

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

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of
Committee on Thesis

The undersigned, acting as a Committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Georgina Talbot Droitcour for the degree of Master of Arts.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

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of

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THE MANORIAL GROUP

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

BY

GEORGINA T. DROITCOUR

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

JUNE

1920

149.14
1832

THE MANORIAL GROUP

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Anc. Laws. | Ancient Laws and Institutes of England. |
| 2. Cart. Ram. | Cartulary of Ramsey Abbey. |
| 3. Cod. Dipl. | Codex Diplomaticus. |
| 4. Const. Hist. | Constitutional History of England. |
| 5. Hist. et. Cart. Mon.
Glouc. | History and Cartulary of the Monastery of Gloucester. |
| 6. P. R. of W. | Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1207-1208. |
| 7. Polypt. | Polyptyque de l'Abbe Irminon. |

CHAPTER I

THE MANOR AND MANORIAL GROUP

CHAPTER I

THE MANOR AND MANORIAL GROUP1. The Manor

The manorial system existed in England from at least the eleventh century to the middle of the fifteenth. Ashley says, "In the eleventh century and long afterwards the whole country outside the larger towns was divided into manors - into districts, that is to say, in each of which one person, called the 'lord', possessed certain important and valuable rights over all the other inhabitants. - - - The vast majority of manors consisted of but one village, and the lands surrounding it, cultivated by its inhabitants; and we may regard this as the normal state of things."¹ A typical manor probably consisted of arable, meadow, wood, waste, etc. The arable was divided into two parts.² One, the demesne, was reserved for the use of the lord, - it was the "home farm". The other was divided among tenants, usually both free and unfree, who, in return for the usufruct of the land which they held, made payments to the lord in labor, money, or in kind. The demesne was worked by the labor services due from the tenants, and supplied the lord and his household with food. Supplies were also furnished by the payments in kind, made usually at the two festivals of Christmas and Easter. Both lord and tenants had rights in the meadow, wood, and waste.

The three-field system of cultivation was followed. The arable land was usually divided into three great fields, each of which was in turn divided into furlongs, and each furlong into acre or half-acre strips, separated by balks of unploughed turf. One of the three large fields was sown with wheat

1. Ashley, An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory, vol. I, p. 6.
2. "The demesne consisted partly of separate closes, partly of acres scattered among those of the tenants in the common fields." Ibid., p. 7.

or rye, another with oats, beans, or barley; while one was left fallow. The next year the fallow field was cultivated, and so on. The result was that, in a period of three years, each field had been sown, one year with oats, beans, or barley; one year with wheat or rye; and had been one year fallow.

The acre or half-acre strips were divided among the cultivators in such a way that each man's strips were scattered up and down the three fields. Each man was thus compelled to cultivate his land in accordance with the rotation of crops observed by his neighbors.

There was usually a manor house on the demesne, in which the lord sometimes lived. The "lord" who owned only one manor would probably make this his permanent residence. In the case of a lord who owned many manors, the house would at times be occupied by his seneschal when visiting the manor, and sometimes by the bailiff.

1

The houses of the tenants, with yards around them, were usually built in a row in the village.

There were certain manorial officials engaged in directing the work of the estate, the chief ones being (1) the steward, or seneschal, (2) the bailiff, and (3) the reeve.

(1). The steward was not really a manorial official, but the superintendent and lord's representative over a number of manors. His chief duties were to control the bailiffs, and to hold the manorial courts. A steward was not necessary when the number of manors held by a lord was small enough so that he could supervise the agriculture, and hold the manorial court himself. But the frequent mention of the steward shows that there were many manorial groups too large to be personally supervised by the lord. The treatise

Senescnancie thus describes the steward's office, "The seneschal of lands ought

1. For a description of different classes of tenants, see Ashley, Introduction to English Economic History and Theory, Part I, p. 8.

to be faithful and prudent and profitable, and he ought to know the law of the realm, to protect his lord's business and to instruct and give assurance to the bailiffs who are beneath him in their difficulties. He ought, two or three times a year, to make his rounds and visit the manors of his stewardship.¹ Many other instructions are given, telling the seneschal how to guard his lord's interests, and much advice is given as to the methods to be pursued.²

(2). The bailiff was the resident representative of the lord in the manor, and was especially charged with the cultivation of the demesne. The bailiff is an extremely important official. Upon him, to a great extent, depended the success or failure of the manor. "The bailiff ought to be faithful and profitable and a good husbandman - - - The bailiff ought to rise every morning and survey the woods, corn, meadows and pastures, and see what damage may have been done."³ He must keep careful watch over the grain, stock, etc., "and be just in all points and in all his doings."⁴

(3). The reeve was a sort of foreman among the lord's tenants, and was chosen by them to represent their interests in dealing with the lord or one of his officials. He was regarded as the man best skilled in agriculture. On him rested the responsibility of seeing that all the labor services required of the tenants were performed. In return for his services he was usually freed partially or wholly from labor dues during his term of office, which was usually one year. The duties of a reeve about the middle of the thirteenth century are thus described: "And he must see that all the servants of the court rise in the morning to do their work, and that the ploughs be yoked in time, and the

1. Walter of Henley, Husbandry, p. 85.

2. Ibid., pp. 85-89.

3. Ibid., pp. 89 and 91.

4. Ibid., p. 91.

lands well ploughed." ¹ He is also to see that the corn is well threshed, and that the stock is well taken care of. He must work with the bailiff in keeping the buildings and implements in repair so that the lord may not "lose a mark for a matter of twelve pence." ² It may indeed be doubted whether there were both bailiff and reeve on every manor. Frequently the estate seems to have been superintended by only one man. Probably many manors were too small to need the attention of two officers. Nevertheless it would appear that there was a very real attempt to arrive at an economical management of the manor by subdivision of labor and careful supervision.

2. The Manorial Group

In the manorial system, the manor was the agrarian, ecclesiastical, and, to some extent, the legal unit. ³ It has long been regarded as an isolated, self-sufficing community, and this phase of it has, perhaps, been over-emphasized by writers on manorial economy. Lipson says, "There was little local demand for corn where everyone easily supplied his own requirements." ⁴ Again, "The manor was almost entirely self-sufficing - - - there was little trade with the outside world - - - Nearly everything was made in the village." ⁵ "The manor was self-sufficing," ⁶ says another writer, and it could be shown that many other economic historians had the same idea, regarding the self-

1. Walter of Henley, *Husbandry*, p. 99.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
3. The lord had jurisdiction over the unfree tenants on his land.
4. Lipson, *An Introduction to the Economic History of England*, p. 31.
5. Curtler, *A Short History of English Agriculture*, p. 26.
6. Tickner, *A Social and Industrial History of England*, p. 19.

sufficiency and independence of the manor.¹

Is this traditional view of the manor the correct one? Manors very often existed in groups,² each one of which belonged to some lay or ecclesiastical lord, or perhaps to the King.³ The manorial group has been recognized,⁴ but has not been accorded the importance it deserves. While it is true that isolated manors did exist, and that some lords owned only one manor,⁵ this cannot be regarded as typical. The fact of the existence of many groups of manors, each under a lord, means that probably within each group there was some organization, and some inter-communication between the members. There was the need for a special official, the seneschal, who was interested in the manors collectively as well as individually. Obviously the lord of several manors could not live long on each one. In early days he probably journeyed from one to another of his estates, consuming the income from them;⁶ and later settled down in some favorite or specially convenient manor and had supplies sent to him.⁷ But whatever mode of life was followed by the lord, an adjustment on the part of his manors was necessary. Such adjustment would mean much in breaking down isolation.

Manors united by allegiance to a common lord did not always lie close together, although sometimes they were only two or three miles distant from each other. In the Winchester and Ramsey groups, the distances are, as a rule,⁸ short, frequently from two to five miles, although in almost every case

1. See Andrews, *The Old English Manor*, pp. 202-203, and Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, vol. I, pp. 33-34.
2. See below, pp 7-9.
3. See below, Chapter II, for types of manorial groups.
4. E. g. by Hall, in his *Introduction to the P. R. of W.*, and by Hale in the *Introduction to the Domesday of St. Paul's*.
5. See below, p. 9.
6. See below, Chapter III.
7. See below, Chapter IV.
8. See map, at end.

we find outlying manors at some distance from the center. In the St. Paul's¹ group the estates lay ten, fifteen, and even thirty miles from each other.

When they were close together, we may suppose a certain esprit-de-corps to have existed between the tenants of the different manors, due to the bond of common customs and obligations under which they lived. The contact afforded to members of different manors in their journeys to the lord's seat² and elsewhere, must have made for wider interest in, and increased knowledge of, their neighbors. Men from three or four widely scattered manors meeting at the monastery, say of Gloucester, would doubtless, in their brief acquaintanceship, exchange ideas by which the horizon of each would be widened; and their increased knowledge would be, in turn, transmitted to their friends at home. There was a certain mental stimulus in traveling two or three days' journey from the manor, seeing new sights and meeting strange faces. When we consider that these journeys abroad with food farms, or for other reasons, were not occasional but part of a definite system of inter-manorial communication, and that manorial groups were common in all parts of England, it would seem as if the manor were not such an isolated community as has commonly been supposed.

It is the purpose of this thesis to deal with the manorial group rather than with the manor itself. The information has been, in the main, gathered from a study of six groups of manors, chosen to represent, as far as possible, conditions in different parts of England, and from one French group studied for purposes of comparison between English and Continental manorial³ conditions.

1. Introduction to the Domesday of St. Paul's.
2. See below, Chapter IV.
3. See below, Chapter II, for description of these groups.

3. Evidence of Manorial Groups from Domesday Book.

There is ample evidence from Domesday as to the existence of manorial groups. Some of these were very large. Ellis says that "the ancient demesne of the Crown, as recorded in the Survey, consisted of 1,422 manors in different counties, besides some scattered lands and farms not comprehended therein, and quit rents paid out of several other manors."¹ He also gives² the following numbers of those held by important tenants-in-chief:

The Earl of Moretaine held	793 manors
The Earl of Bretagne held	442 manors
The Bishop of Bayeux held	439 manors
The Bishop of Contances held	280 manors
Roger de Busli held	174 manors
Ilbert de Laci held	164 manors
William Peverel held	162 manors

Some of the other tenants-in-chief held over a hundred manors each.

These large estates were, of course, the exception - more usual, one might expect, would be manorial groups of more moderate size. According to Domesday, a certain Richard the Forester held eight manors in Warwickshire, in return for which he performed the service of keeping the forest of Canok in Staffordshire.³ "The Abbey of Coventry was richly endowed with land and manors in twenty different places in Warwick - - - The great Abbey of Evesnam had possessions in five different lordships."⁴ William Buenvasleth held the manor of Lighthorne, with others in four other places.⁵

Turning from the midlands to the south and southwest of England, we find a similar situation. William de Faleise figures in Domesday with twenty-five manors in four adjoining counties, - seventeen in Devon, four in Dorset, three in Somerset, and one in Wiltshire.⁶

1. Ellis, Introduction to Domesday, pp. 225-226.
 2. Ibid., p. 226.
 3. Domesday Book for County of Warwick, p. VIII.
 4. Ibid., p. VI.
 5. Ibid., p. VII.
 6. Domesday Book for Somerset, vol. I, p. 63.

Another tenant-in-chief, Serlo de Burci, had fifteen manors in Somerset and two in the adjoining county of Dorset. He also held estates in the county of Wiltshire from the Abbot of Glastonbury.¹ William Capra, a brother to the Baron Radulfus de Pomerei, had upwards of forty manors in Devon. His sister Beatrix held four - three in Devon and one in Somerset.² Roger de Corcelle held seven manors in Somerset of the Bishop of Contances.³

⁴ In the northern part of England we also find groups of manors. In Nottinghamshire, according to Domesday, the relief of a thegn who had six manors or less was three marks, while he who had more than six manors was rated at eight pounds.⁵ It was evidently no uncommon thing for several manors to be held by one thegn.

It will be observed that all the manors held by a lord did not necessarily lie in the same county, although it is common to find them lying in the same general section of the country, as, for instance, in the cases given above.⁶

The possessions, especially of tenants-in-chief, were often scattered throughout different counties.⁷ For instance, a certain Aluric held land in nine counties in the southern and central parts of England.⁸ The Bishop of

1. Domesday Book for Somerset, vol. I, p. 65.
2. Ibid., p. 64.
3. Ibid., p. 56.
4. Ilbert de Laci had 164 manors, most of them in Yorkshire. (See Ellis, Introduction to Domesday, p. 226.)
5. Domesday Book, vol. I, p. 280, b. See Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, pp. 108 and 127.
6. Roger de Busli had 174 manors, all lying in Nottinghamshire, according to Ellis, Introduction to Domesday, p. 226.
7. This scattering was due to the "piecemeal nature of the (Norman) Conquest", not to a design on the part of William I, as used to be supposed. White, Making of the English Constitution, pp. 88-89.
8. Ellis, Introduction to Domesday, vol. I, p. 371.

Bayeux held land in eighteen counties from Nottingham and Lincoln in the northeast to Dorset in the south.

Another tenant-in-chief, Alurecus de Ispania, held land in Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Gloucester, and Hereford.

Radulfus de Limesi held land in ten counties from Devon on the southwest to Nottingham toward the northeast.

Examples of this kind might be multiplied, but enough have been given for purposes of illustration.

From a consideration of the possessions of the tenants-in-chief, we turn to the royal manors themselves. Were they isolated communities or were they, too, organized into groups? An interesting thesis bearing upon groups of royal manors, has been written by Miss E. B. Demarest. She says that the king drew food farms from various manors. All the contributions to the royal farm in the hundred, in Anglo-Saxon times, were sent to the chief or hundred manor, and the King went there to enjoy his income. If this theory be correct, it furnishes but another reason for suspecting the supposed isolation of the manor.

As stated above, not all manors formed part of manorial groups. Domesday contains mention of small and evidently independent manors. Maitland gives many examples of manors containing from twelve to sixty acres

1. Ellis, Introduction to Domesday, vol. I, pp. 376-77.
2. Domesday Book, vol. I, p. 84.
3. Ibid., vol. I, p. 342.
4. Ibid., vol. I, p. 77.
5. Ellis, Introduction to Domesday, vol. I, p. 380.
6. Ibid., p. 446.
7. "The Domesday Hundred" - not yet printed. See also Miss Demarest's article "The Firma Unius Noctis" in the English Historical Review, vol. XXXIV, pp. 78-90.
8. See below, pp. 26-35, for evidence that certain places were assessed together for the payment of the royal farm.
9. See above, p. 5.
10. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, pp. 117-118.

and in this connection he says, "We are not speaking of curiosities; the sixty-acre manor was very common in Essex; the thirty-acre manor was no rarity in Suffolk." ¹ Often enough, according to this same writer, the lord of such a manor was merely a peasant tilling the soil, frequently with no labor but his own. "Sometimes he has a couple of bordiers seated upon his land to help him in his husbandry. - - - In the east of England there is nothing to show that the nameless free men who held manors which were said to consist of sixty, thirty, or forty acres, had usually more than one manor apiece." ²

4. Purpose of Thesis

To summarize, then, it would appear that rural England in the late eleventh century, and for some considerable time afterward, was a land of manors. Sometimes the manor was an isolated community - an independent unit, but more often it was a member of some manorial group in the possession of a lay or ecclesiastical lord; or perhaps it was a member of some group of royal manors. It is the purpose of this thesis to study the manorial group; to show

1. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 118.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 118. ("Even before the Conquest it is probable that these isolated holdings were falling into the hands of the wealthy." *Ibid.*) Maitland gives instances of small, isolated holdings for other parts of England - for Sussex, Gloucestershire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and the Isle of Wight. *Ibid.*, p. 119, footnote.
3. Manorial conditions in France, in the ninth century, as far as groups of ecclesiastical manors are concerned, show a striking similarity to English conditions of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. In *Polyptyque de l'Abbe Irminon* we find, "En effet, dans le concile d'Aix-la-Chapelle de 817, où toutes les églises sont divisées en trois classes, les plus riches sont dites posséder 3, 4 ou 8000 manses (messuages) et plus, tandis que les moyennes en ont 1000, 1500 ou 2000, et les plus pauvres de 2 à 300 seulement" (tome I, b, p. 611) The monks of Montier-en-Der held 1500 manses. The abbey of Moyenmontier in the Vosges was given 1511 manses, with the churches built there. (*Ibid.*, p. 611) The monastery of Avenay in the diocese of Rheims held 1500 manses. Floccard says the monastery of Berceto, in the Apennines, owned 800 manses. (*Hist. Remens*, vol. III, 27, p. 549, and vol. I, 20, p. 106.) Cited by Guerard in *Polyptyque de l'Abbe Irminon*, vol. I, b, p. 611.

that there was inter-manorial communication existing from at least the time of Domesday until the final decay of the manor, and to show to some slight extent, the effect of this on the life of the time. It is not the intention to deny that isolation was a very real thing in the Middle Ages, but rather to show that it was not as complete as has been supposed.

CHAPTER II

TYPES OF MANORIAL GROUPS

CHAPTER II

TYPES OF MANORIAL GROUPS5. Groups of Royal Manors

Manorial groups were of several kinds. If the theory of the "hundred farm"¹ be correct, there were groups of royal manors, organized in order to facilitate the payment of the royal farms. There is evidence in Domesday, and even earlier, that the king or his ministers had realized that some combination between numbers of the royal manors was necessary, for we find that the practise of grouping several places to pay a certain farm was not uncommon.² Unfortunately, detailed accounts of the King's manors for the earliest period were never made, or at least are not extant, as far as we know. Practically nothing of their group organization is known. It seems probable, however, that such royal groups did exist.

6. Groups of Manors Belonging to Lay Lords

Next come the baronial groups, which were either lay or ecclesiastical. Of the former little is known, except the fact of their existence. It is probable that many extents were made, but the unsettled condition of the times, and the extremely poor facilities for preserving such records as were made, have resulted in a dearth of documentary evidence as to manorial groups which were lay fiefs.

7. Ecclesiastical Groups of Manors

On the other hand, the church was a well established, permanent organization. Men might come and go, but the church lived forever. Abbots, bishops, monks might die and pass on, but their places were taken by others as jealous for the rights and immunities of the church as they had been. Hundreds of men and women lived solely for it, and many of them were charged with the business

1. See above, p.9.

2. See below, pp.30-31.

of making and preserving records of the lands, jurisdictions, rights, etc., of their particular ecclesiastical organization.

It is not surprising, then, to find that manorial information is nowhere given in such abundance and detail as in dealing with manors belonging to the church.

Ecclesiastical groups may be classified as follows:

- A. Those belonging to abbeys or monasteries, such as those of Ramsey Abbey, Battle Abbey, or the monastery of Gloucester.
- B. Episcopal groups, such as the manors of the Bishopric of Durham, or of the Bishopric of Winchester.
- C. Capitular groups, as those belonging to the Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Chichester, Lincoln, Exeter, etc.

It has been necessary, in writing this thesis, to depend almost entirely upon information derived from the records of ecclesiastical manorial groups, owing, as stated above, to the scarcity of material for lay estates. The groups studied are largely those given above, or belong to classes given above, and have been chosen so as to represent, as far as possible, different parts of England. They range from the possessions of the Bishopric of Durham in the most northerly part of the country, to the Winchester and Battle lands, some of whose manors lie on the south coast of the island; and from the Gloucester group on the west, close to the Welsh border, to the St. Paul's group¹ on the southeast, some of whose manors lie very near to the east coast of Essex.

The Ramsey group represents the more central part of the country, although a few of its manors lie to the east, on the coast of Norfolk. Material for the northwest of England, e. g. for Lancashire, Cheshire, Cumberland, is practically non-existent for the Middle Ages, while that for Yorkshire is inaccessible to the writer. It has, therefore, been necessary to depend on the Durham group for conditions in northern England, but it may be said that probably no better information could be found than that to be obtained for the

1. See map at end for manorial groups.

manors of this ancient and interesting bishopric.

It may be argued that conditions on the ecclesiastical manorial groups do not fairly represent the state of affairs in England generally. But this is not such a justifiable criticism as might at first be supposed. The church held a great deal of land in England, as in the rest of Europe, in the Middle Ages. The abbot, bishop, or other ecclesiastical lord looked upon his manors not, as would now be the case, as a field in which to exercise his influence as a churchman for the spiritual well-being of his tenants, but merely as sources of revenue, and to be treated as such. This attitude is well summarized by Hale, as follows:

"The Ecclesiastical manors differed in no respect from those which were in lay hands. They were sources of income, not the field of spiritual labor. - - - It is remarkable that neither the Exchequer Domesday nor the Domesday of St. Paul's, contain any evidence that the Ecclesiastical manors had any superior religious privileges, or were the centers from which religious knowledge was diffused to the neighborhood. The manors of the religious houses were in reality secular possessions."

There is a tendency to regard the bishop or abbot of the Middle Ages as having much in common with his successor of today. In reality, his functions at that time were usually more secular than they are now. He frequently held high political office, and always had a seat in the council or parliament of the king. He probably differed, in many respects, very little from the lay lords.

It should be said, however, that the customs on ecclesiastical manors were frequently of a somewhat old fashioned character. The church was, on the whole, more opposed to innovations than the lay lords. It wanted to preserve status quo. Then, too, the church was wealthy, and so not inclined to grant

1. Introduction to the Domesday of St. Paul's, p. XI.

privileges in return for money payments, as needy lords frequently did. But, on the whole, it seems reasonable to believe that a study of ecclesiastical manorial groups will give a fairly accurate picture of manorial conditions in England generally.

It may be, perhaps, of interest to give a short general description of each of the manorial groups of which a special study has been made, before entering upon any detailed account of them. A chronological plan will be followed.

A. Monastic Groups (Part 1)

1. The manors belonging to the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, Paris.

The abbey was founded by Childbert, son of Clovis, 543 A. D. It derived its name from St. Germain, Bishop of Paris and benefactor of the abbey. Before the end of the seventh century it was one of the most celebrated monasteries in Europe, and always in high favor with the Merovingians. Childbert and eight other kings and queens of the house of Clovis were buried there.

The extents of the manors belonging to the monastery, published in the Polyptyque d'Irminon, are for the early ninth century. The record shows that a manorial group existed, composed, at this time, of twenty-seven manors, most of them lying at some little distance from Paris, and in the department of Seine et Oise. Each manor was divided into manses (messuages), the numbers of which varied considerably. Sometimes one manor contained only a dozen or perhaps twenty manses, while another would contain as many as a hundred. These manes tributaires, as they were called, were of three kinds, as follows:

1. That is, chronological as far as the documents which have been used are concerned.
2. See Polyptyque, vol. Ia, p. 3.
3. E. g. Verrieres lies thirteen kilometers southeast from Paris.
Epinay sur Orge, twenty-four kilometers southeast from Paris.
Celle St. Cloud, nineteen kilometers west from Paris.

- a. Manse ingenuales, which were the most free ones.
- b. Manse liquies, which were less free.
- c. Manse servis, or servile manse.¹

The usual type of tenement, however, was the manse ingenuile held by a colonus who seems to have corresponded with the English villein.

Some manse, however, were held en b'nefice - usually by freemen, who, in return, did some service as vassals. Some were held by censetaires who paid for them in money, labor, and kind. Occasionally a man held lands of each kind.²

A certain amount of wine and agricultural produce was exacted from the tenants at stated intervals, and sent to the monastery for the support of those living there. The labor services were week works, boon services, carrying services, etc., much the same as we find four centuries later in England.

The St. Germain des Prés group has been included here for purposes of comparison between English and Continental manors. It shows that conditions which were common in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries existed in France as early as the beginning of the ninth. An extended study of French manorial conditions prior to the twelfth century would be most valuable. It would be interesting, for instance, to know just how far the manorial system as it existed in England was due to the Norman Conquest, and the influx of French ideas brought in at that time. It is certain that the barons who helped William conquer England were thoroughly acquainted with the manorial system as it existed at that time in France. For many years after the Conquest the greater barons held fiefs on both sides of the Channel. We are told that the Conqueror arranged the government and administration of England on a feudal

1. Polypt. Ib, p. 578.

2. Ibid., pp. 565-567.

basis, not because he consciously determined to "introduce" feudalism, but because it was the only "system" with which he was acquainted. May we not go one step further and ask did not the barons after the Conquest seek to arrange their newly-acquired English fiefs on the same economic basis as those they already held in Normandy, not from any desire to make innovations, but because they knew only one economic system? Here we can only raise the question. A careful comparison of French and English manorial conditions would be¹ required in order to answer it.

B. Episcopal Groups

1. The Bishopric of Durham held about 150 manors in 1185, at the time when Bishop Hugo caused a visitation to be made, and the possessions of the see to be recorded.² Many of these so-called "manors", however, appear to have been merely single holdings, not manors proper. The accompanying map, (at the end), shows only those necessary for an understanding of the intermanorial organization as shown by the carrying services from one to another. Those shown are probably the most important manors, and sometimes lie at some considerable distances from each other.³

Besides the ordinary duties of week-works, boon-services, carrying-services, etc., the tenants belonging to this group had many services to perform in common

1. There were, of course, manors in England before the Norman Conquest, just as there was something which resembled feudalism. But the Conquest introduced continental political feudalism and made feudal obligation and incident more clearly defined, so that before long England was leading Europe as far as feudal law was concerned. May it not also be true that the Conquest resulted in the establishment of the more uniform practices of continental feudalism on the economic side.
2. "Bolden Duke" embodies the results of the inquiries made at the time of the visitations.
3. See below, pp. 51-57.

on the occasions when the Bishop went hunting in the forest,¹ so they had a common interest, not only in providing him with the necessaries of life, but also in assisting in his recreations. Food farms were paid to the Bishop, just as we find they were paid to the lord in each group. The villeins from nine manors were required to make bootas at the fair of St. Cuthbert, Durham.²

2. Manors belonging to the See of Winchester, 1207-08.

The Pipe Roll for the year 1207-08 gives thirty-seven manors as belonging to the Bishopric, but later rolls sometimes give a greater number. It may be that some of the well-known manors omitted at this time were temporarily alienated from the See, or that they were let to farm under conditions which precluded the necessity, or possibility, of their inclusion in the roll for 1207-08.³

The thirty-seven manors are distributed as follows:

24 in Hampshire
 4 in Berksnire
 3 in Wiltshire
 2 in Somerset
 2 in Surrey
 2 in Oxford

In Hampshire sixteen manors lay in the southeast of the county, along the upper and lower Itchen and its estuary, and in the chalk uplands to the east and west, forming an irregular circle round Winchester and Bishop's Waltham. Another group lay on the high chalk downs on the northern border of the county,

1. For example, all the villeins of N. Ankland, W. Ankland, Escumoe and Newton were required to make a hall in the forest for the bishop, sixty feet long and sixteen feet wide, with a buttery and other rooms; and to make a chapel, forty feet long, and fifteen wide. D. B. vol. IV, p. 575.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 506-575.
3. See P. R. of W. 1207-1208, p. XV.

with the center at King's Clere. The isolated manor of Overton lay between these two groups. ² Four manors lay in the basin of the middle Thames, and had special economic relations with Southwark. The two manors of Witney and Adderbury, situated on tributaries of the upper Thames, formed the outposts of the estate to the north and northwest. The three Wiltshire manors, together with Rimpleton in Somerset, formed the connection between Winchester and the ¹ most westerly manor of Taunton.

Many of the manors, especially in Hampshire, lay rather close together, but between some the distances were greater. For instance, Taunton lay twenty-five miles from the nearest manor, (Rimpleton), and eighty miles from Winchester. Witney and Adderbury were located approximately thirty miles from the manor of Brightwell.

Smaller groups of manors existed within the large one, and each of these smaller groups seems to have had a recognized center. While one might expect that this would be the case in every large manorial group, owing to the location of certain manors, it is nowhere, so far as I know, so strikingly illustrated as on the Winchester estates.

1. This account of the geographical distribution of manors is taken mainly from the Introduction to the P. R. of W., pp. XVI-AVII.
2. Harwell, Brightwell, Wargrave, Wycombe.

The smaller groups were as follows:

I	(Clere Woodhay Ashmansworth Itchingswell	
II	(Arlesford Privet Wield Cheriton Beauworth	Each of these groups was supervised by a <u>Serjeant</u> , as follows:
III	(Brightwell Harwell	Group I by <u>Johannes de Welton</u> Group II by <u>Henricus de la Martre</u> ,
IV	(Marston Crawley	Group III and IV by <u>Micarus Serviens</u> ,
V	(Twyford Marwell Bishopstoke	Group V by <u>Alfredus de Quinci</u> ,
VI	(Bitterne Fawley Ower	Group VI by <u>Johannes Serviens</u>

There do not appear to have been any unusual conditions on the manors of the See of Winchester. The obligations to perform certain services, and make various kinds of payments were similar to those found in other groups, and will be discussed in detail in later chapters. Farms were paid to the Bishop,¹ and here again an arrangement of smaller groups within the large one is found.² A very great deal of manorial marketing is also recorded.

C. Capitular Group of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

In the year 1222 there were eighteen manors belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, London. They were distributed as follows:

10 manors in Essex
5 manors in Hertfordshire
2 manors in Middlesex
1 manor in Surrey

1. See below, pp. 40-41.

2. See below, pp. 75-82, and 85-86.

The distances between the manors varied just as in the other groups. From Barnes to Sutton was a distance of about two miles; from Hunwell to Tillingham,¹ seventeen, and from Thorp to Wickham twenty-eight miles.

The entire possessions of the Chapter contained about 24,000 acres, of which about 9000 were in demesne, and the remaining 15,000 divided among the tenants.² "The records of the Cathedral exhibit no conclusive evidence as to the time or circumstances under which either the Chapter as a body, or the prebendaries as individuals, became possessed, corporately or individually, of their lands and manors."³ It is supposed, however, that they were all acquired before the Norman Conquest, excepting the manor of Sutton, in Middlesex. "The manor of Tillingham is accounted the most ancient possession,⁴ and the gift of it is ascribed to Ethelbert."

The Domesday of St. Paul's for the year 1222, recording the inquisitions which were made during the visitation of Dean Robert de Watford, describes the rental of the manors, and the manorial rights and jurisdictions of the lord. There is nothing peculiar to this group, as far as the internal arrangements of the manor are concerned. The services and payments rendered by the tenants are similar to those elsewhere, but it is somewhat surprising to find that different ones are rendered by men of the same status on different manors. "At Kensworth the service of reaping and ploughing was limited to two days, at each of the three seasons, and if the second day's service was demanded, the laborer's food was furnished by the lord. At Sandun and Belchamp the lord's right was limited to one day, and he found the food. At Wickham the service

1. For distances between all manors, see Introduction to Domesday of St. Paul's.
2. There were 1300 tenements in the year 1222.
3. Introduction to Domesday of St. Paul's, p. II.
4. *Ibid.*, p. III.

appears to have been limited to digging the ground for the crop of flax, gathering it, and steeping it, and carrying it home; and also the furnishing of one man from each house for three holidays to collect nuts. At Kirkeby some other services, including that of thrashing seed corn and supplying carriage were required.¹ The number of week-works required from tenants of the same rank on different manors also varied.²

The lands belonging to the Cathedral were divided so as to provide for the needs of the Cathedral body. Certain lands were appropriated as prebends, for the support of each of the thirty Canons, "the remaining manors of the Cathedral were formed into a separate stock, denominated the Communa, the management of which was the joint care of the resident members of the Chapter, as the separate prebends were of each of the Canons. Every manor of the Communa was placed ad firmam in the hands of a Firmarius, who, exercising all the rights, and performing all the duties of the Chapter as the lord of the manor, took to his own use all the profits of the manor which were over and above the firmas, which it was his duty to render."³

1. Introduction to Domesday of St. Paul's, pp. XXVI-XXVII. This is in sharp contrast to the Durham group, where the services required of tenants on different manors, and of tenants having equal, or approximately equal, holdings on the same manor, are unusually uniform.
2. See Domesday of St. Paul's, p. XXVII.
3. Ibid., p. XXVIII. See below, pp. 41-43 for a fuller description of the firmas rendered.

D. Monastic Groups (Part 2)

1. The manors of Ramsey Abbey.

Ramsey Abbey was probably founded by Edgar, (959 to 975).² An undated account of the number of manors given in the Ramsey Cartulary says that fifty-seven manors belonged to it.³ They lay in the same general section of England in the counties of Huntingdon, Norfolk, Cambridge, Lincoln, Bedford and Northampton. The manor of Therfield lay in Hertford, and that of Lawshall in Suffolk. As in the St. Paul's group the manors belonging to the Abbey were divided into smaller groups, and each of these assigned to the support of a certain portion of the monastery. One set of manors furnished food; the other set had obligations as follows:

- (1) To defend the church in pleas arising in lay or ecclesiastical courts.
- (2) To supply the convent of the monks with bread and ale.
- (3) To cover any deficit there might be in the farms supplied by the other group.

"The bonds that united the manors with Ramsey were, in the main, the judicial power of the abbot with certain franchises specially granted him by the King, and the obligation of some manors to furnish farms or food supplies to Ramsey, and, within each manor, the services and money payments owed by the villeins and other villagers."⁴ "The judicial powers and special franchises of the abbot and the farms represent the external organization of the Ramsey fief, the relation of the manors as a whole to the abbot. Another connection

1. There is no important reason for placing the Ramsey group next in order, except that the first printed Wistowe roll is for 1297. The account of the Ramsey group has been in large part taken from the Wistowe rolls of 1297, 1307, 1311, 1328, 1351, 1366.
2. Cart. Ram., vol. II, p. 51.
3. This undated account is placed between document dated 1436 and one dated 1211. See Cart. Ram., vol. III, pp. 208-215. It is probably an account of the manors at about the first half of the fourteenth century.
4. Neilson, The Manors of Ramsey Abbey, p. 15.

between the abbot and his men, more important for the study of economic conditions, existed within each manor in the work done by villagers on the lord's demesne, and the payments made to the abbot's representative on the manor.¹

The work and payments were similar to those of other manors. An interesting duty required from certain villeins was "to keep watch at St. Ives." The great fair of St. Ives was held every year at the manor of Slepe on the river Ouse, about two miles from Ramsey, and the right to hold it was one of the special privileges of the abbot.

2. The manors of the monastery of St. Peter's, Gloucester, 1284-1316.

We are told that in 681 Ethelred gave land in Gloucester to Oaric and Oswald, with permission to build a monastery in the city of Gloucester in honor of St. Peter the Apostle.²

The account given in the History and Cartulary of the Monastery of Gloucester of the manors belonging to the monastery somewhere between the years 1284 and 1316, places the number at twenty-seven. The monks belonged to the Benedictine Order, and so were accounted careful husbandmen and good land-lords. Very good accounts of carrying services are given in the cartulary, showing the inter-manorial organisation in this group. The monks and tenants of the monastery had special privileges when trading in Bristol. In many cases the manors lay rather close together, but a few lay many miles from Gloucester.

3. Manors belonging to Battle Abbey in the time of Edward I. (1272-1307)

The date assigned to nearly all the manorial account rolls in the "Customal of Battle Abbey" is the rather vague one of the time of Edward I.³ The thirteen manors belonging to the abbey at this time were distributed as follows:

4 in Sussex	1 in Oxfordshire
1 in Berkshire	1 in Essex
1 in Wiltshire	2 in Surrey
1 in Hampshire	2 in Kent

1. Neilson, The Manors of Ramsey Abbey, p. 22.
2. Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc., vol. I, Introduction.
3. Camden Society Publications, 1887. Edited by S. R. Scargill-Bird.

Distances between manors are, on the whole, greater in this group than in any of the preceding ones. As the above list shows, they lie mainly in south and southeastern England, at distances of from fifteen to thirty miles apart, but two manors are much farther west, lying almost in the heart of the Winchester group. Of these, Brightwalton is about ninety miles from Battle, and Bromenam about one hundred ten miles. Carrying services in this group are specially interesting, as they show constant journeying of the tenants to the center of the group, i. e. the Abbey at Battle. Farms were paid to the Abbey, as well as the payments in kind of hens and eggs, at Christmas and Easter respectively. It should be stated that payments in kind, usually at these two seasons, were characteristic of all the manorial groups described.

From this rather brief description of the groups especially under consideration, we pass to a more detailed account of some phases of the manorial group organization.

CHAPTER III

CONSUMPTION OF MANORIAL SURPLUS BY LORD IN ITINERARY

CHAPTER III

CONSUMPTION OF MANORIAL SURPLUS BY LORD IN ITINERARY8. Stages in the History of Manorial Rents

The lord derived revenue from his manors chiefly in two ways, as follows:

1. Rents paid in money, kind, or labor.
2. The profits arising from the exercise of the jurisdiction which he had over his tenants.

It is in the first of these that we are interested here.

The demesne, that part of the estate which was reserved for the use of the lord, was worked, usually, by villein labor, although sometimes the free tenants of the manor also performed labor services. The result of this labor on the lord's demesne was to provide him with most of the necessities of life, chief of which was food.

In the course of several centuries the methods by which the lord was supplied by his manors changed. Probably the changes were gradual, the older custom fading almost imperceptibly into the newer one. In this connection three stages may be distinguished, as follows:

1. The stage in which the lord made progresses to his manors, in order to consume the supplies of each in turn.
2. The stage in which food farms were sent from each manor, to the lord at some central place, or places, and various services performed by the tenants.
3. The stage in which these food-rents and services were commuted for a money payment.

It would be difficult to state with any exactness the period when the first of these stages began or ended, but one might infer that it covered the greater part of the Anglo-Saxon period. The second stage began as early, at least, as the Norman Conquest, and lasted until the century following the Black Death, about 1350 to 1450. The commutation of labor services, food rents, etc., usually involved the freeing of the serf. Near the close of

the sixteenth century it was said that such a thing as a serf was unknown in England, and so we may judge that the third stage lasted approximately from 1450 to 1600.

It is with the earliest of these stages that the present chapter proposes to deal.

9. Evidences of feorm in Anglo-Saxon Days

There is evidence that the earliest custom,- that of prandial perambulation, had been followed by the Anglo-Saxon kings. The contribution of food made by the estate for the support of the king was called the feorm, and this custom does not appear to have been peculiar to England. The laws of Ine, in the seventh century, seem to show a payment of King's-feorm due from ten hides of land. Perhaps this was the "farm of one night", but we cannot be sure.

In the latter part of the ninth century, in the time of Alfred, there is some indication that the King's feorm was attached to certain places; for in the laws of that time we read, "If anyone, for whatever crime, seek any of the mynsternams to which the King's feorm is incident, or other free-hired which is worthy of reverence, let him have a space of three days to protect himself, unless he be willing to come to terms, etc."

From the laws of Athelstan, in the early tenth century, we get some

1. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, pp. 257-258, says that Scandinavian law books show the same thing. Evidently the second stage in the Scandinavian countries succeeded the first, just as in England, for later, in the thirteenth century, in Denmark, each hundred paid a fixed amount to the King. See below, pp. ~~34-35~~ 35-47.
2. Thorpe, B. "Anc. Laws", etc., p. 61. Thorpe with Lambard thinks that this should be, "to which the King's feorm is not incident", and that mynsternams, which were burdened with king's feorm, were more important, and could grant asylum for longer than three days.

definite knowledge of what this feorm might contain. A law of that reign reads as follows:- "Athelstan, with the counsel of his archbishops, etc., wills that each reeve shall entirely feed one poor Englishman for the forgiveness of the King's soul." The recipient was provided with both food and clothing. "From two of my feorms let there be given him every month one amser of meal, and one shank of bacon, or one ram worth four pence, and clothing for twelve months every year." ¹ A penalty was to be paid by the reeve who failed to perform this duty.

The sheriff was the official whose duty it was to see that the feorm was provided in each shire. In Anglo-Saxon days this official needed a check just as at all subsequent times. In the reign of Cnut, 1016-1035, the sheriffs had evidently been oppressing the poor with unjust exactions, and the King found it necessary to restrain him. To this end, the following was ordained. "This, then, is the alleviation which it is my will to secure to all people, of that which they before this were too much oppressed with. That, then, is first: that I command all my reeves that they justly provide on my own, and maintain me herewith; and that no man need give them anything as feorm-fultum unless he himself be willing. And if anyone after that demand ² a wite, let him be liable in his wer to the King."

The practice of providing food for the lord must have been widespread. The geneat's service, about the year 1000, was as follows: "Geneat service is diverse, according to the custom of the estate. On some he must ---- ride and carry and lead loads, work, and feast the lord ---- and go errands far and near whithersoever he be told." ³

1. Thorpe, B. "Anc. Laws", etc., pp. 197-199.
2. Ibid., p. 415.
3. Rectitudines Singularum Personarum, (c. 1000), p. 385.

One of the royal duties, before the Norman Conquest, was to make, in person or by deputy, periodical journeys through the country. This Royalty in Eyre was something which was expected of the King and not something which depended upon his own individual tastes or desires. German princes were also expected to do this, and Errett ins land was the name given to their first progress after election.¹ These journeys meant that food must be provided at places where the sovereign stopped. Kemble gives numerous charters in which such provision of food is mentioned, and says that many others exist.²

In 791 and 796 Offa relieved eighty hides of land from all dues excepting the payment of feorm, which, for sixty hides, was as follows: ale, oxen,³ wetters, cheese, corn, meal, etc., which had to be taken to the royal vill. In 883 an estate at Marsham was required to pay, each year, among other things, a two days' pastus or feorm, but this might be commuted for thirty silver shillings if the tenant preferred.⁴ In 883 a monastery was freed from all dues that the monks were still bound to pay to the crown as cyning-feorm.⁵

Not only did the King expect provision for himself, but also for his dogs and horses, which were quartered on the tenants. We read that in 875 Ceolwulf, King of Mercia, freed all the churches belonging to the bishopric of Winchester from the pastus of the King's horses and of their keepers.⁶ From the monastery

1. See Kemble, J. M., Saxons in England, vol. II, p. 58.
2. The reliability of many of Kemble's Charters is, of course, open to question, but we are here interested, not in the charters as such, but in the mention of feorm which they contain. Even should they be forgeries, they nevertheless show that the payment of feorm was common.
3. Cod. Dipl., no. 166.
4. *Ibid.*, no. 288, and Kemble, Saxons in England, vol. I, p. 294. See also Cod. Dipl., nos. 281 and 1003.
5. Kemble, Saxons in England, vol. I, p. 295, and Cod. Dipl., no. 313. See also Cod. Dipl., no. 971, where feorm is given with clearness for reign of Etheured at a certain amount per year.
6. Kemble, Saxons in England, vol. I, p. 297, and Cod. Dipl., no. 306.

at Taunton, in 904, were due (1) entertainment for one night for the King, eight dogs and one keeper; and (2) nine nights' entertainment for the King's falconers.¹

There is evidence that in Wales, members of the chieftain's (or "prince's") household made progresses and were quartered on the tribesmen for entertainment. Animals were slaughtered and the entrails, hides, tallow, etc., divided among the chief's followers. Seebolum says, "The princim's (i. e. chief's) own progress, however, was of a different kind. He and his company were not quartered on the tribesmen but whilst his gillig² had to provide him with the necessary buildings for shelter, it was the duty of the free-tribesmen to contribute the food and mead for his entertainment. This they did by the payment of the gwestya, or food rent, and there are incidental indications that it was provided originally on the system of the night's entertainment.³

This seems to show that two systems existed side by side, - the older one, that of providing entertainment for an itinerant company, which was actually quartered on the tribesmen, and the other of paying and carrying a food-farm to the lord, who was temporarily settled at some convenient place.

Evidence from Domesday shows that the farm of one night, as it was usually called, existed in many parts of England.⁴ It is usually stated as having been rendered in the time of King Edward (the Confessor, 1042 to 1066). For instance, Linton, in Hertfordshire, paid one-fourth of such a farm, while⁵

1. Cod. Dipl., no. 1084.

2. i. e., strangers or non-tribesmen.

3. Seebolum, Trietal System in Wales, pp. 157-158.

4. Domesday Book, vol. I, p. 206 (for Sussex); pp. c4b-c5 (for Wiltshire); p. 75 (for Dorset); p. 86 (for Somerset); pp. 162b, 1c3 (for Gloucester).

5. Domesday Book, vol. I, p. 179.

Newport, Essex, paid a farm of two nights.¹ Sometimes several places combined to pay for the entertainment required for one day or night. In the county of Hampshire, Basingstoke, Clere, and Eastbourne together paid the farm of a day.² The farm of a night paid by Shropshire is supposed to have been paid as far back as the time of Etnelred, 978-1016.³

It is probable that, even before the time of Domesday, the inconveniences of the feorm system were apparent, for at that time we find that the payments made to the King were often commuted for a sum of money. The sheriff was responsible for the collection and transmission of this money to the royal exchequer. Domesday Book records that the county of Oxford paid £ 150 for a farm of three nights.⁴ Warwickshire paid £ 65, and thirty-six sextaries of honey for the same.⁵ In Cambridgeshire we find that some places, each of which was responsible for a three days' farm, each commuted the farm for £ 3^s 8^d 4.

Round says that in Somerset the firma unius noctis of the days before the Conquest had been commuted for a money payment at the time of Domesday.⁶ Ellis says that it is surprising how many farms which, in the time of Edward the Confessor were paid in kind, were, at the time of Domesday commuted to money.⁷ Still another writer says, "The ferm of the shire was the payment due for the primitive gifts, the offerings in kind or the hospitality - the feorm-fultum, which the Kings had a right to exact from their subjects. The shire was let to the sheriff at a fixed rent which was recorded in the Rotulus Exactorius."⁸

1. Domesday Book, vol. II, p. 7.
2. Ibid., vol. I, p. 159.
3. Ibid., vol. I, f. 253 B.
4. Ibid., vol. I, f. 154.
5. Ibid., vol. I, r. 238.
6. Round, Feudal England, p. 109 f.
7. Ellis, Introduction to Domesday, p. 54.
8. Stubbs, Const. Hist., vol. I, pp. 410-411.

It would seem as if the stage of purely prandial perambulation must have been short-lived. Its very inconveniences must have spelled its doom. While there is sufficient evidence to prove that the custom of providing the King's feorm was well established at some early time, it is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to state just when it existed in a primitive form. Even the examples given for the years 791 and 796 indicate that the feorm was to be taken to the royal vill, and we cannot be sure whether or not the King had journeyed there in order to receive it.¹ In 883 the tenant of Maranham paid "by the year", and had the privilege of commuting for the two days' farm, if he wished to do so.² It seems as if "feorm" might be used either to indicate the food supplied to the lord on his journey, or that sent to a certain place where he happened to be staying. At any rate, it seems certain that by the time of Domesday the old system of prandial perambulation had passed away, at any rate as far as the king was concerned.

10. Evidences of Feorm Paid to Lay and Ecclesiastical Lords

Not only the king but ecclesiastical organizations exacted food rents from their tenants.

Bolden Boke tells that the tenants of the Bishopric of Durham were obliged to make lodges in the forest, for the Bishop when hunting. Certain tenants were also obliged to provide for his dogs, and take them to the forest when necessary.³

Little evidence is found for the stage of prandial perambulation by the

1. Above, p. 29. It may be that the tenants took it to the royal vill just as, in the next stage, the food farms were taken to the central manor of the lord.
2. Above, p. 29.
3. Of numerous tenants we read et vadit in Magna Caza cum II leporariis. See Bolden Book (Domesday Book, vol. IV), pp. 566-586.

lay or ecclesiastical lords, mainly, perhaps, because so few records were kept. But it is reasonable to suppose that it lasted later than did the same stage in the case of the King. Perhaps the best evidence that the lords made progresses over their estates is found in the Rules of St. Robert¹ where he advises the Countess of Leicester how to manage her manors. As this is an account by an ecclesiastical lord for the information of a lay lord, it has a special interest. He says, "Every year at Michaelmas, when you know the measure of your corn, then arrange your sojourn for the whole of that year, and for how many weeks in each place, according to the season of the year, and the advantages of the country in flesh and fish, and do not in any wise burden by debt or long residence the places where you sojourn, but so arrange your sojourns that the place at your departure shall not remain in debt, but something may remain on the manor, whereby the manor can raise money from the increase of stock, and especially cows and sheep, until your stock acquits your wines, robes, wax and all your wardrobe." This advice was given in 1240 or 1241, by which time the King had long since discarded the mode of life here described.

Ecclesiastical lords also traveled, often for the purpose of making a visitation to their various manors and churches. In 1181, the Dean and Chancellor of St. Paul's, London, made a visitation to each of eighteen manors which lasted in all twenty-two days. They were doubtless entertained at each place in turn whilst on the journey.² In 1222 another such visitation was made.³ The needs of the Bishop of Winchester and his household were supplied partly by the delivery of food-farms at various episcopal manors, and partly by direct contributions from the manors at, or near which, he might be staying

1. Walter of Henley, Husbandry, p. 145.

2. Domesday of St. Paul's, pp. VI-VII.

3. Ibid., p. II.

on his journey. These contributions are not stated payments but are casual and appear as a kind of purveyance.¹ They were made in accordance with the exigencies of the occasion.

The Abbot of Osulveston was entertained for a day and a night by the tenants of the two manors of Donington and Byker. If the Abbot did not go in person, he sent his steward, who enjoyed the hospitality instead of his lord.² The Abbot of Battle was received by the tenants of the various manors of his See.

Not only the lord himself and his retinue, but also his guests and officers were made welcome at the various manors of the estate. Thus Harwell, in the Winchester group, was required by the Bishop to entertain some of the King's Knights who had been on an expedition to Scotland. Clere, in the same group, entertained the men who had carried the Bishop's harness to Gloucester. Southwark entertained the Milites de Hispania, on behalf of the Bishop.³

Alsiston, in the Battle Abbey group, contained certain land to which was attached the duty of sheltering the abbot's guests, or the monks and their horses when they traveled abroad.⁴

The practise of entertaining the lord's guests was probably not uncommon. In the Rules of St. Robert we read, "Command strictly that all your guests, secular and religious, be quickly, courteously and with good cheer received by the seneschal from the porters, ushers and marshalls; and by all be courteously addressed, and in the same way lodged and served."⁵ And in Seneschancie we read that, "No knight, servant, or groom, or any other shall stay at the manor at the lord's expense without a writ."⁶

1. See P. R. of W., p. XVIII. For evidence that the Bishop journeyed, see also pp. 3, 31, and 45.
2. Cited by Vinogradoff, Villeinage in England, p. 303.
3. See P. R. of W., p. XIX.
4. Cust. Battle, Alsiston.
5. Walter of Henley, husbanery, p. 135.
6. Ibid., p. 103.

The two-fold method by which the Bishop of Winchester was provided with supplies¹ is interesting in that it shows clearly that two practises existed side by side. This would, probably, often be the case in the ecclesiastical groups. It is, of course, true that the monks and other members of religious establishments were more or less stationary. Their peculiar mode of life usually imposed this. But it is also true that the bishops, abbots, and other important church dignitaries, were keenly interested in the outside world and lived in it more than in the seclusion of the monastery.² It was customary, also, for them to make visitations at intervals throughout their domains, or sometimes, even, to be absent from them on business of state. It would seem that a consideration of at least the larger ecclesiastical establishments would need to recognize two modes of life.

The custom of prandial perambulation has received some attention here, and something has also been said of the transition from this first stage to the second - that of taking food supplies to the lord at the place where he happened to be staying.

It is when we come to a special consideration of this second stage that inter-manorial organization becomes apparent. This will form the subject of the next chapter.

1. Above, pp. 33-34.

2. *Annales*, p.

CHAPTER IV

CONCENTRATION OF SUPPLIES IN A CENTRAL MANOR

CHAPTER IV

CONCENTRATION OF SUPPLIES IN A CENTRAL MANOR11. Reasons for the System of Food Farms

"It is necessary - - - in all institutional history, to distinguish very carefully between two sets of causes or antecedents. First, there is the general cause or the prevailing condition of things in the society of the time, which renders a new institution necessary; and, second, there is the old institution, on which the prevailing cause seizes, and which it transforms into a new one. - - - Every new institution has its foundation far in the past of some earlier one."¹

This seems to be true of the system of food-farms, which forms the subject of this chapter. The change from the older feorm system of progresses on the part of the lord to the next one, that of concentrating food in a central place for his enjoyment, came about partly as a result of changing conditions in society. How early the transition was effected we do not know, but it was probably many years before the Conquest. I think we may say that the more settled condition of society; the growth of monastic establishments as the fixed abodes of great numbers of people; and the actual disadvantages and inconveniences of the old system of progresses, were the chief reasons which made a new institution necessary. This new institution was the custom of sending food supplies to some fixed abode of the lord of the manor, or of his officers and dependents. It would seem that this institution was built on the older one. The tenants were still obliged to provide food for the lord, but the method of supplying it had undergone a change. Instead of the lord journeying constantly from place to place, he now remained relatively fixed at some one place, while the tenants provided

1. Adams, Civilization during the Middle Ages, p. 195.

the food and, in addition, carried it to him.

To ecclesiastical organizations the system of food farms must have especially recommended itself. A monastery, for instance, contained a large number of people, officers, monks, dependents, etc., who received certain fixed allowances of food and drink each day. If the organization were to continue to exist these people must be provided for. They, of course, could not travel far afield for food, owing to the obvious inconvenience of such a system, and to the fact that monastic rules would usually make it impossible to do so.

The monastic and capitular establishments were, on the whole, confined to one place and must be supplied with food there. It became the custom to rent part of the estate to tenants, each of whom, in return, supplied a fixed amount of labor, produce, or both, for the sustenance of the monastery or cathedral. This feature has been recognized by many writers. Hale says, "The want of maintenance would be at once the disorganization; if not the dissolution; of the body. It was, therefore, necessary that arrangements should be made for drawing from the estates of the Cathedral a permanent income and definite quantities of produce, and by a sacrifice of a portion of the whole value of the estates, to secure the remainder as a fixed and constant revenue. . . . It is probable that this mode of letting to farm the lands of monasteries, and conventual bodies was in existence under Anglo-Saxon kings; and that whenever a manor is described in the Exchequer Domesday as de YICIA MONACHORUM, the term implies that the manor was in an especial manner a purveyor of food to the monastery." ¹ Maitland suggests that when the King gave rights in land to a church (excepting, of course, the inimoda necessitates) that among other things it would get the feorm, which before had been paid to the king. It would then make some arrangement with the tenants that food

1. Hale, Domesday of St. Paul's, Introduction, pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX.

rents were to be sent to the monastery.¹ In other words, the King's feorm became the lord's gafol.²

12. Food Farms Paid to the King and Lay Lords

There is evidence that the feorm of the shires was sometimes paid in kind as late as the time of Henry I, (1100-1135), but when the king was absent at war a sum of money toward meeting his expenses was paid instead. Later in his reign the king, because of the complaints of the peasants over the long journeys they were forced to make with the farm, commuted all payments in kind for money.³ It is reasonable to suppose that other lay lords, as well as the king, exacted food rents from their tenants - - but there is a lack of evidence on this subject. As stated above,⁴ records of lay estates have not been published, although doubtless many exist. There is, however, a great deal of evidence to prove that the ecclesiastical lords did so, the earliest I have found being that for the manors belonging to the monastery of St. Germain des Pres.

13. Payments in Kind Made by the Coloni of St. Germain des Pres.

In the early ninth century, the coloni on each of the twenty-eight or more manors of this group were called upon to make payments in kind to the monastery. These usually consisted of eggs, chickens, wine, and sheep.⁵ In only one case is the carriage of grain recorded, when two coloni of Mansie take it to Paris. Since only about one-fourth of the Polyptyque d'Armainon is now in existence, it may be that this was not the only place which sent grain

1. Domesday book and Beyond, p. 318.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

3. Dialogues de Scaccario. (See Henderson's translation in Historical Documents of Middle Ages, pp. 56-57.)

4. See above, p. 12.

5. On 19 out of 25 manors the coloni paid eggs and chickens to the monastery.

6. Polyptyque d'Armainon, vol. II, pp. 272-273.

to the monastery.

A few specific examples may help to make clearer the contributions made by the manors. Nearly every colonus on the manor of Jorey-en-Josas was ordered to give three chickens, fifteen eggs and two modii of wine to the monastery.¹ Each of the coloni of the manor of Vedrariis gave four hens, fifteen eggs, three modii of wine, two sheep, and one germia, as tribute, as well as payments in money and labor.² On the manor of Cella Equalina each man holding one manse had to pay three chickens and fifteen eggs, and the same tribute was due from the tenants of Spinolilo.³ Besides food and wine the payment of laths or shingles was common.⁴ The evidence for this group is not as full as one would wish, but it shows beyond a doubt that tribute in the form of food rents was paid from each manor belonging to St. Germain des Pres. It is unlikely, I think, that each colonus would take the supplies to the monastery himself. Probably some official was responsible for collecting them and having them taken there by certain of the tenants.⁵

At any rate it is certain that in some way a very real connection must have existed between each of the manors and the monastery.

14. Food Farms on the Durham Manorial Group

On the manors of the Bishopric of Durham, food-rents of hens and eggs were paid, but more often grain. "Both bond and molmen paid the lord scat rents of grain, - - - scat being used, as a general term for tributary rent." The farm of Hingington consisted of corn, and was carried by the villeins of

1. Polyp., vol. II, p. 1.
2. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 38-49.
3. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 24-32.
4. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 52-59.
5. For example, Waniaco. Polyp., vol. II, p. 33. Each colonus here, carried 50 laths or shingles to the monastery. See also Ibid., vol. II, pp. 165-178, (Villanova), pp. 179-190, (Cumbis).
6. N. Neilson, Customary Rents, pp. 28-29.

the manor to any place where the bishop might happen to be staying.¹ The
 villeins of Inoruton carried the farm to Durnam;² and the food supplies of the
 bishop were sent from Walsingham to his lodges in the forest.³ Payments of
 wine, and wodeloge were also made but as they are intimately connected with
 carrying services, it has seemed best to leave a consideration of them until
 later.⁴

I have been unable to find just what amount of grain constituted a farm,
 or how many weeks' food it was supposed to contain; but I judge from the
 services and payments required from the tenants in this group in many other
 ways, that the amount was very definitely fixed.

15. Food Farms on the Winchester Manorial Group

The manors of the Winchester group in England were so arranged that
 certain smaller groups paid food farms at some one of the episcopal seats.
 These supplies included hens, pigs, and eggs.⁵ Some corn was also sent,
 but only a very small percentage of the total raised on the manors. The
 rest was sold, and the proceeds sent to the Bishop's Exchequer at Wolvesey,
 (Winchester).⁶ It would seem that in this group there was a carefully
 organized system of inter-manorial exchange. Certain manors were chosen as
 centers, and to these the bishop and his retinue went to consume the produce
 of the manors. It is likely that the manors which were arranged into a group
 for this common purpose were not as isolated communities as we have supposed.

1. Domesday Book, vol. IV, p. 585.

2. Ibid., p. 574.

3. Ibid., p. 576.

4. See below, Chapter V, pp. 51-57.

5. P. R. of W., p. 18.

6. See below, Manorial marketing, pp. 75-82.

Possibly arrangements were made between the different ones as to the more convenient way of sending the farm. A deficit in a certain commodity on one manor would probably be made up by another one of the group. Again, many manors in Hampshire lay very close together. For instance, the manor of Cheriton lay only three miles from Winchester; West Meon and East Meon were about five miles apart, and the same distance intervened between Bishop's Waltham and Hambledon. Is it likely that isolation could have been the rule when only such short distances intervened between manors?

16. Food Farms on the Manorial Group of St. Paul's Cathedral.

In 1108 the manor of Barnes belonging to St. Paul's, was let to farm for a gift of ten shillings, and an annual rent of eight pounds, and a sextarius of wine. This is the earliest record of one of the St. Paul's manors being let to farm, but by the end of the twelfth century they were all in the hands of Firmarii, who were usually canons of the Cathedral.

The firmae were furnished for a certain number of weeks and days according to the size of the manor. Thus, at the end of the eleventh century Cadenden rendered a farm of one week, Belchamp one of eight weeks, Sandon was responsible for twelve weeks' supply, while other manors rendered farms of two, three, or four weeks each. At the end of the thirteenth century firmae were still rendered, although the number of weeks' supply paid by some manors had changed slightly, and the total number of weeks' supply was then forty-five instead of fifty-two, which was the number provided in the eleventh century.

These forty-five firmae were furnished by thirteen manors and each firma consisted of sixteen quarters of wheat, sixteen quarters of oats, and three quarters of barley, the whole quantity delivered in the year by all the manors being 57c0 bushels of wheat, 57c0 bushels of oats, and 1080 bushels of barley.

This grain was converted into bread and beer. In 1283 each of the thirty Canons received three loaves of bread per day throughout the year. The Minor Canons received either one or two loaves each per day; and in the same year about 500 loaves were given to various officers, servants, and dependents of the Cathedral.¹

Each of the thirty Canons also received thirty gallons of ale per week throughout the year; each of the Minor Canons either six or three gallons per week. The Chaplain and Scriptor Librorum each received six gallons per week,² while other officials and servants were also provided for. In all 40,403 loaves were baked, and 67,814 gallons of ale brewed in 1280. It was found, moreover, that after the bread and ale had been delivered, the bakehouse and brewery had made a profit, and this was distributed among the Canons in residence.³ In 1286 the sum to be divided was £25, " 19s, " 1 d.; and in 1283 it was £24, " 6s, " 7¹/₂d.⁴

"It had been provided by the statutes of Ralph de Diceto, (who was Dean in 1181), in case of dearth or pestilence occurring in manors, that the delivery of bread and beer to the non-resident members should undergo a reduction of one loaf, and one gallon of beer per diem, until the return of plenty; and further that in case of dearth the firmarii should not be bound to deliver from their manors more wheat, barley or oats than they were accustomed to pay; nor was any firmarius required to deliver any corn but that which was of the growth of the manor, only it must be the best of that which was there grown."⁵

1. Domesday of St. Paul's, p. XLIX-L.
2. Ibid., pp. 1-11.
3. There were eleven Canons in 1283, but all were not residents for the four quarters of the year. Each of those who were, received £ 2.18.4¹. (Ibid., p. lii.)
4. Ibid., p. li.
5. Ibid., p. liii.

There is reason to believe that during the greater part of the fourteenth century the farms continued to be paid and used very much as they had been in 1283.

The carriage of the farms to London was the duty of the villeins on each manor. The evidence found for the St. Paul's group is, perhaps, as good as any we possess of organized communication between the different manors and the central residence of the lord.¹

Besides the farms we also find extra payments being made, usually at Easter or Christmas. At Sandon, each half-virgater paid two hens at Christmas and fifteen eggs at Easter; each tenant holding ten acres paid two hens and ten eggs at the same seasons; while a holder of only five acres paid half this amount.² At Ardley a tenant on assart land gave two hens and fifteen eggs.³ Payments varied somewhat. For instance, at Beauchamp a half-virgater paid three hens and a capon at Christmas and thirty eggs at Easter,⁴ while, as just stated, a half-virgater at Sandon gave only two hens and fifteen eggs at these seasons respectively.

17. Food Farms on the Gloucester Manorial Group

The Gloucester group affords little direct evidence of the payment of farms to the monastery. The frequent journeys to Gloucester, however, undertaken by manorial tenants, incline one to believe that such farms must regularly have been paid. It has been suggested that food rents were paid and that commutation of them was unusual in this group.⁵ Many carriages of hens, ducks, capons, salt, cheese, eggs, etc., were made from different manors to Gloucester.⁶

1. See below, pp. 61-62.
2. Domesday of St. Paul's, pp. 17-18.
3. Ibid., p. 23.
4. Ibid., p. 33.
5. Neilson, Customary Rents, p. 22.
6. See below, pp. 66-68.

18. Food Farms on the Battle Manorial Group

In the "Custumal of Battle Abbey" no information is given regarding the farm paid from each manor to the Abbey, but there are a few instances of payments in kind made by the manorial tenants; and of many labor services performed by them on the demesne, and in carriage from one place to another. Evidently much grain was grown on the demesne, for many labor services were required there of the tenants.

On the manor of Wye each tenant had to pay three hens at Christmas and twenty eggs at Easter.¹ Each of the tenants on the manor of Bromeham gave three hens and a capon.²

Inter-manorial communication in this group seems to be shown merely in the carriage of grain, etc., to Battle. There is no evidence that the tenants actually provided it from their own lands. An interesting passage in the Custumal says that if the payments to be made in kind are not ready for delivery when the serjeant calls for them, the tenant is under obligation to take them to Battle himself.³

19. Food Farms on the Ramsey Manorial Group

As described above, the Ramsey manors were divided into two groups. It was the duty of one of these to supply food farms to the Abbey. "There were one at the abbey during the year the equivalent of thirteen full, or fortnightly, farms (quindense, firmæ quarum hebdomadarum), or food supplies, each of which was extended by the cellarer to last over four of the fifty-two weeks of the year. Eight manors owed a full farm, and ten other manors owed a farm of one week. The farm of each manor was not rendered entire, but in fixed portions at appointed dates.⁴ In October, for example, parts of the

1. Cust. Battle, p. 131.

2. Ibid., p. 72.

3. Ibid., p. 131.

4. Cart. Ram., vol. III, p. 234.

farms of Weston, Elton, Therfield, and Burwell were due; the remainder of Burwell's farm was rendered in January, February and July. The carriage of the farm to Ramsey was part of the services of the villein.¹ A full or fortnightly farm included:

(1) bread; 12 quarters of ground wheat, valued at 20 s., to be used for the monks and their guests; 2000 loaves (yokepanni) for the servants, valued at 12 marcs;

(2) ale; 50 mittae (between 16 and 20 bushels) of barley, valued at 22 s.; 25 mittae of malt valued at 24 s.

(3) miscellaneous. 24 mittae of fodder, 10 lbs. of cheese, 10 lbs. of lard, 2 treise of beans, 2 treise of butter, bacon, honey, 10 irressinge, 14 lambs, about 125 hens, 14 geese, 2200 eggs, 1000 nerring. Nine manors delivered also five cartloads of hay sack. A full farm included, besides the tribute in kind, £ 4 in money. The sum of the money equivalents of the articles of the farm, together with the £ 4, made the total value of the full farm approximately £ 17; the value of all the farms together was about £ 221. The amount of food received at Ramsey was increased by certain "presents" made from the manors. The firmarius who had the management of the farms paid, besides the farms, 5 s. less 1 d. in food each year, and also at the three festivals of Christmas, Easter and St. Benedict "presented" to the abbot fixed amounts of cheese, butter, eggs, wheat, malt, barley, and a number of hens.²

Certain manors rendered lenten farms. These differed from the ordinary farm of one week in that 40 s. in money was paid instead of 5 lbs. of cheese and 5 lbs. of lard.

The farms were paid to the cellarer, but there were also other payments

1. Neilson, Ramsey Abbey Lands, p. 19.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

in kind made "to the Abbot", sometimes to cover a deficit in the farms, sometimes to provide entertainment for some special occasion. For example, in 1316 Wistowe sent 12 hens, 4 pigs, 32 doves, some small birds, and the carcasses of an ox and two cows to Ramsey, on the occasion of the burial of the abbot, John de Sawtrey.¹ In the same year this manor sent 4 capons, 36 hens, 12 ducks, and 12 geese at the time of the installation of the new abbot, Simon de Eye.² In 1307, one calf and six goats were sent to Ramsey at the burial of Edward I; and poultry and four goats were sent at Pentecost.³

It was sometimes necessary to buy supplies to send to Ramsey, but usually the produce of the manor was sufficient, and when sent to the Chamber of the Abbot was for his own personal use.⁴ Such supplies, however, were not sent by the manors which supplied farms to the monks.

The assignment of manors in the two groups⁵ was arbitrary, and we sometimes find that a manor which has been supplying a food farm to the convent, may, at a later time, perform the duty of supplying the abbot with food, or of defending the Abbey in pleas in the courts.

We see, then, in the Ramsey group, as in others, an inter-manorial organization by means of which the lord, living in a more or less fixed abode, is provided with the necessities of life by his manors. The system of food farms shows that in each group a bond existed between the center and each individual manor. There can be little doubt that the tenants of each manor were conscious of this connection, especially as it was their duty to carry the farms and other commodities to the lord's hall.⁶

1. Computus Rolls of Wistowe, 1316, *ibid.*, Appendix, p. 46.
2. Computus Rolls of Wistowe for 1316. Neilson, Ramsey Abbey Lands, Appendix, p. 43.
3. Computus Rolls of Wistowe for 1307; *ibid.*, p. 22.
5. For examples of supplies sent to the Abbot, both at Ramsey and when he was elsewhere, see Wistowe Rolls for 1297; 1307; 1316 and 1351. Neilson, Ramsey Abbey Lands, Appendix.
4. See above, p. 23.
6. See below, Chapter V, pp. 41-72.

The account given in this chapter of the "farms" paid within the various groups is in a somewhat brief form, owing to the fact that a description of the carrying services, (in the next chapter), deals in large part, and in greater detail, with them. To treat the subject at any greater length here would result in tiresome repetition.

CHAPTER V

CARRYING SERVICES OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL GROUPS

CHAPTER V

CARRYING SERVICES OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL GROUPS20. Difficulty of Communication in England, in the Middle Ages

It has usually been supposed that, in the Middle Ages, communication between one part of England and another was difficult, owing to the bad state of the roads which made traveling something to be undertaken only with reluctance. One of the chief reasons for accepting the theory of the isolation of the manor has been this belief in the difficulty of travel; for, if facilities for transportation were lacking, it was obviously to the benefit of the manorial tenants that they endeavor to become as independent of the outside world as possible. If carriage were difficult and, consequently, expensive, this was reason enough why it should be reduced to a minimum.

Rogers does not accept this traditional view. He arrives at the conclusion that the cost of carriage was very low, and that, consequently, "communication must have been easy and probably regular."¹ Again, he says that famine was rare in England; local want being easily made up by cheap carriage and communication between consumer and market.²

Whether or not Rogers is right in his conclusions would require a much more extensive study than can be made here; but it would seem that to a certain extent, at least, his reasoning is correct, for a study of some manorial groups shows that communication between one place and another was by no means as rare as has commonly been supposed.

21. General Manorial Carrying Services

Perhaps nowhere is the connection of the manor with the outside world so well shown as in a study of the carrying services, (summagia, averagia), performed by the tenants. In every group, and indeed one might say on almost

1. Agriculture and Prices, vol. I, p. 661.

2. Ibid., p. 61.

every manor, these services formed part of the payment made for the use of the land. They were of two kinds, intra-manorial and extra-manorial, and performed by cart wagon, sumpter horse, or super dorsum. Carting within the manor was usually necessary in the ordinary course of agricultural pursuits, and need not concern us here. It is in the extra-manorial activities that we are interested, and it is, therefore, proposed to give a description of the carrying services performed on each of the seven manorial groups of which special study has been made. It has seemed better, even at the risk of repetition, to give an account of each group separately, rather than to make a general summary of the material as a whole.

22. Carrying Services on the Manors of St. Germain des Pres

As early as the year 824, carrying services were in vogue on the manors of St. Germain des Pres. Unfortunately the account given in Polyptyque d'Irminon does not make it clear, as a rule, whether or not they were extra-manorial. For instance, on many of the manors it is recorded that the coloni were to carry "wherever ordered" or "as much as may be necessary."¹ Again, we read that the coloni of certain manors are to do carrying services on foot.² A study of the Polyptyque leads one to believe that the services owed on these manors had not as yet been crystallised by custom, as seems to be the case in later records of English conditions.³

No doubt some of the carriage would be to the monastery. Payments in kind were made from every manor to Paris and many tenants must have been

1. Polypt., vol. II, pp. 1-2, Juicy-en Josas,
p. 60 f., -Villari,
pp. 38-39, Vedrarius,
pp. 6-23, Palatiolo, and many others.
2. L. G. Villanova, Polypt., pp. 179-190.
Cumis, Ibid., pp. 179-190.
Mansio, Ibid., pp. 271-277.
3. In 1250 we find that certain tenants of the Monastery of St. Germain were required to carry one moius of the grain of Pyrodio to the monastery, and bring back a measure of grain to their own granary from the monastery, whenever required to do so. The amount to be carried was by that time definite, but number of journeys still indefinite.

employed in carrying the food there.

The coloni¹ of Mansio owed the service of carrying grain to the monastery, and those of Mareuil also were required to make journeys there. They traveled by water - the only instance of water carriage in the Polyptyque d'Irminon.² The tenants of Buxedo were required to carry asciculi (probably ³ ruses) to Paris with two beasts.

It is surprising to find so little evidence of food supplies being sent to the monastery. There can be little doubt, however, that the payments in kind which were required of the tenants on each manor were taken there. It seems safe to assume that a carriage "wherever required," or "wherever ordered," would mean a carriage to some place outside the manor, for it is not likely that special mention would be made of services performed merely in the ordinary course of agriculture.

Journeys to places other than the monastery are mentioned only twice. All of the forty-one tenants of Mansio⁴ were required to carry to Aurilliana or Cinomannis.⁵ Tenants of Buxedo were required to carry wine to Senouns with two beasts belonging to the manor.⁶ Senouns was a distance of about 150 miles to the southwest of Buxedo, and a journey of this kind, covering as it did, at least 300 miles, would give considerable knowledge of conditions outside the manor. Extra-manorial activities were undoubtedly invaluable aids in widening the horizon of the peasant and in providing the mental stimulus so

1. Polypt., vol. II, pp. 272-273.
2. Ibid., vol. II, p. 208 f.
3. Ibid., vol. II, p. 132.
4. Ibid., vol. II, p. 246.
5. I have been unable to locate either place.
6. Polypt., vol. II, p. 132.

necessary for progress. As early, at least, as the ninth century some peasants were getting this knowledge, and the complete isolation of the manor, if it ever existed, had begun to break down.

23. Carrying Services on the Royal Manors

Turning now to England, we again note ¹ that the Geneat's service was, besides other things, "to ride, and carry and lead loads, and go errands far and near whithersoever he be told." This indicates that carrying services were also in vogue in England many years before the Conquest. An example for a still earlier date is found in a description of the dues paid to the King from the monastery at Taunton. In 904 we find that, besides other services, the monks were supposed to furnish carriage with wagons and horses for whatever the King wished to have taken to Curry or Wilton. ² The service was probably performed by tenants of the monastery.

Payments in kind were made by tenants on the royal manors, and carriage was necessary to take the produce to the royal dwelling. This necessitated long journeys which had evidently become a burden, for in the Dialogus de Scaccario ³ we read that the peasants were "oppressed by innumerable burdens on account of the victuals, which, having to traverse great distances in the realm they brought from their lands." According to the writer, these burdens were removed in the reign of Henry I by the Commutation of payments in kind for money.

24. The Durham Group

The tenants of the bishopric of Durham had two reasons for traveling abroad from their home manors. As stated above, they often had to perform the service

1. See above, p. 28.

2. Coa. Dipl., no. 1084. The distance from Taunton to Wilton is about 60 miles, and from Taunton to Curry about 8 miles.

3. Henderson, "Historical Documents of the Middle Ages," p. 56.

of leading dogs to the great hunt, or of carrying the loads necessary for the hunting party in the forest. The fact that it was sometimes necessary to build a hall for the accommodation of the hunters would indicate that they traveled some distance from the episcopal manors. For instance, all the villeins of the four manors of Escumoe, Newton, North Anklard and West Anklard,¹ were required to build a hall in the forest for the bishop. It was to be sixty feet long and sixteen feet wide, and to contain a buttery. The same villeins were also required to make a chapel in the forest, forty feet long and fifteen wide.² The conditions under which the tenants did "hunting" service were usually specified. Thus, a man from West Anklard was ordered to serve between the River Tyne and the River Tees. Another from the same manor must do likewise, and, in addition, furnish his own food.³ The tenants from Horton,⁴ Butterwick,⁵ Brafferton,⁶ Brancaster,⁷ Hedley,⁸ and Cornshall,⁹ besides leading two dogs to the hunt, must each take five cords of wood for the use of the party.¹⁰ On the manor of Lancaster each holder of two bovates was supposed to furnish one cord of wood, to be taken to the bishop's lodge.

These are distinctly carrying services attached to the duty of attending the hunt, which, in turn, was one of the payments made by the freeman or villein for the privilege of holding land. They should be regarded as averagia just as much as the ordinary carrying services performed in taking the farm to Durham. They are interesting in that they furnish an example of men from many manors meeting for a common purpose. Here was a chance for communication with others,

1. These manors are all in Durham.
2. Domesday Book, vol. IV, p. 575.
3. Ibid., vol. IV, pp. 574-575.
4. Ibid., p. 580. Horton is in Northumberlandshire.
5. Ibid., p. 571. Unidentified.
6. Ibid., p. 571. In the county of Durham.
7. Ibid., p. 572. In the county of Durham.
8. Ibid., p. 577. Unidentified.
9. Ibid., p. 577. In the county of Durham.
10. Ibid., p. 577. Unidentified.

an opportunity to discuss things of interest to all. Is it not likely that these "farmers" of the twelfth century talked about the state of their stock and crops, (and also, possibly, about the price of grain) just as do their successors of the present day? They must have had as much natural curiosity, and interest in things economic as men of later time. There must have been a wider knowledge of the world on the part of men who had traveled some distance from the home manor than for those who never left its bounds. And there is reason to believe that the majority of the tenants on many of the Durnam manors did travel abroad. Probably men from a number of different places assisted at the same hunt.¹ One is tempted to believe that, although not apparent at the time, there were other and more important things than hunting taking place at the Magna Casa of the Bishop of Durnam.

The other reason for which the tenants of the Bishopric were obliged to leave the manor was in fulfilment of what one might call the "ordinary" carrying services to Durnam and elsewhere. On many manors the tenants carried wine. Often the amount is not specified in the records, nor the destination mentioned, but the number of oxen to be used in the performance of the service is usually given. The villeins of the manors of Magna Ossworth² and Urpath³ carried it to the episcopal seat at Durham; those of Butterwick⁴ to Sedgefield, and those of Brancaster⁵ to Ankland, about six miles. More often we do not know whether the wine is to be carried, and can only guess that it is to be taken to the Bishop's palace at Durnam, or to wherever he may be staying.

The carriage of millstones was an important duty, usually performed in

1. The record usually reads Et vadit in magna Casa cum II leporariis.
2. Domesday Book, vol. IV, p. 580. From Magna Ossworth to Durnam is about 20 miles.
3. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 572. Urpath is unidentified.
4. Ibid., p. 571.
5. Ibid., p. 571.

common by the tenants of a manor. The stones were sometimes carried long distances. The villeins of Butterwick carried one to Sedgefield;¹ those of Brancaster to Ankland;² and stones were carried to Durnam from Horton, Bolun,³ magna Ossworth,⁴ and a millwheel from Urpath.

A few instances of carriage of grain are recorded. The villeins of Southwick had to carry thirty-six quadrigae of grain to Octona.⁵ The villeins of Thornton⁶ carried the farm to Durham, and, as all manors paid farms to the Bishop, the men from other manors were probably required to do likewise. When the Bishop was absent from the city, it was necessary to take supplies to him elsewhere. The villeins of Stanhope carried the farm of Walsingham, a manor about ten miles distant, to the lodge in the forest.⁷ The account of Netherton⁸ records that certain tenants were freed from the carriage of victuals to the Bishop, Seneschal and Constable of Durham, from Bedlington to Gateshead, a distance of fifteen miles, and from Bedlington to Fenwick;⁹ and also from carrying timber and millstones. In return for this, each tenant paid a half-mark to the Bishop. This shows that the carriage had been required in the past. The tenants concerned must have been familiar with at least two places besides their home manor. The tenants of Qnychum were also required to carry from Bedlington to Gateshead.

The villeins of Hightington¹⁰ were ordered to carry corn from the demesne to any place between the River Tees and the River Wear, that the Bishop might order. This might include some long carriages. The average distance between

1. Domesday Book, vol. IV, p. 571.
2. Ibid., p. 571.
3. Ibid., p. 580. Bolun is in Northumberland. These distances are respectively about 35, 37 and 20 miles.
4. Ibid., p. 572.
5. Ibid., p. 568. A quadriga is a cart drawn by four oxen. I am unable to locate Octona.
6. Ibid., p. 574.
7. Ibid., p. 576. Both manors are in Durnam.
8. Ibid., p. 572. In Northumberland.
9. Ibid., p. 572. Fenwick is unidentified.
10. Ibid., p. 585.

these two rivers is about thirty miles and is nowhere less than fifteen miles. It would seem as if such a service must have been a burden to the villeins, who were responsible for it.

The tenants of each of the manors of Bedlington, Westleyburn and Chabinton were required to perform averagia to Newcastle and Fenwick, "and not any further."¹ From Bedlington to Gateshead is about fifteen miles.

Some difference in the personnel of those liable for carrying service has already been seen. Sometimes "the villeins", sometimes "the tenants" are specifically mentioned. Another variation should be mentioned. An areal unit is often taken as the one from which a certain amount of carriage is due; that is, the emphasis is put on the land held rather than upon the status of the holder. For example, in West Ankland the tenant must make for each bovate which he holds, four averagia each year between the Tyne and the Tees.² This means that the holder of two bovates must make eight such journeys per year. As there were eight men in this manor, each holding one or more bovates, this means that nearly all the tenants were liable for services within a territory approximately sixty miles long and forty-five miles wide, several times during the year. These men were evidently living anything but an isolated life.

In Morton a man who held two bovates was required to render eight averagia per year to Darnam, about thirty miles distant, or four per year to Ankland.³ The latter manor was twelve miles from Darnam and forty-five from Morton. Sixteen tenants were responsible for these "long distance" carriages.

1. Domesday Book, vol. IV, p. 572. Westleyburn and Chabinton are unidentified.
2. Ibid., p. 575.
3. Ibid., p. 575. One man held one bovate. There were seven holdings of two bovates each, but one of these was held by three brothers in common. One man held four bovates, so would probably make sixteen journeys per year. Only four men held less than one bovate each.

Each bovate-holder on each of the manors of Darlington, Blakewell and Cokerton was responsible for the carriage of wine, herring and salt, three times per year. ¹ We do not know the distances traversed, but the commodities carried would seem to prove that the service was extra-manorial; and as there were at least seventy bovate holders on these three manors, there must have been no inconsiderable amount of traveling in a year.

The carriage of wood was a most important item. Again we can only conjecture that it was sent to Durnam or elsewhere for the use of the Bishop. A bovate was usually the unit used in requiring a certain number of quadrigae of wodelage. ² Each bovate holder in Bedlington, Magna Haughton, and Wessawe rendered one quadriga of wood. ³ Each holder of two bovates in Highington rendered eight, ⁴ while in Midridge each two bovates renders seven and one-half quadrigae. ⁵ ⁶

Each villein in North Ankland, Newton and Escumoe had to carry every year three loads of wood to West Ankland, or two and one-half loads to Durham, the distances being respectively six and twelve miles. ⁷ If each villein went these distances, and so often, the three manors must have contained some rather well-informed men.

It might be argued that although these numerous averagia were exigible, they were not always rendered, because not necessary, but I do not think this to have been the case. There are a few instances recorded of services being

1. Domesday Book, vol. IV, pp. 582-583. Darlington and Cokerton lie about five miles apart, in Durnam. Blakewell is unidentified. There were 16 men, each holding one bovate in these three manors, and also 143 bovates which were held by villeins. The usual size of a villein tenement in this group is from one to three bovates.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 572.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 583. (unidentified)
4. *Ibid.*, p. 584. (unidentified)
5. *Ibid.*, p. 585. (Durham)
6. *Ibid.*, p. 585. (unidentified)
7. *Ibid.*, p. 586. These four manors probably lay close together, as they are together called "Anklansnre". West Ankland is about 15 miles from Durham.

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commuted for money payments, which show that when the carriages were not performed, a statement of the fact was entered in the record, together with the money value of them.

It may be of interest to note the evidence of inter-manorial communication in this group not always directly connected with carriage. We find that certain villeins were required to perform tasks in other places than their home manor. For example, those of Magna Ossworth are told that the "works" which they formerly did at Wessington, they must for the future perform at Gateshead.² I have been unable to locate Wessington, so cannot tell whether this command would lessen or increase the burden of the tenants. The villeins and firmarius of West Auckland were ordered to go to Ramnute, and there to perform the "mill-works" of Auklandsnire.³

Another variation found in this group is the custom by which the tenants of certain manors were required to perform carrying services between two others. A tenant of Quychum was required to carry from Gateshead to Durnam, about two miles, and from Gateshead to Bedlington.⁴ The villeins of Stanhope performed carriage from Walsingham to the Bishop's lodge in the forest. These are exceptional cases. As a rule journeys undertaken by the tenants are between the home manor and some other place.

1. E. g. tenants of Netnerton, see above, p. 54. The villeins of Bolden each gave 16^d as averpenny (a commutation for carrying services), and performed no carriage. (Domesday Book, vol. IV, p. 506.) The villeins of N. Auckland, Escumbe, and Newton each did some carrying service, but, in addition, gave 8^d. averpenny. (Domesday Book, vol. IV, p. 586.)
2. Domesday Book, vol. IV, p. 580.
3. Ibid., p. 576.
4. Ibid., p. 579. Quychum is unidentified.

To summarize, then, it seems safe to believe that at the end of the twelfth century, there was at least one group of manors in England, within which a very definite inter-manorial organization is found. Frequent journeys were necessary, especially, it would seem, on the part of the villeins. Some of these were to distant points, some but a few miles, but each would do something to enrich the experience of the participants.

25. The Winchester Group

We now turn from a manorial group in the north of England to the Winchester group in the south. This, too, was an episcopal possession, and the records used for the purpose of this thesis are for the year 1207-1208,¹ It should be of interest to compare these two groups, alike in possession, and nearly so in time,² yet with almost the entire length of the country lying between them. Such a study will show whether or not the conditions found on the Durnam manors were peculiar to the north of England or not.

As stated above,³ the manors of the Bishopric were divided into small groups, when their geographical distribution permitted, but there were, too, some outlying manors which could not be included in any group. The manors of Clere, Woodhay, Ashmansworth, and Itchingwell worked together in sending supplies to the Bishop. These were first collected at Clere and then sent to the place at which he happened to be staying. The Bishop's seat at Sutton was supplied directly from each of the manors of Arlesford, Privet, Wild, Cheriton and Beauworth,⁴ and although the Roll contains no information as to the method

1. P. R. of W., 1207-1208.
2. Although the Roll for 1207-1208 is the earliest which has been found for the Winchester group, it is, nevertheless, reasonable to suppose that the conditions it describes were in existence some time before that year. The well-developed system of external communication found there must have grown gradually. It could not have been absolutely new in the year 1207-1208.
3. See above, pp. 19-20.
4. P. R. of W., 1207-1208, Introduction, p. XVII.

by which the "farm" was taken there, it is reasonable to suppose that it was usually the work of the villein, for in this group most carriage was performed by manorial tenants as part of their duty to the lord. In some cases, however, such as in journeys to London or other distant place, it was necessary to hire carters. They were usually hired by the week, half-year, or year, and sometimes for the performance of only one carriage. Wine was imported at Southampton, and carriages from that port to the various manors and to places outside the Bishopric, were common. Millstones were also imported and had to be carried to the mills, of which there were fifty belonging to bishop.

Wine was carried from Southampton to Marwell, Farnham, Waltham, Witney, Downton, Bitterne and Sutton. From Portsmouth it was taken thirty-eight miles to Farnham in Surrey, and from Bitterne, also a seaport in Hampshire, to Clere, a distance of about twenty-five miles. From Waltham, wine was carried to Meon, about twelve miles, and from Taunton, in Somerset, to Exeter, Devonshire, a distance of about thirty miles. The carriage of wine by the tenants of Taunton to Exeter or Topsnam, at two shillings per cask, appears to have been one of the customary services of that manor.

1. For example, as at Meon, where two carters were hired for a period of ten weeks. See P. R. of W., 1207-1208, p. 45.
2. For example, as at Knoyle, (*Ibid.*, p. 74), where two carters were hired for a half-year. For other instances, see *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 21, 33, 35, 38, 45, 47, 49, 56, and 82.
3. P. R. of W., 1207-1208, pp. 53, 2, 18, 21, 31, 42 respectively. Distances are about 15, 35, 12, 85, 30, 5, and 25 miles respectively. All these manors are in Hampshire, excepting Witney, which is in Oxfordshire, and Farnham, in Surrey.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
8. *Ibid.*, 1207-1208. Introduction, p. XIX. Topsnam, Devonshire, is about 30 miles from Taunton.

Corn was carried to London from Brightwell¹ and Harwell², Berkshire, by water, a distance of about one hundred miles; and fish from Meon to Marwell³, fifteen miles. Millstones were sent from Southampton to Winchester, about⁴ twenty miles; and from Barton to Southampton.

The manors of Farnham, Downton and Clere received rams from Lincolnshire,⁵ and Knoyle, in Wiltshire, received wool from the same county. Arms were sent from Witney to Tewkesbury, a distance of about thirty miles, and provisions were brought back. This involved a journey from Oxfordshire, across⁶ Gloucestershire to the border of Worcester. Brushwood was carried fifty miles, from Wargrave, Surrey, to Bitterne⁷, and timber from Kingston-on-the-Thames, fifty-five miles away, was carried to the same manor.⁸ Sutton⁹ charged for a consignment of wool to Beaulieu and back.

External communications, in which carriage on the part of the manorial tenants may or may not have been involved, were not uncommon in this group, and they show that the manors of the Bishopric were by no means self-sufficing. For instance, Taunton received wine from Exeter, spears from Wales, venison from Bridgewater, and a cart from Bristol.¹⁰ Twiford received a horse from¹¹ Devizes, and Witney horses from Cardiff.¹² Mardon¹³ and Clere¹⁴ received mares from Wales.

One must conclude that there was in the Winchester group, much communication between the manors and with places outside of the bishopric. The same general conditions as regards carrying services are found in both the north and south of England.

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|---|---|
| 1. P. R. of W., 1207-1208, p. 13. | 12. Ibid., p. 36. Mardon is unidentified. |
| 2. Ibid., p. 15. | 13. Ibid., p. 45. |
| 3. Ibid., p. 79. | 14. Ibid., p. 42. |
| 4. Ibid., p. 79. | |
| 5. Ibid., Introduction, p. XVIII. The nearest point in Lincolnshire is approximately 120 miles from these manors. | |
| 6. Ibid., p. 18. | |
| 7. Ibid., p. XVIII, Introduction. | |
| 8. Ibid., p. XVIII, Introduction. | |
| 9. Ibid., pp. 72 and 68. Distances are respectively about 30, 20, 15, and 40 miles. | |
| 10. Ibid., p. 54. | |
| 11. Ibid., p. 17. | |

26. The Group of St. Paul's Cathedral

The Domesday of St. Paul's for the year 1222 reveals conditions as to carrying services on a capitular group of manors. The chief averagia performed here are in carrying the "farm" to London. As stated above, thirteen manors supplied "farms" to the Chapter, and the distances to be traversed in each case, were approximately as follows:

Drayton to London,	25 miles
Heybridge to London,	25 "
Runwell to London,	18 "
Thorp to London,	50 "
Sandun to London,	35 "
Tillingham to London,	30 "
Navestock to London,	10 "
Barling to London,	25 "
Cadendon to London,	40 "
Wicknam to London,	35 "
Kirkeley to London,	40 "
Ardley to London,	35 "
Chingford to London,	12 "

The class of tenants responsible for the carriage of the farm to London varied. In Drayton, Middlesex, each man holding either one virgate or a half-virgate owed one averagium per year for this purpose. In Heybridge, some tenants merely helped to load the "farm" on to the snips, giving service in proportion with the size of their tenements. The more important tenants went to London and in return were each relieved of fifteen days' work. Conditions at Barling, Essex, were exactly the same as these. Each half-virgater in Runwell, also in Essex, could be called upon to carry the farm to London, or to perform other carriage elsewhere. If it were possible to return the same day, he was quit of one day's work and was entitled to the food of the lord while on the journey. If it was necessary to be gone for two days, he was relieved from two days' work.

1. See above, Chapter IV.

2. Domesday of St. Paul's, p. 102.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 72. In one case the holder of ten acres performed the same

5. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

service.

Some of the cotarii of Ardley, Essex, had to carry the farm to London, others had to drive pigs there. This was a long journey and must have taken the men many days from home. The journey from Navestock, Essex, was much shorter and could easily be accomplished in a day. The holder of twenty acres on this manor owed fifteen averagia to London, for each of which he was quit of one day's work. He also had to carry grain to the lord's kitchen, and again was quit of as many days' work as he had spent in performing the service.²

At Cningford, Essex, the lesser holders were required to make the long journeys with the farm, the holders of either five or six acres usually being chosen.³ At Tillingham, Essex, the virgaters were responsible for threshing grain for four farms and carrying it to the granary of the Canons.⁴ At Sandon there were twenty tenants, each holding ten acres, and each of these was required to carry sixteen loads to London,⁵ while the customary tenants, thirty-two in number, were each required to carry twenty-five loads there.⁶ This means that the majority of the tenants on this manor were making frequent journeys abroad during the year.

Other carriage besides that connected with the carriage of the farms was necessary in this group. The tenants of Kirkley carried timber from the manor of Thorpe, Essex, for a new granary which was being erected at Walton.⁸ Two free tenants on the manor of Cadendon, Hertford, were each required to make one load of malt from the lord's grain, and carry it to London,⁹ while the

1. Domesday of St. Paul's, p. 27. A half-virgate holder owed nine journeys to London. (Ibid., p. 26.)

2. Ibid., pp. 81-82.

3. Ibid., pp. 90-91.

4. Ibid., p. 64.

5. Ibid., p. 18.

6. Ibid., p. 17.

7. For further information as to the farms, none of which differs in any important way from that given, see Domesday of St. Paul's, p. 6 (for Cadendon), p. 34 (for Wicknam), p. 39 (for Thorp), p. 9 (for Kensworth).

8. Ibid., p. 48.

9. Ibid., p. 5.

cotarii of Sandon, Hertford, carried money bags to the church.

On the whole, carriage in this manorial group seems to have been almost entirely performed in taking the farm to London. The length and frequency of the journeys afforded ample opportunity for the tenants to become acquainted with London, and the places they passed on the way to and from the city. It is probable that in the early days the firmas were delivered every Sunday in the year, but by the thirteenth century we find them delivered on only forty-five Sundays of the year, beginning with the festival of St. Faith on the sixth² of October.

27. The Battle Group

A study of the group of manors belonging to Battle Abbey shows that here averagia of manorial tenants were not always confined to the carriage of supplies to the lord's house. The Abbot of Battle visited, from time to time, various of his manors, going even as far as Bromeham in Wiltshire, about 112 miles from the Abbey. In consequence, some of the tenants were employed in carrying the baggage of the distinguished guest and his retinue.³ These visits were casual, and not made regularly each year.

The tenants of the out-lying manor of Bromeham, could not, on account of their distance from Battle, be called upon for services as often as those of the nearer manors. Hence a tribute - horse gafol - was exacted from some of them. Whenever the Abbot visited the manor, all tenants who owed this might be called upon to carry to Bright Walton in Berkshire, thirty miles distant, or to Salisbury, Wiltshire, about eighteen miles away, or elsewhere within twenty leagues, according to the lord's will, and for that year were excused

1. Domesday of St. Paul's, p. 19.

2. Ibid., Introduction, p. xlviil.

3. Special arrangements for carting in case of a visit from the Archbishop were made in the Rochester Group, Kent. See Customal of Rochester, p. 2.

the payment of gafol.¹

A visit of the Abbot to Dangemarsh, Kent, must have been an important event, as it gave occasion for journeys to Wye and Romenal, in Kent; and Winchelsea, in Sussex. Tenants holding gavelmed were required to find twelve horses, with men in charge thereof, to carry bread from Wye and to carry ale and all kinds of food from Romenal and Winchelsea for his entertainment.

This service could not be exacted oftener than twice a year. The cotarii of the manor were each required to carry four gallons of ale from Winchelsea or Romenal, in return for which they received certain rights of pasturage for sheep and other animals. If the Abbot did not visit Dangemarsh for a year,² each cotarius paid one penny instead of performing the above carrying service.

The villeins, or, as they are called, the nativi, of the manor of Marley performed carriage from Winchelsea to the Abbey with herring, salt, and wine, for which they received payments in food. One-half of the wine, usually about fifteen casks, was carried by these tenants; the other half at the expense of the bailiff of Marley. For each cask the men received, in common, forty large loaves and one hundred twenty herring, while for each nine bushels³ of salt brought from Winchelsea, fifteen loaves were given them.

Three loads of hay were carried each year from Marley to the Abbey⁴ by virgate holders, who also carried manure for two days from Battle.⁵

Certain tenants were also required to make journeys from Hastings to the Abbey⁶ with salt.

The large manor of Wye was evidently a great source of supply for the

1. Cust. Battle, p. 82.
2. Ibid., p. 51.
3. Ibid., p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 5.
5. Ibid., p. 5.
6. Ibid., p. 4.

From Dangemarsh to Wye is about 38 miles; to Romenal (New Romney) probably not over two miles; and to Winchelsea about ten miles.

Abbey, and its tenants had opportunity to become acquainted with conditions outside the manor, through their frequent journeys to Battle. From certain tenants thirty-three averagia were due between Hockday and the first of August,¹ and anyone who failed to perform the service was fined twenty-one pence. Each averagium was to Battle with a half-seam of wheat or barley. Some of the tenants of Wye held large tenements, often as much as forty virgates. These men were called Wendi and were required to perform ten averagia to Battle every three weeks, on Saturdays, carrying alternately corn and barley.²

Corn was also taken to the Abbey by three of the nativi³ of Bernhorne, each of whom carried a half-seam of wheat twice every summer, receiving in return a meal valued at two pence.⁴

The tenants of Alsiston, Sussex, were required to perform carrying services at the will of the lord, but unless they could return home at nightfall, the journey was to be at the lord's expense. This shows that the men of this manor sometimes went some considerable distance from home.⁵ Each holder of a half-hide on the manor of Alsiston was ordered to carry to Battle every Monday, and each virgater every second Monday.⁶ Each of the four cotarii of the manor was ordered to carry to Battle, twelve hens at Christmas, and 250 eggs at Easter.⁷ If it were necessary to fetch grain from Seaford,⁸ each half-hide holder was to go with one beast twice a day, or, if further, once a day, such service being reckoned as a day's work.⁹ All the tenants of Blechinton, which seems to have been a berewick of Alsiston, owed, in common, twelve averagia¹⁰ of corn from Seaford to Alsiston.

1. Cust. Battle, p. 123. Hockday is the Tuesday within the quinsaine of Easter.
2. Ibid., p. 123.
3. Each held 30 acres and a messuage.
4. Custumal of Battle Abbey, p. 21. Bernhorne is unidentified.
5. Ibid., p. 29.
6. Ibid., p. 29.
7. Ibid., p. 30.
8. Seaford to Alsiston is about 10 miles. Alsiston to Battle about 12 miles.
9. Custumal of Battle Abbey, p. 29;
10. Ibid., p. 39.

Ten tenants on the manor of Appledrum, Sussex, had to travel to Winchester every year on the arrival of the Chamberlain of Battle, for the purpose of bringing, at their own expense, the Chamberlain's goods to Aliston.¹ This meant a journey of about 130 miles altogether, and is unusually long for tenants on the Battle manors. The same men were required to go from the manor to Chichester, about twelve miles distant, and back again, if need be,² but not to pass the gates of the city unless by their own wish.

At Hutton, Essex, one averagium was performed each year to London, Tilsbury or Chelmsford by each of the larger customary tenants.³

Thus we see that on almost every manor of the Battle group, some of the tenants were required to travel beyond the bounds of the manor, often to a town of some considerable size, such as London, Romney, Winchelsea, Salisbury,⁴ etc., sometimes to Battle, and sometimes to other manors. As stated above, these carriages were but seldom for the purpose of taking the "farm" to the Abbey. More frequently they were for the purpose of assisting the progress of the Abbot or his officers, by carrying baggage they needed on the journey, or by bringing provisions for their entertainment.

28. The Gloucester Group

Inter-manorial communication was well developed on the manors of the Monastery of Gloucester in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Carriage from eleven manors to the monastery is recorded. In no place is the farm of the manor specifically mentioned, but the many payments in kind which were made were doubtless food supplies for the monks.

1. Cust. Battle, p. 54.
2. Ibid., p. 53.
3. Ibid., p. 94. Distances would be from ten to twenty miles.
4. See above, Chapter IV.

Carriage to Gloucester was as follows:

1

a. From Wick, Worcester, with salt, at least twice a year.

b. From Coln St. Aldwin's, Gloucestershire, with ducks, capons, cheese
2
and eggs, one day every second week throughout the year.

c. From Cubberley, Gloucestershire, with ducks, hens, doves, eggs and
3
cheese.

d. From Ampney, Gloucestershire, with capons at Christmas and eggs at
4
Easter. (Two tenants owed this service).

e. From Clifford, Worcester, each virgater owed to go twice a year to
5
Gloucester.

f. Each tenant of Frocester was required to go to the monastery once
a week, or elsewhere at the wish of the bailiff. Every second week he owed
6
one day's carrying, which was counted as a day's work.

g. Each tenant of Northleach, Gloucestershire, owed carrying services
to Gloucester, but if these were not required, he had to carry wherever the
7
bailiff wished.

h. Each tenant of Eastleach, Gloucestershire, was required to go to
8
Gloucester five times between the 29th of September and the 1st of August
of the following year.

i. Every fifth day of the week each villein of Dantesburne, Gloucester,
9
owed summage to the monastery.

j. Every fourth day of the week the tenants of Hartpur, Gloucester-
10
shire, owed summage to Gloucester.

1. Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc., vol. III, p. 129. About 25 miles.
2. Ibid., p. 198. About 25 miles.
3. Ibid., p. 212. About 10 miles.
4. Ibid., p. 210. About 25 miles.
5. Ibid., p. 54. About 30 miles.
6. I. e. from the Feast of St. Peter in Chains to Feast of St. Michael,
Ibid., p. 89. About 12 miles.
7. Ibid., p. 181. About 18 miles.
8. Ibid., p. 190. About 25 miles.
9. Ibid., p. 194. About 12 miles.
10. Ibid., p. 61. About 5 miles.

Carriage was also performed to other places, some of them outside of the monastic group. For example, a tenant of Hartpury owed to carry, if necessary, to Preston, Brompton, Duntlesburne and other manors on the fourth day of each week.¹ On the fifth day of every second week, a tenant of Buckland, Worcester, was responsible for carriage to Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Evesham, Campden, Clifford or Worcester, distances varying from about ten to twenty-five miles.² A tenant of Coln St. Aldwin's had to carry once every two weeks, between November 11th and February 2nd, wherever necessary, "if the lord has grain to sell at Fairford, Leachlade, or elsewhere in those parts."³

On the fifth or sixth day of each week, certain tenants of Clifford had to carry to Hinton or Buckland;⁴ and all tenants of Hinton owed, in common, to carry a millstone from Hinton to Buckland, or to give eight pence in lieu of this service.⁵ Hay was carried from Ampney to Coln Rogers, a distance of about six miles, for three days, by all the twenty-four tenants of the latter manor,⁶ and from Kempford to Coln St. Aldwin's, about eight miles, by a tenant of the latter.⁷ Each virgater of Littleton was required to perform *summage* to Andover in Hampshire and Ludgershall, in Wiltshire.⁸ Tenants of Hartpury and Frocester⁹ carried seed-grain and salt, respectively, to Wick.¹⁰

Many *averagia* were performed where the destination of the villein is not recorded. For instance, a tenant of Hinnam owed to carry from one manor to another, and the journey might take either one or two days.¹¹ Brushwood

1. Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc., vol. III, p. 61. All are in Gloucester.
2. Ibid., p. 61. The last four places are in Worcester.
3. Ibid., p. 199. Fairford is about five miles from Coln St. Alwyn's and Leachlade about eight miles distant.
4. Ibid., p. 54. Distance to each place about fifteen miles.
5. Ibid., vol. III, p. 61.
6. Ibid., p. 206.
7. Ibid., p. 200.
8. Ibid., p. 38. Littleton to Andover, 40 miles; to Ludgershall, 35 miles.
9. Ibid., p. 80. Distance about 30 miles.
10. Ibid., p. 92. Distance about 40 miles.
11. Ibid., p. 116. Tenants of Buckholt, p. 124, and of Cmrcham, p. 131, do likewise.

was carried from Clifford "whenever the lord wishes" and the service was counted as a day's work.¹ Each virgatarus of Alasworth had to perform twenty averagia per year.²

Many carrying services are recorded without any statement as to whether they are extra-manorial or not, but in many cases the length of time consumed is more than one day, and so it seems safe to reason that they were to places beyond the manor. For instance, each tenant of Bugge had to carry³ hay or grain in the autumn, for which he was excused one day's plowing; at Clifford each tenant was ordered to carry the lord's corn twice a week for four weeks;⁴ at Hinnam each tenant had to carry with his own cart, two horses and two men, throughout one day, and in return was excused one day's plowing.⁵ Other examples of this kind occur, but it is, perhaps, unnecessary to continue.⁶ Enough have been given to show that the manors of the Gloucester group were to some extent in communication with each other, with the Monastery, and with places outside of the manorial group.

29. The Ramsey Group

As we have had reason to note before,⁷ eighteen manors of the Ramsey group paid food farms to the Abbey, and it was part of the service of the villeins on these manors to take the supplies there. In Burwell, Cambridgeshire, a virgater carried the farm to Ramsey, about thirty miles, whenever the firmerius desired, and in return was free from the work of one day. From the manors of Snitlington,⁹ Pokesdene¹⁰ and Cranfield,¹¹ all in Bedfordshire, villeins

1. Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc., vol. III, p. 54.

2. Ibid., p. 185.

3. Ibid., p. 147.

4. Ibid., p. 55.

5. Ibid., p. 116.

6. For others see Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc., vol. III, pp. 142-143, Brookthorpe; p. 95, Procester; pp. 159-163, Abbot's Barton; pp. 54-55, Clifford; p. 156, Ablood; pp. 171-172, Malsmore; p. 124, Backnolt; p. 129, Ledene;

p. 205, Coln Rogers.

7. See above, Chapter IV.

8. Cart. Ram., vol. III, p. 309.

9. Ibid., p. 308.

10. Ibid., p. 308.

11. Ibid., p. 302.

also carried the farms to the Abbey, a distance of about forty miles in each case. The virgaters of Crapwell had to find horses to carry the farm, but it was not necessary for each man to make the journey himself. The cotlanders of this manor were required to go to Ramsey with a load whenever the firmerius wished.¹ The men of the manor of Ellinton, Huntingdonshire,² owed, in common, to take four cartloads of hay each year to Ramsey. A virgater on the same manor was required to carry grain, and a hiqarius to carry two cartloads of wood to the Abbey. Tenants of Weston, Huntingdonshire,³ carried to Ramsey on Sundays; the holder of a croft in Bithorn had to take eggs or other things three times per year there, and the virgaters of Graveley,⁵ Hemingford,⁶ and Ellsworth⁷ had to carry the grain from the demesne of each manor respectively to the Abbey. From Wistowe, in 1318, payments in kind⁸ were sent to the Abbot at Ramsey, Broughton, and Houghton, distances of five, three, and eight miles respectively. In 1324, eggs, cheese, doves, hens, birds, capons, etc., were sent, and indeed these payments in kind were sent from many other manors for the abbot's use throughout many years,⁹ and must have caused much journeying back and forth on the part of the Ramsey manorial tenants.

Carriages to places other than Ramsey were frequent. Virgaters of Cranfeld,¹⁰ Snitlington,¹¹ Pokesdene,¹² and Wistowe¹³ carried as far as London.

1. Cart. Ram., vol. III, p. 301. Crapwell is unidentified.
2. Ibid., p. 306. Distance is about 16 miles.
3. Ibid., vol. III, p. 312. About 25 miles.
4. Ibid., p. 313. Bithorn is unidentified.
5. Ibid., pp. 246-247. In Cambridge. Distance about 25 miles.
6. Ibid., p. 245. In Huntingdon, distance traveled about 30 miles.
7. Ibid., p. 300. In Huntingdon, distance traveled about 35 miles.
8. "Manors of Ramsey Abbey", N. Neilson, Appendix, pp. 46-52. Compotus Rolls for Wistowe, 1318.
9. Compotus Rolls for Wistowe, 1297 to 1406. Ibid., pp. 1-104.
10. Cart. Ram., vol. III, p. 302.
11. Ibid., p. 308.
12. Ibid., p. 308.
13. Compotus Roll of Wistowe for 1298. Wistowe is in Huntingdonshire.

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Once a year the virgaters of Hemingford¹ might be required to carry grain to Canterbury, and once a month those of Cranfeld might be called upon for a similar service.² Grain was also carried from the demesne of the manor of Hemingford to Huntingdon and St. Ives.³ Carriage from Wistowe to Therfield, Hertford, was common, even though a long journey of about forty miles. In 1324 a carter was paid ten pence for going there to seek grain. In 1298 carters had been paid for the same service and also for seeking timber, and carrying wheat, acorns and other victuals there. From Wistowe, 1316, cheeses and hay were sent to Upwood for sale, and in 1297, 1318, and 1324⁴ oats were sent to the abbot at Broughton.⁵ Once a year, whenever the firmarius desired, the virgaters of Holywell carried wheat, barley, or oats to Burwell, Reach, Colchester, Ipswich, or Bury St. Edmunds, and for this service were excused one day's work.⁶ A virgater of Ellinton who carried beyond the county of Huntingdon, was released from all week work except ploughing.⁷ Tenants of Warboys often carried beyond the hundred, and those of Weston and Brington made journeys throughout the county of Huntingdon,⁸ in which case they received food from the lord. Virgaters of Warboys also carried twigs to St. Ives,⁹ while those of Ringstead and Holme carried loads to the sea.¹⁰

As is the case in the other groups, we find that on the Hamsey manors many carrying services were recorded which may or may not have been extra-manorial. For instance, the tenants of Crapwell "do carrying service";¹¹

1. Cart. Ham., vol. III, p. 243.

2. Ibid., p. 302.

3. Ibid., p. 243. From Hemingford to Huntingdon is a distance of about eight miles. To St. Ives is about 5 miles.

4. Compotus Rolls of Wistowe, 1297, 1318, 1324. Upwood is in Huntingdonshire about 5 miles from Wistowe.

5. Cart. Ham., vol. III, p. 282. Distances respectively of 20, 60, 60, and 40 miles. Reach is unidentified.

6. Ibid., p. 306.

7. Ibid., p. 254.

8. Ibid., pp. 311-312.

9. Ibid., p. 254, About five miles.

10. Ibid., p. 269. Holme is on the coast of Norfolk, and Ringstead about 3 miles inland.

11. Ibid., pp. 244-245.

those of Upwood¹ "carry at the summons of the bailiff," as do those of
 Wistowe² and Broughton.³ The half-virgaters of Walsoken, Norfolk, provide⁴
 their own carts and carry for a day and a night "at the will of the lord,"
 and seven of them were liable to be called upon to assist in carrying for⁵
 the Abbot, should he come to the manor.

Conditions as regards the averagia in this group show no important
 difference to have existed between it and the other six groups already
 described. Here, as elsewhere, many of the manorial tenants were engaged in
 carrying the farm or other commodities to the central manor, or to other
 places. Some of them made long journeys, others inconsiderable ones of only
 a very few miles, but here, as in the other groups, the carrying services
 are important as showing a connection between the manor and the outside world.

1. Cart. Ram., vol. III, p. 271.
2. Ibid., p. 272.
3. Ibid., p. 273.
4. Ibid., p. 292. This looks like extra-manorial service.
5. Ibid., p. 295.

CHAPTER VI

MANORIAL MARKETING OF THE LORD

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30. General Evidence of Manorial Marketing

As shown in the last chapter, carrying services were required of the tenants on almost all manors, and probably many of the journeys undertaken were for the purpose of taking grain or other commodities to the markets to be sold, or for the purpose of purchasing articles in the towns. Much has been said of the self-sufficiency of the manor. If it really were a self-sufficing and independent community, we might expect that it would be but little interested in trade, but should we discover that there was a frequent exchange of commodities, or sale of produce from one place to another, we should be justified in regarding this as an evidence that the manor was not always isolated. An attempt will be made in this chapter to give an account of the manorial marketing of the lord, based in part on a study of the account rolls of the Winchester and Ramsey groups.

Many evidences of manorial marketing for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries exist. "Husbandry," written in the thirteenth century, contains some valuable evidence regarding manorial marketing. "Buy and sell in season," says the writer, "through the inspection of a true man or two, who can witness the business, for it often happens that those who render account increase the purchases and diminish the sales."¹ "If the return of your grange yields only three times the seed sown, you will gain nothing, unless corn sells well."² "And let the provost answer for the sale of corn quite by itself, to see the issue of each year."³

"Make purchases at two seasons of the year; that is, wine, wax, and for

1. Walter of Henley, Husbandry, p. 33.

2. Ibid., p. 19.

3. Ibid., Seneschaucie, p. 73.

your wardrobe, at the Fair of St. Botolph, Winchester, Bristol, St. Ives, Norfolk,
 the Value of Belvoir and the country of Caversham.¹ "So arrange your sojourns
 that the place at your departure shall not remain in debt, but something may
 remain on the manor whereby the manor can raise money from the increase of
 stock, and especially cows and sheep, until your stock acquits your wines,
 robes, wax, and all your wardrobe."²

This seems to indicate that the sale of surplus produce was not uncommon.
 On the manor of Fornsett in Norfolk, in the thirteenth century, much of the
 grain was sold in Norwich, whither it was carried in the carts of the tenants
 as well as those of the lord.³

The monks of St. Peter's, Gloucester, had the right to hold a fair and
 market at Northleach, one of the manors belonging to the monastery in the
 twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They also had freedom from toll when buying
 in Brecknock, Wick, Cardiff, Newport or Bristol.⁴ Judging from the carriage
 services performed, much salt and grain must have been bought in Wick,⁵ and
 food, clothing and timber were bought at Bristol.

Markets existed on many manors. The Bishop of Lincoln held one at
 Louth,⁶ in Lincolnshire, and the Bishop of Thetford one at Hoxney.⁷ The
 Abbot of Ramsey was authorized by a royal grant, in 1267, to hold a weekly
 market and an annual fair at St. Ives,⁸ a most convenient center for the Abbey
 manors. In 1278 the Bishop of Bath and Wells was granted a weekly market and
 an annual fair,⁹ and on many of the royal manors, among them Netenam, Luton^{10 11}

1. Rules of St. Robert, 28. (Walter of Henley, Husbandry, p. 145.)
2. Ibid., 26, p. 145.
3. Davenport, A Norfolk Manor, Appendix VIII, p. xli.
4. Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc., vol. III, p. xxii.
5. See above, pp. 67.
6. Domesday Book, vol. I, p. 345.
7. Ibid., vol. II, p. 379. Hoxney is in Suffolk.
8. Cart. Ram., vol. III, pp. 294-295.
9. Patent Rolls, 1272-1281, p. 257.
10. Domesday Book, vol. I, p. 38. (Hampshire).
11. Ibid., vol. I, p. 209. (Bedford).

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and King's Sutton, markets were also held.

The right to hold a market and to protect the income derived from it was jealously guarded. Complaints were made if a market were "raised" without permission, especially if it proved to be to the detriment of one already existing. At Saleby, a woman who had established a market without royal permission was ordered to close it.

That markets and fairs were common is proved by the fact that between the years 1199 and 1483 nearly 3000 grants were made, representing all parts of England.

The detailed study of manorial marketing made for this thesis is based mainly on two sources; first the Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1207-1208; and second, the Compotus Rolls of Wistow for the years 1297, 1298, 1311, 1316, 1318, 1324, 1351, 1368, and 1406.

Both sets of documents are account rolls - records of the receipts from the sales of stock, grain, etc., and of purchases and other expenditures for the year, - and are usually arranged from Michaelmas of one year to the same festival in the next.

31. Selling

a. The Winchester Group

On the manors of the Bishopric of Winchester, in 1207 and 1208, only a small fraction of the grain raised on the demesne was consumed. Most of it was sold, the sales of corn forming about sixteen per cent of the total receipts of the manors, and an important source of revenue. Less than nine

1. Domesday Book, vol. I, p. 219 b. (Northampton).
2. Close Rolls, vol. 1234-1237, p. 90.
3. First report of Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls (pp. 108-131), contains the complete list of these. Some places were granted both a fair and a market.
4. Printed as an appendix in Neilson, "Manors of Ramsey Abbey".
5. This summary and the following ones are taken mainly from Hall's Introduction to the Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1207-1208.

per cent of the wheat and less than ten per cent of the corn raised was consumed, while about one-third of the rye, barley and oats were used. The Bishopric owned about fifty mills, of which about one-half were let to farm, and revenue obtained both in the form of rents and tolls. At the mills grain was sold. About fourteen per cent of the horses and ten per cent of all the cattle belonging to the Bishopric died of murrain, and their hides were sold. Wool and woolfells were sold by weight.

From Adderbury a large quantity of forage was sold, while occasional sales of underwood, rushes, stubble, flax, linen, reeds, grass, etc., took place on all manors. Adderbury, Southwark and Arlesford sold apples, and Waltham, Farnham, Clere, Arlesford, and Bittern together sold honey to the value of 8 s. 11 d. Twiford sold fish, and nine manors sold mts.

The great fair of St. Giles held just outside Winchester was a matter of great interest to the people of the locality. Here, in the year 1207-1208, the Bishop bought hawks and dogs, and sold fox-skins which he had received from the manor of Waltham. Much grain was sold.

The following table showing the amount of cereals sold from each manor of the Bishopric in the year 1207-1208 is extremely interesting and valuable.¹

1. P. R. of W., 1207-1208, pp. xlv and xlvi.

Table showing the amount of cereals sold from the manors belonging to the Bishopric of Winchester, 1207-1208.

	Wheat		Mancorn (or Rye)		Barley		Oats	
	Qu.	Bu.	Qu.	Bu.	Qu.	Bu.	Qu.	Bu.
Waltham,	20	4	-	-	-	-	12	-
Clere,	74		49	1	-	-	-	-
Woodhay,	44	4	53	4	6	4	-	-
Ashmansworth,	16	-	24	-	-	-	-	-
Itchingwell,	35	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Brightwell,	202	3	-	-	-	-	42	-
Harwell,	76	-	-	-	-	-	22	5
Witney,	50	-	-	-	1	-	16	-
Downton,	110	1	27	-	91	4	12	-
Overton,	17	5	14	5	17	4	2	-
Fareham,	55	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wargrave,	10	-	111	1	31	4	232	-
Bitterne,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wycombe,	116	-	-	-	-	-	26	-
Mardon,	28	4	-	-	-	-	16	-
Farnham,	85	4	8*	4*	-	-	6	-
Sutton,	42	-	7	-	12	4	-	-
West Meon,	100	6	-	-	33	-	5	-
East Meon,	207	-	(10 (8*	6*	138	4	22	4
Hambledon,	9	-	3	-	6	-	6	-
Crawley,	61	4	-	-	12	4	-	-
Twiford,	39	-	-	-	17	4	44	-
Stoke,	-	-	-	-	33	4	-	-
Adderbury,	34	-	104*	4*	30	-	74	-
Arlesford,	53	-	43	-	55	-	105	-
Privet,	2	4	2	-	-	-	29	-
Taunton,	190	-	-	-	-	-	505	-
Rampton,	7	4	1*	-	-	-	2	-
Knogle,	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cheriton,	35	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Beauworth,	18	-	-	-	1	4	-	-
Wield,	13	-	11	-	-	-	95	-
Total:	1767	3	(356 (119*	3 6*	488		1274	1

Note. Rye is distinguished by an asterisk.

The following table,¹ showing the state of live and dead stock on the manors for the same period, is valuable both for the evidences of marketing which it contains, and also for the many instances of intermanorial communication, which must have involved a great amount of traveling between the different manors. It shows that the purchase and sale of stock was no uncommon thing, but the sales seem to have been greater than the purchase.

1. P. R. of W., Taken from Hall's "Introduction," p. xlviil.

Table showing the state of live and dead
stock on the manors of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1207-1208.

		Received during year	Sent Out	Sold	Remarks
Horses and Asses	(Pulli	19 ¹	7 ²	19	1. Of the 146 received during the year, 101 were from co-manors, 18 from Wales and 10 were bought, 2 "de firma"; 9 "de testamento"; 4 found; 2 <u>adfuncti</u> , (added). 2. Of these 80 were sent to co-manors; 2 to the Bishop as gifts, and one to the Bishop's carter.
	(Equi	70 ¹	52 ²	3	
	(Asini	57 ¹	24 ²	4	
	(Asini	-	-	-	
Cattle	(Annales	4	1		1. Of the 284 boves (oxen), 161 were bought, and 83 received from co-manors; the rest in various ways, among them, 16 from the <u>firmarii</u> .
	(Bovetti et Geniculae	11	3		
	(Do. Prolixioris	6	4		
	(Aetatis				
	(Boves	284 ¹	28	129	
	(Tauri	2	2	1	
Sheep	(Vaccas	88	35	14	1. Of the total number of 1682, 1264 were received from co-manors or outside; 8 were bought; 83 given as "farms." The rest came from various sources.
	(Vituli	2	-	2	
	(Oveti	313 ¹	346	68	
	(Miltones	83 ¹	39	304	
	(Oves	384 ¹	275	665	
Pigs	(Agni	902 ¹	577	240	1. Of these, 505 were from co-manors; 176 were bought, 9 <u>de firmario</u> ; 104 doubtful; 10 found; 26 for pannage; 12 tithes. 2. All inter-manorial.
	(Capras	-	-	20	
	(Porci	842 ¹	268 ²	-	

Table showing the state of live and dead
stock on the manors of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1207-1208.
(Continued)

		Received during year	Sent Out	Sold	Remarks
Poultry	(Ancae	181	38	-	
	(Gallinae	2692	947	118	
Cheese	(Casei	119	35	4135	
Wool	(Vellera	6 ¹	228	13496	1. <u>De Lindsia</u>
	(agnina			3523	
Eggs	(Ova	4250 ¹	2050 ²	2800	1. This includes 2000 <u>de reddity</u> and 1850 <u>de</u> <u>consuetudine</u> . 2. Sent to Wolvesey.
Hides	(Equine	-	-	1	1. Including 3 not belonging to the manors proper.
	(Bovine			54	
				286	
Pelts	(Pelts	28	-	4567	

The total amounts received as certain payments from all the manors of the
Bishopric of Winchester for the same year are as follows:

	l.	s.	d.
Tallage	580	12	0
<u>Purchasia</u>	200	17	6
Mills	111	11	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn sold	52	11	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wool and fleeces sold	125	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hides and pelts sold	36	19	11
Live stock sold	72	12	10
Total receipts - -	2720	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Expenses (1) <u>Liberatic</u> ,	1639	8	5
(2) <u>Expensa</u>	707	6	5
Balance due,	358	12	9

These tables show that much marketing was done in this manorial group,¹ but we have little information as to exactly how it was carried on. Doubtless much produce was taken to the great Fair of St. Giles, which was held every year just outside Winchester, during which all marketing was prohibited within seven leagues of the fair, including the town of Winchester itself. In the chief town of each of the smaller groups of manors² was usually held a market, but even on manors belonging to one of these groups some marketing seems to have taken place on the manor itself. There is no indication as to the method of sale, or disposal of the produce accounted for as sold, for the isolated manors, except that Harwell³ and Brightwell⁴ sent corn to London. "Some manors appear to have been special centres for certain commodities, such as Bitterne, which supplied salt to Downham, Farnham and Sutton. Farnham was a depot for wine which was imported at Southampton, which town also imported millstones."⁵

The following summary⁶ shows that there was marketing and inter-manorial communication within each of the smaller groups.⁷ As stated above, a market was usually held at some central place, and the produce from the neighboring manors was taken there. The Remarks in the summary give some information about the exchange and sale of produce within each group.

1. The tables refer only to the grain, stock, etc., belonging to the bishop's demesne.
2. See above, pp. 17-20.
3. P. R. of W., 1207-1208, p. 15.
4. Ibid., p. 13.
5. Hall, P. R. of W., 1207-1208, p. XVIII.
6. Ibid., p. XVII.
7. See above, p. 81.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Serjeant</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
I. Clere) Woodnay) Ashmansworth) Itchingswell)	Johannes de Welton	Clere is to some extent the center of the group for the sale of produce and supply of the Bishop, but each manor is worked independently in respect of grain. But there is interchange of different generations of sheep, showing traces of specialisation.
II. Arlesford) Privet) Cheriton) Wield) Beauworth)	Henricus la Martre	The manors are worked independently. Arlesford sells part of the surplus produce of all. The Bishop is supplied at Sutton directly from each manor.
III. Brightwell) Harwell)	Ricardus Serviens	Grain is accounted for and sold separately, each sending a quantity to London for sale. The stock shows the same specialisation as in the Clere group.
IV. Mardon) Crawley)	Ricardus Serviens	Though each sells separately, they are worked in combination; the sale of large quantities of produce being thereby facilitated. The stock of oxen and sheep is also managed jointly without apparent specialisation.
V. Twiford) Marwell) Bishopstoke)	Alvedrus de Quinci	Worked independently, but Stoke assists Twiford in the supply of the Bishop at Marwell. A comparison of the account shows the book-keeping of the manors to be distinct. Stoke ignores the agency of Twiford, (indicated there), in the receipt of bacon from Wolvesey.
VI. Bitterne) Fawley) Ower)	Johannes Serviens	Fawley and Ower are practically sub-manors, accounted for by Johannes as <u>serviens de Bitterne</u> . The expenses of the latter and the reeve of Bitterne visiting fifteen times, are charged in the Fawley and Ower accounts.

b. The Ramsey Group

The Wistowe Compotus Rolls give detailed accounts of the manorial marketing which took place on the manor. Much of the grain, etc., was sold to the manorial laborers, often to the threshers and winnowers of grain. The following were sold in the years indicated:

In 1297

64	bushels	of	wheat
18	"	"	drage
40	"	"	oats

In 1298

49	bushels	of	wheat
96	"	"	oats
16	"	"	malt

In 1307

5	bushels	of	wheat
3	"	"	barley

In 1311

25	bushels	of	wheat
3	"	"	barley

In 1316

42	bushels	of	wheat
1	"	"	barley
16	"	"	drage

In 1324

2	bushels	of	wheat
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In 1351

18	bushels	of	barley
8	"	"	drage

Peas and beans were also sold in 1297, 1307, 1316, 1318, 1324, 1311. In 1316 they were disposed of as follows:

18	bushels	of	peas	sold	to	the	poor	by	the	Abbot					
72	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	in	the	market			
2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	to	the	winnowers			
17	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	(no	indication	as	to	buyer)	1

1. The above can all be found in the Compotus Rolls of Wistowe for the years indicated.

Both live and dead stock (including fleeces, hides, etc.) was sold, sometimes to the cellarer, sometimes in the market, or to the people of the manor.

The following tables explain these sales:

Year	Pigs	Cattle	Sheep	Horses	Remarks
1297	22 ¹	6 ²	-	-	1. To cellarer. 2. 2 to cellarer.
1298	9	-	-	-	
1307	57 ¹	1	-	-	1. 12 to cellarer; 5 to dairymaid, besides some to the cowherd.
1311	4	4	-	-	
1316	34 ¹	3		2	1. 15 to cellarer; 18 at Huntingdon; 1 elsewhere.
1318	15	-	-	1	
1324	13 ¹	2	39	2	1. 10 to the cellarer
1351	46 ¹	2 ²			1. Of these 4 were <u>immidi</u> , 22 were sold to cellarer. 2. To the hospital at Ramsey.
1368	29 ¹	2	10	-	1. 9 of these sold to cellarer.

Hides and pelts were sometimes sold but there is no evidence as to where the sales took place. In 1297 only four were sold, in 1318, forty-six, and in 1368, fifty-four.

Dairy produce was sold as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Butter</u>	<u>Eggs</u>	<u>Cheese</u>	<u>Milk</u>
1297	20 casks			
1307	2			
1311	1			
1316	4		7	
1324	0			24 gallons
1351	2 $\frac{1}{2}$		44	
1368	0	200		

Among the diverse articles sold were:

In 1307,	100 doves.
" 1311,	93 doves.
" 1316,	parnage, apples, stubble, hay.
" 1351,	hay, applies, doves.
" 1368,	hay, rushes.

32. Buying

a. The Winchester Group

Besides selling, it was obviously necessary to buy many things for use on the manor. We find that in both the Winchester and Ramsey groups, purchases of grain stock, farm implements, wine and ale were made, as well as articles for the mill, the dairy, and the carts. Indeed, a study of the Winchester manors leads one to think that it was necessary to buy, ^{almost} as many articles for the farm in the thirteenth century as it is now. For instance, at Arlesford the following were bought in the year 1207-1208:¹

1 new cart
 3 sacks
 wheels for ploughs
 400 herring for the autumn "works".
 21 Ells of canvas to make sacks for wool
 2 oxen

² Hay and forage were often bought for the cattle, and the purchase of seed grain was common. ³ The articles bought on each of five manors are given below. These manors have been chosen so as to represent, as far as possible, all parts of the group, and are typical of the group as a whole.

1. Cheriton, lying at about the centre of the group bought:⁴

1 cart, bound with iron
 6 quarters of wheat for seed
 12 oxen
 Herring for the autumn works.
 Sacks to the value of 18 d.

2. Bishop Stoke, about ten miles southwest of Cheriton, bought the

1. P. R. of W., 1207-1208, p. 61.
2. Ibid., pp. 72, 74, 37, 44.
3. Ibid., pp. 42, 49.
4. Ibid., p. 80.

following:

1 cart
 1 cart bound with iron
 500 herring
 6 capons to send to the Bishop at Farenam
 20 young horses, sent, also, to Farenam
 1 millstone

3. Rimpleton in Wiltshire, one of the most westerly manors of the group,

1

bought the following:

1 sheep (For the autumn "works".
 cheese ()
 1 basket
 Padlocks
 Hay
 6 quarters of wheat
 2 quarters barley

2

4. Brightwell, lying to the north bought,

16 quarters barley
 1 ox
 1 cart
 2 sacks
 1 snip, (and paid for having another repaired).

3

5. Overton was a somewhat isolated manor. It purchased,

1 plough horse
 4 quarters of wheat for seed
 $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of beans for seed

Not all things, of course, were bought on any one manor in a single year, but the total amount of purchases is remarkable. If these things were necessary on manors in one part of the country, why would they not also be necessary on other manors in other parts? It is true that some manors less favorably situated as regards a fair, might of necessity be more self-sufficing than those of the Winchester group. Conditions on the Ramsey manors appear to

1. P. R. of W., 1207-1208, p. 72.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

3. Ibid., p. 24.

X

have been very similar to those in the south of England, however, and there seems to be no reason why the manors of the Winchester and Ramsey groups in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Huntingdon, Northampton, Cambridge, etc., should be widely different from those in other parts of England.

b. The Ramsey Group

The Compotus Rolls of Wistowe also give some detailed information as to purchases made for use or consumption on the manor, or to send to Ramsey.

Little grain or stock was bought, and this was usually either for seed, (in the case of grain) or to send to the cellarer, when the manor had difficulty in making up the firma.

In 1307 the following purchases were necessary:

24 bushels of beans for the cellarer.
 8 " " " " " seed.
 12 cheeses to send to Ramsey.
 830 eggs for the cellarer at Christmas
 104 lambs; 33 hens, and 56 fowls.¹X

In 1316, were bought:

the flesh of 3 oxen
 " " " 4 cows
 " " " 16 pigs
 54 hens
 32 doves
 4 capons
 12 ducks
 12 geese
 100 eggs 2.²X
 1 flask of honey

In 1318, were bought:³X

2 horses
 1 ox
 9 capons and hens
 9 little pigs
 1 sow

X See below, pp.

1. Compotus Roll of Wistowe, 1307, pp. 19-31.

2. Ibid., pp. 41-46.

3. Ibid., 1318, pp. 46-52.

In 1324, were bought:¹

1 ox
47 lambs
28 hens
800 eggs

In 1351, the following were bought:²

6 ducks)
24 fowls) For the abbot's kitchen
216 doves)

Used in making gifts (900 eggs
to the servants of (12 hens
the manor) (12 bushels of wheat³

In 1368, 120 bushels of wheat were purchased.

These supplies were probably bought, at least in part, from other manors of the Ramsey group where there happened to be a surplus of the commodity desired, and in return, an opportunity would be given to the men of Wistowe to dispose of their surplus. On the other hand, purchases for plows, carts, mills, etc., would probably be made in the towns. As in the Winchester group, such purchases seem to have been made regularly, for we find records of them every year for which the Wistowe Compotus Roll is printed. In 1297 iron plates for plows, two ploughshares, seven garbs, a mill-stone, oil, wheels, iron shoes, and 2000 nails for the carts were bought.⁴ In 1298, thirty ells of canvas were bought for sacks to hold flour or meal.⁵ In 1307, plates of iron, plough-clouts and pieces of iron were purchased.⁶ In 1311, 2000 nails were bought, and 500 nails for use in shoeing horses.⁷ In 1351

1. Compotus Roll of Wistowe, 1324, pp. 52-58.

2. *Ibid.*, 1351, pp. 58-74.

3. *Ibid.*, 1368, pp. 74-90.

4. *Ibid.*, 1297.

5. *Ibid.*, 1298.

6. *Ibid.*, 1311.

7. *Ibid.*, 1351.

numerous purchases were made, including,

100 strike nails,
42 iron plates,
2 cords,
oil,
nalters,
4 ells of canvas,
1 hide (to make harness)
800 clout-nails
thread for harness

Under the heading Minuta empti we find record of the purchase of diverse things. I have taken the years 1297, 1324, and 1368, as showing examples of various things bought.

¹
In 1297 were bought:

4 sacks
1 sieve,
12 ells of cloth,
vessels for measuring ale and water,
vessel for holding milk,
rushes.

²
In 1324, among other purchases were:

1 hide for tanning,
2 vessels,
1 tripod,
parchment.

³
In 1368,

parchment,
5 bushels of salt,
2 hides for making harness,
basket,
candles,
rushes,
5 casks of butter.

A study of the account rolls under consideration proves that these manors were neither self-sufficing nor isolated. Many things had to be purchased

1. Compotus Roll of Wistowe, 1297.
2. Ibid., for 1324.
3. Ibid., for 1368.

and many journeys undertaken for that purpose. There is no reason why conditions at Wistowe, which lies in the heart of the Ramsey group, should not have been typical of the manors in general.¹ Probably a study of other account rolls would reveal even more conclusively that marketing was one of the ordinary activities of the manor. The account roll of the Winchester group studied, also contains much proof of manorial marketing.

But up to this point we have dealt exclusively with the marketing on the part of the lord, or of manorial officers acting in his behalf. We have seen that the surplus from the demesne was sold, and articles necessary for it were purchased.

But the tenants, too, bought certain things and made certain payments. Whether or not they, too, raised money by a sale of their surplus produce is a question which the next chapter will seek to answer.

1. Miss Neilson ("Ramsey Abbey Lands," p. 64), says that Wistowe is typical of the group, and for that reason she selected it for special study.

CHAPTER VII

THE MANORIAL MARKETING OF THE TENANTS

CHAPTER VII

THE MANORIAL MARKETING OF THE TENANTS33. Why the Manorial Tenants wished to Sell Their Surplus Produce

Did the tenants market their surplus grain or other surplus produce? This is a question of much interest to the student of manorial economy. We have seen that the lords sold much of their surplus at fairs, markets, and locally; and, partly on this account, concluded that the isolation of the manor was only partial. If peasants also marketed their surplus, then the manor was still less an isolated community.

It seems reasonable to believe that the peasant should have wished to dispose of some of his produce in this way. There must have been many things he wished to buy, things which were not produced on his land. Articles bought by the lord's steward for use in cultivating the demesne¹ would be required, too, in a lesser degree, by the villein cultivating his smaller holding. Rogers believes that the peasant both bought and sold,² and says "to buy it is necessary to sell."² But it is interesting to note that, besides purchasing things necessary for his farm, there were many payments which the villein of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries had to meet which were usually made in money. The commonest of such payments were court fines, incurred usually in the manorial courts, for breaches of the law of the manor. Such fines formed an important source of revenue for the lord, who always jealously guarded this right of jurisdiction over his tenants. Account rolls of the manors give innumerable instances of such fines (purchasia)³ being paid.

Besides these purchasia there were other payments to be made. Mercnet

1. See above, Chapter VI.

2. Agriculture and Prices, vol. I, p. 653.

3. See P. R. of W., 1207-1208. For each manor the purchasia are given.

was a payment made by a villein on the marriage of his daughter, and usually did not exceed five shillings.¹ The widow of a deceased villein usually paid a like amount, or the best of the cattle, if there were any, for permission to enter upon the land. This payment was called heriot. Gersuma was in the nature of an inheritance tax, and paid by others than the widow for the right to enter on the land of a deceased person. Hensire, probably house or garden rent,² was a very common payment, usually twelve or sixteen pence per year.

Church payments,³ in the form of tithes; royal payments,⁴ such as sheriff's aid, hundred's aid, wardpenny and wodenac were also exacted from the manorial tenants. Another group of payments was that which included the money paid as commutation for old labor services or payments in kind.⁵ For instance, on the Ramsey manors the following were made:^{5, R} Fish-silver was paid once in two years, usually amounting to two pence. Malt silver or brewingsilver was paid, instead of making malt for the Abbey. Pannage was a payment made for the privilege of allowing pigs to feed in the woods. A tax called head-penny (chevagiun, capitagium), was often paid, as were also wodepenny, a commutation of the duty of carrying wood to the abbey, and wethersilver, money paid instead of guarding the lord's sheep.

These are but a few examples of demands made upon the villein for actual money payments. Some of the peasants, of course, held no land, but were employed by the lord or his bailiff at a money wage, and they, of course,

1. Five shillings were equivalent to between £ 3 and £ 4 at the present day and must have been a burden to the average villein.
2. This is the meaning given by Miss Neilson, Manors of Ramsey Abbey, p. 54. She says, however, that the meaning is uncertain.
3. For detailed account of these, see Neilson, Manors of Ramsey Abbey, p. 52.
4. E. g. The Poll-tax of 1381 was certainly paid in money.
5. See ~~Appendix F~~.
5. These are taken from Miss Neilson, Manors of Ramsey Abbey, pp. 53-54.

could easily find the money with which to discharge their various obligations. But the villein who worked his own virgate, or whatever amount of land he held, must have found the money in some other way, and it seems reasonable to suppose that he followed the example of the lord and obtained it by marketing the surplus produce of his holding.

34. Restrictions Placed Upon Their Marketing by the Lords

I have nowhere been able to find a specific reference either prohibiting¹ or permitting peasant marketing in medieval England. If restrictions were placed upon the trading activities of manorial tenants, they would be imposed either by the lords of the manors themselves or by the trade regulations of the towns. Among the demands made by the insurgents at Smithfield in 1381, during the Great Revolt of that year, is that of market rights. Whether they were here demanding the abolition of restrictions imposed by the lords or by the townsmen we are not told, but I think it probable that it was the latter of whom the country people complained. Speaking of this revolt, one writer says that the grant of the King to allow uncommitted serfs to buy and sell freely everywhere, was a blow to the manorial system in which the permission² of the lord had to be obtained before such transactions could take place. It would be of interest to learn on what authority he makes this statement. I have been unable to find any evidence of the prohibition he mentions except³ in the case of the sale of cattle, and here the problem is somewhat different. Rogers, whose knowledge of manorial conditions was so deep, says, "I do not

1. The earliest I have discovered is a Statute of Philip and Mary, 1554, prohibiting peasant marketing by retail in towns, excepting sale in open fairs of linen and woolen cloths made by themselves or their manorial servants. See Gross, *Gild Merchant*, vol. II, p. 199.

2. George Kreihm, "Studies in the Sources of the Social Revolt of 1381." *American Historical Review*, vol. VII, pp. 254-285 and pp. 458-484.

3. Below, p. 94.

remember to have met with any instance in which the tenants of any manor were constrained to buy and sell in any lord's market, although it is common to find the obligation to grind at the lord's mill or make malt in the lord's east."¹ The implication is that they bought and sold but not necessarily in the lord's market.

One often finds what appears to be an exception to this apparent freedom of the manorial tenant to dispose of his surplus. Throughout the manorial period the sale of cattle and horses seems often to have required the permission of the lord, and in addition to this, (and perhaps as payment for it), both parties to the transaction paid toll to him. This toll was heavier, or lighter, according to whether or not the animal in question was provided with shoes. On the manors belonging to the Monastery of Gloucester, in the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the lord's permission²³ was always required in sales of cattle and horses. At Buckland, Guiting⁴ and Hartpury tenants were forbidden to sell horse or ox without leave, and at Hartpury both buyer and seller had to pay fourpence as toll. At Churcham the toll for a horse sold with shoes was fourpence; for a colt without shoes it was only two pence.⁵ Sometimes toll was paid only in case the animal was sold outside the manor.⁶ The reason for this is not difficult to see. The demesne was usually ploughed, in part, by the teams of the tenants, and on this account it was necessary to guard against too great a depletion of the cattle. It was to the lord's interest to know how many cattle were being sold.

Apart from this, there is no evidence of restriction of tenant marketing on the lord's part. May we not argue from the silence of the records on this

1. Agriculture and Prices, vol. I, p. 141.

2. Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc., vol. III, p. 62.

3. Ibid., p. 65.

4. Ibid., p. 78. See also pp. 88 and 212 for similar cases.

5. Ibid., p. 138. See also pp. 140, 151, 159, 165, 172, 186, 188, 197, 200, 204, 210, etc.

6. Ibid., pp. 159, 186, 191, 195, 197, 200, 204.

point that such restrictions did not exist? If they had, surely they were important enough to receive mention, especially in view of the care with which the lords guarded their rights. Would not some breaches of the law occur which would necessitate proceedings in the manorial courts? But not even here do we find mention of unlawful marketing on the part of the tenant.

On the other hand, however, there is evidence of a positive character, namely, that the lords frequently allowed their tenants to sell ale which they had brewed on condition of receiving a toll. Over and over again in the Cartulary of the Monastery of Gloucester, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we find, si braciavit ad venditum, dabit unum tonellum domino pro tonello. Sometimes the lord gets one tun of beer as toll, often more, occasionally less. Often he prefers to take money instead of the payment in kind. Evidently the custom of brewing beer for purposes of sale was common on the Gloucester manors, for the records of almost every one of them contain a statement of the amount of toll to be paid by persons engaging in the trade. At Boxwell¹ the lord received one penny as toll, or its value in drink, from each tenant who sold ale. At Hinnam² each tenant who brewed was supposed to give eight gallons of beer to the lord, and another eight gallons to the servants of the lord. At Buckholt the toll was five gallons for some tenants,³ and as high as sixteen gallons for others.⁴ The toll at Aldsworth was four gallons;⁵ at Coln St. Aldwins⁶ and Duntsebourne⁷ it was four gallons of beer or the price of them, while on one manor no toll was exacted. Not only did the imposition differ from one manor to another, but also, sometimes, from one tenant to another on the same manor. This was due, no doubt, to the fact that different tenants brewed different amounts.

1. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Gloucestriae, vol. III, p. 98.
2. Ibid., p. 117.
3. Ibid., p. 121.
4. Ibid., p. 125-126.
5. Ibid., p. 184.
6. Ibid., p. 197.
7. Ibid., p. 195.

While these instances do not show that the peasants on the Gloucester manors were allowed to sell their grain, they do show that these tenants were allowed to make it into beer to be sold. There seems to be no apparent reason why those who did not wish to make beer should not have disposed of their grain in some other way, or why those who did brew should have used their entire surplus for this purpose.

It would seem, then, as if the lords did not, on the whole, restrict the marketing of their tenants. Indeed it seems certain that they must sometimes have welcomed it, for, from at least the middle of the thirteenth century they were willing here and there to commute labor services and payments in kind for money. They would probably not wish to restrict the very activity which enabled the peasants to make these money payments.

35. Restrictions placed Upon Their Marketing by the Towns

Such, then, was the attitude of the lord. How did the towns regard the marketing of the peasants? Again we are forced to use the argument from silence, but not entirely. Some fragmentary evidence exists to show that peasants did come to buy and sell in the towns. To take the argument from silence first. Whenever a market or fair was held, there was also held a court - the court of "pie-powder" or pieds-poudres, the business of which was to try persons who were accused of violating any of the laws or ordinances of the fair. Cases of all kinds were tried here. Sometimes what appear to have been the most trivial misdemeanours brought a man or woman to the pie-powder court, but nowhere do we find evidence that any peasant was ever taken before that body for having traded at the fair or market without leave. It is true, of course, that, in the towns, very sharp distinctions were usually made between members of the Gild Mercant and non-members, the former being accorded many privileges not granted to the latter. But a man who labored under disadvantages when trading in the town was in this undesirable position

simply because he did not belong to the Gild Merchant, and not, as far as we know, because he might happen to be a villein from a local manor. All non-gildsmen were regarded as strangers or foreigners, whether Englishmen or not, and there is no evidence that the towns cared what was the social status of such men. In brief, then, one seems justified in saying that the towns never prohibited certain men from trading simply because they happened to be peasants. If there had been some general rule imposing such prohibition on them, the court records would undoubtedly contain evidence of it, for, like all other laws, it would frequently have been violated. The lack of such evidence probably means that laws to this effect never existed.

Fragmentary evidence, much of which unfortunately is not conclusive, exists, which seems to show that the country people took their part in trading. Some of this goes back beyond the Conquest. A law of Athelstan¹ of about the year 925, reads that no property of the value of twenty pence or over is to be bought outside a town. This law was evidently found to be impractical, for it was repealed in the same reign. Some years later, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066, it was ordained that, "Three miles on every side beyond a city, no man ought to do marketing with another. But when he has reached the city, then let there be for him the common right of market, as well for the poor man as the rich."² Who were the "poor men" who might wish to come to the city in order to sell in the market?³

A law of William the Conqueror orders that no live cattle are to be bought or sold except within cities, and then before three faithful witnesses. Evidently cattle had been sold without the cities, and dead stock might still

1. Laws of Athelstan, (circa, A. D. 925). Cap. 12.
2. Laws of Edward the Confessor, Appendix. Harl. MSS. 746.
3. Laws of William the Conqueror, III. Cap. 10.

be sold there.

The Kenfig Ordinances for the year 1330, read in one part as follows, "It is ordained that no stranger shall buy any corn in the market until the portreeve, aldermen, and burgesses are served, except gentlemen for their own household, upon pain of amer¹ciament." The strangers referred to might mean either foreign merchants, or else the lesser and poorer people from without the towns.² If the latter, they must have had some money with which to buy the corn. That the peasants of the thirteenth century knew of the advantage to be gained from trading is shown by the following passage.---"For it often neppens that servants and provosts, by themselves, make merchandize with their lords' money to their own profit, and not to the profit of their lord, and that is not law³ful." Evidently, too, they liked to attend the fairs and markets and sometimes did so to the detriment of their lords' interests, as shown by the following passage: "No shepnerd ought to leave his sheep to go to fairs, or markets, or to wrestling matchnes, or to wakes, or to the tavern, without asking leave."⁴

In 1248 the Monastery of Gloucester complained that the town of Bristol made it pay toll unlawfully on horses, oxen and sheep, "and for one quarter of corn one penny and a half-penny if any of their men brought corn there to be sold."⁵ This looks as if the officials of the monastery complained both for themselves and on behalf of its tenants and that these tenants were in the habit of selling corn in Bristol.

1. See Gild Merchant, vol. II, p. 134.

2. I have made no attempt, in this chapter, to distinguish between freemen and villeins as traders. There does not appear to be any evidence that the towns recognized any differences in status of the country people.

3. Walter of Henley, Husbandry, p. 33.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

5. Placita de Juratis et Assisis, 32 Henry III. m. 24 d. This may, of course, refer to the corn belonging to the monastery.

The rolls of manorial courts throw some little light on the subject of peasant marketing. On the manor of Gnosall, in Staffordshire, William Jace¹ was amerced four pence by his lord for selling meat at an excessive price. On each of the manors of Woodspene and Estgarston, in Berkshire, men were also accused of the same offense.² Beer which was brewed at Gnosall was not to be sold for more than one penny per quart, or fourpence per gallon.

The distinction between merchants and others selling produce is shown in the Charter of 1349 by which Edward III extended the privileges of the Fair of St. Giles. During the sixteen days of this great fair no merchant or other³ was to buy or sell within seven leagues of the town of Winchester.

It is from the records of London that we obtain the best information on this subject. The food supply of the city must have been drawn largely from the surrounding territory. Evidently the people who bought corn and cattle from the country people who came to sell, had been in the habit of treating them unfairly, for steps were taken to remedy the evil. In Liber Albus, a fourteenth and fifteenth century account of the customs, etc., of London, we read,⁴ "And whereas some buyers and brokers of corn buy corn in the City of country folks who bring it into the City to sell, and give, on the bargain (being made) a penny or a half-penny by way of earnest; and tell the peasants to take the corn to their house and that there they shall receive their pay. - And when they come (there) and think to have their payment directly, the buyer says that his wife at his house has gone out and taken the key of the room so that he cannot get at his money; but that the other must go away and come again soon and receive his pay. And when he comes back a second

1. Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records*, p. 201.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-162.
3. Kitchin, *Charter of Ed. III concerning St. Giles Fair at Winchester, 1349*.
4. *Munimenta Gildhallas Londoniensis*, vol. I (*Liber Albus*), p. 261.

time, then the buyer is not to be found; or else, if he is found, he feigns something else, by reason whereof the poor men cannot have their money, - - - and by such evil delays on the part of the buyer, the poor men lose half their pay in expenses before they are fully settled with." The penalty incurred by anyone who should violate this ordinance was severe, and the same punishment was to be meted out to any person treating the peasants unjustly when they came to sell cattle. We read, "And whereas some butchers do buy beasts of country folks, and, as soon as they have the beasts in their houses, kill them, and then at their own pleasure delay the peasants of their pay; or else tell them that they may take their beasts:- It is provided that the penalty, which, in such cases, is as to buyers and brokers of corn ordained, shall be incurred by such butchers as shall be attainted thereof."

These ordinances seem to reveal beyond a doubt that many men bringing corn and cattle into the City were "poor men", by which term we are probably to understand that they were men trading independently in a small way, and not men who were simply doing carrying services for their lords. It is unlikely, I think, that the Londoners would have dared to use the methods here described with men who were the representatives of the nobles or gentry; that is, the manorial lords, of the surrounding counties. Their victims were evidently men whose only recourse, in case of a grievance, was an appeal to the city officials, and the Ordinances show that they must have been present in sufficient numbers to make their complaints effective.

In 1378 it was ordained that no one go out of the City of London into the country to buy lambs, but the owners of the lambs were to bring them to

1. *Munimenta Gildhallae Londonienseis*, vol. I (*Liber Albus*), p. 263. Folio 198 b. This and the preceding quotation are the translations of the Editor, H. T. Riley. The word he translates "peasants" or "country people" is "paisants" in the original.

the city themselves. ¹ Many villeins owned sheep and lambs. One of the commonest of manorial customs was that the tenants' sheep should lie in the lord's fold. Probably many of those who brought lambs to London were peasants.

36. Conclusion as to Peasant Marketing

Evidence so scattered in point of time and place is, obviously, not conclusive. We can only take it for what it is worth, and hope that the further study of medieval records will bring more to light. In conclusion, we may say that what evidence we have seems to show that marketing on the part of the manorial tenants was not restricted, (except in part, as shown above), by the lords. Neither was it restricted by the towns, except that here there was a distinction drawn between gildsman and non-gildsman. If it be true that freedom to market their surplus, and to buy in return what they needed from the towns, was granted to the peasants, it may be assumed that they took advantage of the opportunity to do so. It was vitally necessary that the towns get food from somewhere, and they do not seem to have cared what were the sources of supply as long as they were sufficient. Then, too, there seems to be no reason why the lords should have prohibited the sale of surplus produce from the holdings of their tenants. Indeed, they probably were glad to allow them to do so. To summarize, then, we may say that, in view of the negative evidence, i. e. the lack of records to indicate the contrary, and in view of the positive, though fragmentary, evidence, the manorial tenants were free to market at will any surplus which they were fortunate enough to have had.

1. Riley, Memorials of London, p. 426.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION37. Resume

An attempt has been made, in this thesis, to show the manor in its relation to the manorial group, and to the outside world in general. This has been done by a study of inter-manorial organization, and of the connection of the manor with the towns, largely through marketing.

Manorial groups existed in France in the ninth century, and in England from at least the time of the Norman Conquest. Sometimes they were kept by the king "in his own hands," sometimes granted to lay or ecclesiastical lords as fiefs. Although isolated ones continued to exist, probably more than three-fourths of the manors of England belonged, at the time of Domesday Book, to one of these manorial groups, and thus had taken the first step towards participation in the economic life of the nation.

The chief factors in breaking down the isolation of the manor were, (1) the carrying services performed by the tenants, and (2) manorial marketing.

Carrying services gave the villein an opportunity to travel from the home manor, and come in contact with the outside world, especially with other manors and with towns. The visits to the markets and fairs must have done much to make the peasant conscious of new wants, and of ways of satisfying them. He saw that the towns were places where there were opportunities to engage in trade. Here was a chance to sell his surplus, and buy, in return, articles that he needed, or to save money to commute his services to his lord. Perhaps the town appeared to him as a desirable place to live and engage in a craft, and thus he might become, in time, a free man. We know that many villeins did leave the manors, either with or without the permission of the lord, to find employment in the towns. Whether in response to an inner longing for freedom or not, it is certain that the comparatively busy life of the towns attracted the countryman of the Middle Ages just as it does today.

Then, as now, the economic and social advantage was in the town.

In about the first century of the Christian era the Germanic peoples gave up their nomadic life, and entered upon a period of settled economy. The chief characteristic of this period, which lasted for about one thousand years, was the village. The inhabitants of a certain area lived in a nucleated village from which the men went out every day to cultivate the surrounding fields belonging to them. The village was a social, ecclesiastical, and economic unit. There was probably no loanable capital, and little marketing in this stage.

It was during this period that the manor came into being. Free villages lost their freedom and became the possessions of lords. The manor and vill were frequently coordinate units, although in the south of England, one manor might include several vills, while in the sparsely populated north, one vill might include two or more manors.

In the period from about 1100 to 1500, western Europe passed into the stage of town economy. Villages and manors continued to exist throughout the greater part of this period, but from the beginning of the fifteenth century the signs of decay were plainly visible, and by the early sixteenth century the essential features of the manor, at least, had passed away.

From this it would appear that the manorial system flourished at about the time when towns were first becoming an important factor in the economic life of western Europe. Manor and town doubtless influenced each other. The town had to get a food supply, and this was furnished by the manors of the vicinity, which thus became tributary to the town in an economic, and sometimes, even, in a political way. On the other hand, the manorial lords and tenants were provided with a market for their surplus, and with economic and social opportunities which they would not have had without these flourishing centers.

It has been one of the aims of this thesis to show the connection between manorial marketing and town economy. It has been shown that both lords and peasants frequently engaged in trade in the towns, and so became conscious of the economic and cultural advantages of money economy. This led, in turn, to the desire of the serf to commute his services, and the final decay of the manor, which came, in part, as a result of the system of commutation, was thus one of the direct results of the development of town economy.

Manorial marketing was, then, something which developed during the stage of town economy and was one of the things which made this stage possible. On the other hand, the growth of towns and the consequent demand for food must have made for greater efficiency of cultivation, and an extension of money economy from the towns to the rural districts.

The last stage, that of metropolitan economy, came into existence in Europe about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and has lasted to the present. A metropolitan center is one which has subjected a large area to it, in an economic and commercial way. Villages and the rural districts become tributary, not necessarily to the nearest town, but to the metropolitan center which is often very remote. This is the stage which saw the growth of the wholesaler, of storage on a large scale, and of great centralized systems of manufacture. The growth of the metropolis meant that agriculture must be made more efficient, and this was accomplished by the successive systems of convertible husbandry, the scientific rotation of crops, and, finally, intensive farming. But the manor had declined before the period of metropolitan economy was well started, and so there was little direct connection between the two. It was only in rare instances that the manors were called upon to supply a metropolis such as London, for metropolitan centers were in their infancy in the manorial period.

38. Possibility of Further Study of Manuscript Materials

The sources studied for purposes of this thesis indicate that there was a very real connection between the manor and the world beyond. Probably there are numerous unpublished manuscripts which would throw further light on the subject. It would be of interest to know if records of other manorial groups show similar conditions to have existed within them, as are shown by the sources under consideration here. It would be especially interesting and valuable to have further evidence from the Continent for comparative study. This would prove whether or not the conditions here described were peculiar to England. The isolated evidence of the organization of the group of St. Germain des Pres, would indicate that English manorial conditions were very similar to those in France.

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- Manors belonging to Ramsey Abbey
- Manors belonging to the Bishop of Exeter



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