior and the senior monks selected by the house.⁶⁷ This body scrutinized the yearly accounts of both the manorial officials and the conventual obedientiaries; the former having been written up by a scribe who visited each manor to obtain the details during the period immediately after Michaelmas. There is one reference to a William Haiward staying at Wonston in 1448 in order to make up the account, and another to Robert Burell supervising at Crondal in 1451 and at the same time writing up the account; in addition there are regular entries on most of the obedientiary rolls of gifts to the clerk who wrote out the annual reckoning for these offices. The hordarian gave his clericus 6s. 8d. each year, the almoner 3s. 4d., while the chamberlain and master of the works allowed only 2 shillings and 20d. respectively.⁶⁸

The relationship between the manorial reeves and sergeants and the auditorial board of the priory has been described above.⁶⁹ On the account rolls of the obedientiaries the auditors' dealings with the monastic officials are revealed because of certain expenses pertaining to the audit days when business seems to have

⁶⁷. Supra, p. 55.

⁶⁸. In 1406 and 1410 the hordarian spent 3s. 4d. on parchment and paper.

⁶⁹. In the preceding chapter pp. 218-26.

been combined with pleasure. The composition of the auditing committee as shown by the obedientiary accounts and the infrequent references found in the manorial accounts seems to have remained in accord with Woodlock's earlier description, the subprior being the principal figure in nearly every case; the names of the other members, however, apart from one reference to the third prior,⁷⁰ are never given. The prior is included as one of the group at times, but no doubt he was usually on hand to add his recommendations without necessarily attending the meetings. The subprior and all the auditors,⁷¹ or the subprior and (the) other brothers⁷² as they were more frequently described by the clerks of the obedientiaries, were called together by John Wayte, the almoner, in 1387 to audit the accounts of Hinton Ampner. His expenses were 16 shillings for the meeting itself, but in addition he gave gifts amounting to 13s. 8d. to the subprior and other colleagues who came to various audits during the year. On the chamberlain's account roll for the year 1423 these two expenses were treated as one with the following explanation: In convocatione Supprioris

⁷⁰. In 1377 on the Hinton Ampner account roll.

⁷¹. This is the phrase used on the almoner's roll for 1405.

⁷². As on the chamberlain's roll and on most of the almoner's rolls; there is no mention of an audit day on the hordarian's accounts.

et aliorum Fratrum pro compotis maneriorum audiendis pro expensis eorundem et aliorum sociorum existentium in comeia Custodis per vices XXs. The final judgements of the auditors are also recorded on some of the obedientiary accounts, and they resemble those found on the manorial accounts which have been discussed above.⁷³ When Langred as hordarian ended the calamitous year 1406 with his office in debt to the amount of £6 7s. 3d., the prior, subprior and the other auditors cancelled £4 13s. 11d. of it leaving only 33s. 4d. outstanding. There is one interesting difference however in that the manorial official, who might be personally out of pocket to the extent that the auditors chose to charge him, was sometimes pardoned a fairly large sum by the prior in addition to the reductions made ex gracia of the auditors. These parallel acts of generosity are particularly striking at Crondal where the reeves and sergeants were often burdened with large sums to pay;⁷⁴ on at least three occasions the prior eased the debt by a considerable amount: by 60 shillings in 1387 when the auditors had only pardoned 16s. 2d., by 40 shillings three years later after the auditors had taken off 20 shillings, and by 20s. 7d. in 1426 when the auditors appear to have been unrelenting. From the information available it is reasonable to assume that during this period the auditorial board was actively engaged in ful-

⁷³. pp. 218-26

⁷⁴. Supra, p.224.

filling its responsibilities, but in the absence of sudden crisis or calamity the ordinary routine of administration often produces little documentation for the benefit of posterity.

With one or two exceptions, for which the historian will always remain grateful, the prior's council also fails to respond to close investigation. On the composition and functioning of these private councils within the framework of manorial administration many episcopal and monastic records are vague or silent, but recent investigations have uncovered details which were unknown in 1925 when Miss Levett used the records of St. Alban's Abbey as a basis for her essay on "Baronial Councils and their Relation to Manorial Courts."⁷⁵ It was one of her students⁷⁶ who examined the manorial administration of the lands pertaining to the bishopric of Winchester and who found the earliest references to a group of advisory officials⁷⁷ acting for Pontissara when he was abroad in 1295; but details of conciliar activities or personnel at St. Swithun's are rare, and during the episcopate of Wykeham and Beaufort, the only indications of membership are to be found in the witness lists to a few deeds and charters.⁷⁸ Dr. Smith has written a lengthy account

⁷⁵. Printed in Studies in Manorial History, pp. 21-40.

⁷⁶. Mrs. E. Cottrill whose thesis has already been mentioned above, p. 9, n. 17.

⁷⁷. The name 'council' does not appear in these earliest records.

⁷⁸. E.g., Reg. C.S., f. 14r (1396) and ff. 48v-49v (1429). These lists of witnesses became rare in the fifteenth century. Their importance will be discussed in the following paragraph.

of the prior's council at Christ Church, Canterbury,⁷⁹ and more recently Dr. Dunning has found a few references to the consilium domini of the bishops of Bath and Wells.⁸⁰ These few examples are sufficient to show that the evidence, though sparse in quantity, will respond to examination by clarifying our understanding of the conciliar role in manorial administration.

There are seven references to the prior's council on the manorial records of St. Swithun's⁸¹ in the period under study; five of these occur on court rolls and two on farmers' account rolls. In all of them the prior and his advisers are acting as a court, in most instances, of final appeal. It is most fortunate that in one instance, on the Stockton court roll of 1385⁸² the scribe copied the names of seven of the leading⁸³ members of the council to whom the case in question was to be referred. Of these men only two appear to be on the administrative staff of the priory, that is employed by St. Swithun's on a permanent basis. These are William Purchas who was the prior's steward in 1392-93, and John Mounter who may have been one of two (possibly three) people by this name all of whom

⁷⁹• Canterbury Cathedral Priory, pp. 68-82.

⁸⁰• R.W. Dunning, The Administration of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, 1401-1491, unpublished Ph.D., thesis, Bristol, 1963.

⁸¹• I have found none in the Common Seal Register (Vol.I).

⁸²• Martinmas, B.M. Add. Roll 24342.

⁸³• I say 'leading' because at the end of the list et aliis is added.

were officials in charge of supervising the manors.⁸⁴ Richard Pauncefot is a third member of the council who also occurs on two witness lists to land grants made by prior Rudbourne in 1390; one of these was drawn up and sealed at Bourne and is the only possible indication that the council may have been on occasion itinerant as seems to have been the case with the bishop's council in 1441.⁸⁵ Pauncefot was also sheriff of the county of Hampshire in 1374-75,⁸⁶ and in company with Walter Haywode, the prior's steward, he paid rent for land held of the priory in Sparsholt.⁸⁷ It seems possible that Pauncefot may also have served the prior as steward. The name of Richard Lavyngton also occurs as witness to a grant of land to the prior and convent in 1389/90 but the remaining three names cannot be traced.⁸⁸

⁸⁴. There is the John le Mountere who has been identified as steward of the manor of Hinton Ampner in 1377 (supra, p. 253, n.28); there appear to be two John Mounters who may both have held the title of stock supervisor (supra pp.172-3 and infra pp.279-280), who were active between 1377 and 1422, and who are occasionally distinguished by the epithets 'senior' and 'junior'. There is an added complication in that 'sen.' could be the abbreviation for senescallus as well as for 'senior', although where domini or manerii do not follow senescallus I have assumed that the correct rendering is 'senior'.

⁸⁵. Hampshire Record Office, MS. Ecclesiastical Commission. no.159437.

⁸⁶. P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, No. 9, List of Sheriffs, p. 54.

⁸⁷. In.1385.

⁸⁸. Winchester Cathedral Records, Vol. III, f.4, no.6. There is a Thomas Lavyngton of the Soke in Winchester who gave a messuage there to Wykeham in 1382 (printed in Kitchin, Obedientiary Rolls, p. 154). The other names are John Tremayn, Nicholas Bonham and Thomas ?Ilestone.

The historical value of witness lists to important deeds lies in the fact that the men named can almost certainly be identified as forming (part of) an advisory body to the prior.⁸⁹ The main components, as far as these can be seen, are a nucleus of permanent officials (one or two) and a group of local landholders who were sometimes, like the stewards, also county officials; neither men trained in the law nor magnates appear in these lists to complete the categories outlined by Miss Levett and used as a model by Mrs. Cottrill.⁹⁰

The recurrence of the same attesters on the four surviving deeds of this period which contain a list of witnesses supports the conclusion that at St. Swithun's these were the men who formed the prior's advisory body to whom the records apply the term concilium. These particular deeds though few in number are especially interesting because of their close proximity in date. Two are only eight days apart,⁹¹ the third cannot be much more than a year earlier⁹² and the fourth is c.1400.⁹³ The first two of

⁸⁹. See E. Swift, Op. cit., pp. 10-13, where she analyses the witness lists to episcopal deeds and concludes that "It is difficult to imagine a group with these constituents being used for any purpose but that of a Council or discover any other function underlying the association of such different persons." (p.13).

✓⁹⁰. A.E. Levett, Studies in Manorial History, p.26; E. Swift, Op. cit. p. 5.

⁹¹. They are dated a) at Winchester, August 6th, 1390 and b) at Bourne, August 14th, 1390; they are found in Reg. C.S. f.6v.

⁹². It is dated 13 Richard II and is found in Winchester Cathedral Records, Vol. III, f. 7, no. 12.

⁹³. It is entered in Reg. C.S. f.10r, undated, but between two documents which are dated between 1393 and 1400. There is one other short list dated 1411 on f. 34r, on which Edward Coudray is named and John Forest the master of St. Cross hospital.

these have six names in common, one being that of Edmund Spirecok and two others being men who held land in Hurstbourne.⁹⁴ Spirecok also witnessed the 1389/90 deed as did John Mounter and Richard Lavyngton. Robert atte More is found on the deed dated c.1400 along with a Robert Heriard who was on hand to attest the deed of 1389/90 and who also stopped at Crondal in 1384 on his way to London in negocio domini.

From time to time the prior appointed counsellors who were paid annual pensions from the treasury and who therefore undoubtedly were called to serve on his council at certain times if not continuously. Richard Wyot was one of these whose annual fee pro suo bono auxilio et consilio was 40 shillings.⁹⁵ Wyot was Beaufort's chief steward in 1414.⁹⁶ Richard Petworth, who was also in the bishop's employ between 1414 and 1440⁹⁷ and who is numbered among the early English humanists and friends of Poggio Bracciolini, was granted an annual pension of 4 marks ad scaccarium pro suo bono consilio, auxilio et favore.⁹⁸ John

⁹⁴. Nicholas Faukener occurs on a Hurstbourne court roll dated July 1400, and Thomas atte Clyne on a court roll of the same manor dated June 1386. Bourne, where one of these deeds was signed, was like Hurstbourne a tithing within Evingar hundred. These two men were thus local landholders who were more than likely interested parties.

⁹⁵. The date of this grant was 1409; Reg. C.S. f. 33v.

⁹⁶. Reg. C.S., f. 37v, and on the Crondal account roll for 1415 he is so described.

⁹⁷. Reg. C.S., f. 42r and f. 56r; in each case he is described as scribus noster.

⁹⁸. Reg. C.S. f. 51r, dated 1432.

Forest who was master of St. Cross and archdeacon of Surrey⁹⁹ in 1415 was given a 5 mark pension for the same reason; this grant, like those of Wyot and Petworth was for life.¹⁰⁰ Thomas Well[ys], the bailiff of Barton, received a pension of 4 marks a year from the treasury together with his livery and board and lodging within the priory.¹⁰¹ One other pension is mentioned as the reward for the good counsel of John Gilbard, the evidence in this case being recorded on the account roll for Enford in 1440.¹⁰²

There are four other references to the prior's council on the manorial court rolls. One of these, without the detail, is similar to the Stockton court record described above¹⁰³ in that the steward ordered the case to be referred to the prior and his council. This was at Barton in October 1396; a few years later at Mapledurham¹⁰⁴ a previous judgement is referred to on the court roll as having been reached per Senescallum domini et eius consilium. A runaway nativus who belonged to Wootton manor was vainly ordered by the court held there at Martinmas in 1396

⁹⁹. Emden, Oxford, has the details of Forest's appointments and career.

¹⁰⁰. Reg. C.S., f. 37r, A.D. 1414.

¹⁰¹. Reg. C.S., ff. 51v and 53r. The livery was that of an armiger of the prior.

¹⁰². B.M. Rot. Harl. X. 9. The amount of the fee paid was 13s. 4d.

¹⁰³. On p. 269.

¹⁰⁴. B.M. Add. Roll 28072, Martinmas 1405.

to appear in Winchester before the prior and his council in order to receive whatever judgement should be imposed.¹⁰⁵

The Hock court roll at Wroughton briefly describes the joint decision of the steward and the prior's council who ruled that three nativi had removed hay from a meadow belonging to the lord. These examples show the steward deferring to the lord's authority on a number of occasions instead of settling all affairs locally on his progresses around the manors as the lord's representative.¹⁰⁶ The Westwood farmer's account for 1381 shows the steward making a 6 shilling allowance to the rent collector with the careful proviso quousque locutum fuerit cum domino et consilio suo. Again, it is the lord prior and his council, and not the steward, who allowed the Wonston tenantry to pay 4 6s. 8d. in lieu of some of their customary services in 1439. If these cases are typical it seems safe to conclude that the prior's council was an active body in these years and that his counsellors earned their pensions.

¹⁰⁵. According to the wording of the entry this was not the first notice of the summons, nor was it the last. He had not turned up by 1415.

¹⁰⁶. Mrs. Cottrill suggested that on the episcopal manors it is "possible that the seneschal, as a member of the Council, represented that body in his judgements on difficult points when he made the twice yearly visits to hold the hundreds or tourns" (Op. cit., p. 24). This was not always the case on the priory manors, probably because the prior, unlike the bishop, was almost invariably on hand in person to attend to the day to day business.

The bailiffs of the liberties of St. Swithun's¹⁰⁷ as distinct from the manorial bailiffs were also men of some importance within the lands under the prior's jurisdiction. They are usually distinguished by the description 'bailiff of the liberty', but occasionally the full title is given, as on the Stockton court roll for Martinmas 1386¹⁰⁸ when the name was also given: in this case he was John Stoke, 'bailiff of the liberty of the lord prior in the county of Wiltshire.'¹⁰⁹ At this court he was fined 6d. for having failed to return the names of the panel of freemen sicut ex officio suo deberet. On the court records of both Enford and Stockton the bailiff of the liberty frequently acted as one of the assuratores, as did other bailiffs of Evingar, Fawley and Buddlesgate hundreds. Richard Furbot, the bailiff for the Wiltshire liberty in the 1440's was given an annual reward of 6s. 8d. for his labours on several occasions, as the account rolls of Stockton for the years 1442, 1446 and 1447 testify.¹¹¹ At Stockton the bailiff

¹⁰⁷. Mrs. Chibnall describes these officials as itinerant bailiffs (The English Lands of The Abbey of Bec, p. 55) and notes that they sometimes fulfilled the duties of a steward in holding courts.

¹⁰⁸. B.M. Add. Roll 24344.

¹⁰⁹. I.e., the hundred of Elstub (and Everleigh).

¹¹⁰. E.g. In 1440.

¹¹¹. B.M. Add. Rolls 24115, 24416, 24875.

was called upon to seize land in 1392 and 1393 at the order of the court, and at Barton in 1390 the bailiff of the 'liberty of the priory of Winchester' was recorded as having previously warned one of the tithings to present a list of the artificers, tavern keepers, labourers and servants within the tithing as demanded by the king.¹¹² Galfridus Lyrgoys is found presenting a felon whom he had arrested at the Evingar hundred court in October 1422, and Edmund Boure, the bailiff of the 'liberty of the lord prior of Wynton', appeared at the Fawley hundred court in October 1415 to petition pro denariis et amerciamentis comitatus eidem domino priori debitis levandis. This action was the result of the sheriff's mandates for which the bailiffs were held responsible. On most of these documents no names are supplied, but John Stoke is named on a few of the ones which have been preserved in the Cathedral Library.¹¹³ Thus, as representative of the prior, the bailiff was commissioned by the sheriff to perform various duties, chiefly that of collecting the fines and dues imposed on persons living within the liberties and hundreds belonging to St. Swithun's. The other side of the bailiff's responsibilities

¹¹². W.R.O. 108/13 (May 1392) and B.M. Add. Roll 24351 (July 1393); the court at Barton was held in February.

¹¹³. In Boxes 59 and 63.

must be sought in the proceedings of the royal courts where some of the fines were imposed and in the central records of the Exchequer where they were later paid.¹¹⁴

There remains the group of clerical and lay officials who, apart from the monks, formed the bulk of the administrative personnel. There is an abundance of names on the account rolls as the list in Section K. of Appendix I makes clear,¹¹⁵ but many of the names occur only on one or two manors and for only a short space of time; these appear to have been persons selected by the prior and convent to perform certain specific duties and were therefore in the service of St. Swithun's only briefly when the particular commission or negotiations were probably of mutual concern. There is also a small group who can readily be distinguished by the frequency and regularity of their manorial visits and by the nature of their specified responsibilities which were mainly supervisory; these comprised the permanent nucleus of full time employees and were men of some importance who were often members of the prior's council. A small number are also described as being members of the prior's own familia who either accompanied him on his visits, went ahead to prepare for his arrival or stopped at one manor while he went on to another. It will be helpful to look at each of these groups in turn.

¹¹⁴. A search in the Public Record Office through the Quo Warranto proceedings has not proven fruitful to date.

¹¹⁵. See pp. lxxvii-lxxii.

The largest number, who make only a slight impression on the rolls, are those whose active relationship with the priory in an official capacity appears to have been brief. Such were Thomas Aylmer whose visits are simply described as 'on the lord's business' which took place at Mapledurham, Whitchurch and Crondal between 1408 and 1410;¹¹⁶ Thomas Panter who paid three manorial visits between 1433 and 1437 and in the latter year went to London on the prior's business; and Thomas Mulward¹¹⁷ who went fishing in the Fleet ponds in 1451 while staying at Crondal, and a few years earlier was at Whitchurch in company with several others pro ferma tam in parco quam in chacia de Hussbourne ad opus domini prioris querenda.¹¹⁸ Both¹¹⁹ Panter and Milward were paying rent to the almoner in 1445 for property in Winchester in the vicinity of Kingsgate Street. Despite the lack of further evidence it is likely that these two were typical of a group of reliable men in the community who lived in or near Winchester, who held land of the priory and who were therefore willing, if not obligated, and also conveniently

¹¹⁶. For Mapledurham see B.M. Add. Roll 28074.

¹¹⁷. Or Milward.

¹¹⁸. This explanation is on the 1446 account roll of Whitchurch.

¹¹⁹. Panter first appears on the 1416 almoner's roll. He is also found acting as an assurator on the Barton court roll in October 1451.

placed to fulfil certain assignments on behalf of the prior from time to time.

In terms of frequency and number of manorial visits the supervisory officials are readily distinguished. Some of these like the Bryggers, the Mounters, John Greenfield and Robert Hayhod have already been mentioned in a previous chapter.¹²⁰ The variety of functions performed by this small body of senior officials reveals their wide range of ability in combination with experience gained over many years of continuous service. John atte Brygger is mentioned between the years 1381 and 1400, and Thomas Brygger between 1380 and 1393; the former can probably be identified with a person of the same name who as a tenant of the priory in Sparsholt appeared at the Buddlesgate hundred court in 1415, and the latter is almost certainly the Thomas Brygger who along with Elizabeth his wife was presented with a letter of confraternity by the prior and convent in April, 1399.¹²¹ The two John Mounters cannot be separately identified¹²² apart from the occasional addition of senior or junior after the name. Mounter junior appears at Mapledurham in 1417, but Mounter senior was also actively supervising the stock at the same manor four years later.¹²³ From 1426 onwards the latter received an annual

¹²⁰. Supra, pp. 172-174.

¹²¹. Reg. C.S. f. 8v. On the 1409 custos operum roll Thomas Brygger is described as the brother of Ralph Basyng, hordarian between 1378 and 1401.

¹²². Supra, pp. 172-3.

¹²³. B.M. Add. Rolls 28082 and 28089.

pension of 20 shillings, which was charged on the Crondal account, as a reward for his good service to St. Swithun's.¹²⁴ Thomas Brygger was paid an annual stipend of 20 shillings from Woolstone as was Mounter when he supervised the stock there in 1404 and 1406;¹²⁵ presumably it was the elder Mounter who had received a 20 shilling fee at the same manor in 1378.¹²⁶ Mounter also received 6s. 8d. from Mapledurham from 1404 onwards, 40 shillings from Crondal from 1406 and 6s. 8d. from Wootton in this same period. The Crondal accounts record the payment of the 40 shilling fee to Greenfield in 1426 the year of Mounter's retirement, and Greenfield also received the annual half mark from Wootton and Mapledurham¹²⁷ after about 1423; thus, from the evidence of salaries paid to these two men it seems certain that Greenfield succeeded Mounter (junior) by holding the same office and fulfilling the same functions. The only record of Hayhod's stipend is that he received 3s. 4d. from Whitchurch in 1409 and later years, as partial payment for his services; whatever he received elsewhere he does not seem to have ever attained the position held by his colleagues despite his record of over thirty years of service to the priory and his activities which on a

¹²⁴. This pension was still being paid in 1434 but not in 1437.

¹²⁵. P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/21 and 22.

¹²⁶. This earlier one is probably the John le Mounter who in 1377 was described as steward of the lord on the Hinton Ampner roll.

¹²⁷. It is to be noted that these payments did not cease with the advent of a farmer.

number of occasions included supervising the manor and stock¹²⁷ and carrying out negotiations on behalf of the prior.¹²⁸ The only other official among the administrative personnel of the priory to receive a manorial stipend was Walter Cordray who appears as supervising the stock at Woolstone over a twenty-five year period; his fee was 20 shillings.¹²⁹

In the Cathedral Records there are eight deeds granting land to John Greenfield between 1422 and 1442;¹³⁰ it would thus appear that he was managing his own sizeable properties as well as supervising those of St. Swithun's. At the same time he was given room and board in the monastery in 1427 pro suo bono servicio.¹³¹

This small group of supervisory officials are the only ones for whom there is evidence of the payment of regular salaries; and despite the differences in the size of their stipends which were charged to certain manors, they all appear to have performed similar functions as they made their manorial rounds. Stock phrases like pro stauro ordinando, pro manerio supervidendo, in negocio domini, ultra tonsuram and pro pannagio

¹²⁷. E.g. at Stockton in 1400 (B.M.Add. Roll 24395), and at Wonston in 1394.

¹²⁸. E.g., at Stockton in 1407 (B.M. Add. Roll 24401), and at Whitchurch in 1405.

¹²⁹. His presence at Hinton Ampner as 'steward of the manor' in 1423 makes it difficult to unravel the apparent overlapping of duties and posts which must have been the most practical policy in terms of the utilization of priory personnel, but it remains a source of confusion to the historian!

¹³⁰. Vol. III., f.34 nos. 1 and 2; f.38, nos. 11,12,13; f.39, nos. 14,15,16.

¹³¹. Reg. C.S. f. 34r. The room is specified as being next door to that of the lord's steward.

occur repeatedly to justify the expenses arising out of these manorial visits, although there is often merely a notation of the officials' presence and the cost incurred as a consequence of their stay. However there are also examples of other less frequent and more interesting assignments about which fuller details are provided.

John atte Brygger was sent to Wootton in 1383 pro ferma ad opus domini capienda, a task which John Gervays the doorkeeper of the priory,¹³² undertook at the same manor in 1413 and at Hannington in 1412. In the years 1394, 1395 and 1397 Brygger is described as arranging for the sale of wool at Woolstone presumably under the supervision of the hordarian who was also there.¹³³ One of the Mounters visited Mapledurham in 1408 in order to arrange for the new reeve to take up his office and to draw up an indenture with him.¹³⁴ Both Greenfield and Hayhod frequently brought back sums of money to the treasury at St. Swithun's,¹³⁵ and in 1438 the Mapledurham tenants were ordered

¹³². This is probably not John Gervays, the farmer of Enford; according to the Common Seal Register a John Gervays was made doorkeeper in 1406 with board and lodging provided (f.27r). He is described as litteratus in a document which he witnessed in the prior's chamber at St. Swithun's in 1409 (ibid., f.31v).

¹³³. P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/16, 17, 18.

¹³⁴. B.M. Add. Roll 28074.

¹³⁵. For example Hayhod from Westwood in 1405 and succeeding years and Greenfield from Hannington (1425), Stockton (1427, B.M. Add. MS. 24714) and Wonston (1447).

to give him and his assistant the money rents and grain which were owing to the prior. In 1427 Greenfield turned over the stock to the new farmer at Wonston; the year before he had been at Hannington in order to prepare a new rental, and in 1430 he spent some time at Mapledurham in order to measure the demesne lands prior to drawing up a new rental there.¹³⁶ Finally, in 1446 the Mapledurham accountant recorded that Greenfield had visited the manor in order to audit the account of the previous year.¹³⁷

The Mapledurham account rolls are particularly informative in providing interesting detail. For example, William Haiward, who wrote up the Wonston account in 1448, is mentioned on the 1450 Mapledurham roll as having drawn up an agreement with the farmer, John Herver, concerning some extensive repairs which were to be made to the kitchen within the court. Robert Kylllyngale, who served the priory between 1425 and 1450, made his first appearance at Mapledurham on the 1419 hock court roll when he sought permission to marry Joanna Mounk and have access to her tenure.¹³⁸ In 1421 Kylllyngale received as a gift a pipe of

¹³⁶. B.M. Add. Roll 28106. I say 'some time' because his visits in company with the convent treasurer and others cost the manor 6s. 6d.

¹³⁷. B.M. Add. Roll 28125. The phrase is pro compoto anni preteriti audiendo.

¹³⁸. B.M. Add. Roll 28086. She was the widow of William Mounk who was probably a relative of the reeve John Mounk and the talliator, Thomas Mounk.

cider from the prior, and in 1425 he is found collecting the pannage money at Mapledurham. Later he performed this and other tasks chiefly at Mapledurham and at Wootton, and there was at least one occasion when he went to London on the lord's business.¹⁴⁰

The prior's familia cannot be clearly identified because they are often referred to collectively as a group of which one name only may be entered on the account rolls. It is also apparent that here, as elsewhere, while some meaningful distinctions can be made, no hard and fast lines can be drawn for John atte Brygger who supervised the stock at Woolstone in the 1390's is also listed among the familia visiting Crondal in 1384 and 1400. William Horwood and the lord prior's huntsmen stayed at Hurstbourne in 1391 and at Wootton in 1392; John Rayner and two companions remained at Mapledurham in 1400¹⁴¹ when the prior journeyed to London, and they busied themselves with collecting apples and making cider while at the same time guarding the lord's chamber there. Henry Colyns is found at Crondal in the same year while the prior was in London and in 1404 he was sent by the prior to Stockton to seek for a runaway serf. Walter Whiccher¹⁴² is also described as a member of the

¹⁴⁰. In 1437, when he stopped at Crondal on his way. In 1442 Kylllyngale was rewarded for his good services by the grant of a tenement in Winchester for the token rent of one rose, and he and his wife were also received into the monastic confraternity. (Reg. C.S. f.61r).

¹⁴¹. B.M. Add. Roll 28067.

¹⁴². He was one of the two men by that name who were manumitted. See Section F., Appendix I, p.xlix.

prior's familia on the Hurstbourne account roll of 1391 where his duty and that of his associates was pro ferma capienda. On other occasions, as at Whitchurch in 1390 and at Silkstead in 1389, he was on hand to oversee the shearing.

Among those who may have served the prior and the priory for only a brief space of time as they appear to have made very few manorial visits are William Horwood and Thomas Wolvele who are to be found witnessing a grant of land to St. Swithun's in 1389/90;¹⁴³ other witnesses included the mayor and several of the most prominent citizens of Winchester as well as the prior's steward and John Mounter, a fact which signifies that the priory personnel represented by these four officials were men of comparable ability and intelligence.

The full complement of priory personnel at St. Swithun's, including the monastic, clerical and lay members, formed a large and unwieldy body requiring capable administrators to regulate and coordinate the wide range of spiritual, liturgical, domestic, manorial and other responsibilities which were the main ingredients of the monastic way of life in the later middle ages. For those who were chiefly concerned with manorial administration, the prior and his council, and the auditorial committee of senior monks functioned as the two sources of authority, the one juridical and possibly administrative, the other strictly financial. The prior's steward and the other permanent officials

¹⁴³. Winchester Cathedral Records, Vol. II, f.7, no.12.

appear to have been reliable and efficient in carrying out their appointed duties, and the long years of service of at least a few of them suggest contentment with a reasonable, smoothly run organization, a conclusion against which no opposing evidence can be adduced.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The end of this, as of all historical studies which seek to report and interpret the results of historical research, is no more than the introduction and invitation to further historical investigation. The answers to a few questions have been sought within the predetermined limits set by the theme of this study; but in the process of examining the complex assortment of factors which must be considered in any inquiry into medieval manorial administrative organization and policy, further questions have been raised. Answers to these latter questions, most of which are more broadly based, will require the combined efforts of groups of historians collating the findings of their researches in as many regions as possible throughout the English countryside. Thus, the internal arrangements of the priory, the farming arrangements on the manors, the relationship of landlord and tenant, the standard of living controversy, the status and identity of the early demesne farmers and of the administrative personnel of the priory, and finally the composition and role of the private council which formed an essential part of the administrative machinery of both ecclesiastical and secular lords in the later middle ages: all these issues have been raised and discussed in the context of St. Swithun's priory and its manorial administration in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

The medieval records which have survived are a priceless legacy and although consulted by each succeeding generation of

historians they continue to provide a fruitful source of research, with the result that historical understanding is constantly benefiting from new insights. The formal nature of most of these sources unfortunately precludes the possibility of attaining to the knowledge of human personality behind the official enactments, financial statements and decisions and judgements of the courts except in a very few isolated instances. There are one or two faint glimpses of the individual behind the name among the monastic brethren of St. Swithun's. It is known for example that Peter Cranbourne, receiver of the priory between 1428 and 1433, had some intellectual interests¹ for he gave a manuscript entitled *Legenda Aurea* to the monastery.² Richard Petworth, who was Beaufort's secretary and the recipient of a pension from the priory,³ may possibly have encouraged the literary pursuits of some of the monks, of whom another would surely be Thomas Rudbourne the author of the *Historia Maior*,⁴ who was fourth prior in 1450⁵ and therefore must have been in the monastery for some years prior to that date.

¹•He is not among the students at Oxford in Emden's biographical register.

²•It is now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge where it is numbered 338. See N.R.Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, 2nd ed., London, 1964, p. 199.

³•Supra, p.272.

⁴•A copy of this is MS. 183 in Lambeth Palace Library.

⁵•Reg. Waynflete, f.31.

Among the loose deeds in the cathedral library at Winchester there is a letter dated 1394 which contains a copy of a lengthy papal brief permitting John Langred, who was anniversarian at that time, to have the special concession of a corrody within the monastery on the grounds that he was over fifty and infirm of body.⁶ As Kitchin coyly describes the procedures, "The whole machinery of the Papal Curia is set in motion in order to secure Brother John a snug corner in the Infirmary, and immunity from the routine of exposure in the Church and Cloister."⁷ The interesting sequel is that this authorized respite from his earlier labours must have allowed Langred to renew his strength for he is again found serving the house, as almoner from 1398 to 1405 and as hordarian from 1405 to 1406.

Relations between the bishops and their cathedral priory can also be glimpsed in several instances, the most informative of which in Wykeham's later years is the response to the stern and exacting injunctions which he sent to the monks following his visitation in 1392. This comes in the form of a letter which is addressed to the bishop by the subprior⁸ and convent and is prefaced "to the lord William...bishop...if it shall please...

⁶. This document has been transcribed by Kitchin in Obedientiary Rolls, pp. 163-169. His description is, to say the least, misleading!

⁷. Ibid., p. 163.

⁸. Reg. C.S. f.10r; the subprior was Robert Wallingford.

our lord Robert, prior."⁹ The monks politely but insistently urged the bishop to remove the grave injustices which he had inflicted on them through the severe penalties imposed by the injunctions. Within a few days Wykeham or his deputy returned to the priory and revoked the penalties,¹⁰ and also the injunction which had denied the brethren their customary money allowance for clothing, wine and spices. Some years later the monks may also have been successful when they addressed a letter to Beaufort¹¹ begging him to return their chaplain Robert Bygbroke who was the choir instructor and whose presence in the cathedral church was, so they implied, more necessary than in the bishop's private chapel. The answer to this request is not known.

These few human touches in the manuscripts and the large body of official records together indicate the pattern of life followed by St. Swithun's in the years under study. General conclusions are difficult to formulate and not always meaningful; particular conclusions arising out of the evidence presented in this study have been given at the end of every section in each of the preceding chapters. It is important, however, to note the most significant change within this period, the nature and progress of which on the St. Swithun's manors have now been examined. Although the monastic landowner was gradually losing out to the peasantry in the changing economic and social conditions of the age, for St. Swithun's

⁹•Ibid.

¹⁰•B.M. Harley MS. 328, f. 13r.

¹¹•It is undated, but was probably written in the 1430's from its position in the Common Seal Register (f.54r).

it is not true to see the one in the role of oppressor and the other in that of the oppressed. The assets of the former were in land, of the latter in an increasing amount of cash; and the shift in position came about partly because each could supply the other with the commodity most in demand. Throughout these years, however, the prior and convent continued to play an active role in the supervision of their manors and of their tenants.

In the wider framework this age has been competently described by Professor Knowles who saw in the fourteenth century

an important change of policy developing on the great estates ecclesiastical and lay. From a regime of high farming and direct exploitation of demesne there was a gradual but unceasing shift towards an economy of rents and leases which ended by breaking down the old economic and tenurial structure of the manor, though it did not affect its administrative and judicial significance...The process, still not fully explored, was common to all landowners, but it had results for the monks which others did not feel... their economic and social power was being gradually and subtly undermined.¹²

This process, gradual but in retrospect inevitable, has been explored in this study of the estates of St. Swithun's priory.

✓ 12. D. Knowles, The Religious Orders, Vol. II, pp. 357-58.

APPENDICES

TABLE OF FIXED RENTS AND 'FARMS'

MANOR	c.1380	c.1400	c.1425	c.1450
CHILBOLTON	R.18.2.9 (1384)	R.18.2.9 (1403)	R.18.2.9 (1424)	R.26.12.9 F.11.9.2 (1445)
CRONDAL	R.68.5.7 (1382)	R.68.7.9 (1406)	R.83.7.0 (1426)	R.87.10.7 (1451)
ENFORD (WILTS.)		R.22.16.4 (1403)	F.40.0.0 (1433)	F.40.0.0
HANNINGTON	R.8.19.2 (1381)	R.F.16.0.0 (1404)	R.F.16.0.0	R.10.0.0 F.2.0.0 (1440)
HINTON AMPNER	R.10.0.0 (1377)	R.10.5.6. (1393)	R.10.5.6 (1423)	
HURSTBOURNE		R.72.9.5 (1393)		
LITTLETON	R.7.14.3 (1382)	R.7.14.3	R.7.14.3 (1428)	R.9.5.9 F.? (1457)
MAPLEDURHAM		R.11.15.10	R.11.15.10	R.20.16.4 F.4.13.4
SILKSTEAD	R.0.6.3	R.F.4.0.0 (1399)	R.F.5.6.8 (1424)	R.F.5.6.8 (1447)
STOCKTON (WILTS.)		R.F.25.6.8	R.F.23.0.0 (1427)	R.F.23.0.0 (1451)
THURMONDS	R.2.10.0	R.2.10.0 (1396)	R.2.2.4 (1428)	F.5.16.8 (1452)
WESTWOOD (WILTS.)	R.7.7.1 F.6.0.0 (1381)	R.7.7.1 F.5.18.6 (1401)	R.7.7.1 F.4.13.4 (1426)	R.7.7.1 F.4.14.10 (1448)
WHITCHURCH	R.50.12.8 (1385)	R.50.12.8 (1398)	R.50.12.8 (1418)	R.32.2.6 rent collector R.11.10.6 farmer (1446)
WONSTON	R.15.3.1 (1381)	R.15.3.1	F.16.0.0 (1427)	R.14.7.0 F.7.5.10 (1448)
WOOLSTONE (BERKS.)	R.10.13.11	R.10.13.11	F.16.10.0 (1424)	R.10.19.11 (1436)
WOOTTON-MANYDOWN	R.16.9.4 (1381)	R.16.9.6 (1399)	R.16.10.0 (1423)	R.21.10.0 F.3.15.0
WROUGHTON (WILTS.)			R.F.20.16.8	
CHILCOMB B	R.43.18.6 (1383)	R.43.18.8 (1396)	R.44.13.10 (1433)	
COMPTON A	R.9.10.1 (1383)	R.9.10.1 (1396)	R.16.10.7 (1433)	
SPARKFORD R	R.27.15.0 (1383)	R.28.0.13 (1396)	R.20.10.4 (1433)	R.20.13.8 (1446)
SPARSHOLT T	R.20.12.10 (1383)	R.20.13.0 (1396)	R.32.0.5 (1433)	R.32.0.5. (1446)
N				

Key: R.=fixed rent (redditus assisus)
F.=farm (firma)

Note: In this and in all the tables fractions of a penny have been omitted.

LEASING THE DEMESNE ON THE ST. SWITHUN'S MANORS

MANORS	Before 1350	1351 to 1359	1360 to 1369	1370 to 1379	1380 to 1389	1390 to 1399	1400 to 1409	1410 to 1419	1420 to 1429	1430 to 1439	1440 to 1449	1450 and later
BARTON												? by 1465
CHILBOLTON											by 1445	
CRONDAL												by 1465
ENFORD							1403 ←			→ 1432		
HANNINGTON					1380 to 1386, 1389	1394						
HINTON AMPNER							1406 [*]			1430 ⁺ 1438		
HURSTBOURNE							1408 ⁺					
LITTLETON									1429 ←			→ 1457
MAPLEDURHAM								1411 to 1417	1425 ↔	1430		
SILKSTEAD						1396						
STOCKTON						1395 ⁺						
THURMONDS									1429			
WESTWOOD	? 1325		by 1365 ^o									
WHITCHURCH										1433 ↔	1446	
WONSTON							1406					
WOOLSTONE									1424	1436 ←		→ 1457
WOOTTON											1445	
WROUGHTON								by 1419				

* The almoner's roll of 1406 mentions a farmer.
+ This information is on the court roll.
o W.C.C. no. 248.

TABLE OF HARVEST EXPENSES (Expressed in £ s.d.)

MANOR	c.1380	c.1400	c.1425	c.1450
BARTON	22.8.2 (1385)	21.8.3 (1402)	31.2.5 (1428)	20.2.2 (1453)
* CHILBOLTON	9.12.8 (1384)	8.2.4 (1403)	11.4.11 (1424)	11.4.11 (1433)
* CRONDAL	7.14.9 (1382)	4.12.1 (1399)	5.11.0 (1418)	5.3.2 (1451)
ENFORD		12.4.7 (1403)		
HANNINGTON	2.5.8 (1385)	1.2.6 (1396)		
* HINTON AMPNER	9.14.7 (1377)	5.11.1 (1393)	5.17.7 (1423)	
* HURSTBOURNE	3.10.7 (1391)			
LITTLETON	9.8.2 (1382)	6.8.11 (1399)	7.7.11 (1428)	
MAPLEDURHAM		7.2.9	8.2.2	
* SILKSTEAD	5.19.6	5.2.0 (1396)		
THURMONDS	5.7.6 (1383)	3.14.2 (1396)	4.11.10 (1428)	
WHITCHURCH	5.19.10 (1385)	7.9.4 (1398)	8.11.4 (1418)	
WONSTON	2.13.6 (1381)	2.5.9		
* WOOLSTONE	3.8.0	4.2.6	1.18.5 (1430)	1.16.10 (1436)
* WOOTTON	5.4.3 (1381)	5.5.4 (1399)	5.14.5 (1424)	8.19.0 (1445)

* These figures are taken directly from the account rolls and do not include the cash value of the food supplied from stock in hand.

Note: On the one surviving account roll of Sutton the harvest expenses amounted to 4.2.10 (A.D. 1393).

HARVESTING: DETAILS OF ACREAGES, LABOUR-FORCE AND COSTS

a)	BARTON	1385	1392	1402	1413	1428	1438	1446
	Acreage: sown		665	698		649	502	573
	reaped	800.5	665	698	656	649	502	573
	Labour:							
	Customary works	1 man	1 man	145 acres	40 acres			
	<u>Precarie</u>	28 men	28 men	52.5 "	40 "	31 acres	7 acres	3 acres
	Hired Men	467 acres	403 acres	499.5 "	570 "	614 "	495 "	569 "
	<u>Famuli</u>							
*	Cost per acre:							
	wheat	8d.	9d.	6d.	9d.	9d.	9d.	8d.
	barley	8d.	9d.	6d.	9d.	9d.	9d.	8d.
	oats	6d.	6d.	4d.	5d.	7d.	7d.	6d.
	dredge		9d.	4d.	5d.	7d.		
	peas	5d.						6d.
	beans		5d.	5d.	5d.	7d.	7d.	
	vetches	5d.	5d.	5d.	5d.	7d.	7d.	6d.

* Note: The cost is in terms of labour only and does not take account of any food or equipment supplied.

b)	CHILBOLTON	1384	1394	1403	1415	1424	1433
	Acreage: sown	576.5	477	423.5 ⁺	468	425	456
	reaped	582.5	477	427	468	425	456
	Labour:						
	Customary works	68 acres	63 acres	35 acres		nil	nil
	<u>Precarie</u>	55 "	60 "	50 "	40 acres	40 acres	30 acres
	Hired Men	449 "	340 "	322 "	395 "	377 "	416 "
	<u>Famuli</u>	10 "	14 "	20 "	24 "	8 "	10 "
	Cost per acre:						
	*ad tascham	4d.	4d.	4d.	4d.	4.5d	4d.
	o in universo		5d.	5.75d.	5d.		4.5d.

+ plus 4 acres per perticam (i.e., standard acres rather than customary acres).

* cost of labour only.

o cost of labour and food supplied.

HARVESTING: DETAILS OF ACREAGES, LABOUR-FORCE AND COSTS

c)	CRONDAL	1382	1387	1399	1410	1434	1451
	Acreage: sown	314	335.5	250	198	199	198
	reaped	314	335.5	250	198	199	198
	Labour:						
	Customary Works	138 acres	128.5 acres	125 acres	121 acres	60 acres	120 acres
	<u>Precarie</u>	46 "	42 "	32 "	24 "	12 "	
	Hired Men	129.5 "	165 "	94.5 "	53 "	127 "	178 "
	<u>Famuli</u>						
	Cost per acre:						
	<u>ad tascham</u>	6d.	5d.	4d.	6d.	5d.	4d.
	<u>in universo</u>		6d.	5d.	6d.		

d)	ENFORD	1403
	Acreage: sown	524.5
	reaped	524.5
	Labour:	
	Customary Works	234 acres
	<u>Precarie</u>	
	Hired Men	258 "
	<u>Famuli</u>	32 "
	Cost per acre:	
	<u>ad tascham</u>	5d.
	<u>in universo</u>	

e)	HANNINGTON	1391
	<u>Sullones</u> : sown	150
	reaped	150
	Labour:	
	Customary Works	
	<u>Precarie</u>	142 men
	Hired Men	
	<u>Famuli</u>	
	Cost per Sull.	
	<u>ad tascham</u>	
	<u>in universo</u>	1.75d

HARVESTING: DETAILS OF ACREAGES, LABOUR-FORCE AND COSTS

f)	HINTON AMPNER	1377	1393	1423
	Acreage: sown	484	454	351
	reaped			
	Labour:			
	Customary Works		32 acres	31 acres
	<u>Precarie</u>	22 acres		
	Hired Men	435 "	374 "	293 "
	<u>Famuli</u>	?rector 27 acres		rector 27 acres
	Cost per acre:			
	<u>ad tascham</u>	[3d.]	[1d. +]*	2d. + *
	<u>in universo</u>			

* i.e., a little over the figures shown.

g)	HURSTBOURNE	1391	1393
	Acreage: sown	459.5	504
	reaped	459	504
	Labour:		
	Customary Works	256 acres	256 acres
	<u>Precarie</u>	60 "	63 "
	Hired Men	143 "	185 "
	<u>Famuli</u>		
	Cost per acre:		
	<u>ad tascham</u>	2d.*+	2d.
	<u>in universo</u>	3d.+	3d.+

* i.e., a little over 2d.

h)	LITTLETON	1382	1391	1400	1428
	Acreage: sown	251.5	222	229	211.5
	reaped	252	222	229	211
	Labour:				
	Customary Works	12 acres	12 ^o acres	10 acres	
	<u>Precarie</u>				
	Hired Men	240 "	212.5 "	219 "	211 acres
	<u>Famuli</u>				
	Cost per acre:				
	<u>ad tascham</u>				
	<u>in universo</u>	8d.	4d.	4d.+	5d.

o The discrepancy in the total of reaped acres is due to the fact that the auditors changed this figure from 10 to 12.

HARVESTING: DETAILS OF ACREAGES, LABOUR-FORCE AND COSTS

i) MAPLEDURHAM	1400	1408	1417	1425
Acreage: sown	146.5	144	160.5	137.5
reaped	146.5	144	160.5	137.5
Labour:				
Customary works				
<u>Precarie</u>				
Hired Men	146 acres	144 acres	160.5 acres	137.5 acres
<u>Famuli</u>				
Cost per acre:				
wheat	9d.	10d.	9d.	9d.
barley	9d.	10d.		9d.
oats	6d.	6d.	7d.	
beans	6d.		6d.	
peas	6d.	6d.		
vetches	6d.			

j) SILKSTEAD	1381	1390	1395
Acreage: sown	184.5		171
reaped	184.5	198	171
Labour:			
Customary works	no customary tenants.		
<u>Precarie</u>			
Hired Men	3.10.0 wages	3.14.0 wages	3.10.4 wages
<u>Famuli</u>			
Cost per acre:			
<u>ad tascham</u>			
<u>in universo</u>	10d.	9d.	7d.

Note: On the Sutton account roll of 1393 120 acres were harvested ad tascham at a cost of 8d. per acre. Only 32 acres were reaped by custom.

k) THURMONDS	1380	1390	1396	1409	1420	1428
Acreage: sown	153	115.5	114	107	118	114
reaped	153	115.5	114	107	118	114
Labour:						
Customary Works						
<u>Precarie</u>						
Hired Men	153 acres	115 acres	114 acres	107 acres	118 acres	114 acres
<u>Famuli</u>						
Cost per acre:						
<u>ad tascham</u>		7d.-	7d.	7d.*	9d.+	9d.
<u>in universo</u>						

* The auditors have changed this figure from 9d.

+ The auditors have changed this figure from 10d.

HARVESTING: DETAILS OF ACREAGES, LABOUR-FORCE AND COSTS

1)	WHITCHURCH	1385	1395	1405	1416	1433
	Acreage: sown		350	302	299	210.5
	reaped	298	350	302	299	210.5
	Labour:					
	Customary works	66 acres			62 acres	
	<u>Precarie</u>		76 acres	71 acres		
	<u>Famuli</u>					12 acres
	Hired Men	232 "	274 "	231 "	237 "	198.5 "
	Cost per acre:					
	<u>ad tascham</u>	[3d.+]	4d.-	4.5d.	4.5d.	6d.
	<u>in universo</u>	6d.	5d.+	6d.+	6.5d.	

m)	WONSTON	1381	1393	1400
	Acreage: sown	191	?182	203.5
	reaped	191	192	203.5
	Labour:			
	Customary works	136.5 acres	133.5 acres	132 acres
	<u>Precarie</u>	23 "	34 "	38 "
	Hired Men	31.5 "	24.5 "	33.5 "
	<u>Famuli</u>			
	Cost per acre:			
	<u>ad tascham</u>			
	<u>in universo</u>	[3d.] *	[2d.+] *	[3d.] *

* My reckoning, by using the formula $\frac{H}{R}$.

HARVESTING: DETAILS OF ACREAGES, LABOUR-FORCE AND COSTS

n)	WOOLSTONE	1380	1390	1400	1410	1417	1430	1435
	Acreage: sown	138	138	176	151.5	155		116
	reaped	138	138	176	151.5	155		116
	Labour:							
	Customary works	70 acres	60 acres	43 acres	42 acres	37 acres	31 acres	57 acres
	<u>Precarie</u>							
	Hired Men	68 "	78 "	134 "	109.5 acres	118 "	69.5 "	59 "
	<u>Famuli</u>							
	Cost per acre:							
	<u>ad tascham</u>							
	<u>in universo</u>	6d.	6d.+	4.5d.	5d.	5d.	3d.	5d.

o)	WOOTTON	1381	1392	1402	1412	1422	1432	1442
*	Sull.: sown	482	519	510	551		412	435
	reaped	482	519	510	551	525	412	
	Labour:							
	Customary works	182 men		181 men	155 men	143 men	120 men	43 men
	<u>Precarie</u>		66 men	10 "	20 "			
**	Hired Men	1.9.6	1.19.4	2.4.4	2.3.4	2.2.5	3.6.1	?4.0.0
	<u>Famuli</u>							
	Cost per <u>sull.:</u>							
	<u>ad tascham</u>							
	<u>in universo</u>	3d.+	3d.-	3d.+	3d.	3d.	4d.	5d.

* Sullones.

** Wages only given.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SOWN ACREAGES (TOTALS)

MANOR	c.1380	c.1400	c.1425	c.1450
BARTON	778 (1385)	698 (1402)	649.5 (1428)	541 (1453)
CHILBOLTON	576.5 (1384)	427.5 (1403)	425 (1424)	456.5 (1433)
CRONDAL	?314 (1382)	250.5 (1399)	199 (1423)	198.5 (1451)
ENFORD		524 (1403)		
* HANNINGTON	169s. (1385)	138s. (1393)		
HINTON AMPNER	484 (1377)	454 (1393)	351 (1423)	
HURSTBOURNE		504 (1393)		
LITTLETON	251.5 (1382)	229	211.5 (1428)	
MAPLEDURHAM		148.5	137.5	
SILKSTEAD	196.5	168 (1396)		
THURMONDS	153	114 (1396)	114 (1428)	
WHITCHURCH	325 (1390)	352 (1398)	306 (1418)	210.5 (1433)
WONSTON	190 (1381)	203.5		
WOOLSTONE	137	176	155 (1417)	116 (1435)
* WOOTTON	482s. (1381)	498s. (1399)	425s. (1423)	441s. (1445)

* The measurement of land on the manors of Hannington and Wootton is by sullones rather than by acres. See text p. 146, n. 261.

DETAILS OF SOWN CROPS: ACREAGES

a) WHEAT

MANOR	1380	1390	1400	1410	1420	1430	1440	1450
BARTON	265 (1385)	218	278	250		239	222	213
CHILBOLTON	143 (1384)	150	130 (1403)	150 (1407)	137 (1416)	150 (1433)		
CRONDAL	73	?133.5 (1387)		92 (1406)	82 (1423)	81 (1434)		88
ENFORD			178 (1403)					
* HANNINGTON	51s. (1385)	42s.						
HINTON AMPNER	217 (1377)	193 (1393)			144 (1423)			
HURSTBOURNE		137						
LITTLETON	73	72	63			83		
MAPLEDURHAM			54	61	58			
SILKSTEAD	81	78	74.5 (1396)					
THURMONDS	57	44	36 (1396)	37	44.5	46		
WHITCHURCH		117	123 (1398)	104	105			
WONSTON	48	44	48					
WOOLSTONE	71	76	76	78	74 (1417)	56 (1434)		
* WOOTTON	125s.	134s.	141s.	145s.	140s.	128s. (1432)	138s.	

* s. = sullones.

b) BERE

MANOR	1380	1390	1400	1410	1420	1430	1440	1450
HANNINGTON	35s. (1385)	10s.						
WOOTTON	64s.	49s.	31.5s.	40s.	25s.	16s.	10s.	

Note: In these and the next four tables, the dates are inserted only if they are more than two years removed from the date at the top of the column.

DETAILS OF SOWN CROPS: ACREAGES

c) BARLEY

MANOR	1380	1390	1400	1410	1420	1430	1440	1450
BARTON	295 (1385)	224	242	252		249	201	200
CHILBOLTON	159 (1384)	135	141.5 (1403)	156 (1407)	147 (1416)	145.5 (1433)		
CRONDAL	69	92 (1387)		53 (1406)	48.5 (1423)	44 (1434)		43
ENFORD			170 (1403)					
HANNINGTON	24s. (1385)	15s.						
HINTON AMPNER	113 (1377)	107 (1393)			88 (1423)			
HURSTBOURNE		137.5						
LITTLETON	76	55	65			57		
MAPLEDURHAM			23	27	17			
SILKSTEAD	54	73	48.5 (1396)					
THURMONDS	51	46	50 (1396)	41.5	43.5	39		
WHITCHURCH	74 (1385)	83	92	76	81	59 (1433)		
WONSTON	48	45	46					
WOOLSTONE	34.5	29	40	42	44 (1417)	37 (1434)	34 (1436)	
WOOTTON	100s.	145s.	127s.	131s.	108s.	85s.	89s.	

DETAILS OF SOWN CROPS: ACREAGES

d) DREDGE *

MANOR	1380	1390	1400	1410	1420	1430	1440	1450
BARTON		18	8	24		20	29	
CHILBOLTON	51 (1384)	32	31 (1403)	38.5 (1407)	52 (1416)	39 (1433)		
CRONDAL	5	7 (1387)		6.5 (1406)				
ENFORD	nil	-	-					
HANNINGTON		14s.						
HINTON AMPNER		9 (1393)						
HURSTBOURNE		36						
LITTLETON	15.5							
MAPLEDURHAM	nil	-	-					
SILKSTEAD	5.5							
THURMONDS	nil	-	-					
WHITCHURCH	13 (1385)	16	19	14	13			
WONSTON	17	13	19					
WOOLSTONE	nil	-	-					
WOOTTON						17s.	11s.	

* This is a mixture of barley and oats.

DETAILS OF SOWN CROPS: ACREAGES

e) OATS

MANOR	1380	1390	1400	1410	1420	1430	1440	1450
BARTON	179.5 (1385)	145	134	124		115	101	102
CHILBOLTON	137.5 (1384)	134.5	78	90.5 (1407)	39.5 (1415)	91 (1433)		
CRONDAL		64 (1387)		60 (1406)	63 (1423)	69 (1434)		66
ENFORD			121.5 (1403)					
HANNINGTON	59s. (1385)	42s.						
HINTON AMPNER	120 (1377)	121 (1393)			104 (1423)			
HURSTBOURNE		116						
LITTLETON	40	56	53			40		
MAPLEDURHAM			63	53	43			
SILKSTEAD	40	29	33 (1396)					
THURMONDS	33	15	18 (1396)	15.5	18	18		
WHITCHURCH	85 (1385)	81	86	80	86.5	61 (1433)		
WONSTON	53	55	57					
WOOLSTONE	14	18	20	7	14 (1417)	8 (1434)	11 (1436)	
WOOTTON	167s.	182s.	165s.	187s.	172s.	146s.	134s.	

DETAILS OF SOWN CROPS: ACREAGES

f) LEGUMES *

MANOR	1380	1390	1400	1410	1420	1430	1440	1450
BARTON	39 (1385)	42	27.5	35 (1413)		19	33	25
CHILBOLTON	88 (1384)	43	43	?17.5	39.5	31 (1433)		
CRONDAL	28.5	39 (1387)		9 (1406)	6 (1423)	4 (1434)		5
ENFORD			54.5 (1403)					
HANNINGTON		6s.						
HINTON AMPNER	34 (1377)	16 (1393)			15 (1423)			
HURSTBOURNE		56						
LITTLETON	47	40	48			31		
MAPLEDURHAM			6.5	3	3.5			
SILKSTEAD	16	8	12 (1396)					
THURMONDS	12	10	9 (1396)	5	11.5	14		
WHITCHURCH	20 (1385)	27	31	18	20	4 (1433)		
WONSTON	25	34	32					
WOOLSTONE	18	14	40	22	21 (1417)	16 (1434)	21 (1436)	
WOOTTON	26s.	46s.	34s.	32s. (1413)	24s.	20s. (1433)	17s.	

* These include peas, beans, pulses and vetches; the sown acreage of each is usually given, but they are invariably small and seldom are there more than two of them sown in any particular year. Here only the totals are given.

SALES OF GRAIN

MANOR	1380	1390	1400	1410	1420	1430	1440	1450
BARTON	4.17.11 (1385)	22.15.9	3.7.5					
CHILBOLTON	4.9.4 (1384)	1.13.8	2.14.8 (1403)					
CRONDAL	9.7.10	4.5.6	4.1.3	4.15.0	3.11.3	2.17.8		2.10.7
ENFORD			22.2.9 (1403)					
HANNINGTON		1.4.11						
HINTON AMPNER	11.13.9 (1377)	7.18.10 (1393)			9.8.10 (1423)			
HURSTBOURNE		1.8.5						
LITTLETON		0.9.0	0.2.1					
MAPLEDURHAM			0.8.0	0.6.0				
SILKSTEAD		10.15.18						
THURMONDS	8.17.7	3.4.2						
WHITCHURCH	0.12.5	4.1.6	?3.7.3					
WOOLSTONE	12.13.5	11.2.7	5.7.10	15.4.11	6.1.4 (1417)	2.0.3 (1434)	4.7.6 (1436)	
WOOTTON		0.1.3	1.5.9				0.5.0	none

Note: In some cases, e.g., at Wootton and at Barton in the 1430's and 1440's, little or no grain was sold. It is necessary to compare this table with Table D.4, p. xxxiv where stock sales and also grain and stock sales (where these were given as one total) are provided.

GRAIN ALLOWANCES TO THE FAMULI (TOTALS)

Note: The numbers given for the famuli are 1) averages for the period under study and 2) exclusive of bailiff, sergeant and messor (who usually received wheat).

a)

BARTON	1385	1392	1402	1413	1428	1438	1446
(20 <u>famuli</u>)	103 qr. <u>mixtura</u> *	103 qr.	120 qr.	87 qr.	103 qr. barley	102 qr. barley	100 qr.

* This was mainly barley

b)

CHILBOLTON	1384	1393	1406	1415	1424	1433
(15 <u>famuli</u>)	75 qr.	75 qr. bere and barley	65 qr.	70 qr.	69 qr. barley	80 qr. barley

c)

CRONDAL	1382	1399	1423	1434	1451
(18 <u>famuli</u>)	87 qr. <u>mixtura</u>	76 qr. <u>mixtura</u>	63 qr. barley	65 qr. barley	48 qr. barley

d)

ENFORD	1403
(18 <u>famuli</u>)	87 qr. barley

e)

HANNINGTON	1385	1391
(4 <u>famuli</u>)	19 qr. <u>mixtura</u>	14 qr. barley

f)

HINTON AMPNER	1377	1393	1423
10 <u>famuli</u>)	49 qr. mainly barley	49 qr. mainly barley	40 qr.* all barley

g)

HURSTBOURNE	1391
(14 <u>famuli</u>)	79 qr. bere, barley and tolcorn

* This had to be purchased at 4s. a quarter.

GRAIN ALLOWANCES TO THE FAMULI (TOTALS)

h)	LITTLETON	1386	1391							
	(10 <u>famuli</u>)	48 qr. barley	44 qr. barley							
i)	MAPLEDURHAM	1400	1417	1425						
	(10 <u>famuli</u>)	44 qr. barley	44 qr. barley and wheat	44 qr. barley						
j)	SILKSTEAD	1380	1393							
	(7 <u>famuli</u>)	34 qr. barley	34 qr. barley							
k)	THURMONDS	1380	1390	1409	1428					
	(4 <u>famuli</u>)	25 qr. barley	20 qr. barley	20 qr. barley	24 qr. barley					
l)	WHITCHURCH	1385	1395	1405	1416	1433				
	(11 <u>famuli</u>)	83 qr. barley and tolcorn	83 qr.	80 qr.	80 qr. barley, wheat, bere and tolcorn	66 qr.				
m)	WOOLSTONE	1380	1390	1400	1410	1417	1434			
	(6 <u>famuli</u>)	29 qr. barley and wheat	34 qr. barley	34 qr.	42 qr.	47 qr.	26 qr.			
n)	WOOTTON	1381	1392	1402	1412	1422	1432	1444		
	(15 <u>famuli</u>)	74 qr. <u>mixtura</u>	70 qr. <u>mixtura</u>	66 qr. <u>mixtura</u>	63 qr.	56 qr. <u>mixtura</u>	51 qr.	51 qr. bere and barley		

Note: There were no separate entries (liberationes famulorum) on the Wonston account rolls but the average allowance for 5 famuli was about 26 qr.

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

- Notes: 1) Amounts of grain are given to the nearest quarter; wheat often includes curall (chaff).
 2) Unless specified all food went to the curtarian.
 3) Abbreviations used in this section of the tables: curt.=curtarian; cel.=cellarer; R=receiver; P=prior; k="keb".

a) From BARTON

	1385	1392	1402	1413	1428	1438	1453
WHEAT	201qr.	101qr.curt. 68qr.cel.	121qr.curt. 12qr. cel.	153qr.curt. 63qr. cel.	156qr.	20 qr.	83 qr.
BARLEY	170qr.	20qr. curt. 126qr.cel.	20qr. curt. 198qr. cel.	102qr. cel.	111qr.cel.	68qr.cel.	50qr.cel.
OATS	14qr.	59qr.	64qr.	25qr.	3qr.	16qr.	22qr.
DREDGE			14qr. cel.	27qr. cel.	26qr. cel.		
OXEN			2k.	1k.		3k.	2
BULLS							1
BULLOCKS			2				
COWS				2k. and 1 calf		4k.	3
SHEEP		47k.*	100k.	30k.	49k.	35k.	91k.
LAMBS		5P.	12k.P.	35P.			
PIGS		44	62	40	30	25	26
PIGLETS		17P.	18P.	15P.	10P.		
GEESE		34	22	39	18 ^o	18 ^o	18 ^o
CAPONS		10	10	14	16	16	18
FOWLS		4P.		53	20	20	18
EGGS				280	400	340	
CHEESE		280 lb. R.	546 lb. R. 175 lb. P.	301 lb.R.	336 lb.	462 lb.	224 lb.
MILK and CREAM			100 gals. P.	292 gals. P.	77 gals. P.	61 gals.	100 gals
BUTTER		112 lb.	112 lb.+				

* two of these each year to the infirmarian.

o numbers appear to be pegged.

+ to the refectorer.

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

b) From CHILBOLTON

	1384	1394	1403	1415	1424	1433	1445	1456
WHEAT	45qr. curt. 24qr. cel.	68qr.	46qr.	31qr.	61qr.	41qr.	20qr.	20qr.
BARLEY	23qr. cel.	36qr. cel.	76qr.	28qr.	57qr.	4qr.	20qr. cel.	20qr. cel.
OATS			5qr.		15qr.	9qr.	9qr.	9qr.
DREDGE	20qr. cel.	16qr.	30qr.	10qr.	24qr.	21qr.		
OXEN		1k.			1k.			
COWS		1k.	1k.					
BULLOCKS					2k.	1k.		
SHEEP	48	60 and 40k.		50k.	36k.	29k.		80k.
LAMBS					3k. P.			
PIGS	21	31	27	26	32	32		
SWANS	5	2	2		16	15		
GEESE		16		12	16	18	12 *	12
CAPONS		19		18	12	16	12	12
FOWLS	30	24		36	18	20	12 *	20 **
EGGS						100		
CHEESE	346 lb. R.	308 lb. R.	182lb.	420 lb. R.	182 lb. R.	112 lb. R.		

* These are described as de firma. See extract of the 1445 lease below p. liv.

** The 8 extra here are from churchscot from the chamberlain's men.

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

c) From CRONDAL

	1382	1387	1399	1410	1426	1434	1451
WHEAT	36qr.curt. 17 " cel.	31 qr.cel			37qr.	32qr.	14qr.
OATS					35qr.	6qr.	34qr.
DREDGE		10qr.					
WHITE PEAS		4qr.					
OXEN			1 k.		2	1 k.	5 k.
COWS		2				2 k.	2
BULLOCKS			2 k.			1 k.	3
PIGS	33		31		16	23	22
GEESE	15			12	12	16	15
CAPONS	15	9		12	20	15	17
FOWLS	?62 and 60	20		20	50	40	35
CHEESE	742 lb.	644 lb.			182. lb.	190 lb.	195 lb.
WINTER LACTAGE	14 lb.						

Note: Gaps in this table are due to the decayed condition of the rolls.

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

d) From ENFORD

	1403	1433	1440	1443	1450
WHEAT	78 qr.curt. 5 " cel.	40 qr.	40 qr.	41 qr.	40 qr.
BARLEY	175 qr.	50 qr.	49 qr.	50 qr.	50 qr.
OATS	35 qr.	6 qr.	5 qr.	5 qr.	5 qr.
DREDGE		10 qr.	10 qr.	10 qr.	10 qr.
COWS	1 k.				
BULLOCKS	1				
CALVES	4 *				
SHEEP	30 k.				
PIGS	36				
GEESE	12	10	12	12	12
CAPONS	12	11	12	?	12
FOWLS	12	12	12	12	12
CHEESE	182 lb.R.				

* Two of these were bought and sent to the prior's hospicium at Winchester, tempore despons[aliarum] domine Regine anglie (i.e., Joan of Navarre).

Note: Grain and poultry continued to be required from the farmer.
See below, Section H., p. liv.

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

e) From HANNINGTON

	1387	1392	1401	1412	1417
WHEAT	9 qr.	3 qr.			
BARLEY	17 qr.				
OATS	6 qr.	5 qr.			
SHEEP	22 R.	30 k.	19 k.	17 k.	6 k.
GEESE	19	16			
CAPONS	25	23			
FOWLS	20	30			

f) From HINTON AMPNER

	1377 [*]	1393 ⁺	1423 [*]
WHEAT	5 bu.	1 qr.	6 bu.
OATS	10 qr.	2 qr.	6 bu.
GEESE	6	3	1
CAPONS	6	11	

^{*} Everything here went to the chamberlain.

⁺ Everything here went to the almoner.

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

g) From HURSTBOURNE

	1391	1393
WHEAT	121 qr.	88 qr.
BARLEY	77 qr.	107 qr.
OATS	10 qr.	
DREDGE	19 qr.	18 qr.
BULLS AND COWS	3 k.	2 k.
BULLOCKS		6 k.
SHEEP	8 k. P.	24 k.
LAMBS	6 P.	
PIGS	34 (+ 4 P.)	26
SWANS	5	7
GEESE	9	18
CAPONS	3	15
FOWLS	72	89
CHEESE	826 lb. R.	728 lb. R.

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

h) From LITTLETON

	1382	1391	1400	1428	1457
WHEAT	16 qr.	7 qr.	18 qr.	10 qr.	10 qr.
BARLEY	18 qr.	12 qr.	21 qr.	8 qr.	10 qr.
OATS	13 qr.*	12 qr.	32 qr.	8 qr.	10 qr.
DREDGE	16 qr.				
COWS	2 k.	1 k.			
SHEEP	54 k.	20 k.	24 k.	30 k.	55 k.
LAMBS	26 R.		3 k. ^o P.	5 k. ^o	
PIGS	22	17	27	18	4
PIGLETS	5				
GEESE	20	12	6	12	6
CAPONS	21	12	10	12	6
FOWLS	34	16	17	12	10
EGGS	100			300	
CHEESE	448 lb. R.	105 lb. R.	182 lb. R.		

* Of which 1 qr. was designated for the prior's palfreys.

^o These are described by the words tardi and inutiles.

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

i) From MAPLEDURHAM

	1400	1413	1420	1430
WHEAT	42 qr.	24 qr.	57 qr.	
OATS		17 qr.	13 qr.	18 qr.
OXEN			2 k.	
COWS			1 k.	
LAMBS	1 P.			
PIGS	19	14	20	
GEESE	22		18	12
CAPONS	18		12	11
FOWLS	24			
EGGS	500			
CIDER			1 cask	

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

j) From SILKSTEAD

	1380	1389	1396	1405	1414	1424	1434	1444	1452
WHEAT			18 qr.						
BARLEY			5 qr.						
OATS	4 qr.*		12 qr.						
SHEEP				16 k.	59 k.	16 k.	13 k.	21 k.	36 k.
PIGS	1	16	24						
PIGLETS	22								
GEESE									
CAPONS					16	12	16	16	16

* Sent to the curtarian for the prior's horses.

k) From THURMONDS

	1380	1390	1396	1409	1420	1452
WHEAT	26 qr.	4 qr.				
BARLEY						? 5 qr.
SHEEP	13					
LAMBS			1 k.P.	15 k.P.	5k.P.	

Note: The reeve of Barton regularly received supplies of wheat and barley from Thurmonds.

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

1) From WHITCHURCH

	1385	1395	1405	1416	1433	1446	1464
WHEAT	89 qr.	81 qr.	89 qr.	64 qr.	28 qr.	25 qr.	21 qr.
BARLEY	24qr.cel.	16qr.cel.	20qr.cel.	16qr.cel.	?	10qr.cel.	12 qr.
OATS	4 qr.	8 qr.	16 qr.	18 qr.	5 qr.	10 qr.	9 qr.
DREDGE	20qr.cel.	1qr.curt. 12" cel.	16qr. cel.	15qr. cel.			
OXEN	2	1 k.	2 k.		1		
BULLS				1			
BULLOCKS				2			
COWS	2		1 k.		1 k.		
SHEEP	30 k.	20 k.	24 k.	20 k.	32 k.	38 k.	30 k.
PIGS	32 and 6 pig- lets	41	31	22	25		
SWANS		4	1	1	3		
GEESE	40	19		12	16		
CAPONS	29	20	16	15	14		
FOWLS	93	72	6	51	40		
CHEESE	*12 ⁴ lb. R.	462 lb. R.	343 lb. R.	320 lb.			
TROUT						5	

* This includes butter

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

m) From WONSTON

	1381	1393	1400	1412	1419	1434	1447	1456
WHEAT	20qr.curt. 5 " cel.	40 qr.	25qr. curt. 3 " cel.	24 qr.	14 qr.	20 qr.	10 qr.	11 qr.
BARLEY	23qr. cel.	1 qr.curt. 32 " cel.	21qr. cel.	24 qr.	28 qr.	20qr. cel.	15qr.cel.	10 qr. cel.
OATS	12 qr.	40 qr.	14 qr.	21 qr.	9 qr.	9 qr.	18 qr.	10 qr.
DREDGE	13qr. cel.	15qr.cel.	10qr. cel.					
PEAS	1 qr.							
TOLCORN	5qr. cel.							
OXEN	1	2 k.						
BULLS	1		1					
BULLOCKS			2					
CALVES	1							
COWS	1							
SHEEP	18	38 k.	24 k.	52 k.	30 k.	23 k.		
LAMBS			1 k.P.		2P.			
PIGS	15	18	21	16	9	14		
PIGLETS	4							
GEESE	12	24	18					
CAPONS	22	23	20					
FOWLS		24	20					
EGGS	316	300	300					
CHEESE		280 lb.R.	273 lb.R.	182 lb. R.	182 lb.	70 lb.		

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

n) From WOOTTON

	1381	1392	1402	1412	1422	1432	1442	1450
WHEAT	12 qr.	48 qr.	37 qr.	34 qr.	13 qr.	46 qr.	72 qr.	20 qr.
BARLEY	46 qr.	10qr. curt. 66 " cel.	34 qr.+	20qr. cel.	20qr.cel.	11qr.cel.		
OATS	23 qr.	16 qr.	18 qr.	19 qr.	6 qr.	19 qr.	33 qr.	12 qr.
DREDGE					8 qr.		20qr.cel.	
OXEN		1 k.		2 k.				
BULLS						1 k.	1 k.	
BULLOCKS		2 k.		1 k.	1	2 k.		
COWS		1 k.			1 k.	2 k.	1 k.	
SHEEP		28 k.		14 k.	16 k.			
PIGS	28	30	41	31	29	22	26	13
GEESE		20		18	12	12	18	12
CAPONS		21	5	3	15	16	16	12
FOWLS	20	32		9	10	20	18	12
EGGS				329 P.				
CHEESE		546 lb.R.		112 lb.R.		273 lb.R.	210 lb.R.	

+ for the lord's brewery

o) From WOOLSTONE *

	1382	1436
PIGS		1 boar
GEESE	4	
CAPONS	6	

* All the items went to the chamberlain

DETAILS OF FOOD SUPPLIED TO THE PRIORY

Pig totals (from stock book)

MANOR	1390	1391
BARTON	41	42
CHILBOLTON	31	23
CRONDAL	20	20
ENFORD	41	31
HURSTBOURNE	34	28
LITTLETON	18	19
MAPLEDURHAM	20	24
SILKSTEAD	13	15
STOCKTON	28	25
WHITCHURCH	40	30
WONSTON	19	21
WOOTTON	33	30
ALTON		
EXTON		
HOUGHTON	161	161
MICHELMERSH		
OVERTON		
SUTTON		
TOTAL	499	469

SUMS OF MONEY TURNED IN TO THE PRIORY

MANOR	c.1380	c.1450
CRONDAL	68.2.4	64.17.7
ENFORD	14.1.4 (1403)	38.0.2
HANNINGTON	10.10.0	13.15.8 (1440)
LITTLETON	7.3.10 (1386)	expenses exceeded receipts (1428)
MAPLEDURHAM	31.8.9	21.11.5 (1447)
STOCKTON	28.16.8 (1400)	30.16.7
WHITCHURCH	28.18.1 (1386)	8.6.6. (1433)
WONSTON	6.19.5	20.11.11
WOOLSTONE	36.17.8	27.17.2
WOOTTON	6.2.2	25.1.3

FOOD CONSUMED BY THE PRIOR AND OBEDIENTIARIES ON MANORIAL VISITS

CHILBOLTON	1384	1406	1415	1424
	6qr.wheat,9qr.oats 1 cow, 1 calf 10 sheep 2 pigs,4 piglets 21 lb.cheese,542 eggs 12 geese,10 capons, 26 fowls	14qr.wheat,8qr.oats 12 k.lambs,5 pigs 14 lb.cheese,130 eggs 14 capons 47 fowls	2 geese to Michelmersh for prior 12 capons "	3qr.oats 2 " " to Hurstbourne for prior 2 capons
CRONDAL	1382	1399	1410	1451
	3 qr. wheat,4 qr. barley 8 qr. oats, 1 pig, 9 piglets 19 capons,5fowls, 300 eggs	1 lamb 7 lb. cheese 5 capons,10 fowls 60 eggs	23 lb. cheese 1 goose 10 capons 170 eggs	3 geese 1 capon
ENFORD	1403			
	4 qr. oats to Chilbolton for prior			
HINTON AMPNER	1377	1393	1423	
	1 qr.wheat,1 qr.oats 1 goose,10 capons, 100 eggs	3 geese, 4 capons 4 fowls	4 capons	
HURSTBOURNE	1391			
	4 qr. barley, 18 qr. oats, 4 pigs, 10 cheeses, 12 geese, 20 capons, 29 fowls, 1000 eggs, 123 pigeons			Note: See also Whitchurch
LITTLETON	1386	1391	1428	
	1 qr. oats,2 geese, 4 capons	3 capons,4 fowls	1 capon	
MAPLEDURHAM	1400	1419		
	9 qr.wheat, 1 qr. barley 15 qr. oats	4 qr. wheat 7 " oats		
SILKSTEAD	1380	1393		
	2 qr.oats, 2 piglets 2 geese, 8 capons, 8 fowls	1 qr. oats, 1 goose 4 capons		
WHITCHURCH	1386	1405	1414	
	3 bu. oats,6 cheeses 4 capons, 9 fowls 150 eggs	3 qr. oats, 3 geese,1 capon,5 fowls 5 capons,6 fowls to Hurst- bourne for prior 50 eggs	7 qr.oats,2 calves 2 geese,2 capons, 3 pigs,27 fowls, 1 sheep,4 lambs 1 ewe,3 piglets 1 piglet,3 capons 24 pigeons	to Hurst bourne for prior to Chil- bolton for prior
WONSTON	1387	1400	1412	
	3.5 bu.oats,1 bu.pannage 5 capons, 40 eggs	3 bu. oats 7 capons	1 qr. oats	

continued on next page.

FOOD CONSUMED BY THE PRIOR AND OBEDIENTIARIES ON MANORIAL VISITS - continued

WOOTTON	1381	1402	1422	1440
	5 qr.wheat,9 qr.oats 2 bullocks, 1 calf	18 qr.wheat,3 qr.barley, 36 qr.oats 3 k.sheep,1 lamb 3 pigs, 7 geese,11 capons, 48 fowls 18 lb.cheese,355 eggs	12 qr.wheat, 1 qr.barley, 14 qr. oats, 1 calf (<u>inutilis</u>) 1 pig, 6 geese, 1 capon 29 fowls	2 pigs 2 geese 1 capon 2 fowls

Note: These are selected examples only.

SALES OF STOCK (AND GRAIN)

MANOR	1380	1390	1400	1410	1420	1430	1440	1450
BARTON Stock Grain and Stock	26.5.10 (1385)	14.17.9	15.6.1			24.14.4	8.3.4	(1446) 16.10.6
CHILBOLTON Stock Grain and Stock	9.14.11 (1384)	8.13.11	20.6.6 (1403)	9.1.6 (1407)		4.8.7 (1433)		
CRONDAL Stock Grain and Stock	9.19.10	10.15.9	14.3.11	11.7.11	10.3.0	10.9.11	4.11.8	1.16.9
ENFORD Stock Grain and Stock			14.12.8 (1403)			3.6.8 (1433)	3.6.8	3.6.8
HANNINGTON Stock Grain and Stock	2.19.5	1.18.7	0.8.6 (1404)	0.4.9	0.3.10			
HINTON AMPNER Stock Grain and Stock	25.3.11 (1377)	19.0.0 (1393)			15.14.4 (1423)			
HURSTBOURNE Stock Grain and Stock		10.1.6						
LITTLETON Stock Grain and Stock	9.2.6	10.5.2	9.15.8			3.4.7		
MAPLEDURHAM Stock Grain and Stock			16.10.3	13.4.1	2.3.8	9.15.6		
SILKSTEAD Stock Grain and Stock	17.11.4	3.11.4	2.4.2					
STOCKTON Stock* Grain and Stock			1.18.4 * Sheep only.	3.10.8	2.5.6	0.8.3	0.4.5	3.12.2
THURMONDS Stock Grain and Stock	3.7.6		(1396)	2.16.7	5.9.1	2.6.8		
		13.10.7	6.1.5					
WHITCHURCH Stock Grain and Stock	16.18.11 (1385)	6.14.2	8.11.5	6.4.5	3.10.9	2.13.9	0.4.4	(1446) 0.4.3
WONSTON Stock Grain and Stock	2.19.6	3.19.7	4.6.8	2.0.3	0.15.4	1.5.1 (1427)	1.9.7	
WOOLSTONE Stock Grain and Stock	28.2.9	16.9.3	17.19.11	26.6.2	20.3.1 (1417)	16.2.11 (1434)	17.3.5 (1436)	
WOOTTON Stock Grain and Stock	7.15.7	4.11.5	7.12.8	2.16.10		2.7.4	1.11.1	none

DETAILS OF SHEEP REARING AND WOOL PRODUCTION:
NUMBERS, LOSSES, SALES, TRANSFERS
AND NUMBER OF WOOL FLEECES

a)

BARTON	1385	1392	1402	1413	1428	1438	1446	1453
Numbers*	1244W. 24R 900E 492L	955W 23R 885E 685L	929W 22R 883E 736L	698W 24R 739E 658L	737W 24R 637E 644L	809W 20R [#] 738E 418L	652W 22R 848E 616L	769W 19R 643E 475L
Losses ^o		192L						112E 115H
Sales ^o	126H) 92W) 63E)						240L bought by prior	
<u>Transfers</u>								
To Silkstead	62H	72H	103H	73H	80H	31H	27H	51H
From "		132L	88L	110L	123L	47L	92L	31L
To Thurmonds		93H	135H	94H	74H			
From "	107H	106L	216L	180L	136L			
To Littleton		4L						
From "			44L		38H		49H	
To Michelmersh					42H		20H	142H
From "					82L	19L	40L	86L
To Overton	20L							
From "								83L
To Exton		25H						
To Houghton					30H		25H	
From Hurstbourne			34L					
" Whitchurch			20L					
" Chilbolton			40L					
Number of S Wool Fleeces ⁺ L		2044 705	2158 756	1597 667	1647 675	1616 431		1501 ^l to curtar- 463 ^l ian

*Here and on the following tables these are numbers remaining after the deduction of sales, losses and transfers.

^oHeavy losses and large sales only are given. Purchases are also included in the sales column.

⁺Unless otherwise specified the fleeces were delivered to Winchester to the receiver.

[#]Four of these were at Thurmonds.

Key: W=wether; R=ram; E=ewe; L=lamb; H=hogaster; S=sheep.

DETAILS OF SHEEP REARING AND WOOL PRODUCTION:
 NUMBERS, LOSSES, SALES, TRANSFERS AND
 NUMBER OF WOOL FLEECES

b)

CHILBOLTON	1384	1394	1406	1415	1424	1433	1456	1463
Numbers	732W	819W	635W	824W	625W	231W	565W	500W
	19R	18R	18R	20R	19R	12R	12R	6R
	648E	510E	490E	529E	486E	434E	400E	300E
	319L	312L	308L	258L	251L	258L	276L	34L
Losses			90W 103H (mur- rain)		120W	224W		
Sales	75E 8H 14L	14W 2R 69E 4L		2R 11E 28L				
<u>Transfers</u>								
From Crondal		64L	40L					
To Hurstbourne							53H	
To Houghton		36H						
To Wootton							52H	
Number of S	1440	1568	1215	1451	1216	781	1031	
Wool Fleeces L	341	327	320	339	274	263	280	(to curtarian)

DETAILS OF SHEEP REARING AND WOOL PRODUCTION:
NUMBERS, LOSSES, SALES, TRANSFERS
AND NUMBER OF WOOL FLEECES

c)	CRONDAL	1382	1387	1399	1406	1423	1434	1451
	Numbers	7R 214E 132L	11R 267E 24L	8R 228E 66L	? 240E ? 210L	5R 230E 86L	7R 186E 71L	4R 160E
	Losses							
	Sales	35E bought					8L bought	
	<u>Transfers:</u>							
	To Wootton		12L					
	From "	40E						
	To Sutton	30H		13H		20H	47H	
	" Enford		172H 25L					
	" Whitchurch		40L					
	" Alton		50L	100L				
	" Stockton		25L					
	" Hurstbourne							19E, 32H * 84L
	From Barton		43H					
	" Chilbolton					36H		
	Number of S Wool Fleeces	252	239	234	242	200	200	217 (to
	L	139	24	56	61	86	71	curtar- 94) ian)

* These were for the lord's stock at Stoke.

DETAILS OF SHEEP REARING AND WOOL PRODUCTION:
 NUMBERS, LOSSES, SALES, TRANSFERS
 AND NUMBER OF WOOL FLEECES

d)

ENFORD	1390*	1403
Numbers	954W	717W
	20R	
	560E	561E
	340L	208L
Losses		
Sales	20H	57E
	55L	197L
<u>Transfers:</u>		
To Stockton	57H	60H
" Hannington	51H	
" Hurstbourne	10H	
From Alton		70L
Number of S		1255
Wool Fleeces L		259

* This information comes from the stock book;
 see also Table E.3.

e)

HANNINGTON	1378	1387	1393	1404	1414
Numbers	120W	309W	247W	200W	132W
Losses	96W (mur- rain)		92W		
Sales					
<u>Transfers:</u>					
From Littleton		52H			
" Chilbolton			47H		
" Hurstbourne				24H	
" Wonston					40H
Number of S	113	313	191	189	122
Wool Fleeces L	none				

DETAILS OF SHEEP REARING AND WOOL PRODUCTION:
 NUMBERS, LOSSES, SALES, TRANSFERS
 AND NUMBER OF WOOL FLEECES

f)	HINTON AMPNER	1377	1393	1423
Numbers		232W	228W	266W
		9R	8R	10R
		216E	225E	288E
		102L	132L	146L
Losses		47L	46W	
Sales		20E k	23W k 34H 26L	15W 9E
Transfers				
Number of	S	527	560	605
Wool Fleeces *	L	104	134	

* All were sold in 1377 and 1393.

g)	HURSTBOURNE	1390 *	1391	1393
Numbers		767W	763W	617W
		20R	20R	20R
		493E	502E	480E
		290L	298L	283L
Losses				165W 127H
Sales				
Transfers **				
From Overton		10H		
" Enford		10H		
" Barton		3H		
Number of	S		1336	1085
Wool Fleeces	L		305	300

* This information is from the stock book.

** In 1392 the stock book records 18 lambs received from Michelmersh.

DETAILS OF SHEEP REARING AND WOOL PRODUCTION:

NUMBERS, LOSSES, SALES, TRANSFERS

AND NUMBER OF WOOL FLEECES

h)	LITTLETON	1382	1391	1400	1428	1457
Numbers	392W	444W	424W	212W	380W	
	11R	15R	13R	9R	11R	
	400E	508E	453E	287E	329E	
	305L	333L	311L	193L	132L	
Losses						
Sales		74E k 78L				
<u>Transfers:</u>						
To Sutton		43H				
" Hannington		57H				
" Michelmersh			34H			
" Houghton			57H		52H	
" Barton				38H		
" Exton					80H	
Number of S	946	1106	985	578	724 (to cur-	
Wool Fleeces L	314	343	311	200	tarian)	

DETAILS OF SHEEP REARING AND WOOL PRODUCTION:
NUMBERS, LOSSES, SALES, TRANSFERS
AND NUMBER OF WOOL FLEECES

i)	MAPLEDURHAM	1390*	1400	1408	1414	1425	1430
	Numbers	249W	241W	172W	144W	183W	38W
		8R	8R	6R			2R
		206E	212E	189E			40E
						120L	
	Losses			30W 33E 46L	14W	21W	
	Sales				100L rec'd de firma		
	<u>Transfers:</u>						
	To Eston			46L		88L	
	From "	67H	124H	112H			
	To Michelmersh		61L				
	" Chilbolton		65L		99L		
	" Overton	24H					
	Number of S		450	334	222	285	96
	Wool Fleeces L						

* This information is from the stock book.

j)	SILKSTEAD	1381	1391	1399	1408	1419	1432	1444	1452
	Numbers	210W	299W	232W	249W	250W	214W	141W	169W
		7R	8R	7R	6R	8R	6R	5R	1R
		175E	218E	168E	211E	207E	216E	144E	89E
		30L							
	Losses	90E 47H 60L		47L	73L				
	Sales		* 24W 3R 43E 113L	* 7W 1R 31E 12L					
	<u>Transfers:</u>								
	To Eston		50L						
	From "								
	To Barton			61L	25L	122L	2H 94L	64L	45L
	From "		144H	97H	110H	73H	57H	143H	32H
	Number of S	369	562	430	459	381	415	324	233 to curt-
	Wool Fleeces L	30							

* These were all k.

DETAILS OF SHEEP REARING AND WOOL PRODUCTION:

NUMBERS, LOSSES, SALES, TRANSFERS

AND NUMBER OF WOOL FLEECES

k) STOCKTON	1390*	1400	1410	1420	1431	1440	1451
Numbers	508W	328W	437W	207W	160W	123W	226W
	116L						
Losses		46W	44W	18W			
Sales		35W k	? 25H bought	? 40H bought	? 40H bought	61H bought	14H bought
<u>Transfers:</u>							
From Enford	57H	50H					
" Alton	84L	11H	76H				
" Silkstead	32L						
" the Prior						61H	
Number of S		332	436	240	169	128	183
Wool Fleeces L							

* This information is from the stock book.

1) THURMONDS	1380	1390	1396	1409	1420	1428
Numbers	329W	318W	298W	296W	314W	217W
	6R	10R	8R	8R	8R	10R
	250E	304E	296E	304E	305E	271E
	163L					
Losses			91L	35L		
Sales		52W, 41E,k 23L	34W, 38E,k		51W, 48E,k	27W k
<u>Transfers:</u>						
To Barton		172L	127L	183L	210L	136L
From "		138H	106H	105H	138H	74H
Number of S	574	669	627	590	557	491
Wool Fleeces L	161					

DETAILS OF SHEEP REARING AND WOOL PRODUCTION:

NUMBERS, LOSSES, SALES, TRANSFERS

AND NUMBER OF WOOL FLEECES

m)	WHITCHURCH	1385	1395	1405	1414	1418	1433	1446	1464
	Numbers	463W 18R 460E 254L	361W 16R 413E 260L	384W 20R 398E 220L	343W 16R 406E 193L	294W 289L	323W 12R 384E 209L	205W 8R 201E 100L	188W 12R 249E 113L
	Losses	55L	72E 66H 95L	98W 89E 69H 66L	36L	44H	38H 31L		
	Sales	63E	33E		32E				
	Transfers:								
	To Wonston						35H		
	" Stockton	30L							
	From Crondal					50L			
	Number of S	975	769	764	781	665	702	411	365 to
	Wool Fleeces L	259	269	191	200	211	209	105	115 } curtarian

n)	WONSTON	1381	1393	1400	1411	1427	1439	1456
	Numbers	318W 11R 321E	361W 10R 358E 193L	369W 12R 358E 244L	297W 9R 297E	241W 10R 249E	156W 8R 237E	250W 10R 250E
	Losses	65W 32E 88L	103W 64H 84L		29H 84L	47L		
	Sales			43E				
	Transfers:							
	To Littleton						166L	
	From "						96H	
	To Barton	77L						
	" Hannington				36H			
	" Houghton			55H		40H		
	From Crondal				27L			
	Number of S	604	708	738	601	678	408	
	Wool Fleeces L		200	246	167	122		

DETAILS OF SHEEP REARING AND WOOL PRODUCTION:

NUMBERS, LOSSES, SALES, TRANSFERS

AND NUMBER OF WOOL FLEECES

o)	WOOLSTONE	1380	1390	1400	1410	1417	1430	1435
	Numbers	326W 7R 225E 181L	308W 11R 210E 147L	253W 11R 231E 150L	316W 13R 261E 184L	355W 13R 293E 150L		243W 8R 238E 104L
	Losses					75L		
	Sales	18W k 9E k 7L	9W 19W 2R			9W 11E 16H		
	<u>Transfers:</u> From Upsom- borne						sheep and lambs driven 3 times	
	Number of S Wool Fleeces L	576 not shorn	512 116	482 124	572 152	610 not shorn		461
	Wool Sales	16.9.8	8.10.9	10.16.10	16.19.1	9.4.8	9.18.0	10.9.0

p)	WOOTTON	1381	1392	1402	1412	1422	1432	1442
	Numbers	300W 6R 248E 9L	294W 8R 259E 165L	263W 8R 234E 77L	177W 8R 219E 84L	121W 8R 187E 41L	165W 8R 188E 98L	121W 5R 188E 119L
	Losses	83H 34L	71H 43L		32L	25W 58E 74H 49L	31H	31L
	Sales	30E k		35L				
	<u>Transfers:</u> To Eston " Whitchurch From Wonston " Overton " Chilbolton	190L		46L	30L	40H 19H		
	Number of S	621	664	565	453	355	388	340
	Wool Fleeces L	9	170	77	87	41	98	114

STOCK BOOK ITINERARIES

1390 A.D.	MANOR	1391 A.D.	MANOR	1392 A.D.	MANOR
April 13 Wed.	CRONDAL	April 6 Thurs.	CRONDAL	Mar.27 Wed.	MAPLEDURHAM
" 14	SUTTON	" 7	SUTTON	no date	WROUGHTON, WILTS.
" "	HANNINGTON	" 8	WOOTTON	April 5	HURSTBOURNE
" 15	WOOTTON	" "	HANNINGTON	" 6	WHITCHURCH
" 16	WONSTON	" 10	EXTON	" 8	SUTTON
" 18	THURMONDS	" 11	LITTLETON	" 9	CRONDAL
" "	BARTON	" 12	WONSTON	" 18	HANNINGTON
" 19	SILKSTEAD	" 13	WHITCHURCH	" 19	WOOTTON
" 20	LITTLETON	" 14	HURSTBOURNE	" 20	WONSTON
" 21	HOUGHTON	" 15	CHILBOLTON	" 22	LITTLETON
" 22	MICHELMERSH	" 17	OVERTON, WILTS.	" 23	EXTON
" 23	STOCKTON, WILTS.	" 19	ALTON "	" 24	BARTON
" 25	ENFORD "	" 20	ENFORD "	" 25	THURMONDS
" 26	OVERTON "	" 21	STOCKTON "	" "	SILKSTEAD
" 27	ALTON "	" "	HOUGHTON	" 27	CHILBOLTON
May 2 Mon.	WHITCHURCH	" 22	MICHELMERSH	" 29	OVERTON, WILTS.
" 3	HURSTBOURNE	May 2 Tues.	THURMONDS	" 30	ALTON "
" 6	CHILBOLTON	" "	BARTON	May 1 Wed.	ENFORD "
" 9	EXTON	" 3	SILKSTEAD	" 3	HOUGHTON
" 10	MAPLEDURHAM	no date	WROUGHTON, WILTS.	" "	MICHELMERSH
no date	WROUGHTON, WILTS.	May 18	MAPLEDURHAM	" 6	STOCKTON, WILTS.

Note: The date of Easter in 1390 was April 3rd; in 1391 it was March 26th and in 1392, April 14th.

SHEEP TOTALS IN A.D. 1390

	Wethers	Rams	Ewes	Lambs
BARTON	1020	22	920	740
CHILBOLTON	821	20	535	330
CRONDAL		8	260	40
ENFORD	954	20	560	340
HANNINGTON	300			
HURSTBOURNE	767	20	493	290
LITTLETON	445	14	508	344
MAPLEDURHAM	249	8	206	135
SILKSTEAD	250	8	220	
STOCKTON	508			116
THURMONDS	320	10	310	
WHITCHURCH	470	18	430	272
WONSTON	420	12	370	236
WOOTTON	305	8	254	178
TOTALS	6,829	168	5,066	2,921
Total number of sheep:	14,984			
Totals for remaining manors	2,477	64	1,935	1,158
Sum totals	9,306	232	7,001	4,079

Total number of sheep remaining on all the manors in 1390 20,618

Note: The total for 1391 was 21,223.

PATTERN OF SHEEP TRANSFERS IN 1390 and 1391

Key: For 1390 the letter follows the number; for 1391 the reverse. RECEIVED BY	SENT FROM BARTON	CHILBOLTON	CRONDAL	ENFORD	ALTON	OVERTON	LITTLETON	EXTON	SILKSTEAD	STOCKTON	THURMONDS	WHITCHURCH	WONSTON	WOOTTON
BARTON			H5						37L	L163 172L				
CHILBOLTON														
CRONDAL ENFORD	33H												H14	
HANNINGTON			51H	7H		H57							50H	
HURSTBOURNE	3R		10H		10H									
LITTLETON MAPLEDURHAM					24H		67H H112							
SILKSTEAD	H143 110H													
STOCKTON			57H H20 L27	88L L103					32L					
THURMONDS	H194 138H													
WHITCHURCH														
WONSTON					H20								12L	
WOOTTON														
ALTON									30L					
EXTON	150W								23L					
HOUGHTON														
MICHELMERSH		L80 110L												
OVERTON														
SUTTON	44H	H7 10H				H43						H10		

MANUMISSIONS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Reg. C.S. Reference</u>
Aleyn, Nicholas, and issue	Westbishopstone, Wilts.		1416	f.43r
Baker, Edmund, family and	Netherhaven, "		1406	27v
Bonhum, William, and issue ^{heirs}	Bishopstone, "		1428	25r
Bonhum, Thomas } and issue	Westbishopstone, "		1444	48r
Bonhum, John, }				
Broune, John, Sr., and issue	Manydown		1441	59v
Broune, Thomas, and issue	Manydown		1446	60r
Butler, John, and issue	Nursling		1426	45v
Cherchere, Richard	Michelmersh	to prepare for ordin-	1398	8r
atte Church, Edward	Barton	ation <u>pro suo bono servicio</u> <u>...causa senectutis</u>	1410	32r
Colyns, Nicholas (Q)	Barton Stacy		1405	24r
Crul, Andrew, and issue	Littleton		1428	41r
Felawe, William, and family (Q)	Eston (Exton)		1413	36r
Fray, Richard	Barton	to prepare for ordin-	1415	37v
Fray, Thomas	Barton	" " ation	1423	46v
Frye, William (C)	Alton, Wilts.	" "	?1406	25v
*Gervays, John (Q)	Enford, Wilts		1411	33v
*Gervays, William and son	[Enford, Wilts.]		1412	35r
Thomas (Q)				
*Gervays, Walter and son	mandate of general acquittance)		?1412	35r
*Gervays, Simon, and sons			1414	37r
*Gervays, William and sons Q	Fiphide, Wilts.		1442	61r
Gussyge, Robert, and issue	Millbrook			
Halle, T.	Yateley [Crondal]	to prepare for ordin-	[1395-]	9v
Jan, John	Crondal	ation	[1415-] 1418	44r
Juridan, John (C)	Hannington		1404	17r
Marchaunt, John and Thomas	Brandesbury		1418	44r
and heirs (Q)				
Mascal, John Sr.	Stockton, Wilts.	<u>causa sue senectutis</u> <u>et...pro suo bono ser-</u> <u>vicio</u>	1417	43r
atte Mersh, Benedict (Q)	Michelmersh		1398	7v
atte Mulle, Philip	Wonston		1418	43v-44r
atte Mulle, Richard	Wonston	(nativum...fugitivum)	1435	58v
atte Mulle, Thomas	Wonston	(nativum...fugitivum)	1435	58v
Mulleman, John and family (C)	Barton		1396	7r

<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Reg. C.S. Reference</u>
Nichole, Richard	Hurstbourne		1421	45v
Slont, John	Michelmersh	to serve the prior for a suitable wage	1414	37r
Smyth, William and family and issue	Crondal		<u>tempus</u> <u>Shire-</u> <u>bourne</u>	1r
Stephenes, Robert and family	Wroughton, Wilts.		1412	35v
Stephenes, Walter and issue	Wroughton, Wilts.		1410	32r
Strepe, John and issue	Upsomborne	dwelling at Langstoke	1426	29v
Tackewell, Laurence (Q)	Chuyt		1407	27v
Taillour, Thomas and issue	Crondal	at request of John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells, Chan- cellor.	1438	58v
Whitchere, Walter (Q)	Aldershot		1404	16v
atte Wode, Philip and family	West Meon		1410	32r
Wycchere, Walter	Crondal	confirmation of pre- vious manumission	1395	6v
Wylkyn, John Sr. and issue	Wonston		1442	61v
Sprot, Alice	Woolstone (court roll)		1387	P.R.O., S.C. 2/154/80
Consail, Alice	Woolstone (account ")	<u>ut possit a servitute</u> <u>liber(a]</u>	1400	P.R.O., S.C. 6/757/20

* For explanation see the text pp. 208-9.

o Not in Common Seal Register.

Q= quitclaim

C= licence to dwell (commorare) outside the manor.

Note: The above terms are explained on pp.208-09 of the text.

DEBTS AND ALLOWANCES OF SERGEANTS AND REEVES

a)	BARTON	1385	1392	1402	1413	1428	1438	1446
	Surcharges	3.4.4	3.19.11	8.1.5	6.13.10	1.10.6	1.0.3	1.3.7
	Total owing	10.11.0	7.1.1	4.10.11	4.8.6	0.0.11	1.2.10*	11.6.3*
	Allowances	4.18.8	3.10.1	0.12.6	1.2.2	6.17.10 ^o		
	Pardons	2.0.0.	1.0.0					
	Remainder	paid	paid	paid	paid	paid by lord	paid by lord	paid by lord

* Total owing by lord; ^o The lord thus owed the reeve here.

Note: Allowances and pardons frequently do not add up to the sum of the total owing because of other sums quos solvit computans super scaccarium which are listed in the auditors' reckoning.

b)	CHILBOLTON	1384	1394	1403	1416	1424	1433
	Surcharges	5.3.7	3.2.11	6.0.0	3.4.0	1.16.0	1.16.10
	Total owing	8.0.9	3.18.10	14.6.10	2.1.1	2.13.3	3.0.11
	Allowances	2.3.10	1.18.10	0.10.2	1.1.1	1.3.3	0.2.8
	Pardons	1.0.0	1.0.0	2.6.8		0.10.0	
	Remainder	paid	paid	paid	paid	paid	paid

Many of the Crondal rolls are in poor condition.

c)	CRONDAL	1382	1387	1399	1410	1434	1451
	Surcharges	1.10.10	0.13.5	3.16.11	1.14.9	2.12.10	5.2.1
	Total owing	47.12.3	28.3.7	47.7.2	11.9.11	29.0.0	39.19.3
	Allowances	2.6.8	2.4.10	2.16.11	0.2.8	1.2.10	2.14.11
	Pardons		3.0.0	1.0.0		0.16.2	
	Remainder			4.0.0			

DEBTS AND ALLOWANCES OF SERGEANTS AND REEVES

d)

HANNINGTON	1378	1387	1392
Surcharges	--	1.8.5	0.10.11
Total owing	3.4.5	3.13.8	1.13.5
Allowances	1.5.2	2.13.8	0.10.1
Pardons			
Remainder	paid	paid	paid

e)

LITTLETON	1382	1391	1400	1428
Surcharges	2.6.0	3.4.0	2.6.6	3.1.6
Total owing	6.3.0	1.4.8	1.5.1	2.1.10*
Allowances	2.11.0	0.14.8	0.8.5	
Pardons				
Remainder	paid	paid	paid	

* Total owing by lord

f)

MAPLEDURHAM	1400	1408	1417	1425
Surcharges	1.19.10	0.1.6	0.0.10	1.7.2
Total owing	30.11.1	25.12.4	15.1.4	7.16.0
Allowances	2.10.2	0.10.4		3.1.4
Pardons	1.0.0		0.9.8	
Remainder	paid	paid	paid	paid

DEBTS AND ALLOWANCES OF SERGEANTS AND REEVES

g)	SILKSTEAD	1381	1385	1389	1395
	Surcharges	0.8.0	4.18.6	3.15.7	7.12.11
	Total owing	4.9.9	0.1.10	2.18.1	0.14.12
	Allowances	1.13.3		1.18.1	0.14.12
	Pardons		0.1.10		
	Remainder	paid	none	paid	none

h)	THURMONDS	1380	1390	1396	1409	1420
	Surcharges	1.1.7	0.13.11	0.11.6	1.5.6	0.3.11
	Total owing	0.10.10	2.11.9	0.7.11*	1.17.9*	3.3.6*
	Allowances		0.12.4			
	Pardons	0.10.10	0.4.4			
	Remainder	none	paid			

i)	WHITCHURCH	1385	1395	1405	1416	1433
	Surcharges	0.17.1	2.3.0	1.7.3	2.2.9	4.14.4
	Total owing	12.19.8 ^o	14.13.5	15.16.8	9.7.1	5.5.10
	Allowances	1.4.5	1.13.5	0.16.8	1.7.1	1.5.10
	Pardons	1.14.2	0.13.14	0.6.8	0.6.8	0.6.8
	Remainder	0.10.0	paid	paid	paid	paid

* Total owing by lord. This amount was paid to the sergeant by the reeve of Barton.

^oThis includes 5.15.8 arrears of previous officials.

DEBTS AND ALLOWANCES OF SERGEANTS AND REEVES

j)

WONSTON	1381	1393	1400
Surcharges	0.3.6	1.6.4	2.2.8
Total owing	1.11.11	2.10.6	7.2.6
Allowances	1.1.11 ^o	1.10.6	0.19.2
Pardons		0.6.8	
Remainder	0.10.10	paid	paid

^oThis is arrears of rent.

k)

WOOLSTONE	1378	1390	1400	1409	1417	1430	1435
Surcharges	1.16.8	0.4.9	0.0.10	0.3.1	0.1.5	0.6.10	0.8.9
Total owing	?	9.6.5	0.16.8	0.6.8	1.5.11	6.9.4	9.13.0
Allowances		1.15.9	0.5.0		0.14.3	1.4.0	1.18.8
Pardons	3.0.0						0.14.4
Remainder	2.0.0	paid ^o	paid ^o	paid	paid	to be paid next year	paid

^oThere is 0.10.8 here still owing from a former official.

l)

WOOTTON	1381	1392	1402	1412	1423	1432	1442
Surcharges	2.19.10	1.18.3	2.8.3	5.3.5	4.11.7	1.19.4	4.6.11
Total owing	2.8.10	2.6.1	2.19.3	0.0.¾	2.19.3 ^o	0.1.2 ^o	2.10.1
Allowances	4.14.7	2.2.9	0.19.3				1.0.0
Pardons			0.6.8	0.0.¾			1.6.9
Remainder	2.5.8*	paid	paid	none			paid

* Paid by lord to sergeant.

^o Owed by lord to sergeant.

Some Records and Examples of Early Leases

Note: The figures have been rendered in Arabic rather than Roman numerals, and the many abbreviated and contracted words have been given in full.

1. Chilbolton:

a. (John Williams, farmer; 1445 account roll.)

Firma: Idem reddit compotum de 11.9.2 de firma 450 multonum et 450 ovium matricium predicto Johanni ad terminum 20 annorum ut patet per indenturam inde confectam, videlicet quodlibet caput multonis per annum 3d. et matricis 4d. ultra certa blada ...exterius expressata.

b. (John Williams, farmer; 1459 account roll.)

Firma manerii cum bidentibus: De firma manerii ibidem nichil hic in denariis quia tradita eidem Johanni Wyllyams ad firmam hoc anno pro certis bladis, ancis, caponibus et gallinis exterius expressatis. Et de 6.5.0 de firma 500 multonum hoc anno pro capite 3d. Et de 102s. de firma 6 hurtardis et 300 ovibus matricibus hoc anno pro capite 4d. Summa 11.7.0.

2. Enford:

a. (John Gervays, farmer; 1433 account roll, B.M. Rot. Harl. X.8.)

Recepicio denariorum: Idem reddit compotum de 40.0.0 receptis de firma manerii ibidem cum terris, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, redditibus et serviciis cum suis pertinenciis hoc anno ultra certa blada, porcos, ancres, capones et gallinos ut extra sic eidem tradita ad terminum 12 annorum hoc anno secundo prout patet per indenturas inde confectas.

3. Hannington:

a. (William atte Rook, farmer; 1401 account roll.)

Recepicio denariorum: Idem reddit compotum de 16 libris de toto redditu assisi, firmis, operibus arrentatis ceteris exitibus [et commoditatibus] dicti manerii per annum proventus; perquisitum curie cum finibus et visu franciplegii ac pannagio porcorum custumariorum [domino] reservatis sic sibi traditis ad terminum 12 annorum hoc anno 8^{vo} De pannagio porcorum custumariorum [non] onerat se quia per dominum Priorem hoc anno.

(Note: the insertions in square brackets have been added from the 1404 roll.)

- b. (Robert Zebot, farmer; 1426 account roll.)

Recepcio denariorum: Et de 3.13.4 de firma totius terre dominicalis ibidem. Perquisitum curie cum finibus ad eamdem et visu franciplegii, toto redditu ac pannagio porcorum custumariorum ibidem termino sancti Martini domino reservatis, sic sibi tradita ad terminum 14 annorum hoc anno 5^o.

- c. (John Wayte, farmer; 1436 account roll.)

Firma: Idem reddit compotum de 2.0.0 de firma manerii cum terris dominicalibus dicti manerii cum suis pertinenciis. Perquisitum curie cum finibus ad eamdem et visu franciplegii toto redditu assisi ac pannagio porcorum custumariorum termino sancti Martini necnon chursetto domino reservatis, sic tradita eidem Johanni ad terminum 19 annorum prout patet per indenturam inde confectam hoc acco primo.

4. Hurstbourne:

- a. (William Lange of Stoke, farmer: 1408 court roll)

Note: This part of the roll is in very poor condition.

Willelmus Lange de Stoke venit ad hanc curiam et...de domino priore...Wyntonie totam terram dominicam dicti manerii...simul cum uno prato...116 acrarum...cum finibus, pertinenciis...ad firmam...ad terminum 4 annorum...he will have 309 multones depastura super dictam terram...etc.

This document appears to be very precise and detailed and at the bottom two men guaranteed that he would fulfil his obligations.

5. Mapledurham:

- a. (Thomas Puryere, farmer, 1411 account roll, B.M. Add. Roll 28078.)

Recepcio denariorum: idem reddit compotum de 30.0.0 de firma dicti manerii per annum viz., de toto redditu assisi, firmis, operibus arrentatis, pannagio porcorum custumarionum et omnibus aliis proficuis et commoditatibus dicto manerio quoquo modo spectantibus sive pertinentibus. Perquisitum curie cum finibus et heriettis tenentium eiusdem manerii ac omnimodis fructibus pomorum de gardinis, si excedunt quantitatem unius quartarii per annum, domino priori et successoribus suis tantummodo reservatis. Ita tamen quod predictus Thomas se attachiet in bladis pratis et pasturis dicti manerii faciendis per totum tempus firmam suam possidebit sic sibi concessam ad terminum 12 annorum hoc anno primo

H.

- b. (John Herver, farmer; 1444 account roll, B.M. Add. Roll 28124.)

Recepicio denariorum: Johannes Herver firmarius ibidem reddit computum de 7 marcis receptis de firma manerii ibidem cum terris, pratis, pascuis et pasturis sic traditis predicto Johanni ad terminum 21 annorum ut patet per indenturas inde confectas hoc anno secundo. Summa 4.13.4.

6. Silkstead:

- a. (Thomas Hanyton, farmer; 1399 account roll.)

Firma: Idem Thomas reddit computum de 4.0.0 de firma tocus terre dominice cum toto redditu assisi ibidem cum pratis, pascuis, pasturis et cum omnibus suis pertinenciis praeter perquisitum curie cum visu franciplegii sic sibi traditis ad firmam ad terminum 3 annorum per indenturam hoc anno 3^o. Solvendis ad duos anni terminos per equales porciones videlicet ad festum Pasche et ad festum sancti Michaelis.

7. Stockton:

- a. (John Mascal, farmer; 1400 account roll, B.M. Add. Roll 24395.)

Redditus assisus: Et de 25.6.8 pro tota terra dominica cum pratis, pascuis, et pasturis, pro firmis et operibus arrentatis tocus manerii traditis ad firmam predicto Johanni sine indentura hoc anno. (The indenture was made the following year, to run for 10 years.)

8. Thurmonds:

- a. (Thomas Palyngton and Walter Palyngton, farmers; 1452 account roll.)

Firma: Et de 5.16.8 de firma manerii ultra certa grana et blada exterius expressata...illegible...et Waltero ad terminum 20 annorum hoc anno 13^o solvendis ad quatuor anni terminos per equales porciones prout patet per indenturam inde confectam.

- b. (Thomas and Walter Palyngton, farmers; 1457 account roll.)

Firma manerii: Et de 5.16.8 de firma manerii...illegible... cum proficuis omnium bidentium ut patet extra, ultra certa blada exterius expressata sic tradita predictis Thome et Waltero ad terminum 20 annorum hoc anno 18^o...(the rest is the same as above).

9. Wonston:

- a. (John Carpenter, farmer; 1411 account roll.)

Recepta: Idem firmarius reddit computum de 16.0.0 de toto redditu assisi ibidem, recognitionibus garcionum, firmis cum operibus arrentatis et omnibus exitibus et commoditatibus dicti manerii per annum. Set inde perquisitum curie cum

visu franciplegii, finibus, heriatis, et pannagio porcorum
 customariorum dicti manerii domino reservatis. Preter quod
 idem firmarius attachiamenta in bladis et pasturis ibidem
 facienda optinebit sic eidem firmario traditis ad terminum
 15 annorum sic solvendus per annum ultra frumentum, ordium
 avenam, porcos, casium ut patet extra, hoc anno 5^o.

- b. (Richard Nichole, farmer; 1447 account roll.)

(Left margin torn; heading illegible). Idem firmarius
 reddit computum de 7.5.10 de firma 250 multonum et 250
 ovium matricium, viz., pro capite multonis 3d. et matricis
 3d. sic eidem tradita ad terminum 11 annorum hoc anno 3^o prout
 patet per indenturam inde confectam ultra certa blada pro
 firma manerii exterius expressata.

10. Woolstone:

- a. (John George, farmer; 1424 account roll, P.R.O., S.C.6/758/5)

Recepicio denariorum: Et de 16.10.0 de firma terre dominice
 manerii ac pratis et pasturis ut pro parte per annum unacum
 redditibus tenentium etc.

- b. (? reeve and farmer; 1458 account roll, P.R.O., S.C.6/758/11.)

Firma manerii: Et de 10.0.0 de firma terre dominicalis manerii
 ultra pasturas ibidem domino reservatas pro 320 bidentibus
 domini ad custus ipsius firmarii, videlicet le foder in
 yemale, sufficiens rudellum et bitumen [cum] claijs ad faldam
 domini ac stipula pastoris et aliis convencionibus prout
 patet per indenturam ad terminum 7 annorum hoc anno primo.
 Et de 1.10.0 de 30 hogastris precium capitis 12d. de firma
 dicti manerii annuatim reddendis per annum predictum ex
 convencione. Summa 11.10.0.

11. Wootton-Manydown:

- a. (Thomas Brown, farmer; 1447 account roll)

Firme: Et de 3.15.0 de firma 300 bidentium simul cum manerio
 sic tradita predicto Thome ad terminum 9 annorum ultra certa
 gramina bladorum, porcos, anceres, capones et gallinos ex-
 terius expressata ut patet per indenturam inde confectam,
 hoc anno 3^o.

- b. (Thomas Brown, farmer; 1450 account roll)

This is identical except for one slight change in phrasing
 ...de firma 300 bidentium simul cum firma manerii sic tradita...
 (underlining mine).

St. Swithun's Fasti

1. Prior:*

1362-84	Hugh Basyng
1384-95	M. Robert Rudbourne
1395-1415	M. Thomas Neville
1415-35	M. Thomas Shirebourne
1435-49	William Aulton
1450-57	Richard Marlborough

* These dates are all in LeNeve (B. Jones, ed., Monastic Cathedrals, with the exception of Aulton's succession; he first occurs as prior in Reg.C.S. f.53v.

(Note: "comp."=compotus or account roll; where no reference is given, the information is derived from the obedientiary roll pertaining to the office and year in question)

2. Subprior:

1391-2	Robert Wallingford	(Chilbolton comp.)
1393	" "	(B.M. Harley MS. 328, f.24r)
1398	" "	(Reg. Wyk.,II, f. 299v)
1404	" "	(Reg. C.S., f. 20v)
1409	William Aulton	(<u>custos operum</u> roll)
1410-11	" "	(Mapledurham comp., B.M. Add.Roll 28078)
1413-14	" "	(Mapledurham comp., B.M. Add Roll 28081)
1415	" "	(Reg. C.S., f. 39r)
1417-18	" "	(Crondal comp.)
1420-21	" "	(Mapledurham comp., B.M. Add.Roll 28089)
1436-37	Robert Puryton	(Crondal comp.)
1437-38	" "	(almoner's roll)
1442-43	" "	(Enford comp., B.M. Rot. Harl. X.9)
1444-45	" "	(almoner's roll)
1445-46	" "	(Whitchurch comp.)
1447	" "	(Reg. C.S., f. 74v)

3. Third Prior:

1389-90	John Hyde	(almoner's roll)
1393	" "	(B.M. Harley MS. 328, f. 24r)
1401-02	John Bristow	(hordarian's roll)
1432-33	John Bowyer	(chamberlain's roll)
1447	John Bowyer	(Reg. C.S., f. 74v)

4. Fourth Prior:

1447	Walter Burton	(Reg. C.S., f. 74v)
1450	Thomas Rudbourne	(Reg. Waynflete, f. 31)

5. Almoner:

1376-77	Walter Farnhull	(Hinton Ampner comp.)
1385-86	" "	
1386-87	John Wayte	
1389-90	Thomas Neville	
1393	" "	(B.M. Harley MS. 328, f. 24r)
1395-96	John Wayte	
1398-99	John Langre [o]d	
1402-05	" "	
1405-06	John Hurst	
1409-10	Ralph Southam (<u>custos</u>)	
1411	" "	(this obedientiary roll runs from Easter to Michaelmas only)
1413-16	" "	
1418-19	" "	
1422-23	Robert Puryton	(Hinton Ampner comp.)
1429	John Redyngtone	(Hinton Ampner court roll, Martinmas)
1437-38	John Gode	(Kitchin has 'Eode', <u>Obedientiary Rolls</u> , p. 442)
1444-45	" "	
1447	William Wroughton	(Reg. C.S., f. 74v)
	John Redyng (sub-almoner)	

6. Anniversarian:

1391-92	Walter Farnhull	
1393	" "	(B.M. Harley MS. 328, f. 24r)
1394-95	John Langred	
1395-96	" "	
c. 1397	" "	

7. Chamberlain:

1388-89	Walter Farnhull	(almoner's roll, 1390)
1393	Simon Haseldean	(B.M. Harley MS. 328, f. 24v)
1399-1400	Thomas Newton	
1407-08	Thomas Horton	(Mapledurham comp., B.M. Add Roll 28074)
1415	Peter Cranbourne	(Reg. C.S., f. 39r)
1416-17	Richard Marlborough	
1422-23	" "	
1427-28	" "	
1432-33	" "	

8. Curtarian (Cellarer):

1393	John Bromle (<u>celerarius</u>)	(B.M. Harley MS.328, f.24v)
1401-02	Laurence Tygale	(Barton comp.)
1411-12	Thomas Bemond (<u>custos</u>)	
1414-15	" "	
1423-24	Ralph Mascal	(Chilbolton comp.)
1425-26	" "	(Crondal comp.)
1427-28	John Stoke	(Barton comp., Littleton comp.)
1430-31	Peter Cranbourne	

1447	William Shirebourne	(Reg. C.S. f.74v)
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9. Hordarian:

1378-79	Ralph Basyng	(Woolstone comp., P.R.O., S.C.6/757/6)
1381-82	" "	
1387-1400	" "	(Woolstone comp., P.R.O., S.C.6/757/11 et seq)
1400-01	" "	
1405-06	John Langred	
1407-12	Thomas Shirebourne	(Woolstone comp., P.R.O., S.C.6/757/23 et seq.)
1413-17	Richard Buriton	(" " " S.C.6/758/2 et seq.)
1423-24	Richard Marlborough	(" " " S.C.6/758/5)
1429-30	" "	(" " " S.C.6/758/7)
1433-35	" "	(" " " S.C.6/758/8 and /9)

1447	" "	(Reg. C.S., f.74v)
1451-52	William Wroughton	

10. Infirmarian:

1393	William Watford	(B.M. Harley MS.328, f.24r.)
1399-1400	John Katerington	

1447	Ralph Mascal	(Reg. C.S., f.74v)
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11. Keeper (custos) of the Altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary:

1390	John Bromle [igh]	(Stockton court, B.M. Add. Roll 24349, Martinmas)
1393	Robert Salysbury	(B.M. Harley MS.328, f.24v)
1411	Henry Bradelegh	(Stockton court, B.M. Add. Roll 24362, Hock)
1447	William Clement	(Reg. C.S., f.74v)

12. Master (custos) of the Works:

1393	John Wayte (<u>custos novorum operum</u>)	(B.M. Harley MS.328, f.24v)
1406	Thomas Shirebourne	(Nursling and Millbrook court roll, Martinmas)
1408-09 1415	John Hurst Thomas Shirebourne	(Reg. C.S., f.39r)
1447 1450-51	Nicholas Mersh " "	(Reg. C.S., f.74v)

13. Precentor:

1393 1398-99	John Bristow " "	(B.M. Harley MS. f.24v; Whitchurch comp.) (Cronchal comp.)
1447	Richard Hampton	(Reg. C.S., f.74v)

14. Receiver:

1377-78 1380-82 1382-83 1383-84	William Skylllyng " " " " John Wayte	(Hannington comp.) (Silkstead, Westwood, Hannington comp.) (Wootton comp.) (Silkstead comp., Cronchal comp.)
1400	Robert Wallingford	(Reg. Wyk., II, f.318v)
1428-29 1429-30	Peter Cranbourne " "	(Hannington comp.) (Mapledurham comp., B.M. Add. Roll 28106; Westwood comp.)
1431-32	" "	(Mapledurham comp., B.M. Add. Roll 28107; Hannington comp.)
1432-3 1433-34	" " Robert Puryton	(Enford comp., B.M. Rot. Harl.X.8) (Mapledurham comp., B.M. Add. Roll 28112; Wonston comp.)

15. Sacristan:

1387 1393	Robert Merewell " "	(Reg. Wyk.I, f. 179) (B.M. Harley MS. 328, f.24v)
1415	John Hurst	(Reg. C.S., f.39r)
1447	William Basyng	(Reg. C.S., f.74v)

16. Treasurer (thesaurarius or scaccarius):

1382-83	John Wayte	(Wootton comp.)
1384-85	John Langred	(Hannington, Whitchurch comp.)
1385-86	" "	(Thurmonds, Whitchurch comp.)
1386-88	" "	(Silkstead, Hannington comp.)
1389-90	" "	(Whitchurch, Wootton comp.)
1390-91	" "	(Silkstead, Hurstbourne comp.)
1391-92	" "	(Whitchurch, Wootton comp.)
1392-93	Thomas Ware	(B.M. Harley MS. 328, f.24v; Sutton comp.)
1400-01	Thomas Shirebourne	(Westwood comp.)

1429-30 *Peter Cranbourne (Mapledurham comp., B.M. Add. Roll 28106.)

* But see under 'receiver'; on the same roll he is called receiver three times and treasurer once. Could the latter be an error?

17. Other Obedientiaries:

1393	Thomas Newton	<u>coquinarius</u>	(B.M. Harley MS. 328, f.24v)
"	William Lane	<u>gardinarius</u>	"
"	Laurence Tygale	<u>hostillarius</u>	"
"	Henry Winchester	<u>refectorarius</u>	"
"	John Thurston	<u>speciarius</u>	"
1447	Robert Newbury	<u>hostillarius</u>	(Reg. C.S., f.74v)
"	Nicholas Sarum	<u>speciarius</u>	"

18. Steward (senescallus domini):

1380-81	Walter Haywode	(Wootton comp.)
1389-90	Edmund Spirecok	(Whitchurch and Wootton comp.)
1392-93	William Purchas	(Wonston and Hurstbourne comp.)
1394-95	Robert atte More	(Whitchurch comp.)
1397-98	" " "	" "
1399-1400	" " "	(Crondal and Wonston comp.)
1401-02	" " "	(Wootton comp.)
1402-03	" " "	(Chilbolton comp.)
1403-04	" " "	(Hannington comp.)
1404-05	" " "	(Hannington and Whitchurch comp.)
1405-06	" " "	(Crondal comp.)

1414-15 Edward Coudray (Crondal comp.)

Manorial Visits of Monastic Officials

Note: In the particular years in which one prior succeeded another it is impossible to know which of the two is meant when their names were not recorded on the account rolls; thus these (six or seven) visits have been omitted.

Under 'details' in this Section and in Section K. examples only are given to show the variety of activities and responsibilities. These are discussed in Chapter VI above.

o=prior.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor and Dates</u>	<u>Details</u>
°Aulton, William	Barton 1438 Crondal 1415, 1418, 1437 Mapledurham 1411, 1414, 1421, 1446 Stockton 1440 Wootton 1438, 1440, 1442	
°Basyng, Hugh	Crondal 1382 Silkstead 1380, 1381, 1382, 1384 Wootton 1381, 1382	
Basyng, Ralph	Woolstone 1379, 1387 and other years?	
Basyng, William	Wootton 1442	on way to Oxford
Bemond, Thomas	Chilbolton 1416 Silkstead 1412, 1414 Whitchurch 1418 Wonston 1411	<u>ultra tonsuram</u> <u>ultra tonsuram</u> <u>ultra tonsuram</u>
Bowyer, John	Crondal 1426	
Bradelegh, Henry	Crondal 1426 Wootton 1413	
Bristow, John	Crondal 1399 Hurstbourne 1391 Whitchurch 1393	{ on way to and from Farnham
Buriton, Richard	Crondal 1415 Mapledurham 1404 Stockton 1401	<u>ultra facturam cisere</u> receiving money
Bur[i]ton, Walter	Stockton 1436 Hannington 1436 Wootton (Manydown) 1432	receiving money receiving money <u>pro ferma ad opus</u> <u>domini capienda</u>
Chilbolton, Thomas	Hurstbourne 1393	four visits on way to and from Oxford

<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor and Dates</u>	<u>Details</u>
Clement, William	Wootton 1442	on way to Oxford
Cranbourne, Peter	Chilcomb 1433	
	Enford 1433	receiving money
	Hannington 1410, 1429,	<u>ultra tonsuram</u>
	1431, 1432	
	Mapledurham 1430, 1432,	receiving money
	1434	
	Silkstead 1431, 1432	receiving money
	Stockton 1431	
	Westwood 1430	receiving money
	Whitchurch 1433	receiving rent from Baghurst
	Wootton 1432	receiving money from sale of wood
Farnhull, Walter	Chilbolton 1396	
	Crondal 1387	<u>in negocio</u> London
	Hinton Ampner 1377	
Gode, John	Hinton Ampner 1438, 1445	(almoner's roll)
Hoke, Roland	Whitchurch 1416, 1418	(1416) on way to Oxford
Horton, Thomas	Crondal 1415	arranging <u>exennium</u> for bishop
	Mapledurham 1408, 1411	receiving money; <u>in negocio</u>
	Whitchurch 1409	inspecting sheep
Hurst, John	Hinton Ampner 1406	(this information on the almoner's roll.)
Langred, John	Chilbolton 1392, 1394	receiving money; on way to Wroughton
	Crondal 1387, 1390	
	Hannington 1385, 1391, 1392	
	Hurstbourne 1391	<u>pro ferma capienda</u>
	Littleton 1386, 1391	receiving money; <u>pro stauro supervidendo</u>
	Silkstead 1386, 1387	
	Whitchurch 1385, 1386, 1390	receiving money
	Wonston 1386, 1387 ^o , 1388 ^o	<u>pro stauro</u> etc., receiving money
	Wootton 1385 ^o , 1390, 1392 ^o	<u>pro stauro</u> etc., receiving money
	Wroughton 1394	
Marlborough, Richard	Crondal 1410, 1411, 1451	
Mascal, Ralph	Chilbolton 1424	<u>ultra tonsuram</u>
	Crondal 1426	fishing

<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor and Dates</u>	<u>Details</u>
Mersh, Nicholas	Enford 1450	
	Mapledurham 1450	receiving money
	Stockton 1451	receiving money
^o Neville, Thomas	Barton 1413	<u>pro manerio supervide</u>
	Chilbolton 1396, 1404, 1414	<u>ndo</u>
	Crondal 1390, 1399,	
	1410, 1411	(1390) <u>in negocio</u>
		London
	Hannington 1401	
	Hinton Ampner 1393	
	Hurstbourne 1391, 1405,	
	1409, 1413	
	Silkstead 1404, 1405,	
	Jan. 1412	
	Whitchurch 1386, 1390,	
	1394, 1405	(1390) on way to Oxford
	Wonston 1400, 1411, 1412	
	Wootton 1383, 1398	
	1412, 1413	
Oxenford, Richard	Chilbolton 1396	
Puryton, Robert	Chilbolton 1415	
	Crondal 1426 ^o , 1428 ^o ,	^c on way to convocation
	1434, 1437	in London
	Enford 1443	<u>pro tractatu cum W.</u>
		<u>Barell</u>
	Hinton Ampner 1423	receiving money
	Mapledurham 1434	
	Stockton 1431	receiving money
	Whitchurch 1414, 1446**	** <u>pro ferma ad opus</u>
^o Rudbourne, Robert		<u>domini...querenda</u>
	Barton 1385	
	Chilbolton 1393	
	Crondal 1387, 1390	
	Hurstbourne 1386, 1390,	
	1391, 1393	
	Littleton 1386, 1391	
	Silkstead 1385, 1386, 1387,	
	1388, 1389, 1392	
	1393	
	Whitchurch 1386	
	Wonston 1387	
Rudbourne, William	Hurstbourne 1391	on way to Oxford
	Whitchurch 1390, 1394	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor and Dates</u>	<u>Details</u>
°Shirebourne, Thomas	Barton 1428 Chilbolton 1424 Crondal 1399,* 1418 Hurstbourne 1391, ^v 1393, ^v 1418 1418 Mapledurham 1419 Stockton 1417 Westwood 1401 Whitchurch 1390, 1394 Wootton 1417, 1422, 1423	**to and from Chertsey on way to Oxford (1394) to and from Oxford twice
Skylllyng, William	Crondal 1382 Hannington 1378, 1381 Silkstead 1382 Wonston 1381, 1382 Wootton 1381, 1383	in most cases receiving money
Southam, Ralph	Mapledurham 1402 Whitchurch 1409	receiving money
Stoke, John	Barton, Crondal 1426, ^f 1434 Littleton 1428	^f fishing; <u>causa infirmitatis ultra tonsuram</u>
Thurstun, John	Silkstead 1395 Whitchurch 1394, ^o 1395 Wootton 1395	<u>pro stauro et manerio</u> etc. ^o <u>pro stauro et manerio</u> <u>pro manerio superviden-</u> etc. <u>do</u>
Upham, Robert	Whitchurch 1416	
Wallingford, Robert	Chilbolton 1392	
Ware, Thomas	Chilbolton 1393 Hannington 1393 Hurstbourne 1387, 1393 Silkstead 1395 Whitchurch 1394, ^o 1395, ^o 1398 Wonston 1393 Wootton 1393, 1395	receiving <u>certum</u> <u>pro stauro et manerio</u> etc ^o <u>pro stauro et manerio</u> etc receiving money receiving money; <u>pro manerio superviendo</u>
Wayte, John	Crondal 1384 Hannington 1385 Silkstead 1384 Whitchurch 1385 Wonston 1383 Wootton 1383	receiving money <u>de pannagio</u> receiving money <u>de pannagio</u> receiving money and <u>pro uno preposito...</u> <u>ordinando</u> <u>pro manerio superviden-</u> <u>do</u>

Manorial Visits of Clerical and Lay Officials

Note: This list includes the names of persons who are mentioned at least twice on different account rolls. See also note at the beginning of Section J.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor and Dates</u>	<u>Details</u>
Aylmer, Thomas	Crondal 1410 Mapledurham 1408 Whitchurch 1409	<u>in negocio domini</u> <u>in negocio domini</u> "
Barbour, Richard	Stockton 1437, 1439, 1440	
(atte) Brygger, John <u>clericus</u>	Chilbolton 1392 Crondal 1384, 1387, 1399, 1400 Hurstbourne 1393 Littleton 1396, 1400 Silkstead 1391 Whitchurch 1395 Wonston 1381 Woolstone 1390, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1405 Wootton 1381, 1383, 1392	<u>ultra tonsuram</u> <u>in negocio domini</u> <u>ultra tonsuram</u> <u>ultra tonsuram</u> <u>ultra tonsuram</u>
Brygger, Thomas (brother of Ralph Basyng according to the <u>custos operum</u> roll of 1409)	Woolstone 1380, 1382, 1384, 1386, 1388, 1390, 1393	
Burell, Robert	Crondal 1434, 1451 Wonston 1439	<u>pro pannagio; pro man-</u> <u>erio supervidendo</u> <u>pro pannagio</u>
Cole, John	Chilbolton 1396 Mapledurham 1411 Wootton 1412	<u>ultra tonsuram</u> <u>in negocio</u>
Colyns, Henry	Crondal 1400 Mapledurham 1402*, 1403, 1404 Stockton 1404 Wootton 1398	stayed while prior in London *four visits <u>in</u> <u>negocio</u> <u>seeking nativi</u> (who had left the manor?) <u>pro pannagio</u>
Cook, John	Hannington 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426 Wootton 1423	<u>pro pannagio</u> <u>pro pannagio</u>
Cordray, Walter	Hinton Ampner 1423 Woolstone 1384, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1414, 1416, 1417, 1424, 1430	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor and Dates</u>	<u>Details</u>
Dollyng, John	Hannington	1387, 1401 <u>ultra tonsuram</u>
		1403
	Hurstbourne	1391 <u>ultra tonsuram</u>
	Littleton	1399 <u>ultra tonsuram</u>
	Silkstead	1393 <u>ultra tonsuram</u>
	Wonston	1386 <u>ultra tonsuram</u>
Fray, William	Wootton	1385*, 1398 * <u>ultra tonsuram</u>
	Mapledurham	1411 <u>in negocio domini</u>
	Whitchurch	1414 <u>in negocio domini</u>
Fysh, John	Woolstone	1376, 1377
Gervays, John	Crondal	1415
	Hannington	1412 <u>pro ferma in parco de</u>
		<u>Freimantel ad opus</u>
		<u>domini prioris capienda.</u>
	Mapledurham	1408 <u>in negocio</u>
	Whitchurch	1418
	Wootton	1412 ^x , 1413 ^x , ^x <u>in negocio</u> 1417
Greenfield, John	Barton	1428, 1430, 1438
	Chilbolton	1424, 1433
	Crondal	1426, 1428, 1434, 1437
	Enford	1433, 1440, 1443
	Hannington	1420, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1429, 1436
	Littleton	1428
	Mapledurham	1411, 1425, 1430, 1435, 1438, 1442, 1446, 1447
	Silkstead	1419, 1424, 1431, 1432, 1434, 1440, 1444, 1447
	Stockton	1427, 1436, 1442, 1446, 1447
	Westwood	1444
	Whitchurch	1433, 1446
	Wonston	1419, 1427, 1434, 1439, 1447
	Wootton	1422, 1423, 1432, 1438, 1440, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1447
	Wroughton	1425

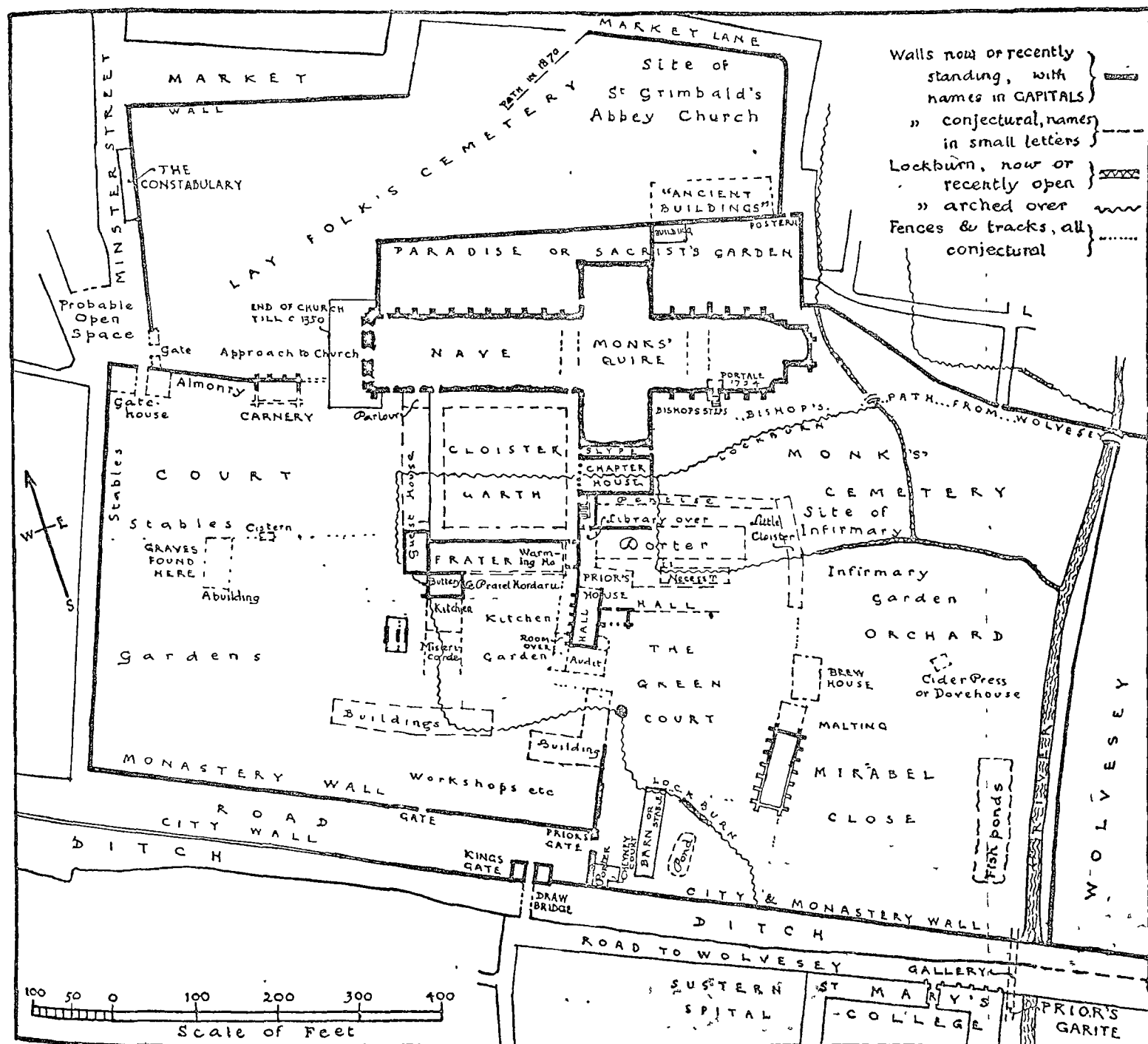
<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor and Dates</u>	<u>Details</u>
Haiward, William	Cronchal 1451 Enford 1450 Mapledurham 1450 Wonston 1448 ? Wootton 1450	<u>in negocio</u> making the account <u>in negocio; 4 visits</u>
Hayhod, John	Cronchal 1410, 1411 Whitchurch 1409 Woolstone 1414	<u>in negocio domini; 4 visits</u> <u>pro pannagio</u>
Hayhod, Robert <u>clericus domini</u>	Barton 1402, 1413 Chilbolton 1394, 1396 Cronchal 1400, 1406, 1418, 1428 Enford 1403 Littleton 1399, 1400 Mapledurham 1421 Silkstead 1396, 1399, 1405, 1408, 1412, 1414, 1416, 1417, 1419 Stockton 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1406, 1407 1408, 1409, 1410, 1413, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1420, 1422 Thurmonds 1390 Westwood 1401, 1405, 1413, 1417, 1418, 1421 Whitchurch 1405, 1409, 1414, 1416, 1418 Wonston 1394, 1411, 1412 Wootton 1390, 1392, 1395, 1422	<u>ultra tonsuram;</u> <u>in negocio</u>
Hert, John	Chilbolton 1424 Hannington 1421 Woolstone 1430	<u>pro pannagio</u> <u>pro pannagio</u> <u>in negocio domini</u>
Horwood, William	Hurstbourne 1391 Wootton 1392	
Huse, Henry	Mapledurham 1404, 1408 ^x	^x looking for a <u>nativus</u>

<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor and Dates</u>	<u>Details</u>
Kyllyngale, Robert	Crondal 1437 Mapledurham 1425 ^x , 1438, ^x 1442 Wootton (Manydown) 1432 ⁺ , 1438 ⁺ 1440 ⁺ , 1442 ⁺ 1443 ⁺ , 1447 ⁺ 1450 ⁺	versus London in negocio <u>pro pannagio; pro redditu</u> <u>querendo</u> ⁺ <u>pro pannagio</u>
Mounter, John <u>clericus domini</u>	Barton 1392 Chilbolton 1392, 1393, 1394, 1396, 1415 Crondal 1387, 1390, 1399, 1400, 1406, 1410, 1411, 1414, 1415, 1418 Hannington 1377, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1417 Hinton Ampner 1377 Hurstbourne 1391, 1393 Littleton 1391, 1396, 1399, 1400 Mapledurham 1400, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1408, 1413, 1414, 1417 (Mounter jr.), 1421 Silkstead 1386, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1395, 1404 Whitchurch 1386, 1390, 1393, 1398, 1405, 1409, 1418 Wonston 1386, 1387, 1388, 1393, 1394, 1400, 1417, 1419, Woolstone 1378, 1405 Wootton 1390, 1392, 1393, 1395, 1398, 1402, 1412, 1413, 1417, 1422.	<u>pro stauro ordinando et</u> <u>supervidendo</u>
Mulward, Thomas	Crondal 1451 Whitchurch 1446	fishing <u>pro ferma ad opus domini.</u> <u>..querenda</u>
Palyngton, Robert	Wootton (Manydown) 1443 ^v , 1444 ^v	<u>pro ferma ad opus domini</u> <u>capienda</u>

<u>Name</u>	<u>Manor and Dates</u>	<u>Details</u>
Panter, Thomas	Cronchal 1437 Enford 1433 Whitchurch 1433	<u>versus London in negocio</u> <u>in negocio domini</u> <u>pro pannagio</u>
Parker, Walter	Wootton 1381, 1383	<u>pro ferma capienda</u>
Pokilchurch, William	Cronchal 1428 Wootton 1422	<u>pro stauro etc.</u> <u>pro stauro etc.</u>
Porter, John	Hannington 1412 ⁺ , 1413, 1417 Mapledurham 1402 Whitchurch 1414 Wonston 1419 Wootton 1412, 1413	<u>pro pannagio</u> <u>ultra facturam cisere</u> <u>in negocio domini</u> <u>pro pannagio</u> <u>pro pannagio</u>
Rayner, John	Mapledurham 1400 Wonston 1411 ⁺ , 1412	staying while prior in London <u>pro pannagio porcorum</u>
Shalden, John	Cronchal 1414 ^x , 1415 ^x , 1418 ^o Wonston 1417	^x <u>in negocio</u> ^o <u>ultra tonsuram</u>
Somenour, Thomas (Sompnour)	Cronchal 1410 ^x , 1411 Hannington 1414	^x <u>in negocio domini</u> <u>pro pannagio</u>
Walchyn, J. <u>clericus domini</u>	Woolstone 1379, 1380, 1382	<u>in negocio domini</u>
Waryn[g], John	Chilbolton 1415 Mapledurham 1408*, 1413 Wootton 1413	<u>ultra tonsuram</u> [*] <u>looking for a nativus</u> <u>in negocio</u>
Well, Thomas (bailiff of Barton)	Cronchal 1434 ?Thurmonds 1428 ?Wootton 1432	on way to London twice
West, John	Chilbolton 1384*, 1405 Wonston 1383 Wootton 1381	<u>ultra tonsuram</u> <u>ultra tonsuram</u> <u>pro ferma capienda</u>
Wolvele, Thomas	Littleton 1400 Silkstead 1399	<u>ultra tonsuram</u>
Wycchere, Walter	Hurstbourne 1391, 1393 Silkstead 1389 Whitchurch 1390 Wootton 1390	<u>ultra tonsuram</u> <u>ultra tonsuram</u> <u>in negocio</u>

A

APPENDIX II



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of H.M. Stationery Office]

THE MONASTERY OF SAINT SWITHUN, WINCHESTER. - Conjectural Plan.

Location of RollsA. British MuseumI Enforda) Compotus Rolls

A.D. 1403	B.M. Rot. Harl. X.7
1433	" X.8
1440	" X.9
1443	" X.10
1450	" X.11

b) Court Rolls

A.D. 1428	B.M. Rot. Harl. W.19
1431	" W.20
1432	" W.21
1435	" W.22
1439	" W.23
145?	" W.24
1453	" W.25

(Note: These are all with Elstubb hundred)

II Mapledurhama) Compotus Rolls

A.D. 1400	B.M. Add. Roll 28067
1402	" 34934
1403	" 28068
1404	" 28070
1408	" 28074
1411	" 28078
1413	" 28080
1414	" 28081
1417	" 28082
1419	" 28085
1420	" 28087
1421	" 28089
1423	" 28092
1425	" 28096
1427 (fragment only, in Cathedral Library)	
1430	B.M. Add. Roll 28106
1432	" 28107
1434	" 28112
1435	" 28116
1437	" 28119
1438	" 28121
1440	" 28122

Mapledurham Compotus Rolls (continued)

A.D. 1442	B.M. Add. Roll	28123	A.D. 1447	B.M. Add. Roll	28126
1444	"	28124	1450	"	28129
1446	"	28125			
b) <u>Court Rolls</u>					
A.D. 1403	B.M. Add. Roll		A.D. 1429H	B.M. Add. Roll	28101
1404			1429M	"	28102
1405			1431	"	28109
1406	"	28073	1432H	"	"
1408	"	28075	1432M	"	28111
1409	"	28076	1433H	"	28111
1410	"	28077	1433M	"	28115
1411	"	28079	1434	"	"
1417	"	28083	1435	"	28118
1418	"	28084	1436	"	"
1419	"	28086	1438	"	"
1420	"	28088	1439	"	"
1421	"	28090	1440	"	"
1422	"	28091	1441	"	28118
1423	"	28093	1446 (2)	"	28086
1424	"	28094	1447	"	28128
1425	"	28097	1448	"	"
1426	"	28099	1450	"	28130
1427	"	"	1451	"	"
1428	"	28101			
c) <u>Rentals</u>					
A.D. 1426	B.M. Add. Roll	28100			
1430	"	28105			
1447	"	28127			

III Stocktona) Compotus Rolls

A.D. 1400	B.M. Add. Roll	24395	A.D. 1417	B.M. Add. Roll	24408
1401	"	24396	1418	"	24409
1402	"	24397	1420	"	24410
1403	"	24398	1422	"	24411
1404	"	24399	1427	"	24714
1405	"	24713	1431	"	24412
1406	"	24400	1432	"	24413
1407	"	24401	1440	"	24414
1408	"	24402	1442	"	24415
1409	"	24403	1446	"	24416
1410	"	24404	1447	"	24875
1413	"	24405	1451	"	24417
1415	"	24406			
1416	"	24407			

Stocktonb) Court Rolls

A.D. 1385 (2)	B.M. Add.Roll	24341/2	A.D. 1400H	B.M. Add.Roll	24358
1386 (2)	"	24343/4	1401H	"	24359
1388	"	24345	1403H	"	24360
1389 (2)	"	24346/7	1404H	"	24361
1390 (2)	"	24348/9	1411(2) HM	"	24362/3
1391	"	24350	1412M	"	24364
1393	"	24351	1414M	"	24365
1394	"	24352	1415H	"	24366
1396	"	24353	1420	"	24367
1397 (2)	"	24354/5	1436	"	24368
1398M	"	24356	1437	"	"
1399M	"	24357			

B. Wiltshire Record Office (Trowbridge)Stocktona) Compotus Rolls

A.D. 1434	W.R.O.	906/SC/7
1436	"	906/SC/8
1437	"	906/SC/9
1439	"	906/SC/10

b) Court Rolls

A.D. 1383	W.R.O.	108/10	A.D. 1415M	W.R.O.	906/SC/4
1387H	"	108/11	1416H	"	"
1387M	"	108/12	1419M	"	"
1392H	"	108/13			
1400M	"	906/SC/3	A.D. 1426M	W.R.O.	906/SC/5
1401M			1427HM	"	"
1402H			1428H	"	"
1404M	all 15				
1405HM	in this		A.D. 1440M ^j	W.R.O.	906/SC/11
1406HM	bundle		1441H	"	"
1407HM			1446M	"	"
1408HM			1447HM	"	"
1409H			1448H	"	"
1410HM					
1412H	W.R.O.	906/SC/4	A.D. 1456M	W.R.O.	906/SC/12
1413H	"	"			

Woolstonea) Compotus Rolls

A.D.	1380	S.C.6/757/7	A.D.	1406	S.C.6/757/22
	1382	S.C.6/757/8		1408	S.C.6/757/23
	1384	S.C.6/757/9		1409	S.C.6/757/24
	1386	S.C.6/757/10		1410	S.C.6/757/25
	1387	S.C.6/757/11		1411	S.C.6/757/26
	1388	S.C.6/757/12		1412	S.C.6/758/1
	1390	S.C.6/757/13		1414	S.C.6/758/2
	1392	S.C.6/757/14		1416	S.C.6/758/3
	1393	S.C.6/757/15		1417	S.C.6/758/4
	1394	S.C.6/757/16		1424	S.C.6/758/5
	1395	S.C.6/757/17	?1429	S.C.6/758/6	
	1397	S.C.6/757/18		1430	S.C.6/758/7
	1398	S.C.6/757/19		1434	S.C.6/758/8
	1400	S.C.6/757/20		1435	S.C.6/758/9
	1405	S.C.6/757/21		1436	S.C.6/758/10
				1458	S.C.6/758/11

b) Court Rolls

A.D.	1378(3)	S.C.2/154/80	A.D.	1393H	S.C.2/154/81
	1381M	S.C.2/154/80		1394M	S.C.2/154/81
	1382HM	S.C.2/154/80		1395H	S.C.2/154/81
	1383H	S.C.2/154/80		1398HM	S.C.2/154/81
	1384	S.C.2/154/80		1399H	S.C.2/154/81
	1385HM	S.C.2/154/80		1412M	S.C.2/154/82
	1386H	S.C.2/154/80		1413H	S.C.2/154/82
	1387M	S.C.2/154/80		1415M	S.C.2/154/82
	1388H	S.C.2/154/80		1416H	S.C.2/154/82
	1389HM	S.C.2/154/80		1417M	S.C.2/154/82
	1390M	S.C.2/154/81		1420M	S.C.2/154/82
	1391HM	S.C.2/154/81		1421H	S.C.2/154/82
	1392HM	S.C.2/154/81			

Manor	Compotus Rolls	Court Rolls
Barton	to 1402, Box 7; from 1413, Box 8	Box 3
Buddlesgate 100		Box 3 (with Fawley)
Chilbolton	1384, Box 10; 1392-1433, Box 11; 1444, Box 12	
Chilcomb		
Compton		
Crondal	to 1410, Box 14; from 1411, Box 15	Box 13
Elstub and Everley 100		
Evingar 100		Box 41
Fawley 100		Box 3 (with Buddlesgate)
Ham		Box 17
Hannington	Box 18A	
Hinton Ampner	Box 20	Box 20
Hurstbourne	Box 21	Box 21
Littleton	Box 24/25 (this is one box)	
Manydown	from 1432, Box 29 and v. Wootton	Box 26
Nursling		Box 31A
Millbrook		
Silkstead	to 1387, Box 33; from 1388, Box 34	
Sparkford		
Sparsholt		
Thurmonds	Box 38	v. Barton
Westwood	Box 39	Box 39
Whitchurch	to 1400 Box 45; from 1405 Box 46	to 1439, Box 42; from 1440, Box 43
Wonston	to 1427 Box 49;	
Wootton	to 1385, Box 56; 1390-1423, Box 57	Box 54 (and v. Manydown)
Wroughton	Box 53	Box 52

Note: The obedientiary rolls are in Boxes 66, 67, 68.

CHARTER OF INNOCENT III

Charter of Innocent III (A.D. 1205) confirming the privileges and possessions of St. Swithun's. (This is Goodman's summary and translation, W.C.C., pp. 19-20).

[1204/5 Mar. 3] GRANT of Innocent III to the prior and monks of the monastery in Winchester confirming them, after the example of his predecessor Lucius II, in their privileges and possessions etc. The following are named:

Chiltecumbe and all its tithes, Eſtone, Wordie, Wensieneſone, Avyntone, the lesser Meenes, Drokenesford, Extone, Hentone, Alwareſtoke, Hafonte, Crundele, Hodingetone, Wottone, Hanytone, Chilbodingtone, Michelmareis, Nutsillinges, Milebroc, Hoctone, Stoctone, Eneford, Peteneie, Aultone, Fifide, Elen-done, Hynetone, Wolfrichſtone, Weſtwode, Bloedone, Hamme, Husseburne, Wichcherche, rents in the city and suburbs of Winchester, a fishery at Braynford, Clive, Brandesbiri, all tithes of the demesnes of the church for the works of the said church and the houses belonging thereto, Porlande, lands, fees and knights' services, customs, reasonable liberties in buying and selling, an annual pension of £ 20 from the fair of S. Giles, an annual pension of 10 marks from the hospital of S. Cross: For lights in the church the churches of Drokenesford, Crundel, Hafunte, Wilehale, S. Faith, S. Giles, S. James, and all the other churches within and without the city of Winchester as they are contained in the grant of pope Alexander III, and all the oblations of Pentecost:

For the anniversary of bishop H[enry of Blois] the chapels of Chiltecumbe, Morsted, the White Monastery, Wyke, and the church of Comtone: For the anniversary of king Henry II the land of Cnoel: For the anniversary of G[odfrey de Lucy] bishop of Winchester the land of Chiltecoel: For making books the church of Ellendone: For the reception of guests the church of Litleton.

When their bishop dies, the prior and monks, taking counsel with the archdeacons, may elect his successor.

[Rome at S. Peter's, 5 non. Mar. indict. 8 pontif 8.]¹

¹. See Calendar of Papal Letters, Vol. I, p. 21

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN BISHOP PONTISSARA AND ST. SWITHUN'S

The terms of the compact between Bishop Pontissara and the prior and convent of St. Swithun's which was made in the presence of Edward I at Carnarvon on June 6th, 1284 and formally sealed at Winchester on July 10th following.

(C. Deedes, ed., Reg. Pont., pp. 427-30; see also Calendar of Charter Rolls, II, pp. 287-9).

ORDINACIO FACTA INTER...EPISCOPUM WYNTONIENSEM ET ...
PRIOREM ET CONVENTUM SANCTI SWITHUNI WYNTONIE.--In nomine Domini amen. Discordantes sopitis litium anfractibus,¹ que de sui (sic) natura rancores perimit, et odia ad pacem et fraternam caritatem revocare inter opera caritatis tanto Deo acceptius esse comprobatur quanto Ipse qui vere pacis auctor et amator existit, et in hoc magis gloriatur, qui uniens (sic, ?vivens) in carne nostra hanc palam cunctos edocuit, et morte humana moriturus discipulis suis imitandam reliquit, ac post resur[r]exionem suam gloriosam eis apparens iterando repetiit, ut sic pacem sibi acceptam et ab omnibus amplectendam apertius ostenderet, quam toties et tam notabiliter repetendo in nullo statu pretermisit. Sic et ex adverso hostis ille antiquus et zizannie seminator pacis pulcritudinem abhorrens lites et contenciones suscitatur, discordias ingerit, odia provocat, ut sic vulnerata pace virus suum in servos Christi latentius effundat et dolos efficacius exerceat, [?per] quos, quiete pacis tempore obscuro, fraudem in lucem producere non valebat. Cum igitur inter reverendum patrem dominum Johannem Dei gracia Wyntoniensem Episcopum ex parte una, et Religiosos viros Priorem et Conventum ecclesie sancti Swithuni Wyntonie ex altera super electione...Prioris ejusdem loci, obedienciariis preficiendis ac servientibus secularibus et ministris aliis ibidem constituendis, que omnia idem Episcopus de antiqua et approbata consuetudine ad se spectare dicebat: necnon super quibusdam maneriis, quarundam Ecclesiarum advocacionibus, et Fo.106b rebus aliis quas idem Prior et Conventus ad ipsos pertinere, ac per memoratum Episcopum in ipsorum prejudicium injuste occupatas esse dicebant: et idem Episcopus contra eosdem Priorem et Conventum dicebat ex adverso, gravis esset questio suborta, que inter predecessores ipsius episcopi et Priores et Conventum loci memorati sepius agitata, pluries sopita et iterum renovata est temporibus retroactis, per quod utraque pars et ecclesia predicta laboribus immensis fatigata et expensis gravibus exinanita est quamplurimum et gravata. Et sicut inter contenciones et litigia frequenter

accidit, caritate refrigesciente contemplacioneque suspensa, litium inquietudini plusquam divino cultui eos plerumque dare operam oportebat. Tandem magnis auctoritate et discrecione viris, prelati et aliis et precipue magnifico et excellenti principe domino Edwardo Dei gracia Rege Anglie, cujus principalius intererat, cum locus ille a progenitoribus suis Regibus fundatus et dotatus existat, preteritis utriusque partis pariter et ecclesie gravaminibus pie compacientibus, et futuris earundem periculis et dispendiis prospicere cupientibus, et ad perpetuam pacem inter eosdem firmandam studiose laborantibus, Illo disponente et gratiam insuper infundente, cujus spiritus ubi vult spirat, qui post nebulum (sic) serenum dat et post tempestatem tranquillum subministrat, contenciones predictae, unanimi utriusque partis assensu concurrente, finaliter conquieverunt in hunc modum; videlicet quod, quociens quocumque modo Prioratum ipsum vacare contigerit in futurum, Conventus sive Capitulum ipsum, petita prius ab ipso Episcopo seu successoribus suis pro tempore tanquam patronis suis licencia eligendi, quam eis decetero concedere tenentur, habeant liberam electionem sui...Prioris, qui sic electus et predicto Episcopo seu successoribus suis presentatus, et etiam per ipsum vel per successores suos canonice confirmatus, erit perpetuus, et habebit liberam administracionem seu potestatem ordinandi et disponendi de Prioratu predicto et de omnibus bonis, rebus et juribus ejusdem per consilium sui Conventus, recipiendi clericos e seculo fugientes in habitum monachalem et amovendi ac preficiendi obedienciariorum et de obedienciis ipsis ordinandi et disponendi prout viderint expedire, consensum ipsius Episcopi vel successorum suorum in hoc minime requirendo. Hii vero qui serjancias vel alia officia secularia de Prioratu ipso infra domum vel extra nunc tenent ad vitam suam, ita teneant imposterum; post quorum et cujuslibet eorum obitum vel cessionem...Prior et Conventus predicti libere ordinent et disponant de serjanciis ipsis et officiis aliis secularibus, aliis committendis vel retinendis, pro voluntate sua prout viderint expedire, absque aliquo impedimento predicti Episcopi vel successorum suorum, qui de hiis nullatenus se intromittent in futurum. Cum vero Prioratum ipsum vacare contigerit, Capitulum ipsum habeat custodiam omnium rerum et bonorum ac jurium ejusdem tam infra domum quam extra, et percipiant omnes exitus et proventus ejusdem vacacione durante in utilitatem Monasterii convertendos, sine aliquo impedimento predicti Episcopi vel successorum suorum. Salva tamen eidem Episcopo et successoribus suis advocacione seu patronatu dicti Prioratus, ita quod idem Episcopus et successores sui habeant ibi in qualibet vacacione unum servientem nomine advocati seu patroni qui stabit sine equo et famulo, vite necessaria, sicut unus liber serviens, a Conventu ipso percepturus vacacione ipsa durante. Ita tamen quod in bonis dicti Prioratus infra domum vel extra administracionem aliquam seu potestatem sibi non usurpat; Visitacione etiam canonica cum hiis que ad visitacionem pertinent et jurisdictione ordinaria predicto Episcopo et suis successoribus semper salvis. De terris vero, tenementis, possessionibus, juribus, libertatibus, actionibus, clamiis et omnimodis querelis temporalibus,

que hinc inde fuerunt vel esse potuerunt interipsos, ita actum est, quod predicti Prior et Conventus pro bono pacis dant et concedunt per cartam suam dicto Episcopo et successoribus suis imperpetuum Maneria de Drokenesford, Alwarestoke cum Goseport et Havonte cum tenentibus suis de Helinga; et hamelettum de Cnoel, cum omnibus ad eadem Maneria et hamelettum pertinentibus. Et utraque pars remisit alteri et quietumclamavit pro se et successoribus suis imperpetuum totum jus et clamium quod hinc inde habuerunt vel habere potuerunt in terris,

Fo. 107a. tenementis et possessionibus aliis et aliis

quibuscunque juribus et rebus, sicut in cartis super hoc confectis plenius continetur. Exceptis Insula et Manerio de Portlaunde et Manerio de Wyke et Helewelle et Burgo de Wemuthe cum pertinenciis, et Manerio de Mapledreham cum pertinenciis, ad que presens factum nullatenus se extendit. Salvis semper eidem Episcopo et successoribus suis Warennis et chaceis in terris et feodis suis et hominum suorum et terris et feodis predictorum ...Prioris et Conventus et hominum suorum, ubi et sicut idem Episcopus et predecessores sui eas habere consueverunt. Et salvis similiter dictis...Priori et Conventui et successoribus suis Warennis et chaceis in terris et feodis suis et hominum suorum, et etiam in terris et feodis predicti Episcopi et successorum suorum et hominum suorum, ubi et sicut idem...Prior et predecessores sui eas habere consueverunt. Salvis etiam semper predicto...Episcopo et successoribus suis serviciis et consuetudinibus que...Prior Wyntonie et predecessores sui et homines sui de quibusdam Maneriis et tenuris suis facere consueverunt. Et...Prior et obedienciarii facient predicto Episcopo et successoribus suis servicia et consuetudines que ipsi et predecessores sui solebant facere predicto Episcopo vel predecessoribus. Et si obedienciarii amoti fuerint...Prior Wyntonie et successores sui pro se et obedienciariis predictis facient servicia et consuetudines predictas, secundum quod compertum fuerit per recognitionem eorum vel per inquisitionem quam dominus...Rex inde fieri faciet. Et ut hec rata, firma et inconcussa maneant imperpetuum, partes vicissim sigilla sua huic scripto duplicato hinc inde apposuerunt, ad fidem et perpetuam memoriam rei geste. Data in presencia domini Regis predicti apud Karnarvan, die Jovis in ebdomada Pentecostes. Anno domini M^o.cc^o. Octogesimo quarto, et Data ac sigillata apud Wyntoniam, die Martis proximo post festum Translacionis beati Thome Martiris. Anno Domini m^o.cc^o. Octogesimo quarto, supradicto.

Note: The account roll of Chilbolton Manor for 1384. This is Drew's translation and is to be found in his typescript of Chilbolton referred to in Chapter I above (p.2, n.2); pp. 458-475.

Chilboltone. The account there in the year of our Lord 1384, and of the confirmation of Hugh Basing the Lord Prior, the 23rd.

RENTS OF ASSIZE

(name illegible), the serjeant, renders account of 18:2:9 as in 1337

Total £18:2:9

ACQUITTANCE

Nothing for the acquittance of a reeve or a blacksmith, because there were none.

3s. for the acquittance of the rent of 1 ploughman from the customary tenants, and not more because John Bonville, the other ploughman, is dead, and the land is in the lord's hands.

Nothing for the acquittance of a shepherd of the Estpotfald, nor of an operarius doing various work, nor of a custumerius shepherd of the ewes, because there were none.

Nothing for the acquittance of a swineherd because he draws an allowance.

Total acquittance, 3s.

DEFECTS

29s.4d. as in 1339.

10s. in defect of 3 cotsetla of land which lately came into the hands of the lord through the death of John Bonville. And not more because one of the said cotsetla, for which the said John used to pay 5s. a year is now let to John Magges, Agnes his wife, and Thomas his son for the term of their lives. The said John Magges is to build on the said cotsetlum a suitable house within the time of the present account on pain of losing the holding.

5s. in defect of the rent of a messuage and 1 virgate of land now in the hands of the lord through the dismissal (ex dimissione) of William Fachel who withdrew from the domain without leave.

The ballivus answers for the yield of the same as appears below.

Total defects, 44s. 4d.

= = and acquittances, 47s.4d.

= rents remaining, nett, £15:15:5

RECOGNITION

2d. each from John Waleys and Richard Reynor while they remain within the liberty of the lord.

Total 4d.

YIELD OF THE MANOR.

(Marginal Note. "Make enquiries about the pasture-dues of the Chamberlain's men")

8s.4d. from the pannage of pigs.

15d. from the sale of the pasture of Redmor.

Nothing from pasture-dues for horses, oxen or cows of the Chamberlain's men, because there were none.

9½d. from the pasture-dues of 5 cows and 3 boviculi of the men of the manor at S. John Baptist's Day.

19d. from the pasture-dues of 5 cows and 3 boviculi of the men of the manor at Michaelmas.

59s.8d. from the yield of various lands and tenements now in the hands of the lord and let to various men this year.

14s. ("13s.8d." Struck through) from the yield of 2 cotsetla of land lately held by John Bonville now in the hands of the lord for lack of tenants, and the 3 cotsetla which the said John held are now let to John Magges and his wife and son as above.

9s. from the yield of a messuage and 1 virgate now in the hands of the lord through the dismissal of John Fachel.

Total £ 4:14:8¼ (sic)

"FARMS".

40s. from Richard Kytewyne for the "farm" of the mill and the fishing in the pond by the sluice (exclus') of the mill.

10s. from the fishing of the stream at Kytecombe.

2s. from a piece of pasture called La Nith in front of the Chamberlain's gate.

12d. from the pasture of Kitecombe.

4s., this 8th. year, from John Magge, Agnes his wife, and William their son for a cottage with curtilage formerly held by Robert de la Berthone and last held by Alice Nappere, also for 4 acres of bond-land which were in the hands of the lord.

2s. from John Broun for 2 cottages with curtilages formerly held by Robert de la Berthone and last held by Alice Barbour.

25s. from 5 nativi for certain lands and pasture which formerly pertained to the Chamberlain's office. And not more because lands and tenements which four other tenants used to hold, and for which they used to pay 20s. rent, are in the hands of the lord, and another holding which used to be rented at 5s. is now let to Thomas Williams for rent and for the works which pertained to the said holding in ancient times.

21d. from Ralph Sage for 3 acres of land formerly held by Henry Godefray, John Rome, and Robert Bartour.

2s. from Thomas Hodeman for a messuage and 1 cotselond formerly held by John Buschup, beyond the 3s. rent charged above.

6d. from John Knave for a messuage and 3(?) acres of land formerly held by Michael Carpenter, beyond what used to be paid.

12d. from John Knave for 1 acre formerly held by Roger atte Wythege, beyond what used to be paid.

2d. from Stephen Clerke for a cottage and 1 acre formerly held by Henry Lowys, beyond what used to be paid.

3d. from John Magges to have a certain manure-heap (fimar') on the lord's ground so long as no harm is done to the lord or to passers-by.

10s. from John Broun, John Joye, and Robert Smyth for the whole garden and a piece of land so enclosed which was formerly held by Robert de la Berthone.

1d. from Robert Smyth for a piece of the lord's land 10 feet long and 6 feet wide adjoining his holding on which a smithy is situated.

6s. from John Gabour for a messuage and 1 virgate formerly held by Richard Godefray.

10s. from John Broun for a messuage and 1 virgate formerly held by William Hickes, to hold until anyone comes who will pay the old rent and services for the same.

2s. from Henry Hickes for a messuage and 10 acres of bond-land called Chamberlond, beyond the 4s. which used to be paid.

2s. from John Knave for a messuage and 1 cotsetlond formerly held by John Carpenter, beyond 3s. charged above under "Rents".

9s. from Richard Hickes for a toft and 1 virgate of land formerly held by Julianna Bonville and which John Bonville, her husband, used to hold, let this year at the will of the lord.

Total £6:8:9

SALE OF WORKS

6s. from John atte More for the works of a messuage and 1 virgate of land, formerly held by Alice Greneles, remitted to him for the term of his life.

6s. from John Wakers for the remission of the works of a messuage and 1 virgate last held by Thomas Harries and formerly by John Coble.

8s.4d. from William Bartour for the remission for the term of his life of the works of a messuage and 1 virgate of land formerly held by John Sawe.

7s.4d. from William Wey pound for the remission for the term of his life of the works of a messuage formerly held by John Smyth and of 1 virgate formerly held by Henry Bartour.

2s. from Roger Stronge for the remission of the works of a messuage with curtilage and 1 cotsetlond formerly held by John Mercier.

Nothing of the 7s. from John Kytecombe for the remission of the works of a messuage and 1 virgate formerly held by Thomas Sawe because it is in the lord's hands for lack of tenants.

2s. from William Bonde for the remission of the works of 1 toft and 1 cotsetlond formerly held by William Frome.

6d. from John Magge for the remission of the works of 3½ acres of land formerly held by John Smyth.

4s.4d. from Ralph Stronge for the remission of the works of a cottage and 2 acres lately held by William Neweman and formerly by John Coliere.

4s.2d. from John Wakere for the remission of the works of one half of a toft and virgate formerly held by Peter atte Hoke. And the other half of the said toft and virgate is in the hands of the lord.

Nothing of the 4s. from John Smyth for the remission of the works of a toft and 10 acres formerly held by William Hodeman because they are in the lord's hands for lack of tenants.

2s. from John Frome for the remission of the works of 1 cotsetlum of land formerly held by the said John.

12d. from John Magge for the remission of the works of 2 tofts with curtilages and 2 virgates of land formerly of John Shranele and which Nicholas Stubbe held.

7s.4d. for the remission of the works of a messuage and virgate formerly held by Robert Gabour.

Nothing of the 5s. from Robert Smyth for the remission of the works of a messuage and 1 virgate of land formerly held by Thomas Sawe because the said Robert is dead and the holding is in the hands of the lord.

5s. from Peter Lowys for the remission of the works of a messuage and 1 virgate formerly held by Henry atte Crouche.

4s. from William Wey pound for the remission of the works of a toft and 1 virgate of land formerly held by Henry Norman, beyond 6s. which is charged above under rents.

7s. from Henry Hickes for the remission of the works of a messuage and 1 virgate of land formerly held by John Gabour, this 16th year, beyond 5s. which is charged above under "Rents".

Total 67s.

SALE OF GRAIN

20¾d. ("3½d." Struck through) from the sale of ("2 bus" Inter lineated) 3 pecks of wheat.

£4:7:7½ from the sale of 29 qrs. 1 bus. 3 pecks of barley @ 3s. per qr.

Total £4:9:4¼

SALE OF STOCK

15s.7d. from the sale of 11 kebbler wethers @ 17d. each.

14d. = = 1 ram.

90s.3d. = = 75 kebbler ewes, viz. 54 @ 15d. each. and 21 @ 13d. each.

(Struck through "12s. from 8 hogasters sold as being deficient against the shepherd" Interlineated "because they remain and are among the wethers")

12s.10d. from the sale of 14 weeded-out lambs after shearing @ 11d. each.

4s. ("3s." Struck through) from the sale of the winter lactage of 8 ("6" Struck through) cows.

26s.3½d. from the sale of 2 weys 17 nails 4 lbs. of summer cheese @ 10s. per wey, 4¼d. per nail, plus 1d. on the weight.

10s. from the sale of 1 wey of butter at the above price.

10s.5d. ("5s.9d." Struck through) from the sale of the skins of 1 horse for 6d., 4 affri for 20d., 3 oxen for 3s. ("2s." Struck through), 3 cows for 3s. ("12d." Struck through) 1 boviculus for 6d. ("2d." Struck through), and 3 yearlings for 9d. ("6" Struck through).

9s.3d. from the sale of the pelts of 15 wethers, 13 ewes, and 6 hogasters, which died or were killed before shearing, @ 4d. per wether, 3d. per ram or ewe, and 2d. per hogaster.

4s.9½d from the sale of the pelts of 34 wethers, and 9 ewes, which died or were killed after shearing, viz. 1d. each for those which died and 1½d each for those killed.

5½d. ("3d." Struck through) from the sale of the pelts of 2 lambs which died between weaning and shearing @ ½d. each, and of 8 which died after shearing @ ¼d. each.

9d. from the sale of 6 lbs. of tallow and 2 lbs. of fat.

18d. = = the entrails of 6 wethers and 2 pigs killed for the larder.

5s.8d. from the sale of 17 geese @ 4d. each.

2s. = = 8 capons @ 3d. each.

Total £9:14:11½

PERQUISITES OF THE COURTS

10s. from the fixed fine of the tithing for the year.

3s.6d. from the tallage of the bond-men in common this year.

58s.11d. from the other perquisites of the courts.

Total 72s.5d.

ONERATUS SUPER COMPOTUM

103s.7d. from the sale super compotum of various things as appears elsewhere.

Total 103s.7d.

= of all receipts, £53:6:6

EXPENSES

SUPERPLUSSAGE.

100s. acquitted for the superplussage of the last account.

Total 100s.

PLOUGHS

15s.8d. ("18s." Struck through) for iron and steel bought for ironwork of 3 ploughs for the year and of a 4th. plough to help (lev') at times at both sowings.

10s. ("10s.8d." Struck through) for the smith's wages for making and repairing the same.

18d. for 3 ferra pedalia bought.

10d. ("13d." Struck through) for 4 rustir bought with nails.

2s. ("2s.4d." Struck through) for remaking and repairing annul' cathen' crokes haspes et stapul' ferr'.

2s. ("3s." Struck through) for 3 new ploughs bought.

8d. ("16d." Struck through) for binding the beams of the same with iron.

6d. for 3 padel' brought to clean (purgare) the ploughs.

4s. ("4s.4d." Struck through) for 2 plough-shares.

20d. ("2s." Struck through) for 5 wheels bought for the ploughs.

16d. ("18d." Struck through) in verteribus carucis chippandis et vestiendis.

4d. for 2 yokes bought.

12d. by custom for 6 ploughs of customary tenants ploughing with the lord at the winter sowing.

3½d. for 7 canvas halters bought.

2s.6d. ("4s." Struck through) for 4 harrows bought.

2d. for making 1 harrow from the lord's timber.

2s. for fitting ("augmentandis" Struck through. "superponendis" Interlineated) the iron teeth (cavill') of 2 harrows.

12d. for remaking and repairing 2 coulter.

5s. for shoeing 10 oxen twice and for fixing again.

15s. for shoeing 10 affri for the year @ 18d. each.

Total 67s.5½d.

CARTS

6s.8d. for 1 pair of wheels (briddes) bought.

28s. ("30s.4d." Struck through) for 1 new ligatura with great nails, groppi, 2 lynces, and all other fittings.

12d. for binding the said cart.

2s.8d. ("4s." Struck through) for clouts and nails bought for the carts.

18d. for 16 great nails with 6 groppi bought for old carts.

12d. for 2 hurtores bought.

3d. for repairing 2 hurtoros.

22d. for 4 hoops called navebend' bought.

3s.4d. for 4 new collars.

15d. for 3 pairs of traces.

12d. ("14d." Struck through) for 1 cart-saddle sine coopertura.

2s.2d. ("2s.6d." Struck through) for white leather bought to repair harness.

21d. for 1 great cart-rope.

8d. ("10d." Struck through) for 2 leather halters bought without rings and chains.

16d. for making a new cart-body from the lord's timber (Interlineated "with ladders made for the same")

12d. ("14d." Struck through) for fitting 2 carts three times with axles made of the lord's timber.

3s.4d. for 1 pair of plain (nudarum) wheels bought for manure.

8s. ("12s." Struck through) for shoeing 4 cart-horses for the year.

Total 66s.9d.

GRAIN & STOCK BOUGHT

3s.4d. for 2 qrs. of oats.

53s.4d. ("58s." Struck through) for 2 cart-horses.

27s.2d. for 2 affri.

2d. for 1 hen.

Total £ 4:4:0

DAIRY

21d. for 3½ bus. of salt bought @ 6d. per bus.

8d. ("10d." Struck through) for linen and woollen cloth bought together with 1 streniour.

5d. ("6d." Struck through) for presses bought.

1½d. for 2 bee-skeps (fecill') bought.

6d. ("9d." Struck through) for 3 earthenware pans for this year and next year.

4s. ("8s." Struck through) for 1 ("2" Struck through) woman hired to milk the ewes @ 4d. per week. And not more because the rest was done by customary tenants.

Total 7s.5½d.

SHEEP-SHED

19s. ("22s.8½d." Struck through) for fat and tallow bought to anoint the sheep and lambs and to grease the carts.

8s. ("10s." Struck through) for tar bought.

6s.8d. for 40 hurdles bought @ 2d. each.

16d. for making 32 hurdles of the lord's virge @ ½d. each.

12d. for 6 locclat' bought.

20d. for red colour to mark the sheep.

6d. for carrying the fold from field to field.

13s.4d. ("14s.4d." Struck through) for men hired to wash and shear the lord's wethers and male hogasters, and not more because the customary tenants washed and sheared the rams, ewes, female hogasters and lambs by custom.

6d. given to customary tenants washing and shearing the lord's sheep, as a gratuity.

12d. for the expenses of John West who was there for two days at the shearing.

3d. ("4d." Struck through) for thread bought to stitch the sarplars.

5s. paid to a thatcher and his helper who thatched various defects in the sheep-sheds for 10 days. They took 5d. per day between them.

12d. paid to a carpenter who was there to repair 3 presepes and other necessities. He took 4d. per day.

Total 59s.3d.

UPKEEP OF BUILDINGS & MINOR EXPENSES

9s. for 2000 tiles bought.

2s.5d. for 29 ridge-tiles (crestes) bought.

2s.6d. for 5 qrs. of lime bought.

12d. for 6000 tile pegs (cavill') bought @ 2d. per 1000.

18d. ("21d." Struck through) for 300 laths bought.

3s.1½d. for 2500 lathnayls @ 15d. per 1000.

10s. paid to Alan the tiler to tile various tiled buildings within the manor, by fixed agreement made with him for the term of his life.

4s. paid to a mason for underpinning (pynnare) and repairing various stone walls within and without the court. He and his servant who helped him took 6d. per day between them.

3s.3d. paid to a carpenter and his helper who made a gruncell at the eastern end of the barn, fixed the tabula (? cornice) there, and repaired various defects in the hay-barn for 6½ days. They took 6d. per day between them.

15d. for great nails called spykynges for the manor and the mill.

8s.6d. paid to a thatcher for thatching the south side of the bougr'(?) house, the south side of the hay-barn, and the young bovines' house, for 17 days. He and his helper took 6d. per day between them.

18d. in uno bras' pro molendino de eneo domini faciendo.

4d. paid to a carpenter for fixing the same and for repairing the wheel of the mill.

12d. for repairing an oven (fornaceum)

3s. for 6 bus. of salt for the servants' pottage, for harvest, and for salting 6 wethers and 2 bacon-pigs, @ 6d. per bus.

20d. for bread bought for the men of the manor at Christmas.

4s. for ale bought for the same.

11s.0½d. for the expenses of holding the courts of Martinmas and Hocke, by 2 tallies.

2s. for corn-sacks.

4½d. ("6d." Struck through) for sterilising (sanare) 13 female piglets.

2s. for a pasture called Stewardsham bought for the lord's sheep and cows.

21d. for a certain pasture bought from customary tenants in place of a certain pasture of theirs enclosed by H. the lord Prior.

8d. for a pasture called Acremannesticche.

6d. ("8d." Struck through) for irons bought for 2 tribul'.

2d. for repairing a spade (vanga)

Total

77s.0½d.

THRESHING

34s.11¼d. for threshing and winnowing 129 qrs. of wheat, peas, and vetches, by piece work @ 3¼d. per qr.

41s.5½d. for threshing and winnowing 221 qrs. of barley and drage, by piece work @ 2¼d. per qr.

14s.5d. for threshing and winnowing 98 qrs. 7 bus. of oats, by piece work @ 1¼d. per qr.

Total

£ 4:10:9½

HOEING & MOWING

9s.4d. ("10s." Struck through) for hoeing the lord's corn, by piece work, besides the work of customary tenants and servants.

Nothing for scything the garden, the piece of meadow on the west side of the court, the road behind the barn, or the 4 acres formerly held by Robert de la Berthone, because the lord's cattle were pastured there.

6d. for scything a piece of meadow called Warnereslond.

13d. ("16d." Struck through) for scything the Chamberlain's meadow, besides the work of customary tenants.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. by custom to the customary tenants for scything the Chamberlain's meadow, and not more because 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. is deducted for holdings now in the hands of the lord.

Nothing for scything the meadow of Radich because it is let with various other holdings.

16d. ("20d" Struck through) for scything a meadow called Longmed, containing 2 acres, formerly held by Hendy and now in the hands of the lord, and for making and lifting hay there.

6s. ("8s." Struck through) for scything and making hay at a meadow at Bourne called Standhurst, containing 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and so much because it is a long way from the court.

12d. for the expenses of various men who fetched the hay there.

Total 19s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

HARVEST.

28s. ("and 8d." Struck through) for the expenses of the house for 5 weeks at harvest and for the expenses of various men reaping corn who were at the lord's table at that time. And they had from stock 6 qrs. 3 bus. ("7 $\frac{1}{2}$ qrs." Struck through) of wheat @ 5s. ("4s. 8d." Struck through) per qr.; 5 bus. ("1 qr." Struck through) of bras' capital' @ 4s. 6d. ("rs." Struck through) per qr.; 6 qrs. ("7 qrs." Struck through) of bras' curs' @ 4s. ("3s. 4d." Struck through) per qr.; 22 ("24" Struck through) wethers @ 17d.; 26 nails of cheese @ 9s. 4d.; and 3 geese for 12d. And so the total stock used is valued in cash @ 10ls. 10d. ("107s. 8d." Struck through). The serjeant, the hayward, 1 claviger, 1 riperivus, a stacker, the dairywoman, and the above reapers were there the whole time, the servants of the court sometimes, and there were other visitors.

(NOTE. Several "nil" entries omitted here)

27:9:10 ("8:11:0" Struck through) for men hired by the day to reap, bind and collect the lord's corn and to scythe and collect the peas and vetches, besides the work of the customary tenants. They reaped altogether 582 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres. 68 ("56" Struck through) acres of this were reaped by the works of 9 customary tenants who reaped $\frac{1}{2}$ acre each day from August 1st. to Michaelmas except Saturdays and festal days, and the works of 2 cotsetli who similarly reaped 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres each week in the aforesaid time, and also the said virgaters and cotsetli each found 3 men at 3 harvest precarie. Also 55 acres were reaped by the men of the manor and the Chamberlain's men by precarie, and 10 acres ("4" Struck through) were reaped by the servants of the court. And so 449 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres were reaped by piece work and each acre, sicut jacet, excluding stock and the expenses of the house, comes out at 4d. ("4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " Struck through).

(Struck through "5s. for the wages of a claviger" Interlineated "because it was done by the serjeant's young man")

10s. for the wages of a stacker and a riperivus, @ 5s. each.

2s. for gloves bought for the servants of the court.

6d. for cups, dishes and platters bought.

20d. ("2s." Struck through) for making 6 qrs. 6 bus. ("8 qrs." Struck through) of malt.

(Struck through "12d. given to the men of the manor and the Chamberlain's men at the precaria aquatica")

Total £ 9:12:8

SERVANTS' WAGES

20s. for the yearly wages of the serjeant.
 6s.8d. " " the hayward.
 40s. " " 2 carters, 2 keepers of the
affri, 1 oxherd, 2 keepers of the wethers, and 1 keeper of the
 hogasters, @ 5s. each.
 12s. for the yearly wages of 1 swineherd, 1 cowherd, and
 the dairywoman, @ 4s. each
 5s. for the yearly wages of 1 shepherd of the ewes.
 5s. " " the serjeant's young man who
 was there in the place of an inhyne.
 5s. for the yearly wages of a ploughman who ploughed in the
 place of John Bonville, a customary tenant, who is dead.

Total £ 4:13:8

EXTRA EXPENSES

43s.3d. for the expenses of the lord Prior at his visits,
 by 3 tallies.
 2s.6d. for the expenses of various men who caught trout for
 the use of the lord, Bernard Brocas, and Richard Merkis.
 12d. for 242 hens' eggs bought.

Total 46s.9d.
 = of all expenses, 45:5:8¾

And he owes 8:0:9¼. Of which 76s.11d. was allowed to him
 for arrears of rent of various lands and tenements which are either
 in the hands of the lord or are let at less rent than used to be
 paid in olden times. Also 43s. 10¼d. was allowed to him for various
 charges and disallowances made against him in the present account.
 Also 20s. was forgiven him by special favour of the lord. Total
 allowances, 7:0:9¼. And so he owes 20s. net, which he paid super
scaccarium.

And so the said accountant is quit.

YIELD OF THE GRANGE.

WHEAT

(Marginal Note illegible)

The same renders account of 113 qrs. 5bus. for the whole yield
 of wheat...of which 23qrs. 7 bus. was curall; and of 10½ qrs.
 from the churchscot of the men of the manor; and of 4 qrs. 3 bus.
 from the churchscot of the Chamberlain's men.

Total 128½ qrs. Of which: --

Nothing acquitted to the reeve because there was none.

6 qrs. 6 bus. in defect of the churchscot of various holdings
 in the hands of the lord and let in future for cash, and so much
 this year because William Fachel who used to pay 3 bus. for churchscot
 has withdrawn from the domain and the land is in the hands of the lord.

26 qrs. 7 bus. in seed for 143 acres, as they lie, in Westcombs,
 viz. 1½ bus. per acre plus ½ bus. on the total. Also 4 buri sowed
 4 acres with 1 qr. of their own seed, viz. 2 bus. per acre.

5 qrs. 7 bus. for the yearly allowance of the serjeant; he took
 1 qr. per 8 weeks except for 5 weeks at harvest.

1 qr. 2 bus. 3 pecks for the yearly allowance of the hayward, and
 he took a similar amount of barley. In all he took 1 qr. per 10 weeks
 except for 5 weeks at harvest.

5 qrs. ("6½ qrs." Struck through) used in the house for 5 weeks
 at harvest, including reapers who were at the lord's table.

7 bus. used for 3 precarie of men of the manor who reaped by custom, viz. one of 32 men and two of 27 men cash.

4 bus. used for 3 precarie of 24 of the Chamberlain's men.

1 qr. used at the holding of the courts, by 2 tallies.

6 qrs. 1½ bus. used for the lord Prior, by 3 tallies.

1 bus. by agreement to the smith for shoeing the horses and oxen.

1 bus. by custom to the shepherd of the Estpotfald who kept the sheep of customary tenants separated from the lord's sheep sleeping by night in the lord's fold.

1 bus. given to the sower of the seed.

2 bus. by agreement to Alan the tiler for tiling the tiled buildings within the manor, for the term of his life.

6 bus. ("1 qr." Struck through) for bras' capital made for use at harvest.

4 bus. given to the servants of the manor, by 1 letter.

1 qr. given for making a bridge across the bank (Interlineated "Teste") on the western boundary of Chilbolton.

44 qrs. 5 bus. ("7 bus" Struck through) delivered to the Curtarian, by 2 tallies.

23 qrs. 7 bus. of curall delivered to the Cellarian, by 2 tallies.

2 bus. 3 pecks sold.

6s.10½ d. 1 qr. 3 bus. sold super compotum.

Total as above

BERE. (No marginal note)

The same render account of 6 qrs. received from the churchscot of the men of the manor. Of which: --

Nothing acquitted a reeve of the Nethes this year.

3½ qrs. in defect of churchscot, as for wheat.

2½ qrs. mixed with the servants' allowances.

Total as above

BARLEY

(Marginal Note. Re. se iiij^{to} et quart' cum superon')

The same render account of 201 qrs. for the whole yield of barley threshed by piece work without tally; and of 4 qrs. 4 bus.

3 pecks de superonacione ut respondet se iiij^{to} et quartrono

Total 205 qrs. 4 bus. 3 pecks
("201 qrs." Struck through)

49 qrs. 5 bus. in seed for 159 acres, as they lie, in Eastfield, viz. 2½ bus. per acre minus ½ bus. on the total.

1 bus. given to the sower of the seed.

8 qrs. mixed with the drage for seed.

3 qrs. ("and 6 bus." Struck through) for fattening 21 pigs for the lord's larder.

2½ qrs. ("4½ qrs" Struck through) for feeding pigs in the open country, sows, and weaned piglets in winter and summer.

3 bus. for feeding pigeons in winter.

4 bus. given to the servants of the manor, by letter of the lord.

4 bus. given to Gaillard Consail by order of the lord.

1 qr. given for the making of the bridge (Interlineated
 "Testis, per receptorem") as above in the heading "Wheat".

6 qrs. for bras' curs' for the expenses of harvest. ("7 qrs."
Struck through. "and so much because of the wet weather this year"
Interlineated).

72 qrs. 7 bus. for the servants' allowances as below.

23 qrs. 4 bus. delivered to the Cellarian, by 3 tallies.

29 qrs. 1 bus. 3 pecks sold.

25s.1½d. 8 qrs. 2 bus. 3 pecks sold super compotum.

Total as above

DRAGE

The same renders account of 20 qrs. for the whole yield of drage,
 threshed by piece work without tally; and of 8 qrs. of barley and 8 qrs.
 of cata mixed for drage seed; and of 8 qrs. de superon' ut respondet se
altero.

Total 44 qrs. ("36 qrs." Struck through)

Of which: -- 16 qrs. in seed for 51 acres, as they lie, in Middelfeld)
 viz. 2½ bus. per acre plus ½ bus. on the total.

20 qrs. delivered to the Cellarian, by 3 tallies.

21s.4d. 8 qrs. sold super compotum.

Total as above

OATS (Marginal Note. ix qrs j bus plus se altero et di)

The same renders account of 99 qrs. 7 bus. ("98 qrs." Struck
through) for the whole yield of oats, besides 5 qrs. ("6 qrs." Struck
through) by estimation given to to the oxen and calves in sheaves; and
 of 2 qrs. bought; and of 14 qrs. de superon' ut respondet se altero
et di. (sic)

Total 115 qrs. 7 bus. ("100 qrs. 7 bus."
Struck Through) Of which: --

43 qrs. in seed for 137½ acres, as they lie, in Westfield, viz.
 2½ bus. per acre plus 1 peck on the total.

4 qrs. for oatmeal for the servants' pottage and for the house
 at harvest.

8 qrs. mixed with barley to make drage seed as above.

16 qrs. ("18 qrs." Struck through) for the provender of 4 cart-
 horses, they had more or less according to their work.

12 qrs. ("17 qrs." Struck through) for the provender of 10 affri
 which ploughed and harrowed at both sowings.

8 qrs. 7½ bus. ("9 qrs. 2½ bus." Struck through) used for the
 lord Prior, by 2 tallies.

1 qr. 1½ bus. used at the holding of the courts.

37s.11d. 22 qrs. 6 bus. sold super compotum.

Total as above.

PEAS AND HARAS

(Marginal Note. ij qrs. j bus minus se iij^o)

The same renders account of 9 qrs. 6 bus. for the whole yield of
 peas and haras threshed by piece work, besides 20 qrs. by estimation
 given in the pod to the sheep; and of 4 qrs. ("3 qrs." Struck through)
 received from the reeve of Enford.

Total 12 qrs. 6 bus. (sic) Of which: --

All was used in seed for 66 acres, as they lie, in Middelfeld, viz.
 1½ bus. per acre.

WINTER VETCHES

(Marginal Note. R v bus di plus se altero et di)

The same renders account of 5 qrs. 5 bus. for the whole yield of winter vetches, besides 6 qrs. by estimation given in the pod to the cart-horses. Of which: --

All was used in seed for 20 acres, as they lie, in Middelfeld, viz. 1½ bus. per acre.

YIELD OF THE MILL

None because the rent is paid in cash as above.

SERVANTS' ALLOWANCES

The same renders account of 2½ qrs. of bere and 72 qrs. 7 bus. 1 peck of barley, mixed.

Total 75 qrs. 3 bus. 1 peck. Of which: --

2 qrs. 2 bus. 3 pecks for half the yearly allowance of the hayward and he takes the remainder in wheat. In all he takes 1 qr. per 10 weeks except for 5 weeks at harvest.

41½ qrs. for the yearly allowances of 2 carters, 2 keepers of the affri, 1 oxherd, 2 keepers of the wethers and 1 keeper of the hogasters. Each took 1 qr. per 10 weeks, viz. 5 qrs. 1½ bus. each.

5 qrs. 1½ bus. for the allowance of 1 ploughman in the place of John Bonville who is dead.

8 qrs. 5 bus. for the yearly allowances of 1 cowherd and 1 dairywoman. Each took 1 qr. per 12 weeks.

6½ qrs. for the yearly allowances of 1 shepherd of the ewes. He took 1 qr. per 8 weeks.

1 qr. ("1½ qrs." Struck through) for the allowances of 3 hurdeks who helped the shepherd of the ewes at the lambing time.

2 bus. for the allowance of a young man who kept the rams and the barren ewes by themselves for 4 weeks.

4 qrs. 2½ bus. for the yearly allowance of a swineherd, because to customary tenant was available. He took 1 qr. per 12 weeks.

5 qrs. 1½ bus. for the yearly allowance of the serjeant's young man, by favour of the lord. R. the treasurer. He also acted as inhyne and he took 1 qr. per 10 weeks.

16d. 4 bus. sold super compotum.

Total as above.

STOCK

CART-HORSES

4 remained from last year, 2 were bought, and 1 came from the heriot of John Magges. Total 7. 1, not yet presented, died of murrain, and 2 were transferred to the affri. Total 3. And 4 remain.

AFFRI

10 remained from last year, 2 were transferred from the cart-horses, and 2 were bought. Total 14. 4 died of murrain, of which 2 are not yet presented. And 10 remain.

OXEN

14 remained from last year, and 1 was added from the 3-year-olds. Total 15. 3 died of murrain, of which 1 is not yet presented. And 12 remain.

BULLS

2 remained from last year. And 2 remain.

COWS

12 remained from last year, and 2 were added from the 3-year olds. Total 14. 2 died of murrain, and 1 was used for the lord Prior, all before calving. 11 remain.

3-YEAR-OLDS

3 remained from the 2-year-olds of last year. 1 was added to the oxen and 2 to the cows.

2-YEAR-OLDS

5 remained from the yearlings of last year, and 2 came from the heriot of John Magges. Total 7. 1, not yet presented, died of murrain. And 6 remain, including 2 females.

YEARLINGS

7 remained from the calves of last year. All remain.

CALVES.

20d. Only 7 ("6" Struck through) because 2 cows died and 1 was used for the lord Prior before calving, and 2 ("3" Struck through) were barren. Total 7. 1 calf was used for the lord Prior. 1 was sold super compotum Total 2. And 5 remain.

WETHERS

23.8d. 704 remained from last year, and 137 ("129" Struck through) were added from the hogasters. Total 841 ("833" Struck through). 9 died of murrain before shearing, as testified, and 7, not yet presented, after shearing. 6 were killed for the larder before shearing. 22 ("24" Struck through. "and so much on account of the wet weather" Interlineated) were used in the house at harvest and at the customary tenants' precarie; 1, with its pelt was by custom for scything the meadow; 3 were used for the lord Prior by 2 tallies, and 48 were delivered to the Curtarian by 1 tally, all after shearing. 11 kubbers were sold after shearing. 2 were sold super compotum. Total 109. And 732 ("724" Struck through) remain.

RAMS

16 remained from last year, and 4 more added from the hogasters. Total 20. 1 kubber was sold after shearing. And 19 remain.

EWES

(Marginal Note. 1 ewe and 1 hogaster which came as strays are not charged in this account because they have not been one year.)
474 remained from last year, and 167 were added from the hogasters. Total 651. 5 died of murrain before lambing, as testified, and 1 died between lambing and shearing, and 7 after shearing, which are not yet presented. 7 were used for the lord Prior before shearing, by 2 tallies, and 2 for the same after shearing, by 1 tally. 6 were given to John Purriere, by letter of the lord. 75 were sold. Total 103. And 648 remain.

HOGASTERS

314 remained from the lambs of last year. 6 died of murrain, of which 2 are not yet presented. 137 ("129" Struck through) were added to the wethers, 4 to the rams, and 167 to the ewes. (Struck through "8 were sold because they were deficient before shearing") None remain.

LAMBS

Only 421 lambs were born because 5 ewes died before lambing and 58 were barren. 33 lambs died before weaning, 2 between weaning and shearing, and 8 after shearing, of which 2 are not yet presented. 39 were for tithe. 3 were given to the ballivus, the hayward, and the keeper of the hogasters. 1 was by agreement for the shepherd of the ewes. 1 was given to St. Agatha. 1 was given to him who marked the lambs. 14 were weeded out and sold after shearing. Total 102. And 319 remain.

PIGS

20 remained from last year, and 40 were added from the hoggets. Total 60. 2 died of murrain. 2 were used for the lord Prior, by 2 tallies. 2 were killed for the customary tenants' larder at Martinmas. 21 were delivered to the Curtarian by 1 tally. Total 27. And 33 remain.

HOGGETS

49 remain from the piglets of last year. 9 died of murrain, of which 6 are not yet presented. 40 were added to the pigs. And none remain.

PIGLET

60 were born of the said (sic) sows. 6 were for tithe. 1 was by custom for the swineherd. 4 were used for the lord Prior by 1 tally. Total 11. And 49 remain.

GREAT WOOL

The shearing yielded the fleeces of 689 wethers, 16 rams, 471 ewes, and 300 hogasters. Total 1479 (sic) 5 were for the church by way of tithe, and 30 from the tithe of the fleeces of 300 sheep agisted on the land formerly held by Robert de la Berthone. 4 were by agreement for the 4 shepherds. Total 39. 1440 were delivered to the Receiver and made 5½ sacks 21 nails.

BROKEN WOOL

All was included above in the wool.

LAMBS' WOOL

The shearing yielded the fleeces of 341 lambs. All were delivered to the Receiver and made 20 nails.

WINTER LACTAGE

None here as it is accounted for above in cash.

SUMMER CHEESE

160 cheeses were made from the milk of 7 cows and 320 ("300" Struck through) ewes which came to the stoup, and not more because 101 ("121" Struck through) ewes were not milked because they were either kebbers or sick. 16 cheeses were for tithe (13 nails). 1 was by custom for scything the Meadow (1 nail). 26 were used in the house at harvest and for precarie (26 nails). 20 were delivered to the Receiver (1 way 15 nails) by 1 tally, and 8 to the same by another tally (8 nails 3 lbs.) 3 were used for the lord Prior (3 nails) by 1 tally. 86 were sold (2 ways 17 nails 4 lbs.)

6s.8d.

18 nails 5 lbs. were sold super compotum.

BUTTER

1 way was made, all of which was sold.

Total weight of cheese and butter, 7 ways 18 nails 5 lbs.

SKINS

The skins of 1 horse, 4 affri, 3 oxen, 3 cows, 1 two-year old, and 3 yearlings, which died or were killed, were sold.

PELTS GREAT PELTS

The pelts of 15 wethers, 13 ewes, and 6 hogasters, which died or were killed before shearing, were sold.

SHORN PELTS

The pelts of 34 wethers and 9 ewes, which died after shearing, were sold.

LAMBS' PELTS

Of the pelts of 33 lambs which died before weaning and shearing, and 8 after shearing, 3 were for

tithe, 30 were delivered to the Receiver by 1 tally, and 10 were sold.

LARDER

The carcasses of 6 wethers and 2 bacon pigs were placed in the larder. All were used for Customary tenants at Christmas.

TALLOW AND FAT

6 lbs. of tallow and 2 lbs. of fat from the above, was sold.

ENTRAILS

The entrails of the above wethers and pigs were sold.

SWANS

12 cign' aier' remained from last year, and 5 were reared. Total 17. 5 were delivered to the Curtarian, by 1 tally. And 12 cign' aier' remain.

GEESE

13 remained from last year, and 28 were reared. Total 41. 3 were for tithe. 2 were used at harvest, 12 for the lord Prior by 4 tallies, and 17 were sold. Total 34. And 7 remain, including 1 gander.

CAPONS

24 were made from chickens, and 1 came from the (recognitione Struck through. "capitagio" Interlineated) of William Stubbe that he may serve where he pleases. Total 25. 10 were used for the lord Prior by 2 tallies, 8 were sold, and 1 was used at the holding of the Hocke court by tally. Total 19. And 6 remain.

COCKS AND HENS

6 remained from last year, 60 were reared, 66 came from the churchscot of the men of the manor, 14 from the churchscot of the Chamberlain's men, and 1 was bought. Total 147. 4 were by custom for the church. 14 were in defect as before. 34 were in defect of the churchscot of various holdings now let for cash rents. 9 were in defect of the churchscot of 3 cotsetla which John Bonville held. 24 were made capons. 26 were used for the lord Prior, by 2 tallies. 30 were delivered to the Curtarian, by 1 tally. Total 141. And 6 remain.

EGGS

300 were laid, and 342 were bought. Total 642. None came from custom. All were used for the lord Prior, by 2 tallies.

PIGEONS

None accounted for here because the key remains in the possession of the Curtarian.

GARDEN

There was no fruit this year.

ALE

No sesters of ale were received this year.

IMPLEMENTS

4 ploughs remained. 2 wore out. 3 were bought. 5 remain.
4 paribus ferrament' remained.
8 harrows remained, and 4 were bought. 2 wore out. And 10 remain, of which 2 have iron teeth (cavill')
5 iron chains with rings, stapels, and hokes.
1 seed-basket (semile)

2 carts, bound with iron.
 8 collars.
 6 pair of traces remained. 3 were bought. 2 wore out. 7 remain.
 2 great ropes.
 ? de tumbrell'
 4 leather halters with rings, chains, and reynes.
 2 cart-saddles.
 1 stoup (stoppa)
 1 winnowing implement (ventil')
 1 bushel measure, bound with iron.
 1 half-bushel measure.
 1 peck measure.
 1 leaden receptacle (plumbum)
 4 copper jars (olla)
 1 great copper pan (patella)
 1 little pitcher (urceclus)
 2 tripods.
 2 large tables (tabula)
 2 small tables, with 3 pairs of trestles.
 4 forms (formula)
 1 tub (cuva)
 1 mortar.
 2 tribul' remained, and 2 irons (ferram') were bought for them.
 1 spade (vanga)
 4 sickles (falcicul')
 1 pick-axe (picoisus)
 1 corn-basket (sporta bladifer)
 2 forks for sheaves.
 4 chests (ciata) of which 2 have no lids.
 1 wheel-barrow (civera rot')
 8 corn-sacks.
 4 presepes.
 4 barrels (barell') for ale.
 1 table-cloth (mappa mensal') containing 3 ells of canvas.

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- ii. Charters and liberties of the church of Winton.
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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

A study of the administration of the cathedral priory of St. Swithun's, Winchester, in the time of Cardinal Beaufort has been rendered possible by the survival of the earliest register of the priory, several manuscript collections of deeds and charters, and above all by a large collection of some five hundred manorial account and court rolls, and seventy obedientiary account rolls which pertain to some twenty manors held by the priory in three counties. Apart from a valuable article in The English Historical Review (Vol. LXII, 1947) by Mr. J. S. Drew, together with transcriptions of a few manorial account rolls and most of the obedientiary rolls in several of the volumes published by the Hampshire Record Society at the turn of the century, this collection of medieval records has not received the attention which it deserves. Since the bulk of this manuscript material is manorial in origin the main theme of this study is manorial administration. The dates selected (c.1380-1450) include the later years of Wykeham's episcopate as well as the forty-five years in which Beaufort had the see in order to make use of nearly two-fifths of the court and account rolls mentioned above, which date from the earlier period and thus provide a substantial background against which to observe the changing pattern of manorial policy and administration in Beaufort's day.

It is necessary to begin with a brief consideration of the historical development of the priory before 1380, and an examination of the internal arrangements which had been organized

around an obedientiary system linked directly to the manors in those cases where revenues derived from the latter supported one of the obedientiary offices.

An examination of the role of the monks as landowners and farmers includes a description of the manors and the manorial staff as well as a detailed study of three important aspects of farm organization which were selected with the intention of showing in each case, wherever possible, any changes in method and policy in the period when direct farming of the manorial demesnes was gradually giving place to leasing. Harvesting costs and procedures are fully documented on the account rolls and provide many insights into the aims, attitudes and methods of the monk-farmers; it is surprising that to date this information has not been fully appreciated by historians. The extent to which the produce of the manors was utilized as a source of food for the monastery varied greatly in this period, and though the amounts of food and stock were generally declining they did not necessarily cease, as did the harvesting entries, when the farmer first appeared on the scene. The importance of sheep rearing is abundantly clear from the account rolls and also from the details provided by a late fourteenth century stock book of the manors which provides statistics to show that the priory flocks were not declining at this date, although within a few years a number of the farmers are to be found taking up leases of stock as well as of land.

The relationship of the prior and convent as landlords with their tenantry can be discerned through a study of the court rolls which make it clear that the latter were neither unduly oppressed nor repressed; on the contrary there were many serfs who had the money to obtain from the lord what they most desired: relaxation of customary services, licence to leave the manor or to be free from the burden of office and freedom from servitude. The fact that a number of the manorial sergeants and reeves spent many years in the service of St. Swithun's suggests that they experienced some satisfaction and success despite the relentless scrutiny of the auditors at the annual reckoning and the heavy charges with which they were often burdened.

Finally, the clerical and lay officials who were chiefly concerned with manorial administration comprised a large group at the centre of which was the prior's council. The obedientiaries and some of the monks played an active role in the supervision of the manors, as did the prior's steward whose responsibility it was to preside over the manorial courts.

Thus, while this period saw the ecclesiastical as well as the lay landowners gradually losing out in the transition from a farming economy to one of rents and leases, and the peasantry at the same time gaining economic and social status, the plight of one group should not be overstressed at the expense of the other. The process of change was complex and slow, and landowner, tenant

and farmer were all affected by the opportunities, the uncertainties and the disasters of an age in which a new mode of life was struggling to emerge.